

Part Three



Testing the New Nation

1820–1877

The Civil War of 1861 to 1865 was the awesome trial by fire of American nationhood, and of the American soul. All Americans knew, said Abraham Lincoln, that slavery “was somehow the cause of this war.” The war tested, in Lincoln’s ringing phrase at Gettysburg, whether any nation “dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . . can long endure.” How did this great and bloody conflict come about? And what were its results?

American slavery was by any measure a “peculiar institution.” Slavery was rooted in both racism and economic exploitation, and depended for its survival on brutal repression. Yet the American slave population was the only enslaved population in history that grew by means of its own biological reproduction—a fact that suggests to many historians that conditions under slavery in the United States were somehow less punitive than those in other slave societies. Indeed a distinctive and durable African American culture managed to flourish under slavery, further suggesting that the slave regime provided

some “space” for African American cultural development. But however benignly it might be painted, slavery still remained a cancer in the heart of American democracy, a moral outrage that mocked the nation’s claim to be a model of social and political enlightenment. As time went on, more and more voices called more and more stridently for its abolition.



The nation lived uneasily with slavery from the outset. Thomas Jefferson was only one among many in the founding generation who felt acutely the conflict between the high principle of equality and the ugly reality of slavery. The federal government in the early Republic took several steps to check the growth of slavery. It banned slavery in the Old Northwest in 1787, prohibited the further importation of slaves after 1808, and declared in

the Missouri Compromise of 1820 that the vast western territories secured in the Louisiana Purchase were forever closed to slavery north of the state of Missouri. Antislavery sentiment even abounded in the South in the immediate post-Revolutionary

Returning from the Cotton Fields in South Carolina African American slaves planted and picked virtually all the cotton that formed the foundation of the nineteenth-century southern economy. The white South ferociously defended its “peculiar institution” of slavery, which ended at last only in the fires of the Civil War. Saint Louis Art Museum, Gift of Bank of America



The 1st Virginia Regiment These Virginia militiamen were photographed in 1859 while attending the trial of the abolitionist John Brown for treason against the State of Virginia. Two years later their regiment formed part of the Confederate army that struck for southern independence.

years. But as time progressed, and especially after Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in the 1790s, the southern planter class became increasingly dependent on slave labor to wring profits from the sprawling plantations that carpeted the South. As cotton cultivation spread westward, the South's stake in slavery grew deeper, and the abolitionist outcry grew louder.

The controversy over slavery significantly intensified following the war with Mexico in the 1840s. "Mexico will poison us," predicted the philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, and he proved to be distressingly prophetic. The lands acquired from Mexico—most of the present-day American Southwest, from Texas to California—reopened the question of extending slavery into the western territories. The decade and a half that followed the Mexican War—from 1846 to 1861—witnessed a series of ultimately ineffective efforts to come to grips with that question, including the ill-starred Compromise of 1850, the conflict-breeding Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and the Supreme Court's inflammatory decision in the *Dred Scott* case of 1857. Ultimately, the slavery question was settled by force of arms, in the Civil War itself.

The Civil War, as Lincoln observed, was assuredly about slavery. But as Lincoln also repeatedly insisted, the war was about the viability of the Union as well and about the strength of democracy itself. Could a democratic government, built on the principle of popular consent, rightfully deny some of its citizens the same right to independence that the American revolutionaries had exercised in seceding from the British Empire in 1776? Southern rebels, calling the conflict "The War for Southern Independence," asked that question forcefully, but ultimately it, too, was answered not in the law courts or in the legislative halls but on the battlefield.

The Civil War unarguably established the supremacy of the Union, and it ended slavery as well. But as the victorious Union set about the task of "reconstruction" after the war's end in 1865, a combination of weak northern will and residual southern power frustrated the goal of making the emancipated blacks full-fledged American citizens. The Civil War in the end brought nothing but freedom—but over time, freedom proved a powerful tool indeed.

Chapter 16

The South and the Slavery Controversy

1793–1860

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1859

*A*t the dawn of the Republic, slavery faced an uncertain future. Touched by Revolutionary idealism, some southern leaders, including Thomas Jefferson, were talking openly of freeing their slaves. Others predicted that the iron logic of economics would eventually expose slavery's unprofitability, speeding its demise.

But the introduction of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793 scrambled all those predictions. Whitney's invention made possible the wide-scale cultivation of short-staple cotton. The white fiber rapidly became the dominant southern crop, eclipsing tobacco, rice, and sugar. The explosion of cotton cultivation created an insatiable demand for labor, chaining the slave to the gin and the planter to the slave. As the nineteenth century opened, the reinvigoration of southern slavery carried fateful implications for blacks and whites alike—and threatened the survival of the nation itself.

★ "Cotton Is King!"

As time passed, the Cotton Kingdom developed into a huge agricultural factory, pouring out avalanches of the fluffy fiber. Quick profits drew planters to the loamy bottomlands of the Gulf states. As long as the soil was still vigorous, the yield was bountiful and the rewards were high. Caught up in an economic spiral, the planters bought more slaves and land to grow more cotton, so as to buy still more slaves and land.

Northern shippers reaped a large part of the profits from the cotton trade. They would load bulging bales of cotton at southern ports, transport them to England, sell their fleecy cargo for pounds sterling, and buy needed manufactured goods for sale in the United States. To a large degree, the prosperity of both North and South—and of England, too—rested on the bent backs of enslaved bondsmen.

So did the young nation's growing wealth. Cotton accounted for half the value of all American exports after 1840, and export earnings provided much of the capital that stoked the Republic's economic growth. The South produced more than half of the entire world's supply of cotton—a fact that held foreign nations in partial bondage. Britain was then the leading industrial power. Its most important single manufacture in the 1850s was cotton cloth, from which about one-fifth of its population, directly or indirectly, drew its livelihood. About 75 percent of this precious supply of fiber came from the white-carpeted acres of the South.

Southern leaders were fully aware that Britain was tied to them by cotton threads, and this dependence gave them a heady sense of power. In their eyes "Cotton was King," the gin was his throne, and the black bondsmen were his henchmen. If war should ever break out between North and South, northern warships would presumably cut off the outflow of cotton. Fiber-famished British factories would then close their gates, starving mobs would force the London government to break the blockade, and the South would triumph. Cotton was a powerful monarch indeed.

★ The Planter “Aristocracy”

Before the Civil War, the South was in some respects not so much a democracy as an oligarchy—or a government by the few, in this case heavily influenced by a planter aristocracy. In 1850 only 1,733 families owned more than one hundred slaves each, and this select group provided the cream of the political and social leadership of the section and nation. Here was the mint-julep South of the tall-columned and white-painted plantation mansion—the “big house,” where dwelt the “cottonocracy.”

The planter aristocrats, with their blooded horses and Chippendale chairs, enjoyed a lion’s share of southern wealth. They could educate their children in the finest schools, often in the North or abroad. Their money provided the leisure for study, reflection, and statecraft, as was notably true of men like John C. Calhoun (a Yale graduate) and Jefferson Davis (a West Point graduate). They felt a keen sense of obligation to serve the public. It was no accident that Virginia and the other southern states produced a higher proportion of front-rank statesmen before 1860 than the “dollar-grubbing” North.

But even in its best light, dominance by a favored aristocracy was basically undemocratic. It widened the gap between rich and poor. It hampered tax-supported public education, because the rich planters could and did send their children to private institutions.

A favorite author of elite southerners was Sir Walter Scott, whose manors and castles, graced by brave Ivanhoses and fair Rowenas, helped them idealize a feudal society, even when many of their economic activities were undeniably capitalistic. Southern aristocrats, who sometimes staged jousting tournaments, strove to perpetuate a type of medievalism that had died out in Europe—or was rapidly dying out.* Mark Twain later accused Sir Walter Scott of having had a hand in starting the Civil War. The British novelist, Twain said, aroused the southerners to fight for a decaying social structure—“a sham civilization.”

The plantation system also shaped the lives of southern women. The mistress of a great plantation commanded a sizable household staff of mostly female slaves. She gave daily orders to cooks, maids, seamstresses, laundresses, and body servants. Relationships between mistresses and slaves ranged from affectionate to atrocious. Some mistresses showed tender regard for their bondswomen, and some slave women took pride in their status as “members” of the household. But slavery strained even the bonds of womanhood. Virtually no slaveholding women believed in abolition, and relatively few protested when the husbands and children of their slaves were sold. One plantation mistress

*Oddly enough, by legislative enactment, jousting became the official state sport of Maryland in 1962.



Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Interior of the Cotton Bureau in New Orleans, by Edgar Degas, 1873

Although this painting dates from 1873, French impressionist painter Edgar Degas (1834–1917) captured the insouciant self-confidence of cotton traders in the pre-Civil War era. As cotton cultivation spread into the new states of the trans-Appalachian Southwest, the entire Cotton Kingdom paid tribute to New Orleans, Queen City of the South, and the port through which millions of cotton bales flowed out to British textile mills.

Harvesting Cotton This Currier & Ives print shows slaves of both sexes harvesting cotton, which was then “ginned,” baled, carted to the riverbank, and taken by paddle wheeler downriver to New Orleans for shipment to New England or overseas.



Granger Collection

harbored a special affection for her slave Annica but noted in her diary that “I whipt Annica” for insolence.

★ Slaves of the Slave System

Unhappily, the moonlight-and-magnolia tradition concealed much that was worrisome, distasteful, and sordid. Plantation agriculture was wasteful, largely because King Cotton and his money-hungry subjects despoiled the good earth. Quick profits led to excessive cultivation, or “land butchery,” which in turn caused a heavy leakage of population to the West and Northwest.

The economic structure of the South became increasingly monopolistic. As the land wore thin, many small farmers sold their holdings to more prosperous neighbors and went north or west. The big got bigger and the small smaller. When the Civil War finally erupted, a large percentage of southern farms had passed from the hands of the families that had originally cleared them.

Another cancer in the bosom of the South was the financial instability of the plantation system. The

temptation to overspeculate in land and slaves caused many planters, including Andrew Jackson in his later years, to plunge in beyond their depth. Although the black slaves might in extreme cases be fed for as little as ten cents a day, there were other expenses. The slaves represented a heavy investment of capital, perhaps \$1,200 each in the case of prime field hands, and they might deliberately injure themselves or run away. An entire slave quarter might be wiped out by disease or even by lightning, as happened in one instance to twenty ill-fated blacks.

Dominance by King Cotton likewise led to a dangerous dependence on a one-crop economy, whose price level was at the mercy of world conditions. The whole system discouraged a healthy diversification of agriculture and particularly of manufacturing.

Southern planters resented watching the North grow fat at their expense. They were pained by the heavy outward flow of commissions and interest to northern middlemen, bankers, agents, and shippers. True souls of the South, especially by the 1850s, deplored the fact that when born, they were wrapped in Yankee-made swaddling clothes and that they spent

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) wrote in 1786,

“What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man! Who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment & death itself in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment . . . inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose.”

Unlike George Washington, Jefferson freed only a couple of his slaves in his will; the rest were sold to pay off his large debts.

Basil Hall (1788–1844), an Englishman, visited part of the cotton belt on a river steamer (1827–1828). Noting the preoccupation with cotton, he wrote,

“All day and almost all night long, the captain, pilot, crew, and passengers were talking of nothing else; and sometimes our ears were so wearied with the sound of cotton! cotton! cotton! that we gladly hailed a fresh inundation of company in hopes of some change—but alas! . . . ‘What’s cotton at?’ was the first eager inquiry. ‘Ten cents [a pound],’ ‘Oh, that will never do!’”

the rest of their lives in servitude to Yankee manufacturing. When they died, they were laid in coffins held together with Yankee nails and were buried in graves dug with Yankee shovels. The South furnished the corpse and the hole in the ground.

The Cotton Kingdom also repelled large-scale European immigration, which added so richly to the manpower and wealth of the North. In 1860 only 4.4 percent of the southern population was foreign-born, as compared with 18.7 percent for the North. German and Irish immigration to the South was generally discouraged by the competition of slave labor, by the high cost of fertile land, and by European ignorance of cotton growing. The diverting of non-British immigration to the North caused the white South to become the most Anglo-Saxon section of the nation.

★ The White Majority

Only a handful of southern whites lived in Grecian-pillared mansions. Below those 1,733 families in 1850 who owned a hundred or more slaves were the less wealthy slaveowners (see Figure 16.1). They totaled in 1850 some 345,000 families, representing about 1,725,000 white persons. Over two-thirds of these families—255,268 in all—owned fewer than ten slaves each. All told, only about one-fourth of white southerners owned slaves or belonged to a slaveowning family.

The smaller slaveowners did not own a majority of the slaves, but they made up a majority of the masters. These lesser masters were typically small farmers. With the striking exception that their households contained a slave or two, or perhaps an entire slave family, the style of their lives probably resembled that of small farmers in the North more than it did that of the southern planter aristocracy. They lived in modest farmhouses and sweated beside their bondsmen in the cotton fields, laboring callus for callus just as hard as their slaves.

Beneath the slaveowners on the population pyramid was the great body of whites who owned no

slaves at all. By 1860 their numbers had swelled to 6,120,825—three-quarters of all southern whites. Shouldered off the richest bottomlands by the mighty planters, they scratched a simple living from the thinner soils of the backcountry and the mountain valleys (see Maps 16.1 and 16.2). To them the riches of the Cotton Kingdom were a distant dream, and they often sneered at the lordly pretensions of the cotton “snobocracy.” These red-necked farmers participated in the market economy scarcely at all. As subsistence farmers, they raised corn and hogs, not cotton, and often lived isolated lives, punctuated periodically by extended socializing and sermonizing at religious camp meetings.

Some of the least prosperous nonslaveholding whites were scorned even by slaves as “poor white trash.” Known also as “hillbillies,” “crackers,” or “clay eaters,” they were often described as listless, shiftless, and misshapen. Later investigations have revealed that many of them were not simply lazy but sick, suffering from malnutrition and parasites, especially hookworm.

All these whites without slaves had no direct economic stake in the preservation of slavery, yet they were among the stoutest defenders of the slave system. Why? The answer is not far to seek.

The carrot on the stick ever dangling before their eyes was the hope of buying a slave or two and of parlaying their paltry holdings into riches—all in accord with the “American dream” of upward social mobility. They also took fierce pride in their presumed racial superiority, which would be watered down if the slaves were freed. Many of the poorer whites were hardly better off economically than the slaves; some, indeed, were not so well-off. But even the most wretched whites could take perverse comfort from the knowledge that they outranked someone in status: the still more wretched African American slave. Thus did the logic of economics join with the illogic of racism in buttressing the slave system.

In a special category among white southerners were the mountain whites, more or less marooned in the

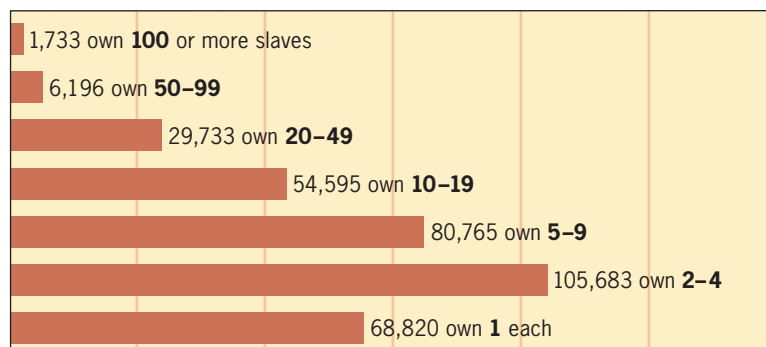
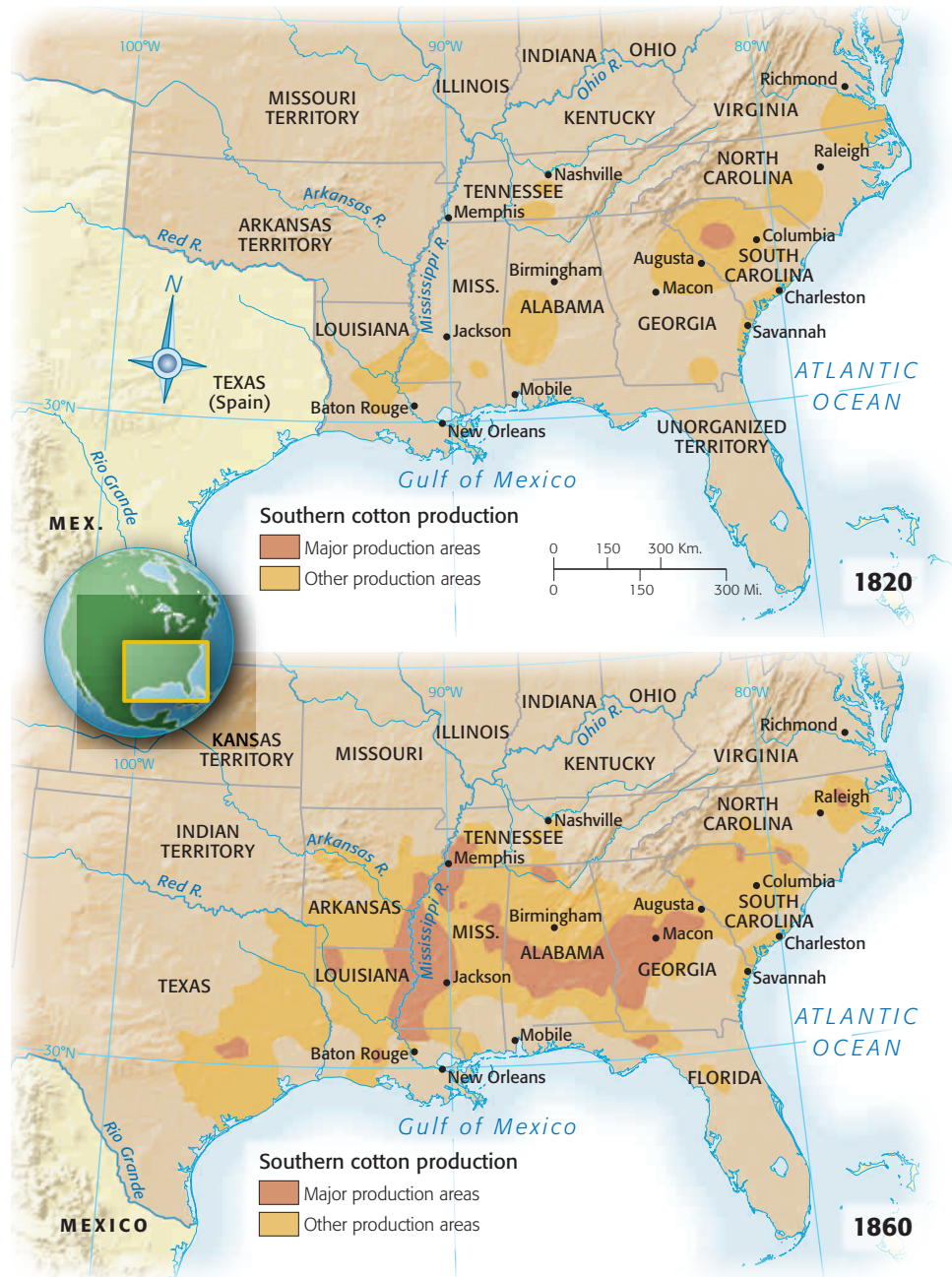


FIGURE 16.1 Slaveowning Families, 1850 More than half of all slaveholding families owned fewer than four slaves. In contrast, 2 percent of slaveowners owned more than fifty slaves each. A tiny slaveholding elite held a majority of slave property in the South. The great majority of white southerners owned no slaves at all. © Cengage Learning



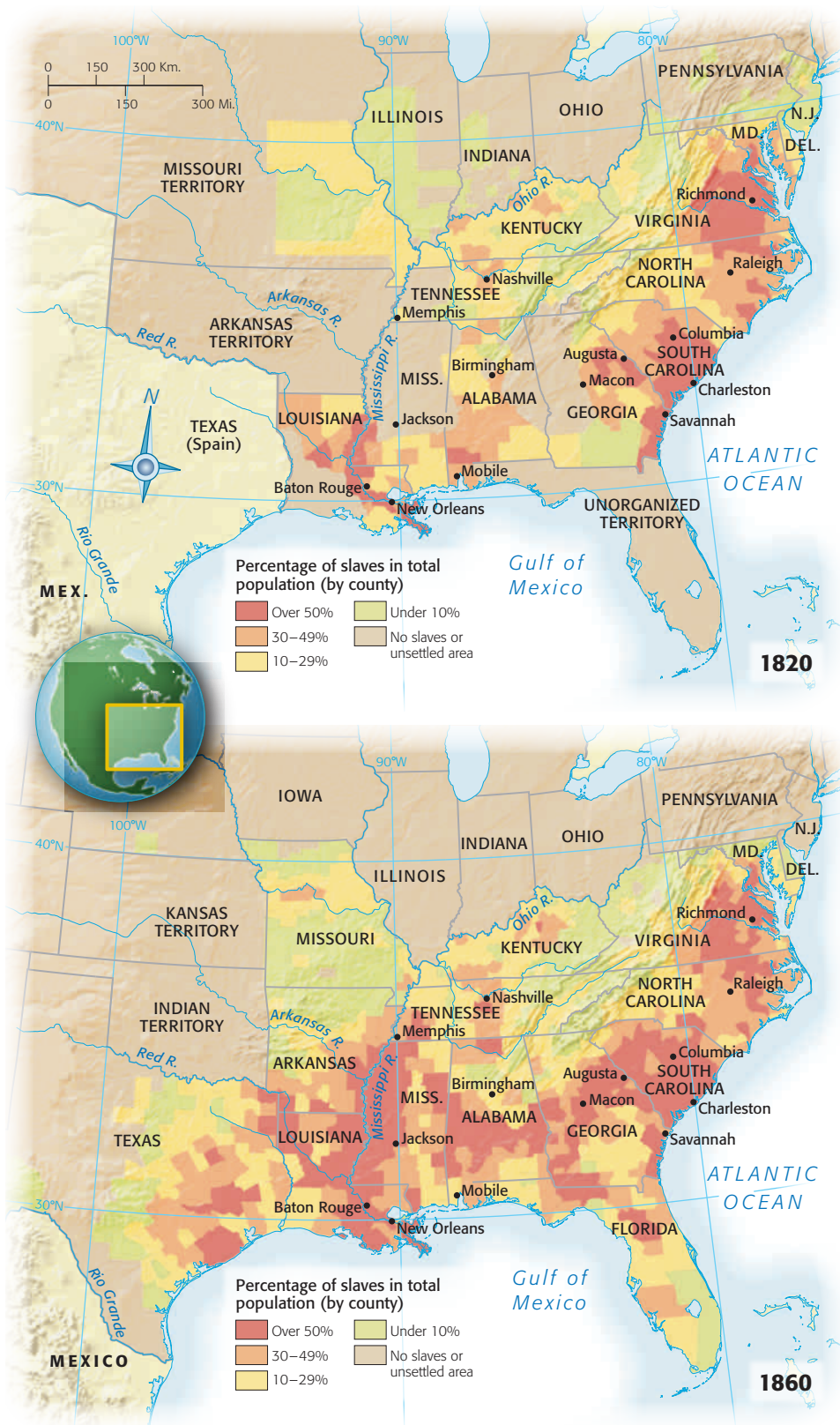
MAP 16.1 Southern Cotton Production and Distribution of Slaves, 1820 © Cengage Learning

valleys of the Appalachian range that stretched from western Virginia to northern Georgia and Alabama. Civilization had largely passed them by, and they still lived under spartan frontier conditions. They were a kind of living ancestry, for some of them retained Elizabethan speech forms and habits that had long since died out in Britain.

As independent small farmers, hundreds of miles distant from the heart of the Cotton Kingdom and rarely if ever in sight of a slave, these mountain whites had little in common with the whites of the flatlands. Many of them, including future president Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, hated both the haughty

“Arthur Lee, Freeman,” petitioned the General Assembly of Virginia in 1835 for permission to remain in the state despite a law against the residency of free blacks. After asserting his upstanding moral character, he implored,

“He therefore most respectfully and earnestly prays that you will pass a law permitting him on the score of long and meritorious service to remain in the State, together with his wife and four children, and not force him in his old age to seek a livelihood in a new Country.”



MAP 16.2 Southern Cotton Production and Distribution of Slaves, 1860 The philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, a New Englander, declared in 1856, “I do not see how a barbarous community and a civilized community can constitute a state. I think we must get rid of slavery or we must get rid of freedom.” © Cengage Learning

planters and their gangs of blacks. They looked upon the impending strife between North and South as “a rich man’s war but a poor man’s fight.”

When the war came, the tough-fibered mountain whites constituted a vitally important peninsula of Unionism jutting down into the secessionist Southern sea. They ultimately played a significant role in crippling the Confederacy. Their attachment to the Union party of Abraham Lincoln was such that for generations after the Civil War, the only concentrated Republican strength in the solid South was to be found in the southern highlands.

★ Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters

Precarious in the extreme was the standing of the South’s free blacks, who numbered about 250,000 by 1860. In the upper South, the free black population traced its origins to a wavelet of emancipation inspired by the idealism of Revolutionary days. In the deeper South, many free blacks were mulattoes, usually the emancipated children of a white planter and his black mistress. Throughout the South were some free blacks who had purchased their freedom with earnings from labor after hours. Many free blacks owned property, especially in New Orleans, where a sizable mulatto community prospered. Some, such as William T. Johnson, the “barber of Natchez,” even owned slaves. He was the master of fifteen bondsmen; his diary records that in June 1848 he flogged two slaves and a mule.

The free blacks in the South were a kind of “third race.” These people were prohibited from working in certain occupations and forbidden from testifying against whites in court. They were always vulnerable to being hijacked back into slavery by unscrupulous slave traders. As free men and women, they were walking examples of what might be achieved by emancipation and hence were resented and detested by defenders of the slave system.

Free blacks were also unpopular in the North, where about another 250,000 of them lived. Several states forbade their entrance, most denied them the right to vote, and some barred blacks from public schools. In 1835 New Hampshire farmers hitched their oxen to a small schoolhouse that had dared to enroll fourteen black children and dragged it into a swamp. Northern blacks were especially hated by the pick-and-shovel Irish immigrants, with whom they competed for menial jobs. Much of the agitation in the North against the spread of slavery into the new territories in the 1840s and 1850s grew out of race prejudice, not humanitarianism.

Antiblack feeling was in fact frequently stronger in the North than in the South. The glib and eloquent

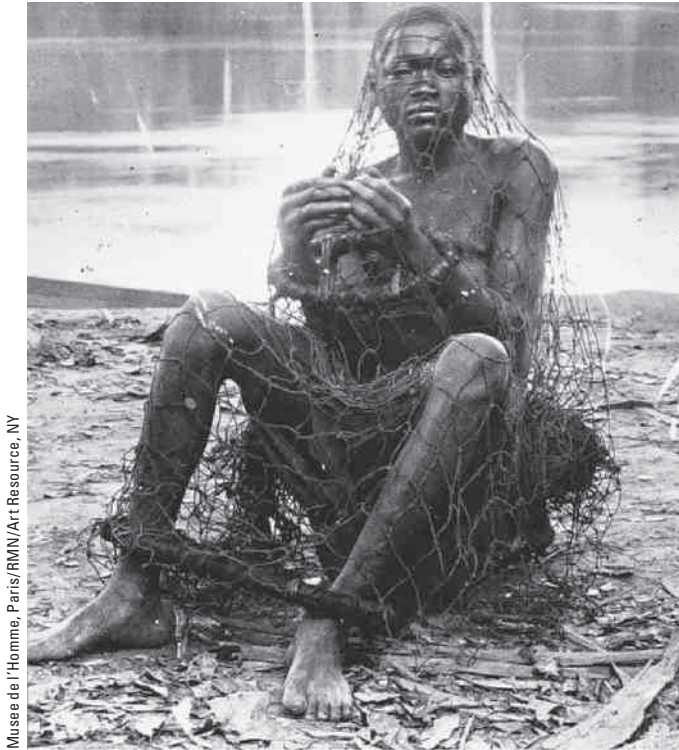
former slave Frederick Douglass, an abolitionist and self-educated orator of rare power, was several times mobbed and beaten by northern rowdies. It was sometimes observed that white southerners, who were often suckled and reared by black nurses, liked the black as an individual but despised the race. The white northerner, on the other hand, often professed to like the race but disliked individual blacks.

★ Plantation Slavery

In society’s basement in the South of 1860 were nearly 4 million black human chattels. Their numbers had quadrupled since the dawn of the century, as the booming cotton economy created a seemingly unquenchable demand for slave labor. Legal importation of African slaves into America ended in 1808, when Congress outlawed slave imports. Britain had abolished the slave trade (but not slavery itself) in 1807, a milestone in the continuing struggle to establish human rights as a principle of international law. In the decades thereafter, the Royal Navy’s **West Africa Squadron** seized hundreds of slave ships and freed thousands of grateful captives. Yet despite that effort, as many as 3 million enslaved Africans were shipped to Brazil and the West Indies in the several decades after 1807. In the United States, the price of “black ivory” was so high in the years before the Civil War that uncounted thousands of blacks were smuggled into the South, despite the death penalty for slavers. Although several slave traders were captured, southern juries repeatedly acquitted them. Only one slave trader, N. P. Gordon, was ever executed, and this took place in New York in 1862, the second year of the Civil War.

Ironically, the suppression of the international slave trade fostered the growth of a vigorous *internal* slave trade, as upper South states like Virginia became major sources of supply for the booming cotton economy of the Deep South. Most of the increase in the slave population in the United States came not from imports, but from natural reproduction—a fact that owed something to the accident of geography that the slave South lay outside the area where tropical diseases took such a grisly human toll. The natural reproduction of enslaved African Americans also distinguished North American slavery from slavery in more southerly New World societies and implied much about the tenor of the slave regime and the conditions of family life under slavery in the United States.

Above all, the planters regarded their slaves as investments, into which they had sunk nearly \$2 billion of their capital by 1860. Slaves were the primary form of wealth in the South, and as such they were cared for as any asset is cared for by a prudent capitalist.



Musée de l'Homme, Paris/RMN/Art Resource, NY

A Market in People (left) Held captive in a net, a slave sits on the Congo shore, waiting to be sold and shipped. (right) Once in the United States, slaves continued to be treated like commodities. This woman suffers the humiliation of an inventory number pinned to her dress, most likely for her sale at a slave auction or transport to a new owner.



Stanley B. Burns, M.D. and The Burns Archive

Accordingly, they were sometimes, though by no means always, spared dangerous work, like putting a roof on a house. If a neck was going to be broken, the master preferred it to be that of a wage-earning Irish laborer rather than that of a prime field hand, worth \$1,800 by 1860 (a price that had quintupled since 1800). Tunnel blasting and swamp draining were often consigned to itinerant gangs of expendable Irishmen because those perilous tasks were “death on niggers and mules.”

Slavery was profitable for the great planters, though it hobbled the economic development of the region as a whole. The profits from the cotton boom sucked ever more slaves from the upper to the lower South, so that by 1860 the Deep South states of South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana each had a majority or near-majority of blacks and accounted for about half of all slaves in the South.

Breeding slaves in the way that cattle are bred was not openly encouraged. But thousands of blacks from the soil-exhausted slave states of the Old South, especially tobacco-depleted Virginia, were “sold down

the river” to toil as field-gang laborers on the cotton frontier of the lower Mississippi Valley. Women who bore thirteen or fourteen babies were prized as “rattlin’ good breeders,” and some of these fecund females were promised their freedom when they had produced ten. White masters all too frequently would force their attentions on female slaves, fathering a sizable mulatto population, most of which remained enchained.

Slave auctions were brutal sights. The open selling of human flesh under the hammer, sometimes with cattle and horses, was among the most revolting aspects of slavery. On the auction block, families were separated with distressing frequency, usually for economic reasons such as bankruptcy or the division of “property” among heirs. The sundering of families in this fashion was perhaps slavery’s greatest psychological horror. Abolitionists decried the practice, and Harriet Beecher Stowe seized on the emotional power of this theme by putting it at the heart of the plot of her acclaimed 1852 novel, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

In 1852 Maria Perkins, a woman enslaved in Virginia, wrote plaintively to her husband about the disruption that the commercial traffic in slaves was visiting upon their family:

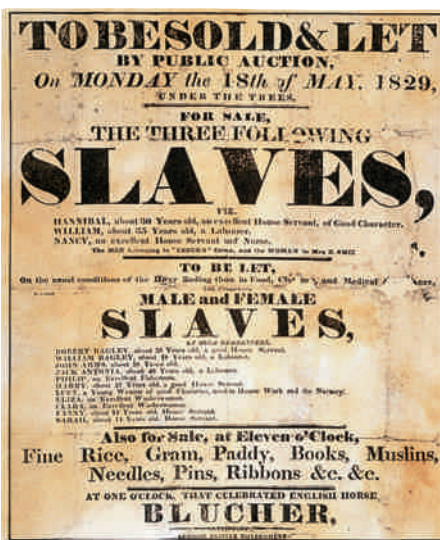
“I write you a letter to let you know of my distress my master has sold albert to a trader on Monday court day and myself and other child is for sale also and I want you to let hear from you very soon before next cort if you can I dont know when I dont want you to wait till Christmas I want you to tell Dr Hamelton and your master if either will buy me they can attend to it know and then I can go after-wards I dont want a trader to get me they asked me if I had got any person to buy me and I told them no they took me to the court houste too they never put me up a man buy the name of brady bought albert and is gone I dont know whare they say he lives in Scottesville my things is in several places some is in staunton and if I should be sold I dont know what will become of them I dont expect to meet with the luck to get that way till I am quite heart sick nothing more I am and ever will be your kind wife Maria Perkins.”

★ Life Under the Lash

White southerners often romanticized about the happy life of their singing, dancing, banjo-strumming, joyful “darkies.” But how did the slaves actually live? There is no simple answer to this question. Conditions varied greatly from region to region, from large plantation to small farm, and from master to master. Everywhere, of course, slavery meant hard work, ignorance, and oppression. The slaves—both men and women—usually toiled from dawn to dusk in the fields, under the watchful eyes and ready whip-hand of a white overseer or black “driver.” They had no civil or political rights, other than minimal protection from arbitrary murder or unusually cruel punishment. Some states offered further protections, such as banning the sale of a child under the age of ten away from his or her mother. But all such laws were difficult to enforce, since slaves were forbidden to testify in court or even to have their marriages legally recognized.

Floggings were common, for the whip was the substitute for the wage-incentive system and the most visible symbol of the planter’s mastery. Strong-willed slaves were sometimes sent to **breakers**, whose technique consisted mostly in lavish laying on of the lash. As an abolitionist song of the 1850s lamented,

*To-night the bond man, Lord
Is bleeding in his chains;
And loud the falling lash is heard
On Carolina’s plains!*



Granger Collection

A Slave Auction Abraham Lincoln said in 1865, “Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.”



Chicago History Museum

But savage beatings made sullen laborers, and lash marks hurt resale values. There are, to be sure, sadistic monsters in any population, and the planter class contained its share. But the typical planter had too much of his own prosperity riding on the backs of his slaves to beat them bloody on a regular basis.

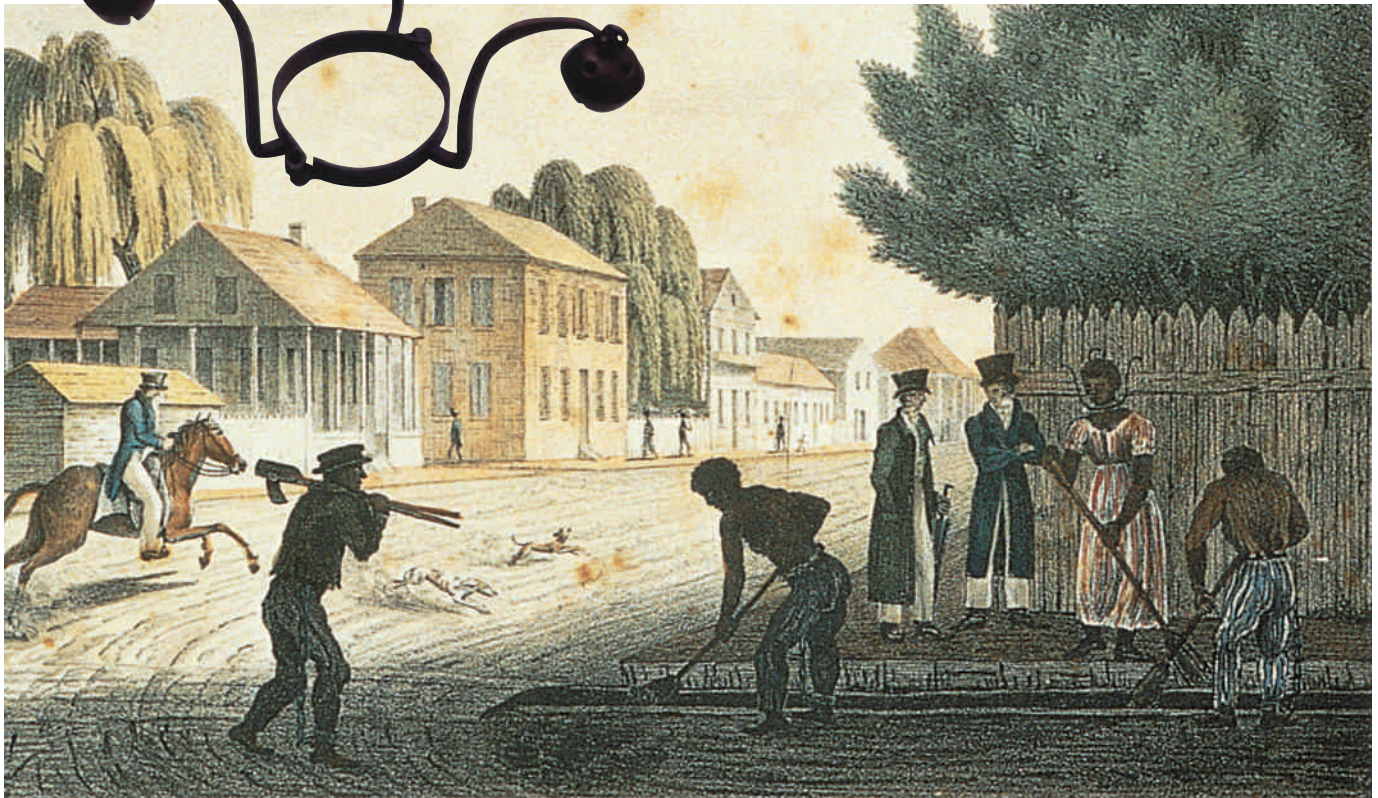
By 1860 most slaves were concentrated in the **black belt** of the Deep South that stretched from South Carolina and Georgia into the new southwest states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. This was the region of the southern frontier, into which the explosively growing Cotton Kingdom had burst in a few short decades. As on all frontiers, life was often rough and raw, and in general the lot of the slave was

harder here than in the more settled areas of the Old South.

A majority of blacks lived on larger plantations that harbored communities of twenty or more slaves. In some counties of the Deep South, especially along the lower Mississippi River, blacks accounted for more than 75 percent of the population. There the family life of slaves tended to be relatively stable, and a distinctive African American slave culture developed. Forced separations of spouses, parents, and children were evidently more common on smaller plantations and in the upper South. Slave marriage vows sometimes proclaimed, "Until death or *distance* do you part."

With impressive resilience, blacks managed to sustain family life in slavery, and most slaves were raised in stable two-parent households. Continuity of family identity across generations was evidenced in the widespread practice of naming children for grandparents or adopting the surname not of a current master, but of a forebear's master. African Americans also displayed their African cultural roots when they avoided marriage between first cousins, in contrast to the frequent

Louisiana State Museum



Louisiana State Museum

The Cruelty of Slavery Slaveowners used devices like this collar with bells to discipline and patrol their slaves. This female slave shown toiling in New Orleans has such a collar riveted around her neck, designed to prevent her from hiding from her master or escaping.

intermarriage of close relatives among the ingrown planter aristocracy.

African roots were also visible in the slaves' religious practices. Though heavily Christianized by the itinerant evangelists of the Second Great Awakening, blacks in slavery molded their own distinctive religious forms from a mixture of Christian and African elements. They emphasized those aspects of the Christian heritage that seemed most pertinent to their own situation—especially the captivity of the Israelites in Egypt. One of their most haunting spirituals implored,

*Tell old Pharaoh
"Let my people go."*

And another lamented,

*Nobody knows de trouble I've had
Nobody knows but Jesus*

African practices also persisted in the **responsorial** style of preaching, in which the congregation



Slave Nurse and Young White Master Southern whites would not allow slaves to own property or exercise civil rights, but, paradoxically, they often entrusted them with the raising of their own precious children. Many a slave “mammy” served as a surrogate mother for the offspring of the planter class.

frequently punctuated the minister's remarks with assents and amens—an adaptation of the give-and-take between caller and dancers in the African ringshout dance.

★ The Burdens of Bondage

Slavery was intolerably degrading to the victims. They were deprived of the dignity and sense of responsibility that come from independence and the right to make choices. They were denied an education, because reading brought ideas, and ideas brought discontent. Many states passed laws forbidding their instruction, and perhaps nine-tenths of adult slaves at the beginning of the Civil War were totally illiterate. For all slaves—indeed for virtually all blacks, slave or free—the “American dream” of bettering one's lot through study and hard work was a cruel and empty mockery.

Not surprisingly, victims of the “peculiar institution” devised countless ways to throw sand in its gears. When workers are not voluntarily hired and adequately compensated, they can hardly be expected to work with alacrity. Accordingly, slaves often slowed the pace of their labor to the barest minimum that would spare them the lash, thus fostering the myth of black “laziness” in the minds of whites. They filched food from the “big house” and pilfered other goods that had been produced or purchased by their labor. They sabotaged expensive equipment, stopping the work routine altogether until repairs were accomplished. Occasionally they even poisoned their masters' food.

The slaves also universally pined for freedom. Many took to their heels as runaways, frequently in search of a separated family member. A black girl, asked if her mother was dead, replied, “Yessir, master, she is dead, but she's free.” Others rebelled, though never successfully. In 1800 an armed insurrection led by a slave named Gabriel in Richmond, Virginia, was foiled by informers, and its leaders were hanged. Denmark Vesey, a free black, led another ill-fated rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822. Also betrayed by informers, Vesey and more than thirty followers were publicly strung from the gallows. In 1831 the semiliterate Nat Turner, a visionary black preacher, led an uprising that slaughtered about sixty Virginians, mostly women and children. Reprisals were swift and bloody, and **Nat Turner's rebellion** was soon extinguished.

An especially dramatic episode involved the enslaved Africans who rebelled aboard the Spanish slave ship *Amistad* in 1839. They seized command of the vessel off the coast of Cuba and attempted to sail back to Africa, but were driven ashore on Long Island. After two years of imprisonment and several trials, former president John Quincy Adams finally secured their



Slaves Being Marched from Staunton, Virginia, to Tennessee, by Lewis Miller, 1853 In this folk painting of slaves in transit from the upper South to the new cotton lands of the lower South, couples travel together and children accompany parents. In reality the forced movement of slaves often involved the painful separation of family members.



Tag Identifying Slaves and Free Blacks in Charleston All slaves in Charleston, South Carolina, were reminded of their status as property by the tags they were forced to wear, marked with their skills—such as porter or mechanic or carpenter—and the year the tag was issued. After 1848 even free blacks had to wear tags, ensuring that no African American could be anonymous in the city. The badge above was issued to a freed slave in Charleston, South Carolina, sometime after 1848. *The American Numismatic Society*

freedom in a brilliant, moving argument before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1841, and the Africans returned to the British colony of Sierra Leone, in West Africa.

The dark taint of slavery also left its mark on whites. It fostered the brutality of the whip, the bloodhound, and the branding iron. White southerners increasingly lived in a state of imagined siege, surrounded by potentially rebellious blacks inflamed by abolitionist propaganda from the North. Their fears bolstered an intoxicating theory of biological racial superiority and turned the South into a reactionary backwater in an era of progress—one of the last bastions of slavery in the Western world. The defenders of slavery were forced to degrade themselves, along with their victims. As Booker T. Washington, a distinguished black leader and former slave, later observed, whites could not hold blacks in a ditch without getting down there with them.

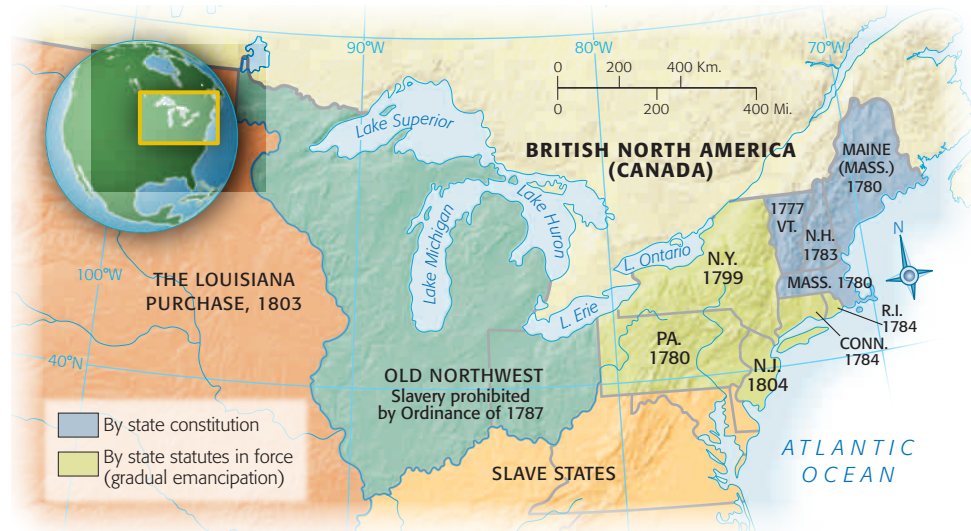
★ Early Abolitionism

The inhumanity of the “peculiar institution” gradually caused antislavery societies to sprout forth. Abolitionist sentiment first stirred at the time of the Revolution, especially among Quakers (see Map 16.3). Because of the widespread loathing of blacks, some of the earliest abolitionist efforts focused on transporting blacks bodily back to Africa. The **American Colonization Society** was founded for this purpose in 1817, and in

1822 the Republic of **Liberia**, on the fever-stricken West African coast, was established for former slaves. Its capital, Monrovia, was named after President Monroe. Some fifteen thousand freed blacks were transported there over the next four decades. But most blacks had no wish to be transplanted into a strange civilization after having become partially Americanized. By 1860 virtually all southern slaves were no longer Africans, but native-born African Americans, with their own distinctive history and culture. Yet the colonization idea appealed to some antislaveryites, including Abraham Lincoln, until the time of the Civil War.

In the 1830s the abolitionist movement took on new energy and momentum, mounting to the proportions of a crusade. American abolitionists took heart in 1833 when their British counterparts, inspired by the redoubtable William Wilberforce, a member of Parliament and an evangelical Christian reformer whose family had been touched by the preaching of George Whitefield (see Chapter 5), unchained the slaves in the West Indies (see “Thinking Globally: The Struggle to Abolish Slavery,” pp. 354–355). (Wilberforce University in Ohio, an African American college that later sent many missionaries to Africa, is named for him.)

As with Wilberforce, the religious spirit of the Second Great Awakening now inflamed the hearts of many American abolitionists against the sin of slavery. Prominent among them was lanky, tousle-haired Theodore Dwight Weld, who had been evangelized by Charles



MAP 16.3 Early Emancipation in the North © Cengage Learning

Grandison Finney in New York's Burned-Over District in the 1820s. Self-educated and simple in manner and speech, Weld appealed with special power and directness to his rural audiences of untutored farmers.

Spiritually inspired by Finney, Weld was materially aided by two wealthy and devout New York merchants, the brothers Arthur and Lewis Tappan. In 1832 they paid his way to Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, which was presided over by the formidable

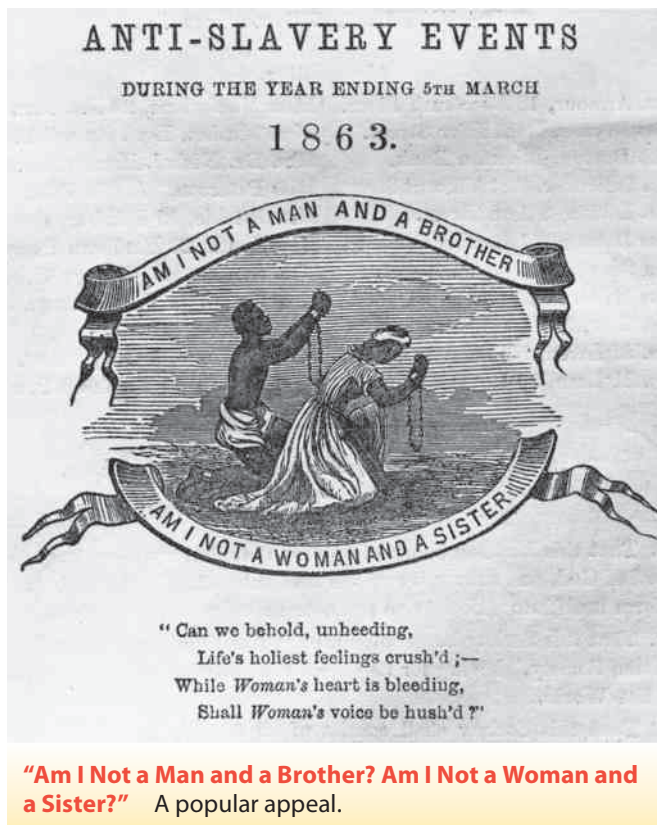
Lyman Beecher, father of a remarkable brood, including novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe, reformer Catharine Beecher, and preacher-abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher. Expelled along with several other students in 1834 for organizing an eighteen-day debate on slavery, Weld and his fellow "Lane Rebels"—full of the energy and idealism of youth—fanned out across the Old Northwest preaching the antislavery gospel. Humorless and deadly earnest, Weld also assembled a potent propaganda pamphlet, *American Slavery as It Is* (1839). Its compelling arguments made it among the most effective abolitionist tracts and greatly influenced Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

✦ Radical Abolitionism

On New Year's Day, 1831, a shattering abolitionist blast came from the bugle of William Lloyd Garrison, a mild-looking reformer of twenty-six. The emotionally high-strung son of a drunken father and a spiritual child of the Second Great Awakening, Garrison published in Boston the first issue of his militantly antislavery newspaper, *The Liberator*. With this mighty paper broadside, Garrison triggered a thirty-year war of words and in a sense fired one of the opening barrages of the Civil War.

Stern and uncompromising, Garrison nailed his colors to the masthead of his weekly. He proclaimed in strident tones that under no circumstances would he tolerate the poisonous weed of slavery, but would stamp it out at once, root and branch:

I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. . . . I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I WILL BE HEARD!



"Am I Not a Man and a Brother? Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?" A popular appeal.

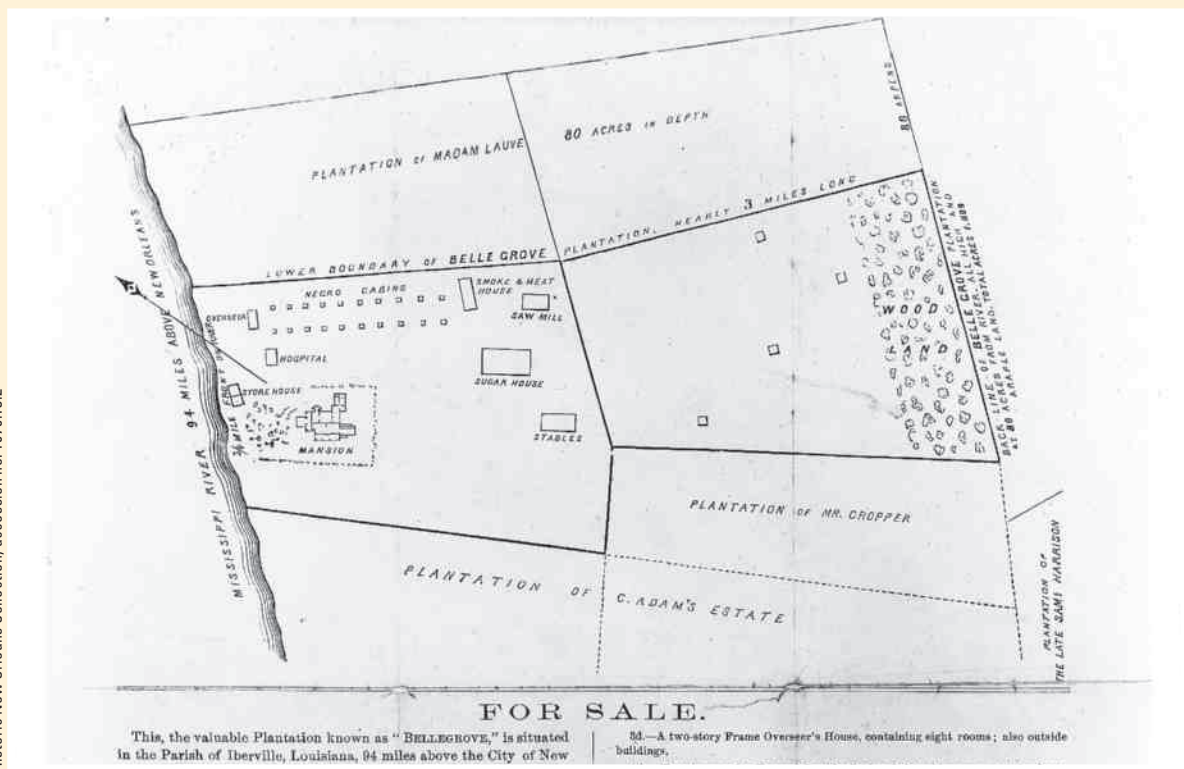
Examining the Evidence

Bellegrove Plantation, Donaldsville, Louisiana, Built 1857

The sugar-growing Bellegrove Plantation—on the banks of the Mississippi River ninety-five miles north of New Orleans—was laid out on a grander scale than many southern plantations. In this rendering from an advertisement for Bellegrove's sale in 1867, the planter John Orr's home was identified as a "mansion," and quarters for his field hands proved extensive: twenty double cabins built for slaves (now for "Negroes") and a dormitory, described in the ad but not pictured here, housing 150 laborers. Because of the unhealthy work involved in cultivating sugar cane, such as the constant digging of drain-

age canals to keep the cane from rotting in standing water, many planters hired immigrant (usually Irish) labor to keep their valuable slaves out of physical danger. The presence of a hospital between the slave cabins and the mansion indicates the very real threat to health. The layout of Bellegrove reflects the organization of production as well as the social relations on a sugar plantation. The storehouse where preserved sugar awaited shipping stood closest to the Mississippi River, the principal transportation route, whereas the sugar house, the most important building on the plantation, with its mill, boil-

ers, and cooking vats for converting syrup into sugar, dominated the canefields. Although the "big house" and slave quarters stood in close proximity, hedges surrounding the planter's home shut out views of both sugar production and labor. Within the slave quarters, the overseer's larger house signified his superior status, while the arrangement of cabins ensured his supervision of domestic as well as work life. What else does the physical layout of the plantation reveal about settlement patterns, sugar cultivation, and social relationships along the Mississippi?



Historic New Orleans Collection, accession no. 1970.13.2

Other dedicated abolitionists rallied to Garrison's standard, and in 1833 they founded the **American Anti-Slavery Society**. Prominent among them was Wendell Phillips, a Boston patrician known as "abolition's golden trumpet." A man of strict principle, he

would eat no cane sugar and wear no cotton cloth, since both were produced by southern slaves.

Black abolitionists distinguished themselves as living monuments to the cause of African American freedom. Their ranks included David Walker, whose



National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, NY

Sojourner Truth Also known simply as “Isabella,” she held audiences spellbound with her deep, resonant voice and the religious passion with which she condemned the sin of slavery. This photo was taken about 1870.



Frederick Douglass (1817?–1895) Born a slave in Maryland, Douglass escaped to the North and became the most prominent of the black abolitionists. Gifted as an orator, writer, and editor, he continued to battle for the civil rights of his people after emancipation. Near the end of a distinguished career, he served as U.S. minister to Haiti. Onondaga Historical Association

incendiary *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829) advocated a bloody end to white supremacy. Also noteworthy were Sojourner Truth, a freed black woman in New York who fought tirelessly for black emancipation and women’s rights, and Martin Delany, one of the few black leaders to take seriously the notion of the mass recolonization of Africa. In 1859 he visited West Africa’s Niger Valley seeking a suitable site for relocation.

The greatest of the black abolitionists was Frederick Douglass. Escaping from bondage in 1838 at the age of twenty-one, he was “discovered” by the abolitionists in 1841 when he gave a stunning impromptu speech at an antislavery meeting in Massachusetts. Thereafter he lectured widely for the cause, despite frequent beatings and threats against his life. In 1845 he published his classic autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. It depicted his remarkable origins as the son of a black slave woman and a white father, his struggle to learn to read and write, and his eventual escape to the North.

Douglass was as flexibly practical as Garrison was stubbornly principled. Garrison often appeared to be more interested in his own righteousness than in

the substance of the slavery evil itself. He repeatedly demanded that the “virtuous” North secede from the “wicked” South. Yet he did not explain how the creation of an independent slave republic would bring an end to the “damning crime” of slavery. Renouncing politics, on the Fourth of July, 1854, he publicly burned a copy of the Constitution as “a covenant with death and an agreement with hell” (a phrase he borrowed from a Shaker

Frederick Douglass (1817?–1895), the remarkable ex-slave, told of Mr. Covey, a white owner who bought a single female slave “as a breeder.” She gave birth to twins at the end of the year:

“At this addition to the human stock Covey and his wife were ecstatic with joy. No one dreamed of reproaching the woman or finding fault with the hired man, Bill Smith, the father of the children, for Mr. Covey himself had locked the two up together every night, thus inviting the result.”

After hearing Frederick Douglass speak in Bristol, England, in 1846, Mary A. Estlin wrote to an American abolitionist,

“[T]here is but one opinion of him. Wherever he goes he arouses sympathy in your cause and love for himself. . . . Our expectations were highly roused by his narrative, his printed speeches, and the eulogisms of the friends with whom he has been staying: but he far exceeds the picture we had formed both in outward graces, intellectual power and culture, and eloquence.”*

*From Clare Taylor, ed., *British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding* (Edinburgh University Press, 1974), p. 282.

condemnation of marriage). Critics, including some of his former supporters, charged that Garrison was cruelly probing the moral wound in America’s underbelly but offering no acceptable balm to ease the pain.

Douglass, on the other hand, along with other abolitionists, increasingly looked to politics to end the blight of slavery. These political abolitionists backed the Liberty party in 1840, the Free Soil party in 1848, and eventually the Republican party in the 1850s. In the end, most abolitionists, including even the pacifistic Garrison himself, followed the logic of their beliefs and supported a frightfully costly fratricidal war as the price of emancipation.

High-minded and courageous, the abolitionists were men and women of goodwill and various colors who faced the cruel choice that people in many ages have had thrust upon them: when is evil so enormous that it must be denounced, even at the risk of precipitating bloodshed and butchery?

The South Lashes Back

Antislavery sentiment was not unknown in the South, and in the 1820s antislavery societies were more numerous south of the **Mason-Dixon line*** than north of it. But after about 1830, the voice of white southern abolitionism was silenced. In a last gasp of southern questioning of slavery, the Virginia legislature debated and eventually defeated various emancipation proposals in 1831–1832. That debate marked a turning point. Thereafter all the slave states tightened their slave codes and moved to prohibit emancipation of any kind, voluntary or compensated. Nat Turner’s rebellion in 1831 sent a

wave of hysteria sweeping over the snowy cotton fields, and planters in growing numbers, recollecting the massive slave revolt that had erupted in Haiti in the 1790s, slept with pistols by their pillows. Although Garrison had no demonstrable connection with the Turner conspiracy, his *Liberator* appeared at about the same time, and he was bitterly condemned as a terrorist and an inciter of murder. The State of Georgia offered \$5,000 for his arrest and conviction.

The nullification crisis of 1832 further implanted haunting fears in white southern minds, conjuring up nightmares of black incendiaries and abolitionist devils. Jailings, whippings, and lynchings now greeted rational efforts to discuss the slavery problem in the South.

Proslavery whites responded by launching a massive defense of slavery as a positive good. In doing so, they forgot their own section’s previous doubts about the morality of the “peculiar institution.” Slavery, they claimed, was supported by the authority of the Bible and the wisdom of Aristotle. It was good for the Africans, who were lifted from the barbarism of the jungle and clothed with the blessings of Christian civilization. Slavemasters strongly encouraged religion in the slave quarters. A catechism for blacks contained such passages as

Q. *Who gave you a master and a mistress?*

A. *God gave them to me.*

Q. *Who says that you must obey them?*

A. *God says that I must.*

White apologists also claimed that master-slave relationships really resembled those of a family. On many plantations, especially those of the Old South of Virginia and Maryland, this argument had a certain plausibility. A slave’s tombstone bore this touching inscription:

JOHN:

A faithful servant:

and true friend:

Kindly, and considerate:

Loyal, and affectionate:

The family he served

Honours him in death:

But, in life they gave him love:

For he was one of them

Southern whites were quick to contrast the “happy” lot of their “servants” with that of the overworked northern wage slaves, including sweated women and stunted children. The blacks mostly toiled in the fresh air and sunlight, not in dark and stuffy factories. They did not have to worry about slack times or unemployment, as did the “hired hands” of the North. Provided with a jail-like form of Social Security, they were cared for in sickness and old age, unlike northern workers, who were set adrift when they had outlived their usefulness.

These curious proslavery arguments only widened the chasm between a backward-looking South and a

*Originally the southern boundary of colonial Pennsylvania.

When slaves in the French Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue, inspired by the Revolutionary fervor that had seized mainland France, rose up and demanded “liberty, equality, and fraternity” for themselves, they became, in 1794, the first enslaved people in the New World to win their freedom. They went on to proclaim their independence from France in 1804 by creating the Republic of Haiti. Meanwhile, in 1802, Napoleon had reinstated slavery in what remained of his Caribbean empire. It would take another revolution in France, in 1848, to secure permanent emancipation throughout the French Caribbean.

Table 16.1 documents the long, 250-year struggle to abolish slavery throughout the world. Agitators outraged by the scourge of human bondage and committed to ending it, known as abolitionists, shared anti-slavery sentiments and strategies

across national boundaries. From the late seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth century, British and American abolitionists wove dense networks of mutual support. They shared writings, lecturers, and funding and jointly sponsored conferences such as the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 in London, which became famous for inspiring the American women’s rights movement when it refused to seat female delegates.

But the political fortunes of abolitionist movements, and hence the timing of the longed-for day of freedom, varied sharply from nation to nation. In France emancipation was twice tied to revolutions. In Great Britain massive citizens’ petition campaigns, orchestrated by venerable lifelong abolitionist leaders such as William Wilberforce, brought enormous popular pressure to bear on the government. Parliament eventually

responded by outlawing the slave trade in 1807 and then, three days before Wilberforce died in 1833, prohibiting slavery itself throughout most of the British Empire.

The antislavery impulse in the United States sprung from a variety of sources. Some abolitionists opposed the brutality of the trade in human beings because they idealistically believed that the end of slavery was tied directly to humanity’s progress. Others wished for the economic and labor systems in the South to more closely resemble northern models of free labor. Ideas about what might come after abolition were similarly diverse; while some hoped that former slaves might continue to work in their communities, others supported colonization, the repatriation of freemen to countries in Africa.

In the United States as in Britain, abolitionism became a robust social



World’s Anti-Slavery Convention, London, 1840 The convention assembled antislavery advocates from around the world, but it refused to seat female delegates. Women were allowed to observe, but not to take part in, the official proceedings. The frustrations of the unseated American representatives led to the historic Woman’s Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 (see p. 318)

movement, propelled not least by women and free blacks. The issue had first become highly politicized in the 1770s, though during the Constitutional Convention delegates had chosen not to ban slavery in the new United States. By the 1830s, debates had heated up again as abolitionists objected to the expansion of slavery into the growing western territories of

the country. But the roots of the “peculiar institution” in the United States ran wide and deep. Even though the American slave trade was ended in 1808, a widespread internal trade continued, and it took the Union’s victory in a bloody Civil War in 1865 to eradicate slavery once and for all. Elsewhere in the Americas, enslaved peoples secured their freedom gradu-

ally and, in stark contrast to the United States, peacefully. Emancipation typically became possible only after the achievement of independence from Spain, where abolitionism never gained much traction. Cuba, still a Spanish colony into the 1890s, was among the last places in the New World to set its slaves free.

TABLE 16.1 Comparative Abolition of Slavery

Country	Date Abolished	Notes
Mexico	1829	The slave trade was prohibited in 1824, but slavery itself was not abolished until 1829, eight years after Mexico gained independence from Spain.
Great Britain	1833	The slave trade was ended in 1807, but slavery was not abolished until 1833. The abolition of slavery did not apply to British India, where slavery persisted until 1860.*
France	1848	Slavery was first abolished in 1794 but was reestablished by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1802. In 1848 the Second Republic replaced the July Monarchy and abolished slavery in all French colonies.
Bolivia	1851	All slaves born since independence (1825) were freed in 1831, but slavery was not abolished entirely until 1851.
Ecuador	1852	At the time of independence in 1821, all children born to slaves after that date were declared free, but slavery persisted until 1852.
Peru	1854	At the time of independence in 1821, all children born to slaves after that date were declared free, but slavery was not abolished entirely until 1854.
Argentina	1854	Emancipation, first begun in 1813, was completed in 1854.
Venezuela	1854	Gradual emancipation began when independence was fully secured in 1821, but slavery was not completely abolished until 1854.
Russia	1861	Peter the Great first abolished slavery in 1723 by converting household slaves into serfs. Tsar Alexander II freed Russia’s 22 million serfs in 1861.
Netherlands	1863	Slavery was abolished in all Dutch colonies.
United States	1865	The slave trade was ended in 1808, but slavery was not abolished entirely until after the Civil War, with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. Slavery was abolished earlier in the North, in the decades after the Revolution, often through gradual emancipation.
Paraguay	1869	Gradual emancipation began in 1842, but slavery was not abolished until 1869.
Cuba	1886	Gradual emancipation began in 1870; the Spanish government freed the remaining slaves in 1886.
Brazil	1888	The slave trade was abolished in 1851. A gradual emancipation law was first passed in 1871, but slavery was not abolished entirely until 1888.
Korea	1894	State-owned slaves were emancipated in 1801. Although slavery was formally abolished in 1894, it persisted in some regions until the 1930s.
China	1949	The emperor abolished slavery toward the end of the Xing dynasty, in 1910, but it persisted until the communist government proclaimed abolition in 1949.
Saudi Arabia	1962	Slavery was abolished under pressure from the United Nations and moderate Arab states.
Yemen	1962	Leaders of the newly proclaimed Yemen Arab Republic abolished slavery after overthrowing the imamate in 1962.

*The British East India Company had sovereignty over India until 1858, when the British government took over—and abolished slavery shortly thereafter.

[Sources: Martin A. Klein, *Historical Dictionary of Slavery and Abolition* (2002); Robert Fogel, *Without Consent of Contract* (1994); Herbert Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (1986); Edward Alpers, Gwyn Campbell, and Michael Salman, eds., *Slavery and Resistance in Africa and Asia* (2005); Jerome Alan Cohen, R. Randle Edwards, and Fu-mei Chang Chen, *Essays on China’s Legal Tradition* (1980).]



Library of Congress



Library of Congress

In Defense of Slavery This pair of illustrations contrasts the supposedly benevolent slave regime of the South with the harshness of working life in England, where starvation wages and unemployment blighted workers' lives. Apologists for slavery frequently invoked this comparison between allegedly paternalistic slavemasters and the uncaring capitalists who captained the Industrial Revolution.

forward-looking North—and indeed much of the rest of the Western world. The southerners reacted defensively to the pressure of their own fears and bristled before the merciless nagging of the northern abolitionists. Increasingly the white South turned in upon itself and grew hotly intolerant of any embarrassing questions about the status of slavery.

Regrettably, also, the controversy over free people endangered free speech in the entire country. Piles of petitions poured in upon Congress from the antislavery reformers, and in 1836 sensitive southerners drove through the House the so-called **Gag Resolution**. It required all such antislavery appeals to be tabled without debate. This attack on the right of petition aroused the sleeping lion in the aged ex-president, Representative John Quincy Adams, and he waged a successful eight-year fight for its repeal.

Southern whites likewise resented the flooding of their mails with incendiary abolitionist literature. Even if blacks could not read, they could interpret the inflammatory drawings, such as those that showed masters knocking out slaves' teeth with clubs. In 1835 a mob in Charleston, South Carolina, looted the post office and burned a pile of abolitionist propaganda. Capitulating to southern pressures, the Washington government in 1835 ordered southern postmasters to destroy abolitionist

material and called on southern state officials to arrest federal postmasters who did not comply. Such was “freedom of the press” as guaranteed by the Constitution.

★ The Abolitionist Impact in the North

Abolitionists—especially the extreme Garrisonians—were for a long time unpopular in many parts of the North. Northerners had been brought up to revere the Constitution and to regard the clauses on slavery as a lasting bargain. The ideal of Union, hammered home by the thundering eloquence of Daniel Webster and others, had taken deep root, and Garrison's wild talk of secession grated harshly on northern ears.

The North also had a heavy economic stake in Dixieland. By the late 1850s, southern planters owed northern bankers and other creditors about \$300 million, and much of this immense sum would be lost—as, in fact, it later was—should the Union dissolve. New England textile mills were fed with cotton raised by the slaves, and a disrupted labor system might cut off this vital supply and bring unemployment. The Union during these critical years was partly bound together with cotton threads, tied by lords of the loom in collaboration with the so-called lords of the lash. It was not surprising

that strong hostility developed in the North against the boat-rocking tactics of the radical antislaveryites.

Repeated tongue-lashings by the extreme abolitionists provoked many mob outbursts in the North, some led by respectable gentlemen. A gang of young toughs broke into Lewis Tappan's New York house in 1834 and demolished its interior, while a crowd in the street cheered. In 1835 Garrison, with a rope tied around him, was dragged through the streets of Boston by the so-called Broadcloth Mob but escaped almost miraculously. Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy of Alton, Illinois, not content to assail slavery, impugned the chastity of Catholic women. His printing press was destroyed four times, and

in 1837 he was killed by a mob and became "the martyr abolitionist." So unpopular were the antislavery zealots that ambitious politicians, like Lincoln, usually avoided the taint of Garrisonian abolition like the plague.

Yet by the 1850s the abolitionist outcry had made a deep dent in the northern mind. Many citizens had come to see the South as the land of the unfree and the home of a hateful institution. Few northerners were prepared to abolish slavery outright, but a growing number, including Lincoln, opposed extending it to the western territories. People of this stamp, commonly called "free-soilers," swelled their ranks as the Civil War approached.

Varying Viewpoints

What Was the True Nature of Slavery?

By the early twentieth century, the predictable accounts of slavery written by partisans of the North or South had receded in favor of a romantic vision of the Old South conveyed through popular literature, myth, and, increasingly, scholarship. That vision was persuasively validated by the publication of Ulrich Bonnell Phillips's landmark study, *American Negro Slavery* (1918). Phillips made three key arguments. First, he claimed that slavery was a dying economic institution, unprofitable to the slaveowner and an obstacle to the economic development of the South as a whole. Second, he contended that slavery was a rather benign institution and that the planters, contrary to abolitionist charges of ruthless exploitation, treated their chattels with kindly paternalism. Third, he reflected the dominant racial attitudes of his time in his belief that blacks were inferior and submissive by nature and did not abhor the institution that enslaved them.

For nearly a century, historians have debated these assertions, sometimes heatedly. More sophisticated economic analysis has refuted Phillips's claim that slavery would have withered away without a war. Economic historians have demonstrated that slavery was a viable, profitable, expanding economic system and that slaves constituted a worthwhile investment for their owners. The price of a prime field hand rose dramatically, even in the 1850s.

No such definitive conclusion has yet been reached in the disputes over slave treatment. Frank Tannenbaum's classic comparative study, *Slave and Citizen* (1947), argued that slavery was more humane in Latin America than in the United States, leaving a legacy of less sharply defined racial castes there. Beginning in the late 1950s, historians came increasingly to emphasize the harshness of the U.S. slave system. One study, Stanley Elkins's *Slavery* (1959), went so far as to compare the "peculiar institution" to the Nazi concentration camps of World War II. Both were "total institutions," Elkins contended, which "infantilized" their victims.

More recently, scholars such as Eugene Genovese have moved beyond debating whether slavery was kind or cruel. Without diminishing the deprivations and pains of slavery, Genovese has conceded that slavery embraced a strange form of paternalism, a system that reflected not the benevolence of southern slaveholders, but their need to control and coax work out of their reluctant and often recalcitrant "investments." Furthermore, within this paternalistic system, black slaves were able to make reciprocal demands of their white owners and to protect a "cultural space" of their own in which family and religion particularly could flourish. The crowning paradox of slaveholder paternalism was that in treating their property more humanely, slaveowners implicitly recognized the humanity of their slaves and thereby subverted the racist underpinnings upon which their slave society existed.

The revised conceptions of the master-slave relationship also spilled over into the debate about slave personality. Elkins accepted Phillips's portrait of the slave as a childlike "Sambo" but saw it as a consequence of slavery rather than a congenital attribute of African Americans. Kenneth Stampp, rejecting the Sambo stereotype, stressed the frequency and variety of slave resistance, both mild and militant. A third view, imaginatively documented in the work of Lawrence Levine, argued that the Sambo character was an act, an image that slaves used to confound their masters without incurring punishment. Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (1977) shares with books by John Blassingame and Herbert Gutman an emphasis on the tenacity with which slaves maintained their own culture and kin relations, despite the hardships of bondage. Most recently, historians have attempted to avoid the polarity of repression versus autonomy. They assert the debasing oppression of slavery, while also acknowledging slaves' ability to resist the dehumanizing effects of enslavement. For example, Walter Johnson's *Soul by Soul* (1999) details the horrors of the slave market but explains the multitude of

ways that enslaved people could influence their own sale and position. The challenge before historians today is to capture the vibrancy of slave culture and its legacy for African American society after emancipation, without diminishing the brutality of life under the southern slave regime.

A new sensitivity to gender, spurred by the growing field of women's history, has also expanded the horizons of slavery studies. Historians such as Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Jacqueline Jones, and Catherine Clinton have focused on the ways in which slavery differed for men and women, both slaves and slaveholders. Enslaved black women, for example, had the unique task of negotiating an identity out of their dual responsibilities as plantation laborer, even sometimes caretaker of white women and children, and anchor of the black family. By tracing the interconnectedness of race and gender in the American South, these historians have also shown how slavery shaped conceptions of masculinity and femininity within southern society, further distinguishing its culture from that of the North.

Scholarship on slavery continues to grow. The newest work by Philip D. Morgan and Ira Berlin has drawn attention to how both the institution of slavery and the experience of the enslaved changed over time. They have contended that slavery was far from monolithic. Rather, it adapted to particular geographic and environmental factors, which influenced the diet and work routines of slaves and shaped the degree of autonomy in family life and culture that slaves were able to carve out. Slavery also changed from one generation to the next. As southern slaveholders responded to new social and economic conditions, they gradually altered the legal status of slaves, making slavery a hereditary condition, outlawing manumission in many places, rendering freedom for the enslaved increasingly difficult to attain, and placing onerous restrictions on the work opportunities and mobility of free African Americans. One of the most recent and overarching syntheses of Atlantic slavery, David Brion Davis's *Inhuman Bondage* (2008), stresses the dehumanization inherent to slavery, especially in harsh New World systems.

Chapter Review

KEY TERMS

West Africa Squadron (344)	<i>The Liberator</i> (350)
breakers (346)	American Anti-Slavery Society (351)
black belt (347)	<i>Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World</i> (352)
responsorial (348)	<i>Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass</i> (352)
Nat Turner's rebellion (348)	Mason-Dixon line (353)
<i>Amistad</i> (348)	Gag Resolution (356)
American Colonization Society (349)	
Liberia (349)	

TO LEARN MORE

Erskine Clarke, *Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic* (2005)
 Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845)
 John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (8th ed., 2000)
 John Craig Hammond, *Slavery, Freedom, and Expansion in the Early American West* (2007)
 Anya Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South* (2007)
 Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (1998)
 Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (2001)
 Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South* (1995)

PEOPLE TO KNOW

William T. Johnson	David Walker
Nat Turner	Sojourner Truth
William Wilberforce	Martin Delany
Theodore Dwight Weld	Frederick Douglass
William Lloyd Garrison	

Melton Alonza McLaurin, *Celia, a Slave* (1991)
 Joshua Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families Across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861* (2003)
 James B. Stewart, *Holy Warriors* (1976)
 Gavin Wright, *Slavery and American Economic Development* (2006)

A complete, annotated bibliography for this chapter—along with brief descriptions of the People to Know—may be found on the American Pageant website. The Key Terms are defined in a Glossary at the end of the text.

CHRONOLOGY

1793	Whitney's cotton gin transforms southern economy	1833	British abolish slavery in West Indies American Anti-Slavery Society founded
1800	Gabriel slave rebellion in Virginia	1834	Abolitionist students expelled from Lane Theological Seminary
1807	Britain abolishes slave trade	1835	U.S. Post Office orders destruction of abolitionist mail "Broadcloth Mob" attacks Garrison
1808	Congress outlaws slave trade Royal Navy forms West Africa Squadron	1836	House of Representatives passes "Gag Resolution"
1817	American Colonization Society formed	1837	Mob kills abolitionist Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois
1820	Missouri Compromise	1839	Weld publishes <i>American Slavery as It Is</i> Slave revolt aboard <i>Amistad</i>
1822	Vesey slave rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina Republic of Liberia established in Africa	1845	Douglass publishes <i>Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass</i>
1829	Walker publishes <i>Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World</i>	1848	Free Soil party organized
1831	Nat Turner slave rebellion in Virginia Garrison begins publishing <i>The Liberator</i>		
1831–1832	Virginia legislature debates slavery and emancipation		



Go to the CourseMate website at www.cengagebrain.com for additional study tools and review materials—including audio and video clips—for this chapter.

AP* Review Questions for Chapter 16

- From the outset, the U.S. government grappled with the uncomfortable question of slavery in all of the following legal measures EXCEPT the
 - Northwest Ordinance in 1787.
 - constitutional ban on slave imports beginning in 1808.
 - Missouri Compromise in 1820.
 - Nonimportation Act of 1807.
 - Compromise of 1850.
- What single event halted idealistic discussions in the early republic about the eventual end of slavery?
 - The War of 1812
 - The invention of the cotton gin
 - The election of slaveholding presidents like Washington and Jefferson
 - The explosion of tobacco as an export crop
 - The Congressional Gag Order
- Which of these economic woes was NOT associated with cotton cultivation in the plantation South?
 - A concentration of wealth, economic resources, and power in fewer and fewer hands
 - Excessive land cultivation and soil depletion
 - Overspeculation in land and slaves
 - Increasing vulnerability to a volatile world market
 - Rising numbers of new immigrants seeking to profit from the land
- Nearly three-quarters of all white southerners by 1860
 - owned no slaves.
 - owned slaves.
 - cultivated cotton.
 - were connected to the plantation system.
 - lived in or around the Appalachian Mountains.
- Which of the following is NOT a true statement about free blacks in antebellum America?
 - Some owned slaves and property.
 - They shared the same voting and other rights as white men everywhere.
 - Some purchased their freedom by working after hours for extra money.
 - Southern freedmen were at risk for being captured and re-enslaved.
 - They were often despised more in the North than in the South.
- The number one form of wealth in the South was
 - land.
 - slaves.
 - cotton crops.
 - tobacco crops.
 - inheritance.
- Considered one of the most traumatic aspects of slavery, forced separations of loved ones happened most frequently on
 - small plantations in the upper South.
 - large plantations in the upper South.
 - large plantations in the Deep South.
 - small plantations in the Deep South.
 - farms and plantations of all sizes.
- Slaves worked to undermine masters and regain some margin of autonomy—however small—in all of the following ways EXCEPT by
 - slowing down the pace of their work.
 - taking food from masters' kitchens and gardens.
 - destroying homes and crops.
 - pilfering household and other goods from masters' homes.
 - sabotaging equipment.
- What was the result of the slave uprising aboard the *Amistad* in 1839?
 - Slaves commandeered the ship and successfully returned to Africa.
 - Slaves who rebelled were sentenced to death.
 - Slave rebels ultimately won their freedom in court.
 - It led to the passage of slave codes in the South.
 - The conflict led to a fire that claimed the lives of all passengers and destroyed the ship.
- The earliest antislavery efforts focused mainly on
 - immediate and complete emancipation.
 - gradually freeing the slaves over a period of years.
 - transporting slaves to their own colony within the region that would become the United States.
 - aiding slave rebellions and uprisings.
 - exporting slaves back to Africa.

11. How did the two great abolitionists, former slave Frederick Douglass and northern white businessman William Lloyd Garrison, differ in their strategy for ending slavery?
- (A) Douglass believed the North should break away from the slaveholding South; Garrison did not.
 - (B) Garrison renounced political remedies; Douglass embraced them.
 - (C) Garrison sought the violent overthrow of slavery; Douglass did not.
 - (D) Douglass made incendiary speeches; Garrison appealed more to reason, principle, and integrity.
 - (E) Douglass was prone to theatrics; Garrison was known for his impassioned speeches.
12. The wave of hysteria following Nat Turner's rebellion produced all of the following results EXCEPT that it
- (A) made white southern slaveholders more fearful of slaves and hostile toward them.
 - (B) fueled the passage of strict slave codes.
 - (C) halted discussions about ending slavery in southern states.
 - (D) breathed new life into the abolitionist movement in the South.
 - (E) inspired pro-slavery advocates to defend slavery as a positive good.
13. Which of these was NOT offered as a defense of slavery?
- (A) That it was a positive good, supported by the Bible
 - (B) That slaves were treated as family members
 - (C) That it was good for Africans, who were inferior people
 - (D) That slaves were better treated and cared for than northern factory workers
 - (E) That slavery provided blacks with minimal education in reading and writing
14. The main reason that much of the North did NOT initially embrace abolitionism or support it until the 1850s was that
- (A) the northern economy was tightly bound to that of the South.
 - (B) most northerners disliked the lecturing, protests, and other tactics employed by abolitionists.
 - (C) northerners were not yet sure whether slave or paid labor would drive industrialization.
 - (D) territorial expansion had not yet become a major concern for the North.
 - (E) northerners considered slavery a matter for the states to decide.
15. How did abolition in the United States differ from the process in other parts of the Americas?
- (A) The United States abolished slavery long before most nations in Latin America.
 - (B) Violent slave revolts in other nations were integral to abolitionists' cause.
 - (C) Slavery was abolished in Latin America before the nations became independent.
 - (D) The United States promised emancipated slaves land and compensation.
 - (E) Abolition in the United States was the result of the bloodiest war in American history.
16. Southern society, more than other parts of the United States, resembled British society because
- (A) there was a small, distinct planter aristocracy.
 - (B) state legislatures had one house in which seats were inherited.
 - (C) leading voices in the South fought for abolition.
 - (D) elite southerners favored the writing of Sir Walter Scott.
 - (E) women controlled the social activities in their homes.