

## The Old South and Slavery

- Purpose: to gain an understanding of the social and economic development of the antebellum South, including
  - The development of a slave-based cotton economy
  - The demography and geographical expansion of slavery
  - The distinctiveness of the “peculiar institution”
  - Central aspects of slave life like family, religion, and resistance
  - Prevalent attitudes of white, slave owning Southerners
  - Prevalent attitudes of white, non-slave owning Northerners
  - The role of non-slave owning white Southerners
  - The status of the South in the modernizing American economy
- Timeframe: ca. 1800-1860

2

## Theme I

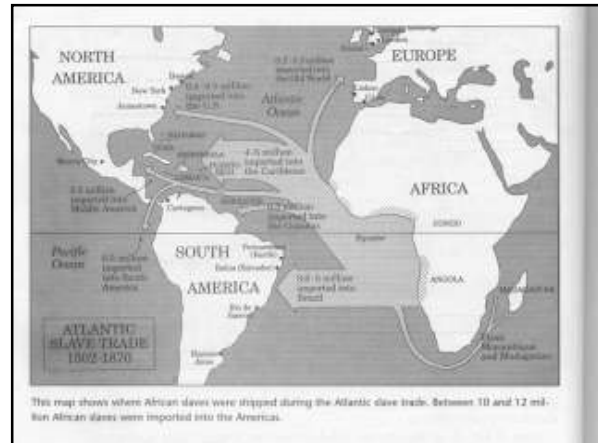
- Slavery facilitates the creation of a racial caste system that equates blackness with subordination and servitude
- Blacks, whether slave or free, have no citizenship rights in the U.S. (outside the body politic)
- Races are separate and hierarchical (**CASTE SYSTEM**), a common idea that supersedes the legal status of blacks

3

## Theme II

- The **Second Middle Passage** (1800-1860), spurred by cotton revolutions, the closing of the Atlantic Slave Trade and the doubling in size of the United States, displaced 1 million blacks in America and created new slave societies in the Deep South. The expansion of slavery toward the south and west exacerbated sectional tensions between free and slaveholding regions, a key factor in the American Civil War

4



## Why Africans?

- Plentiful supply
- Increased labor demands
- Permanent servitude (slave condition hereditary)
- No subsequent demand for land, political rights
- Easily identifiable group (otherness, easier to control)
- Previous agricultural experience (rice)

8

## 1712 SOUTH CAROLINA Slave Codes (based on Barbados Slave Codes)

- African slave labor necessary for economic development
- Slaves must carry passes
- Slaves cannot own property or trade without master's consent
- Any manumitted slaves must leave the Colony immediately (black=slave)
- Masters will not be punished for slave murders
- Slaves can be killed for assaulting master
- Slaves cannot carry firearms, serve in militia

10

## Codifying Slavery, Race and Caste in British New York

- 1679: “Negroes only shall be slaves”
- 1706: “baptism shall not alter the condition of servitude of the Negro slave”
- 1706: Children inherit the legal status of the mother

11

## The Revolutionary Age

- White freedom and black slavery are “natural” conditions---Colonial whites held in unnatural conditions by Britain---“We are enslaved”
- Blacks are inferior in intellect, in morality and in capacity for survival in competitive environments (They are not men, but children)=“All Men Created Equal” does not include blacks

12

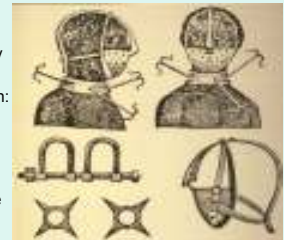
## The Constitution

- Article 1, section 2, clause 3: “three fifths of all other Persons”
- Article 1, section 9, clause 1: “the migration or importation of such persons shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to 1808”
- Article 4, section 2, clause 3 “No person held to service or labour (sic) in one state...escaping to another, shall...be discharged from such service or labour (sic), but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such service of labor be due”

13

## Slavery and the Law

- In the antebellum period, slavery laws grew increasingly complex.
- One tendency was to increase control over slaves, limit their mobility, independent economic activity, literacy, and opportunity to gather in groups.
- Another issue was manumission: the freeing of slaves became very difficult to outright illegal.
- Finally, slave laws established minimum food and clothing standards, and forbade extreme punishments like mutilations.
- **Before 1830—slavery is considered a “Necessary Evil” by most Southerners**



14

## Slave Societies

- Enslaved persons are central to economic production, majority of labor force and/or general population (**Only S.C. over 50%**)
- Staple crop
- Slaveholders comprise political, economic and judicial ruling class
- Enslaved persons landless, generally without political, economic and social rights and few opportunities for manumission

21

## International condemnation

- In 1750, slavery had existed in the entire Western hemisphere and many other places.
- In the first half of the 19th century, most countries outlawed slavery.
- England begins emancipation 1838, frees last slaves 1848.
- By 1860, only US South, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Brazil had slavery in the Western Hemisphere.
- Of these, US South had become the most powerful and important.



Tight PACK

Tight Pack

22

### Black=Slave: Virginia Slave Codes and Manumission

- “A great inconvenience may happen to this country by the setting of Negroes and mulattoes free...it is enacted that no Negroes, or mulattoes be set free by any person whatsoever, unless such person pay for the transportation of such Negro out of the country within six months after such setting free”

23

### Toward Caste

Caste=a social class separated by others by virtue of heredity, presumed occupation and social status

- A permanent labor class identified by race
- Outside the body politic
- Justifying Ideologies of inherent inferiority (not fully human)
- No racial coexistence (Jefferson, Lincoln)
- Races are separate and hierarchical

24

### Forging Freedom in the North

- Adult slaves negotiate indenture contracts
- Hire out=cash payments=emancipation
- Massive influx of outside blacks
- 1790: 33% of blacks are free
- 1800: 60% of blacks are free
- 1810: 88% of blacks are free
- 1827: Guaranteed emancipation of those born after July 4, 1799

26

### Contributing Factors to 2<sup>nd</sup> Middle Passage

- Louisiana Purchase: An “empire for slavery” between Appalachians and the Mississippi River (rich, fertile lands, 13 states or parts of states)
- Ban on imported Africans from the Atlantic Slave Trade effective 1808

28

### Causes of 2<sup>nd</sup> Middle Passage

- Eli Whitney's Cotton Gin
- Principal cash crop of South and of nation
- 75% of world's supply of cotton
- 60% of America's exports come from South (cotton)
- 1790: South produces 3,135 cotton bales
- 1800: 73,145 bales of cotton
- 1820: 334,378 bales of cotton
- 1850: 4 million bales of cotton
- 1860: 4.8 million bales of cotton

34

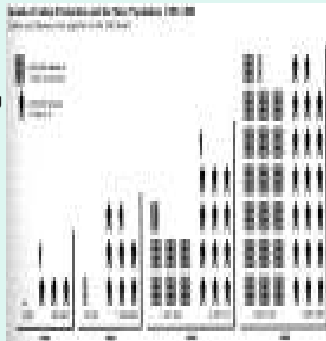
### Each black dot =s 1,000 bales of cotton

- The western states of the South, like their counterparts in the North, grew quickly in the antebellum era.
- Nine new slave states were admitted to the Union 1790-1860.
- Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana became centers of cotton production.
- As cotton production expanded to the West, so did the slave population.



## Cotton and Slavery

- The rise of cotton production was directly tied to the rise in slave population.
- Until 1808 slaves could still legally be imported; smuggling continued afterwards.
- However, by far the the greatest increase of the slave population was due to natural growth.
- 1790: 700,000 slaves produced 4,000 bales of cotton.
- 1860: 4 million slaves produced almost 4 million bales.



## Second Middle Passage: Significance

- Central event in African American lives between Revolutionary and Civil Wars
- Displaced more than 1 million blacks (mostly by selling slaves “down river”)
- 2/3 of this 1 million result from **interstate** selling
  - 1715: 59k
  - 1755: 298k
  - 1790: 700k

38

## The Internal Slave Trade

- The Upper South was less suited for cotton production.
- Upper South slave owners sold many of their slaves to the Lower South and the new Western states.
- Between 1790 and 1860, 1 million slaves were sold or migrated along with their owners.
- Throughout the antebellum period, slave prices increased.



39

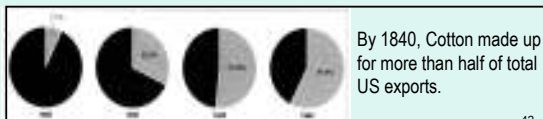
## Consequences of 2<sup>nd</sup> Middle Passage

- Keeps prices for slaves high
- Enslaved persons promised freedom by manumission or statutory emancipation more likely to be sold (Sojourner Truth)
- Free blacks in continuous danger of being kidnapped and sold South (free papers, white patrons)
- Slaveholders use threat of being “sold down the river” as form of social control

41

## The Emergence of a Cotton Economy

- In the 1770s, the slave economy of the South was in decline.
- By the 1790s/1800s, the rapid growth of the British textile industry created a quickly rising demand for cotton.
- Due to its long growing season, the South became the world's largest producer of cotton.
- Older plantation products like sugar, tobacco, and indigo continued, but lost their central importance.



42

## SLAVERY=STATUS QUO

- **SOUTHERN DECLINE IN:**
  - **INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS**
  - **SOCIAL MOBILITY**
  - **NUMBER AND SIZE OF CITIES**
  - **EDUCATION AND LITERACY**
  - **INDUSTRY**

43

- Although slavery was highly profitable for a few elite, it had a negative impact on the southern economy. It impeded the development of industry and cities and contributed to high debts, soil exhaustion, and a lack of technological innovation.
- The philosopher and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson said that “slavery is no scholar, no improver; it does not love the whistle of the railroad; it does not love the newspaper, the mail-bag, a college, a book or a preacher who has the absurd whim of saying what he thinks; it does not increase the white population; everything goes to decay.”

44

## Slave Life and Culture

- Legally, slaves were “human chattel” – no different from other kinds of property.
- However, throughout slavery, slaves strove to live as meaningful, joyous, and autonomous lives as they could.
- Despite the enormous difficulties of their status, slaves managed to develop distinct social institutions and a viable, dynamic culture.



Amistad Lawyer argues they are property

9

## Growth in cotton 1800-1860

Year	Pounds of Cotton Exported	Value of Cotton Exported	Value of Total U.S. Exports	Percentage of Cotton in Relation to Total Exports
1800	17,789,803	\$ 5,060,000	\$ 70,971,780	7%
1810	95,261,462	15,806,000	66,757,970	22
1820	127,860,152	22,306,687	69,691,609	32
1830	298,459,002	29,674,883	71,670,735	41
1840	743,941,063	63,679,307	123,668,932	51
1850	635,381,604	71,984,616	144,379,726	49
1860	1,767,686,338	191,806,555	333,576,057	57

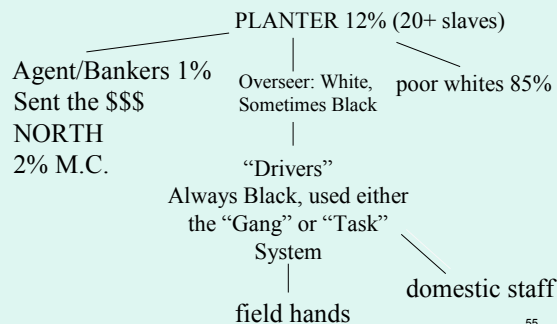
52

## GROWTH OF SLAVERY

- Natural Increase
  - 1790 700,000
  - 1830 2,100,000
  - 1860 4,000,000
- Importation banned 1808
- Profits concentrated in
  1. Land
  2. Slaves

53

## PLANTATION SYSTEM



55

## The Argument for Slavery

- In response to the growing abolitionist movement in the North, Southerners developed a pro-slavery argument.
- Slavery was portrayed as an uplifting institution for inherently “savage” African-Americans, a “schoolhouse of civilization.”
- At the same time, Southern politicians tried to prevent political debate about slavery, e.g. by the “gag rule” of 1836-1844.



pro-slavery images

57

## Post 1830

- “positive good”
- “White Man’s Burden”
- States Rights
- Stricter laws implemented to decrease slave mobility
- Individual resistance was then used more often than planned/group rebellion

58

## Slave Owner Paternalism

- Many slave owners subscribed to the idea of paternalism.
- Paternalistic masters saw their slaves as their “people” in an almost feudal manner.
- Paternalistic ideals were supported by the high value of slaves: adequate food and clothing made economic sense.
- However, most owners were quick to dispense with paternalism when economic opportunity arose.



Slave quarters on a larger plantation

59

## BLACK RESPONSES:

- Vandalism
- False Flattery
- Bre’r Rabbit
- Theft
- Revolt
- Cooperation
- Exaggerated slave roles given them

61

## Slave Resistance

- Due to numeric and organizational strength of white society, slave rebellions were difficult and rare.
- Most rebellions prevented before they happen. Full-scale rebellions like Nat Turner’s in 1831 crushed; always lead to drastic repercussions for blacks. Nat Turner’s revolt made southern claims hard to believe and broadened Southern pro-slavery support. Southerners change view of slavery from “Necessary Evil” to “Positive Good”
  - Denmark Vessey
  - Gabriel Prosser
- 1831 Virginia ALMOST outlaws slavery, but then . . .

62

## SOUTHERN STEREOTYPES:

### NAT

RUNAWAY

RAPIST

DEFIANT

MURDERER

### **JACK**

FAITHFUL

DEFERENTIAL

WANTED FAIRNESS

AVOIDED WHITES

### SAMBO

INDOLENT

CLOWN

DOCILE

LIKED SLAVERY

63

## Slave Families

- **Most slaves lived in nuclear families.**
- Marriages were not legally official, but accepted by the slaves and many owners.
- However, slave families were constantly threatened by sale.
- Slave women were threatened by sexual demands of their owners.
- Slave children were often named after relatives to stress family continuity.
- Extended families included close friends.



64

- Many slaves tried to flee to the free states of the North.
- Despite danger and difficulty, a significant number made it each year, even more did not.
- Some runaways were aided by white abolitionists (Underground RR) or ex-slaves like Harriet Tubman, who returned to the South several times to help others escape.
- Temporary flight was even more common.

### Running Away



Harriet Tubman (left) and several ex-slaves

65

## Slave Religion

- After the 1st and 2nd Great Awakening, most slaves became evangelical protestant Christians.
- Slave owners hoped that Christianity would inspire obedience and meekness.
- Covert black religious services – often held by free blacks – stressed spiritual and secular liberation.
- Many religious practices – such as spiritual songs – had double meanings, like “Go Down Moses” and “We Shall Overcome”

67

## White Southern Solidarity

- Despite many non-slave owners, white Southerners generally supported the slave system.
- Many non-slave owners had a stake in the slave economy.
- Racism provided a potent social glue for the South.
- Northern criticism of slavery was seen as an attack on the South in general, increasing Southern patriotism.
- Slavery was widely accepted as the basis of Southern society.

68

## New Slave Societies

- Land: Federal support for the expansion of slavery (Louisiana 1803, Florida 1819, Texas, etc. 1848)
- Military: Federal soldiers, state militiamen defeat slave rebels, American Indians (La. 1811, Jackson in Florida panhandle 1816)
- Politics: Planters are majority of ruling political and judicial class (territorial governors, territorial and state legislatures, county courthouses, sheriffs)
- Economics: Planters have access to money, credit from banking institutions

69

## Abolition and southern response

- 1835 US Post office allows censure of Northern newspapers such as *The Liberator*—**Know the other Abolitionists**
- **Women’s movement turns into abolition movement**
- Gag Rule 1836
- 1852 Uncle Tom’s Cabin

71

## Migrating Slave Codes

- Kentucky (Virginia)
- Tennessee (North Carolina)
- Mississippi (Georgia)
- Protects slaveholder property in persons
- Protects slaveholder right to discipline
- Protects slaveholder and non-slaveholder rights to capture fugitive enslaved persons and crush slave rebellions

74

## Louisiana Slave Code

- Slaves obedient to master and family
- Slaves are property
- Slaves must carry a pass, cannot assemble in groups, buy or sell goods or carry arms.
- Whites cannot sell to or buy from slaves, nor teach slaves to read or write
- Slaveholders cannot free slaves w/o posting 1k bond guaranteeing exit from state
- Death penalty to any slave harming master, family and property, including rape.

75

## • Slave Codes established (after C.W., same laws will be called "Black Codes")

- Marriage illegal
- If the mother is Black—the offspring is a slave
- No property
- Can't testify in court
- No contracts for labor—if hired out all \$ must go to the master
- No manumission
- Outside of plantation must have a pass
- Must be on plantation by nightfall
- Can't sell anything
- Can't own dogs, horses, etc
- No new free slaves allowed anywhere in the South
- Any free slaves in the south after 1833 (Alabama) can be sold into slavery
- Illegal to teach a slave to read or write
- Illegal for 5+ slaves to congregate off the plantation
- Slaves may attend church, but all sermons concerning freedom or revolt are illegal

76

## Cotton Work Regimes

- Sunrise to sunset **GANG** labor system
- **TASK** based labor
- Greater subjection to white overseers (less black drivers etc, protection)
- Fewer slave artisans—hoe and a plow (no coopers, carpenters, sawyers, carriage makers, engineers, machinists, millers)

77

## Cotton Work Regimes

- 10, 14, 18 hour workdays
- January, February: slaves finished ginning, pressing cotton, hauled in wagons to point of shipment
- March, April: plow, drop seeds
- April-August: Cotton plowed, hoed, weeded
- Late August-January: 130-150 pounds of cotton per day during harvest ("after weighing, follow the whippings")

78

## How were slaves distributed on Plantations and Farms?

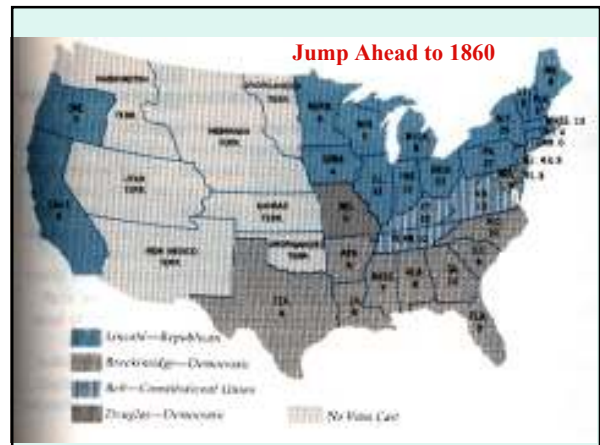
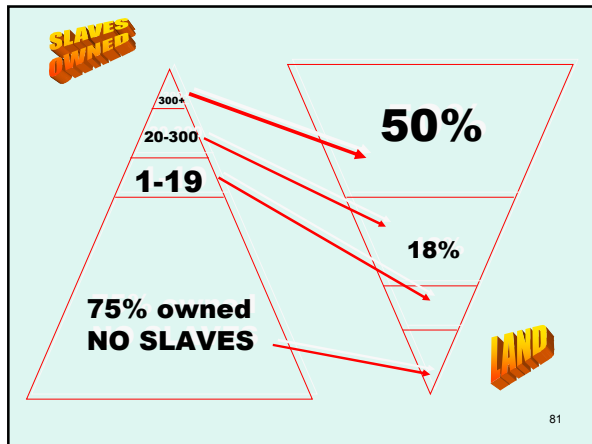
- Four million African Americans are enslaved (500k free)
- 25% of enslaved persons live on plantations with more than 50 enslaved persons
- 25% of enslaved persons lived on small holdings of less than 10 persons
- 50% of enslaved persons lived on holdings with between 10-49 persons

79

## Who Owned Slaves?

- 25% of white southern population owned slaves by 1860 (385k out of 1.5 million down from 50% in 1830)
- 45k (12%) of slave owners owned 20+ slaves
- 340k (88%) of slave owners owned 19- slaves

80



### Slavery and Modern Capitalism

- The slave/cotton economy was ambivalent:
- On the one hand, a form of commercial farming tied to a world market
- On the other hand, very pre-modern mode of production and underlying ideology.
- The South grew very wealthy due to the profitability of cotton.
- It also lagged drastically behind in industrialization, infrastructure, urbanization, banking.

Tredegar Ironworks in Richmond, Va.

- The Tredegar ironworks in Richmond, Virginia were one of the few industrial establishments in the South. Early experiments with industrial slavery were soon abandoned and wage laborers employed.

88

### Conclusions

- Slavery facilitates the creation of a racial caste system that equates blackness with subordination and servitude
- Blacks, whether slave or free, have no citizenship rights in the U.S. (outside the body politic)
- Races are separate and hierarchical, a common idea that supersedes the legal status of blacks

89

## Conclusions

- The Second Middle Passage, spurred by cotton revolutions, the closing of the Atlantic Slave Trade and the doubling in size of the United States, displaced 1 million blacks in America and created new slave societies in the Deep South. The expansion of slavery toward the south and west exacerbated sectional tensions between free and slaveholding regions, a key factor in the American Civil War

90

## Conclusions

- The economic and social development of the South was different from the North in many ways, the most important of which was the widespread existence of slavery.
- Antebellum slavery differed from colonial slavery because of the scale of cotton production, the pseudo-feudal ideology behind slavery, and the increasing international isolation of slavery.
- Like the North, the South expanded westward rapidly, engaged in commercial farming and was tied into the world market. However, industrialization and urbanization largely passed the South by.
- The main connecting element between North and South was the carefully balanced and totally artificial political system, as demonstrated by the Missouri Compromise.
- When the Mo. Comp. is compromised in 1850—the walls start crumbling

92