Chapter 15
The South and the Slavery
Controversy
1793–1860



I. "Cotton Is King!" Cotton Kingdom:

- Developed into huge agricultural factory:
 - In an economic spiral, planters bought more slaves and land
 - Northern shippers reaped large profits from cotton trade
 Prosperity of North South and England
 - Prosperity of North, South, and England rested on bent backs of enslaved bondsmen
- So too did nation's growing wealth:
 - Cotton accounted for half the value of American exports



I. "Cotton is King!"

- Cotton export earnings provided capital for Republic's economic growth
- South produced more than half of world's supply of cotton
- About 75% of England's cotton came from South, and about 20% of England's populace worked in textiles
- Southern leaders knew Britain was tied to them by cotton threads
- This dependence gave South power
- In South's eyes, "Cotton was King"

COTTON PRODUCTION

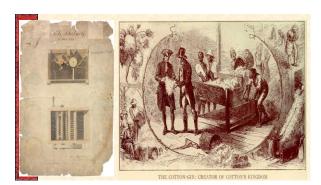


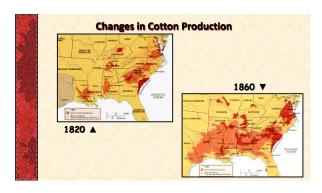
The invention which changed ie South, cottoi and slavery.

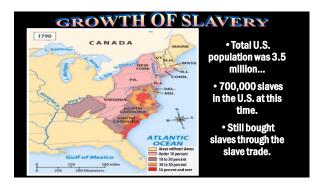


1791: 4,000 bales of cotton are produced 1849: 2, 246, 900 bales of cotton are produced 6 cents a lb. to 14 cents in 1857 Expanded into Arkansas and Texas

Crop increase: 2,500,000 bales in 1850 to 5,300,000 in 1860 Crop Value: In 1800, \$8 million: In 1860, \$250 million Tobacco by 1860: 200,000,000 lbs. to 430,000,000 lbs.

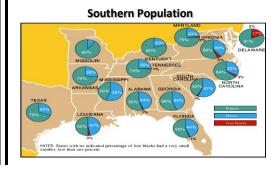




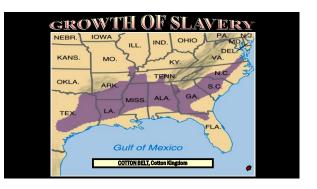


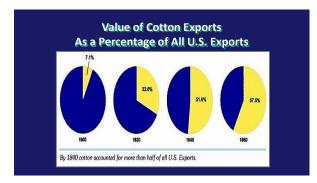












. By 1850, cotton was 50% of our GDP, and a multibillion dollar institution worth more than all the manufacturing and railroad companies combined.



II. The Planter "Aristocracy"

- · South was a planter aristocracy:
 - In 1850 only 1,733 families owned more than 100 slaves:
 - Select group provided political and social leadership
 - · Enjoyed lion's share of southern wealth
 - Educated their children in finest schools
 - Money provided leisure for study, reflection, and statecraft:
 - -Notable: John C. Calhoun (Yale), Jefferson Davis (West Point)
 - -Felt keen sense of obligation to serve

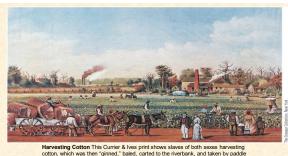
II. The Planter "Aristocracy"

- Dominance by a favored aristocracy was basically undemocratic:
 - · Widened gap between rich and poor
 - Hampered tax-supported public education
 - Idealized feudalism of medieval Europe
- Plantation system shaped lives of southern women:
- Mistresses commanded sizable household staff
- Relationships between mistress and slaves ranged from affectionate to atrocious

WHITE SOCIETY & CULTURE

Defense of Slavery & White Supremacy

- "necessary evil" → "positive good"
- Legal & constitutional
- History
- Religious
- Better than North "wage slaves"
- Black Inferiority
- [Among Southerners] Elevated poor whites



"Hauling the Whole Week's Pickings" William Henry Brown, 1842



Slaves Working in a Sugar-Boiling House, 1823



II. The Planter "Aristocracy" (cont.)

- Some mistresses showed tender regard for their bondwomen
- Some slave women took pride in status as "members" of household
- But slavery strained bonds of womanhood
- Virtually no slaveholding women believed in abolition

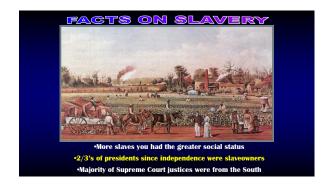
III. Slaves of the Slave System

- · Plantation life:
 - Plantation agriculture worrisome, distasteful, and sordid because despoiled good earth
 - · Quick profit led to excessive cultivation or "land butchery"
 - Caused population to leave for West and Northwest
 - Economic structure of South became increasingly monopolistic:
 - · Big got bigger and small smaller

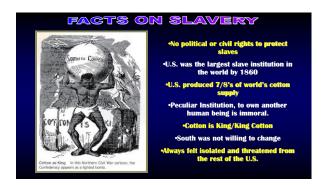
III. Slaves of the Slave System (cont.)

- Financial instability of plantation system:
 - Over-speculation in land and slaves
 - Slaves represented heavy investment of capital
 - An entire slave quarter might be wiped out by disease
- Dominance by King Cotton led to dangerous dependence on one-crop economy:
 - · Prices at mercy of world conditions
 - System discouraged healthy diversification
- -Southern planters resented North growing fat at their expense

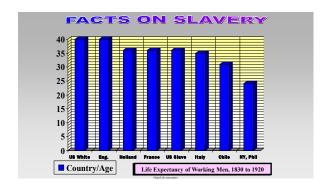








FACTS ON OLAVERY							
Year ²	Total of Blacks in U.S. Population	Total of Free Blacks in U.S. Population	Percent of Free Blacks in Total Black Population	Percent of Slaves in the Total Black Population			
1790	757,208	59,527	7.9%	92.1%			
1800	1,002,037	108,435	10.8	89.2			
1810	1.377,808	186,446	13.5	86.5			
1820	1,771,656	233,634	13.2	86.8			
1830	2,328,642	319,599	13.7	86.3			
1840	2,873,648	386,293	13.4	86.6			
1850	3,638,808	434,495	11.9	88.1			
1860	4,441,830	488,070	11.0	89.0			



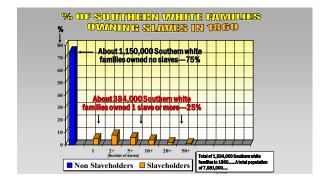


III. Slaves of the Slave System (cont.)

- -Cotton King repelled large-scale European immigration:
- Immigrants added to manpower and wealth of North
- 1860 only 4.4 % of southern population was foreignborn as compared to 18.7% for North
- German & Irish immigration to South discouraged by:
 - -competition with slave labor
 - -high cost of fertile land
 - -European ignorance of cotton farming
- · South became most Anglo-Saxon part of U.S.A.

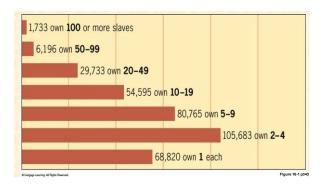
IV. The White Majority

- · Southern life:
 - Only handful of southern whites lived in Grecian-pillared mansions
 - Only 1,733 families owned a hundred or more slaves (see Figure 16.1)
 - · Most slave owners had fewer than ten slaves
 - Smaller slave owners didn't own majority of slaves, but were majority of masters
 - These lesser masters were typically small farmers

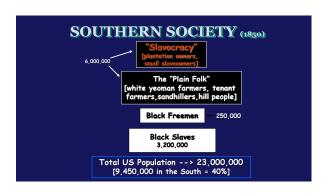








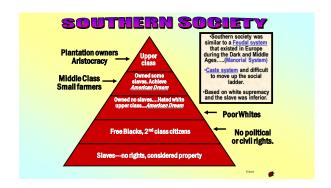
IV. The White Majority (cont.) Beneath slave owners was great body of whites who owned no slaves (see Maps 16.1 and 16.2) Only ¼ of white southerners owned slaves or belonged to slave owning family Most whites were subsistence food farmers not part of cotton export economy Whites without slaves had no direct economic stake in slavery, yet they defended slave system: Hoped to buy slaves ("American dream" of upper mobility) Took pride in presumed racial superiority Logic of economics joined with illogic of racism to buttress slave system



Southern Population MARHANO DESTRUCT SOUTH STATE OF THE MACK HAD A VEY want sander. I not than one percentage of fire Macks had a very want sandered percentage of fire Macks had a very want sandered. I not than one percentage of fire Macks had a very want sandered. I not than one percentage of fire Macks had a very want sandered. I not than one percentage of fire Macks had a very want sandered. I not than one percentage of fire Macks had a very want sandered. I not than one percentage of fire Macks had a very want sandered.

How will the ratio of White to Black Populations affect these states in the future?

How will this shape state histories going forward?



• WHITE SOCIETY & CULTURE • Why did many Southerners support the slave system when 75% didn't own slaves? | Southern Yeoman farmer's home | Plantation House, St. Mary's, MD (1830s)



A Real Georgia Plantation



Scarlet and Mammie (Hollywood Again!)





Hattle McDaniel was the first African American to win an Academy Award. She won the Oscar for Best Supporting Actress for her role in "Gone with the Wind" in 1940. This achievement took place at the 12th Academy Awards ceremony. Despite this historic win. McDaniel faced segregation and was seated at a segregated table during the ceremony.

A Real Mammie & Her Charge







Note how your textbook deliberately (?) uses the word "bondswoman

The Southern "Belle"





"Southern belie" (from French belie 'beautiful') is a colloquialism for a debutante or other fashionable young woman of European heritage in the planter class of the Antebellum South, particularly as a romantic counterpart to the Southern gentleman.

IV. The White Majority (cont.)

- In special category of white southerners were mountain whites:
 - -Independent small farmers who lived in valleys of Appalachian range (Hill Billys)
 - -Had little in common with whites of flatlands
 - -When war came, mountain whites constituted vitally important peninsula of Unionism
 - -Played significant role in crippling Confederacy
 - -After Civil War, they were only concentrated Republican strength in solid Democratic South

V. Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters

South's free blacks:

- Numbered about 250,000 by 1860:
 - Some in upper South traced emancipation to idealism of Revolutionary days
 - In lower South, many were mulattoes
 - Some purchased their freedom
 - · Many owned property
 - Were a kind of "third race:"
 - -Banned from certain occupations
 - Vulnerable to being hijacked into slavery



Even free blacks in the northern states were at risk of being enslaved. Solomon Northrup (1808–1863?), shown on the right, was a musician living in upstate New York in 1841, when he was kidnapped by slave traders, shipped to New Orleans, and sold at auction. He spent twelve years enslaved on a Louisiana plantation. Regaining his freedom at last, he wrote a sensational account of his experience, "Twelve Years a Slave," published in 1853. More than 150 years later the book became the basis for a major Hollywood film.



V. Free Blacks: Slaves Without Masters (cont.)

- Hostile northern climate for free blacks (250,000):
 - Several states forbade their entrance
 - · Most denied them right to vote
 - Some barred them from public schools
 - Northern blacks were particularly hated by Irish immigrants because two groups competed for menial jobs
 - Antiblack feelings in ways stronger in North than in South:
 - Southern whites liked blacks as individuals, but despised race
 - Northern whites professed to like race, but disliked individual blacks.



Bob Wilkinson, Barber in St. Louis, Missouri, for more than twenty-five years Missouri Historical Society, colorized by Nick

VI. Plantation Slavery

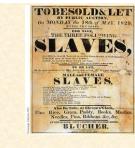
- In South of 1860, nearly four million black slaves:
 - Legal importation of African slaves into America ended in 1808 by Congress
 - Britain abolished slave trade in 1807:
 - Royal Navy's **West African Squadron** seized hundreds of slave ships and freed thousands of captives
 - Yet three million enslaved Africans still shipped to Brazil and West Indies after 1807

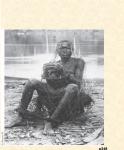
VI. Plantation Slavery (cont.)

- · Slavery:
 - In U.S.A., price of "black ivory" so high before Civil War that thousands of blacks smuggled into South
 - Ironically, suppression of international slave trade fostered growth of vigorous internal slave trade
 - Most of increase in U.S. slave population came from natural reproduction:
 - Distinguished North American slavery from slavery in more disease-ridden southerly New World societies

VI. Plantation Slavery (cont.)

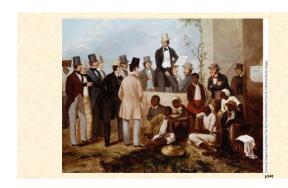
- Planters regarded slaves as investments:
 - -Worth \$2 billion in capital by 1860
 - -Slaves were primary form of wealth in South:
 - Cared for as any asset is cared for by prudent capitalist
 - · Sometimes spared dangerous work
 - Slavery was profitable, even though it hobbled economic development of region as a whole











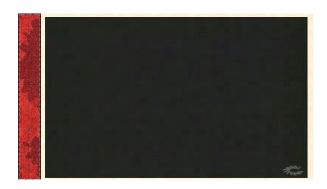
VI. Plantation Slavery (cont.) • Breeding of slaves not openly encouraged, but: —Women who bore thirteen or fourteen babies were

- —Women who bore thirteen or fourteen babies were prized as "rattlin' good breeders"
- White masters forced their attentions on female slaves fathering sizable mulatto population, most of which remained enslaved
- Slave auctions were brutal sights:
 - -Most revolting aspects of slavery
 - -Families separated with distressing frequency
 - -Slavery's greatest psychological horror
 - -Abolitionists decried practice
 - -Harriet Beecher Stowe 1852 novel: Uncle Tom's Cabin

VII. Life Under the Lash

- How did slaves actually live?
 - Conditions varied greatly:
 - Slavery meant hard work, ignorance, and oppression
 - No political rights; minimal protection
 - Protection laws difficult to enforce since slaves forbidden to
 - testify in court or to have marriages legally recognized
 - Floggings were common
 - Strong-willed slaves sometimes sent to breakers who lavishly used lash





Slave Auction Notice, 1823



Slave Auction: Charleston, sc-1856



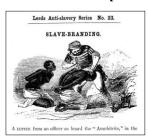
Slave Accoutrements



Slave Master Brands



Anti-Slave Pamphlet



Slave Accoutrements





Slave leg irons





A Slave Family



The Ledger of John White

- Matilda Selby, 9, \$400.00 sold to Mr. Covington, St. Louis, \$425.00
- Brooks Selby, 19, \$750.00 Left at Home Crazy
- Fred McAfee, 22, \$800.00 Sold to Pepidal, Donaldsonville, \$1200.00
- Howard Barnett, 25, \$750.00 Ranaway. Sold out of jail, \$540.00
- Harriett Barnett, 17, \$550.00 Sold to Davenport and Jones, Lafourche, \$900.00

VII. Life Under the Lash (cont.)

- Savage beatings made sullen laborers & hurt resale values
- Typical master had too much money invested in slaves to beat them bloody on regular basis
- Blacks concentrated in **black belt** of Deep South by 1860:
 - Stretched from South Carolina to Georgia into new southwest: Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana
 - Frontier life was harsh

VII. Life Under the Lash (cont.)

Black living:

- Most lived on large plantations of 20 or more slaves
- In some Deep South areas, blacks 75% of population
- Family life relatively stable, and distinctive African American slave culture developed
- Forced separations more common on smaller plantations or in Upper South
- Slaves managed to sustain family life
- Most slave children raised in two-parent households

SLAVERY & SLAVE CULTURE

Slave Life & Culture

- Black Christianity [Baptists or Methodists]:
 - * more emotional worship services; negro spirituals.
- Nuclear family with extended kin links, where possible.
- Importance of music in their lives. [esp.spirituals].
- Slave codes
- Resistance
 - Nat Turner"Sambo"











VII. Life Under the Lash (cont.)

- · Family identity continued across generations
- Displayed African culture when avoided marriage between first cousins, unlike frequent intermarriage of close relatives among planter aristocracy
- African roots visible in slaves' religion:
 - -Many Christianized during Second Great Awakening
 - Yet they molded their own distinctive religious forms that mixed Christian and African elements
 - African practice of responsorial style of preaching—give and take between caller and dancers



VIII. The Burdens of Bondage

- · Slavery intolerably degrading to victims:
 - Deprived of dignity and sense of responsibility that come from independence and right to make choices
 - Denied an education
 - Victims of "peculiar institution" devised ways to protest:
 - -Slowed pace of labor to bare minimum
 - -Filched food from "big house"
 - -Pilfered other goods
 - -Sabotaged expensive equipment

VIII. The Burdens of Bondage (cont.)

- Slaves universally pined for freedom:
 - -Many took off as runaways
 - -Others rebelled, though never successfully
 - -1800: armed insurrection led by slave named Gabriel Prosser in Richmond, Virginia—foiled by informers, its leaders hanged
 - -1822: Denmark Vesey, a free black, led rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina; foiled by informers, Vesey & 30 followers hung
 - —1813: Nat Turner, visionary black preacher, led uprising that slaughtered 60 Virginians—Nat Turner's rebellion soon crushed

15.9 The Resurrection of Henry 'Box" Brown, c. 1850 A Virginia husband and slave, Henry Brown worked in a tobacco factory until his wife and children were sold. Brown then resolved to escape, which he accomplished by the ingenious means of mailing himself in a wooden crate—labeled "dry goods" and "handle with care"-to a group of Pennsylvania abolitionists. His bid for freedom worked, and he lived the rest of his days as a free man



VIII. The Burdens of Bondage (cont.)

- Enslaved Africans rebelled aboard
 Spanish slave ship Amistad in 1839
- Slavery also affected southern whites:
 - Fostered brutality of whip, bloodhound, & branding iron
 - Increasingly lived in state of imagined siege, surrounded by potentially rebellious blacks inflamed by abolitionist propaganda from North
 - Such fears bolstered theory of biological racial superiority



IX. Early Abolitionism

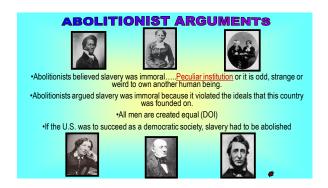
- Inhumanity of "peculiar institution" caused antislavery societies:
 - Abolitionist sentiment first stirred during Revolution, especially among Quakers
 - American Colonization Society (1817):
 - Transport blacks back to Africa
 - 1822 Liberia, on West African coast, established for former slaves
 - Its capital, Monrovia, named after President Monroe
 - 15,000 freed slaves transported over four decades

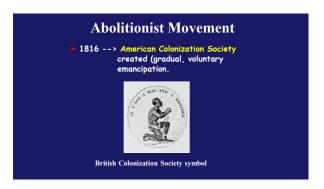
Southern Slavery--> An Aberration?

- 1780s: 1st antislavery society created in Philadelphia.
- By 1804: slavery eliminated from last northern state.
- 1807: the legal termination of the slave trade, enforced by the Royal Navy.
- 1820s: newly indep. Republics of Central & So. America declared their slaves free.
- 1833: slavery abolished throughout the British Empire.
- 1844: slavery abolished in the Fr. colonies.
- 1861: the serfs of Russia were emancipated.

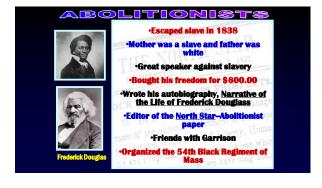


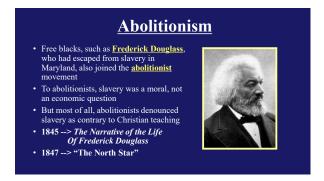


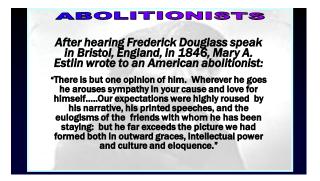


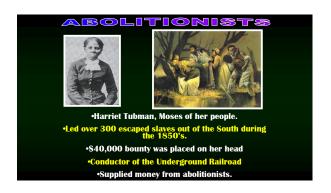




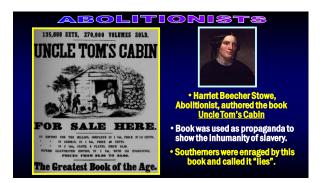






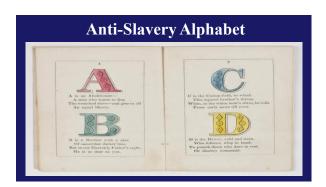


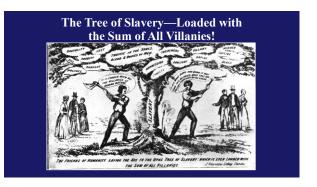




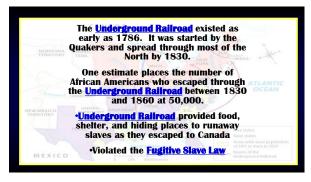
In the closing scenes of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel,
Uncle Tom's brutal master, Simon Legree, orders the
\$1200.00 slave savagely beaten (to death) by two fellow
slaves. Through tears and blood Tom exclaims,

"No! no! no! my soul ain't yours Mas'r! You
haven't bought it-----ye can't buy it! It's been
bought and paid for by One that is able to keep it.
No matter, no mater, you can't harm me!" "I
can't" said Legree, with a sneer; "we'll see---we'll see! Here, Şambo, Quimbo, give this dog
such a breakin' in as he won't get over this
month!"









The Underground Railroad

"Conductor" ==== leader of the escape

"Passengers" ==== escaping slaves

"Tracks" ==== routes

"Trains" ==== farm wagons transporting the escaping slaves

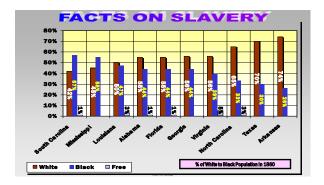
"Depots" ==== safe houses to rest/sleep

STATE CODES AND LAWS

Slave Revolts would lead plantation owners to develop a series of slave laws/codes which restricted the movement of the slaves.

·Slaves were not taught to read or write
·Restricted to the plantation
·Slaves could not congregate after dark
·Slaves could not possess any type of firearm
·A larger slave population than white in some states

Slave owners wanted to keep their slaves ignorant of the outside world because learning about life beyond the plantation could lead to more slave revolts and wanting to escape.



SLAVE CODES OR LAWS

Slave Codes of the State of Georgia, 1848

SEC. I. CAPITAL OFFENSES.

1. Capital crimes when punished with death. The following shall be considered as capital offences, when committed by a slave or free person of color: insurrection, or an attempt to excite it; committing a rape, or attempting it on a free white female; murder of a free white person, or murder of a slave or free person of color, or poisoning of a human being; every and each of these offences shall, on conviction, be punished with death.

SLAVE LAWS

Georgia Slave Code, 1848

2. Punishment of free persons of color for encouraging slaves.

If any free person of color commits the offence of encouraging or enticing away any slave or slaves, for the purpose of, and with the intention to aid and assist such slave or slaves leaving the service of his or their owner or owners, or in going to another state, such person so offending shall, for each and every such offence, on conviction, be confined in the penitentiary at hard labor for one year.

SLAVE LAWS

Georgia Slave Code, 1848

3. Punishment for teaching slaves or free persons of color to read.

If any slave, Negro, or free person of color, or any white person, shall teach any other slave, Negro, or free person of color, to read or write either written or printed characters, the said free person of color or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court.

ARGUMENTS FOR SLAVERY

- Economically profitable
- •Slavery was in the Bible
- •Duty of Southerners to Christianize the slaves,
 Positive Good
- Provided a better life for slaves than in Africa,
 Positive Good
- 5th Amendment legalized and protected slavery because slaves were considered property.





IX. Early Abolitionism (cont.)

- Most blacks had no wish to move to a strange civilization after having become partially Americanized
- By 1860, most southern slaves were native-born African-Americans, with a distinctive history & culture
- Yet colonization appealed to some antislaverites, including Abraham Lincoln, before Civil War

IX. Early

IX. Early Abolitionism (cont.)

- · William Wilberforce:
 - Member of British Parliament & an evangelical Christian reformer ended slavery in West Indies
 - Wilberforce University in Ohio, an African American college, later sent many missionaries to Africa

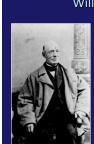


IX. Early Abolitionism (cont.)

- Theodore Dwight Weld:

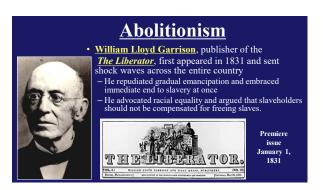
- · Inspired by Second Great Awakening
- Appealed with special power to rural audiences of untutored farmers
- Materially aided by two wealthy and devout New York merchants brothers Arthur and Lewis Tappan They paid his way to Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio
- Expelled with several other students in 1834 for organizing an 18-day debate on slavery
- Weld and his fellow "Lane Rebels" fanned out across Old Northwest preaching antislavery gospel
- Assembled potent propaganda pamphlet, American Slavery as It Is (1839)
- Compelling arguments made it among most effective abolitionist tracts and greatly influenced Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

X. Radical Abolitionism • William Lloyd Garrison: — Inspired by Second Great Awakening — The Liberator—his militantly antislavery newspaper started in 1831: • Under no circumstances would he tolerate poisonous weed of slavery, but would stamp it out, root & branch • American Anti-Slavery Society (1833): — Founders: Garrison, Wendell Phillips



William Lloyd Garrison (1801-1879)

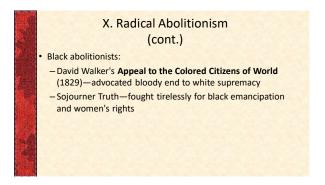
- Slavery & Masonry undermined republican values.
- ■Immediate emancipation with NO compensation.
- Slavery was a moral, not an economic issue.

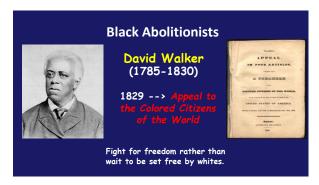




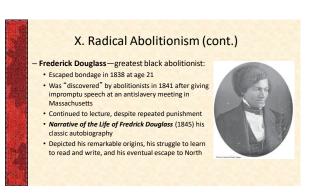
*Through his newspaper, The Liberator, William Lloyd Garrison spoke out against slavery and for the rights of black Americans for 35 years. The tone of the paper was established in the first issue of the paper with Garrison's editorial entitled, "To the Public,"

Garrison, a leader among American abolitionists, delivered his views with great conviction, as well as great foresight. "Posterity," he concluded in the editorial, "will bear testimony that I was right "On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hand of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; -- but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest -- I will not excuse -- I will not excuse -- I will not retreat a single inch -- AND I WILL BE HEARD".

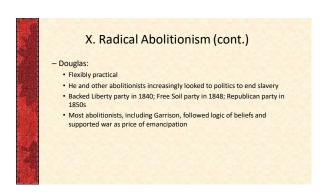




X. Radical Abolitionism (cont.) - Martin Delany: • one of few black leaders who took seriously notion of mass recolonization of Africa • In 1859 visited West Africa's Niger Valley seeking a suitable site for relocation



X. Radical Abolitionism (cont.) • Comparison of Garrison and Douglass: — Garrison: • Stubbornly principled • More interested in his own righteousness than in substance of slavery itself • Repeatedly demanded that "virtuous" North secede from "wicked" South. • Never explained how creation of independent slave republic would end "damning crime" of slavery. • Renouncing politics, he publicly burned a copy of Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell" on July 4, 1854. • Critics charged he was cruelly probing moral wound in America's underbelly, but offered no acceptable balm to ease pain.



XI. The South Lashes Back

- Antislavery sentiment existed in South
- In 1820s, more antislavery societies south of Mason-Dixon line than north of it
- After 1830 southern abolitionism silenced:
 - Virginia legislature debated and defeated various emancipation proposals in 1831-1832:
 - -Marked turning point
 - -Slave states tightened slave codes
 - -Banned emancipation of any kind, voluntary or compensated

XI. The South Lashes Back (cont.)

- Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831:
 - Caused hysteria throughout South
 - Garrison bitterly condemned as terrorist and inciter of murder although he was unconnected with rebellion
 - State of Georgia offered \$5,000 for his arrest and conviction
- Nullification crisis of 1832 further implanted fear in white southern minds
- Jailings, whippings, & lynching greeted rational efforts to discuss slavery problem in South

XI. The South Lashes Back (cont.)

- Proslavery whites responded by launching massive defense of slavery as positive good:
 - Claimed master-slave relationships resembled those of a family
 - Were quick to contrast "happy" lot of their "servants" with overworked northern wage slaves
 - Proslavery arguments widened chasm between South and North

The South Lashes Back

Slave Rebellions in the Antebellum South:

Nat Turner, 1831



1831-1832
Turning Point: Virginia
Legislature Debate

- emancipation proposals
- defeated
- result: tightened slave codes
- result: no emancipation whatsoever voluntary or compensated! It is illegal!

Va Legislature Debate 1831-1832

Thomas Wright

If you wish to speak of economic advantages, I have some facts for you to consider regarding the efficiency of free labor and slave labor. The best estimates are that it takes six slaves to do the work of three free laborers. The slave receives the same support and food whether he works much or little. The slave has every inducement to spare himself as much work as possible without drawing punishment. Free laborers work hard for short periods. This gives them free time to be idle. When idle, the free laborer does not have to be paid. Therefore, free labor is cheaper than slave labor.

In 1800, field hands were selling for \$400 and cotton was 36 cents per pound. Today slaves sell for \$800 to \$1000 and cotton is $11\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound.

One half of the slave owners have fewer than twenty slaves. The economic loss of slaves as property will be more than offset by decreased labor cost and greater productivity.

Emancipation can result in a greater supply of cheap labor that will mean profitable industrial operation. Of course, safeguards must be taken to see that laborers are not exploited or abused.

Va Legislature Debate 1831-1832

Amos Lovejoy

Slaves should be freed but not all at once. As a step toward complete freedom, several practices should change. The power of punishing slaves could be taken from the master and given to a magistrate. The sale of all women could be stopped at once. All slaves could be provided wages rather than using punishment as an incentive.

A second step could involve the complete release of slaves born on certain days periodically. Over a period of years, all slaves could be set free. Such a system has already worked in Mexico, Chile, and Argentina. In no case has there been insurrection and bloodshed as is feared here.

Taking steps toward freeing slaves will lessen the possibility of violence and insurrection.

Va Legislature Debate 1831-1832

James Hammond

In the state of Virginia, there are 470,000 slaves. The aggregate value of the slave population in Virginia in 1830 was \$94,000,000. All of the land and homes were valued at \$206,000,000. Slaves represent one-third of the property. Therefore, slaves should not be freed without just compensation to their owners.

I propose that those slaves normally sold outside this state be sold to the State and colonized elsewhere at the expense of the State.

This proposal will mean that 6,000 slaves would be given their freedom annually and colonized at the expense of the State. This would cost \$2,400,000 annually. This is a modest investment to preserve the economy of the state. If the State cannot afford it, perhaps the federal government could be called upon to compensate owners for their slaves.

Va Legislature Debate 1831-1832

Samuel Holt

The idea of emancipation and relocation as proposed by some sounds good. However, further examination exposes some flaws in this plan. To ask State or Congress to purchase two million slaves at \$400,000,000 is out of the question. This will place far too great a burden upon those taxpayers who have never owned to plan to own slaves. When the government begins to buy slaves, it will cause the price of slaves to go up considerably. This will cause slave owners to encourage their slaves to marry and produce more children, thus compounding the problem.

I ask those who say colonize the slaves: Where? Liberia now has a population of 2,500. At the most, Liberia could handle 500 new residents a year. If only 500 slaves were freed and located annually, in a 25-year period 41,000 more slaves would be born than relocated.

Va Legislature Debate 1831-1832

Thornton Ruffin

I am opposed to emancipation of the slaves until some way can be found to sustain the trade and commerce generated by the cultivation of cotton and tobacco. Two-thirds of the cotton produced in this country is exported. This greatly helps our balance of trade with Europe. Only one-forty-sixth of the remaining agricultural production is exported. At the present time, one-sixth of the blacks in the country are free. They shun the cottonfields. I will favor emancipation of slaves only when we can assure that blacks will remain in the cotton and tobacco labor market. If this cannot be assured, to give the slaves their freedom would ruin the economy of the South and seriously injure the economy of the North and England.

Va Legislature Debate 1831-1832

Stringfellow Holmes

The impact of emancipation upon employment of free laborers and artisans will be devastating. The rate of pay in the North is now much lower than in the South.

Sample Wages:

Average Farmhands Earn Per Month

Daily Wages: Bricklaying

NOLUT CALOUITA	\$10.5
Alabama	21.4
Mississippi	16.6
Indiana	13.7
verage US	14.7

, ,			
Nashville	\$2.50-3.50	\$2.25-2.75	\$1.00-1.50
Lowell	\$1.50-2.00	\$1.50-1.75	\$.75 – 1.00

Va Legislature Debate 1831-1832

Stringfallow Molman

The impact of emancipation upon employment of free laborers and artisans will be devastating. The rate of pay in the North is now much lower than in the South.

If slaves are freed, the impact on the labor market will be devastating. Wages will go down and many will be unemployed. The cost for room and board will probably go up tremendously.

Average room and board per week is now:

- \$2.70 in Louisiana
- 1.30 in Tennessee
- 1.70 in Pennsylvania
- 1.75 in South Carolina
- 2.12 in Massachusetts

Presently, there is no begging, starvation, and unemployment in our state and the South. This will change if slaves are suddenly freed.



XI. The South Lashes Back (cont.)

Controversy increasingly limited free speech:

- Gag Resolution:
 - Pushed through Congress by southerners
 - Required antislavery appeals to be tabled without debate
- Southern whites resented use of mail for abolitionist
 - Congress (1835) ordered southern postmasters to destroy abolitionist material
 - Called on southern states to arrest postmasters who did not comply

XII. The Abolitionist Impact in the North

- Abolitionists, esp. Garrisonians, unpopular in North:
 - Northerners revered Constitution and saw its clauses on slavery as lasting bargain
 - Ideal of Union had deep roots
- North had heavy economic stake in South:
 - Southern planters owed northern bankers & creditors about \$300 million—would be lost if Union dissolved
 - Disruption to slave system might cut off vital supply of cotton to northern mills and thus bring unemployment

XII. The Abolitionist Impact in the North (cont.)

- · Abolitionists often suffered violent attacks.
- They had influenced northern opinion by 1850s:
- Many had come to see South as land of unfree and home of a hateful institution
- Few prepared to abolish slavery outright, but growing number opposed extending it to western territories

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
Section 14-8, p. 323).

15.16 World's Anti-Slavery





