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The Negro in Slavery and Freedom.

Volume one.

The Propaedeutics of the Slavery
System in the American States.

1501-1793.

Let introduction show the necessity for a better understanding of the fundamental causes of slavery as an American economic system, - the foundations of the "Institution", as it developed after the invention of the cotton gin. This can be appreciated only by understanding the moral conditions which made slavery possible in the 16th. and 17th. centuries and which rendered its continuance natural in the 18th., together with the economic conditions which made it a matter of self-interest to the colonizing countries and companies of Europe. We must also realize the length of time which such slavery existed in America, and the slow, gradual process of growth under which it developed in the West Indies and South America and spread to the English Colonies in North America. To lay the foundation for such an understanding is the purpose of this volume.

Chapter One.

The English and European Background.

The Laboring Classes in the 16th., 17th. and 18th. Centuries.

Why was such a thing as slavery possible? Above all, why possible in a country such as ours? The answer involves a consideration of the background of American history.

The necessity for a dependable labor supply for organized industry one of the origins of the English poor laws, indenture and criminal systems. The necessity for labor in colonial possessions extended the use of all such systems and methods of procuring it. The attitude of men who, through inheritance or superior mental endowment, were above the necessity of living by manual labor, toward the less fortunate members of society, was simply part of the period in which they lived. The lower classes were regarded as more or less useful encumbrances, as far as they contributed or could be made to contribute to the well-being of the higher classes,- which, in the estimation of the latter, was the only "general welfare" to be considered. The attitude of the dominant class in the then civilized world was one which regarded with complacency any means whereby a supply of labor might be secured, while that of the laboring classes themselves was one of indifference to the means or the end, so long as neither entailed greater hardships or heavier economic burdens upon their own class.

Discuss: Labor in Eng. and Scotch Mines; in Factories; in Agriculture.- Eng. Legislation; Poor Laws; etc. Examine Parliamentary and other Reports.

After showing in this chapter how morally easy it was to establish negro slavery,- proceed to a consideration of the economic factors which influenced its course.

Chapter Two.

Colonial Labor Problems.

1. Types of Colonies and ~~Motives~~ Motives of Colonizing Powers and Companies.
2. Effect of Soil, Climate and Natural Conditions on Colonial Labor Problems.
3. Nature of the Colonial Product, as Affecting Labor Problems and Conditions,- as Mineral or Agricultural, and Nature of the Latter.
4. Available Adaptable Labor Supply,- as Affecting Labor Problems.
5. Modern Colonial Analogies,- as South Africa, South Pacific Islands, Coolies, W.A.

Let this chapter show the introduction of slave labor into the West Indies, and ease of making a beginning because of negroes already in Spain and Portugal,- but not the development of the slavery system. And the introduction of a labor supply into various other colonies, according to their needs and conditions,- as, e g., the original white settlers in Barbados,- original negro slave labor in N.Y., N.J., etc.; and the modern analogies suggested above, (# 5).

Such general discussions here as that of climate, etc. (# 2) not to take the place of detailed treatment of similar subjects in later chapters, as affecting immediate and particular situations or colonies.

Having led up in this chapter to the introduction of negro slavery, proceed to a consideration of the factors which determined its further course, as: 1, Physiography; 2, Soil Products; 3, Colonial and Mercantile Policy.

Chapter Three.

The Factor of Physiography,-
As Influencing the Course of Slave Labor.

1. Soil: General discription by Colonies and Districts.
2. Climate: Temp.,- Rainfall,- (sug. compn. of West Af. Climate with that of N.Eng. and Sou. Coln's.)
3. Swamp and Marsh Lands: Indicate significance of difference between N.Eng. and N.Y. and Southern Coast Lines Formation. Form bold, high bluff; even Hudson has high banks; South an almost unbroken plain on the coast line,- with numerous bays and rivers,- all of the same character of riparian formation up to the Fall Line.
In the South, the mountains do not come down to the Sea.
4. The Political Economy of Malaria, form ancient colonizing days down to the Panama Canal.
5. This chapter to discuss the physiography of specific colonies and islands,- as distinguished from the general references to the influence of physiography in chapter 2. And to conclude with a summing up of the general relation between physiography and economic development,- with the opinions of modern authorities.

After all,- it sometimes happens that what people believe to be true of a given place, although it may not be so, is for a long time just as important as if it were true.- e.g., the Bermudas in the early days were thought unhealthy for Europeans, and negro slaves were thought necessary on account of the climate. The fact that Bermuda was in reality a natural health resort was not nearly so important as what was believed to be the fact by promoters and adventurers at home.

Chapter Four.

The Character and Adaptability of Soil Products,
As Related to a System of Slave Labor.

1, Sugar; 2, Tobacco; 3, Indigo; 4, Rice; 5, Cotton.

Discuss briefly the use of slave labor in mining,- but as we are concerned with it as related to Agriculture, take up and sketch history and features of the staple crops mainly identified with it.

The Staple and "Cash" Characters of these products; their manner of Cultivation; difference between Agriculture founded on products for Domestic Consumption, and that on "Staple" or Export Crops. Effect of this difference on the economic development of the people; e.g.; the very nature of trade demands the presence of a medium to serve as a basis of traffic; if such medium be furnished as a staple product of the soil, raised in one place and sought for elsewhere,- agriculture will be the dominant industry,- and the industrial organization mainly agricultural; Contra, if there be no such staple product; the medium of exchange in trade will be artificial in character, and manufactures will become the basis of the industrial organization. There is no necessary antagonism between the two, But as manufactures requires a more skilled labor and more intense organization, agriculture will take precedence over it in places where the former finds natural advantages of soil and climate in its favor, and manufactures will at first be handicapped in a region in which natural conditions are favorable to a staple agriculture. Agriculture being a rural, and manufacturing an urban, economy, we see the absence and presence of cities characterizing the two, respectively,- hence also numerous other differences, so natural as to be inevitable, between agricultural and manufacturing communities or countries.

See my notes on Merivale.

Chapter Five.

The Influence of British Colonial Policy and the Factorage System upon American Staple Agriculture.

1. Attitude of Home Government and merchants toward Colonial Affairs; Colonies regarded as appendages of the Mother Country,- to be developed along the lines most beneficial to her and her merchants and factors. English Colonial Policy simply reflected the demands of London, Liverpool and Bristol merchants and factors that they be permitted to control the trade and development of the Colonies.
2. English Laws, Rules of Trade and Factorage System, as related to the development of certain lines of Agricultural Industry in the West Indies,-
3. And the transfer and application of the policy and system there developed to the American Staple Colonies.

My thesis is that it is not possible to demonstrate the precise causal relations between Colonial Policy, the Slave Trade, Staple Crops, The Plantation System, and the Slavery System. They were all inextricably combined, the growth of one accompanying, rather than following the growth of another. They were the inter-dependent parts of a series of colonizing and exploiting movements.

Having traced the influence of the factors of Physiography, of Soil Products, and of Colonial Policy and the Factorage System, - proceed to consider the results, or accompanying developments, of these influences, - as exhibited in the growth of the Plantation and the Slavery Systems in the West Indies and the American Colonies.

Chapter Six.

The Development of the Plantation System of Supplying
 American Agricultural Staples to English
 Colonial Commerce.

1. Origin of "Plantations" (in the narrower sense of the word) See below, #5. Land Grants and policies North and South: The features necessarily incident to a Plantation System,- (absent in Northern non-staple colonies and present in South and West Indies.) See below, #2.
2. Difference between farming and planting systems of agriculture. (Discuss original white labor and small farms and their displacement.)
3. Connect with Physiography, Products and Factorage Systems, (chapters 3, 4 and 5).
4. Cause and Effect of the Plantation System of the Southern Colonies in Respect to Trade, Manufactures etc.,- and general Influence on the Economic Life and Development of those Colonies. (On white labor in Indies and America.)
5. Discuss the term "Plantation", in the original sense,- using Raleigh, Burk, etc.,- in opening this chapter.

From this discussion of the Plantation System, as developed as an integral part of English Colonial Policy and mercantile system of the West Indies and transferred to America,- proceed to consider the development and cause of the Slavery System, as incident to the Plantation System and finally developed,- and then the Slave Trade, upon which both the Plantation and Slavery Systems for a long time depended and which lay at the foundation of each,- and which was bound up also in the English Mercantile and Factorage Systems.

Chapter Seven.

Negro Slave Labor and the Slavery System, As Related to
Staple Agriculture and to British Colonial Policy.

1. Review introduction of negro slaves into Hispaniola, touched on in Chapter 2. Dispersion of negro slaves through West Indies and on Mainland of South America etc.. Development of the Slavery System of Barbados and other English Islands,- and of Brazil and Spanish colonies, and relation between System as developed there and as transferred to Southern Colonies. (? , was it transferred to American colonies, or was it developed in latter just as in West Indies.)
2. Difference between Slave Labor and the Slavery System: Essentials to successful use of Slave Labor,- e.g., the Economics of Primary Production: A, Mental Disposition and Physical Capacity of the Slave: B, Certain Adaptable Types of Employment: C, Efficient Direction. Essentials to Successful Application of a Slavery System,- e.g., The Economics of Ultimate Profit; A, The same requirements as for use of Slave Labor, plus; B, A sufficiently low purchase price and maintenance cost of the Slave; C, A sufficient profit margin between cost of production (including cost and maintenance of labor) and selling price of product.

Whole matter fundamentally simple. The difficult problem is to ascertain the true relation between the cost and production of slave labor. This is true because of the complications of employments of slave labor under a Slavery System,- and hence the difficulty of determining its productive value in specific terms of money. For example,- its use in clearing land and in creating

Chapter Seven. (Con.)

a plantation, (with such accruing money value as it had) in addition to its subsequent cultivation. Taking in new land was as much an employment in many places as cultivating that already in.

The varied possible uses of slave labor, per se, and the limitations and incidents of the Slavery System,- Point of diminishing returns, etc.

3. In tracing the introduction of slavery and the growth of the Slavery System, in the American Colonies, show that the mere introduction here and there of a few negro slaves, for such sporadic uses as might be devised, was in no sense the introduction of a "system" of slave labor. The "Slavery System" did not begin at Jamestown in 1619, any more than the presence of a few negroes in Florida and New Mexico at earlier dates, meant its introduction there. Trace the presence of negroes at various places in American territory; show how they were brought in; the casual character of their use, etc.,- and indicate that the Slavery System, i. e., the system of Organized Slave Labor, never existed at all in New England, New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania,- just as it never really existed in Mexico. Consequently, there was never in those states or places any Slavery System to be abolished. The mere prohibiting of the holding of a few individuals in servitude was an economic bagatelle. It involved not the slightest strain upon the economic or industrial system, because in those places was never in any real sense a part of such system. It amounted to no more, in an economic or moral sense, than would the enactment of a state-wide prohibition Statute in a State in which 100 out of 108 counties had already abolished the saloon through such action.

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4. Slaves and Slave Labor may be said to have been introduced into each of the American Colonies; but the Slavery System was neither transferred to, nor developed in, any but those producing a Staple Crop.
5. General Economic Effect of Development and Extension of Slavery and Plantation Systems,- on industrial life,- on agriculture,- on white labor,- etc., etc., etc.
6. Discuss the "Essentials" indicated under #2, above,- and in this take up such negro characteristics as are necessary to consider in this connection,- including possibly his economic status in Africa. Determine how much of this should be left to the Chapter on "The Domestic Life of the Slave". - Chap. 11.

Chapter Eight.

The Slave Trade.

Having considered the factors which influenced the introduction of negro slaves and the development of the Slavery and Plantation Systems, and having examined the features of the systems thus developed, we shall turn now to a consideration of another phase of the history of slavery,- the slave trade, which for so many years was to the whole system of Slave Labor what the commissary is to the army.

1. In Africa: Early Arab, Ancient, etc.
2. By Spain and Portugal,- introducing negro slaves into Europe before 1492.
3. By Spain and Portugal,- as affected by American discoveries, examine whether those countries really kept free of the traffic, and depended on other Nations for supply.
4. English,- before and after assientos of 1713 and 1740.
5. The share of the American Colonies in the Trade.
6. Features and details of the Trade; the Companies engaged, etc.
7. The Economic Importance in the Colonial and Plantation policy of England; method of carrying it on; The Trade and the Factorage System; How regarded, etc.
8. Abolition of the Trade; Its economic significance, etc.; Methods; Opposition, etc.; etc. Differentiate between abolition of legal Trade and Suppression of the Illegal later.

Consider putting the treatment of the Abolition of the Trade in Volume Two, instead of here; as it was not abolished till 1807 by England, and 1808, by the United States, the discussion may properly be postponed to Volume Two. It would seem at all events that the discussion of the Economic Effects belongs in Volume Two.

Chapter Nine.

The Place of Slave Labor Products in the Economic
Life of England and the Colonies.

Having considered the forces which developed slave labor as part of the established economic system of English commerce and Colonial development, we shall now consider the part which that labor, through its application to Colonial Agriculture, played in the economic life of the Colonies and the Mother Country.

1. Discuss the whole matter of West Indian and American Colonial staple Agricultural exports to England, as compared with other Colonial exports,- with reference to:-
2. American and West Indian Colonial development and welfare, and:-
3. The wealth created by the two classes of Colonial exports,- (Agricultural Staples and Non-staples, etc.) respectively, for England and English Merchants and Factors.

Just as later we shall consider at end of Volume Two, the part of slave products in the upbuilding of the non-slaveholding states of the Union.

4. This chapter probably statistical to considerable extent,- though discussing relative advantages of slave labor to the grower and dealer in Agricultural staples grown by slave labor; e.g., the West Indian and Southern Planter; and the English Factor and the Slave Trading Companies and their Agents.

Chapter Ten.

Slavery in the Non-Staple Producing Colonies.

Having covered the fundamentals of Slavery as an Economic System in the West Indies and the American Staple Colonies, take up in this chapter the entire subject of slavery in the Non-Staple Colonies,- New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Re-emphasize the fact that no such thing as a system of organized slave labor, or industries dependent upon such labor, ever existed in those Colonies. Slaves were carried there in the early days, when labor was scarce everywhere, and negro slave labor was thought to be as well adapted to their needs as to those of the Staple Colonies. But slave labor was soon supplanted by that of white immigrants and servants,- and those colonies were spared the tremendous economic burden of training raw savages for a place in their industrial order. Their chief economic interest in slavery was in two directions:- during the period of this volume it was in the slave carrying trade; and in that of volume two, in the conversion of the raw products of slave labor which were furnished by the cotton of the Staple Colonies.

As slavery in those Colonies amounted to nothing after 1795, this Chapter will cover its entire economic history in them.

Chapter Eleven.

The Domestic Life of the Negro Under Colonial Slavery.

1. Discuss the negro in Africa; Brief.- (See sec. 6, chap. 7.)
2. In Spain and Portugal, and in Spanish and Portuguese America; Gen'l.
3. In England, and in British West Indies; General.
4. In the British Continental Colonies,- with more regard to such details as:
 - A. Plantation and City Control; Punishments; Hours of Labor; Employment of Women and Children; etc., etc.
 - B. Food; Housing; Water Supply; Medical Attention; etc., etc.
 - C. Religious Life; Amusements; Holidays; Education; Marriage; Illicit Relations; etc., etc.
 - D. Privileges and Restrictions; Mainly Economic Restrictions, but also touch Social and Political Aspects.
 - E. Parallels and Analogies between the General Conditions and Life of the Slave in the above countries and colonies and the Condition and Life of the white peasant classes and laboring people of the same places and period. How far was the negro's condition and treatment due to his race and how far was it simply the condition and treatment of the class to which the race belonged? Many instructive comparisons and suggestions to be found in the lot of the English, Scotch, Irish and Colonial laboring classes.

Determine how far to consider Slave Laws here (especially under D above) or whether to simply refer to them and include more extended discussion of "Privileges and Restrictions" in Chapter on Slave Laws.

Chapter Twelve.

Colonial Slave Laws.

Legislation, Ordinances, and Regulations concerning slaves in the Spanish, Portuguese, and English Colonies,- and in the American Continental Colonies-

Covering Mainly the:-

1. Economic Aspect of Slave Life and Control,- but also
2. The Social and Domestic,- With
3. A comparison of similar Legislation for White Laboring Classes in England and America.

See note to chapter 11.

Chapter Thirteen.

The Free Negro and the Mulatto During
the Colonial Era.

A General Survey of the position of this class,- who have always formed a connecting link between Slavery and Freedom,- In Spain and the West Indies,- Including the matter of:-

Racial Intermingling, and the Economic Importance of the Mulatto in any consideration of the history of the Negro.

Chapter Fourteen.

The Economic Status of Slavery at the End
of the Revolutionary Period.A Summary of the History of Negro Slavery in America
Down to the Invention of the Cotton Gin.

1. The Economic Position of Slavery and of the Negro in the West Indies and South America.
2. In the Staple and Non-Staple Colonies of North America.
3. The Relative Economic Position of the Staple and Non-Staple Colonies, as related to Slavery and as Affected by English Colonial Policy.
4. As Reflected by the Respective development of the two groups of Colonies,- in Agriculture,- Manufactures,- the Growth of Towns,- the Extension of Occupied Areas,- the Increase of White Population by Immigration,- etc., etc.
5. General Attitude of the World and of America toward Slavery as an Institution at this time; and Prospects for its Abolition or Extension.

Appendix A.

Statistical Tables and Exhibits.

1. Table of Important Dates and Events in the History of the Negro in this Period.
2. Table of White and Negro Population of West Indian Islands, - South America and Mexico, without Per Cents.
3. Tables of Slave, Free Negroes, Total Negroes; White, and Total Population of Counties and Towns with Per Cent, each formed of Total Population, - or possibly per cent slave and free negroes respectively formed of total negroes, and per cent of total negroes formed of total population, - based on Census of 1790, and of course indicating also the per cent of each of the above classes in each State in 1790, and the per cent white each State contained of the total in the thirteen States.
4. If possible the settled areas, in square miles, of each of the States, - 1790, - and if this is found, include the population density, by white, negro and total, of each State.
5. Tables of Exports and Imports of English West Indies, as indicating Value of Slave Labor to Great Britain.
6. Tables of Exports and Imports of each of the American Colonies, - as indicating relative place of Free and Slave Labor Product in the American Colonial Commerce of Great Britain; (Table to indicate Products as by Free and Slave Labor.)
7. Tables showing number of slaveholders in 1790, with number of slaves held, - as number holding 100, 50, 10, etc., etc., if possible. (See if State Censuses will throw any light on this.) and include some data for all available earlier dates than 1790, -

Appendix A. (Con.)

7. as suggested by the figures given for a few Virginia counties in the Lower Norfolk Co. Antiquary. See P's notes.
8. Tables showing number of ships in Slave Trade, where owned, etc.,- in 1790.
9. Tables of number of slaves brought into different Colonies to 1790,- West Indies, South American, and American.
10. Tables of Slave Prices at various dates and places, down to 1790.
11. Tables of Prices of various commodities and products at various dates and places, down to 1790.
12. Physiographic Tables:- i.e., of average annual rainfall, and total precipitation; winter and summer, and average annual temperatures: Area of river basins, - area of so-called swamp lands: average altitude, and highest and lowest of States or areas.

Appendix B.

Maps.

1. Explain in form of shaded or other maps, such of the foregoing tables as may lend themselves to such form of expression,- Density, Distribution, etc. etc.
2. Physiographic Maps of the Southern States,- showing soils, elevation, mountain ranges and altitudes, timber growths, extent of river valleys or basins, (and of alluvial lands) for all important rivers, also rainfall, temperatures, etc. And possibly a shore line map, say back to the fall line,- showing indentations, bays, mouths of streams, nature of works, etc.

Make such maps for each of the Southern States separately, and for the Southern group as a whole,- (that is, for the Colonial group for this volume)- then one map of the other Colonies combined, and place together for comparison. Indicate if practicable the density of slave and white population, 1790, on these maps, to show relation between physiography and slavery.

3. Crop Zone Maps for the Southern Colonies, showing zones or belts of the different prominent agricultural crops, for 1790,- Cane Belt, Rice Belt, Indigo, Grain, Tobacco, Cotton,- or of such crops as were important enough to be indicated in 1790. Indicate if possible the densities of white and slave population in 1790, on these maps,- and show the relation between agricultural conditions and slavery.

Appendix B. (Con.)

4. Maps showing dates and extensions of settlement of Colonies,-
similar to the maps in the Va. State Library.
5. Reprints of such early maps as sufficiently significant, if any.

Bibliography.