

Week 1 – Jill Bunting

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Week 1

Lecture: Intro

Readings: None

We discussed the general themes/logistics for the course. Professor Beckert emphasized that the course would focus on the causes and consequence of capitalism (i.e., why then, why there, what did it impact). I think this theme has been carried through the semesters lectures and might make be an essay topic, such as why did Europe become a colonial power or why did the American Industrial Revolution begin when it did. Using this framing, Beckert said that the course would help us understand the dramatic rise of the US from an economic backwater to a global economic power house in only a few centuries.

Week 2:

Lectures:

Feb. 6: Native American Economics

Feb. 8: The Expansion of Europe

Readings:

Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 1-171

Richard Hakluyt “An Argument for Colonization” (1584)

John Cotton “On the Just Price” (1639)

N.B. My lecture notes are kinda long, but I bolded what I thought was important – you can skim the rest – especially the dates and other numbers

Lectures:

2/6 Native-American Economics

When should our story begin?

- Native Americans: the white settlers’ economy will very much build upon the native American economies –
- e.g. tobacco and corn (Native American in origin). In addition, white settlers traded with the Native Americans.
- Also, natural resources and land were expropriated from the Native Americans

Native Americans

- Before 1500, several NA groups began cultivating agriculture but were varied: **just get an idea of the spread, variety, and number of these native societies**
- At 15th century, the most advanced societies were Aztecs (e.g. astronomy, mathematics)
- In the north were less developed; Hopi; on a smaller scale, they had agricultural economy – irrigation
- In the east; groups sustained themselves with agriculture, hunt/gath, and trade
- Denser pop in gulf and southeast
- Northeast – smaller communities were tied by familial relations; moveable; also grew grains – women did most of agricultural work

- Further north; agriculture played no role in economies; men mostly hunted; women did everything else
- NE (New England)– 70k – 100k Indians before white settlement.
- Economies were fairly advanced: looms to weave textiles (maybe cotton); settled agriculture 3000BCE; architectural (multi-roomed houses of Anasazi, dams, irrigation); extensive trade routes (trans great lakes);
- About 600 autonomous societies before whites
- **All were deeply linked to the ecology of their surroundings**
- Three examples:
- Iroquois: confederacy – pop. 20k-110k; controlled most of north east; hunting fishing and agriculture; corn, beans, squash; cultivation of corn allowed for higher pop.

Densities

- First contact – Dutch trading post 1614 – **fur trading** (beaver fur)
 - Incredible European demand for furs – the trade exploded
 - The Iroquois played the Europeans off each other
 - Europeans needed the Indians; Indians got credit for supplies then they “paid” back with their hunt; if bad hunt – just abandoned debt and moved to another trader
 - Native American cultural networks became the networks of trade
 - The economy of beaver pelts gave the Iroquois significant power
 - Per capita wealth increased; the beaver was a medium by which they could get everything; wealth was not evenly distributed;
 - Iroquois society was disrupted by this trade –
 - Technological disturbance: guns, metal utensils, etc.
 - Fur trade caused hostilities btw internal relations for competition
 - Also beavers were over hunted and caused the Indians to go beyond their own need
- Pacific Northwest: Tlingit, Salish, Chinook, Makah
 - Washington, Oregon, BC
 - No agriculture; heavily on Pacific coast; salmon – lasted entire year
 - Gave many of them time off from food gathering; so very prosperous and economically complex – though, thought of as “lazy”
 - Had class system: “nobility” commoners, and slaves
 - Slaves: captured people and were sometimes traded
 - Labor was highly specialized – hunters, carpenters, artists, song makers

- Permanent communities: had many possessions and established dwellings - longhouses (up to 100ft long)
- Lots of leisure: intricate woodcarving, masks, other art; marked difference from other Indian groups
- **Complex rituals; gift-giving** (poplash?) – chiefs would give or destroyed property/goods; food, carvings, canoes, slaves; great numbers of good were consumed or destroyed –
- This type of gift-giving emphasized that this society could produce more than they needed; but they did not accumulate goods
- **Social status was gained through the destruction of capital (gifts) – The accumulation of social status was of higher priority than the accumulation of capital**

How were they different from contemporary European economies

- Conceptions of property;
- Unit of ownership was group as whole, not individual; private property did exist, **but different**;
- Europeans thought the natives didn't have a concept of property b/c no plow or animals
- But, they did - **Native land rights were "use rights"** – ex) right to hunt or use trail; not absolute property rights as we know today;
 - rights could overlap ex) one could trap beaver, but others would fish
 - a piece of land for exclusive use would be alien to the Indians
- clothing and things made with own hands were considered private property
- bounty of land was owned by the people as a whole
- **Role of gift giving**
- At the center of social relationships; individuals and groups
- **Influence in society was generated not based on accumulation, but by giving things away (social/political capital)**
- Created mutual obligations – people who could not give gifts lost status
- Europeans had to learn this behavior
- Lack of money
- Natives had no abstract medium of exchange; all in goods
- Only after European contact – **wampum** (strings of shells and beads)
- Wampum was more of a communication device (white and purple shell patterns were used to record things); use as currency was only used after contact with Europeans
- Some societies eventually specialized in the sole production of wampum!

European impact was huge

- Disease: more than 2/3 of NA population died by European disease
- Devastated NA economies; 80-90% population did not survive 1st century of European contact; they would never recover
- NA practices were surely affected by global network, ex) beaver trade
- In the long term; Europeans would expropriate wealth of NA
- Seized a lot of land
- Destruction of NA societies; future colonists' agricultural fields, coal lands, grazing land – all taken from NA's
- Developing capitalism was based on the destruction of NA economies

2/8 The Expansion of Europe

Introduction: Why Europe?

- European powers always tried to go by sea to India/China – fabulous riches
- Finally, Portuguese Vasco da Gama sailed to India 1497/98 – around Africa
- Spaniards **1492** – wanted to get there another way to India (shorter) – America was found
- Why did they leave at all? Why not earlier? Why not Incas or Aztecs find Europe? Why not China (very powerful and technologically advanced) go to America or Europe and conquer?
- No one at the time would have guessed:
- Europe was really poor at the time; did not have the most advanced industries, its social structures not easily adaptable to idea of economic growth
- Europe was isolated; trade was limited to Mediterranean and focused narrowly on luxury goods
- Chinese and Indians had very little interest in European goods/products; but Europe really had interest in Asian goods – gold/silver in return for spices, silk, cotton cloth
- 15th cent; **international contacts increased suddenly:**
- Once this interconnectedness expanded, the expansion of Europe itself created the conditions which allowed Europe to expand more
- **Economic dominance of Europe was imbedded in ability of Europeans to dramatically shift global networks (trade)**
- Before – Indians/Arabs dominated trade; then Europe dominated and controlled Asia
- New international division of labor emerged: Global division of labor
- Colonies, Baltic, etc called on for **primary resources**
- Europeans were called upon to **create new economic institutions/systems**

- Improved techniques of **capital** use
- Re-introduced **chattel slavery** on the global scale

Decline of Feudalism: gave rise to **powerful and large states**: need more capital - want economic modernization

- States now Intervened ever more in economic affairs

Mercantilism: form of economic policy that aimed at creating self-sufficient commercial systems; independence from other markets; secure colonies for raw materials, markets to export to, labor; gold/silver

Renaissance:

- Economic improvements
- Food production up – Population up – production up
- Large nation states with large ruling classes –
- Technology was also improving
- Capital was increasing;

Social and economic changes within Europe

- **New forms of social inequality**
- Living conditions: majority were peasants:
- Life got worse; farms got smaller and smaller – went to towns and cities
- Need new ways of living
- Increase in paupers, vagrants and bandits
- **Available for “outsourcing”**
- Lots of wealthy people too (getting large)
- Gained access to greater resources
- Rising status of merchant class
- Demand of merchants promoted industry and trade (consumed a lot) wanted silks, clothes, wine, etc
- **Wealth provided capital** for new enterprise, industry, exploration, etc

Changes in attitudes about wealth

Change from patronage to “pursuit of profit”

- European societies used to be structured along feudal lines: very rigid
- Few were very rich; vast majority were very poor
- However, there was deference; and to be content with their station in life; upper classes owe the lower classes a way of living – shouldn’t want to accumulate wealth – patronage; Christian teaching
- Ex) Merchants could only charge “just price”
- Shouldn’t take advantage to make profit

- Economy was strictly regulated; labor was also strict; discouraged profit making and/or free consumption
- New beliefs:
- Now merchants wrote “**in name of God and profit**”
- Gradually, **justified accumulation of wealth** –
- People owned others nothing except money owed
- Philosophical foundations for capitalist, market-driven economy emerged

Shift of the centers of economic power and the emergence of **strong nation-states**

- Used to be the Mediterranean and Italian city-states
- shifted to Portugal and Spain, then Netherlands, England, etc
- Became more **Atlantic trade**, from Mediterranean trade
- Large, integrated nation-states had huge advantage over city-states
- Italian cities were not large enough
- E.g. Spain funded the expedition to find new world
- **Formation of modern states and emergence of capitalism went hand in hand**

Institutional innovations, including **joint-stock companies and slavery**

- Businesses arose for people to fund other institutions on other side of world
- Colonization was expensive!
- Raising this kind of money needed **new financial arrangements** and government organization
- Joint-stock company
- Large number of investors could pool their resources for a single goal
- Other kinds of hedging: states and wealthy merchants could do the same
- Credit, Commercial partnerships, Insurance, banking, and accounting emerged
- **Slavery**
- Slaves made it profitable to extract resources from new world
- Sugar, silver, tobacco

**** You can skim these next sections if you want – except maybe Jamestown****

Spanish expansion

- Consolidation of Spanish crown’s rule over Iberian states – expensive!
- Needed more money; tried to tighten on farmers – social problems
- The East seemed to promise fabulous riches: but couldn’t get there – there were established powers in Italy, and the Ottomans were in the way (overland route)
- Tried to look for different ways (sea route) – Columbus
- The Spanish were not looking to build empire, but more trade routes, and perhaps to plunder gold/silver

- Took them less than 50 years to conquer the new world; extracted more than 180 tons of gold 16k tons of silver – huge!
- Melted Indian possessions, then mined from streams and silver mines:
- Indian slaves died out; then African slaves came
- Rapid inflation in Spain (wealth) – caused its crumble
- Textile industry collapsed
- When silver mines failed, economy crumbled
- However, they also introduced plantation agriculture – sugar, diamonds, tobacco

French expansion

- When other countries saw this wealth, they wanted to get it too
- Modestly, came to the N. America – to catch fish;
- Began to trade beaver skins; eventually permanent settlements

Dutch expansion

- Also had permanent settlement
- Sponsored by large companies, not crown
- Dominance of merchants
- Was a republic, dominated by its merchants – not mercantile; but traded with friend and foe alike
- Invented joint-stock company: British copied this in 17th
- America was minor for the Dutch
- But new guy traded in furs, @ Ft. orange and New Amsterdam
- Dutch were weak; were only based on trade, only 2 mil ppl
- Challenged by rising power on fringe (English)

English expansion

- At first, very poor
- Few colonies at first privately funded were big failures
- After 1603 – real thing started
- By the time they came, all profitable places were taken; no gold in N. America, less ppl, etc
- 1606; granted land: VA co. of London, Va. Co of Plymouth – joint-stock
- Protected by state
- Protected by tariffs and Navy
- London co. established **Jamestown** 1607
 - “No food, all profit” attitude almost destroyed the colony
 - But, Tobacco made the expedition economically viable
 - 1620 – already 40k lbs exported, 1630 1.5 mil lbs

- Changes in labor system also made it economically viable
- Granted new people who came free land – nice to poor at home
- This guaranteed emergence of self-sustaining European population
- English Colonies were not only source of raw materials/gold, but also developed as markets for goods

Conclusion

- Global world in 16th century was direct outcome of emergence of European societies

Reading: William Cronon, *Changes in the Land* 1-171

Chapter One: The view from Walden

- The first arrivals in the New world did not face a virgin wilderness that had been uninfluenced by human hands – the NA (native Americans) were there and DID modify/have a relationship with the land
- Cronon describes the methodology and common pitfalls when gathering data
- The instability of human relations with the environment can bring about ecological change

Landscape and Patchwork

- Europeans saw this New World in terms of “merchantable commodities”
- Fish, furs, timber
- Each item/member of an ecosystem is treated as isolated, extractable unit
- Initial view that New England was abundant with plant and animal life (early 1600s)
- Boundaries of land were not clearly defined – but more of a random “patchwork”
- But Europeans’ view was to more clearly systematize it and impose a more regular pattern
- Europeans were amazed that the seeming poverty of NA

Seasons of Want and Plenty

- “Poverty” the NA
- Their lives hinged on mobility – some adopted agriculture, but still relied heavily on the “natural” produce of the land
- NA were willing to go hungry – Europeans did not understand this – maintained ecological stability
- Disillusion of the original vision of abundance and the bountiful life
- Agriculture
- European monoculture – single crop fields – exhausted the soil quickly – cleared new land for planting and a little bit of fertilization

- Indian mounds – planted many crops together – exhausted slower, and had habit of leaving the mounds “fallow” to recover
- Burning –
- Indians frequently burned the underbrush in the forest to facilitate movement, drive game for hunting, etc
- Also cleared land by burning the trees – moved semi-frequently to new fields and reduced the overall ecological footprint they made
- “edge effect” – created meadows and grassy areas on the edge of forests and supported denser populations of animals there
- This is evidence of Indian “husbandry” and perhaps a conscious manipulation of the ecology
- Division of labor –
- Indian women did the farming; men hunted; European men farmed and thought the Indian men as lazy

Bounding the Land

- European idea of “Improvement” – have to fence and plow the land
- Acted as a justification to expropriate Indian land
- Thought private ownership was the best and most productive use of the land
- Indian attitudes toward possession of land
- Land was owned by whole tribe – had “useage” rights which could overlap
- Very distinct idea of territory
- How capitalist?
- Most early towns were about subsistence and local markets
- But emerging idea of global markets, the commodification of the ecology, and pursuit of profit tend towards capitalism

Commodities of the Hunt

- Plague and disruption of Indian society
- Furs – trade exploded and changed Indian social networks
- Gift-giving and wampum (explained earlier)
- Trade and prestige
- New European items were collected for prestige
- Collection of wampum also necessary for prestige
- NA Leaders needed this influence in the context of enormous social change and devastation – plague, etc

Taking the Forest

- Timber was an important resource

- Fuel, ships, buildings
- Overuse led to eventual rarity

World of Fields and Fences

- Animals and their upkeep
- Cows and pigs were generally allowed to roam free, but did damage to fields
- Needed fences – development of laws regarding fences and property damage
- Indian relationship
- Acknowledgement of Indian rights to their crops
- Inclusion of NA in colonists' laws regarding fencing and damage by livestock
- Ecological impact
- Transformation of grasses
- Needed to constantly clear land, etc
- Animals greatly increased farm productivity
- Soil exhaustion, drying and erosion, introduction of pests

That wilderness should turn a mart – just a conclusion

Richard Hakluyt “An Argument for Colonization” (1584)

An English nobleman arguing for the colonization of N.America

raw materials would be available for the British – especially timber for the Navy

would be a way of limiting Spanish influence overseas

send vagrants and beggars there – make them productive and solve a social problem at home

religious purpose – to spread the gospel (Anglican)

train the young people for war

John Cotton “On the Just Price” (1639)

A minister summarizing a trial against a merchant who charged more than was “just”

- prevalence of idea of “social responsibility”
- do not seek profit, can't raise prices whenever he wants, can't take advantage of others in this manner
- importance of religion in this social belief

Saltwater Slavery

Smallwood's story is animated by deep research and gives us a startlingly graphic experience of the slave trade from the vantage point of the slaves themselves. Ultimately, *Saltwater Slavery* details how African people were transformed into Atlantic commodities in the process.

She begins her narrative on the shores of seventeenth-century Africa, tracing how the trade in human bodies came to define the life of the Gold Coast. Smallwood provides accounts of the ports and stone fortresses where African captives were held and prepared, and then through the Middle Passage itself. In extraordinary detail, we witness these men and women cramped in the holds of ships, gasping for air, and trying to make sense of an unfamiliar sea and an unimaginable destination. Arriving in America, we see how these new migrants enter the market for laboring bodies, and struggle to reconstruct their social identities in the New World.

Throughout, Smallwood examines how the people at the center of her story--merchant capitalists, sailors, and slaves--made sense of the bloody process in which they were joined. The result is both a remarkable transatlantic view of the culture of enslavement, and a painful, intimate vision of the bloody, daily business of the slave trade.

She begins with an exploration of means through which we may gather information about the Gold Coast slave trade, namely quantitative accounts like ledgers, (dealing with numbers may have made it easier to deal with or discuss this atrocity) and textual accounts. The commodification of these captives is considered. Initially, gold was a motivation in much of this early trade, but as a demand for labor in the Caribbean and the new English colonies grew, the Gold Coast became the major source of African slaves in most Atlantic markets. Smallwood also gives an explanation of the cultures and relationships of the different tribes who occupied this territory.

Smallwood also describes the hardships that slaves went through between their capture and their arrival to the New World (or their ultimate destination) and how this impacted their transformation from an independent human being to a dehumanized, marketable unit of labor.

They were often put in shackles (when there wasn't a shortage of iron) and were kept in crowded, unventilated spaces and given very scant rations. The "social death" of a slave extended also to his or her kin, who had a metaphysical relationship with them such that once a captured kinsman was out of sight, he/she was never out of mind.

During the passage itself, the conditions were horrific. Merchants tried to crowd as many slaves below the decks of their ships as they could possibly fit and there was little ventilation and often little food, as captains felt that they couldn't spare the room necessary for bringing adequate food on board. Female slaves were considered more valuable than male in that they were easier to obtain and dispose of and posed a smaller security threat. Women and men were separated on

board. Smallwood describes the specific example of the *Edgar* and how lack of adequate rations or room and the spread of disease could result in disaster and tragedy.

Ethnic composition of captives on the ships was hardly uniform, and members of different tribes were thrown together haphazardly, but the intimacy of being shackled together for so long and sharing the same incredible terror changed slaves into “disaggregated lots”, stripped of their dignity and cultural identity. Former slave Olaudah Equiano ironically referred to a slave ship as a “hollow place” in that it was a place characterized by its many lacks. IT was not merely a place of brutality and death but also the site of incredible displacement for the Africans who were used to regulating their lives by natural cycles and then could not see land or even the sky. Such cycles had agricultural and religious significance as well. One way merchants kept an account of the journey was an account of the “mortality” and this was done in a careless, unfeeling manner. Death of a slave on a slave ship meant in some African cultures an unfulfilled voyage to the grave and precluded them from eternal life. It was also traumatic for the survivors, who wondered who was next and why not them. Smallwood argues that this treatment of slaves was the worst, as human beings morphed into property and were not able “to fully die.”

Selling slaves in American markets was tricky. The costs of transporting them were high, but slaves who had been weakened by such journeys were less desirable as units of labor. Many were sick and unfit to work, but all were sold. The weakest among them were known as “the refuse”. African slaves, unlike immigrants, had no way of reconnecting with their homeland and their past through letters or return visits, as they had no practical means or ability to indulge in either. They were plunged into a dangerous life in a land where they were vulnerable to diseases they had never been exposed to before. Still, they began to get stronger and start to form their own collective identity with their own language and traditions. They also tried to construct a history of the “middle passage” from the Gold Coast.

Other Readings:

Fitzhugh, William “Letter to Doctor Ralph Smith” *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World 1676-1701*

This letter was written to by William Fitzhugh (a large successful planter in VA) to Ralph Smith who was a physician, Virginia landowner, merchant and also brother in law to Fitzhugh. In the letter Fitzhugh describes his property for possibly use in negotiating or selling. It is a long description which includes the following: 1000 acres, seven tenths wooded and the remainder fertile arable land, nearby orchard of 2500 apple trees, 29 slaves, all necessary houses, fences,

and livestock, henhouse, stable, kitchen, garden, cattle, hogs, sheep, horses, household servants, and two storehouses of food and textiles and farm equipment. This was considered a typical plantation of the period.

Beekman, Gerald G. “Letters,” The Beekman Mercantile Papers 1746-1799

Gerald Beekman was a merchant and these letters depict his deal making- a lot of quantities and talk of insurance

St. John de Crevecoeur, J. Hector, “What is an American,” “Description of Charlestown,” “Reflections on Negro Slavery,” “Horrid Treatment of a Negro Slave,” Letters from an American Farmer

What is an American?

This text attempts to describe the underlying characteristics of what it means to be an American: modern society, tillers of the earth, each person works for himself, religious, FREE, mixture of English Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes, poor of Europe, *his labor founded on self interest*, new man, new ideas, new opinions, bold and enterprising

Description of Charlestown:

- Describes the town as a “display of luxury”
- Three principal classes of inhabitants are lawyers, planters, and merchants
- “here the horrors of slavery, the hardship of incessant toils, are unseen”

Reflections on Negro Slavery

- this text describes a “great contrast” between the gay Capital [Charlestown] and the cracks of the whip urging excessive labor
- it then goes on to describe the horrors of slavery: lack of humanity, physical trauma, drudge day after day; no time to “tenderly rear” offspring so they must bring infants into the field

Horrid Treatment of a Negro Slave

- Here the author relies primarily on a scene to capture the horror of slavery: “I perceived a negro, suspended in the cage and left there to expire! The birds had already picked out his eyes”.
- “humanity herself would have recoiled with horror

- At the plantation house, the author was told that this treatment occurs because “the laws of self-preservation rendered such executions necessary.”

Adam Rothman, Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South, Preface, 1-117, Epilogue

Preface

(1) Why did slavery expand in the early national United States?

- (a) Slavery expanded for 50 years after the American Revolution
- (b) Six new slave states joined the Union during the period--Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri
- (c) 1820s US becomes major producer of slave-grown commodities
- (d) Involuntary transportation of slaves to new cotton and sugar plantations in SW

Chapter 1: Jefferson's Horizon

(1) Jefferson recognized that slavery was problematic, but thought it would eventually disappear

- (a) Belief in North that slavery was an obstacle to progress, undermined virtue of people and endangered national security
- (2) Jefferson ignored powerful demographic, economic, and political circumstances that strengthened slaveowners' power

- (a) Demographics: 1790, 15% of US population slaves
- (b) Economic: The crucial export sectors of the South [tobacco = upper South; rice and indigo = lower South] depended on the labor of slaves and accounted for almost half of the value of all exports from the US in 1790

- (c) Political: Slaveowners dominated national government from the beginning
- (3) White settlers in KY, TN, GA saw two big threats to the progress of the southern frontier
- (a) Prospect of war with Cherokee and Creek Indians; slaves could be victims of attacks; slaves could join attackers, North busy with Midwest Indians

- (b) Lack of navigation rights down Mississippi River; Spain controlled New Orleans port making transportation of commodities in West difficult; problem changed with Pinckney's Treaty which granted citizens of US right of navigation on Mississippi River, 3 year privilege of landing and transferring cargoes at New Orleans without paying custom duties; also changed with Louisiana Purchase doubling US lands

(4) Territorial expansion in the early republic raised the question of slavery in a new context

- (a) Northwest Ordinance in 1787 prohibited slavery in federal territory north of the Ohio River
- (b) Prohibition of importation of foreign slaves
- (c) Regulation of interstate movement of slaves

(d) These regulations drew a stark contrast between slave trading and slaveholding; Views that the Atlantic slave trade was immoral but that already owned slaves were part of the American plantation

(5) Protection against slave rebellion

(6) Jeffersonian Republicans advocated "diffusionism" prohibiting the importation of foreign slaves into the new southwestern territories while allowing slaveowners from the original states to carry their slaves there, hope that it would diminish growing strength of slave population and set the stage for gradual abolition; a way to get slaves to new Louisiana territory without increasing the total population of slaves bridging the gap between extensionists and restrictionists

(7) Some argued that owning slaves should be protected because of property rights

(8) Territorial expansion tragically dovetailed with new opportunities for slaveowners to profit from slavery in the region that became the Deep South, where two distinct but overlapping economies based on slave labor arose between 1790 and 1812 (cotton, and sugar down near New Orleans and along Mississippi River)

Chapter 2: Civilizing the Cotton Frontier

(1) Federal government takes large role in disbursement of Western land, settling disputes and controlling a land market

(2) Market exchange was instrumental to American expansion, not conquest, even partook in trade with Indians (land for other necessities)

(3) Slow progress of surveyors led to problems with squatters who already settled on land not ready for sale

(4) The civilization of the Deep South depended on public officials who faced considerable challenges

(5) Public land cheap but not free, \$2 an acre, system favored the wealthy, congress rejected proposals to donate land to settlers because public lands were too valuable a resource to give away for free (probably a large source of national income), which allowed rich planters to get the best land and most of it, leading to the spread of the plantation system in the Deep South

(6) Cotton industry boomed while tobacco industry started to fail with competition and indigo prices lowered because of problems with pests

(7) Deep South's first cotton boom ended when the national gov't enacted a country wide embargo on exports in 1807

Indians took part in internal slave trade sometimes, sometimes tried to stop expansion by causing problems

***stuff about religious conflict here but not that important

Chapter 3: Commerce and Slaves in Lower Louisiana

- (1) Sugar was a difficult crop to grow but financially rewarding if done correctly
- (2) Small farmers grew rice, corn, vegetables sometimes supporting larger plantations
- (3) Slave population everywhere increased faster than the white population especially in New Orleans

(4) Sugar boom intensified demand for slave labor and turned New Orleans into one of the principal slave markets in North America (when Spaniards controlled New Orleans)

Even though slave cost constantly doubled/tripled over these decades, slave labor was still relatively cheap, and after a long journey, slaves were pretty easy to abuse and control

The Black Code adopted by Louisiana legislature in 1806 to regulate the behavior of slaves and free people of color permitted slaveowners to sue ship captains for hiring a slave without permission from the slave's owner

***tons about slaves running away and how they got captured; growing number of free people of color complicated controlling slave population, public officials had a hard time defining where in the social hierarchy free colored people were

Some free blacks owned slaves

Insurrection as a constant threat and the fears that caused....!

***"Political turmoil and economic growth beginning in the 1790s fundamentally transformed the Deep South, Jeffersonian efforts to civilize the southern wilderness and its peoples led to the expansion of slavery on the southwestern cotton frontier, while the rise of a sugar plantation complex in lower Louisiana forced the US to confront the contradictory legacies emanating from St. Domingue. The slave country survived its own slave rebellion in January 1811, but more serious dangers loomed ahead

Epilogue

New economic opportunities drew people to Deep South, extension of US sovereignty shaped Deep South in important ways, diplomacy (and sometimes conquest) used to absorb land, national gov't administered its territorial governments and incorporated it into the federal structure of the American Union, national gov't encouraged economic development in its new acquisitions, including the survey and sale of public lands, improvement of transportation infrastructure, and imposition of a tariff on foreign sugar, eventually restricted the importation of foreign slaves but allowed transfer of slaves into the region from other places in the US, policy reflecting proslavery economic interests and concerns over safety of economy By the time

antislavery forces took a firm stand against the introduction of Missouri as a slave state in 1819, the expansion of slavery in southwest was well underway.

Anthony Wallace, Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution (pgs. 3-185)

Overall Synopsis: Rockdale tells the story of the Industrial Revolution as it was experienced by the men, women, and children of the cotton-manufacturing town of Rockdale, PA. Rockdale was at its height in the 1840s and 1850s, the period of which the author focuses much of his attention.

Chapter One:

Rockdale can serve as a symbol of the early of the Industrial Revolution in America. Unlike England, where because of the almost universal use of steam engines for power, manufacturing was concentrated in sooty cities like Manchester, American manufacturing districts of this period were rural and depend on the vast country's unexploited resources of water power. The industrial leaders of Rockdale appreciated the pastoral nature of the town and resented efforts to change it.

Several considerations affected the settlement pattern of Rockdale. First, a road had to pass by the mills in order to bring supplies and take out products. The cottons mills themselves were all located on the river. The housing of the mill workers was, of necessity, in tenements constructed by the mill owner or manufacturer and located on his land, for the most part, along the road that led to the mill. On the hillsides above the tenements, at successively higher levels as the status of the occupant increased, were the houses and mansions of the managerial personnel, the capitalists who owned the machines, and the mill owners who owned the land. Everything in Rockdale, including the houses and tenements were made of stone. Among the eight mill owners and manufacturers, there were four men who might be called the 'oligarchy' or lords of the Rockdale manufacturing district: John Crozer, Daniel Lammot Jr., Richard Smith, and Samuel Riddle. They owned much of the land, operated the major mills, and had the most money. They all shared certain features, which were in their eyes, fundamental to civilized society. Foremost in this regard was fidelity-to-contract.

Chapter Two:

The total population of the Rockdale district in 1850 was 2,006 people. About a quarter of the population was foreign born (the foreign born were almost all workers in the mills). Among the residents of Rockdale, it was recognized that there were four social levels: a highly solidified managerial class, composed of manufacturers, mill owners, merchants, and gentlemen farmers, and their wives and children; an amorphous and embryonic middle level, probably with little clear awareness of itself as a group, composed of people who performed skilled services (doctors, teachers, clergymen etc) on a contractual basis for the other classes; a large and

reasonable self-conscious working class comprised primarily of mill workers; and at the bottom, a degraded and indigent poor largely not present in Rockdale.

Members of the managerial class, specifically mill owners and manufacturers, did not see each other as competitors; instead, mutual obligation and responsibility characterized the relationship of mill owners and manufacturers towards their fellow mill owners and manufacturers. Evidence of this can be seen in the way industrial and commercial insurance companies operated. They were mutual companies in which the members bought stock and subscribed funds be called upon when operating expenses and casualty losses required additional money. The commercial and industrial community in effect insured itself as a whole; and this meant that each manufacturer and merchant insured his 'competitors' as well as himself.

The managerial classes looked down on other classes as inferior not merely in education, power, and wealth, but also in moral strength and emotional sensibility. At the same, the managerial class accepted and perhaps even welcomed social mobility between the classes. The classes were thus fixed and permanent institutions, but individuals were not permanently fixed in any class. In terms of their workers, the managerial class wanted to maintain social control over the workers and at the same time, they wanted to maintain the doctrine of equality before God and the law; they wanted intimacy and trust in their relationship with them and also a recognition of hierarchy. Members of the managerial class were also open to the prospect of a patron-client relationship with those members of the working class whom they deemed to be of intelligence and talent. This offered members of the working class a ticket into the middle class, and confirms the view held among the managerial class that class boundaries were not impermeable.

The fundamental social unit for all classes was the nuclear family. For the workers, the nuclear family was vitally necessary to the economic welfare of most adult individuals. An unmarried working class adult, male or female, could not live alone. There were no apartments or dormitories, and even if there had been, a working class person could not have afforded to pay the rent. One could not afford to live indefinitely as a boarder. A nuclear family was essential to the survival-and-advancement strategy of the people of the working class. Among the mill workers, the members of a nuclear family constituted an effective economic partnership. Each person above infancy either contributed work or money to the family unit (usually the wife reared the infants while the husband and older children worked in the mill). In the managerial class, of course, where income was the profit of a business or a large farm owned and administered by the father, the nuclear family was not economically necessary for the survival and progress of an individual.

Wages for the working class were high when compared to subsistence expenses, and the rents charged by mill owners were extremely low.

Those who worked in the mills were extraordinarily mobile, and this mobility is an indication of financial ability to escape from unfavorable circumstances. Many of the mill workers in 1840s and 1850s had just recently arrived from England and Ireland, and regarded places like Rockdale as temporary residences, where they consolidated their means and prepared themselves to move on to better jobs or even to homesteads in the west. The mobility of Riddle's employees is revealed in his rent books, which showed that families seldom stayed for more than a year or two in the same house.

Chapter Three:

This chapter retells the stories of nine industrialists who arrived in Rockdale from 1820 to about 1835 and started cotton spinning mills there. The specific details of their personal or families histories are probably not important for our course, but several important observations can be made from this chapter about the Rockdale industrialists:

- There were three businessmen from England or Ireland, who were experienced in cotton spinning since Britain already had a mature industry by the 1820's. The six American businessmen, on the other hand, came from a variety of professions, including lawyers and merchant traders. None had any previous experience in cotton mills, nor much technical knowledge about the industry.
- The American industrialists were varied in their backgrounds; some were from the upper class and old money, while others were from more common farmers. Most of them, however, had some financial problems that they hoped to alleviate by investing in this new industry.
- The form of capital they used was more based on personal loans from friends or family than from large banks. Wallace writes that large bank loans were used in Lowell, MA and most New England mills, while the Rockdale mills had less capital and used personal loans.
- The cotton industry was **VERY volatile**, since it was based on world prices and international political or economic events could bring ruin to the mill owners. The

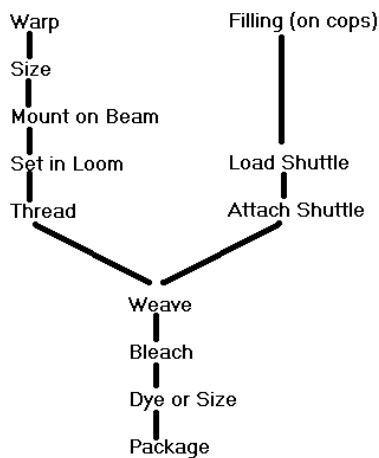
Panic of 1829, for example, brought two of the industrialists to financial ruin just a few years after they started, and they left the scene in Rockdale after having their assets auctioned off.

- As a consequence, however, Wallace writes that the volatility and difficult financing schemes “selected for the economic survival” of the fittest among the early industrialists in Rockdale (123). Only those who were efficient, practical, and skilled in dealing personally with the financiers of their industry could survive.
- As for the cultural development of the area – the men are described as mainly focused on their business and less religious, but the women were active in promoting religion. The Smith women, particularly, established the first Sunday school in Rockdale, which led to their first church.
- Finally, written technical knowledge for the cotton industry only appeared in the 1830’s and 40’s. This was spurred by demand for such knowledge by the Americans from the British mills. In addition, British mill workers and owners started moving to lucrative positions in the US in the 1820’s, even though Britain’s formal ban on the emigration of cotton industry workers was only lifted in 1825. This development of knowledge would eventually allow the American industrialist in Rockdale to be more independent of British advisors and more skilled in their trade.

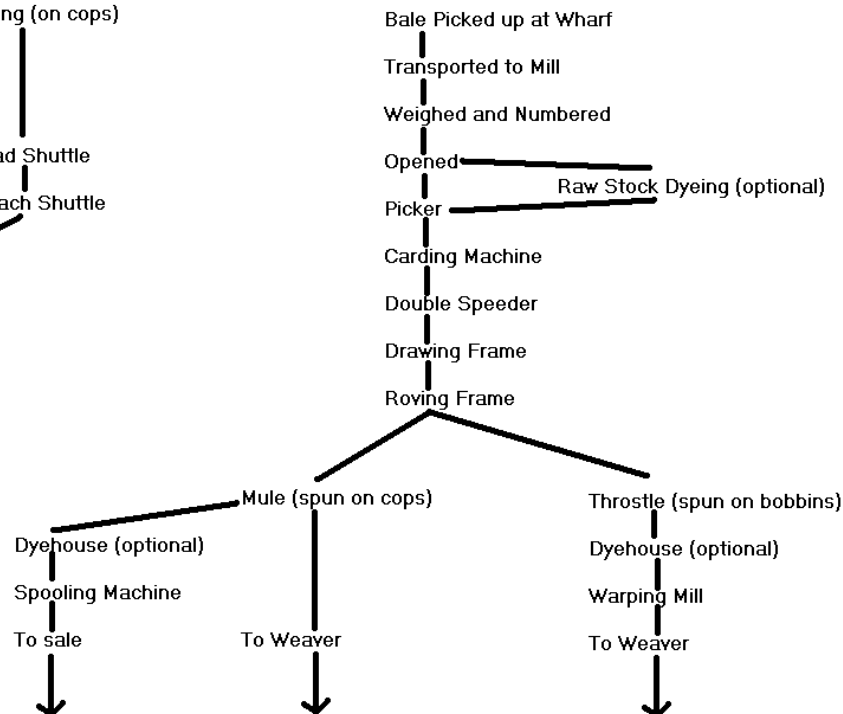
Chapter Four:

This chapter, as the title implies, describes the mechanics in the manufacturing of cotton in a cotton mill. The chapter goes into great detail over the many processes involved in spinning and weaving, detailed descriptions of the machines, an overview of the type of workers involved, etc.. A flow chart is provided at the end of the chapter (p. 185) of the entire process, which is reproduced below:

WEAVING



SPINNING



The mill itself consisted of:

- **Water power:** This involved picking a location where there was a vertical drop of water, damming the stream to ensure a constant level, and building the wheel. This was quite pricey (financial responsibility of the landowner), but once built could last virtually forever if minor damages were repaired quickly.
- **Buildings:** These were fairly standardized across the mills, gas-lit at night with a stove on each floor. Roads and bridges were needed to transport the cotton too.
- **The power mechanism:** This was the system of gears etc. which harnessed the rotating energy of the water wheel and provided it to all floors of the building. It was incredibly noisy.

Spinning and Weaving

Spinning consumed bales of raw cotton and produced boxes of cotton yarn. The cotton came from the South in bales transported in wagons from Philadelphia by the manufacturer. The

process of spinning involved a series of operations, each with its own location, machine, and operatives (see flow chart above).

It started in the picker room where the bales were opened and weighed, then cleaned of debris to make a smooth fleece. From there, it was transferred to the carding room, the crucial stage of the preparation of cotton. Here, the fibers were made to lie parallel without breaking them producing a uniform, regular product. Next came the various frames to make the filaments longer, stronger, and more twisted, and finally to the mule or the throstle for final spinning.

After the bales were opened, the cotton was blended to produce a uniform staple length and was run through the picker room for ; then it was transferred to the carding engine; then to several preparatory spinning devices, including the double speeder, the drawing frame, the roving frame, and the stretcher; then either to the mule or to the throstle for the final spinning of usable yarn; then for some of the yarn, to the dyehouse; and finally to the warping machine or to the machine for spooling yarn on bobbins or cops specially prepared for insertion into shuttles.

Weaving usually occurred in different factories. Power looms were the only machines, and they were very noisy and quite dangerous.

Machine shops existed in association with the mills to make sure the machines were in working condition. The machines themselves were bought from independent machine manufacturers.

On the commercial side, they were concerned with payments of workers and creditors, decisions on the nature of the product and expansion of activities, buying raw materials and machinery, and selling the product. The quality of the product was measured in the strength and evenness of the strand. The spinning product was sold to power loom factories, merchant houses who took goods on commission, and to small local buyers such as storekeepers, employees, and neighbors. The principle cash outlay was the payment of the workers.

Before 1832, mills either did spinning or weaving – none did both. But, it was more profitable to combine both as it made it more efficient, so after 1832, mills started integrating the two procedures.

Working conditions

- Workers in general well paid (though fairly significant differences in salaries based on type of operative)
- Extreme heat in the summer
- Inadequate ventilation, particularly in the picker room (dust, etc.)
- 72 hour work week

“The Mechanics Remonstrate against Extension of the Working Day Beyond Ten Hours” (1829):

There nothing much to this really. It’s just a tract published by New York Working Men’s Party condemning any attempt by employers to extend the working day to more than ten hours, and that a committee be established to aid those who resist working more than ten hours a day. The tract further resolves that no man should labor for more than ten hours a day.

National Trades’ Union, “Discussion on the Condition of Females in Manufacturing Establishments” (1834)

This recounting of the minutes of debate starts with general observations on the unhealthy, terrible conditions of working women in Lowell, MA. It talks about how work in the factories is long and hard, and often leads to the deterioration of the women’s health and sometimes even their death. Then, it goes into possible ways to respond to the problem:

- Petitioning to legislatures to make factories close at a “regular hour” and improve working conditions
 - At the same time, several speakers agreed that the union should avoid all appearances of party politics
 - Educating the women and the poor, which presently is not done in the factories
 - In cases when the employer is making a profit, petitioning the employer to improve the wages of workers
 - But some others argued that the problem was that American factories had to compete with the much more advanced British industries, and hence were unable to improve conditions for workers
 - Finally, some argued that the factory system was “subversive to liberty” – by making people dependent, “servile”, and exhausted, it reduced the capability of the people to participate in democratic government.

William Leggett, “Rich and Poor,” “The Street of the Palaces,” “Associated Effort”

Political writings of William Leggett

Leggett basically advocates that the working class in America should unite together to stand up for their rights (safer working conditions, more reasonable hours, better wages, etc.) – just like unionizing.

In “Rich and Poor”, he describes the “aristocratic” class developing in America. It is different than aristocratic classes elsewhere in the world, as it is based on money (paper dynasty) and can change in the space of one generation. The enemy of the working class is no longer a feudal lord, but a “civil gentleman with his ‘promises’”, not a benefactor as he makes it out to be but a usurper. In order to stand against such an enemy and enjoy the freedom promised by the Constitution, the working class must unite.

In “The Street of the Palaces”, the reference is to a lavish boulevard in Genoa where all the rich nobles live, where a commoner passing by curses his shortcomings in comparison. Leggett argues that America has become Genoa, with privileged orders, nobility, aristocrats, monopolies, and the rich with all the political power of the state – almost the whole legislature is made up of such men, while they represent a very small percentage of the constituency. Leggett says “We are slaves.”

In “Associated Effort”, Leggett proposes the “principle of combination” as the only effectual mode of doing away with something, to be used in extreme cases only. But the issue of workers being paid in depreciated banks notes (i.e. being cheated out of what they’re owed) is one worthy of associated effort.