

34

1850

## Negroes bought in the winter of

Feb 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Jane	"	"	450 00
Feb 4 <sup>th</sup>	William	"	"	750 00
Feb 9 <sup>th</sup>	Jane	"	"	700 00
Feb 9 <sup>th</sup>	Lucinda	"	"	500 00
Feb 9 <sup>th</sup>	Sarah	"	"	400 00
Feb 9 <sup>th</sup>	Willis	"	"	700 00
Feb 9 <sup>th</sup>	George	"	"	675 00
Feb 9 <sup>th</sup>	Maria	"	"	525 00
Feb 11 <sup>th</sup>	Vilot	"	"	575 00
Feb 11 <sup>th</sup>	Abram	"	"	400 00
Feb 11 <sup>th</sup>	Ann	"	"	575 00
Feb 11 <sup>th</sup>	Smith	"	"	600 00
Feb 11 <sup>th</sup>	Harriet	"	"	500 00
Feb 19 <sup>th</sup>	Dick	"	"	700 00
Feb 19 <sup>th</sup>	Letty	"	"	550 00
March 1 <sup>st</sup>	Peter	"	"	800 00
March 25 <sup>th</sup>	Mary	"	"	600 00
				\$10.000 00

35

## Negroes Sold in 1850-

March 22 <sup>nd</sup>	Jane	Sold	675 00
March 18 <sup>th</sup>	William	"	1000 00
March 18 <sup>th</sup>	Jane	"	800 00
Feb 19 <sup>th</sup>	Lucinda	Left at home	500 00
April 4 <sup>th</sup>	Sarah	"	505 00
March 16 <sup>th</sup>	Willis	"	1100 00
March 19 <sup>th</sup>	George	"	950 00
March 9 <sup>th</sup>	Maria	"	705 00
March 16 <sup>th</sup>	Vilot	"	800 00
April 24 <sup>th</sup>	Abram	"	512 50
April 25 <sup>th</sup>	Ann	"	675 00
April 25 <sup>th</sup>	Smith	"	740 00
March 1 <sup>st</sup>	Harriett	"	575 00
March 30 <sup>th</sup>	Dick	"	900 00
March 19 <sup>th</sup>	Letty	"	740 00
May 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Peter	"	800 00
March 28 <sup>th</sup>	Mary	"	750 00
			12.727 50

What is Liberalism?

# What is Liberalism?

- the tradition of thought whose central concern is the liberty of the individual. Several principles:
- **freedom of thought & freedom of speech**
- **consent by the governed** as a condition of the legitimacy of political power
- LIMITED government
- the application of the **rule of law**,
- a **market economy**
- a **transparent** and **democratic** system of government.

# Classical Liberalism

- Maintains only real freedom is **freedom from coercion**
- **state intervention** in the economy regarded as coercive power that restricts individual economic freedom
- **laissez-faire** economic policy (**minimal economic intervention** and taxation by the state beyond what is necessary to maintain individual liberty, peace, security and **property rights**)
- 19<sup>th</sup> century: emphasized free trade and limited government.

## (Unacknowledged) foundations of modern liberalism

- Based on a definition of liberty that places property before human freedom (and human needs)
- A definition of the human that permits various forms of unfree labor, dispossession, and subordination based on “race” and “gender.”
- Therefore, *slavery, dispossession, colonialism, genocide were not antithetical to liberalism.*



# Liberal exclusions: who is fully human?

- “Savages and barbarians” incapable of self-govt.; not only justified enslavement, dispossession and colonialism but obscured the violence of dispossession.
- Move from the ‘state of nature’ to political society is justified by the need to contain the ‘natura’ condition of war in order to preserve/protect human life and property interests.
- Liberal government secures peace & security by transferring the violence of the ‘state of nature’ to the political state; Africans, Asians, Indigenous people,

# Early Colonialism

- Ireland first significant target of English settler colonialism.
  - declared a half-million acres of land in the north open to settlement.
  - Stamped out Irish culture, exterminated entire clans,
  - English government paid bounties for the Irish heads (scalping begins).
  - 19<sup>th</sup> century English scientists promoted theory that Irish (and other ‘colored’ races) descended from apes, unlike English who descended from man.
- European crusades begin 11th century. Conquest of Muslims in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean about controlling trade routes to Asia.
- Domestic crusade against “heretics and commoners” was carried out against the poor
- Anti-Muslim Crusades reduced class antagonisms between the baron and commoner, uniting them in a racist holy war.

# Enclosure of the Commons (England)

- What are the commons?: Land available to peasants – grazing, wood for fuel and construction, source of water. Held by the crown but made available to all.
- **Enclosure Acts, 17<sup>th</sup> century**: fenced off crown lands thereby removing customary rights to resources. Led to migration, the growth of cities, industrial agriculture, the degradation of land and resources, and creation of proletariat.
- The **Diggers** and the **Levellers** opposed enclosure; invoked Magna Carta to press their rights.

# The Workhouse and Birth of the Factory System

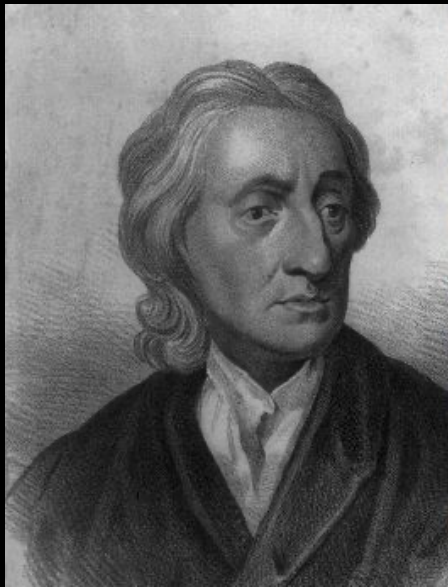
- Question for the Crown: what to do with the “idle” population migrating to the cities?
- **Workhouse:** 1576, Parliament under Queen Elizabeth, provided for the building of "houses of correction" to put beggars to work.
- Sir William Temple argued that poor children should be set them to work at four years, John Locke at three. And most advocates opposed educating poor children since it was seditious and would only promote idleness and laziness





- Francis Hutcheson, the Scottish moral philosopher,, criticized racial slavery.
- However, believed perpetual slavery should be "the ordinary punishment of such idle vagrants as, after proper admonitions and tryals of temporary servitude, cannot be engaged to support themselves and their families by any useful labours."
- Penal slavery rooted in

# John Locke, 1632-1704



**"All mankind...  
being all equal and  
independent, no  
one ought to harm  
another in his life,  
health, liberty or  
possessions."**

**John Locke**

- Personal assistant to Earl of Shatbury and assisted him in framing the Constitution for Carolina
- Secretary to the Council of Trade and Plantations. Authored *Two Treatises of Government* (1689)
- Strong advocate for enclosure; suggested private ownership of property in lieu of commons is necessary for progress

# Locke justifies slavery/dispossession

- *Two Treatises of Government* condemns the principle of slavery while justifying African and Indian slavery.
- Locke: in a political society, it is the liberal citizen's right "to destroy a Man who makes War upon him" (i.e., indigenous people!)
- Locke: 'captives taken in a just war' had 'forfeited their lives and, with it, their liberties'. Captives in a "just war" were thus slaves 'subjected to the absolute dominion and arbitrary power of their masters'.
- **Fundamental Constitutions of South Carolina (1669):**  
"Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever."

# Anti-slavery Liberalism

- Marquis de Condorcet, *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1795), called for abolition of slavery, inequality, imperialism, racism, and sexism.
- Adam Smith – Anti-slavery but believed abolition more likely under a ‘despotic government’ because “free” democratic states governed by white property-owners. Wrote in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence*: “every law is made by their masters, who will never pass any thing prejudicial to themselves.” Therefore, “the freedom of the free was the cause of the great oppression of the slaves ... And as they are the most numerous part of mankind, no human person will wish for liberty in a country where this institution is established.”



# Locke, Indigenous Nations, and the Commons

- Claimed “unproductive” land has no value; uses the term “lie in waste” interchangeably with “lie in common” to describe unproductive use of the land.
- Dakota and Ojibwe Lands, ca. 1768, mapped by Jonathan Carver



# Locke, Doctrine of Discovery, and the Commons

- “Why should you take by force that from us which you can have by love? Why should you destroy us, who have provided you with food? What can you get by war? . . . What is the cause of your jealousy? You see us unarmed, and willing to supply your wants, if you will come in a friendly manner, and not with swords and guns, as to invade an enemy.”
  - Wahunsonacock, leader of Powhatan Confederacy to John Smith of Jamestown

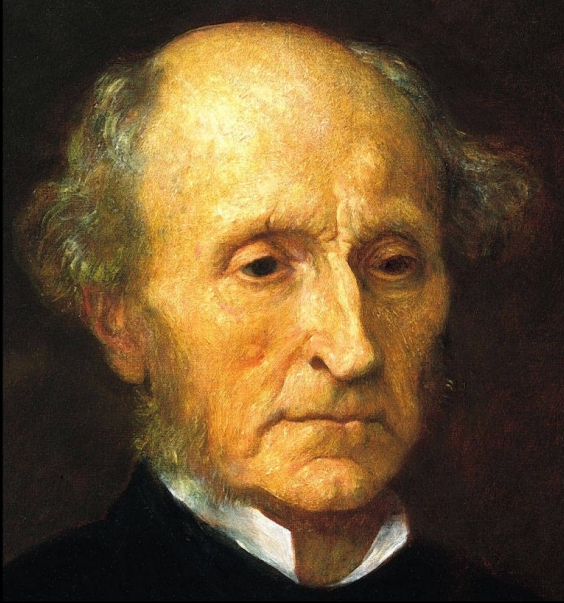




# Locke Against the Commons

- Lockean notions of progress = capitalist exploitation of the land, privatization, and enclosure. Believed that if Indigenous people had the land “we should see him give up again to the wild common of nature”
- Warned that “commoning” might result from the alliances of indentured whites, Africans, and Indians

# John Stuart Mill and Colonial Racial Capitalism



- Published *On Liberty* (1859) argued for small government as protection of individual rights
- Agent of colonialism: employed by British East India Company 1823-1858
- In *On Liberty*, *A Few Words on Non-Intervention*, *Utilitarianism*, and “Of the Government of Dependencies by a Free State,” he defended Imperialism by arguing that a fundamental distinction existed between civilized and barbarous peoples.

- “Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided the end be their improvement, and the means justified by actually effecting that end. Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion.”
  - *On Liberty* (1859)
- “... savage tribes so averse from regular industry, that industrial life is scarcely able to introduce itself among them until they are ... conquered and made slaves of”
  - *Utilitarianism* (1861)

