

## Patterns of Resistance and Repression

The whole South is like one of her own cotton-steamers—such as I have just left, filled from the hold to the topmost deck with the most inflammable matter; everything heated up to the burning point, and a furious draught blowing from end to end, and a huge high pressure boiler in her belly pressed to bursting. . . . On such a volcano is based the institution of slavery. . . . The remedy proposed for this state of things is repression, severity. . . . Terrorism does not pacify a people. It only changes complaint into conspiracy. . . .

James Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States* (1857), pp. 59, 301.

Whether slaves were content with their living and working conditions, lacked concepts of freedom, developed “infantile” personalities, or otherwise accommodated to bondage are controversial questions. Some historians have argued, for example, that slaves working in industry or living in cities were happier than those on rural plantations. Others have alleged that such industries as tobacco manufacturing, lumbering, and sugar milling were virtually free from slave unrest. Slave artisans and industrial workers, who had privileged or personal relationships with masters, were allegedly more faithful than typical slave field hands.<sup>1</sup>

Though the most sophisticated theories of human behavior can be used to support such assertions, few records reveal the thoughts and feelings of the industrial bondsmen themselves.

Their emotions, intentions, and personalities can reasonably be inferred only from the records of their masters, that slave testimony which has survived, and the blacks' own overt activity. Such patterns of behavior do, however, reveal that apparently most industrial bondsmen grudgingly acquiesced in their condition and did not seem to present masters with insoluble disciplinary problems. On the other hand, though some masters were able to control their workers more effectively than others, the records also clearly indicate that no enterprise, industry, occupation, or region repressed slave resistance entirely. In fact, there was always a substantial number of industrial slaves who clearly demonstrated all of the varieties of resistance to servitude, ranging from passive to violent protests, exhibited by plantation bondsmen. Moreover, industrial slaves as a group resisted enslavement as frequently as did agricultural slaves, and individual blacks sometimes rebelled against slavery with great courage. Artisans and industrial slaves generally became leaders of those insurrections—industrial and agricultural, urban and rural—which occasionally occurred. But paradoxically, industrial slave leaders often sullenly accommodated themselves to slavery as did many of their black brethren.

If industrial slaves were discontented with long working hours, hazardous working conditions, and subsistence living standards, they could be expected to protest against industrial routines and the slavery regime. Not surprisingly, most resistance by industrial slaves stemmed chiefly from resentment at the brutal extortion of labor, from humiliation at personal indignities, and from general dissatisfaction with bondage. Human beings innately resented inhuman treatment, and human aspirations for a better life could not be eliminated entirely. Despite isolation, division, terror, and subtle forms of discipline of the slave workers, discontent remained one of the most perplexing problems faced by industrial employers.

Slave dissatisfaction expressed itself in two basic ways. Many industrial bondsmen, aware of the virtual impossibility of overthrowing their masters or escaping from the South and terrorized by the system of slave controls, passively acquiesced in slavery's labor requirements and feverishly enjoyed its occasional rewards. Other industrial slaves were not so cowed that they were incapable of protest. Their dissatisfaction led them to make attempts to control more of their own time, to make some of the decisions affecting their daily lives, or occasionally to make spectacular assaults on the institution of slavery itself. Between these extremes lay numerous other manifestations of opposition to bondage.

#### *Industrial Slave Resistance*

The most subtle forms of slave protest were negligence, slowdown, feigned sickness, outright refusal to work, and pilferage. Such behavior often expressed itself as thoughtless carelessness, resulting from the lack of respect for property and work engendered by enslavement. These actions did not always represent conscious resistance, but they did reflect underlying discontent with industrial work routines and the restrictions of bondage. Whatever the cause, negligence, laziness, and thievery were in any case manifestations of blind or reasoned hostility to slavery, which often disrupted industrial routines.

Slave laziness and carelessness may have stemmed from fatigue or fatalistic protest, but they certainly perplexed employers much of the time. George Washington called his carpenter a "bungler," while an overseer lamented that James, a cobbler, was insufferably idle: ". . . this is the . . . time when he should exert himself to be a good workman, but he will not do what is proper . . . he is capable of finishing Six pairs of Shoes a Week and he seldom does more than three."<sup>2</sup> Such slowdowns seemed to bother many industrial enterprises.

Another measure of protest—conscious or unconscious—was a slave's flat refusal to work. This situation occurred at one Alabama coal mine when slave Jack was assigned the task of pumping water from the pits and refused to co-operate. Jack's manager reported that he "lay there on a plank and went to sleep insisting that it was not necessary to haul any more, and in fact did not haul any more." Similarly, hired slaves often refused to return to employers after Christmas recesses. Isaac expressed "such an unwillingness to return to you," wrote one owner to an iron manufacturer, "that I feared should I send him over he would runaway." Apparently by concerted plan, several hirelings refused to return to work for a railroad contractor whose hiring agent reported that the slaves complained of whippings and other harsh treatment, a lack of sufficient food, having to cook for themselves, overwork, and having to wash their clothes on the Sabbath. The agent closely interrogated each bondsman separately and satisfied himself that they were misrepresenting their working conditions and engaging in a conspiracy to avoid work. He concluded that Charles, the ringleader, was a "no account scoundrel . . . and if he had been beaten with sticks, clubs & c as he states, I expect he deserved it." <sup>3</sup>

Because such outright refusals to work could become risky ventures for bondsmen, slaves often resorted to subtler stratagems such as feigned illness. A fugitive related how two slave distillers got drunk one night and faked sickness the next day. A gold miner complained of drowsy and drunken bondsmen; a turpentineer was upset by a drunk, disobedient, and foul-mouthed Negro; and the chief engineer of a North Carolina river-improvement project lamented the "excessive losses of time by sickness *real* or *feigned*." <sup>4</sup>

Pilferage was also a perennial problem pervading most industrial enterprises. Since bondage left slaves with little respect for property or their work, thievery was a more or less con-

scious form of protest. Industrial slave thieves usually sought either the fruits of their own labor for their own use and satisfaction, or resentfully tried to cripple their industrial work places. Rice millers were especially vulnerable to such losses. One overseer confided to his employer that "I can never think that Stephen [the rice miller] acts perfectly honest with the rice in the mill." Another rice miller's suspicion that his rice "had been much exposed to plunder" was paralleled by the *Southern Agriculturist's* report that pilferage was a major problem for many rice millers. Moreover, any manufacturer who, like William Weaver, lacked adequate supplies of food and clothing was liable to harassment from slave thieves. "I had a notion of Comeing down tomorrow evening," wrote Weaver's distraught manager, who was compelled constantly to remain at the furnaces, ". . . but I am afraid if I leave here they will steal the place. They come very near it while I am here." <sup>5</sup>

Some industrial bondsmen were in more favorable positions for stealing than others. Tobacco factory thefts were such constant sources of aggravation that Richmond and Petersburg newspapers daily reported them and claimed that tobacco manufacturers were losing more goods to thieves than any other businessmen. One slave left a factory after cleverly concealing tobacco in his coat sleeve and casually throwing the garment over his arm. According to an anonymous "One Who Knows," blacks frequently boarded the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad's cars, and "running in the night as slow as they run . . . could in conjunction with other negroes throw off what they choose." While railroad agents were sleeping, the informer continued, other slaves "take off what they wanted, even to a Hhd of sugar & I have no doubt but hundreds of Dollars worth of lost goods go in this way." As a fire consumed storehouses and shanties of another railroad, slaves somehow managed to save "nearly all their plunder," while

allowing the company's tools, supplies, and property to burn! Blacksmith Jacob stole provisions from a smokehouse by means of a false key, which he himself had forged. Carpenter Frank stole \$160 worth of gold and silver from his master by the same "art & cunning."<sup>6</sup>

Industrial slaves stole both for their immediate gratification and for the illicit "black market" which developed within factories, mills, and towns. Thomas Mosby, a slave, robbed his factory of wool, which he exchanged for snacks and drinks, while slave Charles made off with a piece of Tredegar bar iron, which he traded for liquor at a grog shop. A group of Virginians accused the local slave gristmillers not only of being dishonest and deceptive, but also of forming "a sort of link of communication" between other slaves and free blacks in the neighborhood. Eager white and free black peddlers and merchants so encouraged slave thieves that the *Richmond Dispatch* reported that "Many of the manufacturers have adopted stringent regulations, with the hope of breaking up this trade, but until they can ensure the recovery, conviction, and punishment of the buyers, they will not be able to break down the system of illegal traffic, which has proven so injurious to themselves and ruinous to their servants."<sup>7</sup> Some slave thieves even specialized in stealing only valuable articles, apparently to meet the demands of their market. One slave stole a clock from his brickyard, two others stole money and a traveling bag from a train, an iron worker stole a gold watch and silver tableware, and two workers in a lumberyard even attempted to carry off nine hundred pounds of iron. Undoubtedly the most clever slave thieves of all were those gold miners who, according to *Niles' Register*, daily concealed substantial amounts of gold dust in their hair!<sup>8</sup>

Pilferage, slowdown, and negligence by bondsmen bewildered many masters. A "well-informed capitalist and slaveholder," interviewed by Frederick Law Olmsted, perhaps best

summed up the naïve responses of many masters to passive protests:

We have tried reward and punishments, but it makes no difference. It's his nature and you cannot change it. All men are indolent and have a disinclination to labor, but this is a great deal stronger in the African race than in any other. . . . We must always calculate that they will not labor at all except to avoid punishment, and they will never do more than just enough to save themselves from being punished, and no amount of punishment will prevent their working carelessly and indifferently.<sup>9</sup>

Servile protests sometimes assumed more extreme forms, ranging from arson to escapes and from assaults to rebellions. Though fires were common occurrences at many southern factories and mills, many manufacturers suspected that not every fire was accidental, and newspapers often expressed suspicions of arson. "It was supposed to be the work of an incendiary," reported the *Charleston Courier*, after Senator Henry Clay's bagging factory burned in 1845; Clay's building "was set fire to by some unknown villain," confided one Kentuckian to another.<sup>10</sup> Concrete evidence of arson was sometimes found, however. A Texan charged that his blacksmith had burned the shop; the court sustained the claim. A tobacco worker threatened to burn down the factory if his master did not dismiss his overseer. Such slave behavior so perplexed some manufacturers, millers, and ginners that they began arming themselves against slave incendiaries. "I expect to kill someone about it yet," vowed one cotton ginner upon the smoking ruins of his gin.<sup>11</sup>

When appropriate opportunities arose, industrial slaves attempted to escape. "Isaac, my carpenter, ranaway wednesday, & is probably now in S. Carolina," lamented a prominent Georgia builder with the use of a political metaphor. "He has

succeeded. & I do not know when he will return to the Union. He left me at an inconvenient time." Other masters professed surprise when even their most trusted, faithful, or privileged bondsmen departed.<sup>12</sup> Slave absences created serious problems at industrial enterprises, since there was always a small but active minority of industrial slaves who ran away.

[The primary motivation of runaways, aside from slavery's inhumanity, seemed to be the natural desire to avoid the drudgery of industrial routines.] The majority of fugitives remained absent only for a short time before returning voluntarily to their jobs. Church, for example, ran away from his forge in Virginia for four days in 1830; Adam left for five days the following year, and three hirelings ran off together for about a week in 1844. Mack, who was continually troublesome, was "off on a spree a couple days last week," reported the manager of one iron works. Comparatively more fortunate were one sugar miller whose slave blacksmith left one morning and returned that night, and another sugar mill, which in the late 1850's counted only eleven fugitives, all of whom—except one—were absent only a week. The runaway problem became more critical at one rice mill, where, in the winter of 1860–61, George the carpenter and Hector the boatman escaped together, and Jimmy the engineer absconded for a week. Altogether, this rice miller lost for the season the services of five indispensable bondsmen.<sup>13</sup>

Absenteeism was evidently highest during the late summer and autumn months when industrial operations peaked and production pressures mounted. Virginia flour miller Big Phill absconded a week before threshing began one year; six years later, he robbed corn from his master's mill and fled with some friends during the height of the milling season. Escapes at Louisiana sugar mills ordinarily occurred during the grinding season, when round-the-clock operations began and there were few work breaks.<sup>14</sup>

Slaves frequently ran off to visit their families or loved ones. "Jacob has been at me the past month to let him go . . . and see his wife," recalled one gold miner after the bondsman had fled to Savannah. "I would rather to let you have Mathilda than to here of Luis running away," wrote one turpentineer to another. However, some hirelings who ran home to their owners or "wives" created trying circumstances, an example of which befell the overseer of a river-improvement project. After his bondsmen had been working for about six weeks, they requested permission to visit their families. The overseer refused, and after haggling for several weeks, six slaves left anyway; their action forced him to allow the remaining crewmen to see their wives for a couple of days. Eventually all hands returned and the work continued without incident.<sup>15</sup>

The threat or infliction of punishment often precipitated slave escapes. "Turner got careless and lazy after I went to supper," reported a coal mine manager. "I went over to the Pit right away with the intention of correcting him, but probably he saw me approaching the Pit, for the other negroes said he was there a few minutes before, he is in the vicinity of the mines I presume."<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, many bondsmen absconded for no apparent reason whatsoever.

If flight and other protests were any indication of slave disaffection, runaway advertisements, business records, and slave narratives contradict the theory that urban bondsmen and industrial slaves were more content than their rural agricultural brethren. For such evidence suggests that industrial bondsmen—in both urban and rural locales—absconded as frequently, in proportion to their numbers, as did plantation hands. The argument that it was more difficult for a slave to escape from a factory than from a farm also seems dubious;<sup>17</sup> industrial slaves working in rural or small-town environments could slip into the woods almost as easily as plantation field hands. Urban industrial bondsmen could choose between flee-

ing by water, escaping to the countryside, or losing themselves in alleys, attics, cellars, or the maze of city life. Fading into forests or dodging into doorways required little imagination; eluding rural patrols or avoiding urban guards demanded little luck.

Permanent escape within the South or to the "free" states, however, necessitated courage, cunning, and a great deal of intelligence. An ingenious means of escape was developed by one literate Louisiana carpenter who, caught selling forged passes to friends, successfully escaped by writing himself a pass. Slave Manuel, who had been entrusted to transport turpentine down river, bought a certificate of freedom from a friend, escaped to Philadelphia under an assumed name, and persuaded an abolitionist to purchase his children. Though many runaway advertisements requested steamer captains to search for stowaways and cautioned them against employing fugitives, slave boat hands and woodyardsmen had little difficulty reaching northern shores, just as three slave hirelings who worked the *Sophila* easily jumped ship at Liverpool, England.<sup>18</sup>

Southern swamps—the Dismal, Pasquotank, Great, Okefenokee, and the bayous of Louisiana—were favorite refuges for slave desperadoes fleeing nearby industrial sites. If bondsmen safely reached these wastelands, their capture was virtually impossible and they were almost as secure as in Canada. Swamp slaves even transformed their hide-outs into fortified enclaves from which they pillaged nearby plantations and surrounding turpentine, shingle, lumber, and fishing camps. Aware of this threat, aggravated masters warned lumbermen not to employ fugitives and vigorously attempted to prevent bondsmen from secreting themselves in the solitude of the swamps. "I found he had dodged off and fearing he might get into the Dismal Swamp, when I should never get him, I concluded to sell him to W. Clark who owns his Wife," confided

one owner to a turpentine manufacturer. "William Clark has a negro man, who has been in the Swamp for the last three years, and lost another in there some two years since, who was runaway. I thought it best for all concerned to sell him. . . ." Similarly, lumberman Jim's master became so fearful that he would remain permanently in Pungo Swamp that he was rented out in a more secure area.<sup>19</sup>

Some antebellum travelers discovered that swamp refugees often earned livelihoods (in a curious inversion of the slave system) by working for lumbermen—white or black. Desperadoes "live by woodcraft, external depredation, and more frequently . . . by working for the task shingle-makers at reduced wages," reported one correspondent. "These employees often return greater quantities of work than could by any possibility have been produced by their own labor, and draw two or three times the amount of provisions necessary for their own subsistence. But the provisions are furnished, the work paid for, and no questions are asked." This traveler was so fascinated by the Dismal Swamp's refugees that he set out from a lumber camp and "crawled and struggled on" until he was nearly exhausted:

At length my attention was arrested by the crackling sound of other footsteps than my own. I paused, held my breath, and sunk quietly down among the reeds. About thirty paces from me I saw a gigantic negro, with a tattered blanket wrapped about his shoulders, and a gun in his hand. His head was bare, and he had little other clothing than a pair of ragged breeches and boots. His hair and beard were tipped with gray, and his purely African features were cast in a mould betokening, in the highest degree, strength and energy. The expression of the face was of mingled fear and ferocity, and every movement betrayed a life of habitual caution and watchfulness. . . .<sup>20</sup>

Other industrial slaves challenged their masters more directly, and fights between industrial bondsmen and their superiors were thus not at all unusual. One Saturday evening a furnace manager commanded Anthony to return to work the next day, but by ten o'clock Sunday morning the slave had not yet appeared. The overseer finally found the slave, who explained that Sunday was "*his* day and that he was not going to take it up going to your place." Infuriated by such impudence, the manager collared Anthony, who resisted and struck back; thereupon the manager smashed Anthony's head with a rock.<sup>21</sup> Anthony was not killed, but other fights sometimes resulted in homicide—either intentional or unintentional. William Jackson, a young tobacco-factory overseer, attempted to chastise Jordan Hatcher, a seventeen-year-old bondsman, for the allegedly inferior quality of his work. In the ensuing scuffle Hatcher fatally struck Jackson with a poker and the slave fled. Hatcher was soon captured, convicted of murder, and sentenced to hang. After much publicity, the Governor of Virginia commuted the bondsman's sentence to deportation, on the grounds that he had acted without malice in merely trying to escape punishment. The Jackson-Hatcher Affair so outraged the *Richmond Dispatch*, however, that several weeks later, after another slave threatened an overseer, it editorialized:

We think that full protection should be guaranteed to the overseers in the different tobacco factories, by law, against the attacks of turbulent hands. If a negro is to be discharged with the trivial punishment of ten lashes . . . then, indeed, is the life of an overseer and a white man at the mercy of a parcel of turbulent black ruffians, to be granted at their discretion. . . . the negro merited a back-warming such as would have lasted him for a year to come.<sup>22</sup>



Lumberman

Industrial slaves often took dramatic advantage of the circumstances of their occupations to resist their superiors. Two slave railroad workers hurriedly jumped off their hand car, failing to warn their overseer riding with them that a locomotive was unexpectedly approaching. A slave sugar miller attempted to dump his overseer "into one of the kettles full of boiling juice." Frank, cane knife in hand, threatened "with intent to kill" his master and overseer. He was shot. A rice miller sincerely believed that his "exceedingly lazy . . . although quite smart" slave carpenter (named Jack Savage) "was always giving trouble & ever appeared dissatisfied . . .

[and] was the only Negro ever in our possession who I considered capable of murdering me, or burning my dwelling at night. . . ." <sup>23</sup>

Repressing the most spectacular forms of slave resistance—organized conspiracies and rebellions—presented masters with more difficult problems than quelling individual acts of violence. Revolts raised the specter of servile retribution against masters and mistresses, and they threatened the injury of valuable property and breaking the chains of bondage forever. The slave insurrections which did occur clearly revealed dissatisfaction with bondage, just as the frenzied panics which periodically swept the slave states were symptoms of the fear permeating the minds of whites in the Old South.

The black insurrections and white panics which surfaced occasionally between 1790 and 1861 have been studied elsewhere in some detail,<sup>24</sup> but the striking fact that almost all rebel leaders and many followers actually were, or were thought to be, artisans or industrial slaves has not generally been made explicit. Gabriel Prosser, organizer of the Henrico County conspiracy of 1800, was a blacksmith, who planned to base his rebellion upon Richmond's industrial-slave population. Five hundred slave sugar workers, armed with cane knives, reportedly marched on New Orleans in the little-known Louisiana revolt of 1811. Denmark Vesey, leader of the Charleston conspiracy of 1822, was a free Negro carpenter. But Vesey's co-conspirators were mostly slave draymen, sawyers, stevedores, ricemillers, ropewalk workers, and artisans: Peter Poyas was a "first-rate" ship-carpenter, Mingo Harth and Tom Russell were mechanics and blacksmiths. Monday Gell was a harness maker who "hired out" his own labor and kept a workshop in the center of Charleston. Even Nat Turner had been trained as a carpenter and wheelwright, before he became a slave preacher.<sup>25</sup>

Fearful of insurrectionists like Prosser, Vesey, and Turner, white Southerners naturally blamed later uprisings and conspiracies on industrial slaves. Some panicky Virginians, for example, associated Nat Turner's rebellion of 1831 with Buckingham County's slave gold miners. Four years later, the sight of seventeen slaves marching together down a Virginia road with pickaxes raised over their shoulders and a rumored plot of slave iron workers in the Cumberland River region of Tennessee made some whites conclude that nearby gold miners or iron workers had revolted. This panic subsided only after troops had been mustered and it was discovered that the suspected blacks had simply been going to work on the local roads. In 1853, slaves working on the Manassas Gap Railroad were reported to have "actually revolted." Bondsmen at turpentine, fishing, or lumbering enterprises probably participated in the eastern North Carolina conspiracy of 1860.<sup>26</sup>

The little-studied conspiracy of 1856<sup>27</sup> was especially significant, since it involved industrial slaves almost exclusively. The unrest seemed to begin in the early autumn among Louisiana slave sugar millers, Arkansas salt boilers, and Missouri lead miners and iron workers. Rumors of revolts quickly spread from west to east, finally crystallizing in areas of Tennessee and Kentucky, which employed large numbers of industrial slaves, and where whites had been fearful of slave revolts ever since Turner's insurrection a generation before. Bondsmen at the various iron works along the Cumberland River seemed the most deeply infected with the spirit of revolt. Sixty-five slaves were arrested at Senator John Bell's iron works; nine of them were eventually executed. A black coal-miner was shot near the Louisa Iron Works, and nineteen iron workers were hanged at Dover, Tennessee.<sup>28</sup> From the Lafayette Depot of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad came the following dispatch indicating the extent of involvement of industrial slaves in the Tennessee conspiracy:



. . . a negro girl of Mr. G. W. Vandel, who is engineer at Mr. R. Glenn's steam-mill, three miles below this, informed her mistress that she had been told by one of the negro men at the mill, the night before, that the negroes all intended rising on the day of the election; and that their plan was to take advantage of the absence of the white men on that day, and while they were all from home at the polls voting, to kill all the women and children, get all the money and arms, and waylay the men on their return home from the election and murder them; then make for the railroad cars, take them and go to Memphis, where they could find arms and friends from up the river to carry them off to the Free States if they did not succeed in taking this country. . . .<sup>29</sup>

(Characteristically, white Southerners blamed the slave unrest on outside agitators such as the Black Republicans who were running for the first time in the 1856 national elections. "The Great excitement during the presidential canvass about abolition was well calculated to create such an attempt among the Blacks," confided one Southerner to another. The *Richmond Dispatch* expressed "no doubt that white men, Northern abolitionists, were the instigators of the insurrections."<sup>30</sup> Despite such delusions, the reality of slave dissatisfaction remained to haunt the mind of the South.

(The involvement of Negro artisans and industrial slaves in conspiracies and rebellions indicates that they were greatly disaffected and that they were also the natural leaders of agricultural and industrial slave workers. Indeed, such insurrectionary leaders tended to confirm the fears of many Southerners, such as South Carolina Senator James Henry Hammond, who believed that when slaves were employed in industries they were "more than half freed" and soon would become "the most corrupt and turbulent" members of their race. However, since some Negro artisans and industrial slaves

often accommodated to their bondage instead of resisting it, in effect they undercut those industrial slaves who were sincerely struggling to overthrow the slave regime or to escape from it. In any case, slave resistance generally confronted employers with a serious dilemma: could slave protests be repressed and could a stable work force be created without undermining either industrial work routines or the slave system itself?

### *Disciplining Industrial Slaves*

Slave repression and discipline took many forms, ranging from persuasion to coercion and from the subtle to the brutal. Merciless suppression of slave protest was probably effective in the short run or in such extraordinary circumstances as conspiracies or rebellions. Still, severity involved the risk of injury to valuable slave capital and, as James Stirling noted, produced desperate, vengeful, and conspiratorial bondsmen. The most intelligent masters therefore necessarily experimented with more sophisticated means of controlling their slaves and increasing their productivity, which were probably more effective over the long run. However, most masters had occasion at one time or another to deploy the full range of disciplinary measures at their disposal.

(The most common disciplinary methods were the routinizing of daily work, religious indoctrination, the total mastery of living and working conditions, and the pass and badge system. Masters continually directed overseers to follow work schedules strictly. "Two leading principles are endeavored to be acted on," advised a Georgia rice miller in his instructions to his overseer. "1st, to reduce everything to system; 2d, to introduce daily accountability in every department." Accordingly, the slaves received specific tasks, a black driver was responsible for each gang, and every evening the slave drivers

and foremen reported to the white overseer in the owner's presence.<sup>31</sup>

Masters discovered that slave singing not only helped to routinize industrial work, but it regulated and increased production. Many travelers interpreted the singing of industrial slaves as an indication of their contentment, and singing could be a means of slave communication and cultural self-expression. But singing had actually become a calculated disciplinary device used by masters. A visitor to a Lexington hemp factory observed the slaves singing and "at the same time walking backward and forward about their spinning, with great regularity, and in some measure keeping time with their steps." The manager of a Richmond tobacco factory confided to poet William Cullen Bryant that "we encourage their singing as much as we can, for the boys work better while singing."<sup>32</sup>

Many employers considered Christian indoctrination an effective means of controlling industrial slaves. Through religious instruction bondsmen learned that slavery had divine sanction and that disobedience was an offense against God as well as against their masters. Slaves received the Biblical command that servants should obey their superiors. They also heard of the punishment awaiting insolent slaves and of the salvation rewarding faithful service. "My plantations are visited by . . . Episcopal clergymen . . . each Sunday," disclosed one rice miller. "I have found the greatest advantage from this, & I know many [slaves] who perform their service for me as a religious duty." An itinerant preacher at the Midlothian coal mines "was gratified to learn from the managers, that many of them [the slave miners] are orderly and consistent in their deportment, and that generally there is a marked difference between the conduct of those who profess and those who do not profess religion."<sup>33</sup>

Large slaveowning industrialists sometimes built chapels at their establishments and hired clergymen to preach to their

slaves on Sundays. Some sugar millers and rice millers held regular Sunday services, especially during the milling season. One North Carolina cotton miller occasionally allowed preaching, revivals, and baptisms. A Virginia coal mine permitted a circuit rider to preach to the slave colliers during a work break down in the pits; later, this company built a church for its black miners.<sup>34</sup> Thus, while under certain circumstances religion could have a liberating effect on bondsmen, employers were convinced that it served mainly as a means of control.

The distribution of food and clothing was carefully controlled to discipline industrial slaves. Moses Austin divided his slaves into several "messes," each of which received a precise portion of food. The "forge hands eat in one kitchen collectively, its being so convenient we can oversee the whole," reported an iron manufacturer. A rice miller explained to his overseer his disciplinary procedures:

It has always been my plan to give out allowance to the negroes on Sunday in preference to any other day because *this* has much influence in keeping them at home that day. Whereas, if they received allowance on Saturday for instance Some of them would be off with it that same evening to the shops to trade & perhaps would not get back until Monday morning. . . .

A gristmiller in his "Memo for 1857" wrote: "Don't give Booker any summer shoes because he stole Monroes [in] 1856. . . . Don't give John & Charles any summer shoes, because they killed a shoat."<sup>35</sup>

Industrial housing arrangements were often planned to prevent slaves from escaping, in contrast to plantation slave quarters, where few such precautions were taken. The New Orleans Gas Company's fifty bondsmen inhabited tenements inside the plant, which was surrounded by iron gates and

brick walls fifteen feet high. At Richmond's Tredegar Iron Works slaves slept in tenements near the rolling mill, where they were also fed by the company. "The whole of our concern is surrounded with a brick wall ten feet high," wrote the manager of an Alabama textile mill, which lodged its slaves within the grounds; "no one is admitted after work hours except the watchmen or one of the owners."<sup>36</sup>

To facilitate identification and to minimize escapes, industrial bondsmen were required to wear badges or to carry passes when they left their work places. Badges were mandatory in most urban centers, passes in rural areas and in some towns as well. Thus, to one traveler the management of Dismal Swamp slave lumbermen was "interesting and instructive. . . . Early in February—they go into the swamp in gangs, each gang under a white overseer. Before leaving, they are all examined and registered at the court-house, and 'passes,' good for a year are given them, in which the features and marks upon their persons are minutely described." The use of passes was apparently so great that the New Orleans Gas Company used printed forms.<sup>37</sup>

Neither passes nor controlled living arrangements could substitute for close, personal supervision by responsible whites. Slaves working by-the-piece had to be carefully watched and their work correctly counted to prevent them from cheating their employers. One master only suspected his slave rice miller of improperly filling the barrels. Other masters were particularly vexed by slave woodcutters. "You will please have them [barrel staves] counted by some one you can depend on after they are hauled down," wrote a North Carolina fishery-owner to his overseer, "for I suspect your Negroes might give you an account of more than they cut & I know that my Coopers will not account for all that are carried down if the counting is left to them."<sup>38</sup>

Another means of disciplining workers and increasing their efficiency was the system of rewards and incentives associated with industrial slavery. Such indirect controls consisted of the simple device of granting holidays and the more sophisticated one of paying money or commodities to slaves. Holidays were not merely an obvious way of resting the hands, but an integral part of a subtle system of supervision of slave labor. Rest periods were less a slave's right than a master's privilege, because employers granted recesses or denied them according to whether the slaves had worked well, refrained from resistance, or remained healthy. The dates and lengths of holidays were varied, so that activities of Negroes were carefully regulated and their expectations enhanced.

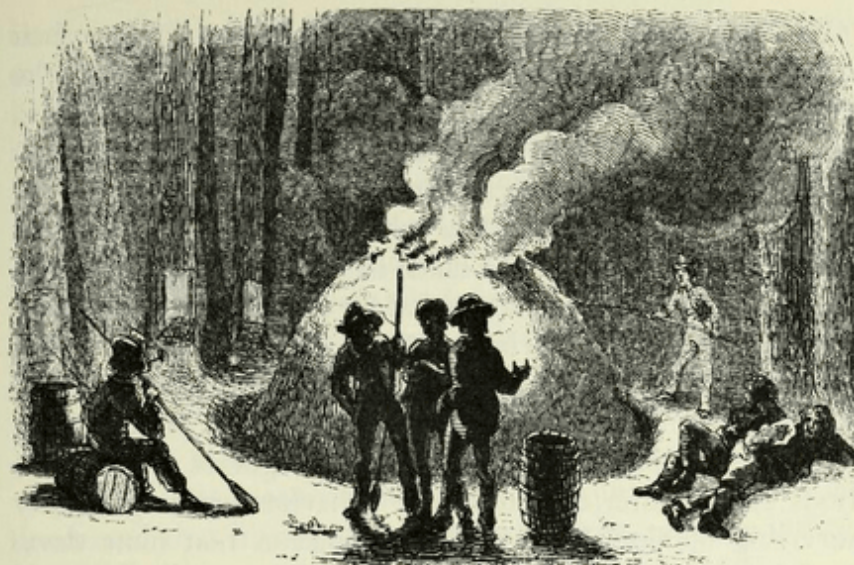
The timing of holidays varied according to industry and master, but almost all industrial slaves, except sugar millers, enjoyed a few days' relaxation at Christmas. This recess coincided with the long-established hiring period for tobacco, hemp, and iron manufacturers and for others who interrupted operations late in December to rent slaves.<sup>39</sup> Though most hired slaves thus received a vacation at the end of the year, owners sometimes requested employers to detain slaves during the recess if it was inconvenient for them to return home. "I am quite willing . . . that they [the hirelings] should remain with you during the Christmas holidays," wrote one master to a turpentine manufacturer. "It can do them no good to come home. It is an unpleasant season of the year and the time of their stay will be so short, that they cannot expect to enjoy themselves much."<sup>40</sup>

Once the custom of returning hired slaves to their masters for the holidays was broken, bondsmen were entirely at the mercy of their employers, who often compelled them to continue work. Five slaves were thus forced to remain aboard the Savannah River dredge boats during the Christmas recess as

punishment for infractions of discipline. Other bondsmen had their rest periods spoiled when they were compelled to stand on the hiring block. On the other hand, some hired slaves enjoyed longer vacations than those employed by their owners. The Charleston and Savannah Railroad's hirelings, most of whom came from Virginia and North Carolina, annually made a three-week steamboat excursion to visit their owners and friends.<sup>41</sup>

Most enterprises, except sugar mills, shut down on Sundays; for good work, slaves might enjoy half of Saturday as well. A North Carolina gold mine observed all Sundays, as well as Easter Monday, Whitmonday, July 4, September 29, a five-day Christmas, and designated "Negroes day," when slaves mined gold for themselves or to share with their owner. Some employers granted occasional holidays to deserving slaves or permitted relaxation at the end of arduous work periods. Several slave wool manufacturers got one afternoon "to take a rabbit hunt," another afternoon to go to a circus, and a wintry morning to skate with their master, who usually, however, drove them long hours, sometimes several days and nights in succession.<sup>42</sup> At a cotton gin slaves who had been promised a four-day vacation after the crop was ginned considered this insufficient compensation for their unusual exertions and succeeded in extracting an extra day's rest. "The negroes interrupt me at this moment, with clamors that I must give them tomorrow, (Monday) as an additional holiday, which they have had since last Wednesday evening," wrote the ginner to his brother. "I wanted them to wait until all of yours came up; but they prefer the present, & I have consented for them to take it."<sup>43</sup>

The entire pattern of holidays was askew in the sugar industry, where refining of the crop often remained unfinished by Christmas or New Year's Day. Variables such as ripeness, the weather, the health of the slaves, the number of runaways,



Tar Kiln

and the condition of machinery inevitably contributed to the delays that compelled most sugar millers to celebrate Christmas early, late, or not at all. One mill observed Christmas December 6 through 8 one year, while another mill waited until February 16. For various reasons, but usually to punish slaves for inefficient work or bad behavior, some refiners eliminated recesses entirely. One sugar mill skipped Christmas holidays in 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1856—a common pattern at other refineries.<sup>44</sup>

Masters consciously used holidays both to control their industrial slaves and to increase their productivity, and they clearly had no intention of liberating their bondsmen. One rice miller instructed his overseer to slaughter a steer and to distribute extra allotments of bacon, molasses, corn, and rice during the milling period—but only if the slaves behaved themselves. A turpentine manufacturer who had given his

slaves two hogs, a barrel of flour, and potatoes for their Christmas dinner promised that "I shall due my very Best to keep the negroes all strat & satisfyde. I hope that they will behave well." Another rice miller attempted to reduce the number of slaves feigning sickness during the arduous milling period by promising each slave who did not lose time an extra bushel of rice. "It should be taken into view that a great quantity [of sugar] has been consumed by the negroes [during the grinding season], for when we begin to harvest every one eats," admitted Thomas Spalding in a passage on "Expenses" in his widely read *Observations on the Sugar Cane*.<sup>45</sup>

What industrial slaves themselves thought of holiday periods can be inferred from their behavior and fragmentary surviving opinion. Such evidence indicates that most slaves used holiday periods feverishly to relish extra allotments of food, as a time for merry-making, or as an opportunity to catch up on lost sleep. Indeed, in the opinion of at least one industrial slave, the Baltimore ship-caulker Frederick Douglass, holidays kept bondsmen "occupied with prospective pleasures within the limits of slavery. . . . These holidays are conductors or safety valves to carry off the explosive elements inseparable from the human mind, when reduced to the condition of slavery."<sup>46</sup>

Holidays were often festive occasions when masters arranged dinners, dances, games, and "marriages." Extra allowances of rice, flour, or corn were doled out; beeves or hogs might be killed; molasses, vegetables, or tobacco were sometimes distributed; and clothing, trinkets, or money were occasionally handed out to the slaves.<sup>47</sup> Since these gratuities were presented not only at Christmas but on other occasions as well, however, they comprised part of the complex system of discipline-by-reward. Thus another part of the disciplinary procedure was the payment of money to industrial slaves.<sup>48</sup>

That many bondsmen were actually paid money has been

interpreted by some historians as a developing wage system which was supposedly an innovation of the last decades of the pre-Civil War period. It has been held, moreover, that such cash payments indicate that the institution of slavery was undergoing radical structural transformations easing the black man's bondage. Slaves receiving money were, it is said, in effect being liberated or placed in a realm of "quasi-freedom," a "shadow-land" between bondage and liberty. Money payments were therefore subverting slavery from within. "The payment by industries of extra money to . . . slaves for their personal use," argues one historian, "was an incipient stage of wages. . . . Also there was developing . . . a tendency to rely more and more on the incentive motive instead of on force and thus liberalize to some extent the 'peculiar institution.'" <sup>49</sup>

An examination of the manner, timing, effects, and tradition of cash incentives suggests, however, that they were not a step toward emancipation, but rather a technique of slave control which had long existed and which supported the slave system. Industrial slaves received money for many different kinds of work. Some were paid for raising foodstuffs, fabricating clothing, or collecting useful materials in their spare time. Others were paid for working overtime—"overwork," as it was ironically called—at specific tasks, while still others received what was sometimes known as "Sunday money" for "extra-work"—odd jobs done at night, on Sundays, or on holidays. The form of payment was also important: some bondsmen received direct payments in cash or kind; others worked for credits, against which they drew cash or goods.

"Overwork" payments were common to almost every type of southern industry. A tobacco manufacturer paid slaves from one to three dollars overtime weekly. At a turpentine distillery, which paid cash for production above the required task, slaves annually earned sums which ranged from \$2 to

\$14 and averaged about \$6. One year, slave iron workers at one forge each received 50 cents, while the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond permitted its slaves to earn about 50 cents per month in extra money for odd jobs and for cleaning or stoking furnaces and mills. A Tennessee turnpike company annually paid each of its slaves between 40 cents and \$3, called "Stimulant & Reward money."<sup>50</sup> (By comparison, free white workers in the South between 1800 and 1861 earned on the average about one dollar a day—\$310 per year.)

Many industrial slaves earned "extra-work" payments by collecting commodities or cultivating crops in their spare time. One master annually paid one or two dollars to each of twenty-two slave sugar millers for raising corn. The federal government permitted slave dredge boatmen to sell driftwood collected from the Savannah River. A tanner kept a "List of Bark from different Negroes," which recorded sums owed slaves for gathering bark. Miners bought gold retrieved by bondsmen in their spare time, and iron manufacturers and rice millers also paid cash to slaves.<sup>51</sup>

Many enterprises adopted the credit system of payment. At one Tennessee iron furnace slaves worked forty or fifty Sundays, chopped wood, and hauled cargoes to earn "extra allowances" of about \$20 in credits. The company kept a written account for every slave upon which could be drawn shoes, winter and summer suits, shirts, overcoats, tobacco, knives, and flour. At the end of the year, the value of goods obtained was subtracted from the accumulated credits; the slaves received cash for the remaining credits (usually about \$7 worth) or carried them over to the next year's account.<sup>52</sup>

Extra payment for night, Sunday, and holiday work was widely practiced by such industries as sugar mills, sawmills, railroads, and turpentine distilleries which required extra services or extraordinary quantities of items such as wood. The Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Works, under both

private and public ownership, paid hired and state-owned slaves small sums (averaging about one dollar monthly) for burning charcoal, hauling supplies, cooking food, pumping boats, unloading stone, and assisting blacksmiths on Sundays, holidays, and at night. The Savannah volunteer fire department's several hundred bondsmen each received 12½ cents per hour for fighting fires. The slave who reached a blaze first won a reward of one dollar, while the next two slaves to arrive got fifty cents each, and all were eligible for merit awards ranging up to thirty dollars per fire.<sup>53</sup>

The available evidence suggests that the incentive system was neither a late-antebellum innovation nor an indication that slavery was undergoing internal transformations leading to freedom. Indeed, business records reveal that money payments were as common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as in the 1850's. From 1796 to at least 1802, for example, slaves at the Cumberland Forge in Maryland did various chores at night and on holidays in return for small sums of money. From 1798 to at least 1808, both the Redwell Furnace and the Pine Forge in Virginia followed the same practice. As early as 1794, Georgia lumberman Alexander Telfair distributed bonuses, while from 1806 to 1823, Stump and Ricketts paid cash to their slave sawmillers and gristmillers in Alexandria, Virginia.<sup>54</sup>

Not only did the cash rewards system function fully in the early nineteenth century, but many masters used it for long periods of time. Tobacco manufacturer Robert Leslie made money payments from 1827 to 1852, ironmonger William Weaver from 1827 to 1857, Ebenezer Pettigrew, the North Carolina shingler, turpentine distiller, and planter, from 1803 to 1854, and Telfair from 1794 to 1860.<sup>55</sup> Such evidence therefore indicates that cash incentives had, at least as early as the 1790's, become part of the slave system. If such rewards were ineffectual, would not masters have abandoned them,

and if cash incentives were radically undermining bondage, should not slavery have collapsed long before the 1860's?

Entrepreneurs who consciously used cash incentives to control their industrial bondsmen and to increase slave productivity clearly had no intention of "liberating" their slaves. A Tennessee iron manufacturer, for example, kept account of breaches of discipline and subtracted them from his slaves' credit sheets. Sam Talley, a slave, thus lost \$10 for twenty days' runaway time, young Reuben Jackson was charged \$7.50 for ten days' absence, and Anderson Trotter was docked \$2 for his "interest in [a] stolen bag."<sup>56</sup> In his account books Ebenezer Pettigrew also carefully balanced the extra work of his blacks against their infractions of discipline. Pettigrew's slaves automatically forfeited their credits or had their accounts closed for thievery, absconding, or other annoying activities. Though one slave lost his money for "infamous behaviour" and another lost his for "outrageous conduct in many ways of 5 years," Pettigrew indicated that well-behaved bondsmen eventually received their money. "Settled with Tom, George, Cromwell & Lewis for their ditching in the 9 feet ditch," he wrote. "This settlement is nothing more nor less than presents for their good behaviour while working in it."<sup>57</sup>

Owners and employers of hirelings, who certainly would have opposed the incentive system if it was liberating their slaves, approved of money payments because they improved discipline. Two slaveowners who rented blacks to the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Works, for example, explicitly requested that their bondsmen be paid about a dollar monthly. "Deducted \$6.00 for 3 Days allowed Tom by his master this amt paid Tom and not included above [in the bill of hire]" was the notation next to one master's account.<sup>58</sup> Similar approval by employers of the bonus system was prob-

ably best summed up by the director of construction of the Gosport Navy Yard, who required masters to pay their hirelings a ten-cent "bounty" and steadfastly refused to rent slaves from masters who declined to pay. "All the negroes employed on that work [the navy yard] had 10 cents a day allowed them on our rolls which was paid over to them by their masters," he explained; "but if their masters refused to pay it over, we dismissed the blacks from our employment."<sup>59</sup>

Though employers almost unanimously approved of the incentive system, how the slaves themselves reacted to rewards is another important question, for which outside observation provides some evidence. "They [the slaves] work with as much steadiness and cheerfulness as the whites, and the fear of losing their ten cents, if they are lazy or inattentive, saves all the expense of overseers," insisted one employer. "Every man and boy in this establishment . . . has his 'steint' to perform, and each one is paid for what he does beyond it," reported a visitor to a Lexington, Kentucky, ropewalk. "This keeps them contented and makes them ambitious, and more labor is obtained . . . than could possibly be forced from them by severity. I saw no overseer in any of the rooms where the labor is performed," he added.<sup>60</sup>

The behavior of slaves in industries making incentive payments over long periods of time is further evidence of the overt response of the slaves themselves to the reward system. At William Weaver's iron works, which made money payments for more than thirty years, for example, slaves who chopped wood and hauled coal in their spare time each received about twelve dollars a year. Yet there is no indication that slavery was breaking down or being transformed into freedom at Weaver's establishment. Weaver's bondsmen certainly enjoyed spending their earnings, but slave resistance, to use one indicator, troubled Weaver no more in the earlier

period than in the later, and his bondsmen seemed as firmly enslaved in the 1850's as in the 1820's. Satisfactory discipline also obtained at Pettigrew's establishment, which also made money payments over several decades.<sup>61</sup>

In the context of the holiday and incentive system, money payments were not an incipient form of wages; like other rewards, they were given for extra work, not for required work. Bonuses were not usually given regularly, but at random. The amount of payment was not fixed, but varied according to the liberality of the master. Indeed, the incentive system was so firmly under the control of the masters that it could be abandoned at any time without consulting the slaves, even though this might have annoyed the slaves. Bondsmen may have enjoyed spending their money, which certainly did not leave them unaffected, but masters never seriously regarded cash payments as a slave's right. Incentives continued to be regarded as a master's exclusive prerogative.

Since bonuses never accrued until after the slave's required day's tasks were completed, masters also insured that a certain amount of work would be done *before* overtime outlays took effect. In this way productivity tended to be increased. Money payments enabled masters to obtain food, clothing, and supplies, as well as additional labor, at nominal cost. Slaves were kept at work and out of mischief during what would otherwise have been their spare time. Masters recouped their outlays, since bondsmen usually bought supplies from company commissaries. To be sure, a few industrial slaves saved their bonuses to try to purchase their freedom, but self-purchase was never very common and was declining in the late-antebellum decades.<sup>62</sup> Finally, the incentive system tended to weaken the slave's temptation to escape and to improve discipline. For, as a visitor to Lexington, Kentucky, hemp factories observed, "the stimulus of wages is applied behind the whip, of course the prime motor."<sup>63</sup>

Employers of industrial slaves maintained control in part by creating and exploiting divisions within the slave group. As human beings, slaves did not differ innately from other workers, but the problem of control was made considerably easier for masters because of differences in color, age, and capability among the bondsmen. Thus, as plantation practices were transferred to industrial settings, slave managers were trained both for their skills and to help discipline their black brothers. In this respect, industrial slave managers resembled plantation house servants and slave drivers, whose accommodationist role has long been suggested<sup>64</sup> even if little analyzed.

Industrial slave managers had a dual role regarding resistance and control. On the one hand, as has already been shown, slave artisans and industrial workers were the natural leaders of most organized resistance movements. On the other hand, they frequently became their masters' most faithful agents to control the other blacks. Even though slave managers themselves might have had aspirations to freedom, they often misled their fellow workers. Indeed, a paternalistic relationship sometimes developed between masters and slave managers, revealing the accommodationist function of the industrial slave managerial group.

Slave managers willingly assumed responsibilities, supervised complex industrial enterprises with little guidance from their employers, and responsibly directed workers—black or white—under their charge. "In all of these [rice milling] departments," observed Olmsted of one such manager, "his authority was superior to that of the [white] overseer. . . . His responsibility was much greater than that of the overseer, and Mr. X. [the owner] said, he would trust him with much more than he would any overseer he had ever known."<sup>65</sup>

Such capability, loyalty, and responsibility earned some slave managers their employers' genuine respect and their





Salt Worker

masters' paternal esteem. Concerning a bondsman directed to escort a slave mechanic from a neighbor's iron works, one master confided,

I . . . apologize for sending upon this business, a man of colour, but this can be no objection to a man of sense . . . he is my founder at Oxford [iron works]—has been raised there from childhood, and supported an unblemished character. for his integrity, good understanding & talents, from his infancy to his gray hairs—the utmost confidence may be given his communications—his honor and integrity untarnished.<sup>66</sup>

Sandy Maybank, the head carpenter at the Reverend C. C. Jones's extensive plantation and rice mill typified the paternalistic relationship which could develop between masters and slaves. Since Jones was often absent, he placed Maybank in

charge of all mill construction and usually communicated instructions to the slave by personal letter. Indicating the responsibility placed in Maybank, Jones wrote him and the white overseer separate instructions, the tone of which further reveals Jones's fatherly respect for the black head carpenter. "Dear Sandy," Jones began one letter,

As I wished to have some work done I thought it would be best to write you a letter that you could keep and so have it by you, that you might not forget anything. . . . You can attend to this work as soon as you can & Porter & William will assist you in it. Am glad to hear that you have been generally well all the season & hope you may continue so . . . . Tell Mary howdye for me—and your children. . . . Your mistress sends howdye for you and for Mary. I trust you are holding on in your high profession of the Gospel of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ. A Christian to do well must trust in the Lord Jesus Christ at all times, and constantly watch and pray. . . .

The master extended Maybank further privileges, including permission to answer his master's letters, to marry, and, when Jones's rice mill was not too busy, to hire his own time at nearby plantations and mills.<sup>67</sup>

Similarly, other slave managers helped maintain industrial discipline, for which they also won their masters' paternal affection. Horace, a slave architect and civil engineer, built bridges throughout the Black Belt for Robert Jemison, Jr., a wealthy central-Alabama contractor, planter, sawmiller, and manufacturer. In fact, Jemison and Horace's owner were so pleased with the bondsman's performances that at the opening of the 1845–46 session of the Alabama Legislature they had a bill introduced to emancipate the slave. The bill passed both houses, and a few months later, Jemison sent Horace "the promised certified copy of the act of our last Legislature. . . .

I have had it made out on Parchment thinking it most suitable & that it would be most agreeable to you in this form." Thereafter, Jemison frequently consulted Horace about construction projects, wages, and other business and personal matters. Horace evidently answered Jemison's queries, though, unfortunately, none of the ex-slave's letters survive. The tone of Jemison's correspondence with Horace suggests, however, the cordiality existing between the two men. "Dear Horace," Jemison always began:

Some two days ago Mr. Williams wrote to you [about] Columbus Bridge, Miss. If you can attend to this you will very greatly oblige both Mr. Williams & myself. . . . Will you answer at yr earliest convenience whether we can get yr services and about what time will suit yr convenience best and we will endeavor to arrange things to suit.

In Haste. yr friend R. Jemison jr.

Finally, when his former master died, Horace erected a gravestone, which he inscribed: "IN LASTING REMEMBRANCE OF THE LOVE AND GRATITUDE HE [Horace] FELT FOR HIS LOST FRIEND. . . ." <sup>68</sup>

Many industrial slave managers had aspirations to a better life as well as concepts of freedom which exceeded their extraordinary privileges and made their accommodationist role ambiguous. Simon Gray and Jim Matthews, slave hirelings of the Andrew Brown Lumber Company of Natchez and New Orleans, for example, responsibly rafted lumber down rivers, negotiated with woodyards men along the way, collected and disbursed large sums of money, and supervised both black and white crewmen. Simon Gray was undoubtedly one of the most highly privileged of all southern slaves—one historian considers him "almost free"—yet his vision of freedom clearly exceeded his exceptional status. Once, Gray subtly bilked the lumber company by rafting logs for his personal profit; some-

times he purposely missed the earliest boat back to Natchez to gain additional time for amusement in New Orleans. Indeed, even though escape was difficult from the deep South, Gray and other privileged slaves attempted to flee when opportunities arose. William Thompson, a literate slave fireman in Brown's sawmill engine room, eventually forged a pass and escaped to Canada. (There he composed a personal letter to his friend Jim Matthews, wishing him good health and sending his "best respects" to other friends and former employer alike!) Matthews, whose responsibilities and privileges almost equalled those of Gray, lacked an opportunity to flee until the Union triumph at Vicksburg in July, 1863, when the company records indicate that he successfully escaped. Simultaneously, Simon Gray's name vanished without explanation from the company's rolls, suggesting that he and Matthews probably fled together.<sup>69</sup> Thus, while they helped to control their black brothers, even the most privileged industrial slave managers resisted their bondage.

Since subtle methods of discipline could never guarantee perfect slave behavior, virtually all masters necessarily mixed persuasion with coercion. Incentives could increase production and make supervision easier, but force was necessary to forestall or to punish infractions of the routines of industrial slavery. The use of slave managers could turn black against black, for even such overseers sometimes resorted to force. Bondsmen were never quite certain whether terror would not follow closely upon reward, since the whip was, after all, "the prime motor."

Whipping was such a common punishment that industrial records abound with references to floggings, while advertisements for runaways minutely describe bodily scars and marks.<sup>70</sup> According to the engineer of one railroad, slave punishment consisted of

. . . whipping with a long cowhide whip with the culprit's shirt on or off according to the severity desired. Sometimes a more terrible weapon was used—a big hardwood paddle pierced with augur holes and administered on the bare skin of the culprit as he bent over a log. A half dozen strokes of this paddle was cruel punishment.

Similarly, a sugar refinery overseer punished slaves with a short-handled whip, loaded in the butt. The mate of an Ohio River packetboat reportedly "always carried a heavy cane made of hickory and . . . frequently used it with telling effect on the Negro deck hands."<sup>71</sup>

Bondsmen were beaten for major and minor offenses, or for no apparent reason whatever. Severity of punishment was generally at the employer's discretion, despite legislation prescribing the number of lashes. For instance, Alfred was thrashed "very severely" for running off a third time from a sugar mill; four skilled slaves were mercilessly flogged for the suspected murder of their master. "Sam lost one day by whipping for playing Cards and fighting," disclosed the Graham Forge time books,<sup>72</sup> while the proprietor of another iron works prescribed the following treatment for three unruly boat hands:

I must confess, I never before experienced such infidelity even in the worst of our Black Servants as . . . Peter, Aaron & Lewis—I presume Peter will not make his appearance any more at Oxford—If he does you must inflict the law upon him—39 lashes on his bare back—you may in company with . . . some of the most respectable black people seize upon Aaron & Lewis, carry them with ropes round their necks to the boat landing where the load was lost & there have them stript naked & 39 stripes inflicted well placed on the bare backs of each of these scoundrels—I confess I was completely deceived

by this rascall Peter . . . . You are to seize upon Aaron & Lewis at once & punish them as they deserve—if they get notice of your intention they will abscond & merit double punishment—you are to give some of my trusty servants half a dollar for whipping each of those rascals provided they do their duty. give neither of them any new cloaths.<sup>73</sup>

The conflict of authority between owners and employers of hirelings was so common that hiring contracts usually required renters to treat slaves "with humanity." Since legal prohibitions against cruel and unusual punishment were rarely followed, however, many owners preferred to discipline their Negroes in person if possible. "His conduct . . . I know is almost unpardonable," admitted one master to an employer after personally meting out punishment to a hireling who had returned home and was being sent back to work. "But as I have chastised him severely for it myself, if you will pass it over in silence I will esteem it as a favor so long as I live—As his principle complaint seemed to be lodged against your overseer, I will thank you . . . to put him to cutting wood."<sup>74</sup> Other owners who occasionally accused overseers and employers of unjust or cruel punishment warned renters to take better care of their blacks. One such master, who demanded that his slaves be disciplined separately from other hirelings, had his bondsmen returned by the contractor with the explanation:

. . . I cannot keep, in my service, negros to be treated differently from my own & others in the same service. All my hired servants must be subjected to the same treatment & submit to the same discipline. . . . I regret having to adopt this course but you will upon a moments reflection, see the impolicy of keeping amongst a gang of negroes a portion to be more favored than the rest. It would prevent all just and efficient discipline.<sup>75</sup>

Punishments sometimes became so brutal that they resulted in death. A wealthy tobacco manufacturer who whipped a fifteen-year-old slave girl to death, as his wife applied a hot iron to sensitive parts of her body, was brought to trial and acquitted. He later beat two other bondsmen to death but was never convicted of a crime. A tobacco factory overseer who shot a bondsman three times for two days' absence was publicly commended by the *Richmond Dispatch*. Railroad companies had sometimes to compensate owners of slaves who died from overseer abuses.<sup>76</sup>

Slaveowners often pursued industrial bondsmen with dogs when other means of retrieval failed. Unable to apprehend two skilled artisans for several months, one rice miller finally brought in some hounds, who so thoroughly frightened the runaways that they returned within a few days. "I have a man now with big douges & I intend to keep him after thum untill he git thum," wrote one turpentine manufacturer. "Soe all running a way with ours is done," he reported, when the slave catcher returned. On the other hand, clever slaves easily eluded dogs by hiding in trees, swamps, or elsewhere. "Mr. Davenport and others hunting a Negro with blood hounds," recorded one sugar miller, "—did not catch him—little Jack found him in the fodder house at the Quarters in the evening."<sup>77</sup>

Tracking fugitives with dogs sometimes injured the bondsmen, resulting in expensive medical treatment. "Harrison has been so badly bitten by a dog, that he can scarcely walk. You must send Andrew up to take him home in the steam boat," reported a jailor to a sugar miller, who later paid a doctor a large sum to treat the Negro's wounds. On the other hand, brave bondsmen occasionally injured dogs, as was revealed in this report on an elusive slave coal miner:

the dogs took his track in the orchard and run him about 400 yards and bayed him, when Peyton killed the main

dog—or at least the dog has not been seen since he bayed Peyton. Peyton then got in the woods and having but one negro dog and all of the hounds in Town coming to us, we were thrown off the track and by time this negroe dog would find the track—these other hounds would run in and confuse the dog. So at last after running him till twelve o'clock at night, we gave up the chase. . . . I think it would be best for you to come over and buy some good negroe dogs.<sup>78</sup>

Punishment often consisted of imprisoning or shackling obstreperous blacks. One outraged owner tried to "mortify" a slave who had refused to work in the coal pits by placing him in irons. A sugar miller handcuffed one slave, while a hemp manufacturer fitted an iron collar about the neck of another bondsman. Charleston's jail ground its cornmeal with a treadmill operated by slave prisoners, who treaded three minutes and rested three minutes, eight hours a day, while an overseer maintained discipline with a cowhide whip. If a prisoner tired, he was battered by the treadle.<sup>79</sup>

Other masters disciplined industrial slaves merely by threats of punishment or sale to southwestern states. A Louisiana lumberman said he was able to "govern" his slaves "without the whip, by stating to them that I shall sell them if they do not conduct themselves as I wish." Other entrepreneurs, such as James H. Couper, who, "for the incorrigible habit of running away," actually sold two rice millers, carried out the threat. "I have born with them for several years hoping that they would reform," confided Couper, "but as they are useless to the plantation and have become a nuisance to the community, it has become necessary to sell them, or keep them constantly in jail. Their example is also a very bad one to the whole gang." Couper hoped to purchase a new blacksmith with the sale's proceeds.<sup>80</sup>

Perhaps the most effective agents of repression were the

patrols which dispersed unauthorized black gatherings, apprehended fugitives, incendiaries, and thieves, and guarded cities, towns, and rural regions against slave conspiracies and rebellions. In the early 1820's, the Pineville Police Association attempted to apprehend fugitive slave desperadoes who, from a heavily fortified swamp camp, were interrupting commerce along a South Carolina canal. The difficult-to-approach hide-away was successfully surprised and several slaves were captured. Others retreated deeper into the swamp, but the patrol resolved to pursue them until they had been wholly dispersed.<sup>81</sup>

The white "patterollers," as the blacks called them, feared more than anything else slave conspiracies and insurrections.<sup>82</sup> As the insurrection panic of 1856 spread through Kentucky and Tennessee, authorities arrested many white men suspected or accused of "free soilism," while long-feared free Negro "agitators" of the slave community felt official wrath as well. White Kentucky vigilantes hung Sol Young, a free Negro preacher, and Tennesseans terrorized white "complicitors." Bearing the brunt of white retribution, sixty-five slaves at Senator John Bell's Cumberland Iron Works were tortured until they "confessed." Many bondsmen withstood hundreds of "stripes" before "fessing up" and at least one died under the lash. At the Louisa Iron Works white panic engendered a black counter-panic, and many bondsmen, fearing an indiscriminate slaughter, attempted to flee. They were soon recaptured. Such fears were also shared by some masters who reportedly "felt far more apprehension for their slaves than for themselves."

To put down the 1856 conspiracy many Tennessee and Kentucky communities strengthened their patrols, strictly enforced ordinances governing free blacks and bondsmen, and, like Clarksville, procured more weaponry. The citizens of Gallatin, Tennessee, where four slaves had been arrested and

panic-stricken whites assembled to decide their fate, abandoned all legal pretenses, however. According to one reporter, "a larger and more respectable meeting" had never before been held in the town,

. . . the question was, what shall be done with the four [slave] leaders now in jail? A number of voices said, "*hang them at once.*" On this a vote was taken, and one tremendous shout of "Aye" was interrupted by only three small voices. . . . The meeting then adjourned to the jail, and though the jailor did all in his power to prevent it, the aforesaid Sam, Jack, Ellick and Dick were taken out and executed. . . .<sup>83</sup>

Whether they lived in rural or urban settings, industrial slaves seemed discontented with their working and living conditions. Some blacks resisted passively, while others rebelled violently. A few slaves became leaders of organized revolts, but many sullenly accommodated to their bondage. Nonetheless, industrial entrepreneurs were still able to discipline slave workers and to create a fairly stable work force by means of sophisticated incentives, by creating divisions within the slave group and, when necessary, by brutal repression. Moreover, there were other reasons why employers preferred to use slaves rather than free labor.

81. Medical accounts, Oct., 1830, Thruston Papers (Filson); R. J. Arnold's Orders to J. Baily for 1843, Arnold-Screven Papers (UNC); Dirleton plantation book, vol. 3, J. R. Sparkman Papers (UNC); C. C. Jones to T. J. Shepherd, Dec. 4, 1850 and T. J. Shepherd to C. C. Jones, Dec. 16, 1850, Jones Papers (Tulane); J. B. Carrington to J. M. Sutherlin, April 5, 1858, Sutherlin Papers (Duke).
82. Instructions for 1841 and Orders for 1843, Arnold-Screven Papers (UNC); Samuel Walker, Elia plantation journal (Tulane); *Southern Agriculturist*, 6 (1833), 574.
83. Richmond *Enquirer*, Dec. 25, 1845; J. Haynes to C. I. Manigault, Feb. 22, 1845 and March 27, 1846, Manigault Papers (SCHS); *Southern Agriculturist*, 6 (1833), 573-574; *American Farmer*, series 4, vol. 12 (1856), 132.
84. Such deficiencies were apparently remedied at other large sugar mills and coal mines, according to the *Charleston Courier*, July 19, 1844; *De Bow's Review*, 9 (1850), 202-203; *Harper's Monthly*, 7 (1853), 758-759; Richmond *Whig*, Jan. 2, 1846; and the Richmond *Dispatch*, Jan. 1, 1855.
85. Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 18, 1832.
86. Richmond *Enquirer*, March 20, 1860; Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, ch. 5; W. Edmund to W. P. Browne, April 7, 1834, Browne Papers (AA); Pontchartrain Railroad Company Minutebook, May 6, 1834 (Tulane); receipt, Jan. 18, 1834, Thruston Papers (Filson); Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 404.
87. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 363-364; Bancroft, *Slave Trading*, 157; Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 403.
88. Catterall, *Cases*, II, 289, 298, 300, 302-303, 306, and 368.
89. *Ibid.*, II, 22; Virginia *Journal of House of Delegates*, 1835, p. 267; 1836, p. 351; life insurance policies, 1855, Linn Papers (UNC); life insurance policies, 1855-57, London Papers (UNC); Richmond *Dispatch*, Jan. 1 and 2, 1855; Richmond *Enquirer*, Jan. 2, 1855 and Dec. 29, 1854; account book of Nautilus Life Insurance Co. of New York, 1847 (LSU); *Affleck's Southern Rural Almanac*, 1851, 47; Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 406-407, presents evidence for life insurance for hirelings as early as 1743.
90. This figure is a rough estimate of the total number of insurance policies issued for industrial slaves each year, based on the identification number for the surviving certificates. These policies were

- issued on printed forms, suggesting further the frequency of the practice of insuring industrial slaves.
91. Insurance policy, June 8, 1854, Randolph Papers (LSU); various policies, 1855, Linn Papers (UNC); Rudd Account Book, 1856 (Filson); *De Bow's Review*, 4 (1847), 287.
  92. Various life insurance policies, 1855-57; and H. A. London's accounts with the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Co., April and July, 1856, London Papers (UNC); Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company Account Books, vol. 14: treasurer's accounts, p. 34, Feb., 1856 (UNC); insurance policy, Jan. 18, 1856, Misc. Collections (NCA).
  93. Richmond *Dispatch*, Jan. 1 and 2, 1855; Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*, 198; Richmond *Whig*, Jan. 2, 1846; Richmond *Dispatch*, Jan. 1, 1855 and Dec. 22, 1856; E. G. Wilson, comp., *A Digest of All the Ordinances of the City of Savannah, 1858*, 538; S. Drewry to J. Buford, Dec. 13, 1853, Buford Papers (Duke); *De Bow's Review*, 17 (1854), 76-78, and 18 (1855), 404-405.
  94. Richmond *Dispatch*, Dec. 20, 1854; Richmond *Enquirer*, Jan. 2, 1855.

### Chapter Three: Patterns of Resistance and Repression

1. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 34-35; J. C. Sitterson, "The William J. Minor Plantations," *JSH*, 9 (1943), 70; S. Elkins, *Slavery*, ch. 1-3; Robert, *Tobacco Kingdom*, 208; Taylor, *Slavery in Louisiana*, 77.
2. J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931), vol. 32, p. 365; Easterby, ed., *Allston Papers*, 366.
3. J. Squire to W. P. Browne, May 20, 1861, Browne Papers (AA); W. Staples to W. Weaver, Jan. 4, 1830, Weaver Papers (UV); S. Drewry to J. Buford, Dec. 30, 1854 and Jan. 16, 1855, Buford Papers (Duke).
4. F. Fedric, *Slave Life in Virginia and Kentucky* (London, 1863), 92; Etna Furnace Time Book, 1854-58, Weaver Papers (UV); Gold Hill Mining Company Time Book, 1850-53 (UNC); A. Grist to father, Nov. 4, 1855, Grist Papers (Duke); E. M. to H. A. London, Sept., 1859, London Papers (UNC).
5. J. Haynes to C. Manigault, Nov. 24, 1847, Manigault Papers (Duke); Mrs. Mackay to J. Mackay, Nov. 23, 1837, Mackay-Stiles Papers (UNC); *Southern Agriculturist*, 2 (1829), 507; V. McBee

- to V. A. McBee, April 23, 1859, McBee Papers (UNC); W. T. Rackley to D. C. Barrow, March 16, 1859, Barrow Papers (UG); W. W. Rex to D. Brady, March 15, 1861, Weaver Papers (UV).
6. Richmond *Dispatch*, Jan. 27, 1853, Nov. 26, 1854, July 25, 1857; "One Who Knows," "Raleigh & Gaston R. Road as it is & as it might be," Treasurers' Papers: Internal Improvements (NCA); F. R. Bondervant to J. Buford, Jan. 30, 1856, Buford Papers (Duke); St. J. R. Liddell to M. Liddell, Aug. 7, 1842, Liddell Papers (LSU); runaway advertisement, Nov. 13, 1857, Pettigrew Papers (UNC).
  7. Richmond *Dispatch*, Sept. 27, 1852, July 25, 1857; Charles City County petition, Dec. 27, 1831, Legislative Petitions (VSL); Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, ch. 6.
  8. Entry for Sept. 22, 1848, Anderson Account Book, vol. 2 (VHS); entry for Nov. 13, 1855, Harper Diary (UNC); Richmond *Dispatch*, Dec. 14, 1852, April 2 and Dec. 10, 1853; *Niles' Register*, 38 (1830), 419.
  9. Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 104-105.
  10. Robert, *Tobacco Kingdom*, 206; Nevitt Journal, Jan. 13, 1827, Feb. 8, 1831 (UNC); Charleston *Courier*, Aug. 18, 1845; L. Combs to J. L. Lawrence, Aug. 7, 1845 (UK).
  11. Catterall, *Cases*, V, 293; Gavin Diary, 1855-56 (UNC); Richmond *Dispatch*, Jan. 31, 1854; C. Manigault to L. Manigault, Jan. 11, 1859, Manigault Papers (Duke); R. W. Taliaferro to J. G. Taliaferro, Dec. 9, 1860, Taliaferro Papers (LSU).
  12. W. M. McKinley to D. C. Barrow, Aug. 4, 1851, Barrow Papers (UG).
  13. Slave Time Books, 1830-31, 1837-52, Graham Papers (UV); W. W. Rex to D. Brady, May 10, 1859, Weaver Papers (UV); Manigault Papers, vol. 3 (UNC); Magnolia Journals, Warmoth Papers, vols. 2 and 3 (UNC).
  14. Entries for July 11, 1823, and Oct. 5, 1837, Hill Carter Shirley Plantation Journals (LC); Magnolia Journals, vols. 2 and 3, Warmoth Papers (UNC).
  15. B. H. Broomhead to Bel, July 9, 1857, Smith Papers (Duke); M. C. Monroe to J. R. Grist, Dec. 22, 1858, Grist Papers (Duke); W. R. Bivins Journal, 1837 (GA).
  16. J. Squire to W. P. Browne, July 19, 1861, Browne Papers (AA).
  17. This conclusion is based on a study of several southern newspapers, from 1820 to 1861, in which runaway advertisements appear as

- frequently for industrial slaves as for plantation hands and domestic servants. Both plantation and industrial slave runaways gravitated toward the cities, which offered anonymity and escape routes. However, since industrial slaves were employed in cities as well as towns, and since industrial slaves were only a small fraction of the total slave population, which was overwhelmingly rural and agricultural, they seemed to abscond as frequently, proportional to their numbers, as did plantation slaves. This impression is confirmed by evidence from business records of industries, from plantation records, and from slave narratives, all of which suggest that slave disaffection was as great a problem at industries as on plantations.
18. Taylor, *Slavery in Louisiana*, 177; L. M. Child, *Isaac T. Hopper, A True Life* (New York, 1881), 139-140; New Orleans *Picayune*, March 2, 1839, Aug. 29, 1837, July 18, 1845; Catterall, *Cases*, IV, 169.
  19. H. S. Clark to D. W. Jordan, Jan. 14, 1858; J. Joyner to D. W. Jordan, May 18 and 21, 1854, Jordan Papers (Duke).
  20. Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 159-161; *Harper's Monthly*, 13 (1856), 451-453.
  21. J. K. Watkins to W. W. Weaver, July 30, 1854; W. W. Rex to D. Brady, Oct. 26, 1860, Weaver Papers (Duke).
  22. Richmond *Dispatch*, Feb. 27, 28, May 7, 12, and March 13, 1852.
  23. New Orleans *Picayune*, Dec. 18, 1842; Magnolia Journal, Dec. 18, 19, 1860, Warmoth Papers (UNC); "Visit of 1867," Manigault Papers, vol. 4 (UNC); Charleston *Mercury*, Jan. 26, 1856.
  24. Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, ch. 3; H. Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943).
  25. *Ibid.*, 219-220, 268; Bernhard, *Travels*, II, 31; Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, 238-239; Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 135; W. W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York, 1966), ch. 3; R. McColley, *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia* (Urbana, 1964), ch. 5.
  26. H. Aptheker, *Nat Turner's Rebellion* (New York, 1966); R. E. Corlew, "Some Aspects of Slavery in Dickson County," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 10 (1951), 360; Boston *Liberator*, Oct. 10, 1835; C. W. Turner, "Early Virginia Railroad Entrepreneurs and Personnel," *Virginia Magazine of History*, 58 (1950), 334; petition dated 1853 on Manassas Gap R.R. (VSL); W. S. Pettigrew to J. C. Johnston, Oct. 25, 1860, Pettigrew Papers (UNC).

27. Neither H. Wish, "The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1856," *JSH*, 5 (1939), 206-222, nor Corlew, "Slavery in Dickson County," fully explores the industrial nature of this revolt, while H. Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 345-350, ignores this aspect altogether.
28. Much of this information is based on the following newspapers for October, November, and December, 1856, and for January, 1857: *Nashville Union and American*, *Nashville Republican Banner*, *St. Louis Democrat*, *Richmond Dispatch*, *New York Tribune*, and *Boston Liberator*, all of which reprinted articles from other newspapers. See also, *Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society* for 1857 and 1858; Catterall, *Cases*, II, 565-566; Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 485-486; J. H. Couper to F. P. Corbin, Dec. 26, 1856, Corbin Papers (NYPL).
29. *Boston Liberator*, Nov. 28, 1856.
30. R. C. Shinn to H. S. Harris, Jan. 17, 1857, Harris Papers (Duke); *Richmond Dispatch*, Dec. 12, 1856.
31. *Southern Agriculturist*, 6 (1833), 571-572.
32. *Louisville Journal*, Nov. 29, 1830, typescript, misc. papers H (Filson); P. Godwin, ed., *The Prose Writings of William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1964); Bremer, *Homes*, II, 174.
33. Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 156-162; undated memo, R. L. Allston Papers (SCHS); *Niles' Register*, 65 (1843), 108-109.
34. *Charleston Courier*, July 19, 1844; receipt, June 1, 1846, Williams-Chesnut-Manning Papers (USC); Hudson Diaries, 1855 (UNC); Nov. 30 and Dec., 1856, vol. 2, Warmoth Papers (UNC); C. C. Jones Diaries, 1857-61 (Tulane); Holt Diary, Aug. 8 and Sept. 13, 1852, and April 24, 1853 (UNC); *Richmond Whig*, June 26, 1846; *Niles' Register*, 65 (1843), 108-109. For an excellent description of a religious service of slave turpentine and fishery workers, see W. D. Valentine Diary, Nov. 4, 1851 (UNC).
35. Moses Austin's memorandum, 1815, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, I, 247-249; Jordan, Davis & Co. to W. Weaver, Sept. 8, 1832, Weaver Papers (Duke); C. Manigault to J. F. Cooper, Jan. 10, 1848, Manigault Letterbook (SCHS); "Memo for 1857," Ledger, 1856, vol. 5, Walton Papers (UNC).
36. Sinclair, *Port of New Orleans*, 190-191; Dew, *Ironmaker to the Confederacy*, 26; Patton, Donegan & Co. to Haddock, Haseltine & Co., Dec. 11, 1847, Patton, Donegan & Co. Letterbook (HPL); Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, ch. 3.

37. *Ibid.*, ch. 4; Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 153; J. Mackay to J. K. F. Mansfield, Oct. 27, 1835, Mackay-Stiles Papers, vol. 34 (UNC); blank printed pass of the New Orleans Gas Works, dated 186-, Slavery Papers (Emory).
38. J. Haynes to C. Manigault, Nov. 24, 1847, Manigault Papers (Duke); S. Armistead to B. Nicholls, Oct. 14, 1822, Nicholls Papers (NCA).
39. The Slave Time Books, 1833-39 and 1837-52, Graham Papers (UV), for example, reveal that Christmas was observed from Dec. 25 to Jan. 1, every year, without exception, at this iron works.
40. H. S. Clark to D. W. Jordan, Nov. 12, 1851, Jordan Papers (Duke); J. Chew to W. Weaver, Dec. 5, 1830, Weaver Papers (Duke).
41. J. Mackay to J. K. F. Mansfield, Dec. 1 and Dec. 30, 1835, Mackay-Stiles Papers, vol. 34 (UNC); *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 15 and 24, 1859.
42. Burwell-Taylor Expense Book, 1832-39 (UNC); F. L. Fries Woollen Mill Diary, 1840-42 (NCA).
43. J. Liddell to M. Liddell, Dec. 28, 1851, Liddell Papers (LSU).
44. Bayside Plantation Journal, 1860 (UNC); *Magnolia Journal*, 1858-59, Warmoth Papers (UNC); Hudson Diaries (UNC).
45. Instructions to G. Swanston, May 26, 1838 and Instructions for Overseer for the Year 1841, Arnold-Screven Papers (UNC); B. Grist to J. Grist, Dec. 25, 1860, Grist Papers (Duke); Plantation diary in 1859 Almanac, Allston Papers (SCHS); Spalding, *Observations on the Sugar Cane*, 262.
46. F. Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York, 1855), 253-254.
47. McCollam Diary (LSU); McCutcheon Journal, 1838-42 (LSU); Sparkman Journal (UNC); Pré Aux Cleres plantation journals, 1852-54 (LSU); R. J. Arnold plantation journal, vol. 3, Arnold-Screven Papers (UNC); Comite journal, 1857, Kilbourne Papers (LSU); A. B. Flagg plantation journal, Plimton Collection (Columbia); *Harper's Monthly*, 7 (1853), 767; "Christmas Presents: 1842-Dec 25th," plantation book, 1841-44, Liddell Papers (LSU); "Memo of Money Paid or given to the Negroes in 1854," Stirling Papers (LSU).
48. Surviving business records suggest that about half of all industrial slaves—hired and owned—received incentive payments either in cash, kind, or credit.



49. C. Eaton, "Slave-Hiring in the Upper South: A Step toward Freedom," *MVHR*, 46 (1960), 663-678; R. B. Morris, "The Measure of Bondage in the Slave States," *MVHR*, 41 (1954), 219-240; J. H. Moore, "Simon Gray, Riverman: A Slave Who Was Almost Free," *MVHR*, 49 (1962), 472-484.
50. Paylists for 1827 and 1828, account book, 1850-52, Leslie Papers (Duke); account book, 1853-55, and receipts, ca. 1854 and 1858, Jordan Papers (Duke); "Mema of . . . Cash furnished the . . . Furnace & forge Hands," Dec., 1831, Jordan and Irvine Papers (WSHS); Tredegar payroll ledger, 1852 (VSL); reports for 1855, 1856, 1858, and 1859, Nolensville Turnpike Company Minutebook (TSL). Cf. Robert, *Tobacco Kingdom*, 203-206; Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture*, 253-254; and Squire Gaines Account Book, 1843 (UK). For white wages, see below, ch. 5.
51. Weaver Papers (Duke and UV); *Farmers' Register*, 10 (1842), 411-413; "Negroes corn 1854," Ledger, 1852-55, Liddell Papers (LSU); Bayside Plantation Journal, 1850, 1852 (UNC); J. Mackay to J. K. F. Mansfield, Nov. 21, 1835, Mackay-Stiles Papers, vol. 34 (UNC); Hawkins Papers, vol. 16, 1845 (UNC); Burwell-Taylor Expense Book, 1832-39 (UNC).
52. Account Books, vols. I and II, 1854-60, Louisa Furnace (UNC); vols. 25, 29, 41, Pettigrew Papers (UNC).
53. London Papers (UNC); bills and receipts in Treasurers' Papers: Internal Improvements: Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Works (NCA); *Report of the Mayor of Savannah, 1857*, 29-30; *Digest of Ordinances, Savannah, 1858*, 157, 162; various receipts, account sheets, and letters, 1857, North Carolina Railroad Papers (NCA); James Hogg Account Book, 1855-56, vol. 31 (UNC); "Memo . . . 3 Aug. '60," Fisher Papers (UNC).
54. Cumberland Forge Ledger, 1796-97, and Daybook, 1802 (LC); Redwell Furnace Account Books, 1795-99 and 1805-15 (VHS); Ridwell Furnace Record Book (UNC); Pine Forge Account Book, 1804-08 (UNC); Account Books, 1794-1800 and 1808-12, Telfair Papers (GHS); Stump and Ricketts Ledger, 1806-23 (NYPL).
55. Paylists for 1827 and 1828, and account book, 1850-52, Leslie Papers (Duke); account books, 1794-1863, Telfair Papers (GHS); Bath Forge Wood Book, 1849-52; Bath Iron Works Negro Books, 1839-42 and 1846; Bath Forge Cash Book, 1849-51; Etna Furnace Negro Books, 1854-61 and 1856-59; Buffalo Forge Books, 1827-29, 1830-40, 1839-41, 1844-48, 1850-57; Buffalo Forge Time Book,

- 1830-43; and Buffalo Forge Wood Cutting and Coaling Record, 1831-41 (UV); see also memoranda of cash paid Negroes, 1854 and 1857, Weaver Papers (Duke); and "Mema of . . . cash furnished the Hands Decr. 1831," Jordan and Irvine Papers (WSHS).
56. Account Books, vols. I and II, 1854-60, Louisa Furnace (UNC).
57. Account Books, 1817, 1824, No. 3, Pettigrew Papers (NCA); vols. 19, 25, 29, 41, 43, Pettigrew Papers (UNC). The Blue Ridge Railroad accounts, Feb.-Sept., 1859, vol. 43, Hawkins Papers (UNC), indicate that some industrial slaves managed to outwit even the complicated workings of the credit system of money payments.
58. Monthly payrolls for Dec., 1860, Jan., 1861, and attached notes concerning slaveowners Bryan and Quince, London Papers (UNC); contingency bills, March 31 and June 30, 1860, Treasurers' Papers: Internal Improvements: Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Works (NCA). Promoters of slave-based industrialization agreed with slave-employing industrialists that cash incentives improved slave discipline and increased productivity; see, for example, letter by "Hamilton," *American Farmer*, series 1, vol. 9 (Oct. 19, 1827), p. 241, which was never publicly challenged.
59. L. Baldwin to ——— Delalande, June 27, 1833, Baldwin Papers, vol. 41 (Baker); L. Baldwin to Navy Department, ca. 1830, quoted in "Slaves on a Federal Project," *B.H.S. Bulletin*, 8 (1934), 32-33. Cf. Woolley [Textile] Mill Papers (UK); Nolensville Turnpike Company Minutebook, 1855-59 (TSL); T. K. Noble to J. Morgan, Dec. 24, 1857, Hunt-Morgan Papers (UK).
60. *B.H.S. Bulletin*, 8 (1934), 32-33; *Louisville Journal*, Nov. 29, 1830, typescript, misc. papers H (Filson Club). Travelers believed that incentive payments improved discipline and productivity of slaves working in tobacco factories, fisheries, lumber and shingling operations, as well as on steamboats and railroads: Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 127-128, 153-156, and 352-355; Olmsted, *Journey Through Texas*, 19, 33; Olmsted, *Cotton Kingdom* (1953 edition), 109; Stirling, *Letters*, 242.
61. Weaver Account Books (UV and Duke); Pettigrew Account Books (UNC and NCA); Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, 253-254.
62. R. Evans, "The Economics of American Negro Slavery," in *Aspects of Labor Economics* (Princeton, 1962), 226.
63. Olmsted, *Journey Through Texas*, 19.

64. Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, 151-153; Elkins, *Slavery*, ch. 1-3; E. D. Genovese, "The Legacy of Slavery and the Roots of Black Nationalism," *Studies on the Left*, 6 (Nov.-Dec., 1966), 9-11; E. F. Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (New York, 1957). My forthcoming collection—*Slavery As It Was* (Chicago, Quadrangle Books)—will examine this question further.
65. Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 426-429.
66. D. Ross to ——— Douglass, Feb. 7, 1812, Ross Letterbook (VHS).
67. C. C. Jones to Sandy, Aug. 15, 1853, and C. C. Jones to T. J. Shepard, March 30, 1850, Jones Papers (Tulane).
68. R. Jemison Letterbooks, 1844-46, 1851-53, 1852-54 (UA); *Journals of the Alabama House and Senate*, 1845-46 session; Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, 131. After the Civil War, Horace—whose surname was now King—became an Alabama legislator.
69. Moore, "Simon Gray, Riverman," 472-484; J. H. Moore, ed., "A Letter From a Fugitive Slave," *JMH*, 24 (1962), 99-101.
70. For example, Frankfort *Argus*, June 3, 1829; Mobile *Register*, June 6, 1822; New Orleans *Picayune*, Dec. 8, 1840, July 7, 1841, Sept. 6, 1843, and March 2, 1839; Lexington *Reporter*, Sept. 15, 1830, Jan. 6, 1830, and March 31, 1830; Jackson *Mississippian*, Aug. 2, 1844; and Richmond *Enquirer*, Jan. 14, 1837.
71. E. Williams, "Slavery in Florida," *FHQ*, 28 (1949-50), 195-196; Ingraham, *The South West*, I, 236-237; Hunter, *Steamboats*, 459.
72. McCollam Diary, Oct. 3, 1845 (LSU); Keitt Papers (LC); Slave Time Book, Sept. 11, 1829, Graham Papers (UV).
73. D. Ross to R. Richardson, Jan. 14, 1813, Ross Letterbook (VHS).
74. W. E. Dickerson to A. Davis, April 19, 1829, Weaver Papers (Duke); D. Cogden to J. C. McRae, Nov. 6, 1852, Hugh McRae Papers (Duke).
75. R. Jemison to J. S. Clements, March 18, 1852, Jemison Letterbook (UA).
76. Testimony of William Poe, in Weld, *American Slavery as It Is*, 26; Richmond *Dispatch*, Nov. 15 and 24, 1852; C. Woodward, "A Common Carrier of the South Before and During the War," *R & LHS Bulletin*, 44 (1937), 55-56.
77. G. E. Manigault to brother, Jan. 21, 1861, Manigault Papers (Duke); B. Grist to J. Grist, Feb. 27 and April 3, 1859, Grist Papers (Duke); McCollam Diary, Sept. 16, 1845 (LSU).
78. H. Alexander to W. Hampton, Jan. 19, 1832, Hampton Papers (UNC); R. A. Moseley to W. P. Browne, Aug. 30, 1860, Browne Papers (AA).

79. Bremer, *Homes*, II, 534; Bernhard, *Travels*, II, 9; receipt, June 17, 1831, Hampton Papers (UNC); Hudson Diary, June 10 and 11, 1855 (LSU); C. W. Thruston to T. Jefferson, Nov. 18, 1834, Thruston Papers (Filson).
80. T. Maskell to S. Plaisted, Aug. 8, 1838, Plaisted Papers (LSU); J. H. Couper to F. P. Corbin, Oct. 21 and Dec. 19, 1856, Corbin Papers (NYPL).
81. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, ch. 4 and 7; Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, ch. 4; Harper Diary, May 4, 1861 (UNC); Records of Pineville [South Carolina] Police Association, Oct. 2 and 8, 1823 (SCHS).
82. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, ch. 4 and 7; Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, ch. 3; Aptheker, *Nat Turner's Rebellion and American Negro Slave Revolts*; and Stamp, *Peculiar Institution*, ch. 3, have chronicled the several uprisings between 1790 and 1861.
83. Boston *Liberator*, Nov. 28 and Dec. 19, 1856; Nashville *Union and American*, Nov. 27, Dec. 7, 20, and 28, 1856, and Jan. 3, 1857; Richmond *Dispatch*, Dec. 12, 1856 and Jan. 5, 1857; and petition cited in Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 485-486.

#### *Chapter Four: Conversion, Hiring, and Integration of Work Forces*

1. J. B. Smith to H. Smith, Nov. 25, 1855, J. B. Smith to George [Moore], July 26, 1853, Smith Papers and Letterbook (Duke); *Report of the Chief Engineer of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad . . . July 17, 1856*; Hamilton, ed., *Graham Papers*, IV, 243.
2. Hogan and Davis, eds., *William Johnson's Natchez Diary*, 156; W. Viands to I. P. Rinker, March 10, 1852, Rinker-Lantz Papers (UV); B. H. Broomhead to Bel [Smith], June 6, 15, and 24, 1857, Smith Papers (Duke); P. Ward to R. Leckie, Oct. 25 and Nov. 20, 1818, Leckie Papers (Duke); M. Jones to J. Jones, March 15, 1838, Jones Papers (Tulane).
3. Proceedings of the Board of Directors, Feb. 9 and 25, 1835, C & O Canal Papers (NA); R. Leckie to the Engineer in Chief of the C & O Canal, n.d., Leckie Papers (Duke); memorials and reports in *Senate Doc. #277*, 26 C., 1 s., March 11, 1840, pp. 183-186, 169-170, and 217; *Senate Doc. #610*, 26 C., 1 s., 1840, pp. 129-132.