

1619 notes Link References- Original, divided into parts

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Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. iv). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/slavery-records.html> -

Index page at the National Archives

<https://www.opera-historica.com/pdfs/oph/2021/01/05.pdf>

“The 1619 Project and Living in Truth” by Sean Wilentz ...

The 1619 Project Arrives

On a hot, drowsy August Saturday, a copy of the New York Times Magazine devoted entirely to something called The 1619 Project landed on my doorstep, and immediately grabbed my attention. It took me little time to comprehend the project’s purpose, or what appeared to be its purpose. Historians, if not the public, identify 1619 as the year the first African bondsmen arrived in the British colonies that would become the United States. Clearly, or so it seemed, the Times, at a fraught moment in the nation’s race relations, had commendably decided to popularize half a century’s worth of historical research on American slavery, race, and racism, as a rejoinder to the alarming spread of pro-Trump white nationalism. The Times’s list of the project’s contributors included some names I recognized and respected, although it did seem odd that the list lacked any historian with expertise on the history of the United States before 1865, which would include, of course, the entire history of American slavery. Still, I thought, better an uneven rendering than none at all, so long as the rendering was intellectually reliable.

[But I began feeling uneasy a few minutes into reading the lead essay, by the project’s chief contributor, the journalist Nikole Hannah-Jones, and then I read a key paragraph so fallacious and dogmatic that it hit](#)

me between the eyes. With a tone of absolute assurance, flagging the matter as crucial, the essay informed readers of what it called a “fact” – a fact “conveniently left out of our founding mythology” – specifically that “one of the primary reasons the colonists decided to declare their independence” from Britain “was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery.”

I instantly wondered how anyone even lightly informed about the history of either slavery or the American Revolution, could write that sentence. Unfortunately, the ensuing explanation only made matters worse. The British, the essay claimed, had grown “deeply conflicted” over slavery, and the British government was facing rising calls to end the Atlantic slave trade – a reform that would have “upended” the entire colonial economy, not just in the South. For that reason – the essay mentioned no other – the American colonists, North and South, believed that the British posed a threat to slavery, an institution they desperately wanted to protect. Rather than run the risk of losing slavery, the colonists declared their independence. The Revolution was supposedly, at its core, a reactionary, proslavery struggle to fend off abolition of slavery by the British.

... **The 1619 Project’s claims were based not on historical sources but on imputation and inventive mindreading – and that was just for starters.** The British were not “deeply conflicted” over slavery in 1776. Neither were there loud outcries in London against the slave trade until years after the American Revolution. Nor did the colonists believe that ending the slave trade would severely damage their entire economy. **It was the Americans, and not the British,** who loudly called for abolishing the trade, albeit not always for humanitarian reasons, in petitions that Crown officials rejected out of hand. Indeed, at the time of the Revolution, there was considerably more in the way of anti-slavery politics in the colonies than in Britain proper. These are elementary facts.

Slavery certainly existed in 1776, in all thirteen colonies, and it had ardent and powerful defenders, especially in the lower South, and many of the leading lights of the American cause, above all Thomas Jefferson and George Washington, owned, bought, and sold human beings. Mindreading and inventions aside, though, the evidence, or absence of evidence, make it clear: fear of a rising abolitionism in Britain was not a “primary” cause of the Revolution – or, for that matter, any cause at all. The very existence of such dedicated and influential rebels as John Adams and Thomas Paine, who reviled slavery, as well as Benjamin Franklin, who went on to head the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, confuted the essay’s claim. So, even more, did the fact that many **if not most of the leading Loyalists in the lower South were slaveholders. If protecting slavery really was a primary cause of the Revolution, why did these enslavers support the Crown?** Did nobody tell them about the fearsome, incipient British abolitionist threat? Slavery can account for a good deal in early American history, far more than previous generations of historians thought, but it cannot account for everything.

It required no advanced knowledge of American history to understand the perversity of The 1619 Project’s lead essay’s treatment of the Revolution. If it were a high school history paper, that discussion alone would have been grounds for failure. It’s rare, after all, to read a student get every single stated fact perfectly wrong, in support of a proposition for which there is no other evidence cited, on two of the most important topics in all of U.S. history, indeed, all of modern history, the causes of the American Revolution and the origins of antislavery. But this wasn’t a high school paper, it was the New York Times Magazine, and the author was, according to her contributor’s biography, a highly acclaimed journalist. The essay may have been historically fallacious, but it was also inflammatory and attention-getting.

7 - On this last point, see Roger Bruns (ed.), Am I Not a Man and a Brother: The Antislavery Crusade of Revolutionary America, 1688–1788, New York 1977, as well as Sean Wilentz, No Property in Man: Slavery and Antislavery at the Nation’s Founding, Cambridge, MA, 2018, pp. 25–57. Hannah-Jones’s essay does manage to quote in passing the white abolitionist and supporter of the Revolution Samuel Bryan without

saying anything about the antislavery aspects of the American Revolution. One would never imagine, for example, on the basis of her presentation, that between 1780 and 1784, five of the seven new states north of Delaware adopted the first important emancipation measures of their kind in the Atlantic world.

There was nothing else in the keynote essay quite so egregious as its discussion of the American Revolution, but there was plenty that was either patently tendentious (e.g., that Abraham Lincoln was a racist who opposed Black equality) or simply false (e.g., that American Blacks fought for equality after the Civil War for the most part entirely on their own). The ensuing individual essays were for the most part better, although the quality of historical research and reasoning varied considerably from contribution to contribution.

By the time I had finished the entire thing, the shape and purport of the project as shaped by its editors were clear. (If every essay did not espouse the same framework, all could be assimilated to it.) Instead of trying to instruct the public about the significance of the year 1619, and hence of the foundational importance of slavery and racism to American history, the project promoted a narrow, highly ideological view of the American past, according to which white supremacy has been the nation's core principle and chief mission ever since its founding. Everything, supposedly, that has happened since to make the United States a distinctive country is rooted in slavery and the subsequent debasement of Blacks. America has not really struggled over the meaning of its egalitarian founding principles: those principles were false from the start, hollow sentiments meant to cloak the nation's reliance on and commitment to the subjugation of Black people – principles claimed and vindicated, to the extent they have been, by Black Americans struggling pretty much on their own. And now, thanks to The 1619 Project, that suppressed history would at last, for the first time, come to light, with the esteemed imprimatur of the New York Times.

Although touted as startling revelation, the enterprise had an old-fashioned ring to it, reminiscent of long-discredited polemics from decades ago, including the writings of the Ebony magazine editor and Black studies historian, the late Lerone Bennett Jr., who compared Lincoln to Adolf Hitler. (Indeed, Hannah-Jones later credited Bennett as one of her chief inspirations.) Like those earlier broadsides, The 1619 Project appeared to be interested chiefly in molding history in order to push a particular political cause, which in this case has turned out to be demanding that the government pay financial reparations to Blacks as compensation for slavery and racism.⁸

8 Bennett's key works are Lerone Bennett Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619–1962*, Chicago 1962, a collection of articles originally written for Ebony surveying its subject, praised at the time by the historian Benjamin Quarles as lively, deeply-informed, and moving if not especially original; and the more controversial Lerone Bennett Jr., *Forced Into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream*, Chicago 2000. Quarles's review appears in *American Historical Review* 68, No. 4 (July), 1963, pp. 1078–79. See also Eric Foner, *Was Abraham Lincoln a Racist?*, *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, April 9, 2000; and James M. McPherson, *Lincoln the Devil*, *New York Times Book Review*, August 27, 2000. On Hannah-Jones and Bennett, see Sarah Ellison, *How 1619 Took Over 2020*, *Washington Post*, October 13, 2020. On the connection to the demand for reparations, see Hannah-Jones's follow-up article to her 1619 contribution, N. Hannah-Jones, "What Is Owed," *New York Times Magazine*, June 30, 2020

Historians Respond

Although surprised that the New York Times would lend its name and credibility to such a crude and falsified account of American history – a history with more than enough brutality, racism, and systematic

oppression to require no falsification – I put the magazine aside. Responsible historians, I assumed, would come along soon enough to praise the project’s stated goals while debunking its skewed and sometimes warped history, just as historians had done decades ago in response to the writings of Lerone Bennett and others – and seen their refutations prominently published in, among other places, the New York Times. As for the outright factual errors, I imagined that some bright young historian who could use the attention would write a letter to the editor of the Times Magazine, asking for corrections – corrections that, I thought, the Times, adhering to its longstanding professional standards, of course would make.

When no letter appeared and no other historians spoke up, I decided to address the matter myself in a public lecture I delivered in November, which would later appear online in the New York Review of Books.⁹ Only after the lecture did I learn that four highly distinguished historians – three of them old friends and colleagues, the fourth a scholar I greatly respected – had already been giving interviews to an online forum called the World Socialist Web Site, a Trotskyist venue, taking The 1619 Project seriously to task for its false statements about the Revolution and much more.¹⁰ The four included Victoria Bynum of Texas State University, a distinguished scholar of the Civil War South and white resistance to the Confederacy; James Oakes of the Graduate Center at the City University of New York, the premier scholar of, among other subjects, the politics of Emancipation; as well as Gordon S. Wood of Brown and James M. McPherson of Princeton, the greatest living authorities on, respectively, the American Revolution and the American Civil War. It struck me as a little odd that these well-known historians – none of them socialists as far as I knew, let alone Trotskyists – would appear in such a relatively obscure place. Surely, I thought, one of the leading academic journals would have given them a platform. As it happened, only the intellectually honorable Trotskyists, whatever one thought about their politics, had the nerve to undertake a systematic critique of The 1619 Project. Still, I was encouraged to discover that I wasn’t alone in my criticisms. Likewise, I thought that, by appearing on a leftist website, my colleagues at least could not be conflated with the right-wing attack squad, headed by former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, which had been lambasting the project from the moment it appeared.¹¹ Unlike during the History Standards controversy in 1994, I thought, this dispute needn’t become sharply polarized between the Left and the Right. And if it did become divisive, perhaps liberal minded scholars (including some, like myself, with political credentials on the Left) could be seen as honestly critical of a supposedly “progressive” historical undertaking. Perhaps we could speak out without running the risk of being derided as de facto or “objective” accomplices of Gingrich and company. Perhaps we could play a role not unlike that of the liberal historians a quarter century earlier who opposed rejecting the History Standards proposals but suggested revisions, with some success. Looking back on it now, I couldn’t have been more naive.

Some people clearly were infuriated at our pointing out errors that needing fixing, interpreting any criticism at all as hostile act. Even if the errors, on subjects as vital as slavery and the American Revolution, seriously undermined the project’s credibility as well as its interpretation, pointing them out publicly seemed to be an act of betrayal that amounted to intolerable heresy. Yet we remained confident when we received a friendly email from one of the Times editors acknowledging receipt of our letter, which seemed to affirm our good faith. We then received word that the Magazine would indeed be publishing the letter in late December. I imagined that the Times would run the usual brief editor’s note, own up to the mistakes, and revise the copy that appeared on the newspaper’s website.

The lengthy reply from the Magazine’s editor, Silverstein, published alongside our letter and more than three times longer, was deeply disappointing.¹² Silverstein refused to make any corrections because, he countered, there was nothing to correct! He then spent the remainder of his lengthy reply unintentionally refuting that claim. Silverstein’s evasions showed that, in fact, he knew very well that

Hannah-Jones's essay demanded corrections, but that he had decided to opt for damage control rather than responsibility. Instead of providing evidence to back up Hannah-Jones's erroneous arguments that our letter identified, he substituted new arguments of his own, as if they were the same as Hannah-Jones's, and defended them. (On even cursory inspection, these substitute assertions, based in part on a debunked book by a pair of non-historians, proved just as erroneous as Hannah-Jones's originals.

...

... Yet even as circumstances have grown more complicated, the character of the intellectual and academic troubles connected with The 1619 Project has become clearer. A few tendencies stand out. First, the prolonged era of regressive conservative politics that culminated in the authoritarian and racially-charged presidency of Donald Trump has badly flattened historical perspectives in the United States, inside as well as outside the academy. Historians as well as their readers and students are increasingly open to simplified, pessimistic, and even cynical caricatures of our past, especially concerning the history of race relations.

<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2019/10/30/bynu-o30.html>

(interview with) Historian Victoria Bynum on the inaccuracies of the *New York Times* 1619 Project

Eric London - @EricLondonSEP - 30 October 2019

... The forces that drove men like Newt Knight to reject the Confederacy involved **three classes of Southern whites—slaveholders, non-slaveholders (the yeomanry), and the propertyless (poor whites)**. Pro-slavery leaders defused issues of inequality among whites by placing free blacks below poor whites and regularly touting the superiority of all whites over blacks on account of Southern slavery. To a large degree, the white yeoman class bought into this, priding itself on its superiority to both blacks and poor whites, particularly since white elites blamed the poverty of poor whites on their degradation and inferior heritage. At the same time, however, a sizable slice of the yeomanry developed a keen sense of class consciousness as slavery expanded and became ever more concentrated in the hands of wealthy elites. These were the conditions that led Hinton Rowan Helper, who emerged from the yeoman class of North Carolina, and his followers (as stated above) to condemn slavery and advocate its abolition.

...

VB: The frequent correlation of identity with ancestral DNA continues to mask the historical economic forces and shifting constructions of class, race and gender that have far more relevance to one's identity than one's DNA can ever reveal. Historically, race-based slavery required legal definitions of whiteness and blackness that upheld the fiction that British/US slavery was reserved for Africans for whom the institution "civilized." From the earliest days of colonization, however, both forced and consensual sexual relations created slaveholding and non-slaveholding households that were neither "black" nor "white," but rather were mixed-race. The frequent rape of enslaved women by slaveholders produced multitudes of such children, but so also were many mixed-race children born to whites and free blacks. Slave law dictated that the child of an enslaved woman was also a slave—and therefore "black"—regardless of who fathered the child. Conversely, deciding the race of children born to free women who crossed the color line was not so easy, and became even more difficult after slavery was abolished. In the segregated South, where one's ability to work, live, love, travel and enjoy the full benefits of American citizenship depended on one's perceived race, such questions might end up in court, as was the case in 1946 for Newt Knight's mixed-race great-grandson, Davis Knight, after he married a white woman. While custom dictated that Davis Knight was "black" based on his great-

grandmother Rachel's mixed-race status, state laws required more precise evidence. Under Mississippi law, unless one was proved to have at least one-fourth African ancestry, one was legally—though not socially—white. On this basis, Davis Knight went free.

...

WSWS: One of the arguments implied in the 1619 project is that anyone living in the mid-1800s who harbored racial prejudice was responsible for slavery, regardless of their political views or activity. What do you make of this argument? What was ultimately the source of racial backwardness in the period you studied?

VB: This is a specious argument that ignores the historical context in which North American racism emerged, as well as the complicated place of race relations within both class and gender relations. With Africa supplying the demand for ever more slaves for the mines and plantations of the Americas, New World chattel slavery became increasingly race-based. Elaborate racist theories enabled the builders of empire to argue as “good Christians” that slavery was part of a God-decreed “natural” order. Historian Ibram X. Kendi and others cite plenty of evidence that European racism preceded the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, but it's also clear that New World slavery elevated racism by fueling Europe's commercial revolution and justifying the brutal labor demands of colonial plantation agriculture. As Eric Williams argued in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), slavery underwrote early capitalism.

Compared to Spain and France, slavery in British North America grew relatively slowly despite slaves' noted arrival in 1619. The labor needs of British colonizers were originally met by various means that either failed or proved inadequate: conquered Indians were enslaved on grounds of their “Godless” savagery; lower-class whites from European nations were indentured on grounds of their degradation and burdensome presence in home countries. Edmund Morgan argued that African slaves were initially too expensive an investment in the death trap of North America. That changed when unruly servants began to live long enough to claim freedom dues; replacing temporary unfree labor with chattel slavery helped to defuse class conflict.

By the 19th century, racist dogma was deeply entrenched and practiced with special urgency among elite Southerners whose wealth and leisure depended on slavery. Beliefs in white superiority resonated as well among non-slaveholding whites who defined their freedom from chattel slavery on the basis of being part of the “superior” race. Still, regardless of how successful slaveholders were in inculcating the common people with racism, the idea that anyone “that harbored racial prejudice was a priori historically responsible for slavery,” appears to be a rhetorical device aimed at rendering racism timeless and immutable.

<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2019/11/14/mcph-n14.html> -

“Opposition to slavery has also been an important theme in American history”

An interview with historian James McPherson on the New York Times' 1619 Project - Tom Mackaman - 14 November 2019

<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2020/01/15/clay-j15.html> -

“The saddest part of this is that the response of the Times is simply to defend their project”

An interview with historian Clayborne Carson on the New York Times’ 1619 Project - Tom Mackaman - 15 January 2020

<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2019/11/28/wood-n28.html> -

“When the Declaration says that all men are created equal, that is no myth”

An interview with historian Gordon Wood on the New York Times’ 1619 Project - Tom Mackaman - 27 November 2019

Q. Can you discuss the relationship between the American Revolution and the institution of slavery?

A. One of the things that I have emphasized in my writing is how many southerners and northerners in 1776 thought slavery was on its last legs and that it would naturally die away. You can find quotation after quotation from people seriously thinking that slavery was going to wither away in several decades. Now we know they couldn’t have been more wrong. But they lived with illusions and were so wrong about so many things. We may be living with illusions too. One of the big lessons of history is to realize how the past doesn’t know its future. We know how the story turned out, and we somehow assume they should know what we know, but they don’t, of course. They don’t know their future any more than we know our future, and so many of them thought that slavery would die away, and at first there was considerable evidence that that was indeed the case.

At the time of the Revolution, the Virginians had more slaves than they knew what to do with, so they were eager to end the international slave trade. But the Georgians and the South Carolinians weren’t ready to do that yet. That was one of the compromises that came out of the Constitutional Convention. The Deep South was given 20 years to import more slaves, but most Americans were confident that the despicable transatlantic slave trade was definitely going to end in 1808.

<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2019/11/18/oake-n18.html> -

An interview with historian James Oakes on the New York Times’ 1619 Project
Tom Mackaman - 18 November 2019

<https://www.britannica.com/science/taxonomy/Nomenclature> -

Excerpt: **plants and birds are listed as having races:**

... A recognized species of flowering plant may consist of several “chromosomal races”—i.e., identical in external appearance but genetically incompatible and, thus, effectively separate species. Such various forms are often identifiable only by cytological examination, which requires fresh material and extensive laboratory work. Many botanists have said that there has been so little stability in the accepted nomenclature that further upheavals would be intolerable and render identification impossible for many applied botanists who may not require such refinements.

... Some species of birds are widespread over the archipelagos of the southwest Pacific, where nearly every island may have a form sufficiently distinct to be given some kind of taxonomic recognition. For example, 73 races are currently recognized for the golden whistler (*Pachycephala pectoralis*). Before the realization that species could vary geographically, each island form was named as a separate species (as many of the races of *P. pectoralis* actually were).

<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/evolution-before-darwin> -

Evolutionary Thought Before Darwin

First published Mon Jun 17, 2019 – tons of footnotes

Very long article with numerous creation theories. Here is an excerpt paragraph about pre-existence: At least three variants of the theory of pre-existence can be distinguished. Two of these assumed the pre-existence of forms in miniature, either encased in the ovaries of the female (Ovism), the original version, or after the discovery of spermatozoa by Anton van Leeuwenhoek in 1677, in the testes of the male (Vermism). These two versions of “preformationism” generally became the main options one finds expressed in the professional medical and gynecological literature of the 1670–1740 period. A third alternative, which had few followers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, but which became particularly popular by the 1770s, was the theory of pre-formed “germs”, given its first clear statement by Claude Perrault (1608–80). This Perrault theory, which closely resembled the Augustinian account, held that the first primordia of organisms were formed at the original creation as seeds dispersed in the soil, from which they were taken in with food. Under the proper conditions and within the correct organisms, these “germs” became implanted in the ovaries from which they then developed in response to fertilization. In all three accounts, the act of fertilization provided the occasion, and not the cause, of the development of organisms in time.

... (and Buffon)

Buffon’s theory of the internal mold functioned in a way similar to Aristotle’s notion of an immanent substantial form, and was likely influenced by Aristotle’s discussions in *De generatione animalium* (see above Section 1.1). This “mold” serves as an immanent principle of organization that acts in company with matter to structure the unified organism by gradual development. The internal mold also guaranteed the perpetuation of like by like over time.

<https://mathshistory.st-andrews.ac.uk/Biographies/Buffon/> -

Georges Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon, 1707-1788

Georges Buffon was a French scientist who was important in the area of natural history. His needle experiment caused much discussion about probability.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges-Louis_Leclerc,_Comte_de_Buffon –

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Spanish_War_\(1585%E2%80%931604\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Spanish_War_(1585%E2%80%931604))

Anglo-Spanish War (1585–1604)

The Anglo-Spanish War (1585–1604) was an intermittent conflict between the Habsburg Kingdom of Spain and the Kingdom of England. It was never formally declared.[2] The war included much English privateering against Spanish ships, and several widely separated battles. It began with England’s military expedition in 1585 to what was then the Spanish Netherlands under the command of the Earl of Leicester, in support of the Dutch rebellion against Spanish Habsburg rule.

The English enjoyed a victory at Cádiz in 1587, and repelled the Spanish Armada in 1588, but then suffered heavy setbacks: the English Armada (1589), the Drake–Hawkins expedition (1595), and the Essex–Raleigh expedition (1597). Three further Spanish armadas were sent against England and Ireland

in 1596, 1597, and 1601, but these likewise ended in failure for Spain, mainly because of adverse weather.

The war became deadlocked around the turn of the 17th century during campaigns in the Netherlands, France, and Ireland. It was brought to an end with the Treaty of London (1604), negotiated between Philip III of Spain and the new king of England, James I. In the treaty, England and Spain agreed to cease their military interventions in the Spanish Netherlands and Ireland, respectively, and the English ended their high seas privateering.

Causes

In the 1560s, Philip II of Spain was faced with increasing religious disturbances as Protestantism gained adherents in his domains in the Low Countries. As a defender of the Catholic Church, he sought to suppress the rising Protestant movement in his territories, which eventually exploded into open rebellion in 1566. Meanwhile, relations with the regime of Elizabeth I of England continued to deteriorate, following her restoration of royal supremacy over the Church of England through the Act of Supremacy in 1559; this had been first instituted by her father Henry VIII and rescinded by her sister Mary I, Philip's wife. The Act was considered by Catholics as a usurpation of papal authority. Calls by leading English Protestants to support the Protestant Dutch rebels against Philip increased tensions further as did the Catholic-Protestant disturbances in France, which saw both sides supporting the opposing French factions.

Complicating matters were commercial disputes. **The activities of English sailors, begun by Sir John Hawkins in 1562, gained the tacit support of Elizabeth, even though the Spanish government complained that Hawkins's trade with their colonies in the West Indies constituted smuggling. In September 1568, a slaving expedition led by Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake was surprised by the Spanish, and several ships were captured or sunk at the Battle of San Juan de Ulúa near Veracruz in New Spain. This engagement soured Anglo-Spanish relations and in the following year the English detained several treasure ships sent by the Spanish to supply their army in the Netherlands. Drake and Hawkins intensified their privateering as a way to break the Spanish monopoly on Atlantic trade.** Francis Drake went on a privateering voyage where he eventually circumnavigated the globe between 1577 and 1580. Spanish colonial ports were plundered and a number of ships were captured including the treasure galleon Nuestra Señora de la Concepción. When news of his exploits reached Europe, Elizabeth's relations with Philip continued to deteriorate.

Soon after the Portuguese succession crisis of 1580, English support was provided to António, Prior of Crato who then fought in his struggle with Philip II for the Portuguese throne. Philip in return began to support the Catholic rebellion in Ireland against Elizabeth's religious reforms. Both Philip's and Elizabeth's attempts to support opposing factions were defeated.

<https://www.nps.gov/jame/learn/historyculture/bacons-rebellion.htm> -

Bacon's Rebellion (1676)

Bacon's Rebellion was probably one of the most confusing yet intriguing chapters in Jamestown's history. For many years, historians considered the Virginia Rebellion of 1676 to be the first stirring of revolutionary sentiment in America, which culminated in the American Revolution almost exactly one hundred years later. However, in the past few decades, based on findings from a more distant viewpoint, historians have come to understand Bacon's Rebellion as a power struggle between two stubborn, selfish leaders rather than a glorious fight against tyranny. ... Between them they almost destroyed Jamestown.

The central figures in Bacon's Rebellion were opposites. Governor Sir William Berkeley, seventy when the crisis began, was a veteran of the English Civil Wars, a frontier Indian fighter, a King's favorite in his first term as Governor in the 1640's, and a playwright and scholar. His name and reputation as Governor of Virginia were well respected. Berkeley's antagonist, young Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., was actually Berkeley's cousin by marriage. Lady Berkeley, Frances Culpeper, was Bacon's cousin. Bacon was a troublemaker and schemer whose father sent him to Virginia in the hope that he would mature. Although disdainful of labor, Bacon was intelligent and eloquent. Upon Bacon's arrival, Berkeley treated his young cousin with respect and friendship, giving him both a substantial land grant and a seat on the council in 1675.

Bacon's Rebellion can be attributed to a myriad of causes, all of which led to dissent in the Virginia colony. Economic problems, such as declining tobacco prices, growing commercial competition from Maryland and the Carolinas, an increasingly restricted English market, and the rising prices from English manufactured goods (mercantilism) caused problems for the Virginians. There were heavy English losses in the latest series of naval wars with the Dutch and, closer to home, there were many problems caused by weather. Hailstorms, floods, dry spells, and hurricanes rocked the colony all in the course of a year and had a damaging effect on the colonists. These difficulties encouraged the colonists to find a scapegoat against whom they could vent their frustrations and place the blame for their misfortunes.

The colonists found their scapegoat in the form of the local Indians. The trouble began in July 1675 with a raid by the Doeg Indians on the plantation of Thomas Mathews, located in the Northern Neck section of Virginia near the Potomac River. Several of the Doegs were killed in the raid, which began in a dispute over the nonpayment of some items Mathews had apparently obtained from the tribe. The situation became critical when, in a retaliatory strike by the colonists, they attacked the wrong Indians, the Susquehannogs, which caused large scale Indian raids to begin.

To stave off future attacks and to bring the situation under control, Governor Berkeley ordered an investigation into the matter. He set up what was to be a disastrous meeting between the parties, which resulted in the murders of several tribal chiefs. Throughout the crisis, Berkeley continually pleaded for restraint from the colonists. Some, including Bacon, refused to listen. Nathaniel Bacon disregarded the Governor's direct orders by seizing some friendly Appomattox Indians for "allegedly" stealing corn. Berkeley reprimanded him, which caused the disgruntled Virginians to wonder which man had taken the right action. It was here the battle lines were about to be drawn.

A further problem was Berkeley's attempt to find a compromise. Berkeley's policy was to preserve the friendship and loyalty of the subject Indians while assuring the settlers that they were not hostile. To meet his first objective, the Governor relieved the local Indians of their powder and ammunition. To deal with the second objective, Berkeley called the "Long Assembly" in March 1676. Despite being judged corrupt, the assembly declared war on all "bad" Indians and set up a strong defensive zone around Virginia with a definite chain of command. The Indian wars which resulted from this directive led to the high taxes to pay the army and to the general discontent in the colony for having to shoulder that burden.

The Long Assembly was accused of corruption because of its ruling regarding trade with the Indians. Not coincidentally, most of the favored traders were friends of Berkeley. Regular traders, some of whom had been trading independently with the local Indians for generations, were no longer allowed to trade individually. A government commission was established to monitor trading among those specially chosen and to make sure the Indians were not receiving any arms and ammunition. Bacon, one of the traders adversely affected by the Governor's order, accused Berkeley publicly of playing favorites. Bacon was also resentful because Berkeley had denied him a commission as a leader in the local militia. Bacon became the elected "General" of a group of local volunteer Indian fighters, because he promised to bear the cost of the campaigns.

After Bacon drove the Pamunkeys from their nearby lands in his first action, Berkeley exercised one of the few instances of control over the situation that he was to have, by riding to Bacon's headquarters at Henrico with 300 "well armed" gentlemen. Upon Berkeley's arrival, Bacon fled into the forest with 200 men in search of a place more to his liking for a meeting. Berkeley then issued two petitions declaring Bacon a rebel and pardoning Bacon's men if they went home peacefully. Bacon would then be relieved of the council seat that he had won for his actions that year, but he was to be given a fair trial for his disobedience.

Bacon did not, at this time, comply with the Governor's orders. Instead, he next attacked the camp of the friendly Occaneechee Indians on the Roanoke River (the border between Virginia and North Carolina), and took their store of beaver pelts.

In the face of a brewing catastrophe, Berkeley, to keep the peace, was willing to forget that Bacon was not authorized to take the law into his own hands. Berkeley agreed to pardon Bacon if he turned himself in, so he could be sent to England and tried before King Charles II. It was the House of Burgesses, however, who refused this alternative, insisting that Bacon must acknowledge his errors and beg the Governor's forgiveness. Ironically, at the same time, Bacon was then elected to the Burgesses by supportive local land owners sympathetic to his Indian campaigns. Bacon, by virtue of this election, attended the landmark Assembly of June 1676. It was during this session that he was mistakenly credited with the political reforms that came from this meeting. The reforms were prompted by the population, cutting through all class lines. Most of the reform laws dealt with reconstructing the colony's voting regulations, enabling freemen to vote, and limiting the number of years a person could hold certain offices in the colony. Most of these laws were already on the books for consideration well before Bacon was elected to the Burgesses. Bacon's only cause was his campaign against the Indians.

Upon his arrival for the June Assembly, Bacon was captured, taken before Berkeley and council and was made to apologize for his previous actions. Berkeley immediately pardoned Bacon and allowed him to take his seat in the assembly. At this time, the council still had no idea how much support was growing in defense of Bacon. The full awareness of that support hit home when Bacon suddenly left the Burgesses in the midst of heated debate over Indian problems. He returned with his forces to surround the statehouse. Once again Bacon demanded his commission, but Berkeley called his bluff and demanded that Bacon shoot him.

"Here shoot me before God, fair mark shoot."

Bacon refused. Berkeley granted Bacon's previous volunteer commission but Bacon refused it and demanded that he be made General of all forces against the Indians, which Berkeley emphatically refused and walked away. Tensions ran high as the screaming Bacon and his men surrounded the statehouse, threatening to shoot several onlooking Burgesses if Bacon was not given his commission. Finally after several agonizing moments, Berkeley gave in to Bacon's demands for campaigns against the Indians without government interference. With Berkeley's authority in shambles, Bacon's brief tenure as leader of the rebellion began.

Even in the midst of these unprecedented triumphs, however, Bacon was not without his mistakes. He allowed Berkeley to leave Jamestown in the aftermath of a surprise Indian attack on a nearby settlement. He also confiscated supplies from Gloucester and left them vulnerable to possible Indian attacks. Shortly after the immediate crisis subsided, Berkeley briefly retired to his home at Green Springs and washed his hands of the entire mess. Nathaniel Bacon dominated Jamestown from July through September 1676. During this time, Berkeley did come out of his lethargy and attempt a coup, but support for Bacon was still too strong and Berkeley was forced to flee to Accomack County on the Eastern Shore.

Feeling that it would make his triumph complete, Bacon issued his "Declaration of the People" on July 30, 1676 which stated that Berkeley was corrupt, played favorites and protected the Indians for his own selfish purposes. Bacon also issued his oath which required the swearer to promise his loyalty to Bacon in any manner necessary (i.e., armed service, supplies, verbal support). Even this tight rein could not keep the tide from changing again. Bacon's fleet was first and finally secretly infiltrated by Berkeley's men and finally captured. This was to be the turning point in the conflict, because Berkeley was once again strong enough to retake Jamestown. Bacon then followed his sinking fortunes to Jamestown and saw it heavily fortified. He made several attempts at a siege, during which he kidnapped the wives of several of Berkeley's biggest supporters, including Mrs. Nathaniel Bacon Sr., and placed them upon the ramparts of his siege fortifications while he dug his position. Infuriated, Bacon burned Jamestown to the ground on September 19, 1676. (He did save many valuable records in the statehouse.) By now his luck had clearly run out with this extreme measure and he began to have trouble controlling his men's conduct as well as keeping his popular support. Few people responded to Bacon's appeal to capture Berkeley who had since returned to the Eastern Shore for safety reasons.

On October 26th, 1676, Bacon abruptly died of the "Bloodie Flux" and "Lousey Disease" (body lice). It is possible his soldiers burned his contaminated body because it was never found. (His death inspired this little ditty; Bacon is Dead I am sorry at my hart That lice and flux should take the hangman's part".)

Shortly after Bacon's death, Berkeley regained complete control and hanged the major leaders of the rebellion. He also seized rebel property without the benefit of a trial. All in all, twenty-three persons were hanged for their part in the rebellion. Later after an investigating committee from England issued its report to King Charles II, Berkeley was relieved of the Governorship and returned to England where he died in July 1677.

Thus ended one of the most unusual and complicated chapters in Jamestown's history. Could it have been prevented or was it time for inevitable changes to take place in the colonial governmental structure? Obviously, the laws were no longer effective as far as establishing clear policies to deal with problems or to instill new lifeblood into the colony's economy. The numerous problems that hit the colony before the Rebellion gave rise to the character of Nathaniel Bacon. Due to the nature of the uprising, Bacon's Rebellion does seem at first glance to be the beginnings of America's quest for Independence. But closer examination of the facts reveals what it really was: a power struggle between two very strong personalities. Between them they almost destroyed Jamestown.

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https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bacon%27s_Rebellion

Bacon's Rebellion

Starting in the 1650s, colonists began squatting on frontier land in the Northern Neck of Virginia, land which had been reserved by the Crown for Native Americans since 1634. Secocowon (then known as Chicacoan), Doeg, Patowomeck and Rappahannock natives began moving into the region as well and

joined local tribes in defending their land and resources. In July 1666, the colonists declared war on them. By 1669, colonists had patented the land on the west of the Potomac as far north as My Lord's Island (now Theodore Roosevelt Island in Washington, D.C.). By 1670, they had driven most of the Doeg out of the Virginia colony and into Maryland—apart from those living beside the Nanzatico/Portobago in Caroline County, Virginia.

Rebellion

In July 1675, Doeg Indians in Stafford County, Virginia, killed two settlers and destroyed fields of corn and cattle. The Stafford County militia tracked down the raiders, killing 10 Doeg in a cabin. Meanwhile, another militia, led by Colonel Mason, attacked a nearby cabin of the friendly Susquehannock tribe and killed 14 of them. The attack ceased only when someone from the cabin managed to escape and confront Mason, telling him that they were not Doegs. On August 31, Virginia Governor William Berkeley proclaimed that the Susquehannock had been involved in the Stafford County attack with the Doeg. On September 26, 1,000 members of Maryland militia led by commander Thomas Truman marched to the Susquehannock stronghold in Maryland. Truman invited five Susquehannock chiefs to a parley. After they denied responsibility for the July attacks in Stafford County, they were killed. The Susquehannocks retaliated in January 1676 with attacks on plantations, killing 60 settlers in Maryland and a further 36 in Virginia. Other tribes joined in, killing settlers, burning houses and fields and slaughtering livestock as far as the James and York.

When Sir William Berkeley refused to retaliate against the Native Americans' raids, farmers gathered at the report of a new raiding party.[clarification needed] Nathaniel Bacon arrived with a quantity of brandy; after it was distributed, he was elected leader. Against Berkeley's orders, the group struck south until they came to the Occaneechi people. In May, after convincing the Occaneechi warriors to leave and attack the Susquehannock, Bacon and his men murdered most of the Occaneechi men, women, and children remaining at the village. Upon their return, Bacon's faction discovered that Berkeley had called for new elections to the House of Burgesses to better address the Native American raids.

The recomposed House of Burgesses enacted a number of sweeping reforms, known as Bacon's Laws. Bacon was not serving his duty in the House; rather, he was at his plantation miles away. It limited the powers of the governor and restored suffrage to landless freemen.

After passage of these laws, Nathaniel Bacon arrived with 500 followers in Jamestown to demand a commission to lead militia against the Native Americans. The governor, however, refused to yield to the pressure. When Bacon had his men take aim at Berkeley, he responded by "baring his breast" to Bacon and told Bacon to shoot him. Seeing that the governor would not be moved, Bacon then had his men take aim at the assembled burgesses, who quickly granted Bacon his commission. Bacon had earlier been promised a commission before he retired to his estate if he maintained "good" behavior for two weeks. While Bacon was at Jamestown with his small army, eight colonists were killed on the frontier in Henrico County (from whence he marched) owing to a lack of manpower on the frontier.[clarification needed]

On July 30, 1676, Bacon and his army issued the "Declaration of the People". The declaration criticized Berkeley's administration in detail. It leveled several accusations against Berkeley:

- that "upon specious pretense of public works [he] raised great unjust taxes upon the commonality";
- that he advanced favorites to high public offices;
- that he monopolized the beaver trade with the Native Americans;
- that he was pro-Native American.

After months of conflict, Bacon's forces, numbering 300–500 men, moved on Jamestown, which was occupied by Berkeley's forces, besieging the town. Bacon's men captured and burned to the ground the colonial capital on September 19. Outnumbered, Berkeley retreated across the river. His group encamped at Warner Hall, home of the speaker of the House of Burgesses, Augustine Warner Jr., and caused considerable damage, [clarification needed] although the house was left standing.

Before a Royal Navy squadron led by Thomas Larimore could arrive to aid Berkeley and his forces, **Bacon died on October 26 from dysentery. John Ingram took over leadership of the rebellion, but many followers drifted away. The rebellion did not last long after that.** Berkeley launched a series of successful amphibious attacks across the Chesapeake Bay[clarification needed] and defeated the rebels. His forces defeated the small pockets of insurgents spread across the Tidewater. Thomas Grantham, captain of the ship Concord cruising the York River, used cunning and force to disarm the rebels. He tricked his way into the garrison of the rebellion and promised to pardon everyone involved once they got back onto the ship. However, once they were safely in the hold, he turned the ship's guns on them and disarmed the rebellion. Through various other tactics, the other rebel garrisons were likewise overcome.

Impact

The 71-year-old governor Berkeley returned to the burned capital and a looted home at the end of January 1677. His wife described their Green Spring Plantation in a letter to her cousin:

It looked like one of those the boys pull down at Shrovetide, and was almost as much to repair as if it had been new to build, and no sign that ever there had been a fence around it...

Bacon's wealthy landowning followers returned their loyalty to the Virginia government after Bacon's death. Governor Berkeley returned to power. He seized the property of several rebels for the colony and executed 23 men by hanging, including the former governor of the Albemarle Sound colony, William Drummond, and the collector of customs, Giles Bland.

After an investigative committee returned its report to King Charles II, Berkeley was relieved of the governorship and recalled to England. According to historian Alan Taylor, "Because the tobacco trade generated a crown revenue of about £5–£10 per laboring man, King Charles II wanted no rebellion to distract the colonists from raising the crop." Charles II was reported to have commented, "That old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." No record of the king's comments have been found, and the origin of the story appears to have been colonial legend that arose at least 30 years after the events. The king prided himself on the clemency he had shown to his father's enemies.[30] Berkeley left his wife, Frances Berkeley, in Virginia and returned to England. She sent a letter to let him know that the current governor was making a bet that the king would refuse to receive him. However, William Berkeley died in July 1677, shortly after he landed in England.

In order for the Virginia elite to maintain the loyalty of the common planters in order to avert future rebellions, historian Alan Taylor writes, they "needed to lead, rather than oppose, wars meant to dispossess and destroy frontier Indians." According to Taylor, this bonded the elite to the common planter in wars against Indians, their common enemy, and enabled the elites to appease free whites with land. Taylor writes, "To give servants greater hope for the future, in 1705 the assembly revived the headright system by promising each freedman fifty acres of land, a promise that obliged the government to continue taking land from the Indians."

Bacon promised his army tax breaks, predetermined wages, and freedom from indentures, "so long as they should serve under his colors." Indentured servants both black and white had joined the frontier rebellion. Seeing them united in a cause alarmed the ruling class. Historians believe the rebellion hastened the hardening of racial lines associated with slavery, as a way for planters and the colony to control some of the poor. For example, historian Eric Foner writes, "The fear of civil war among whites frightened Virginia's ruling elite, who took steps to consolidate power and improve their image: for example, restoration of property qualifications for voting, reducing taxes, and adoption of a more aggressive American Indian policy." Some of these measures, by appeasing the poor white population, may have hoped to mitigate any future unification with the enslaved black population.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nathaniel_Bacon_\(Virginia_colonist\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nathaniel_Bacon_(Virginia_colonist))

Nathaniel Bacon (Virginia colonist)

Nathaniel Bacon (January 2, 1647 – October 26, 1676) was an English colonist of the Virginia Colony, famous as the instigator of Bacon's Rebellion of 1676, which collapsed when Bacon died from dysentery.

Bacon was born in Suffolk, England. He was educated at the University of Cambridge and later studied law at Gray's Inn. Bacon married Elizabeth Duke against her father's wishes and eventually sailed to Virginia after accusations of cheating another man out of his inheritance. In Virginia, **he bought two plantations on the James River and was appointed to the governor's council.**

Bacon's Rebellion began as a protest against the Native Americans, corruption in Governor Berkeley's government, and frontier policy. The conflict escalated when Bacon emerged as a rebel leader, mustering his own forces to attack Native American tribes. The rebellion included various military skirmishes and the burning of Jamestown. However, the rebellion collapsed after Bacon's death from dysentery.

...

Bacon's Rebellion

Before the "Virginia Rebellion" (as it came to be called) began in earnest in 1674, some freeholders on the Virginian frontier demanded that Native Americans, including those in friendly tribes living on treaty-protected lands, should be driven out or killed. Historians have noted that the hatred among the settlers towards the Native Americans is a historically underrepresented catalyst of Bacon's Rebellion, as the rebellion was equally about "violently [displacing] Indians" and "[exploiting] that hatred" as it was about changing frontier policy in Virginia. They also protested against corruption in the government of Governor Berkeley, which has been described as "incorrigibly corrupt, inhumanely oppressive, and inexcusably inefficient, especially in war".

Predating Bacon's Rebellion, the Anglo-Powhatan Wars instituted the distinct hierarchical separation and selfishness between the Indians and the Virginians that would eventually mold into the basis for the subduing of the Indians during Bacon's Rebellion. Following a raid by Doeg Indians in Stafford County, Virginia, in which were killed two white settlers associated with a trader named Mathews (whom later reports found regularly "cheated and abused" Indians), a group of Virginia militiamen raided settlements of the Susquehannock tribe, instead of the Doeg tribe, including some across the Potomac River in Maryland. Maryland Governor Calvert protested against the incursion, and the Susquehannocks retaliated. Maryland militia then joined Virginia forces, and attacked a fortified Susquehannock village. After five chiefs had accepted the Maryland leader's invitation to parley, they were slaughtered, an action which provoked later legislative investigations and reprimands. The Susquehannocks retaliated in force against plantations, killing 60 settlers in Maryland and a further 36 in their first assault on Virginia

soil. Then other tribes joined in, killing settlers, burning houses and fields and slaughtering livestock as far as the James and York rivers.

Seeking to avoid a larger conflict similar to King Philip's War in New England, Berkeley advocated containment, proposing the construction of several defensive fortifications along the frontier and urging frontier settlers to gather in a defensive posture. Frontier settlers dismissed the plan as expensive and inadequate, and also suspected that it might be a pretext for raising tax rates.

In the meantime, Bacon, whose overseer on a James River plantation had been killed by Indian raiders, emerged as a rebel leader.[18] When Berkeley refused to grant Bacon a military commission to attack all Indians, Bacon mustered his own force of 400–500 men and moved up the James River to attack the Doeg and Pamunkey tribes. Although both had generally lived peaceably with the colonists, and had not attacked the frontier settlements, their cultivated lands were valuable.

From the 1619 Project "Democracy" essay by Nikole Hannah-Jones *The 1619 Project* (p. 18).

This is not even remotely close to the account by the NPS which is a completely different story (see note quotes above)

She makes no mention of Indians, or who Nathaniel Bacon was (a landowner) And the copy/paste below is the sole extent of her coverage.

You would think this was a revolt of the slaves and indentured against their masters.

Following Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, where an alliance of white and Black indentured servants and enslaved Africans rose up against Virginia's white elite, the colony passed slave codes to permanently enshrine legal and social distinctions between Black and white residents that ensured that all white people, no matter their status, permanently existed in a status above all Black people. These laws divided exploited white workers from exploited Black workers by designating people of African descent as "hereditary slaves" who would serve in bondage for life. "We normally say that slavery and freedom are opposite things—that they are diametrically opposed," the historian Ira Berlin said. "But what we see here in Virginia in the late seventeenth century, around Bacon's Rebellion, is that freedom and slavery are created at the same moment."

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Fresh Air: Director Raoul Peck: James Baldwin Was 'Speaking Directly To Me'

February 14, 2017, 3:08 PM ET, Interview by Terry Gross

GROSS: Some of your writing has really been, I think, very important to gay people and people in the gay movement in America. And I wonder if the gay liberation movement had any effect on you, if it was important for you to have, you know, a movement...

BALDWIN: No.

GROSS: ...About that.

BALDWIN: No, no, no. Head of the church when I was 17 and have not joined anything since. You seem to have (unintelligible) this country. I had been afflicted with so many labels that I'd become invisible to myself. No, I had to go away someplace and get rid of all these labels to find out not what I was but who. You see what I mean? And the - the gay liberation movement is ideally an attempt precisely to find out not what one is but who one is, and also to have no need to defend oneself, you know? So it was a very simple matter for me, in any case, to say to myself, I'm going this way, you know, and only death will stop me, you know? And I want to live my life, the only life I have, in the sight of God.

GROSS: James Baldwin recorded in 1986. He died one year later at the age of 63. We'll hear from Raoul Peck, the director of the new documentary about Baldwin - it's called "I Am Not Your Negro" - right after we take a short break. This is FRESH AIR.

.....

BALDWIN: Most of the white Americans I have ever encountered really, you know, had a negro friend or a negro maid or somebody in high school. But they never, you know, or rarely after school was over or whatever, you know, came to my kitchen. You know, we were segregated from the schoolhouse door. Therefore, he doesn't know - he really does not know - what it was like for me to leave my house, you know, leave the school and go back to Harlem. He doesn't know how negroes live.

And it comes as a great surprise to the Kennedy brothers and to everybody else in the country. I'm certain again, you know, that like - again, like most white Americans I have, you know, encountered, they have no - you know, I'm sure they have nothing whatever against negroes. That is not - that's really not the question. You know, the question is really a kind of apathy and ignorance which is a price we pay for segregation. That's what segregation means. It - you don't know what's happening on the other side of the wall because you don't want to know.

SAMUEL L. JACKSON: (As narrator, reading) I was in some way, in those years, without entirely realizing it, the great black hope of the great white father. I was not a racist - or so I thought.

....

GROSS: There's a fascinating part of the film in which you have archival footage of a 15-year-old African-American girl who's integrating a white school. She's the only black student, as far as I can tell. And she's being sneered at and insulted and surrounded...

PECK: Dorothy Counts, yes.

GROSS: Yes - and mocked. And she's just, like, standing up to it. She's just, like, looking straight ahead. She has this look of determination on her face. And you quote Baldwin as saying, you know, that he felt someone should be there with her. And he was living in France at the time. And this had a pivotal role in his life. Would you describe the story of this girl and her impact on James Baldwin?

PECK: Well, as always, Baldwin is always somebody who can, you know, change the perspective. You know, we all saw those pictures. You know, I was too young, of course. But even later on when, you know, we used to see those images of those, you know, desegregation moment where young black children were going into white schools and sometimes with their parents. But the parents would leave

them the whole day in that school. And nobody really thought about that. You know, what do you do as a young child, you know, of 15, 16, 17, and you are alone in basically enemy territory as a child?

But Baldwin not only felt that but he tried to tell that part of the story that we, frankly, never guessed, you know. And so when he saw that - that's what I used in the film - and watching that photo, his reaction that some of us should have been there with her. And it tells the whole tragic - and you see the face of this young girl, you know, basically alone against a hundred people and young kids, adults, you know, women and men, you know, yelling at her, basically, and, you know, mocking her. And that's such a tragic scene. And Baldwin caught it.

GROSS: My guest is Raoul Peck. He directed the film "I Am Not Your Negro" about James Baldwin. Here's the part of the film we were talking about where Samuel Jackson is reading from Baldwin's writing about the photo of Dorothy Counts.

(SOUNDBITE OF DOCUMENTARY, "I AM NOT YOUR NEGRO")

JACKSON: That's when I saw the photograph. On every newspaper kiosk on that wide, tree-shaped boulevard in Paris were photographs of 15-year-old Dorothy Counts being reviled and spat upon by the mob as she was making her way to school in Charlotte, N.C. There was unutterable pride, tension and anguish in that girl's face as she approached the halls of learning with history jeering at her back. It made me furious. It filled me with both hatred and pity, and it made me ashamed. Some one of us should have been there with her.

But it was on that bright afternoon that I knew I was leaving France. I could simply no longer sit around Paris discussing the Algerian and the black American problem. Everybody else was paying their dues. And it was time I went home and paid mine.

GROSS: I'll continue my conversation with Raoul Peck, the director of "I Am Not Your Negro," after we take a short break. We'll talk more about James Baldwin and we'll talk about Peck's experiences living under dictatorships in Haiti and the Congo. I'm Terry Gross, and this is FRESH AIR.

(SOUNDBITE OF MUSIC)

GROSS: This is FRESH AIR. I'm Terry Gross back with Raoul Peck. He directed the new film about James Baldwin called "I Am Not Your Negro." It's nominated for an Oscar in the Best Documentary category. The film focuses on Baldwin's views on racial politics in America. It uses archival footage of Baldwin and archival news footage as well as Hollywood films that Baldwin thinks both reflected and shaped American perceptions of race. Here's another clip from the documentary featuring Samuel Jackson reading from Baldwin's writing about a teacher who had a profound effect on his life.

(SOUNDBITE OF DOCUMENTARY, "I AM NOT YOUR NEGRO")

JACKSON: (As narrator, reading) By this time, I had been taken in hand by a young white schoolteacher named Bill Miller, a beautiful woman - very important to me. She gave me books to read and talked to me about the books and about the world - about Ethiopia and Italy and the German Third Reich - and took me to see plays and films to which no one else would have dreamed of taking a 10-year-old boy.

(SOUNDBITE OF FILM, "KING KONG")

UNIDENTIFIED ACTORS: (As characters, unintelligible).

JACKSON: (As narrator, reading) It is certainly because of Bill Miller, who arrived in my terrifying life so soon, that I never really managed to hate white people, though God knows I have often wished to murder more than one or two. Therefore, I began to suspect that white people did not act as they did because they were white but for some other reason.

I was a child, of course, and therefore unsophisticated. I took Bill Miller as she was, or as she appeared to be to me. She, too, anyway was treated like a nigger, especially by the cops.

GROSS: As far as James Baldwin's own school experiences, you quote him as saying that, you know, he was taken in by a young white schoolteacher who gave him books and talked with him, took him to plays and films. And he says that, in part because of that, he never hated all white people. And that...

PECK: Yeah.

GROSS: ...Seems to be such a kind of crucial part of his formative experiences.

PECK: Well, you know, all of us, probably, we all - childhood experience are an incredible influence in the rest of our lives. And as for Baldwin, he learned very early on that there are differences and that the main differences are not always about the color of your skin. It was much more about what went between two persons, independent if they are black or white.

And what he cherished was his relationship with that young white teacher who did open his mind, who brought him to places where normally a young black boy, just by the fact that he is born in a certain class and in a certain, very often poor, community that he - you know, he would never think or his parents would never think to bring him there. So he learned very early on that there are differences and the real differences are not always a matter of skin.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Raleigh

Walter Raleigh

Sir Walter Raleigh[a] (/ˈrɔːli, ˈræli, ˈrɑːli/; c. 1552 – 29 October 1618) was an English statesman, soldier, writer and explorer. One of the most notable figures of the Elizabethan era, he played a leading part in English colonisation of North America, suppressed rebellion in Ireland, helped defend England against the Spanish Armada and held political positions under Elizabeth I.

Raleigh was born to a landed gentry family of Protestant faith in Devon, the son of Walter Raleigh and Catherine Champernowne. He was the younger half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and a cousin of Sir Richard Grenville. Little is known of his early life, though in his late teens he spent some time in France taking part in the religious civil wars. In his 20s he took part in the suppression of rebellion in the colonisation of Ireland; he also participated in the siege of Smerwick. Later, he became a landlord of property in Ireland and mayor of Youghal in East Munster, where his house still stands in Myrtle Grove.[2] He rose rapidly in the favour of Queen Elizabeth I and was knighted in 1585. He was granted a royal patent to explore Virginia, paving the way for future English settlements. In 1591, he secretly married Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, without the Queen's permission, for which he and his wife were sent to the Tower of London. After his release, they retired to his estate at Sherborne, Dorset.

In 1594, Raleigh heard of a "City of Gold" in South America and sailed to find it, publishing an exaggerated account of his experiences in a book that contributed to the legend of "El Dorado". After Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, Raleigh was again imprisoned in the Tower, this time for being involved in the Main Plot against King James I, who was not favourably disposed towards him. **In 1616, he was released to lead a second expedition in search of El Dorado. During the expedition, men led by his top commander ransacked a Spanish outpost, in violation of both the terms of his pardon and the 1604 peace treaty with Spain. Raleigh returned to England and, to appease the Spanish, he was arrested and executed in 1618.**

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In 1591, Raleigh secretly married Elizabeth "Bess" Throckmorton (or Throgmorton). She was one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, 11 years his junior, and was pregnant at the time. She gave birth to a son, believed to be named Damerei, who was given to a wet nurse at Durham House, and died of plague in October 1592. Bess resumed her duties to the queen. The following year, the unauthorised marriage was discovered and the Queen ordered Raleigh to be imprisoned and Bess dismissed from court. Both were imprisoned in the Tower of London in June 1592. He was released from prison in August 1592 to manage a recently returned expedition and attack on the Spanish coast. The fleet was recalled by the Queen, but not before it captured an incredibly rich prize—a merchant ship (carrack) named Madre de Deus (Mother of God) off Flores. Raleigh was sent to organise and divide the spoils of the ship. He was sent back to the Tower, but by early 1593 had been released and become a member of Parliament.

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Royal favour with Queen Elizabeth had been restored by this time, but his good fortune did not last; the Queen died on 24 March 1603. Raleigh was arrested on 19 July 1603 at what is now the Old Exeter Inn in Ashburton, charged with treason for his involvement in the Main Plot against Elizabeth's successor, James I, and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

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Second voyage to Guiana

In 1617, Raleigh was pardoned by the King and granted permission to conduct a second expedition to Venezuela in search of El Dorado. During the expedition, a detachment of Raleigh's men under the command of his long-time friend Lawrence Kemys attacked the Spanish outpost of Santo Tomé de Guayana on the Orinoco river, in violation of peace treaties with Spain and against Raleigh's orders. **A condition of Raleigh's pardon was avoidance of any hostility against Spanish colonies or shipping.** In the initial attack on the settlement, Raleigh's son, Walter, was fatally shot. Kemys informed Raleigh of his son's death and begged for forgiveness, but did not receive it, and at once committed suicide. **On Raleigh's return to England, an outraged Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, demanded that Raleigh's death sentence be reinstated by King James, who had little choice but to do so. Raleigh was brought to London from Plymouth by Sir Lewis Stukley, where he passed up numerous opportunities to make an effective escape.**

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Raleigh was beheaded in the Old Palace Yard at the Palace of Westminster on 29 October 1618. "Let us dispatch", he said to his executioner. "At this hour my ague comes upon me. I would not have my enemies think I quaked from fear." After he was allowed to see the axe that would be used to behead him, he mused: "This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician for all diseases and miseries." According to biographers, Raleigh's last words, spoken to the hesitating executioner, were: "What dost thou fear? Strike, man, strike!"

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_White_Lion

The White Lion

The White Lion was an English privateer operating under a Dutch letter of marque which brought the first Africans to the English colony of Virginia in 1619, a year before the arrival of the Mayflower in New England. Though the African captives were sold as indentured servants, the event is regarded as the start of African slavery in the colonial history of the United States.

The first enslaved Africans in the current boundaries of the United States landed in 1526 in the expedition of Spanish explorer Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón on the South Carolina and Georgia coasts. Some escaped and are thought to have joined Native Americans, if they survived. In 1527 Estevanico, an enslaved Moor, participated in the Spanish Narváez expedition. Enslaved Africans were also part of the Spanish expedition to Florida in 1539 with Hernando de Soto, and the 1565 founding of St. Augustine, Florida.

The Africans on the White Lion were probably among the thousands who had been captured in 1618-1619 by a slave raiding force primarily consisting of African raiders, under nominal Portuguese leadership, who were at war with the Kingdom of Ndongo. These particular enslaved Africans were taken on the Portuguese slave ship São João Bautista from Luanda, Angola, capital of the Portuguese settlements in Angola. The White Lion, along with another privateer, the Treasurer, commanded by Daniel Elfrith, intercepted the São João Bautista on its way to modern-day Veracruz on the Gulf coast of New Spain (present-day Mexico). The two ships captured and divided part of the Portuguese ship's African captives, under the aegis of Dutch letters of marque from Maurice, Prince of Orange. White Lion captain John Colyn Jope sailed for the Virginia colony to sell the African captives, first landing in Point Comfort, in modern-day Hampton Roads.

São João Bautista

<https://theworld.org/stories/2019-01-16/pirates-brought-enslaved-africans-virginia-s-shores-where-exactly-debatable>

Pirates brought enslaved Africans to Virginia's shores. Where, exactly, is debatable.

The World, January 16, 2019 · 11:00 AM EST, By Rupa Shenoy

The San Juan Bautista was headed to Spanish colonies in Veracruz, modern-day Mexico, when it was attacked by two warships — pirates.

“Pirates are thieves that happen to live on sea,” says Boston University historian John Thornton. “But what we're actually talking about is what is politely called privateering.”

Privateering is when a government gives private vessels permission to steal from other countries' ships. It was very common in the 17th century. In 2006, Thornton became the first to discover the identity of the privateers who attacked the San Juan Bautista. Many archives are newly digitized, making archived documents more accessible than ever. Thornton identified the two ships as the White Lion and the Treasurer. Their captains and much of the crews were English.

“One of them was sailing under a Dutch flag and the other under the flag of the Duke of Savoy,” Thornton says. “In those days people swapped flags out, and the crews were international as well.”

They took about 40 or more of the Africans off the San Juan Bautista, and headed to Point Comfort, Virginia.

“The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown”

Feb 15, 2007 by Tim Hashaw :: **not mentioned in the “Project” The São João Bautista gets a quick flyby mention in a poem by Claudia Rankin “The White Lion” & the Treasurer is not mentioned at all nor the names of the participants. The “White Lion” is mentioned in five spots. No mention of Yeardley.**

<https://www.amazon.com/Birth-Black-America-Americans-Jamestown/dp/0786717181> - Hardcover at Amazon

<https://www.amazon.com/Birth-Black-America-Americans-Jamestown-ebook/dp/B001IDYIGU/> - Kindle Link

The Blurb:

The voyage that shaped early America was neither that of the Susan Constant in 1607 nor the Mayflower in 1620. Absolutely vital to the formation of English-speaking America was the voyage made by some sixty Africans stolen from a Spanish slave ship and brought to the young struggling colony of Jamestown in 1619. It was an act of colonial piracy that angered King James I of England, causing him to carve up the Virginia Company's monopoly for virtually all of North America. It was an infusion of brave and competent souls who were essential to Jamestown's survival and success. And it was the arrival of pioneers who would fire the first salvos in the centuries-long African-American battle for liberation. Until now, it has been buried by historians. Four hundred years after the birth of English-speaking America, as a nation turns its attention to its ancestry, *The Birth of Black America* reconstructs the true origins of the United States and of the African-American experience.

No one ship can claim the title "Black Mayflower" for, as it happened, pened, three vessels were instrumental in bringing the first Africans from Angola to English-speaking America in 1619. The Spanish slave frigate San Juan Bautista left Africa with 350 slaves and crossed the Atlantic to be captured in the Gulf of Mexico in the summer of 1619 by two English pirate ships-the White Lion, carrying a Dutch letters of marque, and the Treasurer, which had an expired Italian license. The Bautista was destroyed in that attack before she could reach her intended destination of Vera Cruz, Mexico. Continuing the voyage, these two pirate vessels brought some sixty of the Bautista's stolen Africans to Virginia and Bermuda to complete the epic adventure of the Black Mayflower.

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 25-29). Kindle Edition.

Concerning the identification of the very first Africans and the date of their arrival in English America, the author is certainly familiar with the Virginia census discovered in the Ferrar Papers by paleographer William Thorndale, who in 1995 published in the Magazine of Virginia Genealogy an article entitled "The Virginia Census of 1619." Thorndale claimed the muster shows the presence of Africans in Jamestown "in the beginning of March 1619"-that is, five months before the arrivals of the White Lion and the Treasurer at the "latter end of August" 1619.

However, in "An Early Virginia Census Reprised," published in the Quarterly Bulletin of the Virginia Archaeological Society in 1999, Martha W. McCartney presents a convincing case that the census was actually taken in 1620, not 1619. Thus, the Africans listed in the Ferrar census in fact are the roughly two dozen White Lion Africans of August 1619 who were traded to Governor George Yeardley and cape merchant Abraham Piersey, along with an additional half dozen or so that her consort, the Treasurer, delivered within days to a handful of anti-Yeardley settlers before she fled to Bermuda to trade the rest

of her captives there. While the Ferrar-Thorndale census is important in determining the sex and number of the Africans delivered by those two corsairs, it still stands that the first Africans in English North America were those pirated in 1619 by the White Lion and the Treasurer from the Spanish frigate San Juan Bautista in July and delivered to Jamestown six weeks later at the latter end of August.

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 29-38). Kindle Edition.

PREFACE

IN SEARCH OF a Confederate ancestor, an investigative journalist unexpectedly finds he is a descendant of Africans who arrived in America under a veil of mystery one year before the Pilgrims' Mayflower left England. Behind the mystery is a secret Puritan conspiracy at the highest levels of seventeenth-century Europe. Languishing in obscurity for four centuries, here at last is the true story of intrigue, scandal, pirates, kings, slavery, freedom, and war surrounding the 1619 voyage of the Black Mayflower and the founding of African America at the dawn of English-speaking America. The four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown—the first English colony in America—offers a new generation the opportunity to ask questions never raised by previous generations. One century ago, most Americans considered the Jamestown adventure of the first African Americans to be a historical footnote—if they considered it at all. In 1907, some historians challenged established traditions surrounding Pocahontas, the Pilgrims, and Thanksgiving that were engraved in the nation's sentiment after the American Civil War, but no one reexamined the story of the Africans who came before the Pilgrims and before that first legendary Thanksgiving feast.

Ironically, the previously ignored Jamestown African story emerges as the most significant early event in the shaping of the original thirteen colonies. The author presents primary evidence that an international scandal over the Black Mayflower broke the Virginia Company's monopoly on North America, allowing competing colonies to be founded in the following years. Those diverse colonies became the framework of the nation born in the American Revolution a century and a half later.

Furthermore, the pre-Jamestown history of the first African American generation destroys early historical contentions that they were "crude savages." In less than two decades after arriving, many of this skilled and intelligent first generation of Jamestown Africans were free and had established their own farms and communities in Tidewater Virginia. The early promise they showed in colonial America, however, was eclipsed by the shadow of racism, a shadow fully grown shortly before the seventeenth century ended. Jamestown, Virginia, was in fact the birthplace of two African Americas—one free and one slave.

This book is the first to present the important story of the black founding of America from 1619 to 1676, a story as essential to our national identity as those of John Smith, Pocahontas, and Jamestown; the Dutch of New York; the Pilgrims of Plymouth; the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the Catholics of Maryland.

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 38-52). Kindle Edition.

Part 1: The Founders of Black America Leave Africa

SOMEWHERE IN A creek off Chesapeake Bay rests the four-hundred-year-old undiscovered remains of a pirate ship that was built in the age of Atlantic exploration; when Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe and Protestants challenged Catholics for supremacy of the seas. Beneath a blazing comet early in 1619, a cold north wind sent this corsair from the young colony of Jamestown on a forbidden voyage

to the West Indies to join in consort with another infamous privateer. Riding a wicked storm in the Gulf of Mexico, the two errant ships attacked a Spanish frigate described by the Persian pirate John Martyn as an "Angola ship." In the belly of the frigate were more than three hundred Bantu prisoners bound for a lifetime of bondage in the silver mines of Mexico. After the battle, the victorious thieves left the Spanish slaver smoking and sixty Africans lighter and sailed north.

Violating the delicate treaty between England and Spain and implicating a prince, this act of piracy on July 15, 1619, created a diplomatic furor in London, Lisbon, and Seville, and instigated an international manhunt covering all Atlantic ports. Soon after the event, the widowed husband of Pocahontas reported to London that a mysterious corsair had traded Africans to planters in Virginia. But before an enraged king could fulfill his vow to send the renegades to the gallows, the pirates quietly vanished in the mists of Chesapeake Bay. A few months later, on a cold gray morning of stinging sleet in early 1620, the phantom shape of a badly battered ship was seen gliding close to the Virginia shore. In a lost creek, somewhere between the James and York rivers, her crew abandoned her and faded into the forest.

This was supposed to be the end of the scandal, but it was not. The repercussions over the pirated Africans were far reaching and, though the beached vessel never sailed again, nine months later the ripple effect caused by her role in the piracy would send a leaking channel tub packed with Pilgrim Separatists westward to establish a new colony that would be called Plymouth. The international fallout over the stolen Africans would also allow the king of England to dissolve the Virginia Company of London and end its monopoly over North America, thereby opening the way for thirteen diverse colonies where once there had been only one.

In the opening chapter of part 1, we attend a play in which a new king launches a new empire poised to begin colonizing America, and we accompany the first Europeans to visit the homeland of the Africans who are destined to be the original founders of English-speaking black America. In chapter 2, we find resistance in England and Angola to the imperial dreams of kings. In chapter 3, we meet an aristocratic English actor who secretly becomes a buccaneer, and the Spanish lord who connives to send him to the gallows over a shipload of stolen Africans. In chapter 4, we sail with the African founders of America on the harrowing maiden Middle Passage voyage of the Black Mayflower to America in 1619. In chapter 5, that voyage that will be interrupted by piracy.

Tim Hashaw. *The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown* (Kindle Locations 53-71). Kindle Edition.

Chapter 5: Alias, the "Dutchman"

IN CUBA, THEY still tell the legend of El Mulato (literally, "the mulatto"), the pirate born of a Spanish conquistador and a beautiful African slave, and who ran away from home at age thirteen to hide in the mangrove orchards on the Isle of the Pines, where he was captured by the greatest of the English privateers, Sir Francis Drake. Drake, upon observing the young man's vehemence against Spaniards, adopted him and took him to England where he reared him in the Puritan faith and gave him the surname "Grillo," meaning "cricket." Also called "Lucifer de los Mares" (Lucifer of the Seas), Diego Grillo, born the illegitimate son of Captain Domingo Galvan Romero and an African woman on his Cuban plantation in 1558, grew to adulthood in England. With Drake's support during the reign of Elizabeth I, El Mulato went to sea in command of his own Puritan corsair, the Spirit, to ravage Catholic fleets around Cuba, and his name reached even the king of Spain. He frequently sailed in consort with Dutch Huguenot Sea Beggar captain Cornelio Jol, alias "Captain Wooden Leg" or "Peg-leg." Two decades later, Admiral Jol would mastermind the Dutch West India Company's capture of Luanda from the Portuguese.

Grillo's homeport was Devon, in the south of England, and there he knew two English Puritan privateers of equal notoriety-Daniel Elfrith, who sailed for Lord Robert Rich, and John Colyn Jope. Captain Jope, the so-called Dutch mystery man in John Rolfe's famous letter and called "Flemish" in a letter that John Pory wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, in fact came from Merifield in Stoke Climsland Hundred, near the Cornwall-Devon border of England, where he was a neighbor of Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh. Although the Jopes were of French-Belgium origin and John Colyn Jope sailed with Dutch papers, as was customary for English privateers during the reign of James I, his ancestors had come to England with William the Conqueror and he was an English subject, a Cornish man, and neither Flemish nor Dutch. Through his wife, Mary Glanvill, Jope was the brother-in-law of the powerful Sir John Glanvill, a noted jurist and a Member of Parliament, who lived nearby at Kilworthy in Tavistock. Sir Glanvill would organize the fleet for King Charles's attack against Cadiz, Spain, in 1625. Jope's high-powered connection may partly explain why Rolfe and Pory did not release Jope's full name in the international scandal that was about to explode.

A Calvinist minister, in 1619 thirty-nine-year-old Reverend Jope commanded the 140-ton White Lion sailing out of Plymouth, England, and Flushing, in the Netherlands. In discussing the first Africans to arrive in America, schoolbooks today refer to this vessel as "anonymous," though in fact the White Lion was a famous English warship. She was one of the corsairs in Francis Drake's fleet when he rampaged through the Spanish West Indies in 1585 and captured Cartagena. This seemingly cursed ship, then under Captain James Erisey, was responsible for Ralph Lane and his soldiers' evacuation of Roanoke in 1586, when she slipped an anchor during a storm shortly before the arrival of Sir Raleigh's one hundred English men, women, and children who, left unaided by Lane's departure, soon disappeared from the face of the earth. The White Lion also served as Lord Admiral Charles Howard's second ship against the Spanish Armada attack in 1588.

Early in 1619, about the time that Kabasa was being besieged by Portuguese governor Vasconcelos and the Imbangala, Captain Jope, with a crew of eighty men, set sail in the White Lion for the West Indies with a letters of marque from the Protestant Dutch Prince Maurice, son of William of Orange, authorizing him to take Spanish and Portuguese prizes. It was about that same time that Deputy Governor Samuel Argall and Secretary John Rolfe of Jamestown, Virginia, dispatched Daniel Elfrith and the Treasurer on her second raid of the West Indies on the orders of Lord Robert Rich, now the second Earl of Warwick. However, the Treasurer's letters of marque were no longer valid, due to the peace treaty its sponsor, the Duke of Savoy, and King Philip III of Spain made before the warship left England for Virginia in 1618. Letters of marque supposedly distinguished a privateer from a pirate, but as English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe complained after another of Rich's ships attacked the junk of the Grand Moghul's mother in 1615, English ships carrying foreign marques were then viewed as little more than a "common pretence for Pirates." When the Treasurer went to the West Indies for her second raid in 1619, she had lost even her pretence and was now a full-fledged pirate vessel. Her noble owner and crew alike were in danger of being beheaded in the Tower of London like Sir Raleigh or hanged in the dockside gibbet if King James caught their ship plundering.

Prowling the West Indies separately in the summer of 1619, both Jope and Elfrith heard the widespread rumor that Captain Grillo, El Mulato, was planning to ambush a fleet of six Spanish treasure ships that gathered in their haven in the Bay of Nuevitas before setting out to Spain. Eager to join in the plunder, the two men, on opposite ends of the West Indies, both raced to Cuba to join him. They arrived too late. El Mulato had by then attacked the Spanish treasure fleet and, according to rumor, had already set sail to retire fabulously wealthy. Disappointed, Elfrith and Jope agreed to sail the Treasurer and the White Lion in tandem to hunt for prey. It was a natural consort. Both were Cornish and both, like Lord Rich for whom Elfrith worked, were fervent anti-Catholic Catholic Puritans. In late June, the hungry and armed

White Lion and the Treasurer sailed from Cuba together to patrol the Windward Passage at the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico in hope of spotting a straggling Spanish gold ship bound for Europe.

After a few weeks, in the middle of July, they instead sighted the San Juan Bautista on the last leg of her long voyage from Luanda to Mexico and, not knowing what cargo she carried, the pirates gave chase. The White Lion and the Treasurer were sleek men-of-war streamlined to outrace fat frigates, and they overtook the Bautista in the Gulf of Mexico's Bay of Campeche, a few hundred miles east of Vera Cruz. Trapped against the coast, the Spanish slave ship put up a fierce fight and damaged the Treasurer significantly. Outgunned by the two warships, however, the Spanish vessel took a ferocious pounding herself, and Captain Acuna was eventually forced to surrender his splintered ship and row himself and his crew ashore at Campeche while the pirates helped themselves to the prize. Jope, followed by Elfrith, boarded the smoking vessel and discovered, upon opening the cargo hatch that instead of Spanish gold, she carried African survivors from Vasconcelos's terrible assault on Kabasa five months earlier. Figuring ship capacity, food, water, and the distance to Jamestown, and Elfrith selected sixty or so of the healthiest Bantu men, women, and children and transferred them to their vessels—about thirty or so for the White Lion and the same number for the Treasurer.

After the two English corsairs departed, the Bautista captain and his crew rowed back to the Spanish hulk to reclaim the remaining 147 African prisoners and to survey the damage. Captain Acuna determined the ship was no longer seaworthy and ordered his crew to row the surviving living Africans to land. In the Spanish port in the Bay of Campeche, he hired another frigate, the Santa Ana commanded by Rodrigo Escobar, and transferred the Africans to her for the final few hundred miles to Mexico. The troubled voyage in which Captain Acuna had lost more than half of his three hundred Angolan captives would finally end in Vera Cruz at the latter end of August, about the same time that the White Lion and the Treasurer would appear in Chesapeake Bay off the Virginia coast.

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UNLIKE FRIGATES SUCH as the Bautista that contained up to four hundred passengers, corsairs did not have large cargo space for extra passengers. Because they were designed to subdue ships, they carried a much larger crew than did merchant vessels, and therefore they had to cram aboard more water and food in addition to gunpowder, cannon shot, muskets, and assorted war gear. Due to early Spanish occupation, there were few ports in the West Indies in the early seventeenth century in which English ships could resupply without fear of attack from the Spanish navy or Catholic pirates. The Treasurer had been at sea since the winter of 1618/19, and it was now summer and she was short of food and water. From later accounts it is also clear that she had been substantially damaged and aged in the fight with the Bautista and was likely taking on water during the voyage to Jamestown.

Also extremely short of supplies was the White Lion. Captain Jope, it is known, at the time contemplated the unthinkable—casting some of the captured Angolans into the sea. The acting governor of Bermuda, Miles Kendall, reported that Jope on his return from attacking the slave ship, was forbidden by the governor

to come into any of the said harbors. [Jope then] gave him notice that he had fourteen Negroes aboard which he should be forced to cast overboard for want of victuals.

Kendall relented and, according to his statement, received fourteen of the White Lion's African prisoners in payment for the food supplies.

The White Lion, followed four days later by the Treasurer, appeared in Chesapeake Bay in late August with Africans to trade. Relief, however, was brief. As details of their exploit against the Spanish slave ship spread over the Atlantic, a storm slowly began to build. For, as it happened, Captain Manuel

Mendes de Acuna of the Bautista was a cousin by blood and by marriage to Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, otherwise known as Count Gondomar-the Spanish ambassador to King James' court who, just one year earlier, had persuaded James to behead Sir Walter Raleigh for piracy against Spain and who was now pursuing evidence against Lord Rich and the first English American colony of Jamestown for operating as a pirate base. 'The horrendous ordeal for the sixty-odd Bantu men, women, and children who had survived the bloody fall of Kabasa, the deadly march to Luanda, and then the plagued voyage of the Bautista, only to be stolen by English pirates in a fierce sea battle, had not ended. Powerful men in England, Spain, and Virginia were about to enter a struggle over the purloined Africans that would eventually dissolve the Virginia Company's monopoly on North America. The first Africans arrived in English-speaking America in late August 1619, sixteen months before the Pilgrim Mayflower reached America. But would they remain?

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 823-884). Kindle Edition.

PART II: The Rounders Land at Jamestown

ACCORDING TO THE Traditional account of the 1619 arrival of the first Africans, one day around the "latter end of August" an anonymous "Dutch man o war" under the command of a certain "Captain Jope" mysteriously appeared in Chesapeake Bay and traded "twenty and odd" Africans who came from who knows where, to the English settlers of Jamestown, Virginia. This detail-challenged official version is based on the vague and deliberately misleading accounts of two eyewitnesses, John Rolfe and John Pory, who were soon after accused by the king's Privy Council, as well as by the Virginia Company of London, of lying about what really happened that day to protect their patron, Lord Rich. The motive for obscuring the real story is obvious. King James, months earlier, had beheaded Rich's partner, Sir Walter Raleigh, for piracy.

Rolfe's and Pory's versions of that unknown day in the "latter end of August" were part of a deliberate cover-up of what came to be the most important incident early in English colonization that would determine the future shape and character of colonial America. If not for the scandal over this small group of stolen Africans, there would be no Maryland. no North Carolina. no Delaware. no Rhode Island, no Pennsylvania, no Maine, no Connecticut. no Massachusetts. and no Plymouth Colony. There would have been no Catholic colonies, or Dissenter colonies. or Reform colonies. What is today the United States could very well have become a southern Canada, if not for the Black Mayflower voyages of 1619. The conspiracy that erased that day from popular history still haunts Jamestown after four centuries. As chapter 6 unfolds, Robert Rich's scheme is unmasked and the Virginia Company collapses. Then in chapter 7 the wily Count Gondomar discovers the missing Africans in Jamestown and moves to destroy the colony and recover what he regards as his property.

Chapter 6: Unmasked

TO UNDERSTAND WHY the combined voyages of the Black Mayflower was the decisive event in the development of thirteen original colonies, the investigation begins some months before the White Lion and the Treasurer joined forces to capture the San Juan Bautista. London was abuzz with gossip as early as 1618 that Robert Rich's corsair was "roving on ye Spanish dominions in the West Indies," using Jamestown as her supply base. Nervously aware of king James's great hatred of pirates and of the jar that held Sir Walter Raleigh's severed head, a majority of stockholders in the Virginia Company of London opted to recall Rich's agents-Samuel Argall and John Rolfe-as deputy governor and secretary-recorder of colonial Virginia. In an earlier attempt, the company had ordered Virginia's absentee governor-for-life Thomas West, the Lord Delaware, to go to Jamestown and bring Argall back to London to answer questions. As part owner of the Treasurer with Rich and therefore implicated in that vessel's

piracy, Lord West reluctantly set sail from England in his ship Neptune in 1618. But, before arriving in Virginia, he and dozens of his servants mysteriously perished at sea.

William Camden, chronicler in King James's court, recorded at the time that Lord West had died "not without suspicion of poison." It happened that Captain Daniel Elfrith and the Treasurer had encountered the Neptune at sea as Lord West was sailing to Jamestown. It was rumored in London that someone from the Treasurer assassinated West to prevent him from ousting Argall and Rolfe from Virginia. The widowed Lady Delaware publicly suspected that Lord Robert Rich was behind her husband's death, a death she described as "notorious" in complaints she later made against Rich, Argall, and Rolfe. Lady Delaware was probably steered by Rich's enemies in the Virginia Company to accuse him and his agents of the dark deed.

Though he was not responsible, Rich benefited from West's death, for the Virginia Company of London now hesitated in recalling Argall and Rolfe out of fear of alienating one of the only two prestigious lords remaining in the company. Investors hoped Lord Rich would get the message and cease using Jamestown as a pirate base. He did not, for when crewmembers of Lord West's trouble-plagued Neptune returned to London later in 1618, they reported to the company that they had witnessed something suspicious at the time that the Treasurer surer pulled alongside the stricken ship to offer assistance.

At his departure from England earlier in 1618, just before meeting the Neptune, Captain Daniel Elfrith of the Treasurer had sworn by oath to government officials at Gravesend that he intended to sail his vessel to Jamestown and from there go on a fishing voyage to Cape Cod. This cover story was necessary because King James's police patrolled London's docks to inspect English ships for evidence of privateering. Elfrith persuaded Gravesend officials, likely through a bribe, that the *Treasurer* would be engaged in legitimate trade when she left England. A few weeks later when it came alongside Lord West's stricken ship at sea, Captain Edward Brewster of the Neptune observed that:

the Treasurer was not provided for a fishing voyage nor had salt, hooks, lines, fishermen, or men skilled in fishing at the tyme she was set forth from the port of London, nor other things that were fitting for a fishing voyage.

Upon clearing the Port of London, the *Treasurer's* crew had carelessly lessly thrown off the camouflage of fishing tackle to reveal, as Brewster reported:

powder, shot, wastclothes, ordinance, streamers, flags and other furniture fit for a man of war ... laden aboard her by the means, knowledge, or direction of Captain Argall.

The Neptune's startling news that the Treasurer was heavily armed for war alerted Virginia Company stockholders that Lord Rich was still using Jamestown as a base of operations for illegal raids on the Spanish West Indies. The company had good cause for alarm. The paper trail linking it to the rogue Treasurer was as troubling as the timing of the news. The corsair was owned by two prominent members of the company pany and was leased to the company to be "wholly employed in trade and other services, for relieving the colony."

It was also well-known that Lord Rich had supplied sailors and arms to Sir Raleigh for the Guiana expedition. Furthermore, King James's Spanish friend, the influential Gondomar, was said to be investigating Robert Rich over the *Treasurer's* 1616 adventure in the West Indies. Most Virginia Company stockholders were concerned that should King James regard the company as complicit with the Earl of Warwick in the Treasurer's piracies, he might revoke the Virginia charter and dissolve the firm. Therefore, when the returning Neptune crew alerted the company that Rich's pirates were preparing to launch yet another raid on the Spanish West Indies, the shareholders determined to finally go through

with recalling Argall and Rolfe and face the fallout of accusing Rich, one of its most prominent investors, of piracy.

Sir Edwin Sandys, a Member of Parliament, was appointed president of the Virginia Company at this time and it fell to him to run the pirates out of Jamestown. Sandys controlled the majority of stockholder votes, and the company appointed his friend and loyal ally Sir George Yeardley as the new governor of Virginia with orders to sail to Jamestown to replace Argall and question him about stolen booty that "it is reported he hath gotten together to the Colony's prejudice." Argall was also to be investigated for seizing company assets in the colony, including Lord Delaware's trade goods from the *Neptune*.

As soon as Yeardley replaced Argall, Lord Rich reacted quickly to save both his protegee and the loot that was stashed in his storehouse at Jamestown. Delaying Yeardley's departure from England for a few days, Rich in the early spring of 1619 secretly launched a small fast ship, the *Eleanor*, to speed to Virginia. The *Eleanor* crossed the Atlantic just in time. Ten days before Sir Yeardley sailed into Chesapeake Bay to arrest Argall, "there arrived a little Pinnace privately from England about Easter for Captain Argall, who taking order for his affaires, within four or five days returned in her." Sir Yeardley was forced to send word to London that, upon docking at Jamestown, he found "Argall ... gone with his riches." More ominous, the *Treasurer* was also missing.

About five weeks after fleeing Jamestown, Samuel Argall arrived in Plymouth, England, in Rich's pinnace (a light sailing ship) with the booty he had amassed at Jamestown. Coincidentally, two agents representing the English Pilgrim Separatist exiles in ...

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 884-932). Kindle Edition.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Full-rigged_pinnace

Full-rigged pinnace



The **full-rigged pinnace** was the larger of two types of vessel called a pinnace in use from the [sixteenth century](#).

Etymology

The word *pinnace*, and similar words in many languages (as far afield as Indonesia, where the boat "[pinisi](#)" took its name from the Dutch *pinas*), came ultimately from the Spanish *pinaza* c. 1240, from *pino* ([pine tree](#)),

from the wood of which the ships were constructed. The word came into English from the [Middle French](#) *pinasse*.

Design

"The pinnace is perhaps the most confusing of all the early seventeenth-century types of vessels. Pinnace was more of a use than a type name, for almost any vessel could have been a pinnace or tender to a larger one. Generally speaking, pinnaces were lightly built, single-decked, square-sterned vessels suitable for exploring, trading, and light naval duties. On equal lengths, pinnaces tended to be narrower than other types. Although primarily sailing vessels, many pinnaces carried [sweeps](#) for moving in calms or around harbors."

The rigs of pinnaces included the single-masted [fore-and-aft rig](#) with [staysail](#) and sprit mainsail to the [mizzenmast](#), and a square [sprit-sail](#) under the [bowsprit](#). Open square-sterned pulling boats were also called pinnaces at least as early as 1626. The larger pinnace 'type' was often much larger than the smaller tender type, and frequently carried enough cannon to be considered an (armed) merchantman, or fast and maneuverable small warship.

Pinnaces

The English pinnace *Sunne* was the first vessel reported built at the [Chatham Dockyard](#), in 1586. English pinnaces of the time were typically of around 100 tons, and carried 5 to 16 guns.^[5]

The Dutch built pinnaces during the early 17th century.^[citation needed] Dutch pinnaces had a hull form resembling a small [race-built galleon](#) and usually [rigged as a ship](#) ([square rigged](#) on three [masts](#)), or carrying a similar rig on two masts (in a fashion akin to the later "[brig](#)"). Pinnaces were used as [fast merchant vessels](#), [pirate vessels](#) and small [warships](#). Not all were small vessels, some being nearer to larger ships in [tonnage](#).

This type saw widespread use in northern waters, as they had a shallow [draught](#). In 2009 the wreck of an [Elizabethan](#) English pinnace with a set of twelve matched [cannon](#) was discovered, the first of its type for the time. Vessels at that time typically carried a mixture of unmatched cannon using disparate ammunition. The matched armament is considered revolutionary, and a contributing factor to the deadly reputation of the English [naval artillery](#).

The first English ship built in North America, [Virginia of Sagadahoc](#), was a pinnace.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pinnace_\(ship%27s_boat\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pinnace_(ship%27s_boat))

Pinnace (ship's boat)

As a [ship's boat](#), the **pinnace** is a light [boat](#), propelled by [oars](#) or [sails](#), carried aboard merchant and war vessels in the [Age of Sail](#) to serve as a [tender](#). The pinnace was usually rowed but could be rigged with a sail for use in favorable winds. A pinnace would ferry passengers and [mail](#), communicate between vessels, scout to sound anchorages, convey water and provisions, or carry armed sailors for [boarding](#) expeditions.^[1] The [Spanish](#) favored them as lightweight smuggling vessels while the [Dutch](#) used them as raiders. In modern parlance, "pinnace" has come to mean an auxiliary vessel that does not fit under the "[launch](#)" or "[lifeboat](#)" definitions.

Etymology

The word *pinnace*, and similar words in many languages (as far afield as Indonesia, where the boat "[pinisi](#)" took its name from the Dutch *pinas*^[2]), came ultimately from the Spanish *pinaza* c. 1240, from *pino* (pine tree), from the wood of which the ships were constructed. The word came into English from the Middle French *pinasse*.

Original designs



Drawing of a pinnace under full sail

Identification of some pinnaces in contemporary historical documents is often difficult because there was no standardization of pinnace design, be the type "small" or "large". The term seems to have been applied to variants of what may be called the [full-rigged pinnace](#), rather than the alternative use of the term for a larger vessel's boat. Furthermore, several ship type and rig terms were used in the 17th century, but with very different definitions from those applied today.

Often decked over, the "small" pinnace was able to support a variety of rigs, each of which conferred maximum utility to specific missions such as fishing, cargo transport and storage, or open ocean voyaging. The mature "small" pinnace design emerged as versatile with several different options and rigs possible. **The expected popularity of the pinnace in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the first half of the 17th century is documented.** By the 1630s, historical records mention many ships trading or fishing with the Massachusetts Bay Colony, some of which were also built in-colony. Above all, the fishing trade had taken hold off the shores of New England, and was immediately successful. **The pinnace may have been the preferred, multi-use small ship of the first decades of English settlement in "Virginia"**

...

At the end of August, one month later, completely unaware of the growing turmoil their piracy had provoked on both sides of the Atlantic, the White Lion and the Treasurer arrived in Chesapeake Bay with, between them, the sixty African men, women, and children from the Bautista. Captain John Colyn Jope and the White Lion were the first to land. The Coughton, also known then as Point Comfort (now Old Point Comfort), fort), was a small colonial outpost built on the shore of Chesapeake Bay between the mouths of the James and York rivers to prevent hostile ships from reaching Jamestown forty miles upriver. All arriving vessels were required to stop first at Point Comfort and send upriver for the governor's permission to proceed on to Jamestown. John Rolfe and John Pory, two men implicated with Lord Rich and Samuel Argall, left the only accounts of what happened that day and what they wrote must be reviewed critically. As the colony's outgoing recorder, Rolfe was still obligated to send shipping reports for the fiscal year 1619 to his enemy Sir Sandys, the company president in London. The widower of Pocahontas stated in the carefully edited report filed in January 1620, that:

at the latter end of August 1619 a Dutch man of war of the burden of a 160 tons arrived at Point Comfort. The Commander's name Captain Jope, his Pilot for the West Indies one Mr. Marmaduke, an Englishman. They met with the Treasurer in the West Indies, and determined to

hold consort ship hitherward, but in their passage lost one the other ... [Jope] brought not anything but 20 and odd Negroes, which the Governor [George Yeardley] and Cape Merchant [Abraham Piersey] bought for victuals (whereof he was in great need as he pretended) at the best and easiest rate they could.

Rolfe recorded that the White Lion (he purposefully did not identify the ship by name) traded about two dozen Africans she had seized from a Spanish prize, to Yeardley and Piersey, new officers loyal to Edwin Sandys. Rolfe implied that Jope was allowed to trade at Jamestown only because the colony had compassion: Jope, said he, pleaded that he had to refresh in Virginia or starve "as he pretended." (Captain Jope probably threatened to throw the Africans overboard at Jamestown, as he had threatened when Captain Miles Kendall refused to let him anchor at Bermuda.) Rolfe also pointed out that:

[Dope] had a large and ample Commission from his Excellency [the Dutch Prince Maurice of Nassau] to range and to take purchase in the West Indies.

However, Rolfe did not write in his report to Sandys that Lord Rich's Treasurer also carried Africans when she arrived in Virginia four days behind the White Lion, and he omitted it for good reason. As noted, the Treasurer's marque had expired months earlier when the Duke of Savoy made peace with Spain, and thus her participation with the White Lion in the attack on the Spanish Bautista was an illegal act of piracy.

Carrying a valid letters of marque, however, the White Lion was duly licensed by a foreign prince to take Spanish prizes and there was therefore less controversy about her participation in the Bautista's capture. This was a key defense point that arose in later accusations leveled against Rich and Argall in London. Lord Rich and his agents would claim that Captain Elfrith legally purchased the Africans from the White Lion only after Captain Jope alone took them from the Bautista.

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 977-997). Kindle Edition.

After Rich's agent, Nathaniel Butler, arrived as governor of Bermuda in late 1619 and got into a fight with investors over the legal ownership of the Treasurer's Africans, the firm accused him of setting up Bermuda as a pirate base for Lord Rich, just as Argall had done previously in Jamestown.

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 1104-1106). Kindle Edition.

... King James had found an opportunity to solve a problem of his own making: his emptying of the royal purse on frivolities. Raleigh's golden city had evaporated, and the king was the poorer for investing in it. Plays like Masque of Blackness, along with banquets, games, hunting parties, and tilting tournaments, were expensive and, having sold every monopoly he controlled, James was plagued with mounting bills because the unsympathetic Parliament refused to raise taxes to bail him out. William Camden had recorded in his diary as early as February 1619 that the "King commands his Privy Councilors to deliberate how to raise money to clear his debts." By dissolving the Virginia Company and taking over Jamestown and its lucrative tobacco trade, the king would not only improve his private finances but also strike a vengeful blow at the investors, such as Edwin Sandys, who were his leading critics in Parliament. The business's bitter internal feud gave him a valid reason to do so.

James accused the company of harboring pirates and, above all, cited the Treasurer's involvement in stealing Africans from the Spanish slaver in 1619:

Neither could this depredation of that colony [Virginia] content but a ship called the Treasurer set forth by the said Earl of Warwick and sent to Virginia on an old Commission of hostility from

the Duke of Savoy against the Spaniards procured by some means and put into the hands of the said Captain, the said *Treasurer* being manned with the ablest men of the Colony and new victualed from thence, was set out on Roving on ye Spanish Dominions in the West Indies, where after sundry Acts of Hostility committed and some purchase gotten she returned to Virginia at the end of ten months or thereabouts. But finding Capt. Argall, the setter of her out, departed from thence, she withdrew herself instantly from the new Governor's power and went to ye Somer Islands [Bermuda] then discharging her booty, in which were a certain number of Negroes.

Sandys and Cavendish appealed to Parliament to overturn the dissolution of the Virginia Company, but on April 28, 1624, King James firmly informed the House of Commons that the affairs of Virginia were now the Crown's concern and no longer within Parliament's jurisdiction:

Whereas we have taken notice that some of the Virginia Company have presented a Petition to our House of Commons, and doubting it might occasion the repetition and renewing of those Discords, and Contentions, which have been amongst them and which by our great care, and the Directions of our Counsel are in a good way to be composed, We do signify to our House of Commons, that we hold it very unfit for the Parliament to trouble themselves with those matters, which can produce nothing, but a further increase in schisms and faction and disturb the happy and peaceable proceeding of the Parliament which we hope your cares (as hitherto they have done) shall concur with ours to bring to a good issue. As for these businesses of Virginia, and the Bermudas, ourself have taken them to heart, and will make it our own work to settle the quiet and welfare of those Plantations, and will be ready to do anything that may be for the real benefit and advancement of them.

With this, the Virginia Company of London was dissolved, and its monopoly to settle North America, broken. The Atlantic coast was opened for colonization, at the discretion of the kings of England, to a broad range of interests, faiths, and commercial ventures under the British flag as a result of an act of piracy that delivered a handful of Bantu Angolan men, women, and children to Jamestown in the summer of 1619. According to historian Wesley Craven, the colony of Virginia, originally a merchant venture, was forcibly made a royal colony by order of King James because of:

the dispute with Sandys over the famous ship, the *Treasurer*... Yearley immediately gave order for his seizure, but the captain was able to make his escape and sailed for Bermuda. Shortly after the *Treasurer* arrived there "so weather beaten and torn as never like to put to sea again," and with a cargo of negroes. [Italics added.] ... From this breach grew a feeling more bitter than that arising from any other of the famous quarrels, and it was of greater importance in the final disruption of the company.

Thus, at a critical moment in the birth of English colonialism, the king's response to a little-known, long-ago scandal over the theft and legal ownership of a small group of enslaved Africans from Angola determined the future of America.

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 1111-1138). Kindle Edition.

Chapter 7 – The Black Knight's Last Pawn

King James, though personally irresponsible with money, had early perceived that the old English Channel and Mediterranean markets, once the backbone of Europe's economics, had suddenly shrunk in importance relative to the New World. "New World" meant, not just the Americas, but also Asia and

Africa linked through increasing travel and discovery to western Europe. For small poor countries like England, Scotland, and Wales to compete in the emerging new world order then dominated by the powerful Spanish Empire, they would have to pool resources and find a way to coexist with Spain and other European rivals.

Not just global politics but domestic pressures also required England to change. Just four years before Masque of Blackness invited Africans to come to "Britannia," the aged Elizabeth I, in one of her final popular acts, ordered all "blackamoors" expelled from England because, as she said, "there are already here too many." In fact, there were hardly any Africans in London, and the few dozens who were there had been brought against their will. With a native-born population increasing like hares, England-and indeed all of Europe-teemed with idle white peasants. Elizabeth scapegoated Africans for causing crime, inflation, and unemployment, to mask her inability to solve England's staggering economic and social problems. The unavoidable fact was that the city of London's white population in 1596 had increased 400 percent from the previous century to a booming quarter of a million people.

Tim Hashaw. The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown (Kindle Locations 1141-1149). Kindle Edition.

...

Following the scandal over the Bautista affair, other colonies under the guidance of James and his Stuart heirs would follow-Plymouth and the New England charter in 1620, Maryland in 1633, Rhode Island and Connecticut necticut in 1636-and before the century-long Stuart dynasty finally ended, twelve of the original thirteen colonies would be established and the new British flag, combining English and Scottish symbols, firmly planted on both sides of the Atlantic. By the end of the seventeenth century, "Britannia" would be an emerging first-class global power, and Ben Jonson's description of the Stuart "radiance" in the prophetic Masque of Blackness would seem justified.

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BUT IN THE beginning, in 1607, few Europeans were willing to migrate to Jamestown, and twelve years later the struggling colony still desperately needed inexpensive laborers. Upon arriving in Jamestown in late August 1619, Captain John Colyn Jope of the White Lion found planters who wanted workers but could not afford them. His crew starving, Jope settled on trading some two dozen Africans to Governor

Tim Hashaw. *The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown* (Kindle Locations 1163-1168). Kindle Edition.

Governor Yearley sent five women and three men of the White Lion Africans upriver from Jamestown to work on an uncultivated piece of wilderness optimistically called a "plantation," which he named Flowerdew after his wife, the former Temperance Flowerdew. That the women outnumbered the men was not unusual, for it was well known by slavers that Bantu women were the farmers in precolonial Angola, and that Bantu men made crafts and tended cattle. Two years later, Flowerdew had become the first successful plantation in Virginia, boasting the colony's first windmill and some barns.

The status of the first Africans in Jamestown, whether they were held as indentured servants like Englishmen or as slaves, has been long debated. Typically, white indentured servants remained in bondage for only three to seven years before being freed. Sir Yearley's will, proved February 14, 1628, stated:

To wife 'Temperance ... as touching and concerning all the rest of my whole estate consisting of goods, debts, servants, negars [*italics added*], cattle, or any other thing or things, commodities

or profits whatsoever to me belong or appertaining either here in this country of Virginia, in England land or elsewhere, together with my plantation of one thousand acres of land at Stanly in Warwick River, my will and desire is that the same be all and every part and parcel thereof sold to the best advantage for tobacco and the same to be transported as soon as may be, either this year or the next, as my said wife shall find occasion, into England, and there to be sold or turned into money.

Therefore, he had retained the Africans two years after indentured servants customarily would have been released, indicating he regarded them as chattel slaves. Yeardley's widow and children did not follow his order to sell the Africans. Skilled workers were hard to come by in Jamestown. Most white laborers who had been spirited away from England land and dumped in the colony were urbanites, convicted deer poachers and other criminals, or orphaned children.

Tim Hashaw. *The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom at Jamestown* (Kindle Locations 1182-1185). Kindle Edition.

It would be decades before Jamestown forbade Africans from carrying guns. John Pedro, listed in West's muster, served as a soldier at Fort Algernon. Since West, as both a Virginia captain and the New England admiral, seems to have paid more attention to military and civic duties than to raising tobacco, it is also probable that Pedro accompanied him on various military expeditions both at sea and on land.

Whether John Pedro was regarded as a slave, an indentured servant, or a professional soldier by Captain West, he was a free man by the early 1650s when he was clearing land for his own plantation and purchasing servants, white and black, to extend his holdings through headrights. Land records show him progressing from Isle of Wight County to adjoining Surry County and to Lancaster County as newer shires were carved from older counties. John Pedro's patent for land in Lancaster, later Middlesex, area of Virginia places him on the Dragon Run Swamp just before he mysteriously disappeared from colonial records in 1653. Before this time, he had reunited with fellow Angolans who had crossed the Atlantic with him on the *Bautista*, including John Graweere in Surry County, and Anthony and Mary Johnson at Bennett's Welcome, which was next door to West's plantation.. He also became reacquainted with Antonio and Isabel, living with their young son, William, at Captain William Tucker's farm at Elizabeth City. They were all Angolan Christians like himself. In 1648, there were three hundred Africans in Jamestown among the fifteen thousand European settlers; and by then the first malungu communities of Angolan Christian freemen, many of whom had arrived via the *Black Mayflower*, were beginning to pop up in half a dozen places in Tidewater Virginia.

But in addition to his community, John Pedro had another loyalty-to his faith. His business dealings as a freeman show him involved with an emigrant from the English country gentry named William Eltonhead who was a Catholic and a friend of Lord Calvert, Baron of Baltimore. The Eltonheads had an enslaved Angolan man named Francisco, who would later become the freedman Francis Payne. By this time John Pedro had married a woman, yet to be identified, and they had at least one child, Matthew, who married into the Mayo family and from whom many descendants survive in Virginia to this day, though the Pedro surname has now been anglicized in a variety of forms.

...

Encouraged by the late Pocahontas's high-profile conversion, and envious of Spain's colonization of Mexico, the English adopted Spain's policies toward natives, failing to consider the differences between the Algonquian and Aztec farmers. To achieve the idealized blended society in Jamestown, the Virginia Company proposed to take native boys and girls from their homes and educate them to European ways,

including Christianity and European-style agriculture, at a special college. Iroquoian fathers traditionally taught their sons to hunt and fight. Women were the farmers and raised their daughters to produce and prepare food. In the eyes of the Iroquoian, the English were proposing posing to feminize Iroquoian boys. What the English planned to do with their children appalled and alienated even friendly native kings who intensely hated Powhatan of the Pamunkey.

TIM HASHAW IS a seventh-generation Texan who attended seminary and went into journalism. He is a descendant of George W. Hashaw who was a Confederate cavalryman in E Company of the Seventh Texas Mounted Regiment during the American Civil War. While researching his family genealogy the author discovered two African ancestors who appeared mysteriously in Jamestown in the early seventeenth century. Hashaw has won several investigative awards, including the National Radio and Television News Directors' award for best investigative journalism. He has also worked with Crandall Shifflett to place primary documents online at the Virtual Jamestown Web site, detailing the arrival of the first Africans in America. This project and Mr. Hashaw's contributions resulted in a seminar conducted in 2006 by Professor Shifflett at the University of Virginia, to research the earliest Africans at colonial Jamestown. He is also the author of *Children of Perdition: Melungeons and the Struggle of Mixed America*, which tells the later history of the descendants of the founders of African America at Jamestown in 1619.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Africans_in_Virginia

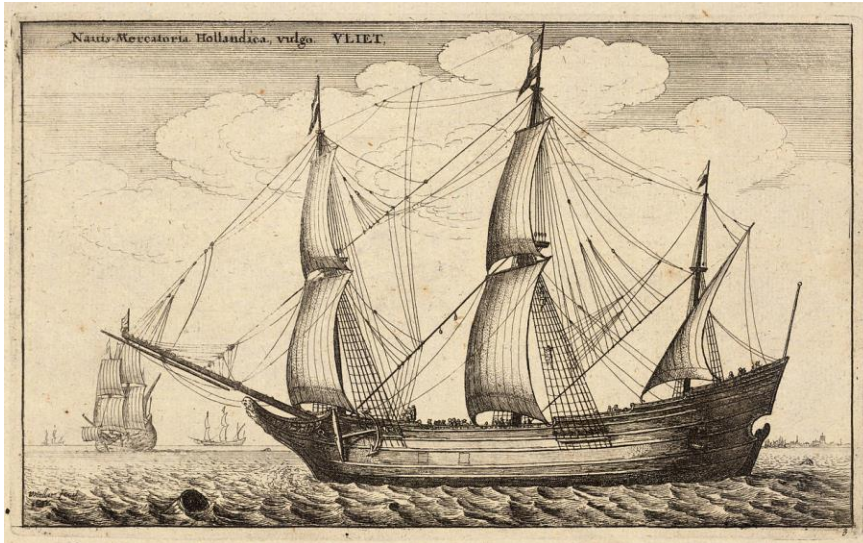
First Africans in Virginia

From Angola to Mexico

In 1619, the Portuguese *fluyt* *San Juan Bautista* took a large group through the [Middle Passage](#) from [Luanda](#) in Angola to the bay of [Veracruz](#) in Mexico. Of the 350 total on the *slave ship*, about 143 died in the voyage, and 24 children were sold during a stop at the [Colony of Santiago](#) in Jamaica, with 123 enslaved people eventually being taken to [Veracruz](#), in addition to the smaller group of 20-30 taken by the privateers,^[1] or perhaps double that amount.

From Mexico to Virginia

Near Veracruz in the [Bay of Campeche](#), the English privateers *White Lion* and *Treasurer*, operating under Dutch and Savoyard [letters of marque](#) and sponsored by the [Earl of Warwick](#) and [Samuel Argall](#), attacked the *San Juan Bautista*, and each took 20-30 of the African captives to [Old Point Comfort](#) on Hampton Roads at the tip of the Virginia Peninsula, the first time such a group was brought to mainland [English America](#).^{[1][8]} Of those aboard the *Treasurer*, only a few were sold in Virginia, the majority being taken shortly thereafter to [Nathaniel Butler](#) in Bermuda.^{[2][2]} English privateers had been sailing under Dutch and other flags since the 1604 [Treaty of London](#) concluded the Anglo-Spanish War.



<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fluyt>

Fluyt

A **fluyt** (archaic **Dutch**: *fluyt* "flute"; Dutch pronunciation: [flœyt] listen[ⓘ]) is a Dutch type of [sailing vessel](#) originally designed by the shipwrights of [Hoorn](#) as a dedicated [cargo vessel](#). Originating in the [Dutch Republic](#) in the 16th century, the vessel was designed to facilitate transoceanic delivery with the maximum of space and crew efficiency. Unlike rivals, it was not built for conversion in wartime to a warship, so it was cheaper to build and carried twice the cargo, and could be handled by a smaller crew. Construction by specialized shipyards using new tools made it half the cost of rival ships. These factors combined to sharply lower the cost of transportation for Dutch merchants, giving them a major competitive advantage. The fluyt was a significant factor in the 17th-century rise of the Dutch [seaborne empire](#). In 1670 the Dutch merchant marine totalled 568,000 tons of shipping—about half the European total.

<https://www.chron.com/life/books/article/Book-discusses-African-slaves-their-struggle-for-1635362.php>

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March 19, 2007 article by Fritz Lanham in the Houston Chronicle reviewing the book "The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom in Jamestown" by Tim Hashaw

Tim Hashaw might have named [George Washington Hashaw](#), Confederate cavalryman and casualty of the Battle of Galveston, his most eminent ancestor. That is, until he unearthed the truth about G.W.'s daughter-in-law. Family lore had always described her as a Choctaw, but tracing her ancestry Hashaw discovered a more complex racial past, one that took him all the way back to the nation's beginnings and to the first African slaves to set foot in British North America.

Hashaw's genealogical burrowing resulted in *The Birth of Black America: The First African Americans and the Pursuit of Freedom in Jamestown* (Carroll & Graf, 329 pp. \$26.95). In it the one-time Houston radio reporter tells for the first time the story of roughly 30 slaves transported

from Angola to Jamestown in 1619. Two of them, he's convinced, are among his own ancestors. Their landing represents nothing less than the founding of African America.

"When I went to the history books and textbooks to find out more about these Africans who appeared in 1619 in Jamestown, I basically found one paragraph," said the 52-year-old seventh-generation Texan.

With his small admixture of black ancestry, Hashaw doesn't presume to call himself an African-American. He graduated from [Conroe High School](#) and once contemplated a career as a Baptist minister. **Peering over glasses and a full white beard, he looks like a bookish backwoodsman.**

"A century before the first Englishman comes to North America, these Africans have known Europeans, known their ways," Hashaw says. "Many of them are Christians."

The Africans who arrived in Jamestown in 1619 did so by chance. In Angola more than 300 of them had been packed aboard the San Juan Bautista, bound for Mexico. As the Spanish slaver entered the Gulf of Mexico, two English privateers, the White Lion and the Treasurer, set upon it. The pirates hoped they'd corralled a treasure ship. Discovering only human cargo, they took as many slaves as they could carry.

The Earl of Warwick, a British aristocrat, owned the Treasurer, and the governor of Jamestown was the Earl's man, so the privateers carried their booty to the Virginia coast. There they sold about 30 slaves, roughly split between males and females, to five or six plantation owners.

Slave practices hadn't been codified in the early 17th century. Different masters treated their purchases differently.

"Some viewed Africans no different from indentured English servants," Hashaw said. "They let them work three or four or seven years and then gave them their freedom and sent them off to start their own farms. Some Englishmen let them raise crops and livestock on the side. Some Englishmen hated slavery, and if they married into a family that had slaves and inherited them, immediately freed them. Other Englishmen believed in full slavery, lifelong chattel."

Within two decades some of these Africans were not only free but landowners. Melungeons can credit their black ancestry, for the most part, to these free Africans, Hashaw said. "Jamestown is actually the birthplace of two African Americas, one slave and one free, and they grow up side by side."

Some prospering free blacks married whites. Their mixed-race offspring, several generations later, would claim to be "Portuguese or part Indian or anything but African," Hashaw said. There's an active Melungeon community online, and Hashaw acknowledged that a "small but vocal section does not like the fact that I have said they are triracial. The part they don't like is the African part."

[Further references for web pages on the White Lion in 1619 and the sale at Port Comfort](#)

<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/first-african-slave-ship-arrives-jamestown-colony>

First enslaved Africans arrive in Jamestown, setting the stage for slavery in North America - by History.com Editors, Updated March 16, 2021

They were originally kidnapped by Portuguese colonial forces, who sent captured members of the native Kongo and Ndongo kingdoms on a forced march to the port of Luanda, the capital of modern-day Angola. From there, they were ordered on the ship *San Juan Bautista*, which set sail for Veracruz in the colony of New Spain. As was quite common, about 150 of the 350 captives aboard the ship died during the crossing. Then, as it approached its destination, the ship was attacked by two privateer ships, the *White Lion* and the *Treasurer*. Crews from the two ships kidnapped up to 60 of the *Bautista*'s enslaved people. It was the *White Lion* which docked at Virginia Colony's Point Comfort and traded some of the prisoners for food on August 20, 1619.

Scholars note that the arrivals were technically sold as indentured servants. Indentured servants agreed, or in many cases were forced, to work with no pay for a set amount of time, often to pay off a debt and could legally expect to become free at the end of the contract. Many Europeans who arrived in the Americas came as indentured servants. Despite this classification—and records which indicate that some of them did eventually obtain their freedom—it is clear that the Africans arriving at Point Comfort in 1619 were forced into servitude and that they fit the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' definition of enslaved peoples.

<https://www.history.com/news/american-slavery-before-jamestown-1619>

America's History of Slavery Began Long Before Jamestown - BY: CRYSTAL PONTI - UPDATED: AUGUST 26, 2019

The arrival of the first captives to the Jamestown Colony, in 1619, is often seen as the beginning of slavery in America—but enslaved Africans arrived in North America as early as the 1500s.

....

The arrival of these “20 and odd” Africans to England's mainland American colonies in 1619 is now a focal point in history curricula. The date and their story have become symbolic of slavery's roots, despite captive Africans likely being present in the Americas in the 1400s and as early as 1526 in the region that would become the United States.

Some experts, including Michael Guasco, a professor at Davidson College and author of *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World*, caution about placing too much emphasis on the year 1619.

“To ignore what had been happening with relative frequency in the broader Atlantic world over the preceding 100 years or so understates the real brutality of the ongoing slave trade, of which the 1619 group were undoubtedly a part, and minimizes the significant African presence in the Atlantic world to that point,” Guasco explains. “People of African descent have been ‘here’ longer than the English colonies.”

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/misguided-focus-1619-beginning-slavery-us-damages-our-understanding-american-history-180964873/>

The Misguided Focus on 1619 as the Beginning of Slavery in the U.S. Damages Our Understanding of American History

The year the first enslaved Africans were brought to Jamestown is drilled into

students' memories, but overemphasizing this date distorts history

By Michael Guasco - September 13, 2017

In 1619, “20. and odd Negroes” arrived off the coast of Virginia, where they were “bought for victualle” by labor-hungry English colonists. The story of these captive Africans has set the stage for countless scholars and teachers interested in telling the story of slavery in English North America. Unfortunately, 1619 is not the best place to begin a meaningful inquiry into the history of African peoples in America. Certainly, there is a story to be told that begins in 1619, but it is neither well-suited to help us understand slavery as an institution nor to help us better grasp the complicated place of African peoples in the early modern Atlantic world. For too long, the focus on 1619 has led the general public and scholars alike to ignore more important issues and, worse, to silently accept unquestioned assumptions that continue to impact us in remarkably consequential ways. As a historical signifier, 1619 may be more insidious than instructive.

The overstated significance of 1619—still a common fixture in American history curriculum—begins with the questions most of us reflexively ask when we consider the first documented arrival of a handful of people from Africa in a place that would one day become the United States of America. First, what was the status of the newly arrived African men and women? Were they slaves? Servants? Something else? And, second, as [Winthrop Jordan](#) wondered in the preface to his 1968 classic, *White Over Black*, what did the white inhabitants of Virginia *think* when these dark-skinned people were rowed ashore and traded for provisions? Were they shocked? Were they frightened? Did they notice these people were black? If so, did they care?

In truth, these questions fail to approach the subject of Africans in America in a historically responsible way. None of these queries conceive of the newly-arrived Africans as actors in their own right. These questions also assume that the arrival of these people was an exceptional historical moment, and they reflect the worries and concerns of the world we inhabit rather than shedding useful light on the unique challenges of life in the early seventeenth century.

This story [was originally published on Black Perspectives](#), an online platform for public scholarship on global black thought, history and culture.

<https://time.com/5653369/august-1619-jamestown-history/>

The First Africans in Virginia Landed in 1619. It Was a Turning Point for Slavery in American History—But Not the Beginning

BY OLIVIA B. WAXMAN - AUGUST 20, 2019, 12:53 PM EDT.

The people who came in August 1619 have been [described](#) as “the first Africans to set foot on the North American continent,” but that is incorrect.

For example, as historian Henry Louis Gates Jr. has [pointed out](#), Juan Garrido became the first documented black person to arrive in what would become the U.S. when he accompanied Juan Ponce de León in search of the Fountain of Youth in 1513, and they ended up in present-day Florida, around St. Augustine.

Nor is it the case that those who arrived in 1619 were the first enslaved people in what would become the United States. In 1565, for example, the Spanish brought [enslaved Africans](#) to present-day St. Augustine, Fla., the first [European settlement](#) in what’s now the continental U.S. In 1526, a Spanish expedition to present-day South Carolina was thwarted when the [enslaved Africans aboard resisted](#).

<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/aug/14/slavery-in-america-1619-first-ships-jamestown>

How we think about the term 'enslaved' matters - Nell Irvin Painter, Wed 14 Aug 2019 02.00 EDT -

400 years ago, the first Africans who came to America were not 'enslaved', they were indentured – and this makes a crucial difference when we think about the meanings of our past

Even in 1700, Africans were hardly the only unfree colonists, for a majority of those laboring in Virginia were people bound to service. They were indentured whites. Population numbers are crucial in understanding the demography of labor in early Virginia. By 1680, only about 7% of Virginians were of African descent; 20% of Virginians were of African descent by 1700, and by 1750, the 100,000 enslaved Virginian men and women accounted for more than half the population. Here lies the demography of enslavement.

In short, the 1619 Africans were not “enslaved”. They were townspeople in the Ndongo district of Angola who had been captured by Imbangala warlords and delivered to the port of Luanda for shipment to the Americas. Raiding, capturing and selling people was not an exclusively African practice.

Raiding for captives to sell belongs to a long human history that knows no boundaries of time, place or race. This business model unites the ninth-12th-century Vikings who made Dublin western Europe’s largest slave market (think of St Patrick, who had been enslaved by Irish raiders in the fifth century) and 10th-16th-century Cossacks who delivered eastern European peasants to the Black Sea market at Tana for shipment to the wealthy eastern Mediterranean. The earliest foreign policy of the new United States of America targeted the raiders of the Barbary Coast who engaged in a lively slave trade in Europeans (think Robinson Crusoe). Sadly, the phenomenon of warlords who prey on peasants knows no boundaries of time or place.

[New Yorker Review / Reflection on The 1619 Project](https://www.newyorker.com/books/under-review/the-1619-project-and-the-demands-of-public-history)

<https://www.newyorker.com/books/under-review/the-1619-project-and-the-demands-of-public-history>

The 1619 Project and the Demands of Public History

The ambitious Times endeavor, now in book form, reveals the difficulties that greet a journalistic project when it aspires to shift a founding narrative of the past.

By Lauren Michele Jackson - December 8, 2021, *The New Yorker* magazine

The name of this endeavor was introduced at the very bottom of the page, in print small enough to overlook: “The 1619 Project.” The titular year encapsulated a dramatic claim: that it was the arrival of what would become slavery in the colonies, and not the independence declared in 1776, that marked “the country’s true birth date,” as the issue’s editors wrote.

...

Four months after the special issue was released, the Times Magazine published a letter, jointly signed by five historians, taking issue with certain “errors and distortions” in the Project. The authors objected, especially, to a line in the introductory essay by Hannah-Jones stating that “one of the primary reasons the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery.” Several months later, Politico published a piece by Leslie M. Harris, a historian and professor at Northwestern who’d been asked to help fact-check the 1619 Project. She’d “vigorously

disputed” the same line, to no avail. “I was concerned that critics would use the overstated claim to discredit the entire undertaking,” she wrote. “So far, that’s exactly what has happened.”

<https://www.amazon.com/Times-Project-Racist-Falsification-History/dp/1893638936> - Paperback
Amazon link

<https://www.amazon.com/Times-Project-Racist-Falsification-History-ebook/dp/B09JVS714S> - Kindle
Link

The New York Times’ 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History :

by David North, Tom Mackaman,

ASIN : B09JVS714S,

Publisher : Mehring Books Inc (October 18, 2021),

Publication date : October 18, 2021

Amazon’s Blurb

The definitive refutation of the New York Times’ 1619 Project, this volume includes original essays, lectures, and interviews with historians. Topics addressed include the complex development of slavery in the New World, the American Revolution, the sectional crisis over slavery and the Civil War, the struggle for social equality in the twentieth century, and the class politics of racial identity in the present.

The book features interviews with renowned scholars Gordon Wood, James M. McPherson, James Oakes, Victoria Bynum, Richard Carwardine, Clayborne Carson, Adolph Reed Jr., and Dolores Janiewski.

This is a powerful resource for college and high school instructors—and a timely response to the 1619 Project’s

interpretation of American history as an endless race struggle between whites and blacks. As Walter Benn Michaels puts it, “Everyone interested in understanding what actually happened then and what’s actually happening now needs to read it.”

The preoccupation of journalists is with events and controversies of their own time. **Historians strive to understand, reconstruct, and explain the conditions and events of another time, different in many ways from their own.** The subjects of their work are generally not among the living and cannot be interviewed. An anachronistic approach to history—that is, one which judges the dramatis personae of another historical period on the basis of modern-day standards which were not known, let alone actionable, in the times in which they lived—is among the worst of all intellectual errors, exceeded only by getting the facts plainly and obviously wrong. The New York Times’ 1619 Project can serve as a future case study for both an anachronistic approach to history and a deplorable indifference to factual accuracy.

To the extent that there is a method to the 1619 Project, it is pragmatic in the most vulgar sense of the word. **The writers rummage carelessly through the past, cherry-picking incidents to concoct a narrative that conforms to their preconceived racist viewpoint.** They explain historical events in terms of what the authors claim, often incorrectly, to have been the immediate motives of the actors. Of what Friedrich Engels referred to as the “motive behind the motives”—that is, the objective economic, technological, and social forces and processes operating independently of the consciousness of individuals—there is

barely a word. **The protracted political and ideological evolution of the conflict between the colonists and the British Empire is ignored.**

Based on what is written in the 1619 Project essays, **readers would have no idea whatever of the profound influence exerted by the Enlightenment on the leaders of the Revolution, or that there existed a complex connection between Britain's conflict with the colonies and the global politics of the second half of the eighteenth century.**

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 268-269). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

The Times justifies its racial approach by claiming that slavery and the experience of African Americans are subjects long neglected by historians. In fact, the slave system—its origins, changing economic role in pre- and post-revolutionary North America, and its social, political, and cultural significance over a period spanning several centuries—has been the subject of voluminous research. **The essays that introduce the 1619 Project evince no familiarity with the massive body of work produced by generations of historians. The 1619 Project essays are not footnoted, nor are the readers provided with a bibliography.**

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (p. 269). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

... Many of these disputes were covered in the Times before the newspaper committed itself in recent years to racial politics.

In 2015, the Times published an article written by Sean Wilentz in its opinion section in which the historian opposed “the myth that the United States was founded on racial slavery.” Sean Wilentz described this myth as “one of the most destructive falsehoods in all of American history.” **The Times did not challenge Sean Wilentz' views at the time. But it failed to consult Sean Wilentz in the preparation of the 1619 Project essays. This was not an accidental mistake, but a conscious decision to exclude from the project all countervailing arguments.**

The five signatories asked the Times to explain the “closed process” by which the project was compiled. They noted that the Times bypassed experts, disregarded “matters of verifiable fact, which are the foundation of both honest scholarship and honest journalism,” and displaced “historical understanding by ideology.”

Silverstein answers with disingenuous generalities. ... It is evident from Silverstein's vague reply that the Times made no attempt to include, in either the “group meeting” or “individual conversations,”⁶ historians who represented a variety of interpretative tendencies. Clearly, the Times was not interested in listening to what historians who disagreed with the predetermined line of the 1619 Project had to say.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (p. 270). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

In the light of what the Times has written about the scholarly work of professors Wood and McPherson, their exclusion from discussions on the framing and content of the 1619 Project was clearly a conscious decision, arrived at in bad faith.

Professors Wood, McPherson, Oakes, Bynum, and Sean Wilentz challenge the essential claim upon which the 1619 Project's condemnation of the American Revolution is grounded. The historians assert unequivocally that it is “not true,” as the Times asserts, that “the founders declared the colonies' independence of Britain ‘in order to ensure slavery would continue.’” They call the allegation “astounding,” adding, “every statement offered by the project to validate it is false.”

Silverstein responds:

I think it would be useful for readers to hear why we believe that Hannah-Jones's claim that "one of the primary reasons the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery" is grounded in the historical record.

Defending the claim that "uneasiness among slaveholders in the colonies about growing antislavery sentiment in Britain and increasing imperial regulation helped motivate the Revolution," Silverstein argues that "large numbers of the enslaved came to see the struggle as one between freedom and continued subjugation."

This assertion rests on one episode in the Revolution, the issuing of the Dunmore Proclamation in 1775, which, writes Silverstein, "offered freedom to any enslaved person who fled his plantation and joined the British Army." He cites one sentence from a recent book by historian Jill Lepore, *These Truths: A History of the United States*, in which she writes: "Not the taxes and the tea, not the shots at Lexington and Concord, not the siege of Boston; rather, it was this act, Dunmore's offer of freedom to slaves, that tipped the scales in favor of American independence." Declaring, on this narrow foundation, the worldhistorical significance of the Dunmore Proclamation, Silverstein writes: "And yet how many contemporary Americans have ever even heard of it? Enslaved people at the time certainly knew about it. During the Revolution, thousands sought freedom by taking refuge with British forces."

Professor Jill Lepore is a thoughtful writer, but the importance that she assigns to the Dunmore Proclamation is supported with only one statement by Edward Rutledge, a delegate from South Carolina to the Continental Congress. Moreover, Lepore proceeds to undermine her appraisal of the impact of the Proclamation, as she goes on to state in the very same chapter of her book:

Aside from Dunmore's proclamation of freedom to slaves, the strongest impetus for independence came from brooding and tireless Thomas Paine, who'd immigrated to Philadelphia from England in 1774. In January 1776, Paine published an anonymous pamphlet called *Common Sense*, forty-seven pages of brisk political argument. "As it is my design to make those that can scarcely read understand," Paine explained, "I shall therefore avoid every literary ornament and put it in language as plain as the alphabet." Members of Congress might have been philosophers, reading Locke and Montesquieu. But ordinary Americans read the Bible, Poor Richard's Almanack, and Thomas Paine.

Paine wrote with fury, and he wrote with flash. "The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind," he announced. "'Tis not the affair of a city, a country, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time."

Professor Lepore is caught in an evident contradiction. If, as her reference to Dunmore suggests, American independence was instigated by a threat to the permanence of slavery, how is this reconciled with her admission that "the strongest impetus for independence" was generated by Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, which made the case for the liberation of all mankind? As is typical of his slapdash journalistic method, Silverstein seizes on one ill-considered passage by Professor Lepore, but ignores her more carefully considered appreciation of the ideological motivations of the American Revolution.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 272-275). Mehrging Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

The conclusion that must follow from the Times' glorification of the Dunmore Proclamation is that the defeat of the colonists by the British would have been the preferable outcome of the war; for the British were waging a war of social liberation against the efforts of the colonists to perpetuate slavery.

The Dunmore Proclamation was issued in November [7th] 1775 by John Murray, Fourth Earl of Dunmore (1730–1809), who was appointed governor of New York and then of Virginia by King George III.

The presentation of the Dunmore Proclamation as the critical trigger event of the revolution ignores the chronology of the American rebellion. The Dunmore Proclamation was issued a decade after the Stamp Act (passed by the British Parliament on March 22, 1765), nearly five years after the Boston Massacre (March 5, 1770), two years after the Boston Tea Party (December 16, 1773), over a year after the convening of the First Continental Congress (September 5, 1774), seven months after military hostilities began with the Battles of Lexington and Concord and the initiation of the Siege of Boston (April 19, 1775), six months after the Battle of Fort Ticonderoga (May 10, 1775) and five months after the Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775). Even in the Southern states, the revolutionary movement was already far advanced by the time Dunmore issued his order.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 275-276). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

Dunmore Proclamation Timeline Compared to Preceding Revolutionary Events

- 1765-03-22: Stamp Act (passed by the British Parliament on March 22, 1765)
- 1770-03-05: Boston Massacre (March 5, 1770)
- 1773-12-16: Boston Tea Party (December 16, 1773)
- 1774-09-05: First Continental Congress (September 5, 1774)
- 1775-04-19: Battles of Lexington and Concord and the initiation of the Siege of Boston (April 19, 1775)
- 1775-05-10: Battle of Fort Ticonderoga (May 10, 1775)
- 1775-06-17: Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775)
- 1775-11-07: Dunmore Proclamation

<https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/dbva/items/show/268>

Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, 1775

John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore, was the last royal governor of Virginia. Briefly governor of New York in 1770–1771, he assumed a new role as governor of Virginia in 1771. He won the support of Virginians during the conflict known as Lord Dunmore's War in 1774. White settlers in the Ohio Valley region, which had been claimed by Virginia, were said to have come under attack by a local Shawnee tribe. Lord Dunmore organized a large militia force that he led against Indigenous Americans. Victorious at the Battle of Point Pleasant (located in present-day West Virginia) in October 1774, Dunmore afterwards negotiated a treaty prohibiting the Delaware, Mingo, and Shawnee tribes from settling or hunting south of the Ohio River.

Lord Dunmore's popularity began to wane in 1775. He was impulsive and alienated key politicians, and the lack of instructions from London hindered his ability to govern. Tensions between the colony and Great Britain increased rapidly. **Citing rumors of an impending slave rebellion, Dunmore removed gunpowder from the public magazine in Williamsburg in April**, an action that triggered a rapid deterioration in his relations with Virginia's other political leaders. He sent his family back to Britain, fled Williamsburg early in June, and tried to gather Loyalist supporters in Hampton Roads.

On November 7, 1775, Lord Dunmore proclaimed martial law and offered freedom to enslaved men who escaped from supporters of the resistance and agreed to fight for the king. Dunmore did not free his own enslaved laborers.

His offer of freedom to slaves to fight against white Virginians and his recruitment of a regiment of Black soldiers alienated most of the remaining influential planters and political leaders who until then had stayed loyal to the Crown. Thomas Jefferson included "prompting our negroes to rise in arms against us" among the grievances against the king in his draft of the constitution adopted by Virginia in June 1776.

Dunmore's proclamation sparked a flood of slaves to escape (as many as 2,000 reached the governor) and raised widespread fear of a slave rebellion. Dunmore took the offensive at the Battle of Great Bridge in December 1775, but was so soundly defeated there that he burned nearby Norfolk and fled. In 1787 Lord Dunmore became governor of the Bahamas, during which time he fell from royal favor. He died at his home in England in 1809.

<https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/dbva/files/original/867ec5b20723a0696ffff1dc44ae0bf4.pdf>

Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, 1775 (Transcription, PDF)

<https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/dbva/files/original/00e058ab7db3b85ff394bcf5720ea341.jpg>

Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, 1775 (image scan, JPG)

A PROCLAMATION. [Note: the text clearly shows this proclamation is a response to events already going on or done, i.e. the colonist are not reacting to Dunmore, as claimed by the "project," just the opposite, Italics are mine]

As I have ever entertained Hopes that an Accommodation might have taken Place between Great-Britain and this Colony, without being compelled by my Duty to this most disagreeable but *now absolutely necessary Step, rendered so by a Body of armed Men unlawfully assembled, firing on His Majesty's Tenders, and the formation of an Army, and that Army now on their March to attack His Majesty's Troops and destroy the well disposed Subjects of this Colony.* To defeat such treasonable Purposes, and that all such Traitors, and their Abettors, may be brought to Justice, and that the Peace, and good Order of the Colony may be again restored, which the ordinary Course of the Civil Law is unable to effect; I have thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, hereby declaring, that until the aforesaid good Purposes can be obtained, I do in Virtue of the Power and Authority to Me given, by His Majesty, determine to execute Martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Colony: and to the end that Peace and good Order may the sooner be restored, I do require every Person capable of bearing Arms, to resort to His Majesty's Standard or be looked upon as Traitors to His Majesty's Crown and Government, and thereby become liable to the Penalty the Law inflicts upon such Offences; such as forfeiture of

Life, confiscation of Lands, &c. &c. *And I do hereby further declare all indentured Servants, Negroes, or others, (appertaining to Rebels,) free that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining His Majesty's Troops as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper Sense of their Duty, to His Majesty's Crown and Dignity.* I do further order, and require, all His Majesty's Leige Subjects, to retain their Quitrents, or any other taxes due or that may become due, in their own Custody, till such Time as Peace may again be restored to this at present most unhappy Country, or demanded of them for their former salutary Purposes, by Officers properly authorised to receive the same.

Given under my Hand on board the ship William, off Norfolk, the 7th Day of November, in the Sixteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

DUNMORE.

From an interview with Gordon Wood (GW) with the World Socialist Web Site (WSWS)

... GW: It was very important that the American colonial crisis, the imperial crisis, occurred right at the height of what we call the Enlightenment, where Western Europe was full of new ideas and was confident that culture—what people believed and thought—was man-made and thus could be changed. The Old World, the Ancien Régime, could be transformed and made anew. It was an age of revolution, and it's not surprising that the French Revolution and other revolutions occur in the wake of the American Revolution.

The notion of equality was really crucial. When the Declaration says that all men are created equal, that is no myth. It is the most powerful statement ever made in our history, and it lies behind almost everything we Americans believe in and attempt to do. What that statement meant is that we are all born equal and all the differences that we see among us as adults are due solely to our differing educations, differing upbringings, and differing environments. **The Declaration is an Enlightenment document because it repudiated the Ancien Régime assumption that all men are created unequal and that nothing much could be done about it. That's what it meant to be a subject in the old society. You were born a patrician or a plebeian and that was your fate.**

WSWS: One of the ironies of the 1619 Project is that they are saying the same things about the Declaration of Independence as the fire-eating proponents of slavery said—that it's a fraud. Meanwhile, abolitionists like Frederick Douglass upheld it and said we're going to make this "all men are created equal" real.

GW: That points up the problem with the whole project. It's too bad that it's going out into the schools with the authority of the New York Times behind it. That's sad because it will color the views of all these youngsters who will receive the message of the 1619 Project.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 201-202). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

... That kind of gets back to the 1619 Project. A lot of their focus seems to be the founding of the United States as a nation. The way I would look at that, is that at that time, for a variety of reasons, you have a predominant group, white men, beginning to articulate a human rights ideal. We can study why that happened when it happened. **It had to do with the Enlightenment, the spread of literacy, the rise of**

working-class movements. All of these factors led people to start talking in terms of human rights. It was both an intellectual movement from the top down and a freedom struggle from the bottom up. People begin to speak in terms of rights: that I, we, have rights that other people should respect. The emergence of that is important.

And it does affect African Americans. We know that from Benjamin Banneker and lots of other black people who realized that white people were talking about rights, and said, “Well, we have rights too.” That’s an important development in history, and an approach to history that doesn’t say we should privilege only the rights talk of white people. There’s always a dialogue between that and oppressed people. You have to tell the story from the top down, that **intellectuals began to articulate the notion of rights. But simultaneously, nonelites are doing that—working-class people, black people, colonized people.**

There were three nations that came out of the spread of literacy and Enlightenment ideals. Usually the focus is on the United States and France. But Haiti came out of that as well. That often gets overlooked.

WSWS: I agree with you. I think one of the things that is missing in the lead essay by Nikole Hannah-Jones is any appreciation of the power of the contradiction that was introduced in 1776 with the proclamation of human equality, and also the impact of the Revolution itself. I thought in our interview with Gordon Wood he took that question up very effectively, pointing out that slavery became very conspicuous as a result of the Revolution. Also disregarded is the Afro-Caribbean historian Eric Williams, who analyzed the impact of the American Revolution on the demise of slavery. Instead, the Revolution is presented as a conspiracy to perpetuate slavery.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times’ 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 240-241). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

... However, the horrors of slavery and the dispossession of the indigenous populations, what Bernard Bailyn has aptly characterized as the “barbarous years” in colonial history, intersected with other economic, social, and political processes that also contributed to American “uniqueness.”

The societies of the thirteen colonies were characterized by the absence of a feudal past, a distinct feature of American development that has been the subject of prolonged and significant discussion among serious historians. Also “unique” was the profound influence of the English Civil War of the seventeenth century and the Enlightenment philosophy of the eighteenth, whose revolutionary defense of liberty and revolutionary ideas reached deep into the colonial population—indeed, even to the slaves themselves, as Professor Clayborne Carson pointed out in his interview with the World Socialist Web Site. All of these “unique” aspects of the colonies intersected with the imperial crisis of the mid-to-late eighteenth century, the Seven Years’ War (1756–63), and the global conflict between France and Britain, setting the stage for the confrontation that erupted in 1775. The victory of the colonial rebellion stunned the world and sounded the tocsin for revolutions in France and Haiti.

But Lichtenstein cynically dismisses the world-historical significance of the American Revolution. “The first republic and its Constitution, so revered, lasted about as long as the USSR, a mere seventy-four years, before dissolving into the bloodiest conflict of the nineteenth century,” he sneers. “For my part, I always considered this a pretty weak foundation on which to erect unconditional veneration.”

Serious historians do not “venerate” events. They attempt to understand and explain them, and to trace back their roots in the past as well as their consequences. The latter is particularly important in the study of the American Revolution, for if it had achieved only the preconditions for the destruction of slavery within a “mere seventy-four years”—and it in fact achieved far more than that—it would

still rank as one of the most consequential political events in history. To compound the confusion, the Civil War, which Lichtenstein also minimizes, is made exclusively dependent on the “black freedom struggle,” implying that the latter’s development was unconnected with the American Revolution and the political conflicts within the United States that unfolded between 1787 and 1861.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times’ 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 315-317). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

Communism “should challenge us first to be more concerned about social justice,” King noted in a sermon first delivered in 1953. “However much is wrong with Communism we must admit that it arose as a protest against the hardships of the underprivileged. The Communist Manifesto which was published in 1847 by Marx and Engels emphasizes throughout how the middle class has exploited the lower class. Communism emphasizes a classless society. Along with this goes a strong attempt to eliminate racial prejudice. Communism seeks to transcend the superficialities of race and color, and you are able to join the Communist party whatever the color of your skin or the quality of the blood in your veins.”

King eloquently articulated the democratic sentiments of Americans of all races and ethnicities striving to tear down all the artificial barriers erected by the ruling class in a conscious effort to divide the working class.

In a 1965 sermon, King explained that the “majestic words” of the Declaration of Independence penned by Thomas Jefferson, that “all men are created equal,” were the cornerstone of the civil rights movement. **He did not see that document, which gave expression to the Enlightenment principles which animated the American Revolution, as a cynical ploy or a lie—as 1619 Project figurehead Nikole Hannah-Jones imagines it—but an as yet unfulfilled promise, “lifted to cosmic proportions,” and one the civil rights movement was fighting to make a reality.**

He and many others who were part of the mass movement in the 1950s and 1960s understood very well that no lasting progress could be made without the unity of the working class and recognized that under capitalism workers were being oppressed regardless of the color of their skin.

Writing in 1958, King noted that two summers of work in a factory as a teenager had exposed him to “economic injustice firsthand, and [I] realized that the poor white was exploited just as much as the Negro. Through these early experiences I grew up deeply conscious of the varieties of injustice in our society.”

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times’ 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 375-376). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

The “public conversation” to which the Pulitzer citation refers was set into motion by the World Socialist Web Site, which published in the first week of September 2019 a comprehensive rebuttal of the 1619 Project. The WSWS followed this with a series of interviews with leading historians who subjected the Times’ unprecedented and extravagant foray into history to a withering critique: Victoria Bynum, James McPherson, James Oakes, Gordon Wood, Adolph Reed Jr., Dolores Janiewski, Richard Carwardine, and Clayborne Carson.

The central argument advanced in the essays and interviews was that the 1619 Project was a travesty of history. The WSWS exposure of the 1619 Project’s shoddy research, numerous factual errors, and outright falsifications attracted a huge audience and was the subject of discussion in numerous publications.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (p. 440). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

The 1619 Project's central claims ran roughshod over virtually every field of historical research. Slavery was transformed into an exceptionally American “original sin” and a vehicle for the transmission of racism, not a global system of labor exploitation with ancient roots. **The American Revolution was reduced to a conspiracy of white founders defending slavery against the enlightened British aristocracy.**

According to Hannah-Jones and the Times, the Civil War was not about the destruction of slavery, but was rather a war between racist brothers, an interpretation first developed by Jim Crow historians more than a century ago. There was no interracial abolitionist movement and no labor movement whatsoever. Despite claims about putting “black people at the very center,” there were no black people as historical actors to be found, only victim-symbols of white oppression. There was no Frederick Douglass, no Martin Luther King Jr., no Harlem Renaissance, no Great Migration. Racism itself was transformed into a suprahistorical and biological impulse that, as Hannah-Jones wrote, “runs in the very DNA of this country.” In this new narrative there was no room whatsoever for American Indians, indentured servants, immigrants, farmers, or wage workers.

Moreover, Hannah-Jones and the 1619 Project loudly and crudely insisted that only African Americans could intuitively grasp this history. In rolling out its special edition, the Times boasted, “Almost every contributor in the magazine and special section—writers, photographers and artists—is black, a nonnegotiable aspect of the project that helps underscore its thesis.” Hannah-Jones claimed on Twitter that “white historians” could never sufficiently rid themselves of racism to understand African American history, and therefore could be disregarded.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 441-442). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

In the article, published March 6, 2020, on Politico (“I Helped Fact-Check the 1619 Project. The Times Ignored Me”), [Professor Leslie M. Harris](#) of Northwestern University explains that weeks before the August 2019 publication of the project, she was approached by a Times research editor to verify historical statements, among them the following:

One critical reason that the colonists declared their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery in the colonies, which had produced tremendous wealth. At the time there were growing calls to abolish slavery throughout the British Empire, which would have badly damaged the economies of colonies in both North and South.

Harris wrote that she “vigorously disputed the claim,” writing in Politico that, “although slavery was certainly an issue in the American Revolution, the protection of slavery was not one of the main reasons the 13 Colonies went to war.” **Harris also disputed a second tenet of the project—its implication that during the colonial period, slavery was the same as it was in 1860, at the time of the Southern secession that led to the Civil War. This position underlies the Project's claim that slavery was, beginning in 1619, a fully formed expression of white racism.** Both errors appeared in spite of Harris's “vigorous” objections, which included providing “references to specific examples.” The Northwestern historian, an expert in antebellum slavery, “never heard back ... about how the information would be used.”

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 446-447). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

Harris provides a summation of the historical evidence, exposing the claim regarding the 1619 Project's claim that the American Revolution was a slaveholders' revolt. She writes:

Slavery in the Colonies faced no immediate threat from Great Britain, so colonists wouldn't have needed to secede to protect it. It's true that in 1772, the famous Somerset case ended slavery in England and Wales, but it had no impact on Britain's Caribbean colonies, where the vast majority of black people enslaved by the British labored and died, or in the North American Colonies. It took 60 more years for the British government to finally end slavery in its Caribbean colonies. ... Far from being fought to preserve slavery, the Revolutionary War became a primary disrupter of slavery in the North American Colonies. Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, a British military strategy designed to unsettle the Southern Colonies by inviting enslaved people to flee to British lines, propelled hundreds of enslaved people off plantations and turned some Southerners to the patriot side. It also led most of the 13 Colonies to arm and employ free and enslaved black people, with the promise of freedom to those who served in their armies.

North, David; Mackaman, Tom. The New York Times' 1619 Project and the Racist Falsification of History (pp. 447-448). Mehring Books Inc. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2019-02-05/new-americanism-nationalism-jill-lepore>

A New Americanism: Why a Nation Needs a National Story

By Jill Lepore, 5 February 2019 for March/April 2019 issue of Foreign Affairs

<https://www.ncpedia.org/history/usrevolution/african-americans>

African Americans and the Revolution

Originally published as "'Liberty to Slaves': The Black Response"

by Jeffrey J. Crow; Revised by SLNC Government and Heritage Library, June 2023

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Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History

The story of how the original thirteen American colonies broke away from Great Britain and formed the United States is well known. Less well known is how African-Americans felt and what they did during the War of Independence.

At the time of the American Revolution, enslaved people made up at least 25 percent of the population of North Carolina. In actual numbers, Black people totaled perhaps seventy thousand but no more than 5 percent of them were free. Most Black people, whether enslaved or free, lived in the countryside and worked the land, planting, harvesting, and preparing crops for market.

Those who lived in North Carolina's few towns worked at trades or were servants to enslavers. A few of them were "hired out" by their enslavers to work for others who needed their labor. All of their earnings, except perhaps for a small allowance, went to the enslavers.

Skilled people who were enslaved worked as carpenters, coopers (making barrels), blacksmiths (making iron into tools and shoeing horses), wheelwrights (making and repairing wheels), and in many other skilled occupations. In coastal towns, such as Wilmington and New Bern, they worked in trades that were

important to the shipping business. Also in these towns, they may have controlled parts of the local economy, for example, selling almost all the food staples, fish, and fowl (birds).

Just as whites were divided by the conflict between the colonies and England, so Black people faced difficult choices. African-Americans fought for both sides, providing manpower to both the British and the revolutionaries. Their actions during the war were often decided by what they believed would best help them throw off the shackles of slavery. Most believed that victory by the British would lead to the end of slavery.

...

After Lord Dunmore's proclamation of freedom for slaves who joined the British army, the patriots had to consider offering freedom from slavery in exchange for service in their army. When General [George Washington](#) saw the brave performance of black soldiers at Bunker Hill, he took action to bring black troops into the army.

However, southern states, especially South Carolina, resisted efforts to arm blacks. Only Maryland permitted slaves to enlist, but free blacks joined the armies and navies in Virginia, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Delaware, and Connecticut. Perhaps as many as three-fourths of Rhode Island's Continental troops included slaves who exchanged their service for freedom.

At [White Plains, New York](#), in August 1778, [muster rolls](#) for the Continental army recorded 755 blacks. Fifty-eight of them, probably free men, were with the North Carolina Continental Line. Black soldiers were more likely to serve as laborers and craftsmen. They built fortifications, made weapons and ammunition, cleared roads, and shod horses. They also acted as spies, guides, musicians, or servants to white officers.

North Carolina's most famous black soldier was [John Chavis](#), who spent three years in the Fifth Virginia Regiment. After the war, he won fame as a Presbyterian minister and teacher of both black and white students in Raleigh. In 1832 he declared, "Tell them that if I am Black I am free born American & a revolutionary soldier & therefore ought not to be thrown intirely out of the scale of notice."

Blacks who fought with the revolutionaries included Jonathan Overton, who died in 1849 at the age of 101. A newspaper described him as "a soldier of the Revolution" who had "served under Washington, and was at the battle of Yorktown, besides other less important engagements." Another was Ned Griffen, who was purchased by William Kitchen to serve as his substitute in the army. But Kitchen refused to give the slave his freedom for this service as he had promised. Griffen petitioned the General Assembly, which granted him his freedom "forever hereafter" and gave him the right to vote. And there was the slave James of [Perquimans County](#) who served as a sailor on a Continental ship. He was captured twice by the British, and both times he "Embraced the Earliest Opportunity in Making his Escape to Return to this Country." The county court freed him because he had served on an "American Armed Vessel."

Many blacks looked to the British troops for their liberation. Wherever the British marched, slaves followed. When British [General Cornwallis](#) invaded the Carolinas in 1780/1781, slaves flocked to him. British officers put blacks to work in the service of the king's army performing many of the same duties they carried out in the American army.

During Cornwallis's advance through the Carolinas, he let blacks search for food and goods along the way. Their raids sent alarm through the farms and homesteads of the countryside. Writing from eastern North Carolina in the spring of 1781, Jean Blair reported at least two thousand blacks in different parties had been "sent out by L[ord] Cornwallis to plunder and get provisions. It is said they have no Arms but what they find in the houses they plunder."

Farther west in [Rowan County](#), Cornwallis's movements encouraged another slave uprising. Blacks there realized that "War was Coming on," and they began to collect weapons. Their plan was to rise up against the "white people." Slaves would have to decide "which side" they were for - "the Americans or the British." Though the plot was discovered in time, it showed the feelings in the slave community.

That decision—which side to support—had no neat and simple answer. When the British evacuated [Wilmington](#) in November 1781, William Hooper's slaves acted in different ways. Three of them left with the British. A fourth, Lavinia, "went on board the fleet... and much against her will was forced ashore by some of my friends, and returned to me," Hooper explained. Lavinia's brother, John, however, resisted British bribes. Though offered clothes, money, and freedom, John refused to leave his master. He "stole through British sentries" and traveled seventy miles to rejoin the Hooper family.

Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown in October 1781 found thousands of black refugees who had to be dealt with. On the one hand, the British military (and the patriot forces, as well) had promised freedom for blacks who had helped their cause. On the other hand, there were thousands of loyalist slaveowners. The Americans wanted to prevent a mass exodus of blacks from the United States. One British general wrote "...the slaves are exceeding unwilling to return to hard labour, and severe punishment from their former masters."

As many as 5,000 blacks sailed with the British from Charleston in late 1782. In New York, the commander of the British army took the position that any black who was with the British army before November 30, 1782, would be considered free. American slaveholders tried to reclaim their slave property but had little success. Boston King, a black Baptist preacher, recalled, "This dreadful rumour [re-enslavement] filled us with inexpressible anguish and terror, especially when we saw our old masters, coming from Virginia, North-Carolina, and other parts, and seizing upon their slaves in the streets of New-York, or even dragging them out of their beds."

In the end more than 3,000 blacks left from New York with the British, most bound for Nova Scotia in Canada. At least 8,300 blacks were taken to East Florida from Savannah and Charleston. Of course many remained in a state of slavery to loyalists who had fled. But many had earned their freedom during the war.

https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/B0999PJGJ1?storeType=ebooks&pf_rd_p=7eff61ae-ef34-4cd6-acc9-37bbf183d156&pf_rd_r=CKCRYGG09WJF9Q1B095T :: Kindle Link

<https://www.amazon.com/1620-True-Beginning-American-Republic/dp/1641771240> -- Hardcover link

<https://www.amazon.com/1620-Critical-Response-1619-Project/dp/1641772492> -- Paperback link

1620: A Critical Response to the 1619 Project Kindle Edition –

by Peter W. Wood

When and where was America founded? Was it in Virginia in 1619, when a pirate ship landed a group of captive Africans at Jamestown? So asserted the New York Times in August 2019 when it announced its 1619 Project. The Times set out to transform history by tracing American institutions, culture, and prosperity to that pirate ship and the exploitation of African Americans that followed. A controversy erupted, but the Times didn't back down. Instead the authors ballooned their original magazine supplement into a 600-page book. Peter Wood's 1620 was a point-by-point response to the 1619 Project. He argued that the proper starting point for the American story is 1620, with the signing of the

Mayflower Compact aboard ship before the Pilgrims set foot in the Massachusetts wilderness. The quintessential ideas of American self-government and ordered liberty grew from the deliberate actions of those Mayflower immigrants. In this new edition of 1620, Wood brings the story up to date, including the glittering prizes for 1619 pseudo-history, the deepening disputes, and the roles played by Presidents Trump and Biden. Much of the controversy involves education. Schools across the country raced to adopt the Times' radical revision of history as part of their curricula. Parents in many districts have rebelled. Should children be taught that America is a four-hundred-year-old system of racist oppression? Or should they learn that what has always made America exceptional is our pursuit of liberty and justice for all?

<https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/B08SCBR8WY> -

Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619-1962

by Lerone Bennett – 17 Oct 1928 Clarksdale, MS – 14 Feb 2018, Chicago, IL - died on Valentine's Day 2018

ASIN : B08SCBR8WY

Original Publisher: Johnson Publishing Company

Original Publication Date: 1962

Publisher : Ebooks for Students, Ltd. (January 6, 2021)

Publication date : January 6, 2021

Print length : 540 pages

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lerone_Bennett_Jr. – page at Wikipedia

Lerone Bennett Jr. (October 17, 1928 – February 14, 2018) was an [African-American scholar](#), [author](#) and [social historian](#) who analyzed race relations in the United States. His works included *Before the Mayflower* (1962) and *Forced into Glory* (2000), a book about U.S. President [Abraham Lincoln](#).

Born and raised in [Mississippi](#), Bennett graduated from [Morehouse College](#). He served in the [Korean War](#) and began a career in journalism at the [Atlanta Daily World](#) before being recruited by [Johnson Publishing Company](#) to work for [JET](#) magazine. Later, Bennett was the long-time executive editor of [Ebony](#) magazine. He was associated with the publication for more than 50 years. Bennett also served as a visiting professor of history at [Northwestern University](#).

Bibliography

- Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America, 1619–1962 (1962)
- What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr. (1964)
- Confrontation: Black and White (1965)
- Black Power U.S.A.: The Human Side of Reconstruction 1867–1877 (1967)
- Pioneers In Protest: Black Power U.S.A. (1968)
- The Challenge of Blackness (1972)
- The Shaping of Black America (1975)
- Wade in the Water: Great Moments in Black History (1979)
- Forced into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream (2000), Chicago: Johnson Pub. Co.

From the inside flap of the print edition of 1962:

This is a history of the American Negro, whose ancestors arrived at Jamestown a year before the arrival of the "Mayflower."

The book begins in Africa with the great empires of the Nile Valley and the western Sudan and ends with the Second Reconstruction, which Martin Luther King Jr. and the Sit-in Generation are fashioning in the North and South. Written in a dramatic, readable style, *Before The Mayflower* throws a great deal of light on today's headlines. As such, it will be a valuable addition to the library of every discerning American.

Grounded on the work of scholars and specialists, the book is designed for the non-specialist. Based on the trials and triumphs of Negro Americans, the book tells a story which is relevant to all men.

Here are the Negro Minute Men of Lexington and Concord and the black soldiers who stood with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans and Ulysses S. Grant at Petersburg.

Here also are the forgotten figures of American history: Phillis Wheatley, the slave poet who became the second American woman to write a book; Nat Turner, the mystic who led a bloody slave revolt; P. B. S. Pinchback, the Negro who sat in the Louisiana governor's mansion and dreamed of the vice presidency.

Selected Amazon reader reviews

Simeon 'Sam' Hovey

5.0 out of 5 stars - A Fascinating Book On The History Of African Americans

Reviewed in the United States us on May 15, 2019

Verified Purchase

The book begins with the history of the indigenous peoples of southern Africa (going back to ancient Egypt) and tells of how they went from being a free people in their own highly sophisticated societies and nations, and then explains how the slave trade (a crime against humanity) developed over the centuries. This book should be required reading for all high school students in America.

A word of caution is that **this book was written (about) 1964 (was 1962) when the word "negro" was the accepted word** people used when referring to African-Americans; therefore this word is used throughout the book. This may put off modern readers but if they accept what this word used to mean, then they will find this to be a fascinating history of the peoples of Africa, the slave trade and then how it evolved in the USA. It enumerates the many contributions of these people to the creation of the so-called "New World", so I am very happy that a friend told me about this book as I had no idea just how important, and how numerous, their contributions were in the creation of the USA. It is a book that gives credit where credit is due.

Arthur Fields

4.0 out of 5 stars - I'm not an integrationist

Reviewed in the United States us on September 27, 2021

Verified Purchase

I gave the book a rating 4 because it represents a small section of the African American community and their desire for integration with the greater European American culture in the

United States of America. Moreover, the book tends to do a disservice to individuals like Marcus Garvey and the Honorable Elijah Mohammed who seek a nation of Africans for Africans. The book does an excellent job at presenting the African American bourgeoisie desire for integration with the European American society. In addition, it misses the ideas of Malcolm X, and other self-determination minded African Americans that don't want to accept European American middle-class values and caste system.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Woman_King -

The Woman King (movie)

The Woman King is a 2022 American [period action-adventure drama film](#) about the [Agojie](#), the all-female warrior unit that protected the [West African](#) kingdom of [Dahomey](#) during the 17th to 19th centuries. Set in the 1820s, the film stars [Viola Davis](#) as a general who trains the next generation of warriors to fight their enemies. It is directed by [Gina Prince-Bythewood](#) and written by [Dana Stevens](#), based on a story she wrote with [Maria Bello](#). The film also stars [Thuso Mbedu](#), [Lashana Lynch](#), [Sheila Atim](#), [Hero Fiennes Tiffin](#), and [John Boyega](#).

Bello conceived the idea for *The Woman King* in 2015 after visiting [Benin](#), where the kingdom used to be located, and learning the history of the Agojie. She recruited [Cathy Schulman](#) to develop it into a feature film, pitching it to several studios, who turned it down due to financial concerns. After they met with [TriStar Pictures](#) in 2017, the film was [greenlit](#) in 2020. Production began in South Africa in November 2021, shut down due to the [COVID-19 Omicron variant](#) a few weeks later, and resumed in early 2022. [Polly Morgan](#) was the cinematographer. During post-production, the musical score was composed by [Terence Blanchard](#), and editing was completed by [Terilyn A. Shropshire](#).

...

Plot

In the [West African](#) kingdom of [Dahomey](#) in 1823,^[6] General Nanisca, leader of the all-female group of warriors, the [Agojie](#), liberates Dahomean women who were abducted by [slavers](#) from the [Oyo Empire](#). This provokes King [Ghezo](#) of Dahomey to prepare for an all-out war with the Oyo. Nanisca begins to train a new generation of warriors to join the Agojie to protect the kingdom. Among these warriors is Nawi, a strong-willed girl who was offered by her father to the king after refusing to marry men who would beat her. Nawi befriends Izogie, a veteran Agojie. She also reveals to Nanisca that she is adopted and shows a scar on her left shoulder, shocking Nanisca.

THE PLOT NEEDS DEBUNKING – This is totally reversed. The female warriors of Dahomey, caught and delivered slaves.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dahomey> -

Dahomey (kingdom)

The **Kingdom of Dahomey** (/dəˈhoʊmi/) was a [West African kingdom](#) located within present-day [Benin](#) that existed from approximately 1600 until 1904. Dahomey developed on the Abomey Plateau amongst the [Fon people](#) in the early 17th century and became a regional power in the 18th century by expanding south to conquer key cities like [Whydah](#) belonging to the [Kingdom of Whydah](#) on the [Atlantic](#) coast which granted it unhindered access to the tricontinental [triangular trade](#).

For much of the middle 19th century, the Kingdom of Dahomey became a key regional state, after eventually ending tributary status to the [Oyo Empire](#).^[1] European visitors extensively documented the kingdom, and it became one of the most familiar African nations known to Europeans.^[2] The Kingdom of Dahomey was an important regional power that had an organized domestic economy built on conquest and [slave labor](#),^[3] significant international trade and diplomatic relations with [Europeans](#), a centralized administration, taxation systems, and an organized military. Notable in the kingdom were significant artwork, an all-female military unit called the [Dahomey Amazons](#) by European observers, and the elaborate religious practices of [Vodun](#).^[4]

The growth of Dahomey coincided with the growth of the [Atlantic slave trade](#), and it became known to Europeans as a major supplier of slaves.^[2] Dahomey was a highly militaristic society constantly organised for warfare; it engaged in wars and raids against neighboring nations and sold captives into the Atlantic slave trade in exchange for European goods such as [rifles](#), [gunpowder](#), fabrics, [cowrie shells](#), [tobacco](#), [pipes](#), and alcohol.^{[5][6]} Other captives became slaves in Dahomey, where they worked on royal plantations^[7] or were killed in [human sacrifices](#) during the festival celebrations known as the [Annual Customs of Dahomey](#).^[8] The Annual Customs of Dahomey involved significant collection and distribution of gifts and tribute, religious Vodun ceremonies, military parades, and discussions by dignitaries about the future for the kingdom.

In the 1840s, Dahomey began to face decline with British pressure to abolish the slave trade, which included the British [Royal Navy](#) imposing [a naval blockade](#) against the kingdom and enforcing [anti-slavery patrols](#) near its coast.^[9] Dahomey was also weakened after failing to invade and capture slaves in [Abeokuta](#), a [Yoruba](#) city-state which was founded by the Oyo Empire refugees migrating southwards.^[10] Dahomey later began experiencing territorial disputes with [France](#) which led to the [First Franco-Dahomean War](#) in 1890, resulting in French victory. The kingdom finally fell in 1894 when the last king, [Béhanzin](#), was defeated by France in the [Second Franco-Dahomean War](#), leading to the country being annexed into [French West Africa](#) as the colony of [French Dahomey](#), later gaining independence in 1960 as the [Republic of Dahomey](#), which would later rename itself [Benin](#) in 1975.

Name

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dahomey_Amazons -

Dahomey Amazons

The **Dahomey Amazons** (**Fon**: **Agojie**, **Agoji**, **Mino**, or **Minon**) were a [Fon](#) all-female military regiment of the [Kingdom of Dahomey](#) (in today's [Benin](#), West Africa) that existed from the 17th century until the late 19th century. They were the only female army in modern history.^[1] They were named Amazons by Western Europeans who encountered them, due to the story of the female warriors of [Amazons](#) in [Greek mythology](#).

The emergence of an all-female military regiment was the result of Dahomey's male population facing high casualties in the increasingly frequent violence and warfare with neighbouring [West African](#) states. This led to Dahomey being one of the leading states in the [slave trade](#) with the [Oyo Empire](#), which used slaves for commodity exchange in West Africa until the slave trade in the region ended. The lack of men likely led the [kings of Dahomey](#) to recruit women into the army.^[2]

Origin[[edit](#)]

King [Houegbadja](#) (who ruled from 1645 to 1685), the third King of Dahomey, is said to have originally started the group which would later become the *Mino* as a corps of elephant hunters called the *gbeto*.^[3]

Houegbadja's daughter Queen [Hangbe](#) (ruling from 1716 to 1718) established a female bodyguard. European merchants recorded their presence. According to tradition, her brother and successor King [Agaja](#) successfully used them in Dahomey's defeat of the neighbouring kingdom of [Savi](#) in 1727.^[4] The group of female warriors was referred to as *Mino*, meaning "Our Mothers" in the [Fon language](#), by the male army of Dahomey.^[5] Other sources contest the claim that King Agaja's older sister Queen Hangbe was the ruler to establish the units, some even going so far as to question whether or not Queen Hangbe actually existed.^[6]

From the time of King [Ghezo](#) (ruling from 1818 to 1858), Dahomey became increasingly militaristic. Ghezo placed great importance on the army, increasing its budget and formalizing its structure from ceremonial to a serious military. While European narratives refer to the women soldiers as "Amazons", they called themselves *ahosi* (king's wives) or *Mino* (our mothers).^[4]

...

Conflict with neighbouring kingdoms[\[edit\]](#)

The Agojie battles consisted mainly within Africa against various kingdoms and tribes. During that time period it was customary that once an enemy was defeated they would be killed or enslaved. Many African tribes participated in this and Dahomey was no exception. They would often enslave their enemies and sell them to European slave traders in exchange for weaponry for battle. As early as 1728, under the direction of King Agaja, the Dahomean army conquered the kingdoms of Whydah, and Popos. In 1840, they helped to capture the fortress of the Mahee at Attahapahms. However, it was at the hands of their long-standing enemy Abeokuta that they suffered crushing defeat, resulting in many casualties.

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/real-warriors-woman-king-dahomey-agojie-amazons-180980750/>

The Real Warriors Behind ‘The Woman King’

A new film stars Viola Davis as the leader of the Agojie, the all-woman army of the African kingdom of Dahomey

Smithsonian Magazine, History September 15, 2022

Meilan Solly, Associate Editor, History

At its height in the 1840s, the West African kingdom of [Dahomey](#) boasted an army so fierce that its enemies spoke of its “[prodigious bravery](#).” This [6,000](#)-strong force, known as the Agojie, raided villages under cover of darkness, took captives and slashed off resisters’ heads to return to their king as trophies of war. Through these actions, the Agojie established Dahomey’s preeminence over neighboring kingdoms and became known by European visitors as “[Amazons](#)” due to their similarities to the warrior women of [Greek myth](#).

[The Woman King](#), a new movie starring Viola Davis as a fictionalized leader of the Agojie, tells the story of this all-woman fighting force. Directed by Gina Prince-Bythewood, the film takes place as conflict engulfs the region and the specter of European colonization looms ominously. It represents the first time that the American film industry has dramatized this compelling story.

As the [Hollywood Reporter](#)’s Rebecca Keegan writes, *The Woman King* is “the product of a thousand battles” fought by Davis and Prince-Bythewood, both of whom have spoken out about the obstacles the [production team faced](#) when pitching a historical epic centered on strong Black women.

“The part of the movie that we love is also the part of the movie that is terrifying to Hollywood, which is, it’s different, it’s new,” Davis tells Keegan. “We don’t always want different or new, unless you have a big

star attached, a big male star. ... [Hollywood studios] like it when women are pretty and blond or close to pretty and blond. All of these women are dark. And they're beating ... men. So there you go."

From the origins of the Agojie to Dahomey's eventual fate, here's what you need to know about the true history behind *The Woman King* ahead of its arrival in theaters on September 16.

Is *The Woman King* based on a true story?

In short, yes, but with extensive dramatic license. Though the broad strokes of the film are historically accurate, the majority of its characters are fictional, including Davis' Nanisca and [Thuso Mbedu's](#) Nawi, a young warrior-in-training. (Nanisca and Nawi share names with documented members of the Agojie but are not exact mirrors of these women.) King [Ghezo](#) (played by John Boyega) is the exception; according to [Lynne Ellsworth Larsen](#), an architectural historian who studies [gender dynamics](#) in Dahomey, Ghezo (who reigned 1818 to 1858) and his son Glele (who reigned 1858 to 1889) presided over what's seen as "the golden age of Dahomean history," ushering in an era of economic prosperity and political strength.

The Woman King opens in 1823 with a successful raid by the Agojie, who free captives bound for enslavement from the clutches of the [Oyo Empire](#), a powerful [Yoruba](#) state in what is now southwestern Nigeria. Dahomey has long paid tribute to the Oyo but is beginning to assert itself under the leadership of Ghezo and General Nanisca. A parallel plotline finds Nanisca, who disapproves of the slave trade after experiencing its horrors personally, urging Ghezo to end Dahomey's close relationship with Portuguese slave traders and shift to production of palm oil as the kingdom's main export.

The real Ghezo did, in fact, successfully free Dahomey from its tributary status in 1823. But the kingdom's involvement in the slave trade doesn't align as neatly with the historical record. As historian Robin Law [notes](#), Dahomey emerged as a key player in the trafficking of West Africans between the 1680s and early 1700s, selling its captives to European traders whose presence and demand fueled the industry—and, in turn, the [monumental scale](#) of Dahomey's warfare.

Though the majority of individuals taken prisoner by Dahomey were enslaved abroad, a not-insignificant number remained in the kingdom, where they served on royal farms, in the army or at the palace. In truth, Ghezo only agreed to end Dahomey's participation in the slave trade in 1852, after [years of pressure](#) by the [British government](#), which had abolished slavery (for not [wholly altruistic reasons](#)) in its own colonies in [1833](#). Though Ghezo did at one point explore palm oil production as an alternative source of revenue, it proved far less lucrative, and the king soon resumed Dahomey's participation in the slave trade.

In response to [concerns](#) about how her movie will depict Dahomey's engagement with European slave traders, Prince-Bythewood [told the Hollywood Reporter](#), "We're going to tell the truth. We're not going to shy away from anything. But also we're telling a part of the story which is about overcoming and fighting for what's right."

Portraying the Agojie, through Nanisca's actions, as critics of the slave trade makes for a "nice story," says Larsen in an interview. "Do I think it's historically accurate? I'm skeptical." She adds, "These women are symbols of strength and of power. But ... they're [also] complicit in a problematic system. They are still under the patriarchy of the king, and they are still players in the slave trade."

Maria Bello, an actress and producer who co-wrote the story *The Woman King's* script is based on, first learned about the Agojie during a 2015 trip to Benin. Recognizing the subject's cinematic appeal, she persuaded producer Cathy Schulman to find a studio willing to finance the project. Prince-Bythewood and Davis joined the team soon after. "It was a constant push and fight to convince people that we

deserve a big budget, that we deserved to tell a story like this,” Prince-Bythewood tells the [Los Angeles Times](#).

That the film was greenlit at all [likely stems](#) from the blockbuster [success](#) of 2018’s [Black Panther](#), which testified to the demand for entertainment created by and featuring Black creatives. The movie’s [Dora Milaje](#) regiment [was inspired by the Agojie](#).

“For so long, Hollywood has only ever framed Africa in stereotypical ways,” [Aje-Ori Agbese](#), an expert on African cinema at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, tells [Ms. magazine](#). “So [*The Woman King*], centered on African women and African history, will generate a conversation. We have *Black Panther* to thank for that.”

Who were the Agojie?

The first recorded mention of the Agojie dates to [1729](#). But the unit was possibly formed even earlier, toward the beginning of Dahomey’s existence, when King Huedbadja (reigned circa 1645 to 1685) created a corps of woman [elephant hunters](#). Alternatively, Queen [Hangbe](#), who briefly ruled as regent following the death of her brother in the early 18th century, may have introduced the women warriors as part of her palace guard. Either way, the Agojie reached their peak in the 19th century, under Ghezo, who formally incorporated them into Dahomey’s army. Thanks to the kingdom’s ongoing wars, Dahomey’s male population had dropped significantly, creating an opportunity for women to replace men on the battlefield.

“More perhaps than any other African state, Dahomey was dedicated to warfare and slave-raiding,” wrote Stanley B. Alpern in [Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey](#), the first full-length English-language study of the Agojie. “It may also have been the most totalitarian, with the king controlling and regimenting practically every aspect of social life.”

Dahomey’s standing army was [an anomaly](#) in and of itself, as most other African kingdoms disbanded their forces when not actively at war. The fact that the Agojie and their male counterparts wore uniforms also set them apart, establishing the Dahomean military as an organized, highly visible fighting force.

“They’re meant to have a public face,” says Larsen. “They wanted to ... be feared by their neighbors. This was a slave-trading kingdom, so warfare was part of their annual cycle. They needed to gather humans to be part of this heinous trans-Atlantic slave trade,” as well as for [human sacrifices](#) to posthumously deified kings.

The Agojie’s ranks included volunteers and [forced conscripts](#) alike. “Regiments were recruited from slaves, some of them captured as early in age as 10 years old, also the poor, and girls who were rebellious,” [said Terri Ochiagha](#), an expert on colonial and postcolonial Nigeria at the University of Edinburgh, in the 2018 Smithsonian Channel documentary series [“Epic Warrior Women.”](#) In *The Woman King*, Nawi ends up in the army after refusing to marry an elderly suitor.

All of Dahomey’s women warriors were considered *ahosi*, or wives of the king. They [lived in the royal palace](#) alongside the king and his other wives, inhabiting a largely woman-dominated space. Aside from eunuchs and the king himself, no men were allowed in the palace after sunset.

As Alpern told [Smithsonian magazine](#) in 2011, the Agojie were considered the king’s “third-class” wives, as they typically didn’t share his bed or bear his children. Because they were married to the king, they were restricted from having sex with other men, although the degree to which this celibacy was enforced is [subject to debate](#). In addition to enjoying privileged status, the warriors had access to a steady supply of tobacco and alcohol. They also had enslaved servants of their own.

To become an Agojie, recruits underwent intensive training, including exercises designed to harden them to bloodshed. In 1889, French naval officer Jean Bayol [witnessed Nanisca](#) (who likely inspired the name of Davis' character in *The Woman King*), a teenager “who had not yet killed anyone,” easily pass a test of wills. Walking up to a condemned prisoner, she reportedly “swung her sword three times with both hands, then calmly cut the last flesh that attached the head to the trunk. ... She then squeezed the blood off her weapon and swallowed it.”



Recruits underwent intensive training to become members of the elite Agojie. [Public domain via Wikimedia Commons](#)

Another common form of training involved mock assaults that found recruits scrambling across towering walls of acacia thorns. In [the words](#) of a British traveler who examined the barriers, “I could not persuade myself that any human being, without boots or shoes, would, under any circumstances, attempt to pass over so dangerous a collection of the most efficiently armed plants I had ever seen.” The warriors bore the pain without complaint, and the bravest among them received acacia thorn belts marking their stoicism.

The Agojie's divisions consisted of five branches: blunderbuss or artillery women, elephant hunters, musketeers, razor women and archers. Surprising the enemy was of the utmost importance. Warriors snuck up on villages at or before dawn, taking captives and decapitating those who resisted. Though European accounts of the Agojie vary widely, what “is indisputable ... is their constantly outstanding performance in combat,” wrote Alpern in *Amazons of Black Sparta*. With the rest of the Dahomean army, these women warriors were “the scourge and terror of the whole surrounding country, always at war and generally victorious,” as an American missionary later recounted.

What happened to the Agojie?

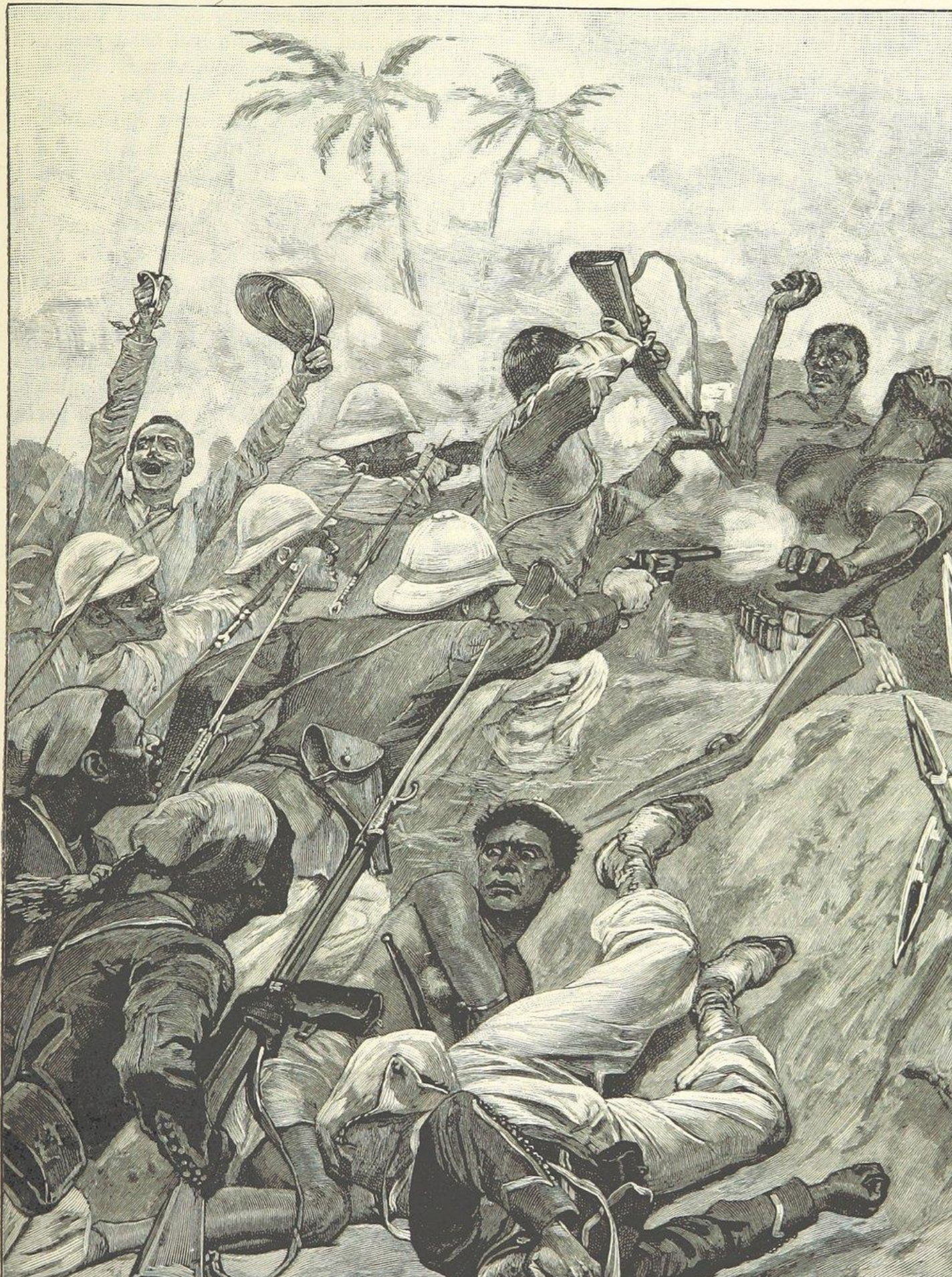
Dahomey's military dominance started to wane in the second half of the 19th century, when its army repeatedly failed to capture [Abeokuta](#), a well-fortified Egba capital in what is now southwest Nigeria. An 1851 battle with the Egba, who'd settled in the region following the decline of the Oyo Empire, resulted in the deaths of up to 2,000 Agojie; in 1864, King Glele, who succeeded Ghezo a few years earlier, sought

to avenge his father's defeat at Abeokuta but was forced to retreat after just an hour and a half of fighting. Dahomean forces continued to target Egba villages until the early 1890s, when war with the French threatened the kingdom's very existence.

Dahomey's encounters with European colonizers had historically revolved mainly around the slave trade and [religious missions](#). As the [Scramble for Africa](#) ramped up, however, tensions between Dahomey and France escalated. In 1863, the French declared the neighboring kingdom of [Porto-Novo](#) a colonial protectorate, angering Glele, who considered Porto-Novo a vassal of Dahomey. Glele also clashed with the French over the port city of [Cotonou](#).



Béhanzin in 1895 [Public domain via Wikimedia Commons](#)



A British illustration of French and Dahomean forces fighting at Cotopa in 1893 [Public domain via Wikimedia Commons](#)

As Larsen articulates, the existence—and dominance—of Dahomey’s women warriors upset the French’s “understanding of gender roles and what women were supposed to do” in a “civilized” society. The women’s “flaunting of ferocity, physical power and fearlessness was manipulated or corrupted as Europeans started to interpret [it] in their own context of what they felt societies should be,” she says. For the French, the Agojie were simply “more fuel for their [civilizing mission](#),” which sought to impose European ideals on African countries.

The [First Franco-Dahomean War](#) began on February 21, 1890, just two months after the accession of Glele’s son Kondo, who took the name [Béhanzin](#) upon claiming the throne. On March 4, the Dahomean army attacked the French at Cotonou, only to fall to the Europeans’ vastly superior firepower. Nanisca, the teenager who’d left such an impression on French officer Bayol the previous year, decapitated the enemy’s chief gunner but died on the battlefield. Upon seeing Nanisca’s body, Bayol [wrote](#) that a “cleaver, its curved blade engraved with fetish symbols, was attached to her left wrist by a small cord, and her right hand was clenched round the barrel of her carbine covered with cowries.”

After facing a similar defeat at the Battle of Atchoupa on April 20, Dahomey agreed to a peace treaty assenting to French control over Porto-Novo and Cotonou. The lull in warfare lasted less than two years—an intermediary period that Béhanzin spent equipping his army with weapons equal to, or at least better matched with, the French’s. According to Alpern, upon receiving news of the French’s declaration of war, the Dahomean king [said](#), “The first time, I was ignorant of how to make war, but now I know. ... If you want war, I am ready. I wouldn’t stop even if it lasted 100 years and killed 20,000 of my men.”

Béhanzin proved true to his word. Over the course of seven weeks in fall 1892, Dahomey’s army fought valiantly to repel the French. The Agojie participated in 23 separate engagements during that short time span, earning the enemy’s respect for their valor and dedication to the cause. As one marine [noted](#), “[N]either the cannons, nor the canister shot, nor the salvo fire stops them. ... It is really strange to see women so well led, so well disciplined.” Though sources disagree on the number of women warriors who fought in the [Second Franco-Dahomean War](#), Alpern cites 1,200 to 2,500 as a likely range.



An illustration of Seh-Dong-Hong-Beh, a leader of the Agojie, holding the severed head of an enemy [Public domain via Wikimedia Commons](#)

At the village of Adégon on October 6, the Agojie suffered arguably their worst losses yet, with just 17 soldiers returning from an initial force of 434. Béhanzin's brother Sagbaju Glele, who lived until the 1970s, told a local historian that the battle brought a moment of clarity for Dahomey's courtiers, who now realized the inevitability of their kingdom's destruction. The Dahomean army made a final stand at Cana in early November. The last day of fighting, [reported](#) a French marine colonel, was "one of the most murderous" of the entire war, beginning with the dramatic entrance of "the last Amazons ... as well as the elephant hunters whose special assignment was to direct their fire at the officers." The French officially seized the Dahomey capital of Abomey on November 17.

Between 2,000 and 4,000 Dahomean soldiers—including both men and women—died during the seven-week war. Of the roughly 1,200 Agojie in fighting shape at the beginning of the war, just 50 or 60 remained ready for battle by its end. Comparatively, the French side lost 52 Europeans and 33 Africans on the battlefield.

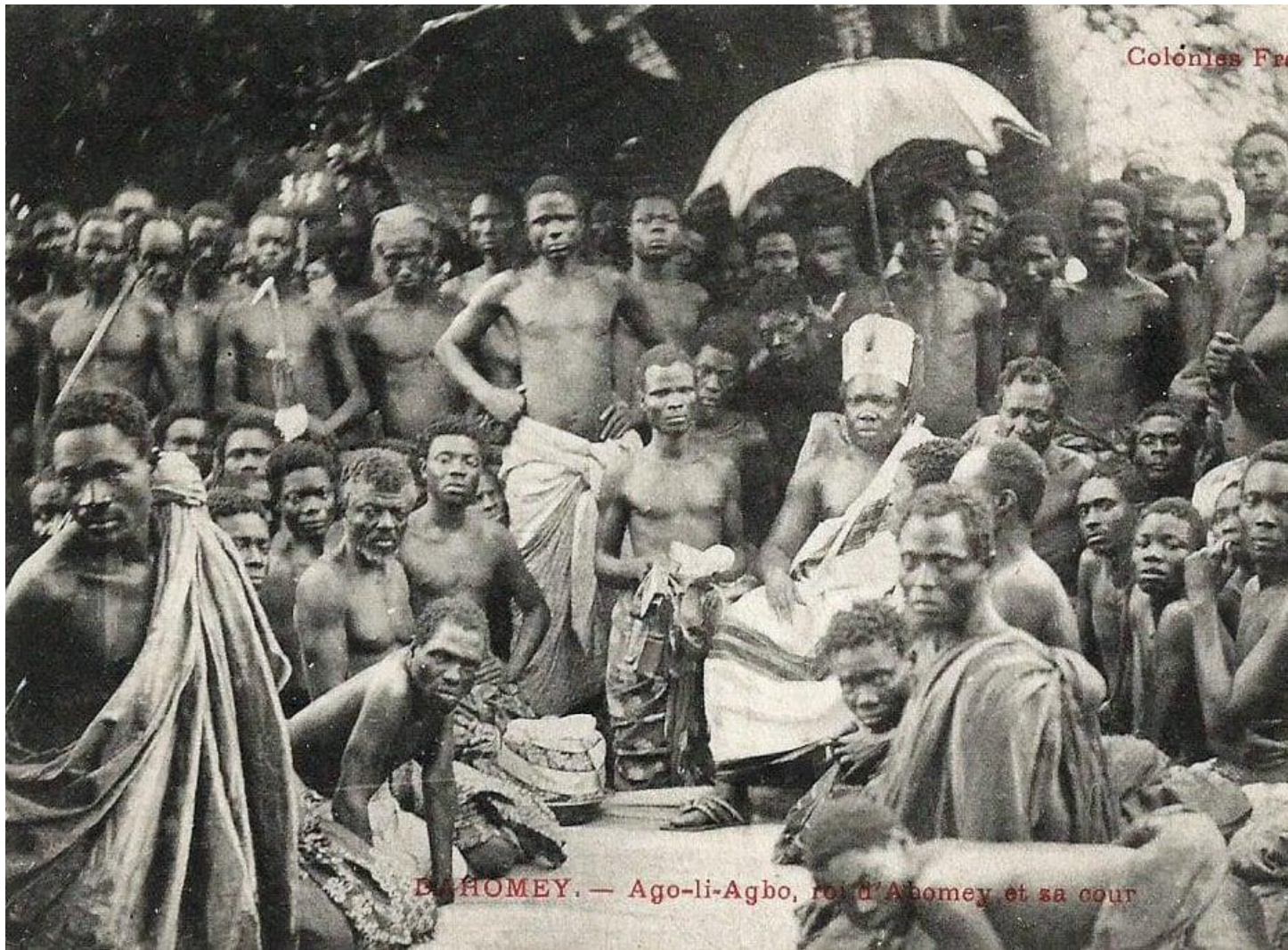
After the war, some of the surviving Agojie followed Béhanzin into exile in Martinique or served his brother, a puppet king installed by the French. Others tried to reenter society, to varying degrees of success. Still others toured Europe and the United States, performing dances and battlefield reenactments at “[living exhibitions](#)” that played into [racist stereotypes](#) of African people. At the 1893 [World’s Columbian Exposition](#) in Chicago, visitors to the “[Dahomey Village](#)” were welcomed by a pair of juxtaposed paintings: an Agojie holding up an enemy’s severed head and a white colonizer raising his helmet. “You have these parallel images of what was considered barbaric and what the civilizers were here to correct,” says Larsen.

Last year, [Leonard Wantchekon](#), an economist at Princeton University and [native of Benin](#) who leads research seeking to identify the Agojie’s descendants, told the [Washington Post](#) that French colonization proved detrimental to women’s rights in Dahomey, with colonizers barring women from political leadership (in addition to serving as warriors, ahoši could become royal cabinet ministers) and educational opportunities.

“The French made sure this history wasn’t known,” he explained. “They said we were backward, that they needed to ‘civilize us,’ but they destroyed opportunities for women that existed nowhere else in the world.”

Nawi, the last known surviving Agojie with battlefield experience (and the probable inspiration for Mbedu’s character), died in [1979](#), at well over 100 years old. But Agojie traditions [continued](#) long after Dahomey’s fall, with descendants of the warrior women [sharing stories](#) about their formidable ancestors and participating in religious rituals. When actress [Lupita Nyong’o](#) visited Benin for a 2019 [Smithsonian Channel special](#), she [met a woman](#) identified by locals as an Agojie who’d been trained by older warriors as a child and kept hidden within a palace for decades.

Speaking with [History.com](#), Wantchekon emphasizes the central role played by women in Dahomean society. “When we push back against [colonialist] misconception[s] and embrace the culture of gender equality that was thriving in Benin and places like it before colonization,” he says, “it is a way to embrace the legacy of this exceptional group of African female leaders that European history tried so hard to erase.”



Agoli-agbo (seated, center), a puppet king installed by the French in 1894 [Public domain via Wikimedia Commons](#)

<https://www.amazon.com/Debunking-1619-Project-Exposing-America-ebook/dp/B08MFSHRLX> ::

Debunking the 1619 Project: Exposing the Plan to Divide America

(right wing critic – Grabar is author of “Debunking Howard Zinn”)

by Mary Grabar, September 7, 2021

The book covers egregious historical inaccuracies in the Project, such as

- The arrival of the slave ship in 1619 is a newly discovered history.
- Slavery never existed outside the U.S. in all of history.
- Slaves were kidnapped by whites from Africa.
- Jefferson’s anti-slavery statements prove he was pro-slavery.

- Jefferson fathered children with a slave, raping her. (This has been disproven yet persists.)
- Lincoln really wasn't interested in ending slavery.
- The U.S. economy is based on slavery, then and now.
- All whites are racist; all blacks are victims.

(MY NOTE: There are some copy-editing errors. Ms. Grabar sure loves dashes.)

Debunking the 1619 Project by Mary Grabar

The real problem with The 1619 Project is not that it is in conflict with “our cherished mythologies.” It’s that, as this book will lay out in detail, The Project is in conflict with the historical facts and the actual truth about America—which, yes, we do cherish, if we have any gratitude for our lives of unexampled freedom and prosperity, and any hope to see those blessings continue into the future. Such concerns would seem to be far from the minds of The 1619 Project’s creators and promoters, judging by their continuing willingness to foment shame and hatred for America, racial division, and hostility, and even violence—as copious evidence, beginning with Nikole Hannah-Jones’s unapologetic celebration of the “1619 riots,” amply demonstrates. The 1619 Project is a mortal danger to the American experiment in self-government. If we want to keep the republic, then the task at hand—for those Americans who still share that hope, and that gratitude—is to face and defeat the threat. We must understand The 1619 Project: its divisive aims and its dishonest methods, its sweeping historical misjudgments and its blatant errors of fact. And we must drive its lies and its poisonous race-baiting out of our public institutions, beginning with the official curricula of our schools.

<https://reason.com/2022/03/29/the-1619-project-unrepentantly-pushes-junk-history/> -

The 1619 Project Unrepentantly Pushes Junk History

Nikole Hannah-Jones' new book sidesteps scholarly critics while quietly deleting previous factual errors.

Phillip W. Magness | from the May 2022 issue of ...

"I too yearn for universal justice," wrote Zora Neale Hurston in her autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road*, "but how to bring it about is another thing." The black novelist's remarks prefaced a passage where she grappled with the historical legacy of slavery in the African-American experience. Perhaps unexpectedly, Hurston informed her readers that she had "no intention of wasting my time beating on old graves with a club."

Hurston did not aim to bury an ugly past but to search for historical understanding. Her 1927 interview with Cudjoe Lewis, among the last living survivors of the 1860 voyage of the slave ship *Clotilda*, contains an invaluable eyewitness account of the middle passage as told by one of its victims. Yet Hurston saw only absurdity in trying to find justice by bludgeoning the past for its sins. "While I have a handkerchief over my eyes crying over the landing of the first slaves in 1619," she continued, "I might miss something swell that is going on in" the present day.

...

The book version continues down this path, obscuring existing errors through textual sleights of hand and compounding them with fringe scholarship. ... Here again, Hurston's words offer a fitting warning to those who would rectify the injustices of the past with the politics of the

present: "There has been no proof in the world so far that *you* would be less arrogant if *you* held the lever of power in *your* hands."

<https://www.amazon.com/dp/B0874S9KB8> - book of his counter-essays by Phillip Magness

The 1619 Project: A Critique

by Phillip W. Magness

ASIN : B0874S9KB8

Publisher : American Institute for Economic Research (April 14, 2020) (**Conservative think tank**)

Publication date : April 14, 2020

Amazon Blurb:

"When I first weighed in upon the New York Times' 1619 Project, I was struck by its conflicted messaging. Comprising an entire magazine feature and a sizable advertising budget, the newspaper's initiative conveyed a serious attempt to engage the public in an intellectual exchange about the history of slavery in the United States and its lingering harms to our social fabric. It also seemed to avoid the superficiality of many public history initiatives, which all too often reduce over 400 complex years of slavery's history and legacy to sweeping generalizations. Instead, the Times promised detailed thematic explorations of topics ranging from the first slave ship's arrival in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619 to the politics of race in the present day.

"At the same time, however, certain 1619 Project essayists infused this worthy line of inquiry with a heavy stream of ideological advocacy. Times reporter Nikole Hannah-Jones announced this political intention openly, pairing progressive activism with the initiative's stated educational purposes.

"In assembling these essays, I make no claim of resolving what continues to be a vibrant and ongoing discussion. Neither should my work be viewed as the final arbiter of historical accuracy, though I do evaluate a number of factual and interpretive claims made by the project's authors. Rather, the aim is to provide an accessible resource for readers wishing to navigate the scholarly disputes, offering my own interpretive take on claims pertaining to areas of history in which I have worked." -- Phil Magness

<https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/03/06/1619-project-new-york-times-mistake-122248> -

I Helped Fact-Check the 1619 Project. The Times Ignored Me.

The paper's series on slavery made avoidable mistakes. But the attacks from its critics are much more dangerous.

(MY NOTE) The book version does not include Leslie M. Harris' name in the ending acknowledgements. There are only three references in the bibliography "NOTES" (starts page 495) listing, a listing added for the book version after the Times was criticized for not listing sources in the original magazine format. (NOTES listing pg 503, pg 508, pg 522)



By LESLIE M. HARRIS - 03/06/2020 05:10 AM EST

*Leslie M. Harris is professor of history at Northwestern University, and author of *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* and *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies*.*

On August 19 of last year I listened in stunned silence as Nikole Hannah-Jones, a reporter for the *New York Times*, repeated an idea that I had vigorously argued against with her fact-checker: that the patriots fought the American Revolution in large part to preserve slavery in North America.

Hannah-Jones and I were on Georgia Public Radio to discuss the path-breaking *New York Times* 1619 Project, a major feature about the impact of slavery on American history, which she had spearheaded. The *Times* had just published the special 1619 edition of its magazine, which took its name from the year 20 Africans arrived in the colony of Virginia—a group believed to be the first enslaved Africans to arrive in British North America.

Weeks before, I had received an email from a *New York Times* research editor. Because I'm an historian of African American life and slavery, in New York, specifically, and the pre-Civil War era more generally, she wanted me to verify some statements for the project. At one point, she sent me this assertion: "One critical reason that the colonists declared their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery in the colonies, which had produced tremendous wealth. At the time there were growing calls to abolish slavery throughout the British Empire, which would have badly damaged the economies of colonies in both North and South."

I vigorously disputed the claim. Although slavery was certainly an issue in the American Revolution, the protection of slavery was not one of the main reasons the 13 Colonies went to war.

I was concerned that critics would use the overstated claim to discredit the entire undertaking.

1619 Project

From the excellent Chapter 14 by Wesley Morris, titled "Music."

One accelerant was Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.²⁸ The book's florid anti-slavery pleas jolted the nation and loaned minstrelsy a new urgency. Before the book's publication in 1852,

blackface minstrels were filler between acts of a play. The average minstrel production featured a semicircle of blackface musicians that ringed an emcee who oversaw the evening's action. There was no one story, no single theme. Uncle Tom's Cabin turned the variety show into its own sort of theater. Some producers made straight adaptations that transported some of the novel's most significant characters—noble, enslaved Tom; angelically blond Little Eva; Tom's evil owner Simon Legree—to the stage with little change to Stowe's fervent abolitionism. But many others couldn't tolerate Stowe; in their eyes, the book was blasphemous. They used her denunciation of slavery in Uncle Tom's Cabin to create minstrel shows that denounced her. Sure enough, among the leading men was T. D. Rice, who, it's said, did a splendid blackface Tom.

Minstrel productions of Stowe's book went on until the end of the Civil War in 1865, doubling as a proxy for the debates raging throughout the country about the institution of slavery itself. The Tom shows were enormously popular and so ubiquitous that they were more commonly known as "U.T.C.s."³⁰ In 1862, when Abraham Lincoln reportedly (and almost certainly apocryphally) addressed Stowe as "the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war," he would've been talking as much about the minstrel show as her novel.³¹ But the U.T.C.s' popularity overrode the reckoning Stowe's imperfectly righteous novel demanded. The minstrel show and its music let the audience choose when to have a heart: they could weep for overworked Uncle Ned as surely as they could ignore or even celebrate his lashed back or his body as it swung from a tree.

Paradoxically, perversely, minstrelsy's grotesquerie deluded white audiences into feeling better about themselves. It induced a bearable cognitive dissonance that outlasted enslavement. The caricatures of Black people as extravagantly lazy, licentious, vulgar, disheveled, and abject always drew a comforting contrast with a white person's sense of honor and civility, with a white person's simply being white. No matter how bad things might be for us, at least we're not them.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 370). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

To this day, just a whiff of minstrelsy can so disease a Black person that they think they see it everywhere, in any performance.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 372). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

That taint of minstrelsy dogged Louis Armstrong after the late 1940s, Nat King Cole in the 1950s, Sammy Davis, Jr., from the 1950s until his death in 1990—all were deemed sellouts, Uncle Toms, minstrels. That same distrust was on full display that night in 1989 when an auditorium full of Black people jeered Whitney Houston at the Soul Train Awards for, essentially, sounding too estranged from Blackness. A ballad like "Where Do Broken Hearts Go" utilizes full-throated funklessness to express the blues. Haters didn't hear Houston going to church; they heard Lawrence Welk. ("Whiteney" is what the skeptics called her.) Those boos at the Soul Train Awards captured exasperation with the long history of white puppetry and suspected that its strings were now pulling on her. The jeers were paranoia expressed as disapproval.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 372). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

(MY NOTE) This reminds me of a black waitress, whose name, I shamefully do not remember, at the Caroussel in the Radisson-Muehlback in 1978 where I was the bartender. The waitress was waiting on a table during a Black Baptist convention and the man at the table read her the riot act for waiting tables. She, as a black person, should not so demean herself, and so forth. One thing you never do, waiting tables, is to run your "stuff" on customers. Here was a customer running his "stuff" on someone helpless in the situation. She was very well liked in the restaurant, and was a young single mother, just earning her

keep and her child's keep. This abuse from the customer put her in tears in the kitchen. Abe McDonald, another black waiter, took her table and handled the abuse. He could do that and sluff it off. Abe gave her the tip money she should have gotten from the man. I don't think I knew whether the man actually left a tip, but Abe, nobly, made sure she had the tip money. Good for Abe.

August 1619 A ship arrives near Point Comfort, a coastal port in the English colony of Virginia, which was founded twelve years earlier. The White Lion carries some twenty to thirty captive Africans, who are traded to the Virginia colonists for provisions, making them the first enslaved Africans in the English colonies that will become the United States. Among them are a man named Anthony and a woman named Isabella, who gives birth several years later to a child named William.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 2). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

From ***The Impending Crisis of the South How to Meet It (pp. 322-323) slightly rephrased or reformatted.***

America, R. K. Browne, formerly editor and proprietor of the San Francisco Evening Journal, says:—

“Many people seem to think that the Pilgrim Fathers were the first who settled upon our shores, and therefore that they ought to be entitled, in a particular manner, to our remembrance and esteem.

“This is not the case, and we herewith present to our readers a list of settlements made in the present United States, prior to that of Plymouth:

- 1564. A Colony of French Protestants under Ribault settled in Florida.
- 1565. St. Augustine [8] founded by Pedro Melendez.
- 1584. Sir Walter Raleigh obtains a patent and sends two vessels to the American coast, which receives the name of Virginia.
- 1607. The first effectual settlement made at Jamestown, Va., by the London Company.
- 1614. A fort erected by the Dutch upon the site of New-York.
- 1615. Fort Orange built near the site of Albany, N. Y.
- 1619. The first General Assembly called in Virginia.
- 1620. The Pilgrims land on Plymouth Rock.”

End re-phrasing: The Impending Crisis of the South How to Meet It (pp. 322-323).

In August 1619, just twelve years after the English settled Jamestown, Virginia, one year before the Puritans landed at Plymouth, and some 157 years before English colonists here decided they wanted to form their own country, the Jamestown colonists bought twenty to thirty enslaved Africans from English pirates. The pirates had stolen them from a Portuguese slave ship whose crew had forcibly taken them from what is now the country of Angola. Those men and women who came ashore on that August day mark the beginning of slavery in the thirteen colonies that would become the United States of America. They were among the more than 12.5 million Africans who would be kidnapped from their homes and

brought in chains across the Atlantic Ocean in the largest forced migration in human history until the Second World War. Almost two million did not survive the grueling journey, known as the Middle Passage.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 9). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Problems:

- “... Portuguese slave ship whose crew had forcibly taken them from Angola ...” WHO forced them into slavery. The Portuguese ship did not have the capability to raid Angola and take prisoners. They would have bought them from African slave dealers.
- They were sold as indentured servants, these particular prisoners (check for conflicting accounts about this, according to Hashaw this was mixed in practice, with the Angolans in service longer than their white indentured servants. Even so, records show them going on to succeed in the colonies as free blacks for a couple of generations until the first slave laws were enacted in 1661 and 1680)
- More than 12.5 million Africans were kidnapped.
- Almost 2 million did not survive the voyage – NOTE: check on survival rates for ocean sailors and passengers
 - Note: see link below: In surveying crew mortality for 350 Bristol and Liverpool slavers between 1784 and 1790, a House of Commons committee found that 21.6 percent of sailors died, a figure that was in keeping with Thomas Clarkson's estimates at the time and is consistent with modern research. Roughly twenty thousand British slave-trade seamen died between 1780 and 1807. For sailors as for African captives, living for several months aboard a slave ship was in itself a struggle for life.
- Note also these numbers do not include those who perished on the long overland march from their capture point to the Atlantic slave markets or the upriver slave markets (there were two kinds of markets, in the ports and on the rivers leading to the ocean.)
- More than 400,000 would be sold into what would become the USA. NOTE $12,500,000 / 400,000 = 1/31^{\text{st}}$ or $\approx 3.2\%$ of all slaves transported wound up in the future USA
-

<https://hakaimagazine.com/article-short/original-container-ships/> -

The Original Container Ships

Big ships plus lots of money equaled handy profits for Spain when it ran the world's first trans-Pacific trading enterprise.

by Stefan Slater - November 20, 2015 | 700 words, about 3 minutes

Manila galleons were the economic lifeblood of Spain's Pacific empire. From the 1560s to the early 1800s, fleets of these behemoth ships sailed between Spain's colonies, swapping commodities for exorbitant profits and dominating trans-Pacific trade. But their influence went far beyond filling the coffers of the Spanish crown. Manila galleons helped lay the foundation for modern global trade and foreshadowed the giant container ships that navigate the Pacific

today. Here are five ways Manila galleons stood out from the other ships plying the seas during the Age of Sail.

Global Traders

By the late 1500s, fleets of Manila galleons had helped Spain lock down lucrative trade routes between its Pacific colonies. Latin American silver mines—some of the richest and most productive in the world—provided Spain with wealth, and its Philippine colony of Manila gave ready access to valuable Asian markets. The fleet traded silver and gold for silk, spices, jewelry, and porcelain. By making just one or two trips a year, Spain tightly controlled supply, ensuring that the highly sought-after luxury goods turned a handy profit. The galleons were the first to forge these Pacific trade networks, and set the stage for future expansion of global trade.

Super-Sized Ships

Spain needed vessels massive enough to survive the six- to seven-month journey across the Pacific while carrying enough goods and guns to make the trip profitable and safe. A galleon sailing westbound in the 17th century, for instance, would haul in excess of 45 tonnes of silver. On the eastbound leg, it was loaded with all the finery that money could buy. *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, constructed in 1633, was roughly 49 meters long, 15 meters wide, and carried nearly 400 people including passengers, soldiers, sailors, and gunners. Some Manila galleons weighed over 1,800 tonnes, making them substantially larger than most ships sailing the Atlantic at the time. Only a few warships, such as the 60-meter-long, 2,200-tonne Swedish *Kronan*, were bigger.

Pricey Cargo, No Danger Pay

Grand they may have seemed, but working on a galleon was far from cushy. *Profit-hungry merchants often overloaded the galleons with precious goods, usurping space that would normally hold food and water.* This resulted in conditions where scurvy, thirst, and starvation crippled the undersupplied ships. **The crew's death rate on the Pacific route could reach 50 percent per voyage—whereas Spanish galleons crossing the Atlantic had mortality rates of 15 to 20 percent.** The galleons' pricey cargo also tempted pirates. In 1743, the English naval commodore George Anson captured *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* and its cargo with more than a million silver *pesos de ocho* (pieces of eight). (For comparison, in 1750 the total gross revenue for all of Mexico was six million pesos.)

California Ports (and a Shipwreck)

Instead of sailing straight from Manila to Acapulco, Spain's Latin American port of call, eastbound galleons rode prevailing westerly winds until they made landfall around California. With provisions running low, pirate attacks, disease, and starvation were real threats at this stage of the journey. A California port could be used to resupply the fatigued ships. So in 1595, the Spanish crown ordered Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, captain of the *San Agustín*, to explore the coastline for such a port. Cermeño anchored in Drakes Bay, near present-day

San Francisco, and conducted crucial surveys that helped to spur Spanish colonization of California. A November gale unfortunately sunk the galleon—making it the earliest recorded shipwreck off California—though Cermeño and his crew survived. Despite this first failed attempt, the Spanish went on to establish several ports in the region.

Adding Wealth to New Spain's Economy

Between 1492 and 1830, historians estimate that the Spanish turned their New World silver and gold into a grand total of 4,035,156,000 silver and gold pesos. Much of this wealth went straight to Manila in the holds of galleons. If pirates or a storm felled a single galleon, the financial loss could send the entire Philippine colony into economic depression. Ultimately, the galleons comprised the only trans-Pacific trade route, which made it fragile: when one link in the trade chain failed, the fallout was devastating. When Mexico rebelled against the Spanish crown in 1810, it wouldn't allow the galleons access to the port at Acapulco, and by the time Mexico won independence in 1821, the galleons were obsolete. The last one sailed in 1815.

https://hekint.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/sailors_scurvy-final.pdf -

Sailors' Scurvy before and after James Lind – a Reassessment

WHEN DID SCURVY BECOME A MAJOR PROBLEM?

Northerners in Europe and America may have suffered for centuries from land scurvy and treated it with cresses and spruce leaves. Sailors' scurvy probably dates only from the era of long sea voyages when voyagers were away for so many weeks as to deplete the limited body stores of ascorbic acid while they had no fresh foods.^{8,9}

The major outbreaks came after ocean voyages to Asia (such as Vasco da Gama's in 1497¹⁰ with relief by citrus fruits¹¹), the Americas (such as Jacques Cartier's in 1536¹² with relief by spruce bark and leaves^{13,14}) and West Africa (in 1553 with relief by oranges and lemons¹⁵). The Dutch imported citrus fruits from Spain and while one physician in 1564 used them successfully,¹⁶ other Dutch physicians in the 16th century treated scurvy only with conventional purges and inunctions,¹⁷ at a time when Mexicans cured sailors with scurvy (escorbuto) from Spain with lemons (limon), oranges (naranja), and limes (lima).^{18,19}

Thus, **the first Dutch East Indies Fleet sailed in 1595 with 249 men and returned in 1597 with only 88.**²⁰ ***The 1598 fleet took lemon juice, grew horseradish and scurvygrass (a corruption of "scurvy-cress") on board, and lost only 15 men.*** Sir Richard Hawkins in 1590 bought hundreds of oranges and lemons in Brazil for his men, perhaps based on his experience as a prisoner-of-war in Spain: "that which I have seene most fruitful is sower oranges and lemons . . . I wish that some learned man would write of it, for it is the plague of the sea, and the spoyle of mariners. Doubtlesse, it would be a meritorious worke with God and man, and most beneficiall for our countrie; for in twenty yeares, since

that I have used the sea, I dare take upon me to give account of ten thousand consumed with the disease."²¹

DID LANCASTER PERFORM THE FIRST CONTROLLED SCURVY TRIAL?

In 1591–1594 James Lancaster (fl.1591–1618) made the first of many long sea voyages to Brazil and the East Indies.²⁵ It was only on the third voyage of 1601–1603 that his flagship Red Dragon carried lemon juice, recommended by Sir Hugh Platt, presumably aware of Hawkins success with this treatment. Lancaster gave this juice to each of his 202 sailors "as long as it would last, three spoonfuls every morning fasting."²⁶ His other three ships had no lemon juice. Samuel Purchas (1577–1626) reported: "By this means the General cured many of his men and preserved the rest: so that in his ship he had not so many sick, nor lost as many men as they did."²⁷

Keevil, the medical historian of the British Navy, made several claims for Lancaster's voyage, based on Purchas's conclusions. Keevil credited Lancaster "with using lemon juice both for the prevention as well as cure of scurvy, and this one voyage should have established the method of avoiding it in all ships forever. Even the accident of only the flagship having lemon juice was of scientific value in providing a controlled experiment but the whole experience was soon lost."²⁸

Unfortunately, we lack precise numbers of those with scurvy in each ship, but it is possible to calculate their mortalities. Lancaster's fleet sailed on 20 April 1601 and by 1 August "very many men were fallen sicke of the scurvey in all our ships". **By the time they arrived at Table Bay, 105 of the 480 sailors had died, 80 (76%) of scurvy.**²⁷ The fleet called at Madagascar for oranges and lemons and then sailed to Sumatra. Before they left there on 11 November 1602, the **mortality rates on the four ships** were as follows: Dragon 66/202 (33%), Hector 37/108 (34%), Ascension 38/82 (45%), and Susan 39/88 (44%), for **a total of 180/480 (38%) deaths**. Thus, contrary to Purchas's assertion, the four death rates were similar. And, since scurvy was responsible for three quarters of the deaths, it seems I was wrong to suggest in a previous publication that there were no deaths on the Dragon.

²⁹ Nor was Keevil correct in implying that Lancaster's "trial" was a controlled experiment, or that the voyage proved lemon juice had "scientific value" in preventing scurvy. Nevertheless, Lancaster regarded his lemon juice a success and persuaded the East India Company to issue this juice on the voyages of 1604 and 1607, but this did not happen consistently. There was a special order for it in 1627,³⁰ **but on the juiceless 1678 voyage, half the ship's crew were disabled by scurvy and then cured by fresh limes and oranges**. Platt also interpreted the result of Lancaster's use of his lemon juice as "an assured remedy in the scurvey". Platt was one of the first to address the problem of the loss of efficacy of citrus juices with time, and recommended "the help of a sweet olive oil supernatant . . . lest it lost much of his first manifest nature, which it has whilst it was contained within its own pulp and fruit".³¹

...

When, in 1611, the new Lord Governor of Virginia arrived in Jamestown he had developed scurvy and promptly shipped himself to the West Indies where “I found help for my health and my sickness assuaged, by means of fresh diet, and especially of oranges and lemons, an undoubted remedy and medicine for that disease, which lastly, and for so long, had affected me.”³⁴

...

Oranges, lemons, and their juices were certainly sold in England in the 17th century. The oranges were imported to London from Portugal via the Netherlands. There is a nursery rhyme that begins “Oranges and lemons | ring the bells of St Clements”, perhaps because the church of St Clement’s Eastcheap, near the Thames Street wharves at the foot of London Bridge, was en route from these docks to Covent Garden market. Moreover, Nell Gwyn, the future mistress of King Charles II, had sold oranges at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1665, and Pepys recorded his enjoyment of drinking one pint of orange juice in 1669.

However, **in the winter of 1620 the Mayflower lost 50 of 102 on board, mostly from scurvy, during its 56-day voyage.** In **1628**, Admiral Fleming’s Swedish squadron off the Polish coast had **two-thirds of the 115 men dead or dying from scurvy with only 19 fit for work; he then obtained 200 lemons for them.**⁴¹

<https://www.britishtars.com/2018/05/mortality.html>

Wednesday, May 9, 2018 –

Mortality (rates on ships)

Today I'm taking a very quick look at what historians have to say about mortality rates among common sailors.

The actual occurrence of death at sea was not uncommon, but how present it was depended widely on what trade a sailor was engaged in. In examining logbooks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Peter Earle came to the conclusion that 'well under one per cent of sailors died on any voyage in European water or on voyages to the northern American colonies or to the Arctic to hunt whales.' These percentages go up considerably for sailors working the routes to South America and the West Indies, and especially those sailing on East Indiamen.^[1]

[Denver Brunsmann](#) points to the high death rates in the West Indies as one of the motivations for employing press gangs in those waters. It was widely recognized at the time that, in the words of a Parliamentarian, 'the West Indies has been a sink where our seamen have perished.' Brunsmann also states (truthfully) that 'the mortality rate on ships in the West Indian naval campaigns could approach 50 percent from disease alone.'^[2] Fifty percent mortality from disease in the West Indies is an outlier, but it was a possibility.

Mortality rates aboard men of war were comparable to those in the merchant service, as N.A.M. Rodger demonstrated in his book [The Wooden World](#):

In the 1740s Bristol merchantmen were losing only slightly more than average (5.5 per cent a year against 4.5) on voyages to the West Indies, and it has been calculated that at the same period British men-of-war in those waters were losing about 6 per cent of their authorized complements a year dead from all causes. Allowing for the usual turnover of ship's companies, the mortality as a percentage of the population exposed would have been lower.^[3]

By far the deadliest trade for a sailor was the slave trade. As Marcus Rediker related in [The Slave Ship: A Human History](#):

In surveying crew mortality for 350 Bristol and Liverpool slavers **between 1784 and 1790, a House of Commons committee found that 21.6 percent of sailors died**, a figure that was in keeping with Thomas Clarkson's estimates at the time and is consistent with modern research. Roughly twenty thousand British slave-trade seamen died between 1780 and 1807. For sailors as for African captives, living for several months aboard a slave ship was in itself a struggle for life.^[4]

[1] Earle, Peter, [Sailors: English Merchant Seamen 1650-1775](#), London: Methuen, 2007, page 130.

[2] Brunsman, Denver, [The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-century Atlantic World](#), University of Virginia, 2013, page 106.

[3] Rodger, N.A.M., [The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy](#), New York: W.W. Norton, 1996, page 99.

[4] Rediker, Marcus, [The Slave Ship: A Human History](#), New York: Viking, 2007, page 244.

Posted by [Kyle Dalton](#) at [7:00 AM](#)

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Labels: [mortality](#), [religion](#)

<https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/081393351X>

The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World (Early American Histories) Hardcover – Illustrated, March 19, 2013

by Denver Brunsman (Author)

Blurb at Amazon:

A fundamental component of Britain's early success, naval impressment not only kept the Royal Navy afloat—it helped to make an empire. In total numbers, impressed seamen were second only to enslaved Africans as the largest group of forced laborers in the eighteenth century.

In *The Evil Necessity*, Denver Brunsman describes in vivid detail the experience of impressment for Atlantic seafarers and their families. Brunsman reveals how

forced service robbed approximately 250,000 mariners of their livelihoods, and, not infrequently, their lives, while also devastating Atlantic seaport communities and the loved ones who were left behind. Press gangs, consisting of a navy officer backed by sailors and occasionally local toughs, often used violence or the threat of violence to supply the skilled manpower necessary to establish and maintain British naval supremacy. Moreover, impressments helped to unite Britain and its Atlantic coastal territories in a common system of maritime defense unmatched by any other European empire.

Drawing on ships' logs, merchants' papers, personal letters and diaries, as well as engravings, political texts, and sea ballads, Brunsmann shows how ultimately the controversy over impressment contributed to the American Revolution and served as a leading cause of the War of 1812.

Early American Histories Winner of the Walker Cowen Memorial Prize for an Outstanding Work of Scholarship in Eighteenth-Century Studies

Denver Alexander Brunsmann

Denver Brunsmann is Associate Professor of History at George Washington University, where he writes and teaches on the politics and social history of the American Revolution, early American republic, and British Atlantic world. His courses include "George Washington and His World," taught annually at Washington's Mount Vernon estate. He completed his MA. and Ph.D. degrees at Princeton University and his BA at St. Olaf College. His book, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (2013), received the Walker Cowen Memorial Prize for an outstanding work in eighteenth-century studies in the Americas and Atlantic world. He is also a co-author of the textbook *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*, 7th edition (2016); and *Leading Change: George Washington and Establishing the Presidency* (2017). He is an editor of *The American Revolution Reader* (2013); *Border Crossings: The Detroit River Region in the War of 1812* (2012); *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, 6th edn. (2011); and *Revolutionary Detroit: Portraits in Political and Cultural Change, 1760-1805* (2009).

<https://www.amazon.com/Slave-Ship-Human-History/dp/0143114255>

The Slave Ship: A Human History Illustrated, September 30, 2008 - by Marcus Rediker (Author)

Blurb at Amazon:

In this widely praised history of an infamous institution, award-winning scholar Marcus Rediker shines a light into the darkest corners of the British and American slave ships of the eighteenth century. Drawing on thirty years of research in maritime archives, court records, diaries, and firsthand accounts, *The Slave Ship* is riveting and sobering in its revelations, reconstructing in chilling detail a world nearly lost to history: the "floating dungeons" at the forefront of the birth of African American culture.

Marcus Rediker is Distinguished Professor of Atlantic History at the University of Pittsburgh and Senior Research Fellow at the Collège d'études mondiales in

Paris. He is the author of numerous prize-winning books, including **The Many-Headed Hydra** (with Peter Linebaugh), **The Slave Ship**, and **The Amistad Rebellion**. He produced the award-winning documentary film **Ghosts of Amistad** (Tony Buba, director), about the popular memory of the **Amistad** rebellion of 1839 in contemporary Sierra Leone.

Customer Reviews or extracts

Timothy Knight

4.0 out of 5 stars - Rediker successfully portrays what he refers to as "the greatest human drama" while drawing attention to the violence and ...

Reviewed in the United States us on December 6, 2014

Verified Purchase

Caution - may contain spoilers.

The *Slave Ship* offers an engaging, emotional retelling of the lives of those who surrounded the height of the Atlantic slave trade. As an historical text, it provides insight into the underlying motives that fueled slave labor while depicting the darker side of capitalism through the unusually cruel lives of slaves, sailors, and ship captains alike. Rediker successfully portrays what he refers to as "the greatest human drama" while drawing attention to the violence and terror inflicted upon the subjects of a growing capitalist machine. My own experience while reading the book reflected similar emotions to those of the slaves – whose journey began with profound shock, later replaced by denial, and finally transformed into a sense of acceptance and identity.

Rediker's book chronicles several gruesome stories to characterize the barbaric realities of slavery. Two examples, for instance, are of a man who uses his own fingernails to sever his jugular vein and the use of sharks by ship captains to invoke terror upon the slaves (p.17, 40). The brutality of the stories is shocking but acclimatizes readers to the radical changes experienced by newly captured slaves. Rediker challenges the belief that most slaves originated from wars, instead suggesting, "[w]ar was a euphemism for the organized theft of human beings" (p.99). The shock I felt was eclipsed by what kidnapped and conquered Africans would have felt when stolen from their homes and sold into captivity. Equally shocking to the slaves must have been the sight of the ship itself. Rediker describes how a seemingly innocuous marvel of modern technology, when put into the context of Atlantic slave trade, became a "floating dungeon" that evolved into a diabolically efficient cog in the slave trade machine (p.45).

Rediker's argument for the rise of slave trade is the notion of a runaway capitalist machine, whose uninhibited hunger for profit was only moderately satiated by consuming the lives of its participants. The opening thesis reminds readers "that such horrors have always been, and remain, central to the making of global capitalism" (p.13). When presented with this tragically unfulfilling explanation for the existence of slavery, my reaction was denial. I angrily questioned capitalism as principally contributing to the Atlantic slave machine. Certainly, power and greed, ubiquitous themes throughout human history, or a human inclination towards dominant and subordinate roles in structuring

society, were to blame. Surely it was not the fault of capitalist economic practices that later established the United States as a global hegemony. After all, no one at the time (neither wealthy merchants nor sugar plantation owners) would have been privy to a capitalist market economy. The denial I felt, however, must have been decidedly insignificant as compared to the Africans who found themselves bound by iron shackles in coffles. Rediker, in fact, elaborates on forms of slave resistance - refusing food, abandoning ship, and revolts. Often, the slaves resisted only long enough to ultimately be consumed by the very machine they fought against. "By far the most common outcome of shipboard rebellion was defeat " (p.299). I soon found my resistance to Rediker's claims would also be futile.

It was only after reading the accounts of non-slaves that Rediker's argument became clearer, and my anger was replaced by acceptance. The unsavory lives of the men who operated slave ships suggested that their participation was only sometimes of their own free will - or as Rediker posits, "sober or drunk, by hook or by crook" (p.202). The inherent dangers of sea travel, relatively low pay, and abuse each indicate the sailors' conditions were only marginally better than those of the slaves. While the ship captains were unquestionably brutal, Rediker also highlights the volatility of the job. "He acted as a boss, a coordinator of a heterogeneous and often refractory crew of wage laborers" (p.188). Captains, though well compensated for their work, were entirely isolated, in part from spending months at sea, but also because of their rank. At any moment, chaos could be unleashed in the form of mutinies, slave uprisings, sickness, or mere accidents (p.197). While their ruthlessness is a foregone conclusion, readers are left with the sense that it came out of unrelenting fear, profound isolation, and a precarious degree of control over the ship and crew. By acknowledging that the slave traders themselves (whose lives were hardly enviable) were consumed by the machine of Atlantic slave trade, I realized they were no different from the ship, the slaves, or the sugar - each are simply different components playing a role in keeping the machine running. Rediker is not blaming capitalist-oriented European traders for the existence of slavery, but rather suggesting that slavery, as an institution, was promulgated alongside a burgeoning capitalist market economy.

As I came to identify with Rediker's book, I recognized that as the journey from Africa to the New World concluded, **the slaves, too, would have formed a new identity**. To this end, ***Rediker distinguishes emerging themes that, without the slave ship, may never have materialized. One such theme is the abolitionist movement of the early 19th century.*** Other themes include race, language, song, and dance - which initially served to separate people aboard the slave ship, but eventually worked as catalysts for congruity. As divisive as the slave ship could be, it eventually served to bring its inhabitants together as "shipmates" (p.304).

The Slave Ship contests the short-sighted notion of slavery being a function of capitalism, comprised of a limited drama starring a protagonist (slaves) and antagonist (slave traders). Instead, it depicts the Atlantic slave trade as an

unbridled machine whose devastation insidiously devoured everyone with whom it became associated. Slavery and capitalism are portrayed as separate, but collaborating, entities that developed during a time in which colonization of the New World began to conspire with an expanding global marketplace. The Atlantic slave trade is a machine whose components are economic, agricultural, and social but also one that is fueled, for better or worse, by a new sense of global connectedness. The true tragedy, as conceived by Rediker, is a continued unwillingness to fully admonish the terror and violence today. Rediker's most poignant rationale for writing *The Slave Ship* is to further unite its readers by acknowledging the horrors of slave trade and vindicating those who continue to be consumed by unrestrained global capitalism.

ariadne

5.0 out of 5 stars Fascinating and Moving

Reviewed in the United Kingdom GB on May 12, 2012

Verified Purchase

There was so much more to slavery than I'd realised, **it lasted 400 years not 300**, for one thing, and

::: MY NOTE This is a common misunderstanding of slavery. This was a practice thousands of years old and across the globe.

Book Extracts

Over the almost four hundred years of the slave trade, from the late fifteenth to the late nineteenth century, **12.4 million souls** were loaded onto slave ships and carried through a "Middle Passage" across the Atlantic to hundreds of delivery points stretched over thousands of miles. **Along the dreadful way, 1.8 million of them died**, their bodies cast overboard to the sharks that followed the ships. Most of the 10.6 million who survived were thrown into the bloody maw of a killing plantation system, which they would in turn resist in all ways imaginable.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 11). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Yet even these extraordinary numbers do not convey the magnitude of the drama. Many people captured in Africa died as they marched in bands and coffles (human trains) to the slave ships, although the lack of records makes it impossible to know their precise numbers. **Scholars now estimate that, depending on time and place, some portion between a tenth and a half of the captives perished between the point of enslavement and the boarding of the slave ship.** A conservative estimate of 15 percent—which would include those who died in transit and while being held in barracoons and factories on the coast—**suggests another 1.8 million deaths in Africa.** Another 15 percent (or more, depending on region), a million and a half, would expire during the first year of laboring life in the New World. From stage to stage—expropriation in Africa, the Middle Passage, initial exploitation in America—roughly 5 million men, women, and children died. **Another way to look at the loss of life would**

be to say that an estimated 14 million people were enslaved to produce a “yield” of 9 million longer-surviving enslaved Atlantic workers.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 11). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

.. the period 1700-1808, when more captives were transported than any other, roughly two-thirds of the total. More than 40 percent of these, or 3 million altogether, were shipped in British and American ships. This era, these ships, their crews, and their captives are the subjects of this book. During this time the mortality rate on the ships was falling, but the sheer number of deaths remains staggering: nearly a million died throughout the slave trade, a little less than half of these in the commerce organized from British and American ports. The numbers are more chilling because those who organized the human commerce knew the death rates and carried on anyway. Human “wastage” was simply part of the business, something to be calculated into all planning.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (pp. 11-12). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

people. Violent command applied almost as much to the rough crews of the slavers as to the hundreds of captives they shipped. Discipline was often brutal, and many a sailor was lashed to fatality. Moreover, for sailors in the slave trade, rations were poor, wages were usually low, and the mortality rate was high—

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 12). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

And here we have another source for “race”:

In producing workers for the plantation, the ship-factory also produced “race.” At the beginning of the voyage, captains hired a motley crew of sailors, who would, on the coast of Africa, become “white men.” At the beginning of the Middle Passage, captains loaded on board the vessel a multiethnic collection of Africans, who would, in the American port, become “black people” or a “negro race.”

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 14). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The opponents of the slave trade launched an intensive transatlantic agitation and finally forced the slavers to stop sailing—or at least, after new laws were passed by the British and American governments in 1807 and 1808 respectively, to stop sailing legally. The traffic continued illegally for many years, but a decisive moment in human history had been reached. **Abolition, coupled with its profound coeval event, the Haitian Revolution, marked the beginning of the end of slavery.**

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 15). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

A broader history that compares and connects the slave ships of all the Atlantic powers—not only Britain and the American colonies but also Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden—remains to be written. More attention also needs to be trained on the connecting links between, on the

eastern Atlantic, African societies and the slave ship and, on the western, the slave ship and plantation societies of the Americas.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 15). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

If heretofore the main actors have been relatively small but powerful groups of merchants, planters, politicians, and abolitionists, now the cast includes captains in their thousands, sailors in their hundreds of thousands, and slaves in their millions. Indeed the enslaved now appear as the first and primary abolitionists as they battle the conditions of enslavement aboard the ships on a daily basis and as they win allies over time among metropolitan activists and dissident sailors, middle-class saints and proletarian sinners. Other important players were African rulers and merchants, as well as workers in England and America, who joined the cause of abolition and indeed turned it into a successful mass movement.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 16). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

.. such horrors have always been, and remain, central to the making of global capitalism.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 16). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

On the coast of Africa, the captain worked as the representative of merchant capital, conducting business with other merchants, some of them European, who ran the forts and factories, more of them African, who controlled the trade and mobilized their own officials, fee takers, and regulators, local and state, according to region. Like their British and American counterparts, African merchants coordinated workers of various kinds in their own spheres of influence: direct producers of “nonslave” commodities; captors of “slaves”—armies, raiders, and kidnapers (distinguished by the scale of their slave-capturing operations); and finally canoe-men and other workers on the waterfront, who cooperated directly with the slave-ship captains and sailors in getting the merchandise, human and otherwise, aboard the ship. A significant number of Africans would become sailors on the slavers, for shorter or longer periods of time.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 231). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

It must also be noted that in preparing the captives for slavery, the experience of the slave ship also helped to prepare them to resist slavery. They developed new methods of survival and mutual aid—novel means of communication and solidarities among a multiethnic mass. They gathered new knowledge, of the ship, of the “white men,” of one another as shipmates. Perhaps most important, the ship witnessed the beginnings of a culture of resistance, the subversive practices of negotiation and insurrection.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 232). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

As John Cranston testified before the Rhode Island grand jury, many of his “brother tars,” the very people who had helped to build the fortunes of Captain

D'Wolf and his class, found themselves in a different situation after slaving voyages. Those called "wharfingers," "scowbankers," and "beach horners"—sick, broken-down seamen all, forced by captains off the slave ships—haunted the docks and harbors of almost all American ports, from the Chesapeake to Charleston, to Kingston, Jamaica, and Bridgetown, Barbados. They had no work, because no one would hire them for fear of infection. They had no money, because they had been bilked of their wages. They had no food and shelter, because they had no money. They drifted around the waterfront, sleeping under the balconies of houses, under the cranes used to hoist cargo in and out of the ships, in the odd unlocked shed, inside empty sugar casks—anywhere they could find to protect themselves from the elements.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 232). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

They were nightmarish in appearance. Some had the bruises, blotches, and bloody gums of scurvy. Some had burning ulcers caused by Guinea worms, which grew up to four feet long and festered beneath the skin of the lower legs and feet. Some had the shakes and sweats of malaria. Some had grotesquely swollen limbs and rotting toes. Some were blind, victims of a parasite (*Onchocerca volvulus*) spread by blackflies in fast-flowing West African rivers. Some had a starved and beaten appearance, courtesy of their captain. They had "cadaverous looks," and indeed many were near death. The more able ones "begg[ed] a mouthful of victuals from other seamen." One well-traveled sea captain called them "the most miserable objects I ever met with in any country in my life." These "refuse" sailors of the slave trade depended on charity. Healthier "brother sailors" brought them food and tried to care for them, but their own means were limited.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (pp. 232-233). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

What the slave trade offered above all else was ready money—an advance of two or three months' wages. This was the key to enticing sailors to join a trade they did not like. A common sailor could get £4 to £6 sterling (in 1760), which by today's standards would have been between \$1,000 and \$1,500, a considerable sum of money for a poor person, especially if times were hard and he had a family to feed.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (pp. 154-155). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The final phase of a sailor's work consisted of preparing the enslaved for sale as the ship neared its port of delivery. This, as Emma Christopher has emphasized, was a kind of production in which the sailor transformed the African captive into a commodity for sale. It entailed taking the constraints off the wrists and ankles of the men about ten days before arrival, in order to let the chafing heal. It also included careful cleaning, shaving the men (beard and sometimes head), and using a lunar caustic to hide sores. Gray hair would be picked out or dyed black. Finally, sailors would rub down the African bodies with palm oil. The whole

process was one of value creation and enhancement. Thanks to the sailor's labor, a shipload of expensive commodities would soon be available for sale.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 161). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

When "White" was a racial status category within the ship's power structure and not a racial color description

It also mattered little what had been the cultural or ethnic background of the sailor, for he would, on the ship and coast of Africa, become "white," at least for a time, as the "vast machine" helped to produce racial categories and identities. It was the common practice for everyone involved in the slave trade, whether African or European, to refer to the ship's crew as the "white men" or the "white people," even when the crew was motley, a portion of it "colored" and distinctly not white. The sailor's status as a "white man" guaranteed that he would not be sold in the slave-labor market, and it marked him as someone who could dispense violence and discipline to the enslaved on behalf of the merchant and his capital. One of the lessons of the slave ship, as William Snelgrave pointed out, was that the enslaved must never "make a Disturbance, or offer to strike a white Man"; otherwise, they would be "severely punished," perhaps executed for it. But such status did not guarantee that the sailor himself would not be the target of violence and discipline from the captain and officers, nor did it guarantee other standards of treatment aboard the ship.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 174). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The Asante

The mightiest group in the region was the Asante, whose rise after 1680 resulted in one of the strongest stratified and centralized states of West Africa. Osei Tutu built a regional alliance of "big men," slowly incorporating various cultural groups under his central authority as asantehene, or ultimate leader, symbolized by the golden stool, sika dwa. The new Asante lords had brought several of the coastal ministates to heel by 1717 (adding Accra and Adangme in 1742) and continued their expansion in the north conquering smaller groups there, sending slaves northward with Hausa merchants and southward to the coast and the waiting slave ships. The Asante were skilled at war, as their very name, derived from *osa nit*, "because of war," implied. "Real" Asantes, it was said, would not be sold into slavery. **The powerful Asante army consisted in 1780 of eighty thousand men, half of them musketeers. Their slave trading over the course of the eighteenth century was a consequence of their war making and state building rather than a primary cause.** Nonetheless it soon grew more profitable to catch slaves than to mine gold, and the Asante, despite their independence, became reliable players and valuable partners to the Europeans in the slave trade.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 63). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The Fante

Another major player were the coastal Fante, whose confederation of nineteen independent polities developed as a reaction against the Asante. The Fante at times signed treaties with the British but continued to trade with slavers of several flags. **They served the slave trade in myriad ways, selling people from inland regions and hiring out their own to work for wages on the slavers.** Built from matrilineal clans, the Fante used their formidable military prowess to protect local autonomy, all within a highly commercialized orbit. **They acted as middlemen, connecting the Asante in the interior to the English slavers on the coast. They would remain independent until conquered by the Asante in 1807, the year of abolition.** Over the course of the eighteenth century, **the Gold Coast produced more than a million slaves, about 15 percent of the total shipped from West Africa as a whole.** Roughly two-thirds of the total were carried by British and American ships.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 63). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The **war canoes, some of them large enough to have mounted six to eight swivel guns (small cannon)**, had come from upriver and belonged to a man named Captain Lemma Lemma, “a kind of pirate admiral” who traded in slaves. The people who lived on the lower river considered Lemma Lemma to be “a robber or stealer of men”; everyone was “exceedingly afraid of venturing out whenever any of his war canoes were in sight.” He was an important supplier of slaves to European Guineamen, which is why Captain Bagshaw had been entertaining him for ten days with food, drink, hospitality, and dashee, gifts to encourage sales.

From the main deck of the slaver, Lemma Lemma spied the strangers paddling by and ordered a group of his canoe men to capture them. They deftly took to the water, seized the three—an old man, a young man, and a young woman—and brought them aboard, offering them for sale to Captain Bagshaw, who bought the younger two but refused the older one. Lemma Lemma sent the old man back to one of his canoes and gave an order: “his head was laid on one of the thwarts of the boat, and chopped off,” head and body then thrown overboard. Captain Bagshaw carried his children to Rappahannock, Virginia.

MY NOTE: like throwing out some defective part on the assembly line or unwanted part in a bubble pack with various items, only here the “part” is a human being.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (pp. 63-64). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Sources of Slaves

Sea surgeon John Atkins observed that war in West Africa was just another name for “robbery of inland, defenseless creatures.” Those opposed to the trade went even further, insisting that “wars” were nothing more than “pyratical expeditions,” and they even found a witness to prove it: British seaman Isaac Parker had participated in such marauding raids out of New Town in Old Calabar in the 1760s. Abolitionists contended that what was called “war” was for the most part simply kidnapping. Moreover, **“wars” often commenced when a slave ship appeared on the coast**, whereupon the local traders (with the help—and

guns—of the slave-ship captain) would equip war parties (usually canoes) to head inland to wage war and gather slaves, who would then be sold to the captain who had helped to finance the expedition in the first place. Otherwise, as one African explained to a member of a slaving crew, “Suppose ship no come, massa, no takee slavee.” **War was a euphemism for the organized theft of human beings.**

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (pp. 70-71). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Second to war as a source of slaves were the judicial processes in and through which African societies convicted people of crimes ranging from murder to theft, adultery, witchcraft, and debt; condemned them to slavery; and sold them to African traders or directly to the slave-ship captains. Royal African Company official Francis Moore noted that for those found guilty of crime around 1730 in the Gambia region, “All Punishments are chang’d into Slavery.” Walter Rodney observed that on the Upper Guinea Coast local ruling groups made law “into the handmaid of the slave trade.”

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 71). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

A **third major source** was the purchase of slaves at markets and fairs located in the interior, some distance from the coast, often linked to the Islamic slave-trade circuits to the north, east, and west. The purchase of these people (the vast majority of whom had been free, but enslaved farther inland) was especially common in Senegambia, the Gold Coast, and the Bight of Benin. By the 1780s many of the slaves sold at New Calabar, Bonny, and Old Calabar had been bought a hundred miles or more inland, and for other ports the catchment area was even deeper. Slave-ship captains assumed that the people they purchased had become slaves by war or judicial process, but in truth they did not know—and did not care—how their “cargo” had been enslaved.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 71). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/histcontextsd.htm>

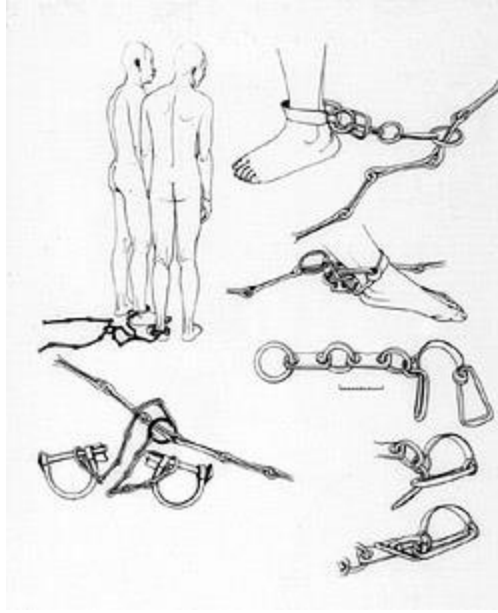
Exchanging People for Trade Goods

When Europeans landed on the coasts of Africa they found societies engaged in a network of trade routes that carried a variety of goods back and forth across sub-Saharan Africa. Some of those goods included kola nuts, shea butter, salt, indigenous textiles, copper, iron and iron tools, and people for sale as slaves within West Africa. Gold, pepper, a little ivory, dried meat and hides were also exported in the Trans-Saharan trade routes along with a few “slaves” to the Middle East and beyond. Phillip Curtin estimates this trade to have been no more than 500–4000 “slaves” a year (1990:40–41).

From this trade and early West African slave trade by the Portuguese, a sizeable number of Africans ended up in Portugal and Spain. **By the middle of the 16th century, 10,000 black people made up 10 percent of the population of Lisbon.** Some had been manumitted. Some had purchased their freedom. Some were the offspring of African and Portuguese marriages and liaisons. ***Seville had an African population of 6000. These were some of the people accompanying Spanish explorers on the North American mainland.*** More importantly, this was the nascent beginning of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Curtin 1990:40–11).

All of the Sub-Saharan African societies discussed above participated in the slave trade as the enslaved or as slavers, brokers. While Europeans created the demand side for slaves, most historians would agree with John Thornton that African political and economic elite and leaders, although capable of defending their countries from seaborne European marauders, did the primary work of enslaving, transporting and selling Africans to slave traders on the African coast (Thornton 2002:36).

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Line drawings showing placement of leg shackles; drawn from originals in French museums.

Why Africans participated in the slave trade, given its drain on the most productive adults from Africa's populations, is one of the enigmas of history. The seeds of rebellion, violence and war sown by the slave trade were perhaps even more disruptive to African societies. One answer might be that the institution of slavery already existed in African societies. However, slavery in Africa was different from the kind of slavery that evolved in the New World, particularly the English colonies, a topic discussed in the section below on Laws. The kind of slavery that became dominant on the American plantation was special," in Curtin's words, "different from slavery in most of the Muslim world and West Africa (1990:40–41)."

Most legal systems in Africa recognized slavery as a social condition according to Thornton. He comments that slaves constituted a class of people, captives or their descendants, over whom private citizens exercised the rights of the state to make laws, punish, and control.

Although these rights could be sold, in practice people of the slave class who had been settled in one location for a sufficient time came to possess a number of rights, including immunity from resale or arbitrary transfer from one owner or location (Thornton 2002:43). Birmingham says there was no such thing as a class of slaves in Kongo, but that many people belonged to a transitory group of servile subjects. "These were people of foreign origin, people who had been outlawed for criminal acts, people who had lost the protection of their kinfolk, or become irredeemably indebted to others. **They differed from those enslaved by Europeans in that under normal conditions they were likely to be reabsorbed into society** (Birmingham 1981:32)."

Which Europeans Trafficked in Slaves?

The first 130 years the Portuguese dominated the transatlantic slave trade. After 1651 they fell into second position behind the British who became the primary carriers of Africans to the New World, a position they continued to maintain until the end of the trade in the early 19th century.

Based on data concerning 86% of all slaving vessels leaving for the New World, Eltis et al, estimate that the British, including British colonials, and the Portuguese account for seven out of ten transatlantic slaving voyages and carried nearly three quarters of all people embarking from Africa destined for slavery (Eltis et al 2001).

<https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/histContextsB.htm#whoFirst>

Why was African Heritage Lost?

Over time, a number of factors combined to obscure knowledge of Africa as well as the African American presence and contributions to exploration, settlement and the founding of America. The most important of these factors was the development of the concept of race differences that occurred in conjunction with the opening of the New World.

Renaissance thinkers used color as one of several criteria for the classification of people. The term “black” was used as an adjective to describe variations in skin color. In the 15th century when sub-Saharan Africans were first brought to Europe, people had little difficulty in seeing them as humans. By the end of the 15th century, when American Indians were brought to Europe, a shift occurred in European thinking. *Europeans seeking explanations for why American Indians and Africans did not look alike and reasons why both were different from themselves began to gradually lump Indians and Africans together as examples of sub-human beings.* They were viewed as the lowest human forms in the “Great Chain of Being” model of all living forms that had come down from the ancient Greek writers. Africans sometimes came to be called the “Missing Link” suggesting they were less than human but more than an animal.

Over the next 200 years as the economic importance of slavery grew, belief in the existence of different races of men became firmly established. It seems strange now that the Enlightenment movement that was based on notions of progress through reason and rationality could give rise to both the birth of a new nation based on the rights of man and an ideology that justified the enslavement of Africans.

Elements of the 18th Century European Worldview

- Human differences in appearance and behavior are the basis for classification.
- Ranking humans from high to low, based on the Great Chain of Being, is a vital aspect of systematic classification of human differences.
- Outer physical characteristics of humans such as skin color, type of hair, body size or shape, are surface manifestations of inner realities such as intelligence and tendencies to different social behaviors.
- Assignment of the highest rank to people with European physical attributes equated with superior intellect and “appropriate” social behavior, the lowest rank to people with African physical attributes equated with inferior intellect and “sub-human” behavioral tendencies.
- Belief that physical attributes, behavior, inner tendencies, and social rank are inheritable.
- Beliefs that human “race-based” differences were created by nature or God so are fixed, unalterable and could never be bridged.

(Pandian 1985; Smedley 1993)

The 18th century scientist Linnaeus, influenced by Enlightenment positivist doctrine to seek scientific explanation for natural facts, developed a systematic classification of human beings in the first half of the 18th century. Count de Buffon, also influenced by positivism, introduced the term “race” in 1749 to distinguished six (6) varieties of humans based on color, shape of body, and disposition. Building on these fundamentals, by the end of the 18th century, all the elements of a folk concept and world view of race were formulated and accepted as a hierarchy of human inequality based on people’s race.

Over time, the European race-based worldview was modified and extended by associated negative attitudes, beliefs, myths and assumptions about the world’s non-European people. Thus, came into being myths about white superiority and black inferiority, about American Indians as “noble savages” about Chinese as “inscrutable Orientals” and other race-based stereotypes (Pandian 1985:70–95; Smedley 1993:25–28).

This kind of worldview did not permit acknowledgement of African people’s social history and cultural achievements. The European race-based worldview was used as a rationalization for conquest of American

Indians, enslaving Africans, and colonialism. The need to reinforce notions of white supremacy, African inferiority and African enslavement resulted in a legacy of historical omissions, suppression and misinterpretation of African social history and cultural heritage. Ideas of white supremacy included notions of cultural supremacy as well.

On the balance, it is important to note that other factors also contributed to the lost knowledge of African social history and culture. Most African civilizations passed on historical knowledge through oral traditions. Documentation of African life and culture before the Transatlantic Slave Trade are mostly descriptions in Greek, Arabic, and Portuguese written by travelers, merchants, and monks.

Ideas of European cultural supremacy continued into the twentieth century and acted to suppress or misinterpret the African cultural heritage in African American culture. Even some African American social scientists, for example E. Franklin Frazier, misinterpreting the cultural patterns of their own people, viewed African American social and cultural patterns as pathological if they differed from Euro-American standard behaviors. E. Franklin Frazier was one of Herskovits' most vehement critics stating in reference to Herskovits' book *Myths of the Negro Past*: "Nevertheless, the reviewer...[Frazier]...cannot agree with the author that to establish the fact that the Negro had a 'cultural past' and that the Negro's 'cultural past' still influences his behavior will not alter his status in America (Frazier as cited in Long 1975:565)."

In the early twentieth century, black and white sociologists projected a pathological view of "Negroes" ascribing deviations from European cultural behaviors as the result of the slavery experience in the New World (Long 1975:564). Attempting to uncover lost knowledge and refute myth, mid-twentieth century anthropologists, archeologists, and historians, many of African descent, began to reexamine and reassess available data and to extend the scope of their investigations to formerly untapped data sources. Even so, the notion of African American culture as developing during and after enslavement continued to be advanced by leading social scientists and continues in contemporary publications (Mintz and Price 1976, 1992).

More recent scholarly works revisiting the Transatlantic Slave Trade, African history, the history and archeology of colonial African Americans from the 16th century through the American Revolution refute earlier myths concerning African American culture. These scholarly works suggest the need for revisionist approaches to interpreting African American life and culture during the colonial period (Hollaway 1990; Midlo Hall 1992; Eltis 2001; Walsh 2001).

Who were the First Africans in America?

Portuguese exploration of the African coastline first brought West Africans in contact with Europeans. *As Africans participated in trade*

*with the Europeans, they developed linguistic skills and came to understand European commercial practices, cultural conventions, and diplomatic etiquette. By 1491, Kongo royalty had converted to Catholicism and the King of the Kongo sent his sons to be educated in the royal court of Portugal and the Vatican in Rome. Other West African ethnic groups sent their sons to be educated in Portugal. **Portuguese and West Africans, particularly people from West Central Africa, formed families in Africa and in Portugal and Luso-Africans, a new class of people emerged from these families.***

As the 15th century ended, Africans and Luso-Africans lived in Portugal and Spain. Some were slaves and some free. At least two generations of Luso-Africans had grown to adulthood. These are the kinds of people Berlin refers to as Atlantic Creoles. From their ranks, Africans, mostly but not exclusively men, sailed with the Portuguese and Spaniards for the New World (Thornton 1983; **Berlin 1998:73**; Restall 2000:171–205).

From the very start, lack of white labor hampered Spanish exploration and settlement of the circum-Caribbean and West Indies Islands. King Ferdinand initiated the African slave trade on September 3, 1501 in a letter to the Governor of Hispaniola in which he said:

“In view of our earnest desire for the conversion of the Indians to our Holy Catholic Faith, and seeing that, if persons suspect in Faith went there, such conversion might be impeded, we cannot consent to the immigration of Moors, heretics, Jews, re-converts or persons newly converted to our Holy Faith, unless they are Negro or other slaves who have been born in the power of Christians who are our subjects and nationals and carry out our express permission” (Williams 1971:41–42).

In 1505, seventeen Africans were sent to work in copper mines in Hispaniola. Five years later, fifty more were sent, and so it began.

The Portuguese controlled the slave trade leaving African ports. A royal asiento or contract with the Portuguese was thus required to send Africans as slaves to Spanish America. The Portuguese slave trade monopoly and the Spanish government concern with heresy, led the Spaniards to turn first to the large population of Africans living in Spain for servants, soldiers, and other labor. Most of the Africans in Spain, or Lladinos as they were called, originated in the Kongo arriving on the Iberian peninsula by way of the Portuguese. From the Spanish point of view, Lladinos, had the advantage of being Catholic converts, having knowledge of Spanish customs and language. Some of these Lladinos were manumitted, born free or had purchased their freedom and it was to them that the Spaniards first looked to supply labor for New Spain.



Physical Punishment of Slaves Hispaniola, late 16th century.

By 1511, Spanish settlements existed on all of the islands in the Greater Antilles and white immigration had become insufficient to solve the island labor problems. The cost of conquering the mainland Indians decimated the ranks of the Spanish Conquistadors. More significantly, Indian depopulation was the inevitable outcome of their slaughter during battles of conquest, succumbing to European diseases against which they had no immunity, and being exploited as slave laborers. Another reservoir of labor was required to explore, fight, and develop a subsistence economy and an export economy. Spain looked to Africa or at least to African people for a greater supply of labor (Williams 1971:41–42).

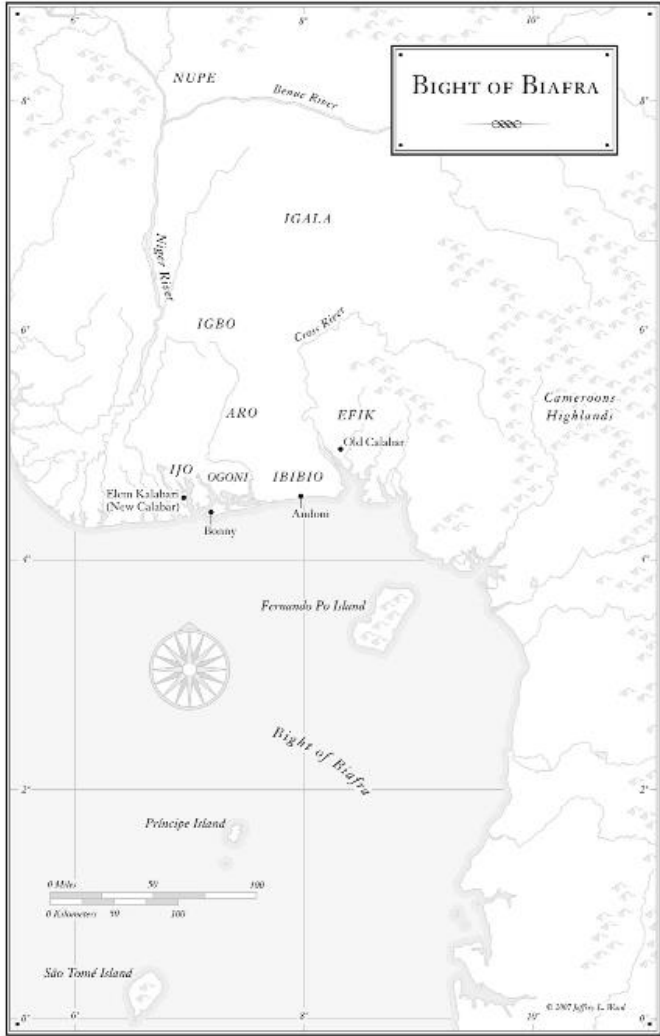
In 1517, an *asiento* was arranged between the Spanish Crown and private enslavers for the importation of four thousand Africans into Spanish Americas over the next 8 years. By 1540, thirty thousand had been imported into Hispaniola and more than one hundred thousand into all the Spanish dominions (Williams 1971:41–42). These Africans helped explore and settle Puerto Rico, New Spain, Hispaniola, as well as Florida and New Mexico, within the borders of the contemporary continental United States. The Spanish monarch, Carlos V, began issuing more and more *asientos* in the 1590s to expedite the importation of slaves. Africans

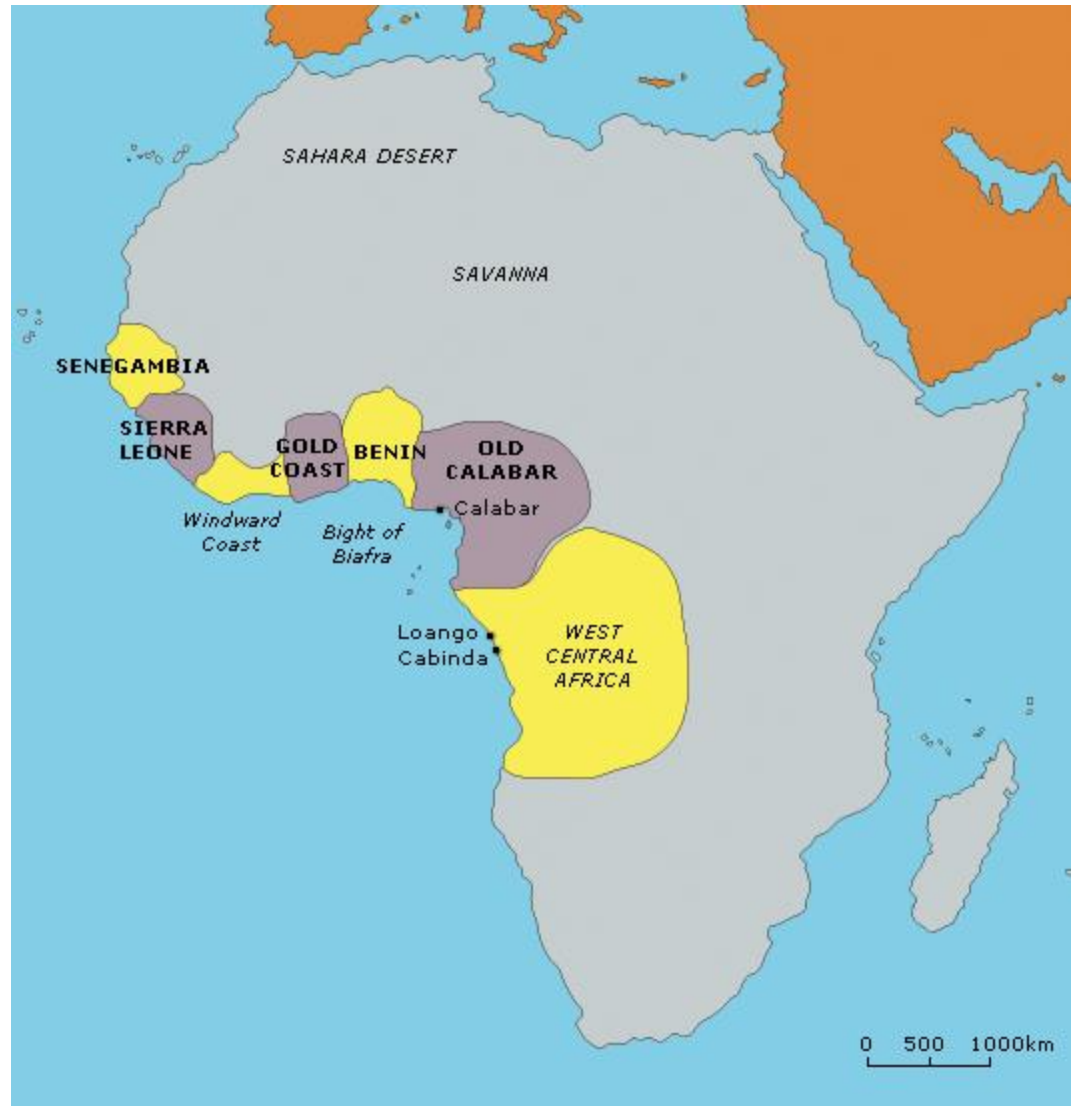
The Africanization of Spanish American colonies would have long ranging effects on the course of African American heritage. The Spanish church, Spanish law, Spanish organization of slave labor and the encroachment of the other European powers on colonial Spanish holdings in Florida, the Mississippi delta, and the Southwest all combined to create a sizeable but scattered population of free African Americans and at least one free African American community in Spanish America. These long-range effects of the influences, the development of free African American people and communities in Spanish America are explored further in Part II African American Heritage of this unit.

The positive outcome of Spanish colonialism in terms of the development of a free African American population, from the perspective of African American heritage, was overshadowed in significance by the Spanish transatlantic slave trade, a harbinger of things to come.

The Bight of Biafra

(bight == curve or recess of a coastline, in this case the inner curve from western Africa downward toward South Africa along the Atlantic)





https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bight_of_Biafra

Antera Duke was a leading Efik trader at Old Calabar in the Bight of Biafra during the late eighteenth century. He lived at Duke Town, about twenty miles from the Calabar River estuary. Over time he prospered and became a member of the local Ekpe (Leopard) Society, which **wielded enormous power in the slave trade and the broader affairs of the town**. He participated in what he called “plays,” communal occasions of music, singing, and dancing. **He arranged funerals, which for men of standing like himself included the ritual sacrifice of slaves, who were decapitated to accompany the master into the spirit world.** He settled “bobs” and “palavers,” small disputes and big debates. He even oversaw the burial of a slave-ship captain, Edward Aspinall, “with much ceremony.” He entertained an endless procession of captains in his home, sometimes five or six at a time, drinking mimbo (palm wine) and feasting into the late hours of the

night. Captains in turn sent their carpenters and joiners to work on his big house.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 65). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

More Biafra --

One "fine morning," he (Antera Duke) noted in his diary, "wee have 9 ship in River." He and other Efik traders "dressed as white men" and routinely went aboard the vessels, drinking tea and conducting business; taking customs and dashee; negotiating credit or "trust"; leaving and ransoming pawns; trading for iron bars, coppers, and gunpowder; and selling yams as provisions for the Middle Passage. He sold slaves, and sometimes he caught them himself: "wee & Tom Aqua and John Aqua be join Catch men." On another occasion he settled an old score with a Bakasse merchant, seizing him and two of his slaves and personally carrying them aboard a slaver, he noted proudly in his diary. At other times he bought slaves from traders of outlying regions. During the three years he kept his diary (1785-88), he noted the departure of twenty vessels he had helped to "slave." Every last one of them was from Liverpool. They carried almost seven thousand men, women, and children to New World plantations. He recorded a typical entry on June 27, 1785: "Captin Tatum go way with 395 slaves."

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (pp. 65-66). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

More Biafra --

Because of merchants like Antera Duke, it was a major source of slaves and indeed one of the most important to British and American traders by the end of the eighteenth century. The region, consisting of what is, by today's map, eastern Nigeria and western Cameroon, had no major territorial states. **The traffic in slaves was handled by three large, competitive, sometimes warring city-states, which were themselves made up of "canoe houses": New Calabar (also called Elem Kalabari), Bonny, and Duke's own Old Calabar.** *The first two were "monarchies" of sorts, the last more a republic,* in which founding Efik families used the Ekpe Society to integrate strangers and slaves into a system of extended fictive kinship and commercial labor. ("Fathers" like Duke incorporated "sons" and "daughters.") Leaders of the canoe houses grew rich and powerful by dealing with European traders. In so doing they were perhaps more affected by European ways, especially in dress and culture, than were people in any other area of West Africa. **Traders like Duke boarded the slave ships dressed in gold-laced hats, waistcoats, and breeches, speaking English and cursing up a storm, and at the end of the day returned to European-style homes.**

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 67). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

And Biafra --

The regions surrounding the Niger, Benue, and Cross rivers represented the main catchment area for captives, although some were also brought westward from the Cameroon Highlands. **Most of the enslaved were taken in small raids, as large-scale wars were uncommon in the region.** *By the middle of the eighteenth*

century, much of the slaving and internal shipment was handled by a relatively new cultural group, the Aro, who used their access to European firearms and other manufactures to build a trading network that linked the canoe houses to the interior. In the course of the eighteenth century, especially after the 1730s, the traders of the Bight of Biafra exported more than a million people, mostly Igbo, *86 percent of the total in British and American vessels*. Many went to Virginia between 1730 and 1770, *the majority to the British West Indies*.

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 67). Penguin Publishing Group.

The Dead List

Along the coast of West Africa, common sailors encountered a barrier reef of an unusual kind. It was pathogenic, made of microbes, and it made the area a "White Man's Grave." **Half of all Europeans who journeyed to West Africa in the eighteenth century, most of them seamen, died within a year.** The primary causes of the high mortality were "fevers," malaria and yellow fever, both mosquito-borne, and both reproducible within the slave ship itself, as the insects bred in the stagnant bilgewater that collected in the hull. Other causes of death were dysentery, smallpox, accidents, murder, and occasionally scurvy. The prevalence of disease (and the absence of immunity), coupled with difficult working and living conditions (fatiguing work, poor food, and harsh discipline), meant that the crew aboard the slave ships often died in even greater proportions than did the enslaved, although of different causes, within a different chronological pattern during the voyage (more while on the coast and early in the voyage), and with variations according to African region: the Gold Coast was comparatively healthy, the Bights of Benin and Biafra deadly. **In surveying crew mortality for 350 Bristol and Liverpool slavers between 1784 and 1790, a House of Commons committee found that 21.6 percent of the sailors died**, a figure that was in keeping with Thomas Clarkson's estimates at the time and is consistent with modern research. Roughly twenty thousand British slave-trade seamen died between 1780 and 1807. For sailors as for African captives, living for several months aboard a slave ship was in itself a struggle for life.⁴⁵

Rediker, Marcus. The Slave Ship (p. 164). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.amazon.com/Uncl-Toms-Cabin-Original-Unabridged-ebook/dp/B0C1KQFLW7>

Uncle Tom's Cabin: The Original 1852 Unabridged And Complete Edition (A Harriet Beecher Stowe Classics) by [Harriet Beecher Stowe](#) (Author)

Uncle Tom's Cabin; or Life Among the Lowly is an anti-slavery novel by American author Harriet Beecher Stowe. Published in two volumes in 1852, the novel had a profound effect on attitudes toward African Americans and slavery in the U.S. and is said to have "helped lay the groundwork for the [American] Civil War".

Stowe, a Connecticut-born woman of English descent, was part of the religious Beecher family and an active abolitionist. She wrote the sentimental novel to depict the reality of slavery while also asserting that Christian love could overcome slavery. The novel focuses on the character of Uncle Tom, a long-suffering black slave around whom the stories of the other characters revolve.

In the United States, Uncle Tom's Cabin was the best-selling novel and the second best-selling book of the 19th century, following the Bible. It is credited with helping fuel the abolitionist cause in the 1850s. The influence attributed to the book was so great that a likely apocryphal story arose of Abraham Lincoln meeting Stowe at the start of the Civil War and declaring, "So this is the little lady who started this great war."

<https://www.amazon.com/True-Songs-Freedom-Russian-Culture/dp/0299292940>

<https://www.amazon.com/True-Songs-Freedom-Russian-Culture-ebook/dp/B00DW2PEPE> (Kindle)

True Songs of Freedom: Uncle Tom's Cabin in Russian Culture and Society - by John MacKay

Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 antislavery novel Uncle Tom's Cabin was the nineteenth century's best-selling novel worldwide; only the Bible outsold it. It was known not only as a book but through stage productions, films, music, and commercial advertising as well. But how was Stowe's novel—one of the watershed works of world literature—actually received outside of the American context?

True Songs of Freedom explores one vital sphere of Stowe's influence: Russia and the Soviet Union, from the 1850s to the present day. Due to Russia's own tradition of rural slavery, the vexed entwining of authoritarianism and political radicalism throughout its history, and (especially after 1945) its prominence as the superpower rival of the United States, Russia developed a special relationship to Stowe's novel during this period of rapid societal change. Uncle Tom's Cabin prompted widespread reflections on the relationship of Russian serfdom to American slavery, on the issue of race in the United States and at home, on the kinds of writing appropriate for children and peasants

learning to read, on the political function of writing, and on the values of Russian educated elites who promoted, discussed, and fought over the book for more than a century. By the time of the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991, Stowe's novel was probably better known by Russians than by readers in any other country.

John MacKay examines many translations and rewritings of Stowe's novel; plays, illustrations, and films based upon it; and a wide range of reactions to it by figures famous (Leo Tolstoy, Ivan Turgenev, Marina Tsvetaeva) and unknown. In tracking the reception of Uncle Tom's Cabin across 150 years, he engages with debates over serf emancipation and peasant education, early Soviet efforts to adapt Stowe's deeply religious work of protest to an atheistic revolutionary value system, the novel's exploitation during the years of Stalinist despotism, Cold War anti-Americanism and antiracism, and the postsocialist consumerist ethos.

John MacKay is professor of Slavic and East European languages and literatures and film studies and chair of the film studies program at Yale University. He is author of *Inscription and Modernity: From Wordsworth to Mandelstam* and editor and translator of *Four Russian Serf Narratives*.

Before the abolition of the international slave trade, more than **four hundred thousand of those 12 million** enslaved Africans transported to the Americas would be sold into this land. Those individuals and their descendants transformed the North American colonies into some of the most successful in the British Empire.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 10). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.amazon.com/Hidden-History-American-Oligarchy-Reclaiming-ebook/dp/B08DG79GMQ> - Kindle

The Hidden History of American Oligarchy: Reclaiming Our Democracy from the Ruling Class

(The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series Book 5)

by Thom Hartman

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Billionaire oligarchs want to own our republic, and they're nearly there thanks to legislation and Supreme Court decisions that they have essentially bought. They put Trump and his political allies into office and support a vast network of think tanks, publications, and social media that every day push our nation closer and closer to police-state tyranny.

The United States was born in a struggle against the oligarchs of the British aristocracy, and ever since then the history of America has been one of dynamic tension between democracy and oligarchy. And much like the shock of the 1929 crash woke America up to glaring inequality and the ongoing theft of democracy by that generation's oligarchs, the coronavirus pandemic of 2020 has laid bare how extensively oligarchs have looted our nation's economic system, gutted governmental institutions, and stolen the wealth of the former middle class.

Thom Hartmann traces the history of this **struggle against oligarchy from America's founding to the United States' war with the feudal Confederacy** to President Franklin Roosevelt's struggle against "economic royalists," who wanted to block the New Deal. In each of those cases, the oligarchs lost the battle. But with increasing right-wing control of the media, unlimited campaign contributions, and a conservative takeover of the judicial system, we're at a crisis point.

Now is the time for action, before we flip into tyranny. We've beaten the oligarchs before, and we can do it again. Hartmann lays out practical measures we can take to break up media monopolies, limit the influence of money in politics, reclaim the wealth stolen over decades by the oligarchy, and build a movement that will return control of America to We the People.

The financial panic of 1770 helped precipitate the American Revolution; the great crash of 1856 brought the Southern oligarchy to a head, leading to the Civil War and the abolition of slavery;

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (p. 6). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

In the era of the 1770s to 1789, foreign-aligned oligarchs controlled what we now call America; believers in democracy fought a war to overthrow that British oligarchy.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (p. 22). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

On November 2, 1772—a year before the Boston Tea Party and four years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence—Sam Adams formed the first 21-man "Committee of Correspondence" to rally opposition to the British and spread the word of rebellion in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. That group spun off more than 80 affiliated committees in fewer than 100 days.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 147-148). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

America's revolutionary Founders first rose up explicitly against the British oligarchy when they destroyed over a million dollars' worth of the East India Company's tea in 1773 in a protest over the British giving the Company a huge tax break. Their dream was that oligarchy would never again cement itself in North America.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (p. 46). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

But as the Founding generation was dying out in the early 1800s, **oligarchy once again got a foothold, this time in the American South**. Although it was intertwined with slavery, a technological revolution—the invention of the cotton gin— was what actually made it possible **because the cotton gin radically increased the value of both cotton-growing land and enslaved people**.

Hartmann, Thom. *The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series)* (p. 46). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

The year before John Adams edited the Declaration of Independence that Thomas Jefferson had written, Adams published, under the pen name of Novanglus, a series of essays in Boston newspapers. The first was in 1774, and in it he laid out the principles that the American revolutionaries had taken from the European Enlightenment's greatest thinkers.

"These are what are called revolution principles," Adams wrote in Volume IV of *The Works of John Adams*, which included *Novanglus*. "They are the principles of Aristotle and Plato, of Livy and Cicero, and Sidney, Harrington, and Locke; the principles of nature and eternal reason." Referring to the Boston Tea Party and the revolutionary spirit across the land, Adams quoted and paraphrased Locke at length.²

Hartmann, Thom. *The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series)* (p. 48). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

In 1689, John Locke wrote in chapter 2, "Of the State of Nature," of his *Second Treatise of Government* a clear—and radical—definition of the natural state of humankind. In an era when serfs and vassals were owned by their lords, slaves were owned by their masters, and everybody was ultimately owned by their king or the pope, Locke explicitly said that nature intended people to be free.

To understand political power right, and derive it from its original, we must consider, what state all men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.

This core Enlightenment concept led straight to Jefferson's writing in the Declaration of Independence that "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," and that when "[g]overnment becomes destructive of these ends," it was an absolute "Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

The 17th-century European revolution in political thought (and numerous actual revolts, as well) led directly to the 18th-century revolution by the colonists against the Crown and its oligarchic arm, the British East India Company. But it wasn't just 13 colonies breaking away from their motherland; this was a revolution that had happened in the minds of Americans long before anybody took up a musket.

The creation of the American democratic republic was unique in the history of the past two millennia because it was the first nation whose founding was totally grounded in the Lockean principles of the Enlightenment.

It wasn't just a change in government; it was a transformation in thinking, in beliefs, in worldview, in how human relations were understood.

Hartmann, Thom. *The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series)* (pp. 49-50). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

In a letter to Hezekiah Niles on February 13, 1818, an aging John Adams tried his best to amplify that point for posterity. "The American Revolution was not a common event," he wrote.⁴ He then asked

rhetorically, “But what do We mean by the American Revolution? Do We mean the American war?” Not a chance, Adams concluded.

“The Revolution was effected before the War commenced,” he wrote. “The Revolution was in the Minds and Hearts of the People. A Change in their Religious Sentiments of their Duties and Obligations.”

And it was vitally important, he believed, that the philosophical basis of the Revolution—“That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness,” and that governments are only truly righteous when they’re run by the “consent of the governed”—be made clear for all future generations. Adams wrote,

This radical Change in the Principles, Opinions Sentiments and Affection of the People, was the real American Revolution.

By what means, this great and important Alteration in the religious, Moral, political, and Social Character of the People of thirteen Colonies, all distinct, unconnected and independent of each other, was begun, pursued and accomplished, it is surely interesting to Humanity to investigate, and perpetuate to Posterity.

Hartmann, Thom. *The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series)* (pp. 50-51). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Two years before he died, Jefferson summed it up in a letter to Major John Cartwright on June 5, 1824, saying that he and his revolutionary peers—once they fully understood and believed in the principles of natural law and democracy as laid out by the Enlightenment thinkers—no longer felt bound by the old rules of royalty and theocracy. America was to be a truly unique experiment in the history of the world.

“Our Revolution commenced on more favorable ground,” he wrote. “It presented us an Album on which we were free to write what we pleased. We had no occasion to search into musty records, to hunt up Royal parchments, or to investigate the laws & institutions of a semi-barbarous ancestry. We appealed to those of nature, and found them engraved on our hearts.”

Thus began the modern world’s first major battle—joined by men and women willing to sacrifice their very lives— against an oligarchy that was behaving, in North America, as a tyranny.

Hartmann, Thom. *The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series)* (p. 51). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Revolutionary Principles: *Born Equal*

At the Constitutional Convention, delegates repeatedly argued that as the US population grew, the need for the labor of enslaved human beings would vanish. Many of them freed their slaves over the decades, Ben Franklin joined an abolition society, and others like Washington freed their slaves in their wills.

The children who would grow up to reject England’s oligarchy had come into a world populated and powered by enslaved people and were taught to believe not only that it was OK, but that it was God’s will that white people own enslaved Black and Native people.

The accepted “science” of their day was purely white supremacy. And slavery was in the Bible: after all, hadn’t Paul instructed Christians to be good to their slaves, but he never talked about freeing them?

However, much like the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s, and today's millennial generation's "wokeness" about issues of race, gender identity, and capitalism (among other things), the fire of the Enlightenment set ablaze young people's minds in the 1760s.

An entire generation felt an urgency to embrace a new form of governance, never before tried, where every man would be free. (The freedom of women took longer, but the suffrage movement was very much alive in the 1770s too, and for the same reasons; John Adams's wife, Abigail, was among the activists.)

As Thomas Paine, an ardent abolitionist and the man whom many credited for helping start the Revolution, wrote of the time, "A new era for politics is struck—a new method of thinking hath arisen."

The "father of the Constitution," James Madison, in *Federalist*, no. 14, wrote of his generation, "They accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of human society. They reared the fabrics of governments which have no model on the face of the globe."

And they did this by holding to, as Alexander Hamilton wrote in *Federalist*, No. 31, "primary truths, or first principles, upon which all subsequent reasonings must depend."¹² The first among these was that every person should be free.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 55-56). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

But there's another story buried under this one, of which most Americans are not even vaguely aware.

It's the story of the rise of a powerful oligarchy in the South in the years between 1820 and 1860, an oligarchy that seized control of the government of almost every slave state and then twisted those states away from a democratic republican form of government into something entirely different, more closely resembling feudal Europe 500 years earlier.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (p. 56). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

In the process, these new Southern oligarchs not only doubled down on enslaving people of African ancestry but also impoverished their own white people, denying them education and a decent standard of living, while creating an oligarchic and politically criminal legacy that exists in those states to this day.

The Founders signed the Declaration of Independence that put the country on the road to the elimination of slavery with the words that "all men are created equal."

Twenty-five of the 55 Framers who wrote the Constitution were slaveholders, and many if not most of them expected slavery to die out in the next two or three generations. Based on the writings they left, they were proud that they'd begun the epic process of such a large change in American society after centuries of oligarchy and legal chattel slavery.

But none of the men who signed the Constitution could have imagined that a seemingly minor technological innovation—the invention of the cotton gin—would produce a violent oligarchy enforced by a police state across the South that would one day reach out to try to crush democracy itself in the North.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 56-57). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Best-Laid Plans for Liberty:
Ending American Slavery

When you read through James Madison’s notes on the Constitutional Convention, it’s striking how not one single member—even from the Southern states—stood up to argue that slavery was a good thing.

No doubt, all were deeply marinated in white supremacy and many were open advocates of that cause, but the spirit of the time, at the least, prevented them from promoting those views in the context of the new country about to be born.

The only outlier was South Carolina’s Charles Pinckney, a plantation and slave owner, who argued that slaves were present in the Bible and the Roman Republic, and if the Constitution outlawed the practice, his state and Georgia probably would not sign the document. It kicked off a debate that he quickly backed away from.

In large part, these Southern politicians were unwilling to defend slavery because they didn’t have the political power to stand up to the emerging generation of idealists, particularly those from the border states and the North, where there were large and active abolition movements.

Even Patrick Henry, Virginia’s largest slaveholder, expounded at length in numerous venues during that era about the evils of slavery and the absolute need for America to gradually and “safely” eliminate the practice.

When they spoke of the issue, the representatives from the Southern states largely argued against economic disruption or claimed their own right to hang on—at least temporarily—to an economic and political system into which they, themselves, had been born.

But the majority of the Constitution’s Framers were not slaveholders, and they (and some of the slaveholders) were ready to move on from slavery and toward a more egalitarian nation.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 57-58). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

On August 8, 1787, the assembled delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia took up Article IV, Section 2, of the Constitution. The Southern states were a generation away from sliding into oligarchic control (more on that in a moment) but still considered slavery central to their economies.

When a discussion of taxing exports that were the product of slavery (mostly cotton) came up, Gouverneur Morris of New York used the moment to point out how slavery had a terrible effect on local government, local economy, and the standard of life for all the white people of a slave state except the plantation owners.

James Madison (a Virginia slave owner) took notes on Morris’s speech, capturing the essence of his remarks. “He never would concur in upholding domestic slavery,” Madison wrote of Morris.

It was a nefarious institution—it was the curse of heaven on the states where it prevailed. Compare the free regions of the Middle States, where a rich & noble cultivation marks the prosperity & happiness of the people, with the misery & poverty which overspread the barren wastes of [Virginia, Maryland, and] the other States having slaves. (Travel thro’ ye whole Continent & you behold the prospect continually varying with the appearance & disappearance of slavery. The moment you leave [the Eastern states and enter New York], the effects of the institution become visible; Passing thro’ the Jerseys, and entering [Pennsylvania], every criterion of superior improvement witnesses the change. Proceed [Southwardly], & every step you take [through the] great regions of slaves, presents a desert increasing with ye increasing proportion of these wretched beings.) . . .

The vassalage of the poor has ever been the favorite offspring of Aristocracy.

Madison cited Connecticut's Roger Sherman: "He observed, that the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States, and that the good sense of the several States would probably by degrees complete it."

Virginia's George Mason, himself a slaveholder, rose to say, "Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. . . . They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. . . . By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities."

Oliver Ellsworth was emphatic. "As population increases, poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless. Slavery, in time, will not be a speck in our country."

William Patterson said, "[W]here slavery exists, the republican theory becomes still more fallacious."

And, indeed, the sentiment against slavery was widespread across the colonies. The year after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Vermont—which was then a sovereign nation— modified its constitution to ban slavery.

Pennsylvania passed a law initiating the emancipation of slaves in that state in 1780.

New Hampshire and Massachusetts followed Vermont's lead in 1783, although by court rulings in both states, and the process spread down the Eastern seaboard to New York and New Jersey by the turn of the century.

As that era's abolition movement spread southward, it achieved tidal wave proportions during the Founders' lifetimes.

Delaware slave owners freed their slaves "in such large numbers that it amounted to a near abolition," wrote Thomas G. West in *Vindicating the Founders*. "By the end of Jefferson's presidency 75 percent of Delaware blacks were free; in Maryland, free blacks numbered a substantial 23 percent."

Little did the Founding generation realize that all of their anti-oligarchy egalitarian principles and high-minded discussions of ending slavery would be destroyed by the merger of technology and oligarchy.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 58-61). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

From the century of the American Revolution until the early 1800s, the main sources of power that fueled America were twofold: wood and human labor.

In the north, that labor was often supplied by European convicts or indentured European immigrants who committed to a certain number of years of free labor in exchange for transportation from Europe, or simply by poor immigrants willing to do pretty much any job for very low pay. We see something like this today with the startling number of people in America who are homeless and working a full-time job or several part-time jobs.

As transatlantic commerce exploded through the late 1700s and early 1800s, the increasing numbers of ships brought with them a dramatic decrease in the cost of the trip for a new immigrant from Europe to America.

More and more people could avoid an indenture and simply pay their own way, so during this period, indentured servitude in the North pretty much faded away, replaced in some areas by prison labor but most often replaced by cheap immigrant labor.

In the South, these forms of labor existed, but on the plantations where the only way to pick and clean cotton was with fingers and hands, the labor was mostly supplied by enslaved people of African ancestry.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 61-62). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Where Cotton Is King, Cotton Makes Kings

Cotton could be a reliably profitable crop for the Southern plantation owners; it was easy to grow, it could be stored for years if necessary, and there was worldwide demand for it. Its biggest problem was the seeds.

What we call cotton is a fibrous part of the “fruit” of the cotton plant. After the flower is pollinated, the seeds form and mature in a pod or boll along with a protective superstructure of thin fibers that we call cotton.

Picking cotton is work that in the period from the Revolutionary War to the Civil War was never automated, so it required a fair amount of human labor. Far more difficult, though, was the process of disentangling the cotton seeds from the cotton fibers that surrounded them. It could take an entire day for a person to clean a single pound of cotton by hand.

In 1794, Eli Whitney figured out how to make a drum into which raw cotton could be dumped, then spun with hundreds of tiny hooks that would pull the cotton fibers out through a mesh. The mesh was too fine for the seeds to pass through, so as the drum turned, the cotton accumulated outside it, leaving behind in the drum nothing but seeds.

Whitney wrote to his father, “One man and a horse will do more than fifty men with the old machines. . . . Tis generally said by those who know anything about it, that I shall make a Fortune by it.”

His “cotton gin” (“gin” was short for “engine”) took the South by storm in the first two decades of the 1800s. Its biggest impact, though, was on the fate of enslaved people and the fate of democracy in the South.

Now that one machine could clean as much cotton as fifty people, every cotton plantation faced the possibility that it could produce 50 times as much cotton (and profit), if only it had 50 times as much land to grow the cotton on and 50 times as many people to pick it.

The wealthiest among the Southern oligarchs began to buy up small farms and plantations the way big agricultural corporations would later buy out American Midwestern farmers when Reagan stopped enforcing the anti-monopoly laws in the early 1980s.

The smaller farmers who couldn’t afford a cotton gin were faced with financial ruin from their giant competitors, and they didn’t have Willie Nelson to sing “Farm Aid” fundraising concerts to help them buy equipment to compete. Like Midwestern farmers in the 1980s, the smaller Southern cotton farmers either sold out or were bankrupted and driven off their land; many became tenant farmers on what had previously been their own property.

Illinois’s Representative John Farnsworth noted the trend in his 1864 speech on the floor of the US House of Representatives:

[With t]he invention of the cotton-gin, the cultivation of cotton made it profitable to raise men and women for the southern market. The price of slaves was enhanced; from being worth \$250 they went up to \$1,200 and \$1,300.

Then the greed for power took possession of the slave-holders, and the avarice of these men overleaped itself and they became clamorous for the extension of slavery. The bounds were too narrow for them. They became ambitious of a nation that should be founded upon "the cornerstone of slavery."

Then it was, Mr. Speaker, that the slave power got the control of the Government, of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments. Then it was that they got possession of the high places of society. They took possession of the churches. They took possession of the lands. Then it became criminal for a man to open his lips in denunciation of the evil and sin of slaveholding.

Then followed . . . the attempt to expel John Quincy Adams; the throttling of the right to petition; suppressing the freedom of the press; the suppression of the freedom of the mails; all these things followed the taking possession of the Government and lands by the slave power, until we were the slaves of slaves, being chained to the car of this slave Juggernaut. . . .

Then came the conventions of the rival political parties, in which they declared that the agitation of this vexed question should cease. But it would not cease, for the slave power was still clamoring for more, more, more!

Then came the [Dred Scott] decision of the Supreme Court. Why, sir, the spirit of slavery took possession of that court and instigated the palsied arm of a judge upon the brink of the grave to attempt to snatch the charter of human liberty from the throne of the Almighty.

The Southern oligarchs were on the rise.

Hartmann, Thom. *The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series)* (pp. 62-65). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

And it was the technological revolution that Eli Whitney had birthed that gave them the wealth and power to try to pull it off. **Wisconsin senator Timothy Howe laid it out in an 1864 speech on the floor of the US House of Representatives:**

If the cotton-gin had not been invented, slaveholding would not have been profitable. If slaveholding had not been profitable, slaveholders would not have been rich. If slaveholders had not been rich, they would not have been arrogant. If they had not been arrogant, four hundred thousand slaveholders would not have presumed to challenge dominion over twenty million freemen.

Slavery without the cotton-gin would have been a monster wrong, but it would not have been dangerous to the Republic. The cotton-gin without slavery would have been of twice the value it has been and still would not have been dangerous to anyone. Together they have proved fatal to the peace of the nation.

On December 18, 1860, Tennessee senator Andrew Johnson (soon to be vice president and then president) said on the floor of the Senate, speaking in favor of the right of the Southern states to secede, "When the Union was formed, twelve of the thirteen States were slaveholding; and if the cotton gin had not been invented, there would not probably today have been an African slave in North America."

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 66-67). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Historian Forrest Nabors extensively cites (and informed me of) Representative John Farnsworth of Illinois, as well as Senator Timothy Howe of Wisconsin, who argued that the oligarchy in the South had become so strong that they weren't just trying to be left alone in the lead-up to the Civil War— they actually wanted to dominate the North.

“Such, then, I find to be the cause and the purpose of the rebellion,” said Howe. “It was not to secure toleration for slavery within the seceding States, but to compel the adoption of slavery by the nation.”²⁴ In other words, the Confederacy rose up not simply to preserve Southern oligarchy, but to extend that oligarchy to the rest of the United States.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 67-69). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Through Debt, Oligarchs Can Still Own People

Two thousand years ago, Publilius Syrus wrote, “Debt is the slavery of the free.” A bit over a century ago, Ambrose Bierce defined debt as “an ingenious substitute for the chain and whip of the slavedriver.”

The lesson hasn't been lost on modern American oligarchs. If labor unions and workers' cooperatives represent the most empowered form of labor, they're also the most intolerable to oligarchy. On the other hand, slavery and debt represent the other end of the spectrum, being most desirable to an oligarchic system.

After slavery's collapse in the wake of the Civil War, a new form of indenture called debt peonage was rolled out in the South, one that ensnared both Blacks and poor whites and was particularly effective against the illiterate and poorly educated. This practice was also extensive in the coal mines of West Virginia, Tennessee, northern Georgia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania from the mid-19th century right through the late 20th century.

Across America's South and Midwest it still exists, particularly for those farmers who lost their farms to the massive waves of corporate ag mergers in the 1980s after Reagan threw in with the corporate agriculture oligarchs.

Between Reagan's 1980 election and 1985, over a third of Nebraska farmers were on the edge of losing their farms, with loan delinquency increasing by nearly 400 percent during that time. Small local banks that had lent to farmers were going broke at a rate not seen since the Great Depression, then being bought out of bankruptcy by big New York banks (who were simultaneously funding the big ag companies).

One Nebraska farmer, Arthur Kirk, of Cairo, Nebraska, confronted the sheriff who had come on behalf of a bank to repossess his land in 1984; he was shot to death by police.

Hartmann, Thom. The Hidden History of American Oligarchy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series) (pp. 75-76). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

Oligarchs Use Medical Debt as an Instrument of Control

Oligarchs Control the Commoners through Illiteracy and Student Debt

Controlling the Commoners: When All Else Fails, Bring in the Police

The Oligarchs' Biggest Threat: An Educated Middle Class with Leisure

PART FIVE

When Oligarchy Becomes Tyranny

Lies: The First Step from Oligarchy to Tyranny

Tyrants Modify the Very Language of a Culture

“Deconstruct the State”

Scapegoating to Dilute the Outrage

Mussolini and Hitler famously accused Jews and communists of trying to seize power to overthrow the state, when they themselves were doing that very thing. Trump similarly accused his political opponents of election fraud, corruption, and deceit, when in fact he, McConnell, and the GOP were aggressively practicing those dark arts.

<https://hartmannreport.com/p/my-new-book-the-hidden-history-of-5e3>

My New Book: The Hidden History of American Democracy

Where did the Founders' and Framers' ideas of democracy come from and what can we learn from them to rescue our nation today?

Thom Hartmann, July 18, 2023

Most Americans just learned, from reporting this week in *The New York Times*, that Trump, billionaire-funded rightwing think tanks, and some of the leaders of the GOP have a plan to flip America from a democratic republic into an authoritarian strongman-type of government should he or another like-minded MAGA Republican win the White House in 2024.

This would be the death-knell of democracy, the crisis I warn about in my new book, and a historic disaster of almost unimaginable proportions given how much influence our nation has on other democracies around the world.

This week that new book, *The Hidden History of American Democracy: Rediscovering Humanity's Ancient Way of Living*, hits the bookstores. You can find it on Amazon [here](#), and Powell's Books [here](#).

What follows is the table of contents and two excerpted chapters.

This was one of the most fascinating of the *Hidden History* series for me to research and write. It confirmed my beliefs that progressive and small-d democratic ideals are intrinsic to our humanity, and that today's MAGA GOP's idea of hierarchy and top-down governance destroys nations and their people — and the Founders and Framers of the Constitution knew it.

<https://www.amazon.com/Hidden-History-American-Democracy-Rediscovering/dp/152300438X/ref=thomhartmann> paperback

<https://www.amazon.com/Hidden-History-American-Democracy-Rediscovering-ebook/dp/B0BTJTHPLK/>

Kindle

The Hidden History of American Democracy: Rediscovering Humanity's Ancient Way of Living

(The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series Book 9)

by Thom Hartmann, July 18, 2023

Amazon Blurb: In this powerful, sweeping history and analysis of American democracy, Thom Hartmann shows how democracy is the one form of governance most likely to produce peace and happiness among people.

With the violent exception of the Civil War, American democracy resisted the pressure to disintegrate into factionalism for nearly two centuries, and now our very system of democratic elections is at stake. So how do we save our democracy?

Hartmann's newest book in the celebrated Hidden History Series offers a clear call to action and a set of solutions with road maps for individuals and communities to follow to create a safer, more just society and a more equitable and prosperous economy.

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Introduction: Democracy is in Our Genes (book quoted, full intro)

The grand experiment of American democracy didn't come out of thin air, and it was only marginally based on the experience of the Greek democracies and the Roman republic, contrary to what most people believe.

The one great universal impulse that animates humans working toward self-governance the world over is freedom: an escape from bonds laid on one people by another, by the powerful over the powerless, by the rich over the poor.

As Europeans began driving deep into the American landscape throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries, stories began to trickle back to Europe about people who had figured out how to live in civilized society without the chains of oppression—both political and religious—that were the hallmarks of that era.

Some came from French missionaries to the Indians, others from trappers and traders, and still others from people like Thomas Jefferson's father, Peter, who made maps and traveled in what became the Commonwealth of Virginia for his work.

Stories spread of these extraordinary people—these Indians—who governed themselves without prisons, chains, or even police. Native Americans who'd become fluent in English or French traveled to Europe and challenged inequality, theocracy, and royalty to its face.

The intelligentsia of France, in particular, was consumed with the idea that egalitarian self-governance might not just be possible but might even be the "natural" or "original state" of humankind. These viral

ideas swept Europe every bit as completely as had Martin Luther's 95 Theses, which he nailed to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517.

As the philosophers of the European Enlightenment were struck by these novel ideas contradicting their biblical and historical notions of the evil nature of humankind, the notions of equality and fraternity flowed back across the Atlantic to inflame the minds of 18th-century American colonists.

While there's not a one-to-one correlation between the governing principles of, for example, the Iroquois Confederacy and the US Constitution, the core principles animating both were nearly identical: equality of citizenship. Government is legitimate only with the consent of the governed. Men who claim power through hereditary lineage or a direct line to the gods must be limited in the power they can acquire or possess. Greed and unbridled power are evils. Society's highest obligation is to care for all its people, not merely to serve those with the highest status or wealth.

Our Founding Generation integrated these concepts into a coherent governing philosophy and then, after independence, crafted them into a clumsy attempt at constitutional self-governance.

It was a bold and dangerous experiment, defying, as it did, a thousand years of European history and the greatest powers of the world at the time.

Democracy within tribal communities has a long history that's not limited to modern nations or the New World. Jefferson was obsessed with the democracy practiced by his tribal ancestors living in the British Isles before they were conquered by the Romans 1,700 years earlier.

Virtually every ethnography of tribal people living the way humans did for hundreds of thousands of years before the advent of agriculture and the rise of modern warlord kingdoms describes them as egalitarian, be they the ancient San of southern Africa, the seafaring people who populated the South Pacific, or the tribes of Central America before they were conquered by the Aztec and Mayan empires.

Democracy, it turns out, is the default state of virtually every animal species on Earth, and humanity is no exception.¹ Only with the power of great wealth, control of media, or the force of arms and technology is it overcome by dictators, popes, and kings.

Hartmann, Thom. *The Hidden History of American Democracy (The Thom Hartmann Hidden History Series)* (pp. 10-12). Berrett-Koehler Publishers. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.libertarianism.org/articles/thomas-paines-solution-poverty>

THOMAS PAINE'S SOLUTION FOR POVERTY

Aug 3rd, 2020

Thomas Paine was one of the first people to argue in favor of what we now refer to as universal basic income.

By PAUL MEANY, Interim Director, Libertarianism.org

*Paul Meany is the Interim Director and Editor for Intellectual History at Libertarianism.org, a project of the Cato Institute. Most of his work focuses on examining thinkers who predate classical liberalism but still articulate broadly liberal attitudes and principles. He is the host of *Portraits of Liberty*, a podcast about uncovering and exploring underrated figures throughout history who have argued for a freer world. His writing covers a broad range of topics, including proto-feminist writers, Classical Greece and Rome's influence on the American Founding, ancient Chinese Philosophy, tyrannicide, and the first argument for basic income.*

RICHARD WATSON AND DIVINELY ORDAINED POVERTY

LEARN MORE

[AN EXCERPT FROM AGRARIAN JUSTICE](#)

In [this excerpt](#) from *Agrarian Justice*, Thomas Paine argues for using land taxes to fund what we would today call a universal basic income.

Richard Watson was the bishop of Llandaff in Wales who had written a book, entitled *An Apology for the Bible*, in response to one of Paine's previous works, *The Age of Reason*, in which Paine heavily criticized organized religion in favour of Deism. (This did little, you can imagine, to endear Paine to the good bishop.) But Paine was not responding to Watson on the topic of religion. While flicking through *An Apology for the Bible*, Paine spotted one of Watson's sermons entitled, "The Wisdom and Goodness of God, in having made both Rich and Poor." The notion that God had divinely ordained who was to be poor and who was to be rich was, to Paine, a hypothesis that needed to be disproved, debunked, and then thrown in the trash for good measure. Paine explained, "It is wrong to say God made rich and poor; he made only male and female; and he gave them the earth for their inheritance." The idea that God had ordained some to wretched misery and some to opulent luxury turned Paine's stomach.

Surprisingly, Watson was not alone in his assertion that poverty was a natural and unavoidable part of life. England (where Paine lived) had, since the 16th-century, implemented laws for relieving the poor, but the relief they offered only aimed to shelter the poor from the most wretched extremes of poverty. Little more was expected. The Poor Laws were built around the premise that poverty was a natural part of life that could never truly be eradicated and therefore should only be managed and controlled. The Poor Laws were devised primarily to prevent social unrest, food riots, and to eliminate the need for private individuals to contribute aid directly to the poor. A further issue with the Poor Laws was that each parish was responsible for their own poor and funds were raised from local property taxes. Overseers in each area had the final say on who was eligible for relief and how much they were to receive. This created a system which incentivized mistreatment of the poor, especially those from outside the parish, and was unpredictable and inhumane.

FRANCOIS NOÉL BABEUF: THE MOST EXTREME EQUALITY

The second person in Paine's thoughts while writing *Agrarian Justice* was the extreme political radical Francois Noël Babeuf. Babeuf had recently been arrested for his involvement in a conspiracy to overthrow the French government. When put on trial at the high court of Vendome, Babeuf, when given the opportunity to defend himself, chose instead to passionately explain his utopian plan for a better France at great length as a justification for his planned actions. Babeuf was quickly condemned to death, but, thanks to his impassioned albeit unwise defence, we have a record of what Babeuf believed.

Babeuf aimed for complete equality, that all people would perform an equal share of unsavoury labour and that all people would benefit equally from said labour. For Babeuf it was imperative that "society must be made to operate in such a way that it eradicates once and for all the desire of a man to become richer, or wiser, or more powerful than others." To this end, private property was to be completely abolished in all of its forms. The obvious question is how would this be achieved? Babeuf was not a starry-eyed idealist; he knew that to achieve his goals the state would have to become nearly omnipresent and omnipotent .

Familial ties were to be broken and children sent to live communally in boarding school. Any sort of writing that dared to stray from the state-mandated ideology of equality was to be censored. Even peoples' clothing was to be plain and simple so as not to make anyone jealous of each other. Babeuf had no qualms with the all-encompassing nature of the state; indeed, he positively longed for a totalitarian

society unprecedented in its scope and willing to regulate every aspect of life down to the minutiae of daily activities.

Paine had once lived in revolutionary France and he admired the revolutionary struggle for both liberty and equality. But for Paine, equality “is often misunderstood, often misapplied, and often violated,” especially by people like Babeuf and his co-conspirators.

Paine had no time for either the Poor Law of the English or the egalitarian Utopia envisaged by Babeuf. The already existing Poor Laws of England did little for the poor beyond providing a meagre living (even if one were not first turned away by the arbitrary decision of a parish overseer). The extreme communist dreams of Babeuf were horrifying to Paine, a person dedicated to liberty as enshrined through natural rights that every government ought to secure. Paine had great confidence in the power of commerce and free-trade to create lasting prosperity for all classes of people. But progress was slow and not always as constant and uniform as he had once theorized.

Paine’s *Agrarian Justice* aimed to provide a solution to the problem of poverty that lay somewhere between these two ill-guided extremes. On one hand, he wished to avoid the particularism and paternalism of the Poor Laws; on the other hand, he also wanted to avoid the Leviathan state of Babeuf that Paine believed could never coexist with liberty in any meaningful sense.

POVERTY AND CIVILIZATION

Agrarian Justice begins with Paine stating that poverty is not a natural state of life but that it is in fact man-made. Paine believed that the natural state of man is something like what he imagined the Native American way of life to be. The first people were hunter-gatherers who had no real need for private property as a concept. In these early human societies, no one is particularly rich but nor is anyone particularly poor. The soul-crushing poverty Paine had observed could only be found in “civilized life” where the “most affluent and the most miserable of the human race are to be found.” But why is this the case? Paine answers that the root cause lay in the concept of private property.

IS PRIVATE PROPERTY NATURAL? FEATURED **PODCAST** [Download Episode](#) *How important are private property rights? What does a society look like that has no property rights, if that’s even possible? How did the Founding Fathers think about property rights?*

Paine is unambiguous that in the state of nature “there could be no such thing as landed property originally.” People in the state of nature were allowed to occupy land but they had no right to own land as their own in perpetuity. Rather, “land... is the free gift of the Creator in common to the human race.” The earth belongs to every person and in a state of nature no one has a right to claim any particular part of that divine inheritance as their own. Paine notes that God did not “open a land office, from whence the first title-deeds should issue.” For Paine, there are two principal kinds of property: natural property, which includes “the earth, air, water,” and artificial property (meaning private property), which is created by humans.

Paine views the invention of private property as an inseparable outcome of the development of agriculture. [John Locke](#)--whose writings exerted a huge influence on the American revolutionaries--had argued that when a person worked on the land by ploughing, tiling, fencing, or developing any sort of improvement upon a parcel of land, they had mixed their labour with the land. While Locke believed the earth was given to humanity as a whole, he believed by mixing one’s labour with the land, people could justifiably own private property.

Paine partially agreed with Locke. Yes, improving land for cultivation is beneficial and people should be entitled to the fruits of their work. However, Paine also believed “that it is the value of the improvement

only, and not the earth itself, that is individual property.” This is not an easily discernible distinction. Because of “the impossibility of separating the improvement made by cultivation from the earth itself” confusion arose and the common right of all was replaced with the right of particular individuals to own land in perpetuity.

With the growth of agriculture, the earth no longer belonged to everyone but to a select few who created a monopoly on land that dispossessed the rest of the population of their natural inheritance of the earth. Remember that around this time powerful aristocracies in Europe owned huge amounts of wealth and property, which they received through both inheritance and state assistance. This resulted in civilized states having the “contrast of affluence and wretchedness continually meeting,” which resembled “dead and living bodies chained together.” Through ownership of private land, property passed down through generations making some extremely wealthy; meanwhile a much larger and much less fortunate group are disenfranchised from owning property which has all been claimed and monopolized by the select few. Because of this, a huge number of people never own property and are robbed of what Paine saw as their natural inheritance.

...

Paine proposed that owners of property should pay what he called ground rent for the unimproved land which they inhabited. When an owner of cultivated land dies, their property would be taxed at a rate of 10%. The wealthy would also be expected to pay some of this personal property upon their death into the fund. Paine justified this inheritance tax on the principle that “beyond what a man’s own hands produce, is derived to him by living in society.” Paine was not arguing in favour of redistributing all wealth but instead argued that merely some forms of wealth, those not directly derived from one’s labour, were more eligible for taxation. Paine had no substantive issues with some degree of inequality as he explained: “I care not how affluent some may be, provided that none be miserable in consequence of it.”

The revenue from this tax would be pooled into a fund for the equal benefit of all. Paine believed this fund was to be used for three important purposes. Firstly, **upon reaching the age of twenty-one every person would receive a lump sum of 15 pounds. (For some degree of comparison, in Paine’s time an able-bodied working man would earn roughly 23 pounds if he worked continuously throughout a year.)** This lump sum would be given to everyone regardless of gender, status, or wealth in order “to prevent invidious distinctions.” Secondly, a sum of money would be given annually as a sort of pension to anyone over the age of fifty-five. Lastly, any remaining residual funds would be given to the “lame and blind.”

THE BEGINNINGS OF BASIC INCOME

Hayek endorsed a guaranteed minimum income—but didn’t say why. [In this essay](#), Matt Zwolinski attempts to reconstruct Hayek’s argument.

What Paine was proposing was one of the first-ever instances of basic income. According to the [Stanford Basic Income Lab](#), basic income has five characteristics: it must be universal, unconditional, cash-based, paid on an individual basis, and lastly a recurring and regular payment. Paine’s plan perfectly fits four out of the five characteristics, only lacking the recurring and regular element for people under fifty-five. But four out five is pretty close for someone writing hundreds of years before Stanford even existed.

...

A RIGHTS BASED APPROACH TO BASIC INCOME

While Paine believed that his plan had a huge number of benefits, he did not ground its logic upon utilitarian grounds. For Paine, this was a matter of justice, not charity. All people have a right to the earth, but since we cannot return to the days before civilization, this system of taxation was the best method of compensating people for their lost inheritance of the earth's resources. Since some form of compensation was necessary to pay those who were disinherited from the opportunity to own property, Paine believed this was not redistribution. It was giving people what they deserved.

...

THE RELEVANCE OF AGRARIAN JUSTICE

For a time Paine was not considered a serious thinker and more of a political journalist who aimed to incite the passions of his readers. This assessment, while fading in popularity, still plagues Paine's legacy. *Agrarian Justice* is an underrated and underappreciated work that, in a short few pages, made more novel claims than many philosophers make in their entire career. Paine was among the first people who theorized that poverty could not only be managed but possibly eradicated.

Adding to his already impressive achievements, Thomas Paine was the first advocate of basic income, an idea which has been advocated by people from all kinds of viewpoints including the libertarian giant Milton Friedman, but also more left leaning figures such as Guy Standing and Thomas Picketty. Even people such as the civil rights Hero [Martin Luther King](#) and [Pope Francis](#) have lent their support to the idea of basic income. The Overton window has been slowly shifting towards basic income, but especially over the last few years as the prospect of automation and the unique problems caused by Covid-19 have escalated interest in some kind of basic support for the unemployed. While *Agrarian Justice* was not particularly popular when it was first published, perhaps now the confluence of circumstance and factors that will ensure that Paine's most underrated work will finally get the attention it rightly deserves.

<https://basicincome.stanford.edu/>

Stanford Basic Income Lab

<https://www.commondreams.org/opinion/biden-democrats-student-debt-relief-2024>

Biden and the Democrats Better Fight Like Hell for Student Debt Relief

After the Supreme Court ruling by the right-wing majority, immediate action must be taken to deliver for the tens of millions of borrowers shackled by unjust debt.

By Alan Minsky, Jun3 30, 2023, Common Dreams

... The student debt crisis is outrageously unjust. In mid-20th century America, public higher education was virtually free for students. This history shows us what is possible. A return to free public higher education for all—as well as universal student debt relief—is the appropriate corrective to what has unnecessarily been inflicted on recent generations of college and university students.

...

We must also respond to this moment with pragmatism. We recognize that **one of the two main political parties, the GOP, vehemently opposes Student Debt Relief and is fine with stranding generations of recent students in hopeless debt peonage.** Thus, it is incumbent upon Democrats to take immediate action, to signal that they are not abandoning the tens of millions of Americans who were poised to receive relief through Biden's plan.

... it is essential that we seize this key moment to highlight the root cause of the student debt crisis—the outrageous cost of higher education in the United States. Thus, we are also calling on all Americans, young, old, and in-between, to join in a nationwide movement for Universal Fully-funded Free Higher Public Education.

... taken collectively, the network of public higher education facilities across America are, by an order of magnitude, vastly superior to any other public higher education system in the world. In an era when higher education is a prerequisite for ever-more jobs, it is common sense that these public institutions be available cost free for all residents, just like public high schools. The society-wide benefits will be unparalleled, just as they were in the decades after the *GI Bill*.

<https://www.amazon.com/Oligarchy-Republicanism-Reconstruction-Constitutional-Democracy/dp/0826221351> - hardcover

<https://www.amazon.com/Oligarchy-Republicanism-Reconstruction-Constitutional-Democracy-ebook/dp/B07637W6GV> - Kindle

From Oligarchy to Republicanism: The Great Task of Reconstruction

(Studies in Constitutional Democracy)

by Forrest A. Nabors

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Amazon Blurb:

In *From Oligarchy to Republicanism: The Great Task of Reconstruction*, Forrest A. Nabors shows that the ultimate goal of the Republican Party, the war, and Reconstruction was the same. This goal was to preserve and advance republicanism as the American founders understood it, against its natural, existential enemy: oligarchy. The principle of natural equality justified American republicanism and required abolition and equal citizenship. Likewise, slavery and discrimination on the basis of color stand on the competing moral foundation of oligarchy, the principle of natural inequality, which requires ranks.

The effect of slavery and the division of the nation into two “opposite systems of civilization” are causally linked. Charles Devens, a lawyer who served as a general in the Union Army, and his contemporaries understood that slavery’s existence transformed the character of political society.

One of those dramatic effects was the increased power of slaveowners over those who did not have slaves. When the slave state constitutions enumerated slaves *in apportioning representation using the federal three-fifths ratio or by other formulae, intra-state sections where slaves were concentrated would receive a substantial grant of political power for slave ownership*. In contrast, low slave-owning sections of the state would lose political representation and political influence over the state. *This contributed to the non-slaveholders’ loss of political liberty in the slave states and provided a direct means by which the slaveholders acquired and maintained their rule over non-slaveholders.*

This book presents a shared analysis of the slave South, synthesized from the writings and speeches of the Republicans who served in the Thirty-Eighth, Thirty-Ninth or Fortieth Congress from 1863-1869. The account draws from their writings and speeches dated before, during, and after their service in Congress. Nabors shows how the Republican majority, charged with the responsibility of reconstructing the South, understood the South.

Republicans in Congress were generally united around the fundamental problem and goal of Reconstruction. They regarded their work in the same way as they regarded the work of the American founders. Both they and the founders were engaged in regime change, from monarchy in the one case, and from oligarchy in the other, to republicanism. The insurrectionary states’ governments had to be reconstructed at their foundations, from oligarchic to republican. The sharp differences within Congress pertained to how to achieve that higher goal.

Editorial Review Extracts:

“When I picked up Forrest Nabors’ new book and started reading it, I could not put it down. It is a masterpiece—forceful, persuasive, and enlightening in the extreme. It is not only the best book ever written on Reconstruction, it will also transform everyone’s understanding of the character of the Old South, the origins of the Republican Party, the path to secession, and the roots of Jim Crow. It will be the starting point for all future scholarship on these subjects. American history textbooks will have to be rewritten to take into account the lost and largely forgotten world that it illuminates – and scholars will discover just how much we could learn if we were willing to set aside the prejudices of our own time and reconsider past developments from the perspective of Aristotelian political science.”—

Paul Rahe, Professor of History, Hillsdale College, author of Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution

“In this vibrantly provocative new book on Civil War and Reconstruction America, Dr. Nabors recaptures an understanding of the history and culture of the American South that is largely unfamiliar to Americans today -- and which will likely be disturbing to many -- Northerners and Southerners, alike. According **to Nabors the key to understanding the antebellum South and the Civil War is not slavery per se, but the anti-republican ethos that permeated the beliefs, habits, and way of life of the Southern oligarchy and set them at odds with not only Northerners, but middle class, poor, and enslaved Southerners as well.** Nabors’ recounting and analysis of the crisis of the American house divided may remind Americans today of the dangers

of a nation whose citizens are so radically and exigently divided amongst themselves.”—**Colleen A. Sheehan, author of *The Mind of James Madison: The Legacy of Classical Republicanism***

“Forrest Nabors has performed a tremendous service. Aided by Aristotelian regime analysis, he uncovers—or recovers—an understanding of ‘the supreme cause’ of the American Civil War. Delving deeply into original source material (especially the speeches and writings of the Republicans who served in the Reconstruction Congresses), Nabors establishes that **the ‘irrepressible conflict’ should be understood, and was understood at the time, as a conflict between oligarchy and republicanism.** This landmark contribution ought to reshape our understanding of the Civil War, the difficulties and failures of Reconstruction, and the Guarantee Clause of the Constitution. Nabors listens, philosophically, to historical actors, and thereby achieves a fuller understanding of the motive force behind the perversities of racism and white supremacy.”—

Diana J. Schaub, Professor of Political Science, Loyola University Maryland

<https://lawliberty.org/new-birth-of-freedom-betrayed/> -

New Birth of Freedom Betrayed

Interview with Forrest Nabors by Lauren Weiner, 1 March 2018

... The initial question that guided my research was: Why did Reconstruction turn out the way it did? What caught my eye was a serious claim by the congressional Republicans of the time: that the South had developed in the direction of oligarchy long before the war. This claim was repeatedly advanced by those responsible for reconstructing the South. If true, I wondered why such an enormously significant fact had not been passed down in our scholarly accounts and popular recollections.

...

FN: The slaveholding minority from the black belts where plantations were largest and slaves most numerous dominated state governments and exerted disproportionate influence on the national parties and the national government. Their conduct towards non-slaveholding whites ranged from benign neglect to principled contempt to demagoguery.

John C. Calhoun, for example, maintained that the basic unit of his ideal republic is a slaveholding family, ruled by the slaveholder, surrounded by family and slaves. He hardly acknowledged the existence of the non-slaveholder. Senator James Hammond of South Carolina and Senator James Mason of Virginia were contemptuous of the “mudsill” or “servile” class of non-slaveholders.

...

The condition of non-slaveholding whites was worst if they lived within or close to the black belts. **Economically, their upward mobility was blocked. Because slaves supplied the labor needed by the slaveholders, non-slaveholding whites could not easily find wage-paying employment. Contrast that to the free states, where the marginal labor needs of farm owners had to be paid in wages. In the former, a labor surplus drove down wages; in the latter, labor scarcity drove up wages.**

There are some studies that try to show that free labor was well-paid in the slave South, but they do not make sense to me. *If jobs did pay well and were easy to find in the South, why do we not find capital accumulation among non-slaveholders? Why do we not find non-slaveholders investing in land and slaves? Instead we find land-ownership and slaveholding in the South concentrating into fewer proprietors even as aggregate slave counts were rising.*

The slaveholders could easily outbid a wage-worker when it came to buying land. ***In the North a man could work, save cash, and acquire his own farm, which he worked with his own hands and the laborers he hired.***

With regard to education, we might put it this way: Could a talented, poor child from a non-slaveholding white family in the Southern black belts rise to a respectable profession? That would be very difficult. **Southern governments controlled by the slaveholders resisted the adoption of the common school model that arose in and spread from New England. Instead, they funded woefully inadequate “pauper schools” on the one hand, and on the other, private academies and universities for the scions of the rich. Without adequate elementary education, the talented child from a poor white family could never attend a private academy or a university.**

Freedom of speech and assembly, moreover, were restricted by the ruling oligarchs, and they used mobs and extralegal coercion to quell dissent. Some scholars point out that the legal restrictions mainly targeted antislavery speech and assembly but even so, these restrictions are not insignificant. They made sense from the oligarchy’s point of view—slavery was the basis of their rule—but from the white majority’s point of view, they prevented political organizing that aimed to establish true popular sovereignty. Some in the South who tried to organize chapters of the Republican Party were driven out.

So what could the poor whites do? Often they left. Emigration patterns show non-slaveholding whites fleeing the black belts. Sometimes they went to the upcountry where they were beyond the reach of the oligarchs. To maintain their independence, they often avoided commerce, used barter, and kept to themselves. Sometimes they left their states. A branch of my family were poor whites and did this. My paternal grandfather’s family were settlers in the Spartanburg-Greenville area of South Carolina, but they gradually moved west, hopping from one state or territory to the next along the same latitude: Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and finally, to northern New Mexico (after the Civil War), where my grandfather was born.

<https://lawliberty.org/the-cultural-pessimism-of-1619/> -

The Cultural Pessimism of 1619

The 1619 Project distorts the scholarship on slavery, finance, and U.S. economic history.

by Peter A. Coclanis, 7 June 2022

Desmond contends that the exploitation and expropriation associated with southern plantation slavery proved vital not only to the South’s economic rise but also to the development of the United States as a whole. A considerable portion of the profits made possible from the export of slave-produced cotton and other staple crops ended up in the hands of northern bankers, merchants, insurers, and textiles manufacturers.

Closely following the new-history-of-capitalism playbook, Desmond claims that the southern economy was extremely advanced for the era. Planters and the commercial middlemen with whom slaveholders worked developed and employed sophisticated financial practices, tools, and methods, including capital accounting and the concept of capital depreciation. These “southern” developments served as the wellspring of the “financialization” of the American economy later on. Desmond even attempts to link southern planters with recent financial crises such as the Great Recession and notorious twenty-first-century business rogues such as “pharma bro” Martin Shkreli.

To say the least, there are numerous problems with Desmond’s imaginative argument. For starters, he vastly overstates the importance of slavery, cotton, and the South to the U.S. economy as a whole in the antebellum period. In so doing, he accepts without hesitation egregiously flawed quantitative methods associated with the new history of capitalism, particularly a profound misunderstanding of the protocols of national income accounting. In this regard, *Desmond accepts these historians’ assertion that cotton constituted a huge proportion of the antebellum U.S. economy—as much as 40 percent or even more of U.S. GDP—when in reality the staple generally accounted for about 5 or 6 percent.* Why the discrepancy? *In estimating the value of cotton in the U.S. economy, the new historians of capitalism and their sympathizers erroneously factor in the value of all of the inputs involved in the production of cotton when these inputs are already incorporated into the total value of cotton output.*

As for finance and financial practices, Desmond fails to appreciate the fact that almost all the financial phenomena about which he writes appeared earlier and developed further in the antebellum North than in the South. Like some of the new historians of capitalism, [Desmond makes false claims](#) about the prevalence (or even existence) of sophisticated capital [accounting practices](#) among planters in the antebellum South.

...

To focus on truthfulness may be to miss the point of *1619*, however, for historical accuracy regarding the moral enormity that was slavery doesn’t seem the central concern of the *1619* project. These advocates seem committed not to historical accuracy, but to what Shelby Steele has referred to as “poetic truth,” a distorted, partisan version of reality in order to promote a cause or make a preferred ideologically inspired outcome more likely. By *1619* majordomo Nikole Hannah-Jones’ [own admission](#), the intent of the project all along was to serve as a tool by which to pry reparations from the American people, with the “history” contributing to that instrumental end.

<https://www.independent.org/publications/article.asp?id=13705> -

Capitalism, Slavery, and Matthew Desmond’s Low-Road Contribution to The 1619 Project

August 12, 2021, By PETER A. COCLANIS

published in the Spring 2022 issue of [The Independent Review](#).

The intent of this polemic, on one level, is to dislodge the standard chronology and narrative scaffolding of U.S. history by elevating the importance of racial slavery and what some call racial capitalism in explaining both America’s past and our predicament today. On another level, somewhat shrouded, the project aspires to make the case, if not clinch the deal, for reparations to African Americans, reparations due them not only because of slavery, but also because of Jim Crow and decades of state-sponsored discrimination afterward. Indeed, in many ways, The 1619 Project can be seen as an anguished, over-the-top extension of and elaboration on Ta-Nehisi Coates’s essay [“The Case for Reparations,”](#) which appeared in *The Atlantic* in 2014 (Coates 2014).

...

To cut to the chase, the principal problems with the most objectionable historical pieces—the introductory essay by Hannah-Jones and the [essay by Matthew Desmond](#)—are linked inextricably to, indeed, grow inexorably out of, the motivation for and animating spirit behind the project. Bluntly put, despite the project’s historical trappings, it is decidedly, even aggressively, presentist in orientation. It is

the work largely of journalists and “engaged” scholars, hoping both to help to operationalize *New York Times* editor Dean Baquet’s “secret” 2019 directive to double down on race with the 2020 election in sight, and, as a derivative dividend, to provide support for the growing movement for reparations, as Hannah-Jones, the majordomo of the project, has made clear (Feinberg 2019; Rockett 2019). To me and to other scholars of a nonactivist bent, the “spirit” behind the project is as chilling as it is brazen, suggesting nothing so much as the famous Party slogan in Orwell’s *1984*: Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.

The same spirit informs **the project’s research design**. Said design, not surprisingly, **focuses almost solely on one variable, race, assuming erroneously that, in so doing, the “integument” shrouding American history will be “burst asunder”**—I’m using Marxian phraseology intentionally here—exposing at long last America’s seamy underside. **Hence the jettisoning of the year 1776 in favor of 1619—a year of little historical moment, but one, it is true, in which a small cargo of African indentured servants or slaves was deposited near Port Comfort in the English colony of Virginia (Coclanis 2019)**. In the modest words of the *New York Times*, the focus on race and the epiphanic year 1619 will “finally” allow us “to tell our story truthfully” (*New York Times Magazine* 2019, front cover).

Really? I think not. For in viewing the complex tapestry of America through one lens and one lens only, that of race, or, to be more specific, the racial exploitation of blacks by whites, one misses a lot—even about race, slavery, and exploitation. For example, as **Philip D. Morgan’s work has demonstrated, there were many more white slaves in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century than there were African slaves in Virginia or in English North America as a whole (Morgan 2019, 89–91)**. Morgan’s findings may not mean much to those involved in The 1619 Project, but they are consonant with the rich work of scholars as different as **Orlando Patterson and Thomas Sowell, who have documented the presence of slavery in virtually every society all over the world until relatively recently (Patterson 1982; Sowell 2019, 219–23)**. Then there is the work of **historian Kevin Bales, who argues that there are more slaves living in the world today than there were during the heyday of the Atlantic slave trade (Bales 2012)**. *And not to belabor the point, but what about Native American slaves, Native American slaveholders, and African American slaveholders in the United States, the last group numbering more than 3,700 in 1830? Regarding that group, many, to be sure, were slaveholders in name only, “masters” of freed family members in order to keep those free individuals in the South. But others were “enslavers” root and branch, including owners of large numbers of slaves, such as the now famous Ellisons of Sumter County, South Carolina, and John C. Stanly of New Bern in Craven County, North Carolina, who in the 1820s owned three plantations and 163 slaves (Johnson and Roark 1984; Schwenger 1990, 104–12). Even the slavery portion of the tapestry, then, is more complicated than The 1619 Project would have us believe.*

The distorted and reductionistic interpretations both of slavery and of American history more generally are related as well to the project’s personnel and deployment thereof. Here, I am not questioning the talent and ability of the team assembled, which on the whole is great, but the manner in which the personnel were employed and the uses to which the knowledge and insights on offer were put, or, in some cases, not put. The roster includes many notable academics, artists, and journalists, and editors at the *New York Times* contend that other highly respected scholars served as consultants for the project. Points taken, but the most glaring interpretive problems with The 1619 Project grow out of the fact that two of the anchor essays—one laying out the interpretive core of the project and one on the era of slavery—were written by people with suspect domain expertise. In at least one case, sound, accurate advice from one of the historical consultants brought in, Leslie M. Harris of Northwestern University, was rejected or disregarded (Harris 2020). As a result, The 1619 Project, pace Hannah-Jones’s contention, does not afford us the opportunity for the first time to read about the American story “truthfully,” but

rather in a deformed and distorted way, defined rather more by the moral failing of 1619 than the promise of 1776.

Matthew Desmond and the New History of American Capitalism

Slavery figures prominently in a number of essays and mini-essays in *The 1619 Project*. As previously suggested, several of these essays have come under strong fire, mostly notably, Hannah-Jones's framing essay and Matthew Desmond's essay on the economic role and legacy of slavery (Hannah-Jones 2019; Desmond 2019). Thus far, Hannah-Jones's piece has drawn the most flak, particularly for her dubious contention that "one of the primary reasons the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery" (Hannah-Jones 2019, 18). Several distinguished senior scholars quickly and effectively pushed back against this position, while others called for less insistent versions of Hannah-Jones's claim. Eventually, the *New York Times* begrudgingly qualified the claim, restating it to read "among the various motivations that drove the patriots toward independence was a concern that the British would seek or were already seeking to disrupt in various ways the entrenched system of American slavery" (Silverstein 2020). Since then, the *Gray Lady* has qualified other statements, albeit rather surreptitiously (Stephens 2020; Wood 2020).

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In parts of British America in the early modern period, especially the West Indies, the Chesapeake, and the Lower South (South Carolina and Georgia primarily), the market-driven desire of those Europeans and European Americans that sought to organize production of staple crops for export—sugar, tobacco, rice, and indigo primarily—led them in many, if not most, cases to favor enslaved African or African American laborers, and to establish and defend the self-serving institutional structure needed to sustain this labor system. Why? For several reasons. It was difficult in the Western Hemisphere, which was abundant in land and scarce in labor, to secure labor and retain it in place, particularly for onerous jobs in unhealthy climates. After various trials and experiments with other groups, European and European American agricultural entrepreneurs (settler capitalists?) and their commercial allies found that African and African American laborers constituted the best fit for their labor needs. Africans were in many cases already familiar with routinized agricultural work and in some cases may have possessed useful proprietary knowledge about certain crops (especially rice); they had some natural and inherited immunities to certain mosquito-borne diseases (malaria and yellow fever, most notably) that struck down greater proportions of other groups working in these areas; they were "others," ethnically, racially, religiously, culturally, and so on, and as such were assumed to possess fewer natural rights, privileges, and immunities.

Slavery, however immoral from our point of view, was thus seen by powerful groups as the labor form that made the most economic sense in some areas, provided the supply of African slaves was sufficient to meet labor needs and their prices were sufficiently reasonable. For the most part, these requirements were met. Note though that the price of slaves, generally speaking, was not low but relatively high. Acquiring and deploying slaves was not based mainly on low-cost premises, then, but based, as Gavin Wright among others has shown, on the bundle of property rights associated with slavery, which allowed those who "owned" slaves to position them wherever they wanted to (even in unhealthy places); work them hard and long, even mercilessly; and retain them (and their progeny) as long as desired, even for life. These rights did not obtain to anywhere near the same degree with other labor forms, even with indentured or bonded labor, the closest analogues. These power dynamics explain the emergence of slavery in various capitalist societies in British America, and its prevalence in some (Wright 2006, 48–122; Olmstead and Rhode 2018, 5). The fact that the slave template or pattern for labor relations endured even after some of the early reasons for its preference were no longer so relevant—most areas of the South were healthier than the low country of South Carolina or Georgia or the sugar parishes of

southeastern Louisiana, whites could and did grow cotton without slaves, and so on—suggests a case for path dependence, or less insistently, path inflection or influence.

I would go on to argue that many deemed slavery vital to the South's growth, from the period between the late seventeenth century—not, mind you, from 1619 or even 1650 or 1660—until the time of the Civil War. Slaves were deployed throughout the economy but were especially important as agricultural laborers producing subsistence crops as well as staples for export. The most important of such staples in the antebellum period was cotton. Again, though, remember that corn rather than cotton was the most valuable Southern crop, and that cotton, the leading export in the United States by far, nonetheless still composed a small share of GDP, usually around 5 or 6 percent (Olmstead and Rhode 2018; Wright 2020, 373–78).

The NHAC view, which assumes cotton totally dominated the U.S. economy in the antebellum period, composing as much as 40 percent or even more of U.S. GDP, is grossly exaggerated, based largely on NHAC compatriot Edward Baptist's unfamiliarity with standard national-income-accounting methods, particularly regarding the manner in which estimates of GDP are constructed. Such unfamiliarity led Baptist to double and sometimes triple count in estimating the size of the cotton economy by adding to the value of cotton production the value of all inputs used in its production, when, according to national-income-accounting protocols, these inputs are already subsumed into the sale price of cotton. This grievous measurement error would earn an undergraduate economics student a failing grade. This error, however, has not been admitted by Baptist and has gone unremarked upon by NHACers, who continue to use Baptist's figures, despite their repudiation by measurement experts (Olmstead and Rhode 2018).

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One thing seems clear though. The U.S. economy—unlike the Southern economy—was not based on slavery in the nineteenth century. Although cotton produced in the South was important early on to the textile industry in the Northeast, in the larger scheme of things, the most important economic developments of the century—urbanization and industrialization in the northeastern quadrant of the United States (the area north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi) and the creation of the dynamic agro-industrial complex in the Middle West—owed relatively little (if anything) to slavery (Page and Walker 1991). Cotton, one recalls, became much more important in the South after the Civil War, emancipation, and the demise of slavery than it ever was before the war—cotton production in the region did not peak until the late 1920s—and cotton's importance to the American textiles industry followed the same pattern.

<https://broadandliberty.com/2020/05/24/john-mcwhorter-we-cannot-allow-1619-to-dumb-down-america-in-the-name-of-a-crusade/>

John McWhorter: We cannot allow '1619' to dumb down America in the name of a crusade

The fundamental claim promoted by the New York Times' 1619 Project — that the Revolutionary War was fought to preserve slavery — simply does not correspond with the facts. This false history will do more damage than its proponents realize.

MAY 24, 2020, JOHN MCWHORTER



John McWhorter

The data are in: The New York Times' 1619 Project is founded on empirical sand. The fundamental claim that the Revolutionary War was fought to preserve slavery simply does not correspond with the facts, too conclusively for the point to be dismissed as mere hair-splitting. The issue is not differing interpretations of history, but an outright misinterpretation of it.

Yet the project lives on. Its spearheaders blithely dismiss the charges of inaccuracy as mere natterings that at least verge on racism, while school districts nationwide eagerly received pedagogical materials based on the idea of offering students a fresh, revealing take on American history.

...

The historian only repeated her point about "honesty" a few times; she seemed a tad thrown by the angle of the question. One sensed that she was refraining from saying directly that we are not to think of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln or even Franklin D. Roosevelt as heroes, that musicals such as "[1776](#)," films such as "[Lincoln](#)," and the endless stream of august biographies celebrating such men, are inappropriate. The protean musical "[Hamilton](#)" actually has been critiqued in this vein for not holding front and center that slaves were keeping the New York he knew afloat, and that Alexander Hamilton was not sufficiently committed to arguing against slavery.

This way of thinking calls for pretty much any white figure before now to wear scarlet letters on their heads. The letter today presumably would be R for "racist." Everyone knew [Nathaniel Hawthorne's Hester Prynne](#) was a kind person in many ways, but Hawthorne portrayed a society whose morality decreed that her adultery be treated as a defining trait relegating all else about her to triviality. Almost all of us, including many very religious people, today look upon this as benighted; the book is used in schools as an object lesson in how censorious obsessions of the moment can lead to unthinking cruelty. However, the 1619 Project puts forth that this kind of moral absolutism is correct in the case of American slavery.

That slavery was almost universally condoned at the time, an ordinary feature of life that one grew up immersed in unquestioned, and at a time when much less was known about science or the wider world, is considered irrelevant. We are to think of the sin of slavery as overriding all considerations of context, of what it is to be a human being, of, in a word, complexity.

Here, then, is the problem: The 1619 kind of perspective, for all of its elaborate terminology and moral passion vented in serious media organs and entertained by people with PhDs, demands that we abjure complexity. It is a call for dumbing ourselves down in the name of a moral crusade.

America has always been an experiment, ever imperfect, always in rehearsal. That its beginnings 400 years ago were founded in casual bondage of other humans is appalling from our viewpoint, but should surprise no one given what was ordinary in all human societies worldwide at the time. That in this nation, slavery gradually was abolished, via a movement in which white people vigorously and crucially participated, was a kind of miracle in itself. It demonstrated that the rehearsal was a progressive one, moving ever towards justice even if never achieving its quintessence.

The 1619 adherent rolls their eyes to hear that, as if some larger and obvious point is being missed. However, they have failed to communicate any such point that stands up to basic scrutiny and, meanwhile, it is they who miss a larger point: what social history actually is. Frankly, the 1619 vision, in pretending that the roiling, complex history of the United States can be reduced to the fate of one group of people within it, abused, oppressed, and dismissed though they were for so very long, is lazy. Constitutional history matters only in that slaves were counted as three-fifths of a person. Feminism matters only in that white feminists were racists by our standards. Economic history matters only in relation to the yield from plantations. Geopolitics matters only in terms of whether the British would have abolished slavery in America. Technology matters only in terms of the cotton gin.

<https://pacificlegal.org/john-mcwhorter-says-woke-racism-hurts-black-college-students/> -

John McWhorter says 'woke racism' hurts black college students

February 08, 2022, By NICOLE W.C. YEATMAN

The year before California [banned](#) race-based affirmative action at state schools, only one black student out of 3,268 freshmen made honors at the University of California, San Diego.

But in 1998, after the ban on racial preferences went into effect, *one in five* black students made honors at UC San Diego—the same ratio as white students.

Whereas previously these students would have been accepted through affirmative action at a higher-tier campus like UC Berkeley, now they were matched with UCSD, where they excelled.

John McWhorter—Columbia University professor, columnist, and “[cranky liberal Democrat](#)”—relays this story in his *New York Times* bestselling book, [Woke Racism: How a New Religion Has Betrayed Black America](#). His point is a provocative one: Race-conscious admissions processes harm the black students they purport to help.

For one thing, there's the possibility that some students are “mismatched” and placed in programs where they struggle unnecessarily. “[T]he discussion of affirmative action implies that the choice is somehow between Yale or jail,” McWhorter writes. But as we saw in the case of UC San Diego, the alternative to “Yale” is a lower-tier university that might better position the student for success. McWhorter points to a Duke University study that found mismatching in STEM has lowered the number of black scientists by funneling them into the toughest programs. Richard Sander, UCLA law professor and author of [Mismatch: How Affirmative Action Hurts Students It's Intended to Help, and Why](#)

[Universities Won't Admit It](#), has revealed “an especially tragic tendency in this vein,” McWhorter writes, “showing that ‘mismatched’ law students are much more likely to cluster in the bottom of their classes and, especially, to fail the bar exam.”

Even if you ignore or [dispute](#) the mismatch theory, there’s a deeper level at which racial preferences in college admissions cause harm.

When a university admits minority students in order to “achieve the educational benefits that flow from student-body diversity,” as Harvard University wrote in its May 2021 [brief](#) in *Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard*, the university is treating those students as means to an end—reducing them to representatives of a racial group identity and communicating that their value on campus is intrinsically linked to the color of their skin.

That’s an offensive and dehumanizing way to treat individuals—and many minority students don’t like it.

“We are told that a major reason for adjusting standards for university admissions is to foster diversity so that ‘diverse’ students can contribute their perspectives in the classroom,” McWhorter writes in *Woke Racism*. “But then ‘diverse’ students regularly say that they hate being responsible for representing the ‘diverse’ view in the classroom.”

Musa al-Gharbi, a sociologist at Columbia University, has spoken similarly about how alienating it can be for black students to feel like their role on campus is to educate other students about race. “White students, and students in general, are told that they’re supposed to defer to the people of color—to their experiences, to their perspectives on a lot of these issues,” al-Gharbi said at a 2020 [panel](#) on college free speech. When race is brought up in class, white students “all just turn and look at the person of color. And that’s incredibly alienating,” al-Gharbi said. “If you’re a black undergraduate in your first year of college, you’re not an expert on race, right? You don’t have much more data or information on these issues than any other undergrad. And your own experience as an African American might not actually be representative of most other black people.”

<https://www.commondreams.org/opinion/the-gop-is-building-mini-fascist-laboratories-in-red-states-nationwide> -

The GOP Is Building Mini Fascist Laboratories in Red States Nationwide

The GOP is consolidating its power in Red states by asserting control over elections, purging tens of millions of voters off the rolls, destroying public schools, and arresting Black voters and parading them before cameras in shackles.

Republicans fall all over themselves in a mad rush to deliver more tax cuts to their billionaire owners, more pollution from the industries that fund their campaigns, more voting restrictions in parts of the states they control with large Black populations, and more guns to their citizens.

Yesterday, *The Washington Post* noted, House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Jason Smith (R-MO) introduced legislation that would reinstate massive corporate tax loopholes, kill the new tax credits for electric vehicles and clean energy, and end a tax on toxic waste sites used to fund their cleanup.

The Texas legislature this month [handed](#) control of elections in dark-blue Houston (3 million voters) to Republican partisans, who can then ensure long lines and challenges to people who insist on casting a ballot.

At the same time, Republican politicians from Florida to Arizona to Iowa are openly embracing the rhetoric of political violence. In Idaho, the party recently hosted a “Trigger Time With Kyle” event where donors could pay to shoot assault weapons with Kyle Rittenhouse.

This is why the GOP is [shrinking](#). And, in the process, retreating into Red state enclaves that reject the proclaimed values of America.

Embracing abortion restrictions, book bans, promoting guns, and hating on queer people aren't, it turns out, good politics for a party that wants to hold power nationally.

Neither is promoting fascism a useful political strategy: yesterday Republican-aligned protesters with pro-DeSantis signs and giant swastika flags [showed up](#) outside Disney World in Orlando; odds are voters were not amused.

https://www.propublica.org/article/how-grad-student-discovered-largest-us-slave-auction?utm_source=pocket-newtab

How a Grad Student Uncovered the Largest Known Slave Auction in the U.S.

by Jennifer Berry Hawes, photography by Gavin McIntyre for ProPublica, June 16, 5 a.m. EDT

Sitting at her bedroom desk, nursing a cup of coffee on a quiet Tuesday morning, Lauren Davila scoured digitized old newspapers for slave auction ads. A graduate history student at the College of Charleston, she logged them on a spreadsheet for an internship assignment. It was often tedious work.

She clicked on Feb. 24, 1835, another in a litany of days on which slave trading fueled her home city of Charleston, South Carolina. But on this day, buried in a sea of classified ads for sales of everything from fruit knives and candlesticks to enslaved human beings, Davila made a shocking discovery.

On page 3, fifth column over, 10th advertisement down, she read:

“This day, the 24th instant, and the day following, at the North Side of the Custom-House, at 11 o'clock, will be sold, a very valuable GANG OF NEGROES, accustomed to the culture of rice; consisting of SIX HUNDRED.”

She stared at the number: 600.

A sale of 600 people would mark a grim new record — by far.

Until Davila's discovery, the largest known slave auction in the U.S. was one that was held over two days in 1859 just outside Savannah, Georgia, roughly 100 miles down the Atlantic coast from Davila's home. At a racetrack just outside the city, an indebted plantation heir sold hundreds of enslaved people. The horrors of that auction have been chronicled in books and articles, including The New York Times' 1619 Project and “The Weeping Time: Memory and the Largest Slave Auction in American History.” Davila grabbed her copy of the latter to double-check the number of people auctioned then.

It was 436, far fewer than the 600 in the ad glowing on her computer screen.

She fired off an email to a mentor, Bernard Powers, the city's premier Black history expert. Now professor emeritus of history at the College of Charleston, he is founding director of its Center for the Study of Slavery in Charleston and board member of the International African American Museum, which will open in Charleston on June 27.

NOTE: \$371 in 1835 is \$12,821.72 in 2023] the entire auction could have netted in the range of **\$222,800 — or about \$7.7 million today [MY NOTE: checks at \$7,907,302.00 in 2023]** — money then distributed among Ball Jr.'s heirs, including Ann.

They weren't alone in profiting from this sale. Enslaved people could be bought on credit, so banks that mortgaged the sales made money, too. Firms also insured slaves, for a fee. Newspapers sold slave auction ads. The city of Charleston made money, too, by taxing public auctions. These kinds of profits helped build the foundation of the generational wealth gap that persists even today between Black and white Americans.

Jervey, Waring & White took a cut of the sale as well, enriching the partners' bank accounts and their social standing.

Although the men orchestrated auctions to sell thousands of enslaved people, James Jervey [is remembered](#) as a prominent attorney and bank president who served on his church vestry, a "generous lover of virtue," as the South Carolina Society described him in an 1845 resolution. A [brick mansion](#) in downtown Charleston bears his name.

Morton Waring married the daughter of a former governor. Waring's family used enslaved laborers to build a [three-and-a-half story house](#) that still stands in the middle of downtown. In 2018, country music star Darius Rucker and entrepreneur John McGrath bought it from the local Catholic diocese [for \\$6.25 million](#).

[Alonzo J. White](#) was among the most notorious slave traders in Charleston history. He also served as chairman of the Work House commissioners, a role that required him to report to the city fees garnered from housing and "correction" of enslaved people tortured in the jail.

"Yet, these men were upheld by high society," Davila said. "They are remembered as these great Christian men of high value." After John Ball Jr. died, the City Council passed a resolution to express "a high testimonial of respect and esteem for his private worth and public services."

But for the 600 people sold and their descendants? Only a stark reminder of how America's entrenched racial wealth gap was born, Davila said, with repercussions still felt today.

(MY COMMENT NOTE) This is a non-historical view. At the time, of course they were (indeed) upstanding members of their communities. This had been the case for thousands of years. Only in the last 200+ years has this changed. To see this as wrong is fine, but that is a view from today. That is (pardon the phrase) "virtue signaling." Slavery was standard for thousands of years around the world. Slavery was in Africa long before the first Portuguese came down and around Africa in the 1400's when they found merchants with trade goods, including humans, as slaves.

<https://charleston.com/charleston-insider/diary-of-a-charleston-tour-guide/55-laurens-street-james-jervey-house>

55 Laurens Street - James Jervey House

Written by Amelia Whaley. 13 March 2018 Posted in Diary of a Charleston Tour Guide

[MY NOTE: This is the full text of the tour article on the house and its occupant. Not once is there the hint that this man was one of the principal slave merchants in Charleston which in turn was one of the two largest sites of slave markets in the Americas. This seems deliberate. Jervey is identified "as an important member of the Charleston community."]

Another structure to escape the fire of 1838 in Ansonborough is 55 Laurens Street. Fortunately, Laurens Street is on the north side of Ansonborough, and most of this area was not affected by that fire.

Built in 1818 by James Jervey, this imposing brick mansion retains much of its Federal style ornamentation inside; the exterior brick is laid in Flemish bond (alternating header and stretcher on each row). 55 Laurens is a large double house with a raised basement; the original kitchen building and another dependency building are located on the rear portion of the lot. From the outside, you would never guess that the building is now made up of condominiums and has been since the 1980s. In any event, walking among the primarily single houses on this street, 55 Laurens certainly stands out and makes a statement. The house is also reflective of the owner's prominence in the community.

James Jervey, born in Charleston in 1784, was an attorney. His grandfather David Jervey arrived from Scotland before 1738; his father Thomas was an American officer in the Revolutionary War. Following the family tradition, James Jervey established himself as an important member of the Charleston community. In addition to his law practice, Jervey was a member of St. Michael's Vestry and served as Clerk of the United States Court for the District of South Carolina, President of the State Bank in Charleston, and Chairman of the Commissioners of the Charleston Orphan House. He was also an active leader in one of Charleston's benevolent societies. Jervey died in 1845 and is buried in St. Michael's Churchyard.

There is a legend about 55 Laurens Street that says that several kegs of gunpowder were put in the basement of the house in case the fire of 1838 spread north. If the fire turned in that direction, the gunpowder would have been ignited in order to blow up the house to stop the fire from spreading further. Looking back on Jervey's service to the community, I am not surprised that he and his family would have sacrificed their home if necessary to save others from being destroyed. Fortunately for them and for us, the fire did not spread north and 55 Laurens Street continues to stand proud on this lovely and quiet street in Ansonborough.

We will continue our journey in this neighborhood in the next post.

1619 Project

From the Book – this is the changed, slightly, part of the original charge in the NYT Magazine. The two bolded items in this sentence below were added in the book.

And yet none of this is part of our founding mythology, which conveniently omits the fact that **one of** the primary reasons **some of** the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 16). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

"Fear" - Essay by Leslie and Michelle Alexander in the 1619 Project (pg 112)

By the time the Civil War began, in 1861, Southern states had established an elaborate governing framework for race relations. Through trial and error, as well as careful planning, white authorities had created oppressive laws and systems of patrolling, surveillance, and punishment, all of which were designed to protect enslavers and the white citizenry from the consequences of their own unmitigated violence and to ensure centuries of prosperity for the planter elite.

If the Confederacy had been a separate nation when the Civil War began, it would have ranked among the richest in the world. As the historian **Steven Deyle writes in Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life, the monetary value of the enslaved population in 1860** was “equal to about seven times the total value of all currency in circulation in the country, three times the value of the entire livestock population,...twelve times the value of the entire U.S. cotton crop, and forty-eight times the total expenditures of the U.S. federal government that year.”⁶⁴

MY NOTE: /COMMENT: This is a very disingenuous argument.

\$400 in 1850 is equivalent in purchasing power to about \$15,596.26 in 2023

\$800 in 1850 is equivalent in purchasing power to about \$31,192.51 in 2023

<https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1850?amount=400> -

<https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1850?amount=800> -

Notice that in 1860 the valuation in today's dollars goes down.

\$400 in 1860 is equivalent in purchasing power to about \$14,656.72 in 2023

\$800 in 1860 is equivalent in purchasing power to about \$29,313.45 in 2023

<https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1860?amount=400> --

<https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1860?amount=800> -

Notice also that at that time in our history the US Post Office was the largest single organization in the country. As stated, without relative references, this is a way of conflating the sense of today's large US government as the comparison, rather than the size of the contemporaneous government. Also, we are not given figures for the value of non-slave labor across the country.

In the 1860 census (below) the annual budget was \$63.1 million.

If we assume a \$400 value per slave, then we have a value of 3,953,762 * \$400 = \$1,581,504,800.

And \$1,581,504,800 / \$63,100,000 = 25.063 times the size of the budget – not 48 times the budget.

If we assume \$800 value per slave in 1860 the total value comes to \$3,163,009,600 which is 50.126 times the size of the budget

<https://www.measuringworth.com/slavery.php> -Measuring Worth web site

Measuring Slavery in 2020 Dollars*

by

Samuel H. Williamson, Miami University, Measuring Worth, sam@mswth.org

and

Louis P. Cain, Loyola University Chicago, Northwestern University, lcain@northwestern.edu

...

Before independence, the laws of the colonies could not be inconsistent with English law. **Chief Justice Lord William Mansfield in the Somersett case (heard in London in 1772) held that English law did not support slavery, a ruling that eventually led to the peaceful extinction of African slavery in the British**

Empire. By then, the Americans were on a different path. In the Constitutional Convention discussions of 1787, it was held that slavery was not a moral issue but a matter of "interest" only. Some delegates believed that slavery was going to die out. Virginia had attempted several times unilaterally to end the slave trade to Virginia ports, but the Board of Trade lawyers in London had overruled it. The federal government prohibited the trade in slaves beginning in 1808, but statesmanship and jurisprudence could not find a way to end the institution. **Within a decade of the Constitutional Convention, Eli Whitney's cotton gin appeared, which is popularly credited with sparking an explosion in cotton production in the South. This explanation may be partly true, but it is also the case that the technological improvements in spinning and weaving in England created a big increase in the demand for cotton, a cloth much preferred to wool. These events together reenergized the demand for slaves.**

Slavery is a subject that most Americans have confronted as part of their education, but there are many aspects of slavery that have been left to the dim mists of history. This paper will review some of the basic dimensions of the economics of slavery in the United States and put them in perspective by showing what the financial magnitudes of the "peculiar institution" might be in the relative prices of today. In particular, **in 1860 there were nearly four million slaves and their average market value was around \$800**, but what does that mean? How much would that be in today's dollars? Answers to such questions are not simple.

...

**What is the motivation for owning a slave;
what determines the price of a slave at a given point in time?**

The demand for a slave is a derived demand, as is that for any productive resource. It is derived from the demand for the output that resource helps to produce. There was an active market for slaves throughout the antebellum period, meaning that slave owners believed the purchase of a slave would prove to be a profitable expenditure, even though that expenditure required a considerable amount of money. As we will explain below, **at the time the South seceded from the Union, the purchase of a single slave represented as much as \$180,000 and more in today's prices. This was twice the average of 14 years earlier, indicating a sustained growth in the demand for slaves.** Economists would say that these observations alone indicate that the profitability of "investing" in a slave was increasing substantially.

Why would a slave have so much value? A short answer is the value of a slave is the value of the expected output or services the slave can generate minus the costs of maintaining that person (i.e., food, clothing, shelter, etc.) over his or her lifetime. A quick list of the data that have to be considered in determining the value of a slave's expected revenue would include sex, age, location, how much he or she is likely to produce (a factor that included a slave's health and physical condition), and the price of the output in the market. For a female slave, an additional thing to consider would be the value of the children she might bear.

Why would a slave have so much value? A short answer is the value of a slave is the value of the expected output or services the slave can generate minus the costs of maintaining that person (i.e., food, clothing, shelter, etc.) over his or her lifetime. A quick list of the data that have to be considered in determining the value of a slave's expected revenue would include sex, age, location, how much he or she is likely to produce (a factor that included a slave's health and physical condition), and the price of the output in the market. For a female slave, an additional thing to consider would be the value of the children she might bear.

In addition, there is considerable evidence that slaves were worked harder than free labor in Southern agriculture; what slaves could be induced to produce in bondage was greater than what they could be expected to produce with the freedom to make their own choice of labor or leisure.

[MY NOTE] Counter Argument to slave productivity and Questioning the \$180,000 “today”

Price: This article “Measuring Slavery in 2020 Dollars” says a slave in 1860 sold for about \$800. So, \$800 in 1860 is equivalent in purchasing power to about \$29,313.45 in 2023 from an inflation calculator site.

Why would this article contradict itself claiming \$180,000, a price 6 times higher?

Did they use a different source for their calculation?

We are not told.

Productivity: These authors (and a few others) claim that working slaves harder than free (person) labor gives more productivity than if they were free, not slaves. This makes no good sense. It means these authors buy into the concept of punishment or the promise of punishment and anger are like pushing down the gas pedal to go faster. People and animals don’t work like that. It will produce a bit more in the short run from time to time.

Eventually, usually before too long, humans and animals both break down starting with making mistakes, mistakes which take a long time correcting, when finally rested or by someone else. In animals you can see attention fatigue set in. Where before the animal might look around and show interest in the area it is walking through (if you own dogs, you’ve seen this). Humans loose focus and start treading water rather than plowing through a task. Just hanging on. For that matter, machines will also break if you push machines too hard, they just don’t feel agony, or dread, or hopelessness (at least not so far as anyone knows).

Sunk Costs: “the value of a slave is the value of the expected output or services the slave can generate minus the costs of maintaining that person (i.e., food, clothing, shelter, etc.) over his or her lifetime.” Instead, non-slave bosses (instead of owners) don’t have to worry about hunting runaway “workers.” They have people looking for work flooding employment offices. Factories don’t have to pay for “workers” homes of food or clothing. Instead, capital makes back money from their workers at the company store for clothes and food and in company rental housing. Just remember the song, “15 Tons” – “15 tons, and what do you get? Another day older and deeper in debt. Oh, Lord, don’t you take me now, I owe my soul to the company store.”

Here is Hinton Rowan Helper’s story of a West Indian planter comparing the production on his plantation during and after slavery.

In this connection we may very properly introduce the testimony of a West India planter to the relative advantages of Free over Slave Labor. Listen to Charles Pettyjohn, of Barbadoes, who, addressing himself to a citizen of our own country, says:—

“In 1834, I came in possession of 257 slaves, under the laws of England, which required the owner to feed, clothe, and furnish them with medical attendance. With this number I cultivated my sugar plantation until the Emancipation Act of August 1st, 1838, when they all became free. I now hire a

portion of those slaves, the best and cheapest of course, as you hire men in the United States. **The average number which I employ is 100, with which I cultivate more land at a cheaper rate and make more produce than I did with 257 slaves. With my slaves I made from 100 to 180 tons of sugar yearly. With 100 free negroes I think I do badly if I do not annually produce 250 tons.**”

If, in the forty and more instances to which we have alluded, the abolition of slavery had proved injurious in a majority of cases, the attempt to abolish it elsewhere might, perhaps, be regarded as an ill-advised effort; but, seeing that its abolition has worked well in at least fourteen-fifteenths of all the cases on record, the fact becomes obvious that it is our duty and our interest to continue to abolish it until the whole world shall be freed, or until we shall begin to see more evil than good result from our acts of emancipation.

The Impending Crisis of the South How to Meet It (pp. 362-363). Kindle Edition.

Notice, the story that Helper relates is in the planter’s favor, especially one slavery is outlawed for him in 1838. We don’t know what happened to the 157 slaves who he did not later employ. Apparently, they were just dropped, maybe into begging on the streets? Like the sailors on slave ships who were dropped by the company at the Atlantic side of the middle passage. And this planter doesn’t care except that he can get the best workers, as he remembered, and pay them a pittance or at least as little as he can get away with. Typical.

What the “1619 Project” is Really About is Not History, it is Reparations.

The entire book is just “building a case” to reach reparations.

However, after all the authors who contribute, all the essays, all the poems, all the declarations and all the complaints, not one, not one single writer, offers mechanisms, plans for how to accomplish reparations. The authors’ task, directed by Nikole Hannah-Jones is to wind up her audience, not unlike MAGATs, to grievance levels. And then leave it without having researched ways that reparations can work and without traversing the extrapolations about the conflicts and newly created injustices in just demanding some vague concept as reparations.

1619 Leads Here, to Reparations, demanded at the very end of the book. And still there is NO methodology even tentatively written out. The structure of reparations is left empty, vague, unformed.

The last paragraphs:

This is our national truth: America would not be America without the wealth from Black labor, without Black striving, Black ingenuity, Black resistance. So much of the music, the food, the language, the art,

the scientific advances, the athletic renown, the fashion, the guarantees of civil rights, the oratory and intellectual inspiration that we export to the world, that draws the world to us, comes forth from Black Americans, from the people born on the water. That is Black Americans' legacy to this nation.

The legacy of this nation to Black Americans has consisted of immorally high rates of poverty, incarceration, and death and the lowest rates of land and home ownership, employment, school funding, and wealth. All of this reveals that Black Americans, along with Indigenous people—the two groups forced to be part of this nation—remain the most neglected beneficiaries of the America that would not exist without us. This unacknowledged debt, all of it, is still accruing. And it will continue to accrue until we as a society decide to tolerate it no longer.

Black Americans helped build the economic foundation that has made the United States a global power, but, as the first chapter of this book shows, they have also played an unparalleled and uncompensated role in building our democracy itself. For generations, U.S. soldiers whose stated mission was to spread freedom abroad have received pensions, federal grants, healthcare, and burial assistance. But the Black foot soldiers who fought over many generations to spread freedom here received no measure of compensation, even as that fight cost them their homes, their land, their educations, their employment, and, too often, their lives. And yet Black Americans fight to make this nation a democracy still.

We cannot change the hypocrisy upon which we were founded. We cannot change all the times in the past when this nation had the opportunity to do the right thing and chose to return to its basest inclinations. We cannot make up for all of the lives lost and dreams snatched, for all the suffering endured. But we can atone for it. We can acknowledge the crime. And we can do something to try to set things right, to ease the hardship and hurt of so many of our fellow Americans. It is one thing to say you do not support reparations because you did not know the history, that you did not understand how things done long ago helped create the conditions in which millions of Black Americans live today. **But you now have reached the end of this book, and nationalized amnesia can no longer provide the excuse. None of us can be held responsible for the wrongs of our ancestors. But if today we choose not to do the right and necessary thing, that burden we own.**

It is time for this country to pay the debt it began incurring four hundred years ago, when it first decided that human beings could be purchased and held in bondage. What happened in 1619, the tragic origin story unveiled throughout this book, set in motion the defining struggle of American life, between freedom and oppression, equality and racism, between the lofty ideals of democracy and the fight to make them real. We must confront this four-hundred-year war between these opposing forces, and then we must make a choice about which America we want to build for tomorrow. The time for slogans and symbolism and inconsequential actions has long passed. Citizens inherit not just the glory of their nation but its wrongs, too. A truly great country does not ignore or excuse its sins. It confronts them, and then works to make them right.

If we are to be redeemed, we must do what is just: we must, finally, live up to the magnificent ideals upon which we were founded.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (pp. 475-476). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/05/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>

The Case for Reparations

Ta-Nehisi Coates in The Atlantic – May 5, 2014

<https://thepointmag.com/politics/reparations-on-my-soul/#>

Who Will Pay Reparations on My Soul?

by Jesse McCarthy, August 24, 2014

... Gil Scott-Heron has a beautiful song I wish Ta-Nehisi Coates and all of us would listen to again. It's called "[Who'll Pay Reparations on My Soul?](#)" The title is also the refrain, but the force of the rhetorical question lies in its pithy yoking of materialism and slave capitalism to a logic that transcends the material. This is also the crux of my dissent: What can reparations mean when the damage cannot be accounted for in the only system of accounting that a society recognizes?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eB1S9-GsBW8>

Should America offer reparations for slavery?

276,833 views July 18, 2014 – 56 min 23 sec

Ta-Nehisi Coates discusses his article "The Case for Reparations" about whether America should make amends for slavery.

[MY NOTE: Coates never gives any method or schema in the entire 56.4 minutes for how to implement reparations or what reparations would even look like. The comments (some below) reflect that problem]

@3kingkool, 2016

Ta-Nehisi admits in his article and in all his public interviews that reparations may be beyond the limits of human justice.

@JasperNagtzaam, 2019

This is the first time I am exposed to THC talking and I am shocked at how impoverished his argumentation and rhetoric is. He hardly scratches any deeper than right below the surface in almost all instances during which he talks about why his ideas are to be favored. He falls short in almost every argumentative respect; I'm aghast.

@vincem2759, 2019

Right and I'm in deep favor of reparations. For him to not think slavery is an important aspect of this discussion is ridiculous. And it be primary housing doesn't tell the whole story.

@crimsonbear22, 2016

I love the topics brought into this conversation. Great discussion.

@clarencedwards2866, 2016

This matter of slavery and reparations will be a contentious topic until the Lord returns. My take on it is very simple. Let us agree to disagree that slavery was an abomination and a cruel punishment to the enslaved group and if the decision is to pay reparations, the families of the slave masters who benefited from these ill-gotten gains should be made to forfeit more than half of their estates, financial and otherwise, in order to establish programs of education, housing etc to black communities. And it shouldn't be difficult to locate them because the archives would have the family tree of these slave owners.

Some will wish to argue that the statute of limitations would have long expired but the way I see it is: there should be no statute of limitations where the delivery of justice is concerned especially when the culprits can be clearly identified. If you wish to argue that the beneficiaries of these former slave owners are not the actual people who did the enslavement, the fact of the matter is: they have benefited from

proceeds that were illegally obtained and therefore should be made to forfeit an amount commensurate with the slaves their ancestors would have owned and the wealth they would have achieved over the years.

And finally, if you wish to argue about returning black folks to Africa, then the Europeans should do likewise and head back to Ireland, England, Poland and all the other European countries they came from given the fact that they have no legal claim to the land on which they reside either. Any white American with a conscience should be the last person to talk about sending persons back to their country of origin because the only true owners of the land are the Indian tribes who according to history would be the original owners.

The reality is that America continues to thrive on slavery; slavery in the prison system and all the low-paying jobs designed to enrich the already wealthy, and any chance of any of this happening is particularly remote.

@perfectweather, 2020

You could offer reparations in the form of a five-year tax moratorium for black people. Then people who were not involved with or disapprove of slavery or not charge money for crimes they have not committed. Also the hardware person works the more reparations go in their pocket

@miserobyn, 2017

What a great conversation & one that needs to be continued.

@raghu_yt, 2015

Lovely interview. Building on answers and questioning further. Looks so organic. Very Impressed.

@adamshockley4934, 2015

Great conversation. I have the article saved to Instapaper. Look forward to reading it.

@markellsmith8008. 2016

He never said "whites" owe blacks anything personally, but the country as a whole does and the least America can do moving forward is to acknowledge its past sins particularly when creating national policy moving forward.

@jeremym3892, 2018

many people in the comments section are arguing things that he directly addressed. Like the interviewer said there is NOTHING NEW that you can say that would be a revelation Coates didn't address or in some extent think about. It is sad how people can hear this through selective ears.

@joenash1301, 2016

Does anyone have a good guess at what amount would be appropriate if there were reparations were given to specific individuals? I am looking for a bottom line number to finalize this question. Thank you.

@alayna7870, 2018

There are multiple programs already to help black people and communities escape poverty. You have to realize that their choices are a leading cause in their poverty.

@ninehazard3227, 2017

Obviously you can't give every descendant of slaves money because it would cause too many problems such as who gets and where it would come from. However, there are many people that still live in poverty by being descendants of slaves or black people who were oppressed and segregated, pushing them into poverty. The government should help these communities and people by providing services

and helping to bring the communities out of poverty. Denying that slavery and segregation had an effect on many primarily black communities today is part of the problem that contributes to racism and classism towards these people, based off what their ancestors were forced into.

@cryptohunt2552, 2017

It's a bit late to talk about how "African" (which they are not) Americans have been robbed of their language, culture and history through slavery. There are over 3,000 languages spoken in Africa, derived mainly from six different language groups. Not to mention over 3,000 different tribes, all with their own social constructions and cultural practices. You have to find which one you belong to, or do a DNA test to pinpoint the area your ancestors came from, then go from there.

<https://news.yahoo.com/evanston-planned-20m-reparations-spent-185500755.html>

Evanston planned \$20M for reparations, spent only \$400K and helped 16 people

TheGrio Staff, January 11, 2023

About 400 Black residents were set to benefit from the \$25,000 housing voucher program, which local officials called the first phase of the Evanston Reparations Committee initiatives.

The Chicago suburb of Evanston initially set aside \$10 million for reparations in 2019, but three years later, only \$400,000 has gone to 16 of the hundreds of Black people who applied.

The campaign, led by former Evanston Alderwoman Robin Rue Simmons, gained momentum in June 2019 after the Illinois legislature approved marijuana use for recreational purposes. The Evanston City Council committed the first \$10 million in cannabis tax revenue it would receive to the reparations effort, estimating the marijuana tax would generate between \$500,000 and \$750,000 annually, [The Washington Post](#) reported.

But only one marijuana dispensary opened, as opposed to the three the city had anticipated, bringing just a fraction of the expected tax revenue.

Although there are still 106 people on the waiting list and hundreds more behind them, city officials claim that these early setbacks have not dimmed their hopes for the [Evanston Restorative Housing Program](#) to address its decades-long housing discrimination rather than slavery reparations.

...

The program's organizers acknowledge that at least five people passed away before receiving their promised compensation.

...

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/the-impact-of-the-nations-first-cash-reparations-program-for-black-residents> -

The impact of the nation's first cash reparations program for Black residents

Jun 22, 2023 6:30 PM EDT by Paul Solman

- ... **Paul Solman:**

Former City Councillor Robin Rue Simmons spearheaded reparations here in 2019, \$10 million to be spent over 10 years, funded by taxes on newly legalized cannabis sales and by real estate transfers, so far, 16 recipients of, \$25,000 each.

- **Lou Weathers:** I just figured the country would not approve nothing like that.
- **Paul Solman:** Lou Weathers wasn't just surprised. Yes.
- **Lou Weathers:** I was shocked.
- **Paul Solman:** Shocked.
- **Lou Weathers:** Yes.
- **Paul Solman:** Weathers used his \$25,000 to reduce his son's mortgage here in Evanston.
- **Lou Weathers:** Well, any time you can reduce your mortgage, your mortgage payment is going to be lower. His bill is going to be lower. He can use the money for other things.
- **Donna Walker:** I have said from the beginning that we were not going to see this money at all.
- **Paul Solman:** But hairdresser Donna Walker was wrong.
- **Donna Walker:** Some people did see it, and I'm very happy that they did. And I'm happy that the elders are able to pay taxes on their home and fix it up.
- **Paul Solman:** Walker's next-door neighbor, fellow hairdresser Gigi Giles, is on the waiting list for funds that will come in future years. So you figure you will get it eventually?
- **Gigi Giles, Owner, Ebony Barbershop:** Eventually. If not, my grandchildren or my daughters will get it.
- **Paul Solman:** What will you do with the money?
- **Gigi Giles:** I would fix up my home. I would do my kitchen and my two bathrooms.
- **Paul Solman:** Can you do that for 25,000 grand?
- **Gigi Giles:** I'd make it work. (LAUGHTER)
- **Paul Solman:** Initially, reparations money only counted toward housing-related projects, mortgage payments, home improvements, or a down payment. In March, Evanston's City Council added the option of direct cash payments, because some had felt a restricted grant was demeaning. Recipients should be able to do what they want with the \$25,000.
- **Donna Walker:** Most of us here can't even afford to live here.
- **Paul Solman:** Like Donna Walker.
- **Donna Walker:** If you give me something, you can't tell me how to spend it. So, it's like, you have people like, well, what are they going to spend it on? Man, I'm going to buy a new Porsche and a Cadillac. Come on, really? (LAUGHTER)

<https://wgntv.com/evanston/evanstons-reparations-program-slowly-moving-forward-at-the-cost-of-hopefuls/>

Evanston residents weigh in on slow-moving reparations plan

by: Gaynor Hall, Posted: Jun 1, 2023 / 06:12 PM CDT, Updated: Jun 1, 2023 / 06:28 PM CDT

The effort, led by former councilmember Robin Rue Simmons, switched gears earlier this year.

“We have overcome so many barriers that are keeping us from delivering,” she said.

Instead of only housing-related benefits for mortgage reduction or home construction, which saw long delays, those selected can choose \$25,000 cash payments as an option.

But that comes with a risk.

Evanston officials say the money shouldn't be taxed, but they're still waiting for clarity from the state on whether it would affect entitlement benefits. If it does, officials say they'll need legislative help from Springfield.

"What we don't want is people losing benefits as a result of us trying to actually help them. So you give them a cash payment and now they can't get health insurance," said Nicholas Cummings, with the Evanston Corporation Counsel.

"They should fulfill this commitment as expeditiously as possible," Sutton said.

The next round of benefits prioritizing elderly ancestors should be released this summer.

<https://www.pbs.org/video/reparations-in-kc-6g6xod/> - Video stream to video of the show

Reparations in KC

Kansas City Week in Review

Season 30 Episode 39 - 56m 45s, Aired: 06/16/23

has closed captioning but no transcript. I generated a transcript in MS Word, some of which is below.

In partnership with American Public Square, this special edition of Kansas City Week in Review features a community conversation on the divisive topic of reparations. The dialogue addresses critical questions like how the program will be implemented, who should be eligible for assistance and who should be responsible for funding these initiatives in health, education, wealth and homeownership.

Time markers are from 00:00:00.000 to 00:57:31.000 – Nick Haines was the host /emcee / questioner Robin Rue Simmons traveled to KC from Evanston, Illinois for the town hall (public square)

Transcript Excerpts

96

00:08:10.000 --> 00:08:14.000

[Nick Haines] Many people say that this can't be done.

97

00:08:14.000 --> 00:08:15.000

[Nick Haines] It's not possible.

98

00:08:15.000 --> 00:08:20.000

[Nick Haines] It's not even wise to do it yet you've done it in Evanston, IL.

99

00:08:20.000 --> 00:08:21.000

[Nick Haines] How did that actually work?

100

00:08:21.000 --> 00:08:28.000

[Nick Haines] Did everybody in Evanston, IL, who was African American, get a check from City Hall as a result of your work?

101

00:08:28.000 --> 00:08:35.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Well, we're in process right now and it worked because we had a city that was committed to.

102

00:08:35.000 --> 00:08:53.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] The liberation and repair of the black community for specific harms in Evanston, not for addressing federal harm but specifically Evanston was anti-black, had discriminating zoning practices and other laws and policy that were responsible for our racial gaps.

103

00:08:53.000 --> 00:08:55.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Our racial gaps in well,

104

00:08:55.000 --> 00:08:58.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] home ownership, life expectancy and so on.

105

00:08:58.000 --> 00:09:05.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] And so **we had overwhelming support from a very diverse community, a predominantly white and predominantly affluent community.**

106

00:09:05.000 --> 00:09:08.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] In fact, to advanced reparations.

107

00:09:08.000 --> 00:09:17.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] And we did it through community engagement, ongoing public education around reparations, understanding how it's very different than ordinary public policy.

108

00:09:17.000 --> 00:09:18.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] And we had a City Council.

109

00:09:18.000 --> 00:09:31.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] That voted yes to reparations, and **so we're taking our path forward, setting aside budgets. Initially it was \$10 million from cannabis sales tax. We've added an additional \$10 million for real estate transfer tax.**

110

00:09:31.000 --> 00:09:38.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] And **last year, we began dispersing reparation benefits in the amount of \$25,000 benefits.** ["last year" would be 2022]

111

00:09:38.000 --> 00:09:47.000

[Nick Haines] So it's \$25,000 to eligible black residents to use towards things like home repairs or a down payment on a house.

112

00:09:47.000 --> 00:09:50.000

[Nick Haines] How did you, though, decide who could get that money?

113

00:09:50.000 --> 00:09:58.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] So we used a narrowly tailored legal framework advised by our Corporation Counsel with support of other experts like.

114

00:09:58.000 --> 00:10:11.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Howard Law school. And so, **we have a period of harm from 1919 to 1969, after fair housing was passed that was anti-black as it relates to housing. And so that informed our first remedy.**

115

00:10:11.000 --> 00:10:12.000

[Nick Haines] So you had to live in Evanston, IL, and be an African American between those years.

116

00:10:12.000 --> 00:10:15.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] You had to live in Evanston.

117

00:10:15.000 --> 00:10:21.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] **You had to live in Evanston, be black between those years or be a descendant, so I qualify as a descendant.**

118

00:10:21.000 --> 00:10:26.000

[Nick Haines] What if you weren't born during that period of time and weren't a descendant of someone who lived during that period of time?

119

00:10:26.000 --> 00:10:30.000

[Nick Haines] Was there huge resentment about other black residents there saying you left me out?

120

00:10:30.000 --> 00:10:32.000

[Nick Haines] Can't believe you.

121

00:10:32.000 --> 00:10:33.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Not huge resentment.

122

00:10:33.000 --> 00:10:40.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] What the community did prioritize was making sure **those that were directly harmed were awarded first.**

123

00:10:40.000 --> 00:10:46.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] And so in that case, we have **those that were directly harmed that made residents around 70 years old.**

124

00:10:46.000 --> 00:10:47.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] **The first recipients of our benefit.**

125

00:10:47.000 --> 00:10:54.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] But there's tons of disagreement and disapproval from the form of reparation.

126

00:10:54.000 --> 00:11:05.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] To who is eligible to the amount of the budget and that sort of thing, you know, but we have to move forward and consensus, learn from the actions that we've taken and build on.

127

00:11:05.000 --> 00:11:15.000

[Nick Haines] Now, if you thought that everybody would come out of the woodwork to claim whether it be a down payment on a home or 25,000 for home repairs, that didn't happen.

128

00:11:15.000 --> 00:11:25.000

[Nick Haines] Did it **as we speak around 650 residents applied and as of now only 16 people have actually seen any money. How can that (be)?**

129

00:11:25.000 --> 00:11:35.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Well, I'll tell you, we had over 600 that apply and after we started dispersing our first beneficiaries, we were hearing from residents.

130

00:11:35.000 --> 00:11:37.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] They were saying I wish I would have applied.

131

00:11:37.000 --> 00:11:38.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] I didn't think it was real.

132

00:11:38.000 --> 00:11:40.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] I didn't think anybody would get a dollar.

133

00:11:40.000 --> 00:11:48.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] So there was some regret where people didn't believe, understandably, didn't believe in a system that had long oppressed and discriminated against.

134

00:11:48.000 --> 00:11:50.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Black people but now believe.

135

00:11:50.000 --> 00:11:50.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] And so I'm.

136

00:11:50.000 --> 00:11:57.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] I'm happy to say that not only have we increased our budget, we've reinvented the way that we can disperse.

137

00:11:57.000 --> 00:11:59.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] So initially we had large allocations.

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00:11:59.000 --> 00:12:05.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Now we have rolling every \$25,000 that we accumulate, so the benefits are getting out much quicker.

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00:12:05.000 --> 00:12:11.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Now folks are taking cash that's creating less barriers and we're still building on the

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00:12:11.000 --> 00:12:19.000

[Nick Haines] Work now, according to polling by the Pew Center for Research, only 29% of Americans support the idea.

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00:24:31.000 --> 00:24:33.000

[Nick Haines] Another question, Claire? [Bishop, who was taking written questions from the audience and reading them]

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00:24:33.000 --> 00:24:38.000

[Claire Bishop] Yes, Marilyn, in the audience asks, what about reparations for Native Americans?

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00:24:38.000 --> 00:24:41.000

[Pete Mundo] I mean, it's certainly, certainly for Native Americans.

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00:24:41.000 --> 00:24:43.000

[Pete Mundo] I think it's a worthy issue and a worthy topic and and that's.

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00:24:43.000 --> 00:24:48.000

[Pete Mundo] Where I think you know from the broader picture.

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00:24:48.000 --> 00:24:55.000

[Pete Mundo] What do you do when there's not enough satisfaction around what's being done on the issue of reparations?

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00:24:55.000 --> 00:25:01.000

[Pete Mundo] We heard about Evanston, and it started off as a housing issue, and it became the ability for cash payments and then of.

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00:25:01.000 --> 00:25:15.000

[Pete Mundo] So you have ideas coming out of San Francisco for \$5 million direct payments out there. So who how, what where it's a snowball effect and that's where I think there.

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00:25:15.000 --> 00:25:17.000

[Pete Mundo] Remains a lot of concern.

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00:25:17.000 --> 00:25:17.000

[Jack Cashill] Quote: Native Americans were major slave owners, which is unfortunate.

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00:25:17.000 --> 00:25:22.000

Well, at this time.

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00:25:22.000 --> 00:25:26.000

[Jack Cashill] Part of American history, so that it that it gets really kind of complicated there.

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00:25:26.000 --> 00:25:27.000

[Mickey Dean] Yeah, two things.

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00:25:27.000 --> 00:25:31.000

[Mickey Dean] First of all, we support the.

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00:25:31.000 --> 00:25:36.000

[Mickey Dean] All of the groups, native Native Americans and anybody else who's been oppressed by this government getting their due.

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00:25:36.000 --> 00:25:40.000

[Mickey Dean] So we have we have no conflict with that whatsoever.

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00:25:40.000 --> 00:25:43.000

[Nick Haines] But, but that's not part of the purview, though, with this mayoral reparations Commission.

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00:25:43.000 --> 00:25:46.000

[Mickey Dean] **This is about black reparations.**

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00:25:46.000 --> 00:25:47.000

[Nick Haines] **Strictly black reparations.**

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00:25:47.000 --> 00:25:49.000

[Mickey Dean] But that's not to say that that we are.

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00:25:49.000 --> 00:25:53.000

[Mickey Dean] We're not in support of because because obviously.

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00:25:53.000 --> 00:25:53.000

[Mickey Dean] And you know.

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00:25:53.000 --> 00:25:57.000

[Mickey Dean] Listen, listen, I I know the whole story about, you know, some Native Americans later on.

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00:25:57.000 --> 00:26:00.000

[Mickey Dean] But but Native Americans basically were forced off their land.

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00:26:00.000 --> 00:26:03.000

[Mickey Dean] They were decimated, they were driven into reservations.

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00:26:03.000 --> 00:26:06.000

[Mickey Dean] We'll address that with them about the whole slavery thing.

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00:26:06.000 --> 00:26:12.000

[Mickey Dean] But the story of the Native Americans is not being slave holders like the white slaveholders, but the story of Native Americans.

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00:26:12.000 --> 00:26:14.000

[Mickey Dean] They too were murdered.

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00:26:14.000 --> 00:26:18.000

[Mickey Dean] They were kicked off of their land and they were they were forced onto reservations.

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00:26:18.000 --> 00:26:21.000

[Mickey Dean] So that's just not a good analogy at all.

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00:26:21.000 --> 00:26:22.000

[Nick Haines] Robin Rue Simmons.

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00:26:22.000 --> 00:26:23.000

[Nick Haines] How did you handle that in Evanston?

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00:26:23.000 --> 00:26:25.000

[Nick Haines] Were Hispanics involved?

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00:26:25.000 --> 00:26:28.000

[Nick Haines] Were Asian Americans were.

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00:26:28.000 --> 00:26:29.000

[Nick Haines] Did you have Native Americans?

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00:26:29.000 --> 00:26:31.000

[Nick Haines] Were they part of the reparations program?

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00:26:31.000 --> 00:26:32.000

[Nick Haines] What about if you were mixed race?

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00:26:32.000 --> 00:26:35.000

[Nick Haines] Did you actually get involved in that?

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00:26:35.000 --> 00:26:36.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Well, absolutely. Every.

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00:26:36.000 --> 00:26:39.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Community was involved as an ally and as a support.

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00:26:39.000 --> 00:26:41.000

[Nick Haines] But how about to gain reparations itself?

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00:26:41.000 --> 00:26:42.000

[Nick Haines] You limited them.

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00:26:42.000 --> 00:26:44.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] This is **this is black reparations.**

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00:26:44.000 --> 00:26:50.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] **This is uncompromised, unapologetically black, for the harms and crimes against black people in.**

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00:26:50.000 --> 00:27:10.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Our city, and so I also want to make the point that I hear support for Japanese reparations and Civil Liberties Act of 1988, HR 40, was modeled after that and introduced only the next year in 1989. Using that as a precedent. But here we are now over 30 years later, and still no.

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00:27:10.000 --> 00:27:13.000

[Robin Rue Simmons] Commission established for the black community.

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00:39:43.000 --> 00:39:45.000

[Jack Cashill] I have a book coming out in July.

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00:39:45.000 --> 00:39:49.000

[Jack Cashill] It's called "**Untenable**," and it talks about my own growing up.

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00:39:49.000 --> 00:40:01.000

[Jack Cashill] Watching my hometown of Newark, NJ, collapse around me and I got to see why it was collapsing in 1960.

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00:40:01.000 --> 00:40:09.000

[Jack Cashill] My neighborhood was, it was integrated and the school on my block was 50% black. It was intact. There was no street crime.

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00:40:09.000 --> 00:40:21.000

[Jack Cashill] It was stores up and down the street. By 1975 it was, it was a hell hole and we have to look at what happened. The real damage started. The black community did a brilliant job surviving.

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00:40:21.000 --> 00:40:24.000

[Jack Cashill] Slavery surviving Jim Crow.

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00:40:24.000 --> 00:40:28.000

[Jack Cashill] The communities were strong in Kansas City in the 50s and 60s.

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00:40:28.000 --> 00:40:31.000

[Jack Cashill] If we don't look at that, we're just we're talking around the issue, but.

http://www.mikestrongphoto.com/CV_Galleries/VideoEmbed_Shaw-2004.htm

"Shaw in 2004" (gentrification) – 38-minute documentary by myself (shooting, editing) and Nicole (subject, trip)

Our (Dr Philip Olson, Nicole English, the class and me) 2004 documentary follow up on the PBS documentary "Throw Away People" from 1991 which painted the Shaw district of Washington D.C. as crime infested. We see how a "slum" with a bad reputation reworked itself.

At the airport in Baltimore we were cautioned to stay away from Shaw by well intentioned people who had probably never been there but who, nonetheless, knew Shaw by reputation. We wanted to see what had taken place in the 13 years since the PBS documentary. UMKC sociology professor Dr. Phil Olson set up the trip and Nicole English was the "tour guide," class chaperone/director and trip organizer.

We got a tour from one of the black entrepreneurs, Ernest "Pete" Peterson, who worked with the community center and his own development projects to improve the neighborhood. Pete took us all around in Shaw and introduced us to people to talk to and to visit.

<https://nlihc.org/resource/gentrification-and-neighborhood-revitalization-whats-difference>

Gentrification and Neighborhood Revitalization: WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

Apr 05, 2019

There are many definitions for gentrification, which can make discussions about development and displacement confusing.

Many anti-displacement activists define gentrification as a profit-driven, race, and class change of a historically disinvested neighborhood. "Disinvested" in this context means areas that businesses and governments have abandoned—where there has been little new development or maintenance of existing buildings or institutions. Gentrification occurs where land is cheap and the chance to make a profit is high due to the influx of wealthier wage earners willing to pay higher rents.

One case of extreme gentrification is the Bay Area in California, which is undergoing a radical makeover due to the rise in technology companies replacing old industries and jobs. New people moved in to work for these companies and replaced the pre-existing residents. Land values and housing prices increased dramatically, as did the pressure for property owners to get the most out of rents on urban spaces. The Bay Area has become the second densest urbanized area in the country after Los Angeles.

The Bay Area has grown radically wealthier, but the newfound wealth coming from the tech, medicine and finance businesses goes to a small percentage of people. (The area has more millionaires and billionaires than New York City.) The upper layers of the labor force are getting paid very well, allowing them to outbid ordinary working people, the elderly, and people with disabilities for homes. This increased competition for housing has left areas like Oakland and the San Francisco Mission less affordable for long-term residents.

Race is tied to class and power in gentrification. Most of the wealthy and well-paid in the Bay Area are white while those being displaced are people of color, who typically have less income to bid for housing and are more often renters at greater risk of eviction. The elite can hold onto their claims to the city because they also hold the political power.

There are ways, however, to revitalize neighborhoods without also gentrifying them. One is to use a positive development model that builds a new vision of community health and sustainability that benefits all residents. Community organizing that brings different groups to the same table to identify a shared interest and common struggle is key to ensuring development that empowers entire communities.

The development process should enable community members to identify the types of housing, services and infrastructure that should exist in their neighborhood. The process should value longtime residents' visions of neighborhood change and give the power of decision-making to community residents. A healthy community is one that acknowledges and supports the importance of racial equity, community and culture.

Public agencies can foster positive development by supporting a shared neighborhood vision and working with community institutions to ensure a successful revitalization that values culture, health, and positive human development, not just increased economic activity. Agencies should help ensure lasting change through development without displacement.

Displacement — The Real Enemy

The most common problem people associate with gentrification is the displacement of residents from a neighborhood experiencing redevelopment. Displacement happens in various ways. “Direct displacement” is when residents are forced to move because of rent increases and/or building renovations. “Exclusionary displacement” is when housing choices for low-income residents are limited. “Displacement pressures” are when supports and services that low-income families rely on disappear from the neighborhood.

Although displacement is cited as the most common concern of gentrification, the research on gentrification and displacement is unclear. Ingrid Gould Ellen and Gerard Torrats-Espinosa studied the long-term effects of gentrification and tracked racial change over time. They defined gentrification narrowly as an increase of income in a neighborhood compared to the larger metro region over time.

The researchers found that a growing number of low-income neighborhoods occupied predominantly by people of color have gentrified in recent decades, although most have remained low-income. Gentrification in the short-term has brought racial integration for many of these neighborhoods, and neighborhoods that became racially diverse through gentrification remained racially diverse past the initial gentrification period. Some neighborhoods that experienced gentrification in the 2000s, however, did experience a more significant rise in white population in the short term and may not experience the same racial stability in the long term.

Gentrification can also benefit neighborhood residents by lowering poverty rates and exposing residents to more opportunity. Recent studies found that public housing residents in gentrifying neighborhoods are exposed to less violent crime, are more often employed, and have higher incomes and greater educational attainment than their counterparts in low-income neighborhoods. Urban revitalization also brings more services to an area. A lack of choice and competition in disinvested neighborhoods may cause families to pay more for goods and services. **There can be benefits to gentrification, but only to long-term residents who are not pushed out. Development without displacement is the key. Fighting against displacement rather than fighting against development should be the focus.**

An exclusionary effect of gentrification is the high cost of rents that force low-income households to move to lower-cost neighborhoods with fewer resources. Displaced low-income households most likely end up in new low-income neighborhoods. Many vulnerable households that do move are renters and are at greater risk of moving to neighborhoods that have lower home values, high unemployment rates, lower median incomes and poor public-school performance.

Cultural displacement is also common. The closing of long-time neighborhood landmarks like historically black churches or local restaurants can erase the history of a neighborhood and with it a sense of belonging. The influx of a new population of upper- and middle-income residents can also change the political landscape, with new leaders ignoring the needs of long-time residents. The loss of long-time residents’ political power leads to further withdrawal from public participation and a loss of control.

Although gentrification can bring about racial diversity, integration, neighborhood improvements, and greater access to services, advocates need to actively promote policies that protect tenants from displacement. Preserving the subsidized housing in gentrifying neighborhoods can ensure that income and racial diversity remains in a neighborhood over time. Governments should also create more affordable low-income homes in gentrifying neighborhoods through new construction and acquisition. Housing subsidies should require long-term or permanent rather than temporary affordability. The next section of *Tenant Talk* will explore these solutions in more detail.

Local Policy Solutions for Preventing Displacement

The data on displacement due to gentrification is insufficient. Many researchers have measured the problem at the city or metro level, but there are few studies that look at neighborhood or “submarket” areas. There is also not a silver bullet or list of sure-thing policies to prevent displacement, but the following are some of many tools that can help combat gentrification. They include baseline protections for the most vulnerable residents, producing and preserving affordable homes, non-market-based approaches to housing and community development, and approaches to community participation.

Community Land Trusts

One of the biggest problems with gentrification is land. Developers and investors buy land when it is affordable in struggling neighborhoods, and then wait for the right moment to move forward with profitable development. Community Land Trusts (CLTs) are one way to keep land owned by the community and to fight against rapid property value escalation.

CLTs are nonprofits that own land - received as donations or bought with government subsidies - to ensure it stays affordable for long periods. The land is used for housing or other community purposes. If it's for housing, the homes are sold to lower-income families, but the land is still owned by the CLT. When a CLT homeowner moves, they sell the home back to the CLT or another low-income family. The CLT homeowner receives a more modest return on their investment than a regular homeowner when they sell because they “share equity” (the land portion) with the CLT.

Some concerns with CLTs are that they are costly to implement (require substantial funding), especially in gentrifying neighborhoods, and they rarely provide homes to extremely low-income families. CLTs also usually operate on a small scale, which could be helped if cities gave public land to CLTs and established supporting organizations to build them.

The Community Justice Land Trust (CJLT) in Philadelphia, PA, was created in 2010 by a community coalition that included the Women's Community Revitalization Project (WCRP) and the Philadelphia Association of Community Development Corporations. Philadelphia CJLT addresses the community's recent dramatic increases in housing prices, the rise in new development that did not consider existing needs, and the problem of vacant land and abandoned buildings. The land trust has 36 rent-to-own townhomes and plans to develop 75 more. It is governed by an advisory committee of residents and other stakeholders, as well as WCRP board members.

Research on one of the largest CLTs in the U.S.—Champlain Housing Trust in Vermont—shows that lower-income affordability continued and improved between generations of homebuyers, homeownership was expanded for persons left out from the market, most homeowners gained wealth, and most homeowners bought market-rate homes after they left the CLT. Though CLTs provide limited opportunities for the homeowners to build wealth, they help sustain relative affordability for lower-income households over time.

Rent Control

Rent-control policies offer protections from sudden rent increases, establish maintenance standards, provide the right to a lease renewal, provide the framework for organizing and litigation, and set limits on security deposits. These policies directly affect neighborhood affordability by preventing rents from skyrocketing, enabling residents to stay in their apartments for the long term. Basically, rent control sets a cap on how much a landlord can charge for the rent.

New York has the strongest rent-control policies in the U.S. The Emergency Tenant Protection Act (ETPA) of 1974 established details for rent control and allowed eight counties to voluntarily participate. Currently, 966,000 apartments (45% of the rental market) are rent-stabilized in New York. Since the 1990s, when the law was weakened, the state has lost 300,000 units of rent-stabilized housing.

Landlords can remove apartments from rent control when a renter vacates the apartment and then make substantial improvements. This loophole has led landlords to harass, frighten or incentivize renters into leaving their rent-regulated homes.

The ETPA is due to expire in 2019. The Upstate Downstate Housing Alliance sees this as an opportunity to strengthen and expand tenants' rights and is calling for the state to undo provisions that incentivize the loss of rent-regulated units and to extend the rent stabilization framework to the entire state.

Rent-control policies must be carefully implemented to avoid negative consequences. First, rent controls are not tied to specific residents, so there is no way to ensure they are benefiting the people most in need; there are many examples of higher-income, even wealthy, people benefitting from rent control while extremely low-income people remain homeless or on housing assistance wait lists. Second, landlords and developers regularly attack rent control laws, so a strong advocates' rights coalition is needed to ensure proper enforcement and to advise renters on seeking legal recourse. Third, landlords often argue that legal cap on rents leave them too little income for repairs and maintenance, so rent control policies must be paired with enforceable building standards.

Just-Cause Eviction Ordinances

Every rental lease has an end date, even those made by spoken agreement. It is common that when a lease expires, it automatically renews month-to-month on the same terms as the previous lease. Many renters are displaced because at the end of any given lease term, the landlord can simply "not renew" the contract. Some jurisdictions prevent such displacement by passing "Just-Cause" eviction ordinances stipulating that a landlord cannot evict a renter unless there has been a specific violation of the lease. Non-renewal is no longer an option.

Seattle, WA, has had a just-cause eviction ordinance in place since 1980 that applies to verbal leases and month-to-month leases. In these cases, a landlord may ask a tenant to leave for 18 specific reasons, such as failure to pay rent or renter damage to the property.

Just-cause eviction protections are most effective when paired with rent control. If there is no limit on the amount a landlord can increase the rent, a landlord often can just double the rent, and effectively push the renter into moving, without a just cause for eviction.

Community Benefits Agreements

Community benefits agreements (CBAs) are legal contracts signed by a developer and community groups. They spell out the benefits a developer promises to provide to the community as part of a development. CBAs give community groups a voice in shaping projects and the legal authority to enforce developers' promises.

For CBAs to be effective, they need to be created by active community-based coalitions willing to stay involved during the development process to hold the developers accountable. Coalitions must ensure any CBAs include fair benefits that are reflective of the community's wishes. If CBAs are weak, they cannot be changed and can be used by developers to look good in the public eye without delivering substantive benefits.

Cherokee Denver had purchased the Gates rubber factory in Denver, CO, in 2001 to redevelop the site. They worked with the community to create a CBA that included affordable homes and job guarantees, but the project fell through because of the recession. Broadway Station Partners (BSP) finally bought the land in 2018 to create a mixed-use development. The community surrounding the factory site formed a CBA with BSP, similar to the now-repealed Cherokee Gates Urban Redevelopment Plan. BSP agreed to build 338 affordable homes (affordable for 40 years) and to hire local construction workers. This strong

CBA required community groups to stay engaged with developers over nearly 20 years to ensure that redevelopment would have community interests at heart.

Tenant Option to Purchase

“Tenant option to purchase” (TOP) is a tool for residents facing eviction because the property owner intends to sell the property, demolish it, or convert to another use. Cities can pass a TOP policy to require that any housing unit undergoing such changes is offered to residents first before being sold, demolished or re-rented on the private market. The benefits of TOP policies are that they create legal rights for individuals and families faced with displacement, they can ensure housing stability for existing tenants by giving them an option to return to their original homes after being relocated, and they can increase living standards that benefit the existing tenants.

The District of Columbia has an effective Tenant Opportunity to Purchase Act (TOPA). This law requires owners of properties with two or more rental units give tenants and/or tenant associations the option to buy the apartments before a property conversion takes place. If the owner does not provide tenants the option to purchase, the tenants can pursue a lawsuit against the owner. According to Scott Bruton at the Coalition for Nonprofit Housing and Economic Development, TOPA is the most valuable tool the District has for preserving affordable rental housing. Without TOPA, affordable housing developers would lose out to for-profit, market-rate developers in buying multifamily rental properties.

Regulating and Taxing Short-Term Rentals

Research shows that short-term rentals correlate with fewer regular rental units (each unit that gets converted to a short-term rental, takes one away from renters), increased rents, and higher property values, which all lead to displacement. Jurisdictions could regulate and tax the short-term rental operators, many of whom work through AirBnB. Jurisdictions could limit the number of days per year a room or apartment can be rented short-term, require a local contact person be licensed for short-term rentals and fine offenders, and require that only apartments occupied by a permanent resident who is leaving temporarily may be rented short-term.

Taxing short term rentals is another option. Citizen’s Housing and Planning Association (CHAPA) advocates were successful in getting a state law passed that applies the 5.7 % hotel and motel room tax to short-term rentals (effective July 1, 2019), excluding homeowners who rent their units for two weeks or less during the year. At least 35% of the revenue generated must fund affordable housing, the first state to do so. The law also allows jurisdictions the authority to create additional local taxes, makes short-term renters obtain \$1 million in liability insurance, and creates a public registry of short-term rentals. It remains to be seen whether this bill, the first of its kind, prevents the future loss of affordable homes.

Vacancy Taxes

Rents rise when there is insufficient housing for all who need it. Vacant properties, of course, provide no housing. Some real estate investors buy buildings and let them sit empty – a phenomenon called “speculation” - often in areas at risk of gentrification where land can be relatively cheap. Real estate investors buy the property and allow it to sit empty because that costs less than managing the building and making sure it’s up to local codes. When the right development opportunity arises, they sell the property or demolish it to make way for something new.

In some communities, speculation has led to a rapid growth in vacant apartments, and some jurisdictions have begun taxing property owners who refuse to make homes available for rent. Voters in Oakland, CA, passed such a tax law by a vote of 68%-31%. The new tax will generate about \$10 million annually, which will the city will then invest in affordable housing.

What are Small Area FMRs?

SAFMRs base the value of a Housing Choice Voucher to a landlord on rents in a ZIP Code. Without SAFMRs, the value of a voucher is based on Fair Market Rent (FMR), which is based on rents in an entire metro area. Metro areas have many areas with very different market rents. A voucher pays the difference between 30% of a household's income and the voucher "payment standard." Public housing agencies (PHAs) set a payment standard (the amount a landlord gets from a voucher) at 90% to 110% of the FMR. As a result, the FMR voucher value is often not enough for rents in gentrifying neighborhoods.

Use of SAFMRs ensure payment standards (the value of vouchers) are more in line with neighborhood rental markets, making vouchers more valuable in higher-rent neighborhoods, such as those undergoing gentrification. Vouchers that pay less than the market rate make it difficult to rent in gentrifying neighborhoods. Households often end up paying more than 30% of their income for rent (paying the difference between the voucher payment and landlord's market rent).

Where SAFMRs are available, long-time residents with vouchers (or voucher applicants) living in gentrifying neighborhoods might be able to remain in their homes, avoiding displacement as landlords attempt to cash in on rising demand for rental housing. Use of SAFMRs before a neighborhood fully gentrifies can help new income-eligible households move into a neighborhood to take advantage of the improving community features and provide a healthy mixed-income area.

Required and Voluntary SAFMRs

A new HUD regulation required PHAs in 24 metro areas to begin using SAFMRs on April 1, 2018. SAFMRs have to be used by all PHAs in those metro areas, not just the PHA in the major city – e.g., 19 PHAs in the Philadelphia metro area must use SAFMRs, not just the Philadelphia PHA. More metro areas could be required to use SAFMRs in the future. PHAs anywhere can voluntarily use SAFMRs, and residents should advocate for their PHAs to use them. A list of the 24 metro areas can be found at: <https://bit.ly/2Vt3KLq>

One issue, however, is that landlords are not required to rent to households with vouchers. There are two categories of exceptions:

- Landlords must accept vouchers if their building is assisted by the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, HOME, or national Housing Trust Fund programs.
- Some cities and states have laws that ban "source-of-income" (SOI) discrimination, prohibiting landlords from refusing to rent paying with a voucher, Supplemental Security Income, or Social Security. The Poverty & Race Research Action Council annually updates a list of SOI laws at: <https://bit.ly/2DKnFQ0>

Extended Affordability Requirements are a Tool to Preserve Affordable Housing

The lowest-income renters face a national shortage of more than seven million affordable, accessible and available rental units, and only one in four eligible low-income renters receives the assistance they need. The affordable housing crisis could worsen when 279,207 publicly subsidized rental homes reach the end of their affordability periods over the next five years; these homes could convert to market-rate rents without additional subsidy. One way to prevent future losses of affordable homes is to extend affordability requirements.

Many state legislatures have chosen to extend the federal Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC) housing affordability requirements beyond the year 30 limit. LIHTC is the largest federal affordable housing production in the U.S., and many LIHTC homes risk being converted to market rate housing once affordability restrictions expire. The states with extended mandatory affordability requirements include

Pennsylvania, Florida, Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Oregon, Utah, Hawaii, Colorado, Maryland, and Connecticut*. Most of these states have affordability requirements of 35 to 50 years; they are 60 years in Oregon, 99 years in New Hampshire, and permanent in Vermont.

Cumulative Count of LIHTC Units Losing All Affordability Restrictions

Vermont's permanent affordability requirement was created in the 1980s because many affordable homes built with HUD and USDA funding had affordability requirements expiring at that time. Many property owners chose to convert the affordable units to market-rate housing, leading to a massive displacement of the lowest-income renters. At the same time, HUD was reducing affordable housing subsidies available to state and local governments.

The "Vermont Housing and Conservation Trust Fund Act in 1987" requires any housing subsidized by the state must be permanently affordable to lower-income Vermonters. Compliance is monitored by a community-based nonprofit or a public agency like the Vermont Housing and Conservation Board (VHCB). Over the past thirty years, VHCB has assisted nonprofits and municipalities develop 8,300 permanently affordable homes. In addition to homes made permanently affordable, VHCB prevented virtually all affordable homes built with HUD and USDA subsidies from turning into market-rate housing.

Solutions like permanent or extended affordability requirements protect the limited supply of affordable homes, which in turn can effectively ensure low-income residents remain in their neighborhoods. NLIHC advocates for the longest possible affordability periods in all federal programs, and while progress is slow, advocates can win extended or permanent affordability requirements for states or cities' uses of federal dollars!

Opportunity Zones—A Potential New Challenge in the Fight against Gentrification

The "Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017"—President Trump's massive tax cut law that mostly benefits wealthy Americans and corporations — created "Opportunity Zones," 8,700 ZIP codes where governors have determined a need for more investment and where those who do invest will now receive significant tax benefits.

The Opportunity Zones (OZ) concept—more investment in struggling neighborhoods — could be a good thing. Senators Tim Scott (R-SC) and Cory Booker (D-NJ), who authored the plan, hope to address blight and crumbling infrastructure. As passed, however, the law does not incentivize, much less require, the investments be used to benefit long-term residents by building affordable housing, supporting local businesses, creating decent-paying jobs, or providing other types of community benefits. Investor-developers can now receive large federal tax benefits to build anything from hotels to luxury condos to corporate office buildings, as long as they build it in an OZ.

To compete for a governor's OZ designation, a ZIP code had to have a poverty rate of at least 20% or a median income no greater than 80% of the area median income. ZIP codes can be quite large, include a variety of income groups, and contain wealthy pockets or a major university or an arts district in an otherwise poor area. Also, not all OZ ZIP codes need to meet the "low-income" definition; up to 5% of the OZs can include ZIP codes next to a "low-income" ZIP code, as long as the adjacent ZIP code has a median income no more than 125% of the low-income ZIP code. All of the OZ investment activity could happen in the wealthier ZIP code, with little or no benefit to the neighborhoods in need.

Combating this new gentrification pressure will require advocates to engage with local officials approving the developments. Advocates should argue that proposed projects in OZs must include permanently affordable rental housing. Advocates must also urge their members of Congress in Washington, DC, to

call upon the Department of Treasury to issue strong and clear regulations for OZ investments that require a focus on extremely low-income people, increase affordable rental housing, and support the neighborhood development vision of long-term residents.

"Combating this new gentrification pressure will require advocates to engage with local officials approving the developments."

Some have merely asked for "transparency" by requiring OZ administrators to report outcomes – an after-the-fact exercise. Without strong regulations at least providing incentives, if not requirements, that protect long-term residents from displacement and ensure real benefits to low income communities, the reporting will be an empty exercise.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Historical_Geographic_Information_System -

National Historical Geographic Information System –

NHGIS.org

<https://www.nhgis.org/> - official website

a historical GIS project to create and freely disseminate a database incorporating all available aggregate census information for the United States between 1790 and 2010. The project has created one of the largest collections in the world of statistical census information, much of which was not previously available to the research community because of legacy data formats and differences between metadata formats. The statistical and geographic data are disseminated free of charge through a sophisticated online data access system.[1]

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1850_United_States_census -

1850 United States Census

The resident population of the United States to be 23,191,876—an increase of 35.9 percent over the 17,069,453 persons enumerated during the 1840 census. The total population included 3,204,313 slaves.

Slaves were 13.8% of the population.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1860_United_States_census -

1860 United States Census

The population of the United States to be 31,443,322 in 33 states and 10 organized territories. This was an increase of 35.4 percent over the 23,069,876 persons enumerated during the 1850 census. The total population included 3,953,762 slaves.

Slaves were 12.57% of the population. A percentage decrease of 1.23% but 749,449 more slaves or an increase of 23% over the 1950 total.

Public debt: \$64.8 million

Annual budget: \$63.1 million

Population of U.S. states and territories[[edit](#)]

Population of the US States and Territories^{[5][6][7]}

Rank	State	Population	Free Population	Slave Popu
01	New York	3,880,735	3,880,735	0
02	Pennsylvania	2,906,215	2,906,215	0
03	Ohio	2,339,511	2,339,511	0
04	Illinois	1,711,951	1,711,951	0
05	Virginia	1,596,318	1,105,453	490,865
06	Indiana	1,350,428	1,350,428	0
07	Massachusetts	1,231,066	1,231,066	0
08	Missouri	1,182,012	1,067,081	114,931
09	Kentucky	1,155,684	930,201	225,483
10	Tennessee	1,109,801	834,082	275,719
11	Georgia	1,057,286	595,088	462,198
12	North Carolina	992,622	661,563	331,059
13	Alabama	964,201	529,121	435,080
14	Mississippi	791,305	354,674	436,631
15	Wisconsin	775,881	775,881	0
16	Michigan	749,113	749,113	0
17	Louisiana	708,002	376,276	331,726
18	South Carolina	703,708	301,302	402,406
19	Maryland	687,049	599,860	87,189
20	Iowa	674,913	674,913	0
21	New Jersey	672,035	672,017	18
22	Maine	628,279	628,279	0
23	Texas	604,215	421,649	182,566
24	Connecticut	460,147	460,147	0
25	Arkansas	435,450	324,335	111,115
26	California	379,994	379,994	0
27	New Hampshire	326,073	326,073	0
28	Vermont	315,098	315,098	0

Population of the US States and Territories^{[5][6][7]}

Rank	State	Population	Free Population	Slave Popu
29	Rhode Island	174,620	174,620	0
30	Minnesota	172,023	172,023	0
31	Florida	140,424	78,679	61,745
32	Delaware	112,216	110,418	1,798
33	Oregon	52,465	52,465	0
X	Kansas Territory ^[8]	107,206	107,204	2
X	New Mexico Territory	93,514	93,514	0 ^[9]
X	District of Columbia	75,080	71,985	3,185
X	Utah Territory	40,273	40,184	89
X	Colorado Territory	34,277	34,277	0
X	Nebraska Territory	28,841	28,826	15
X	Washington Territory	11,594	11,594	0
X	Nevada Territory	6,848	6,857	0
X	Dakota Territory	4,837	4,837	0

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/industry-and-economy-during-the-civil-war.htm> -

Industry and Economy during the Civil War -

By Benjamin T. Arrington, National Park Service

In 1860, the South was still predominantly agricultural, highly dependent upon the sale of staples to a world market. By 1815, cotton was the most valuable export in the United States; by 1840, it was worth more than all other exports combined. But while the southern states produced two-thirds of the world's supply of cotton, the South had little manufacturing capability, about 29 percent of the railroad tracks, and only 13 percent of the nation's banks. The South did experiment with using slave labor in manufacturing, but for the most part it was well satisfied with its agricultural economy.

The North, by contrast, was well on its way toward a commercial and manufacturing economy, which would have a direct impact on its war making ability. By 1860, 90 percent of the nation's manufacturing output came from northern states. The North produced 17 times more cotton and woolen textiles than the South, 30 times more leather goods, 20 times more pig iron, and 32 times more firearms. The North produced 3,200 firearms to every 100 produced in the South. Only about 40 percent of the Northern population was still engaged in agriculture by 1860, as compared to 84 percent of the South.

Even in the agricultural sector, Northern farmers were out-producing their southern counterparts in several important areas, as Southern agriculture remained labor intensive while northern agriculture became increasingly mechanized. By 1860, the free states had nearly twice the value of farm machinery per acre and per farm worker as did the slave states, leading to increased productivity. As a result, in 1860, the Northern states produced half of the nation's corn, four-fifths of its wheat, and seven-eighths of its oats.

Hinton Rowan Helper – “The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It,” 1857

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Impending_Crisis_of_the_South -

The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It is an 1857 book by [Hinton Rowan Helper](#), who declares himself a proud Southerner.^{[1]:vi} It was written mostly in Baltimore, but it would have been illegal to publish it there, as he pointed out.^{[1]:360} It was a strong attack on slavery as inefficient and a barrier to the economic advancement of whites. The book was widely distributed by [Horace Greeley](#) and other antislavery leaders, and infuriated Southerners. According to historian George M. Fredrickson, "it would not be difficult to make a case for *The Impending Crisis* as the most important single book, in terms of its political impact, that has ever been published in the United States."^{[2]:542} ^[note 1] In the North it became "THE book against slavery."^{[3]:75} A book reviewer wrote, "Next to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), Hinton Helper's critique of slavery and the Southern class system, *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857), was arguably the most important antislavery book of the 1850s."^[4]

Condemnation of slavery

The book condemned [slavery](#), but "not with reference, except in a very slight degree, to its humanitarian or religious aspects," which had already been dealt with at length by Northern writers.^{[1]:v} Instead, Helper criticized slavery on economic grounds, appealing to whites' [rational self-interest](#), rather than "any special friendliness or sympathy for the blacks."^{[1]:v} Helper claimed that slavery hurt the Southern economy by preventing economic development and industrialization, and that it was the main reason why the South had fallen far behind the North, both economically and demographically. Helper tried to speak on behalf of the majority of Southern whites, poor or of moderate means — the [plain folk of the Old South](#) — whom he claimed were oppressed by a small aristocracy of wealthy slave owners.

Helper's tone was aggressive: "[Freesoilers](#) and [abolitionists](#) are the only true friends of the South; slaveholders and slave-breeders are downright enemies of their own section. Anti-slavery men are working for the Union and for the good of the whole world; proslavery men are working for the disunion of the States, and for the good of nothing except themselves."^{[1]:363}

The poverty of the slaveholding South

According to a published summary of the book, the South, under slavery, is not doing well economically. Massachusetts produces sixteen bushels of wheat to the acre, while Virginia produces only seven. Iowa produces thirty-six bushels of oats to the acre; Mississippi produces only twelve. In 1790, at the time of the first census, the population of New York was 340,000 and

that of Virginia 748,000; in 1850 the population of New York was 3,097,000, while that of Virginia was 1,421,000. Land in the North sells for much more than land in the South. These are only a few examples of the many statistics of this sort in the book.^[5] Many draw on the [U.S. Census](#), or other "confessedly authentic, and for the most part official, sources of information."^[6]

Political impact

A version of it was published in German translation in 1860.^[7]

With the approach of the 1860 presidential election, to help the Republican Party a *Compendium* version appeared in July 1859; it was an abridgement that kept the statistics but watered down some of the confrontational rhetoric. It was endorsed by 68 Republican members of Congress. By December 1859, 500 copies a day were being sold.^[8]

This version met with fierce opposition. Possession of a copy was treated as criminal offense in most of the South. Distributors of the book were arrested, and three men in Arkansas were hanged for possession of it.^{[3]:77}

Congress convened on December 5, 1859. The House of Representatives was unable to conduct any business until February 1, 1860, because the body was so divided that it was unable to elect a speaker. Helper's book was the only topic.^[9] During the "ill-spirited and acrimonious" election campaign, Southerners refused to accept anyone who had helped Helper. It is the second-longest such dispute in House history.^{[2]:543} Another source says it was the longest dispute, with 44 elections for speaker.^{[3]:81}

In rebuttal, [Louis F. Schade](#) published in 1860 [*A Book for the "Impending Crisis!" Appeal to the Common Sense and Patriotism of the People of the United States. "Helperism" Annihilated! The "Irrepressible Conflict" and Its Consequences!*](#) (80 pages).

Rowan's racism[[edit](#)]

Although it was mostly ignored by the abolitionists, Helper was a rabid [white supremacist](#).^[10] His goal in writing the book, as he says, was to help Southern whites, not Blacks. According to him, Blacks were inferior to whites, and there was no place for them in the United States; after emancipation, they should be removed from the country, he said.^[11] "A. B. Burdick, the publisher of *The Impending Crisis*, testified that Helper ... avoided all contacts with Negroes, refusing even to patronize hotels or restaurants which employed Negroes in menial capacities. Another man who knew Helper before the war recalled that 'he has always been inflexibly opposed to all the relations and conditions which have kept the two races close together; and this ... was one of the principal grounds of his opposition to slavery.'^[12]

<https://www.amazon.com/Impending-Crisis-South-How-Meet-ebook/dp/B082BGPRNX> -- Amazon Kindle link

Racist abolitionist before the Civil War, vitriolic racist after the war in 1868 book "Negros in Negroland ..."

Top Amazon reviews from the United States

James D. Best - 4.0 out of 5 stars Interesting and Pertinent Perspective -

Reviewed in the United States us on December 4, 2021

Verified Purchase

This is a research book for Maelstrom, a sequel to Tempest at Dawn. This book appealed to me for four reasons. 1) It was written in 1857 by a participant of the era. 2) It was an anti-slavery book written by a Southerner, 3) the book created a movement called Helperism, 4) Lincoln appointed Helper consul to Argentina, which meant he had probably read the book. (Further evidence that Lincoln had read the book is a section of his Cooper Union Address which far more eloquently echoes one of Helper's commentaries.)

When writing a historical novel, it's crucial to get inside the heads of the people who actually experienced the period. One technique is to read contemporaneous writings, including books, periodicals, newspapers, and speeches.

Helper's thesis is that slavery harms economic growth, inventiveness, and the middleclass. He uses extensive census statistics to solidly prove his case. The overwhelming quantity of data is convincing ... but also dull. Luckily, the numbers can be scanned after the reader gets used to his presentation style. If you are interested in the data, I would recommend a print format instead of an e-book.

The Impending Crisis of the South provides an interesting and pertinent perspective on the economics of slavery.

Marbeth Skwarczynski - 4.0 out of 5 stars Slavery tolerates no freedom -
Reviewed in the United States us on August 27, 2020

Verified Purchase

This book is mentioned in the history textbook I teach every other year to my 11-12th U.S. History class. This year I decided to read it. I'm glad I did, but wish I had read it sooner. It is easy to find and read pre-war anti-slavery materials from the North, but I'd never read any from the Southern point of view.

Helper was a Southern abolitionist who compiled this book with the specific purpose of presenting the case to his fellow Southerners that slavery was destroying their region, their morality, and even their intellect. He uses pages of information tables to prove that the South's pride in their agricultural achievements is misplaced. He gives a myriad of examples from sermons, Papal bulls, and Scripture that slavery is immoral. He presents the bald-faced truth that "Slavery tolerates no freedom of the press—no freedom of speech—no freedom of opinion" even among the free citizens of the South.

Gerard Briardy - 5.0 out of 5 stars Fascinating, must read for Civil War buff. -
Reviewed in the United States us on October 30, 2021

Verified Purchase

I had only learned of this book recently. The book was banned in the South before the Civil War. Owning a copy was a criminal offense. Reading the book, you can understand why. The author destroys arguments that slavery was beneficial to the South. He uses facts and figures he got from government documents. Some of it is dated, for example, he spends a long time explaining why understanding statistics is important for scientific knowledge, something we

now take for granted. But of course the book was written for a 19th century audience who did not know such obvious truth. Still well worth reading.

Gerry Conway - 5.0 out of 5 stars fascinating and entertaining-sad and timely -
Reviewed in the United States us on February 21, 2015

Verified Purchase

Here's a fascinating book written in the 1850s by a Southern writer attacking slavery and slaveholders—not just as a moral evil, but as an economic evil. The writing is archaic in style (but quite fun to read, especially when he's describing the slave-holding oligarchy; to put it mildly, he's not a fan) but the arguments are surprisingly and depressingly modern. He uses statistical analysis to show the institution of slavery was an economic and cultural drain on the South, and much of what he says here could be applied today to the economic and cultural attitudes that still dominate Southern thinking—which is why I found the book both fascinating and depressing. One hundred and sixty years later, the average Southerner is still in thrall to an oligarchic elite that actively undermines his and her economic and cultural well being for the elite's benefit, using the same political ploys described here. This free book is worth a read (or a skim) for insight into just how intractable certain modes of thought can be. The author ends on a hopeful (and somewhat sadly naive) note, predicting the end of slavery through a repudiation by enlightened Southern non-slaveholders recognising they've been lied to and manipulated by their leaders. Almost two hundred years later, we're still awaiting that recognition.

Kenneth Kreager - 4.0 out of 5 stars By a southerner in 1857! - Reviewed in the United States us on September 27, 2013

Verified Purchase

Hinton Rowan Helper, the author, used the 1850 census to destroy the myth of "profitable slavery" by repeatedly pointing out that slavery was Harming the south economically, as well as being destructive to the entire nation. So why, if the knowledge was available so early, did the poorer white southerners ignore a seminal early work? Basically because they were as uneducated as the slaves, and needed the belief that they were better than the blacks in order to keep from slipping into the unthinkable conundrum of being more like a slave than a planter aristocrat. In some ways he presages the Southern cultural love of ignorance as well. While he proves slavery was uneconomical for its entire history, he does also clearly show how slavery alone was used to prop-up a debt-ridden slave owner class to keep them well above ALL other southern citizens. The tabulations are dated of course, and easy to skim. Well worth the read.

Boz Django - 4.0 out of 5 stars A Southern response to slavery. - Reviewed in the United States us on June 29, 2016

Verified Purchase

Mr. Helper is one of the few Southern voices that rose up in protest against slavery. ***His reasoning is as racist as any slaveholder because he bewails the negative impact slavery had on nonslaveholding whites.*** But it cannot be

denied, he was right. White liberties and economic advantages were reduced due to a small group of rich slave holders. It's an interesting point of view. Give it a read.

From Hinton Rowan Helper – economic comparison of slave and non-slave states: With non-slave states far in advance in terms of money.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY AT THE FAIR.

WHAT FREEDOM DID.

At an Agricultural Fair held at Watertown, in the State of New-York, on the 2d day of October, 1856, two hundred and twenty premiums, ranging from three to fifty dollars each, were awarded to successful competitors—the aggregate amount of said premiums being \$2,396, or an average of \$10.89 each. From the proceedings of the Awarding Committee we make the following extracts:

- Best Horse Colt, George Parish, \$25.00
- Best Filly, J. Staplin, 20.00
- Best Brood Mare, A. Blunt, 25.00
- Best Bull, Wm. Johnson, 25.00
- Best Heifer, A. M. Rogers, 20.00
- Best Cow, C. Baker, 25.00
- Best Stall-fed Beef, J. W. Taylor, 10.00
- Best sample Wheat, Wm. Ottley, 5.00
- Best sample Flaxseed, H. Weir, 3.00
- Best sample Timothy Seed, E. S. Hayward 3.00 (Highest)
- Best Team of Oxen, Hiram Converse, 50.00 (Lowest)
- Best sample Sweet Corn, L. Marshall, 3.00

Aggregate amount of twelve premiums, \$214.00 An average of \$17.83 each. (MY NOTE: this is 13.1 times more than the same categories in a slave state.)

WHAT SLAVERY DID.

At the Rowan County Agricultural Fair, held at Mineral Springs, in North Carolina, on the 13th day of November, 1856, thirty premiums, ranging from twenty-five cents to two dollars each, were awarded to successful competitors—the aggregate amount of said premiums being \$42, or an average of \$1.40 each. From the proceedings of the Awarding Committee we make the following extracts:

- Best Horse Colt, T. A. Burke, \$2.00
- Best Filly, James Cowan, 2.00
- Best Brood Mare, M. W. Goodman, 2.00
- Best Bull, J. F. McCorkle, 2.00
- Best Heifer, J. F. McCorkle, 2.00
- Best Cow, T. A. Burke, 2.00
- Best Stall-fed Beef, S. D. Rankin, 1.00
- Best Sample Wheat, M. W. Goodman, 50

- Best lot Beefs, J. J. Summerell, 25
- Best lot Turnips, Thomas Barber, 25 (Highest)
- Best pair Match Horses, R. W. Griffith, 2.00 (Lowest)
- Best lot Cabbage, Thomas Hyde, 25

Aggregate amount of twelve premiums, \$16.25 An average of \$1.36 each.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY AT THE FAIR

	What Freedom Did		What Slavery Did	
Best Horse Colt	George Parish	\$25.00	\$2.00	T. A. Burke
Best Filly	J. Staplin	\$20.00	\$2.00	James Cov
Best Brood Mare	A. Blunt	\$25.00	\$2.00	M. W. Go
Best Bull	Wm. Johnson	\$25.00	\$2.00	J. F. McCo
Best Heifer	A. M. Rogers	\$20.00	\$2.00	J.F. McCor
Best Cow	C. Baker	\$25.00	\$2.00	T.A. Burke
Best Stall-fed Beef	J. W. Taylor	\$10.00	\$1.00	S.D. Ranki
Best sample Wheat	Wm. Ottley	\$5.00	\$50.00	M. W. Go
Best sample Flaxseed	H. Weir	\$3.00		
Best sample Timothy Seed	E. S. Hayward	\$3 (highest)		
Best Team of Oxen	Hiram Converse	\$50.00 (Lowest)		
Best sample Sweet Corn	L. Marshall	\$3.00		
Best lot Beefs			\$25.00	J. J. Summe
Best lot Turnips			\$25 (Highest)	Thomas Ba
Best pair Match Horses			\$2.00 (Lowest)	R. W. Griffi
Best lot Cabbage		\$25.00	\$25.00	Thomas Hy
		\$214 an average of \$17.83 each		
		13.1 x more	\$16.25 An average of \$1.36	

The Impending Crisis of the South How to Meet It (pp. 323-324). Kindle Edition.

TABLE NO. XXVIII.

PRODUCT OF MANUFACTURES IN THE FREE STATES - 1850.

States	Value of Annual products	Capital inv
California	\$12,862,522	\$1,000,000
Connecticut	45,110,102	23,890,000
Illinois	17,236,073	6,380,000
Indiana	18,922,651	7,940,000
Iowa	3,551,783	1,290,000
Maine	24,664,135	14,700,000

Massachusetts	151,137,145	83,35
Michigan	10,976,894	6,53
New Hampshire	23,164,503	18,24
New Jersey	39,713,586	22,18
New York	237,597,249	99,90
Ohio	62,647,259	29,01
Pennsylvania	155,044,910	94,47
Rhode Island	22,093,258	12,92
Vermont	8,570,920	5,00
Wisconsin	9,293,068	3,38
Total	\$842,586,058	\$430,24
	5.09 x > slave states	4.5 x > slave s

TABLE NO. XXIX.

PRODUCT OF MANUFACTURES IN THE SLAVE STATES - 1850.

States	Value of Annual products	Capital inv
Alabama	\$4,538,878	\$3,45
Arkansas	607,436	32
Delaware	4,649,296	2,97
Florida	668,338	54
Georgia	7,086,525	5,46
Kentucky	24,588,483	12,35
Louisiana	7,320,948	5,31
Maryland	32,477,702	14,75
Mississippi	2,972,038	1,83
Missouri	23,749,265	9,07
North Carolina	9,111,245	7,25
South Carolina	7,063,513	6,05
Tennessee	9,728,438	6,97
Texas	1,165,538	53
Virginia	29,705,387	18,10
Total	\$165,413,027	\$95,02

The Impending Crisis of the South How to Meet It (pp. 284-285). Kindle Edition.

In contrast to Helper's figures, this:

Chapter 4 "Fear" by Leslie Alexander and Michelle Alexander

If the Confederacy had been a separate nation when the Civil War began, it would have ranked among the richest in the world. As the historian Steven Deyle writes in Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life, the monetary value of the enslaved population in 1860 was "equal to about seven

times the total value of all currency in circulation in the country, three times the value of the entire livestock population, ... twelve times the value of the entire U.S. cotton crop, and forty-eight times the total expenditures of the U.S. federal government that year.”

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 112). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The plan for abolition - from Helper

... no one will be readier than we to discard the infallible strong recipe for the infallible mild. Not at the persecution of a few thousand slaveholders, but at the restitution of natural rights and prerogatives to several millions of non-slaveholders, do we aim.

Inscribed on the banner, which we herewith unfurl to the world, with the full and fixed determination to stand by it or die by it, unless one of more virtuous efficacy shall be presented, are the mottoes which, in substance, embody the principles, as we conceive, that should govern us in our patriotic warfare against the most subtle and insidious foe that ever menaced the inalienable rights and liberties and dearest interests of America:

1st. Thorough Organization and Independent Political Action on the part of the Non-Slaveholding whites of the South. 2nd. Ineligibility of Slaveholders—Never another vote to the Trafficker in Human Flesh.

3rd. No Co-operation with Slaveholders in Politics—No Fellowship with them in Religion—No Affiliation with them in Society.

4th. No Patronage to Slaveholding Merchants—No Guestship in Slave-waiting Hotels—No Fees to Slaveholding Lawyers—No Employment of Slaveholding Physicians—No Audience to Slaveholding Parsons.

5th. No Recognition of Pro-slavery Men, except as Ruffians, Outlaws, and Criminals.

6th. Abrupt Discontinuance of Subscription to Pro-slavery Newspapers.

7th. The Greatest Possible Encouragement to Free White Labor.

8. No more Hiring of Slaves by Non-slaveholders.

9th. Immediate Death to Slavery, or if not immediate, unqualified Proscription of its Advocates during the Period of its Existence.

10th. A Tax of Sixty Dollars on every Slaveholder for each and every Negro in his Possession at the present time, or at any intermediate time between now and the 4th of July, 1863—said Money to be Applied to the transportation of the Blacks to Liberia, to their Colonization in Central or South America, or to their Comfortable Settlement within the Boundaries of the United States.

11th. An additional Tax of Forty Dollars per annum to be levied annually, on every Slaveholder for each and every Negro found in his possession after the 4th of July, 1863—said Money to be paid into the hands of the Negroes so held in Slavery, or, in cases of death, to their next of kin, and to be used by them at their own option.

This, then, is the outline of our scheme for the abolition of slavery in the Southern States. Let it be acted upon with due promptitude, and, as certain as truth is mightier than error, fifteen years will not elapse before every foot of territory, from the mouth of the Delaware to the emboguing of the Rio Grande, will glitter with the jewels of freedom.

The Impending Crisis of the South How to Meet It (pp. 155-157). Kindle Edition.

I had been taught, in school, through cultural osmosis, that the flag wasn't really ours, that our history as a people began with enslavement, and that we had contributed little to this great nation. It seemed that the closest thing Black Americans could have to cultural pride was to be found in our vague connection to Africa, a place we had never been. That my dad felt so much honor in being an American struck me as a marker of his degradation, of his acceptance of our subordination.

Like most young people, I thought I understood so much, when in fact I understood so little. My father knew exactly what he was doing when he raised that flag. He knew that our people's contributions to building the richest and most powerful nation in the world were indelible, that the United States simply would not exist without us.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 9). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

NOTE: In the poem below is the only time Emmanuel Kant and David Hume are mentioned. Carl Linnaeus is not mentioned at all. Linnaeus proposed, in 1748, the racial constructs which infected the world.

Carol Linnaeus, founder of modern systematics, first described humans in 1748 in 4 varieties, by color and relating color to temperament and ability.

Kant and Hume piled on. Kant was someone who never traveled, staying at home. Imagining a world from his house. Both Kant and Hume analyzed the world's peoples and judged them based on inaccurate, sketchy and highly doubtful tales from travelers they talked to.

The concept of the four humors had been around since the ancient Greeks. Aristotle and Galen.

The construct of race, based on skin color was new.

Linnaeus connected his four "variations" of humans ("Homo Variat") to the four humors [or "The Four Temperaments"], creating a judgmental split between people of various skin colors, putting his own variation at the top.

Anthropomorpha

Homo Variat:

Europaeus alba

(white,

sanguine) - enthusiastic,
active, and social

Americanus

rubescens (red,
choleric disposition) -
ambitious, decisive,
aggressive, and short-
tempered

Asiaticus fuscus

(brown,

melancholy)

Africanus niger

(black,

phlegmatic) - having an
unemotional and
stolidly calm disposition

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Humorism>

Humorism

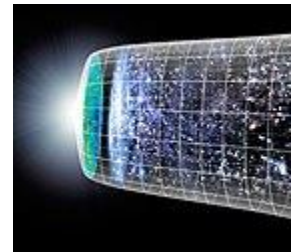
From Wikipedia, the
free encyclopedia

This article is about
humors in ancient and
medieval medicine. For
the related theory of
temperament, see [four
temperaments](#). For
humors in Ayurvedic
medicine, see
[Ayurveda](#). For the use
of humor in writing or
public speaking, see
[Humorist](#).



16th-century illustration of the four humors: *Flegmat* (phlegm), *Sanguin* (blood), *Coleric* (yellow bile) and *Melanc* (black bile).

Part of [a series](#) on [Science](#)



Humorism, the **humoral theory**, or **humoralism**, was a system of medicine detailing a supposed makeup and workings of the human body, adopted by [Ancient Greek](#) and [Roman physicians](#) and [philosophers](#).

Humorism began to fall out of favor in the 17th century and it was definitively disproved in

the 1850s with the advent of [germ theory](#), which was able to show that many diseases previously thought to be humoral were in fact caused by microbes.

Origin

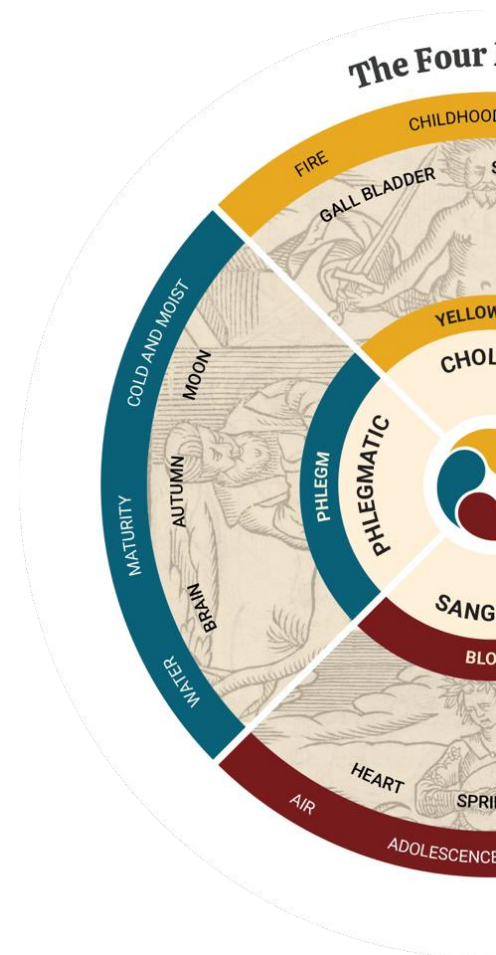
See also: [Ancient Greek medicine](#)

The concept of "humors" (chemical systems regulating human behaviour) became more prominent from the writing of medical theorist [Alcmaeon of Croton](#) (c. 540–500 BC). His list of humors was longer and included fundamental elements described by [Empedocles](#), such as water, air, earth, fire, etc. The concept of "humors" may have origins in [Ancient Egyptian medicine](#),^[1] or [Mesopotamia](#),^[2] though it was not systemized until ancient Greek thinkers. The word *humor* is a translation of Greek χυμός,^[3] *chymos* (literally juice or [sap](#), metaphorically flavor). Early texts on Indian [Ayurveda](#) medicine presented a theory of three humors (*doṣas*),^[4] which they sometimes linked with the five elements ([pañca-bhūta](#)): earth, water, fire, air, and space.^[5]

[Hippocrates](#) is usually credited with applying this idea to medicine. In contrast to Alcmaeon, Hippocrates suggested that humors are the vital bodily fluids: [blood](#), [phlegm](#), yellow bile, and black bile. Alcmaeon and Hippocrates posited that an extreme excess or deficiency of any of the humors ([bodily fluid](#)) in a person can be a sign of illness. Hippocrates, and then [Galen](#), suggested that a moderate imbalance in the mixture of these fluids produces behavioral patterns.^[6] One of the treatises attributed to Hippocrates, [On the Nature of Man](#), describes the theory as follows:

The Human body contains blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. These are the things that make up its constitution and cause its pains and health. Health is primarily that state in which these constituent substances are in the correct proportion to each other, both in strength and quantity, and are well mixed. Pain occurs when one of the substances presents either a deficiency or an excess, or is separated in the body and not

mixed with others.^[7]
The body depends heavily on the four humors because their balanced combination helps to keep people in good health. Having the right amount of humor is essential for health. The pathophysiology of disease is consequently brought on by humor excesses and/or deficiencies.^[8]



<https://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/shakespeare-and-the-four-humors/assets/four->

[humors.png](#)

<https://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/shakespeare-and-the-four-humors/index.html> --

“Shakespeare understood human personality in the terms available to his age - that of the now-discarded theory of the four bodily humors - blood, bile, melancholy, and phlegm.

“These four humors were understood to define peoples’ physical and mental health, and determined their personality, as well.

“The language of the four humors pervades Shakespeare's plays, and their influence is felt above all in a belief that emotional states are physically determined. Carried by the bloodstream, the four humors bred the core passions of anger, grief, hope, and fear—the emotions conveyed so powerfully in Shakespeare’s comedies and tragedies.”

<https://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/shakespeare-and-the-four-humors/index.html#section2>

The World of Shakespeare's Humors

The four bodily humors were part of Shakespearean cosmology, inherited from the ancient Greek philosophers Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen.

Organized around the four elements of earth, water, air, and fire; the four qualities of cold, hot, moist, and dry; and the four humors, these physical qualities determined the behavior of all created things including the human body.

In the human body, the interaction of the four humors explained differences of age, gender, emotions, and disposition. The influence of the humors changed with the seasons and times of day and with the human life span. Heat stimulated action, cold depressed it. The young warrior's cholera gave him courage, but phlegm produced cowards. Youth was hot and moist, age cold and dry. Men as a sex were hotter and drier than women.

"The mind's inclination follows the body's temperature." -

*commonly attributed to
Galen*

The poem below,
“proof [dear Phillis],”
from the “1619 Project”
only hints obliquely at
these philosophers who
so profoundly infected /
affected the world of
their time and ours. It
does not explain the
references, so you need
to know the names
referred to before
reading the poem. The
“project” really needs
to talk about the kind of
attitude shift these
(junk) “scientific” but
highly regarded men
produced, noting the
time in history and how
that affected treatment
and attitudes toward
Africans. The poem,
once you spend time
figuring out who is
being mentioned,
seems to be affecting,
but I need more. These
side references to
Increase, Cotton
[Mather, as in Mathers],
Hume, Kant.
The lines:

...
*brought an
uncultivated
Barbarian from
Africa
and the
abolitionists
cheered at the
blow to Kant
the Negroes of*

*Africa have by
nature no
feeling that
rises above the
trifling
and the
enlightened
ones bellowed
at the strike
against Hume
no ingenious
manufacturers
amongst them,
no arts, no
sciences*

... are about the
categorical
judgmentalism brought
by tying the new racial
constructs to the
ancient humors
concepts. The black skin
category it
“phlegmatic” (“no
feeling that rises above
the trifling” [Emmanuel
Kant]) and “no arts, no
sciences” [David
Hume].

proof [dear Phillis]

Eve L. Ewing

Among the blacks is misery enough, God knows, but no poetry....
Religion indeed has produced a Phyllis Wheatley; but it could not produce a poet.
The compositions published under her name are below the dignity of criticism.

—Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*

Pretend I wrote this at your grave.
Pretend the grave is marked. Pretend we know where it is.
Copp’s Hill, say. I have been there, and you might be.
Foremother, your name is the boat that brought you.
Pretend I see it in the stone, with a gruesome cherub.
Children come with thin paper and charcoal to touch you.

Pretend it drizzles and a man in an ugly plastic poncho
circles the Mathers, all but sniffing the air warily.
We don't need to pretend for this part.
There is a plaque in the grass for Increase, and Cotton.
And Samuel, dead at 78, final son, who was there
on the day when they came looking for proof.
Eighteen of them watched you and they signed to say:
*the Poems specified in the following Page, were (as we verily believe)
written by Phillis, a young Negro Girl, who was but a few Years since,
brought an uncultivated Barbarian from Africa
and the abolitionists cheered at the blow to Kant
the Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the trifling
and the enlightened ones bellowed at the strike against Hume
no ingenious manufacturers amongst them, no arts, no sciences*

Pretend I was there with you, Phillis, when you asked in a letter to no one:
How many iambs to be a real human girl?
Which turn of phrase evidences a righteous heart?
If I know of Ovid, may I keep my children?

Pretend that on your grave there is a date and it is so long before my heroes came along to call you a
coon
for the praises you sang of your captors who took you on discount because they assumed you would die
that it never ever hurt your feelings.
Or pretend you did not love America.
Phillis, I would like to think that after you were released unto the world,
when they jailed your husband for his debts
and you lay in the maid's quarters at night,
a free and poor woman with your last living boy,
that you thought of the Metamorphoses,
making the sign of Arachne in the tangle of your fingers.
And here, after all, lay the proof:
The man in the plastic runs a thumb over stone. The gray is slick and tough.
Phillis Wheatley: thirty-one. Had misery enough.

*Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (pp. 93-97). Random House
Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.*

In August 1619, just twelve years after the English settled Jamestown, Virginia, one year before the Puritans landed at Plymouth, and some 157 years before English colonists here decided they wanted to form their own country, the Jamestown colonists bought twenty to thirty enslaved Africans from English pirates.

The pirates had stolen them from a Portuguese slave ship whose crew had forcibly taken them from what is now the country of Angola. Those men and women who came ashore on that August day mark the beginning of slavery in the thirteen colonies that would become the United States of America. They were among the more than 12.5 million Africans who would be kidnapped from their homes and brought in chains across the Atlantic Ocean in the largest forced migration in human history until the Second World War.

Almost two million did not survive the grueling journey, known as the Middle Passage.

Before the abolition of the international slave trade, more than four hundred thousand of those 12 million enslaved Africans transported to the Americas would be sold into this land. Those individuals and their descendants transformed the North American colonies into some of the most successful in the British Empire. Through backbreaking labor, they cleared territory across the Southeast. They taught the colonists to grow rice and to inoculate themselves against smallpox.⁸ After the American Revolution, they grew and picked the cotton that, at the height of slavery, became the nation's most valuable export, accounting for half of American goods sold abroad and more than two-thirds of the world's supply.⁹ They helped build the forced labor camps, otherwise known as plantations, of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, sprawling properties that today attract tens of thousands of visitors from across the globe captivated by the history of the world's greatest democracy.¹⁰ They laid the foundations of the White House and the Capitol, even cast with their unfree hands the Statue of Freedom atop the Capitol dome.¹¹ They lugged the heavy wooden ties of the railroads that crisscrossed the South and carried the cotton picked by enslaved laborers to textile mills in the North, fueling this country's Industrial Revolution. They built vast fortunes for white people in both the North and the South—at one time, the second-richest man in the nation was a Rhode Island "slave trader."¹² Profits from Black people's stolen labor helped the young nation pay off its war debts and financed some of our most prestigious universities. The relentless buying, selling, insuring, and financing of their bodies and the products of their forced labor would help make Wall Street a thriving banking, insurance, and trading sector, and New York City a financial capital of the world.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (pp. 9-10). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Music – Chapter 14

By Wesley Morris – very nice compilation of the history of black music in America. A lot of names that would otherwise be lost to us.

When enslaved Africans arrived in the American colonies, they brought with them traditions of percussive rhythm that could be made on a drum as easily as with the body. The Christianity that defined colonial life had alternative musical priorities, melody being the most substantial. But, gradually, the dislocated, reluctantly acculturated Africans made modifications. One of these became known as the ring shout, wherein people would dance and chant in a circle.¹² Rhythm merged with harmony, culminating in survival songs chiefly inspired by the Bible's most salient tales. When enslavers made the Bible available, they often removed all of Exodus, with its stories of divine justice, of the Lord delivering Israel from bondage.¹³ The enslaved people who were familiar with those stories, firsthand or otherwise, built them into sermons and incorporated them into songs, songs intoned in small prayer houses and formal churches. They sang while they worked, achieving conversance in a book many of them were never allowed to become literate enough to read, a book whose allegories some enslavers deemed too resonant for the fertile imaginations of the enslaved.

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 365). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2713436.pdf> - JSTOR PDF – The text excerpted here is from the original 46 pages

“Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830”

Author(s): Research Department of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History

Source: The Journal of Negro History , Jan., 1924, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Jan., 1924), pp. 41-85

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Association for the Study of African American Life and History

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2713436> :

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Association for the Study of African American Life and History and The University of Chicago Press are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to The Journal of Negro History

FREE NEGRO OWNERS OF SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1830

From a 1924 study, here copied directly from a PDF (so, some character strings were a bit off, but most PDF-to-text formatting errors are corrected)

Taking up the study of the Free Negro in the United States, the Research Department of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History decided to make this statistical report as to the heads of families, their ownership of slaves and social relations with the whites. The aim was to facilitate the further study of this neglected group. Most of these people have been forgotten, for persons supposedly well informed in history are surprised to learn today that about a **half million, almost one-seventh of the Negroes of this country, were free prior to the emancipation in 1865**. These names will, therefore, serve as a link between the past and present and will thereby lessen the labor of research in this field.

There were several reasons for selecting the **census records of 1830**. In the first place, the earlier reports do not give as much information as the census of 1830. At that time, moreover, the free Negroes had about reached their highest mark as a distinct class. The reaction which set in earlier in the century restricted their freedom and, in many cases, expelled them from the South. This census, then, evidently reports the names of a larger number of representative free Negroes than any other census prior to their debasement to a lower status or their migration from the South. This trek reached its highest point between 1830 and 1835. Most of the free Negroes in the North in 1830, had been there for some years.

The census records show that the majority of the Negro owners of slaves were such from the point of view of philanthropy. **In many instances the husband purchased the wife or vice versa. The slaves belonging to such families were few compared with the large numbers found among the whites on the well-developed plantations. Slaves of Negroes were in some cases the children of a free father who**

had purchased his wife. If he did not thereafter emancipate the mother, as so many such husbands failed to do, his own children were born his slaves and were thus reported by the enumerators.

Some of these husbands were not anxious to liberate their wives immediately. They considered it advisable to put them on probation for a few years, and if they did not find them satisfactory they would sell their wives as other slave holders disposed of Negroes. For example, a Negro shoemaker in Charleston, South Carolina, purchased his wife for \$700; but, on finding her hard to please, he sold her a few months thereafter for \$750, gaining \$50 by the transaction. The writer personally knew a man in Cumberland County, Virginia, whose mother was purchased by his father who had first bought himself. Becoming enamored of a man slave, she gave him her husband's manumission papers that they might escape together to free soil. Upon detecting this plot, the officers of the law got the impression that her husband had turned over the papers to the slave and arrested the freedman for the supposed offense. He had such difficulty in extricating himself from this complication that his attorney's fees amounted to \$500. To pay them he disposed of his faithless wife for that amount.

Benevolent Negroes often purchased slaves to make their lot easier by granting them their freedom for a nominal sum, or by permitting them to work it out on liberal terms. John Barry Meachum, a Negro Baptist minister in St. Louis, thus came into possession of as many as 20 slaves by 1836. The exploitation type of Negro slaveholder, moreover, sometimes feeling the sting of conscience, liberated his slaves. Thus did Samuel Gibson, a Negro of Mississippi, in 1844, when he brought his six slaves to Cincinnati, Ohio, and settled them on free territory.

Practically all of these Negro slaveholders were in the South.⁽¹⁾ Slavery, however, at that time had not been exterminated altogether in the North, and even there the Negro was following in the foot-steps of the white man, as this report will show.

FOOTNOTE

1 - These facts were extracted from the manuscript returns of those who took the census of the United States in 1830. After C. G. Woodson, the editor, had first copied the records of one state to acquaint himself in detail with the information given in these census reports, the statistics were then copied under his direction by three persons. One of them has had the advantage of two years' normal training, after finishing high school and two of whom have finished college courses at Howard University and at the University of Michigan. The matter thus collected was then verified by Mr. Alruthus A. Taylor, an alumnus of Michigan and a Harvard Master of Arts in History and Economics, now employed as Associate Investigator of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Further verification was made by C. G. Woodson.

These records were copied just as those who took the census returned their findings. The only change made in the case of Negro Owners of slaves was to write the family name first, a rule which these enumerators did not all follow.

Some enumerators made no distinction as to race in recording the names, but merely indicated the status of the head of the family under free persons of color. Other enumerators wrote Negro or Colored or used F. of C. for free person of color, F. M. C. for free man of color, or F. W. C. for free woman of color, directly after the name. The question mark after a name or a figure or in a column indicates that the record is such that the fact could not be accurately determined.

In the South where almost all of the Negro slaveholders were found, moreover, we find some of them competing with the large planters in the number of slaves they owned. Most of such Negro proprietors

lived in Louisiana, South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia, as did the majority of all such slave owners. There are, moreover, a few instances of confusing absentee ownership with Negro ownership. Sometimes a free Negro had charge of a plantation, but did not own the slaves himself, and the enumerator re- turned him as the owner of the slaves.

Excepting those of Louisiana, one may say that most of the Negro owners of slaves lived in urban communities. In those parts of the South where the influence of the kind planter near the coast was not felt the Negro owner of slaves did not frequently appear. The free Negroes themselves, moreover, encountered such difficulties in the lower South and Southwest that they had to seek more hospitable communities in free States.

By 1840 the trend toward degrading the free Negro to a lower status had become evident even in the apparently benevolent slave- holding States. Just before the outbreak of the Civil War the free Negro was receiving practically no consideration in the South and very little in the North. History here repeats itself, then, in showing the varying attitude of the whites toward the blacks in the cycles of national development.

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The remaining 41 pages are columnar charts with names of the free black person with the number of slaves they own. Like this (the 1st of 41 such pages).

Notice that even on this single page there are both male and female free blacks who own slaves. The columns give the free black's name (the owner), then the number of slaves he or she owns, then the number of people in the household (owner, slave or slaves and apparently others). Finally, the fourth column gives the age range of those in the household. Remember, this is a 1924 document.

ALABAMA

Name	Slaves	Total	Age	Name	Slaves	Total	Age
CLARKE COUNTY				Chastang, Basil.....	1	10	55-100
Meggs, James.....	1	2	36-55	Chastang, Bastiste.....	1	3	36-55
Harris, P. T.....	24	25	55-100	Chastang, Zane.....	1	3	55-100
Hatcher, William.....	2	3	36-55	Chastang, Zeno.....	5	15	36-55
Stapleton, Joseph.....	1	2	36-55	Chastang, Louisa.....	14	19	55-100
Monack, David.....	27	28	55-100	Nicholas, Jasma.....	3	5	24-36
DALLAS COUNTY				<i>City of Mobile</i>			
Smith, Tom.....	4	14	36-55	Rutgeron, Frances.....	1	2	24-36
LAWRENCE COUNTY				Ferer, Clara.....	4	6	24-36
Royall, Lewis.....	1	3	55-100	Laurendine, Benjamin...	1	7	24-36
MADISON COUNTY				Rozieste, Burnadoz.....	14	32	24-36
<i>First and Second Ranges of Townships</i>				Guile, Mad. O.....	4	10	55-100
Davis, Betsey.....	1	7	36-55	Chastang, Frances.....	1	7	55-100
Stewart, James F.....	2	3	36-55	Gregg, Frances.....	2	8	24-36
<i>Third and Fourth Ranges of Townships</i>				Mary, Mad.....	6	8	36-55
Robinson, John.....	4	7	24-36	Rozieste, Peir.....	6	14	24-36
Blanks, Paschal.....	2	4	24-36	Boshong, Madam.....	16	23	36-55
Hunt, Lewis.....	1	4	24-36	MONROE COUNTY			
Hunster, Nancy.....	1	8	36-55	Sizemore (?), Arthur....	3	8	55-100
Findley, Jenny.....	1	2	24-36	Sizemore (?), Susanna...	2	7	36-55
Evans, John.....	1	3	36-55	MONTGOMERY COUNTY			
Winn, Andrew.....	2	3	55-100	Fowler (de), Oxey.....	1	3	55-100
MOBILE COUNTY				Lanton Joseph (F. of C.)	2	11	55-100
Minnie.....	1	6	36-55	PERRY COUNTY			
Key, Lawrence.....	4	11	24-36	Thomas, Frederick V....	1	8	55-100
Chastang, Theresa.....	2	3	100-	SHELBY COUNTY			
Simore, Felix.....	1	10	55-100	Hadsen, Isah.....	1	12	36-55
Colderen, Simore.....	3	8	24-36	WASHINGTON COUNTY			
Andre, Sylvester.....	2	10	36-55	Saunsha, John.....	2	3	36-55
Andre, Mademitian....	6	15	36-55	WILCOX COUNTY			
Simore, Jane.....	10	13	36-55	Martin, John.....	1	3	36-55

ARKANSAS TERRITORY

LAFAYETTE COUNTY							
Free Bob.....	3	4	36-55				

CONNECTICUT

FAIRFIELD COUNTY							
Demosat, Amos.....	1	6	55-100				

DELAWARE

NEWCASTLE COUNTY							
Davis, Samuel B.....	3	4	10-24	Delahow, Jacob.....	1	6	36-55
Millis, Charles.....	1	3	24-36	SUSSEX COUNTY			
Porter, Jesse.....	5	10	24-36	Mosley, Peter.....	6	7	100-
Dale, Hannah.....	1	2	36-55	Sirmon, Caleb.....	1	8	36-55
Tibut, Daniel.....	2	3	36-55	Richards, Robert.....	1	3	36-55

"Justice" essay by Nikole Hannah-Jones in 1619 Project

A woman named Callie House, herself born into slavery, widowed in adulthood, and working as a washerwoman in Tennessee, began organizing freedpeople in the early 1900s under the National Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty and Pension Association.³³ Through this grassroots association, House organized tens of thousands of formerly enslaved people to push Congress to pass a bill to provide "slave

pensions,” just as the federal government paid pensions to Union soldiers. After years of organizing failed to pay off with Congress, in 1915, House took an extraordinary step for a Black, formerly enslaved woman living in the Jim Crow South: she retained Cornelius Jones, one of a tiny number of Black lawyers practicing in Washington, D.C., and sued the federal government for reparations.³⁴ In the suit, Jones argued that the U.S. Treasury owed Black Americans **\$68,073,388.99 for the taxes it had collected between 1862 and 1868 on the cotton enslaved people had grown**. The federal government had identified the cotton and could trace it, and the suit argued that this tax **money should be paid in the form of pensions for those who against their will had grown, picked, and processed it.**³⁵

Hannah-Jones, Nikole ; The New York Times Magazine. The 1619 Project (p. 462). Random House Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Yemi melikhaya



Published according to Act of Parliament, Sept. 1. 1773 by Arch.^d Bell,

Bookfeller N^o 8 near the Saracens Head Aldgate.

<https://www.amazon.com/Odyssey-Phillis-Wheatley-Journeys-Independence-ebook/dp/B09Y46LZ4V> -

The Odyssey of Phillis Wheatley: A Poet's Journeys Through American Slavery and Independence

by David Waldstreicher

*David Waldstreicher teaches history at the City University of New York Graduate Center and is the author of *Slavery's Constitution: From Revolution to Ratification* and *Runaway America: Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution*. He has written for *The New York Times Book Review*, *Boston Review*, and *The Atlantic*, among other publications.*

Amazon Blurb:

Admired by George Washington, ridiculed by Thomas Jefferson, published in London, and read far and wide, Phillis Wheatley led one of the most extraordinary American lives. Seized in West Africa and forced into slavery as a child, she was sold to a merchant family in Boston, where she became a noted poet at a young age. Mastering the Bible, Greek and Latin translations, and the works of Pope and Milton, she composed elegies for local elites, celebrated political events, praised warriors, and used her verse to variously lampoon, question, and assert the injustice of her enslaved condition. "Can I then but pray / Others may never feel tyrannic sway?" By doing so, she added her voice to a vibrant, mult-sided conversation about race, slavery, and discontent with British rule; before and after her emancipation, her verses shook up racial etiquette and used familiar forms to create bold new meanings. She demonstrated a complex but crucial fact of the times: that the American Revolution both strengthened and limited Black slavery.

In this new biography, the historian David Waldstreicher offers the fullest account to date of Wheatley's life and works, correcting myths, reconstructing intimate friendships, and deepening our understanding of her verse and the revolutionary era. Throughout *The Odyssey of Phillis Wheatley*, he demonstrates the continued vitality and resonance of a woman who wrote, in a founding gesture of American literature, "Thy Power, O Liberty, makes strong the weak / And (wond'rous instinct) Ethiopians speak."

"She was called Phillis, because that was the name of the ship that brought her, and Wheatley, which was the name of the merchant who bought her. She was born in Senegal SN In Boston, the slave traders put her up for sale. At thirteen, she was already writing poems in a language that was not her own. No one believed that she was the author. At the age of twenty, Phillis was questioned by a court of eighteen enlightened men in robes and wigs.



<https://www.gc.cuny.edu/people/david-waldstreicher> -

“She had to recite texts from Virgil and Milton and some messages from the Bible, and she also had to swear that the poems she had written were not plagiarized. From a chair, she gave her long examination, until the court accepted her: she was a woman, she was Black, she was enslaved, but she was a poet.”

Phillis Wheatley, was the first African-American writer to publish a book in the United States.

A fine new book about her. It is called “The Odyssey of Phillis Wheatley” and discusses the society in which she lived as well as analysis of her writings.

Amazon Reviewer – JS - *4.0 out of 5 stars* **Poor Phillis!** - Reviewed in the United States us on May 9, 2023

For the most part this book is a nice opportunity to learn more about Phillis Wheatley's life beyond what one of the online biographies can tell you. I especially enjoyed the additional historical context for her occasional poems, and the newly discovered anonymous poems are quite sharp and pleasing to modern ears. Phillis' life was short and tragic, and much like her contemporary Lucy Terry, one suspects that if she had not been forced to struggle against prejudice, we would have many superior poems from her today.

The author frequently emphasizes that poetry is a means for Phillis to obtain agency -- e.g. she is not just a poet praying for the King, she is "able to present herself as" one (p.70). These little grammatical roundabouts are frequently interjected into the text to remind us that this is an enslaved woman struggling to assert her voice. Phillis herself does this at times, but I would object that she wanted her poems to be more than this. Although her relationship to the Church is somewhat unorthodox and at times can be read as cynical, I would describe Phillis as a religious person. Many of her poems emphasize the importance of spiritual experience and religious rapture as able to overcome social division and tragedy. While I cannot present a thesis on her theology, her hope for freedom and for an end to slavery and racism does seem closely tied to spirituality in *some* sense. To instead cast her as locked in an inescapable, lifelong struggle for total agency, something no human is capable of anyway, doesn't seem quite accurate and also strikes me as a bit depressing.

<https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/david-waldstreicher-hidden-stakes-1619-controversy/> -

The Hidden Stakes of the 1619 Controversy - January 24, 2020 - Critics of the New York Times's 1619 Project insist the facts don't support its proslavery reading of the American Revolution. But

they obscure a longstanding debate within the field of U.S. history over that very issue. – by David Waldstreicher

The enthusiastic response to the 1619 Project exceeded even the expectations of the magazine. Tens of thousands of extra copies sold out immediately. Teachers announced plans to use the essays in schools, as the project's designers had hoped. In response, rightwing magazines began to offer stinging rebukes. Some of the ruckus reprised debates about recent books on the antebellum South by historians such as Walter Johnson and Edward Baptist, who locate the roots of modern American capitalism within plantation slavery, setting the stage for the 1619 Project's emphasis on disturbing continuities in the present.

The letter writers had three main objections, all concerning passages in the project's lead essay by Hannah-Jones—none of which concern the other line of controversy, especially among conservative commentators, about the relations between capitalism and slavery (coverage of the letter to the Times has monopolized the most recent discussion, leading that theme to drop out of the conversation). The first concerns her assertion that “one of the primary reasons the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery” and that “we may never have revolted against Britain . . . if [the founders] had not believed that independence was required in order to ensure that slavery would continue.” The second concerns her depiction of Abraham Lincoln as not committed to black equality, and the third concerns her contention that across U.S. history, black people have “for the most part . . . fought alone” in their struggles for freedom.

These are perennial issues in the history of emancipation and civil rights. It is no coincidence, though, that the first claim, about the American Revolution, has proved the most controversial. This dispute reflects deep fault lines in the field of U.S. history over interpretations of the Revolution, particularly in terms of its relationship to slavery and the status of African Americans. Though it rarely spills out into public view in quite the way it has recently, there is a longstanding debate within the academy over just how revolutionary the American Revolution really was.

...

Revolutions are measured by results as well as intentions, by effects as well as causes. And here too the record is mixed—in some regards the war only strengthened slavery, and in others it did indeed open new paths for dismantling it. Emancipation in the North was only conceivable with the revolutionary transfer of sovereignty to states that could, and in some cases quickly did, emancipate or legally permit voluntary emancipation. This development, along with the thirty to hundred thousand Africans who became free during the war years, created free black communities that ultimately formed the mainstay of an abolitionist movement that destabilized U.S. politics and inspired a slaveholders' revolt and a civil war.

... One of Wheatley's first circulated poems celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act. In October 1772, in a poem celebrating Lord Dartmouth's ascent to Secretary of State for the colonies, Wheatley directly compared the critique of slavery to colonial protest: “Thus I deplore the Day, / When Britons weep beneath Tyrannic Sway.” (By “Britons” she meant Americans.) She wrote this poem to be hand delivered to Dartmouth by an English lobbyist, a canny diplomatic move that helped set in motion her trip to London to secure publication of her book of *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773). Boston patriots had been afraid to touch her manuscript because they worried it would encourage attacks on patriot hypocrisy already common in England. ...

In a sense, the Revolution cut off Wheatley's newfound British antislavery ties. So did her emancipation upon returning to Boston. Despite publishing poems celebrating the war effort, General Washington, and the prospects of the new nation, she was unable to get her proposed second volume into print, and she

died penniless in 1784. Was she a victim of a racist, proslavery American Revolution? Yes, and no—or, more precisely, only if one shrinks the Revolution to the war. She had made her fame and her freedom in “the American Revolution.” She was hardly the only person to lose in Boston’s war-ravaged economy or the only public figure to die young for lack of work or patronage. To depict her as a victim of a lost (potentially more egalitarian) British-Atlantic world, as Mark Peterson has recently done in his rich history of Boston as an Atlantic “city-state,” is to miss or understate what she accomplished. She helped force the issue of the relationship between the American Revolution and the politics of slavery into public consciousness. She could hardly have done more: no one did.

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https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_in_ancient_Rome

Slavery in ancient Rome

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Slavery in ancient Rome played an important role in society and the economy. Besides manual labour, slaves performed many domestic services and might be employed at highly skilled jobs and professions. Accountants and physicians were often slaves. Slaves of Greek origin in particular might be highly educated. Unskilled slaves, or those sentenced to slavery as punishment, worked on farms, in mines, and at mills.

Slaves were considered property under [Roman law](#) and had no legal personhood. Most slaves would never be freed. Unlike [Roman citizens](#), they could be subjected to corporal punishment, [sexual exploitation](#) ([prostitutes](#) were often slaves), torture and [summary execution](#). Over time, however, slaves gained increased legal protection, including the right to file complaints against their masters.

....

Demography

See also: Demography of the Roman Empire :

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demography_of_the_Roman_Empire

Estimates for the prevalence of slavery in the Roman Empire vary. Estimates of the percentage of the population of Italy who were slaves range upwards of one to two million slaves in Italy by the end of the 1st century BC, **about 20% to 30% of Italy's population**. For the empire as a whole during the period 260–425 AD, according to a study by Kyle Harper, the slave population has been estimated at just under five million, representing 10–15% of the total population of 50–60 million inhabitants. **An estimated 49% of all slaves were owned by the elite, who made up less than 1.5% of the empire's population**. About half of all slaves worked in the countryside where they were a small percentage of the population except on some large agricultural, especially imperial, estates; the remainder of the other half were a significant percentage – 25% or more – in towns and cities as domestics and workers in commercial enterprises and manufacturers.

Roman slavery was not based on ideas of [race](#). Slaves were drawn from all over Europe and the Mediterranean, including [Gaul](#), [Hispania](#), [North Africa](#), [Syria](#), [Germany](#), [Britannia](#), the [Balkans](#), [Greece](#),

etc. Those from outside of Europe were predominantly of Greek descent, while Jews never fully assimilated into Roman society, remaining an identifiable minority. **The slaves (especially the foreigners) had higher mortality rates and lower birth rates than natives and were sometimes even subjected to mass expulsions. The average recorded age at death for the slaves of the city of Rome was extraordinarily low: seventeen and a half years (17.2 for males; 17.9 for females). By comparison, life expectancy at birth for the population as a whole was in the mid-twenties.**

Estimated Distribution of Citizenship in the Roman Empire (middle of the 1st century AD)

Region	Citizens (per cent)	Noncitizen residents (per cent)	Slaves (per cent)
Rome	55	15	30
Italy	70	5	25
Spain and Gaul	10	70	20
Other Western Provinces	3	80	17
Greece and Asia Minor	3	70	27
North African Provinces	2	70	28
Other Eastern Provinces	1	80	19

Auctions and sales

New slaves were primarily acquired by wholesale dealers who followed the Roman armies. Many people who bought slaves wanted strong slaves, mostly men. Child slaves cost less than adults although other sources state their price as higher. [Julius Caesar](#) once sold the entire population of a conquered region in [Gaul](#), no fewer than 53,000 people, to slave dealers on the spot.

Within the empire, slaves were sold at [public auction](#) or sometimes in shops, or by private sale in the case of more valuable slaves. Slave dealing was overseen by the Roman fiscal officials called [quaestors](#).

Sometimes slaves stood on revolving stands, and around each slave for sale hung a type of plaque describing their origin, health, character, intelligence, education, and other information pertinent to purchasers. Prices varied with age and quality, with the most valuable slaves fetching high prices. Because purchasers wanted to make sure that the slaves they were buying were healthy, the slaves were usually presented naked. The dealer was required to take a slave back within six months if the slave had defects that were not manifest at the sale, or make good the buyer's loss. Slaves to be sold with no guarantee were made to wear a cap at the auction.

Debt slavery

Main article: [Nexum](#)

Nexum was a [debt bondage](#) contract in the early [Roman Republic](#). Within the [Roman legal system](#), it was a form of [mancipatio](#). Though the terms of the contract would vary, essentially a free man pledged himself as a bond slave (*nexus*) as surety for a loan. He might also hand over his son as collateral. Although the bondsman could expect to face humiliation and some abuse, as a [legal citizen](#) he was

supposed to be exempt from corporal punishment. *Nexum* was abolished by the [Lex Poetelia Papiria](#) in 326 BC, in part to prevent abuses to the physical integrity of citizens who had fallen into debt bondage.

[Roman historians](#) illuminated the abolition of *nexum* with a traditional story that varied in its particulars; basically, a *nexus* who was a handsome but upstanding youth suffered sexual harassment by the holder of the debt. In one version, the youth had gone into debt to pay for his father's funeral; in others, he had been handed over by his father. In all versions, he is presented as a model of virtue. Historical or not, the cautionary tale highlighted the incongruities of subjecting one free citizen to another's use, and the legal response was aimed at establishing the citizen's right to liberty (*libertas*), as distinguished from the slave or social outcast (*infamis*).

[Cicero](#) considered the abolition of *nexum* primarily a political maneuver to appease the common people (*plebs*): the law was passed during the [Conflict of the Orders](#), when plebeians were struggling to establish their rights in relation to the hereditary privileges of the [patricians](#). Although *nexum* was abolished as a way to secure a loan, debt bondage might still result after a debtor defaulted.

Types of work



Mosaic depicting two female slaves (*ancillae*) attending their mistress

Slaves worked in a wide range of occupations that can be roughly divided into five categories: household or domestic, [imperial or public](#), urban crafts and services, agriculture, and mining.

Epitaphs record at least 55 different jobs a household slave might have, including barber, butler, cook, hairdresser, handmaid (*ancilla*), washer of their master's clothes, [wet nurse](#) or [nursery attendant](#), teacher, secretary, seamstress, accountant, and physician. A large elite household (a [domus](#) in town, or a [villa](#) in the countryside) might be supported by a staff of hundreds. The living conditions of slaves attached to a *domus* (the *familia urbana*), while inferior to those of the free persons they lived with, were sometimes superior to that of many free urban poor in Rome. Household slaves likely enjoyed the highest standard of living among Roman slaves, next to [publicly owned slaves](#), who were not subject to the whims of a single master. Imperial slaves were those attached to the emperor's household, the *familia Caesaris*.

In urban workplaces, the occupations of slaves included [fullers](#), engravers, shoemakers, bakers, mule drivers, and [prostitutes](#). [Farm slaves](#) (*familia rustica*) probably lived in more healthful conditions. Roman agricultural writers expect that the workforce of a farm will be mostly slaves, managed by a [vilicus](#), who was often a slave himself.



"Eros, Posidippus' Cook, this is his site" ("SER" presumably short for "SERVUS", "slave"): epitaph on a stele

Slaves numbering in the tens of thousands were condemned to [work in the mines or quarries](#), where conditions were notoriously brutal. *Damnati in metallum* ("those condemned to the mine") were convicts who lost their freedom as citizens (*libertas*), forfeited their property (*bona*) to the state, and became *servi poenae*, slaves as a legal penalty. Their status under the law was different from that of other slaves; they could not buy their freedom, be sold, or be set free. They were expected to live and die in the mines. Imperial slaves and freedmen (the *familia Caesaris*) worked in mine administration and management.

In the Late Republic, about half the [gladiators](#) who fought in Roman arenas were slaves, though the most skilled were often free volunteers.^[51] Successful gladiators were occasionally rewarded with freedom. However gladiators, being trained warriors and having access to weapons, were potentially the most dangerous slaves. At an earlier time, many gladiators had been soldiers taken captive in war. [Spartacus](#), who was a rebel gladiator, led the [great slave rebellion of 73–71 BC](#).

Global Slavery Index

<https://www.walkfree.org/global-slavery-index/> - full index page copy

UNDERSTANDING THE SCALE OF MODERN SLAVERY

Modern slavery is hidden in plain sight and is deeply intertwined with life in every corner of the world.

Each day, people are tricked, coerced, or forced into exploitive situations where they cannot refuse or leave. Each day, we buy the products or use the services they have been forced to make or offer without realizing the hidden human cost.

An estimated 50 million people were living in modern slavery on any given day in 2021, an increase of 10 million people since 2016.

Walk Free's flagship report, the Global Slavery Index (GSI) provides national estimates of modern slavery for 160 countries. Our estimates draw on thousands of interviews with survivors collected through

nationally representative household surveys across 75 countries and our assessment of national-level vulnerability.

With the exception of contributions from external authors, the Global Slavery Index is produced by Walk Free. We are solely responsible for the contents of this report.

49.6M - people in modern slavery

2.3M - people in Pakistan

11M - people in India

5.8M - people in China

2.6M - people in North Korea

Global Slavery Index PDF

<https://cdn.walkfree.org/content/uploads/2023/05/17114737/Global-Slavery-Index-2023.pdf> - 172 pages

<https://www.rivalnations.org/slavery-is-biblical/>

SLAVERY IS BIBLICAL

You follow the Bible, don't you? - 8 minute read

Since the time of Abraham, the use of slavery has been something that God has never disapproved of. Abraham, the “father of faith,” and all the patriarchs held slaves without God’s disapproval (Genesis 21:9-10). The **Ten Commandments** mention slaves twice, showing God’s implicit acceptance of it (Exodus 20:10, 17). Slaves were allowed to be taken after going to war (Deuteronomy 20:10-14). God even instructs Moses that his people may own child slaves **permanently** and that they may be passed down as a family inheritance (Leviticus 25:44-46). Apparently, [according to God](#), it is okay to buy and sell children. Slavery is all over the [Old Testament](#), and God never disapproves of it.

When a slave owner strikes a male or female slave with a rod and the slave dies immediately, the owner shall be punished. But if the slave survives a day or two, there is no punishment; for the slave is the owner's property.

Exodus 21:20-21

According to Moses, you can beat your slaves all you want, even within an inch of their life, **because slaves are your property**. Of course, even if you kill your slave, you won’t be put to death yourself, but only punished. The old “eye for an eye” doesn’t apply here because slaves are property, *not people*.

Modern readers may wish that the New Testament overturns this, but that doesn’t seem to be the case (Titus 2:9). If Jesus or Paul had wanted to outlaw the institution of slavery, they would’ve done so. **Instead, Jesus and Paul never directly rebukes slavery**. Paul tells slaves to “*obey your earthly masters with fear and trembling*” (Ephesians 6:5). Slaves are also told to do everything their masters tell them to do, and if your master beats you harshly, you should just accept it. After all, fear of your master is a good thing (1 Peter 2:18, Colossians 3:22-24, 1 Timothy 6:1).

If in the Old Testament, saints owned slaves, and if the apostle Paul preached “*the whole counsel of God*” (Acts 20:27) without explicitly prohibiting slavery, then no man can rightly call slavery, in principle, a sin. **Neither the Old Testament nor the New Testament says anything about abolishing the many-**

millennia-long tradition of slavery passed down from Moses. This has been the justification and mindset of *most* Christians throughout history.

<https://www.rivalnations.org/bloodthirsty-god/>

Bloodthirsty God

How God just can't get enough killing.
27-minute read

<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2003/08/dump-the-ten-commandments.html>

Moore's Law: The immorality of the Ten Commandments.

By Christopher Hitchens, Aug 27, 2003, 5:04 PM

The row over the boulder-sized version of the so-called "Ten Commandments," and as to whether they should be exhibited in such massive shape on public property, misses the opportunity to consider these top-10 divine ordinances and their relationship to original intent. **Judge Roy Moore** is clearly, as well as a fool and a publicity-hound, a man who identifies the Mount Sinai orders to Moses with a certain interpretation of Protestantism. But we may ask ourselves why any sect, however primitive, would want to base itself on such vague pre-Christian desert morality (assuming Moses to be pre-Christian).

... the first four commandments have almost nothing to do with moral conduct and cannot in any case be enforced by law unless the state forbids certain sorts of art all week, including religious and iconographic art—and all activity on the Sabbath (which the words of the fourth commandment do not actually require). The next instruction is to honor one's parents: a harmless enough idea, but again unenforceable in law and inapplicable to the many orphans that nature or god sees fit to create. That there should be no itemized utterance enjoining the protection of children seems odd, given that the commandments are addressed in the first instance to adults. But then, the same god frequently urged his followers to exterminate various forgotten enemy tribes down to the last infant, sparing only the virgins, so this may be a case where hand-tying or absolute prohibitions were best avoided.

... One is presuming (is one not?) that this is the same god who actually created the audience he was addressing. This leaves us with the insoluble mystery of why he would have molded ("in his own image," yet) a covetous, murderous, disrespectful, lying, and adulterous species. Create them sick, and then command them to be well? What a mad despot this is, and how fortunate we are that he exists only in the minds of his worshippers.

It's obviously too much to expect that a Bronze Age demagogue should have remembered to condemn drug abuse, drunken driving, or offenses against gender equality, or to demand prayer in the schools. Still, to have left rape and child abuse and genocide and slavery out of the account is to have been negligent to some degree, even by the lax standards of the time. I wonder what would happen if secularists were now to insist that the verses of the Bible that actually recommend enslavement, mutilation, stoning, and mass murder of civilians be incised on the walls of, say, public libraries? ...

<https://www.exminister.org/Biblical-God-Flunks-Geography.html>

God Flunks Geography

by Brian Worley, March 16, 2018

<https://exminister.org/Bushby-forged-origins-NewTestament.html>

The Forged Origins of the New Testament (2001)

Extracted from Nexus Magazine, Volume 14, Number 4 (June - July 2007)

Magazine (\$8.0) <https://nexusmagazine.com/product/nexus-vol-14-no-4/?v=7516fd43adaa>

Article (\$1.50) <https://nexusmagazine.com/product/the-forged-origins-of-the-new-testament/?v=7516fd43adaa>

From our web page at: Nexus Magazine

by Tony Bushby

*Up until the First Council of Nicaea, the Roman aristocracy primarily worshipped two Greek gods-Apollo and Zeus-but the great bulk of common people idolized either Julius Caesar or Mithras (the Romanised version of the Persian deity Mithra). Caesar was deified by the Roman Senate after his death (15 March 44 BC) and subsequently venerated as "the Divine Julius". The word "Saviour" was affixed to his name, its literal meaning being "one who sows the seed", i.e., he was a phallic god. Julius Caesar was hailed as "God made manifest and universal Saviour of human life", and his successor Augustus was called the "ancestral God and Saviour of the whole human race" (*Man and his Gods*, Homer Smith, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1952). Emperor Nero (54-68), whose original name was Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (37-68), was immortalized on his coins as the "Saviour of mankind" (ibid.). The Divine Julius as Roman Saviour and "Father of the Empire" was considered "God" among the Roman rabble for more than 300 years. He was the deity in some Western presbyters' texts, but was not recognized in Eastern or Oriental writings.*

Constantine's intention at Nicaea was to create an entirely new god for his empire who would unite all religious factions under one deity. Presbyters were asked to debate and decide who their new god would be. Delegates argued among themselves, expressing personal motives for inclusion of particular writings that promoted the finer traits of their own special deity. Throughout the meeting, howling factions were immersed in heated debates, and the names of 53 gods were tabled for discussion. "As yet, no God had been selected by the council, and so they balloted in order to determine that matter... For one year and five months the balloting lasted..." (*God's Book of Eskra*, Prof. S. L. MacGuire's translation, Salisbury, 1922, chapter xlviii, paragraphs 36, 41).

At the end of that time, **Constantine returned to the gathering to discover that the presbyters had not agreed on a new deity but had balloted down to a shortlist of five prospects: Caesar, Krishna, Mithra, Horus and Zeus (Historia Ecclesiastica, Eusebius, c. 325).** Constantine was the ruling spirit at Nicaea and he ultimately decided upon a new god for them. **To involve British factions, he ruled that the name of the great Druid god, Hesus, be joined with the Eastern Saviour-god, Krishna (Krishna is Sanskrit for Christ), and thus Hesus Krishna would be the official name of the new Roman god.** A vote was taken and it was with a majority show of hands (161 votes to 157) that both divinities became one God. Following longstanding heathen custom, Constantine used the official gathering and the Roman apotheosis decree to legally deify two deities as one, and did so by democratic consent. A new god was proclaimed and "officially" ratified by Constantine (*Acta Concilii Nicaeni*, 1618). That purely political act of deification effectively and legally placed Hesus and Krishna among the Roman gods as one individual composite.

That abstraction lent Earthly existence to amalgamated doctrines for the Empire's new religion; and **because there was no letter "J" in alphabets until around the ninth century, the name subsequently evolved into "Jesus Christ"**.

...

Important for our story is the fact that the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* reveals that around 1,200 years of Christian history are unknown: "Unfortunately, only few of the records [of the Church] prior to the year 1198 have been released". It was not by chance that, in that same year (1198), Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) suppressed all records of earlier Church history by establishing the Secret Archives (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Farley ed., vol. xv, p. 287). Some seven-and-a-half centuries later, and after spending some years in those Archives, Professor Edmond S. Bordeaux wrote *How The Great Pan Died*. In a chapter titled "The Whole of Church History is Nothing but a Retroactive Fabrication", he said this (in part):

"The Church ante-dated all her late works, some newly made, some revised and some counterfeited, which contained the final expression of her history ... her technique was to make it appear that much later works written by Church writers were composed a long time earlier, so that they might become evidence of the first, second or third centuries." (*How The Great Pan Died*, op. cit., p. 46)

Supporting Professor Bordeaux's findings is the fact that, in 1587, Pope Sixtus V (1585-90) established an official Vatican publishing division and said in his own words, "Church history will be now be established ... we shall seek to print our own account" (*Encyclopédie*, Diderot, 1759). Vatican records also reveal that Sixtus V spent 18 months of his life as pope personally writing a new Bible and then introduced into Catholicism a "New Learning" (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Farley ed., vol. v, p. 442, vol. xv, p. 376). The evidence that the Church wrote its own history is found in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, and it reveals the reason why Pope Clement XIII (1758-69) ordered all volumes to be destroyed immediately after publication in 1759.

Gospel authors exposed as imposters.

There is something else involved in this scenario and it is recorded in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. An appreciation of the clerical mindset arises when the Church itself admits that it does not know who wrote its Gospels and Epistles, confessing that all 27 New Testament writings began life anonymously:

"It thus appears that the present titles of the Gospels are not traceable to the evangelists themselves ... they [the New Testament collection] are supplied with titles which, however ancient, do not go back to the respective authors of those writings." (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Farley ed., vol. vi, pp. 655-6)

The Church maintains that "the titles of our Gospels were not intended to indicate authorship", adding that "the headings ... were affixed to them" (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Farley ed., vol. i, p. 117, vol. vi, pp. 655, 656). Therefore, they are not Gospels written "according to Matthew, Mark, Luke or John", as publicly stated. The full force of this confession reveals that there are no genuine apostolic Gospels, and that the Church's shadowy writings today embody the very ground and pillar of Christian foundations and faith. The consequences are fatal to the pretense of Divine origin of the entire New Testament and expose Christian texts as having no special authority. For centuries, fabricated Gospels bore Church certification of authenticity now confessed to be false, and this provides evidence that Christian writings are wholly fallacious.

After years of dedicated New Testament research, Dr Tischendorf expressed dismay at the differences between the oldest and newest Gospels, and had trouble understanding...

"...how scribes could allow themselves to bring in here and there changes which were not simply verbal ones, but such as materially affected the very meaning and, what is worse still, did not shrink from cutting out a passage or inserting one."

(*Alterations to the Sinai Bible*, Dr Constantin von Tischendorf, 1863, available in the British Library, London)

After years of validating the fabricated nature of the New Testament, a disillusioned Dr Tischendorf confessed that modern-day editions have "been altered in many places" and are "not to be accepted as true" (*When Were Our Gospels Written?*, Dr Constantin von Tischendorf, 1865, British Library, London).

...

Tischendorf's conclusion also supports Professor Bordeaux's Vatican findings that reveal the allegory of Jesus Christ derived from the fable of Mithra, the divine son of God (Ahura Mazda) and messiah of the first kings of the Persian Empire around 400 BC. His birth in a grotto was attended by magi who followed a star from the East. They brought "gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh" (as in Matt. 2:11) and the newborn baby was adored by shepherds. He came into the world wearing the Mithraic cap, which popes imitated in various designs until well into the 15th century.

Mithra, one of a trinity, stood on a rock, the emblem of the foundation of his religion, and was anointed with honey. After a last supper with Helios and 11 other companions, Mithra was crucified on a cross, bound in linen, placed in a rock tomb and rose on the third day or around 25 March (the full moon at the spring equinox, a time now called Easter after the Babylonian goddess Ishtar). The fiery destruction of the universe was a major doctrine of Mithraism—a time in which Mithra promised to return in person to Earth and save deserving souls. Devotees of Mithra partook in a sacred communion banquet of bread and wine, a ceremony that paralleled the Christian Eucharist and preceded it by more than four centuries.

Christianity is an adaptation of Mithraism welded with the Druidic principles of the Culdees, some Egyptian elements (the pre-Christian Book of Revelation was originally called *The Mysteries of Osiris and Isis*), Greek philosophy and various aspects of Hinduism.

Why there are no records of Jesus Christ

It is not possible to find in any legitimate religious or historical writings compiled between the beginning of the first century and well into the fourth century any reference to Jesus Christ and the spectacular events that the Church says accompanied his life. This confirmation comes from Frederic Farrar (1831-1903) of Trinity College, Cambridge:

"It is amazing that history has not embalmed for us even one certain or definite saying or circumstance in the life of the Saviour of mankind ... there is no statement in all history that says anyone saw Jesus or talked with him. Nothing in history is more astonishing than the silence of contemporary writers about events relayed in the four Gospels."

(*The Life of Christ*, Frederic W. Farrar, Cassell, London, 1874)

This situation arises from a conflict between history and New Testament narratives. Dr Tischendorf made this comment:

"We must frankly admit that we have no source of information with respect to the life of Jesus Christ other than ecclesiastic writings assembled during the fourth century."

(*Codex Sinaiticus*, Dr Constantin von Tischendorf, British Library, London)

There is an explanation for those hundreds of years of silence: the construct of Christianity did not begin until after the first quarter of the fourth century, and that is why Pope Leo X (d. 1521) called Christ a "fable" (*Cardinal Bembo: His Letters...*, op. cit.).

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esus>

Esus, Hesus, or Aisus was a Brittonic and Gaulish god known from two monumental statues and a line in Lucan's *Bellum civile*.

A well-known section in Lucan's *Bellum civile* (61–65 CE) refers to gory sacrifices offered to a triad of Celtic deities: Teutates, Hesus (*an aspirated form of Esus*), and Taranis. Variant spellings, or readings, of the name Esus in the manuscripts of Lucan include Hesus, Aesus, and Haesus. Among a pair of later commentators on Lucan's work, one identifies Teutates with Mercury and Esus with Mars. **According to the Berne Commentary on Lucan, human victims were sacrificed to Esus by being tied to a tree and flogged to death.**

<https://www.amazon.com/Untenable-Ethnic-Flight-Americas-Cities-ebook/dp/B0BZQC882W> - Kindle link

<https://www.amazon.com/Untenable-Ethnic-Flight-Americas-Cities/dp/1637586469> - Hardcover link

Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities

by Jack Cashill

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Long accused of racism and “white flight,” the ethnic Americans driven from their homes and neighborhoods—the author included—finally get the chance to tell their side of the story.

“A startlingly honest and poignant look at ‘white flight’ from the white perspective. A necessary and overdue corrective.” —Brent Bozell III, founder and president of the Media Research Center

I asked one lifelong friend, a rare Democrat among the displaced, why he and his widowed mother finally left our block in the early 1970s, twenty years after the first African-American families moved in. He searched a minute for the right set of words, and then simply said, “It became untenable.” When I asked what he meant by “untenable,” he answered, “When your mother gets mugged for the second time, that’s untenable. When your home gets broken into for the second time, that’s untenable.” In researching this project, I found myself repeatedly stunned by the failure of self-described experts on white flight to ask those accused of fleeing why it was they fled. The reason the experts didn’t ask, I discovered, is that they were afraid of what they might learn.

About the Author

Born and raised in Newark, New Jersey, Jack Cashill graduated from Regis High School and Siena College and received his Ph.D. in American studies from Purdue University. Relevant to this project, Cashill worked for the Newark Housing Authority and the Housing Authority of Kansas City. He also taught urban studies through the Fulbright program at the University of Nancy in France. *Untenable* is Cashill’s fifteenth published work of nonfiction.

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At its purest, home was a night like that of March 19, 1958, when snow, loads of it, all the more welcome for its late arrival, fell on Pigs. Pigs was shorthand for Pigtails Alley, the magical stretch of broken asphalt and ground glass that ran unseen by adult eyes down the length of our block before doglegging to the west just short of block's end.

With the snow falling so abundantly, no one needed prompting. We all came out. From the Myrtle Avenue side, it was me and my brother Bob, Irish twins, born within a year of each other, he the older, a fact he never let me forget. From down Myrtle a few houses came broken-home Bobby. From the Roseville Avenue side, directly across Pigs, came Richie, our leader, and his wild little brother Ronnie. From farther down Roseville were Roger and his pesky little brother Norman, Sean and his wee little brother Brendan, and Earl, my fellow Dodger fan. From Orange Street, the commercial corridor at block's end, came Bobby and his older, slightly "touched" brother George, and Artie, a little scrapper we had captured not long before. From farther up Roseville came Paul, the rarest of all local fauna, an only child, and Donato, new not just to the block but to the country. In a way, we were all new to the country.

Nearly every one of us had living relatives who had been born elsewhere—Ireland, Italy, Germany, Hungary. Earl was the exception. His family had been in America since at least 1808, the year the Constitution banned the importation of slaves. **We were "diverse" then without knowing or caring that we were. According to the 1950 census, immigrants from fourteen different countries, including outliers like Finland and Turkey, lived on just the Myrtle side of the block.**

In Pigs, none of that mattered. All that did matter was if you could run fast enough and dive hard enough on your Flexible Flyer to sled headfirst down to the dogleg. The slope in Pigs was lively enough to keep us flying all night. With the alley's sole streetlight already lit, we had no natural signal to call the evening over. We did have, however, my father, a police officer and the most authoritative presence on the block. At some point, he would sense the time was right for his signature whistle, a beckoning homeward as final and plaintive as "Taps"—a long low note, a short high note, a long low note. Upon hearing it, we all knew the sledding was done and God was nigh.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (pp. 8-10). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

By the end of the 1960s, the state had razed many of our homes, mine included. A lethal riot had scorched the neighborhood. My friends and their families had scattered to the winds, and a twenty-foot-deep trench as wide as a tennis court forever severed the north end of Pigs from the south. To the degree anyone beyond our world noticed, it was to scold us for our very displacement.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (p. 10). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

the same forces that scattered us led to the sudden and shocking death of my father, a gentleman from sole to crown. It is for his sake, and the sake of all the dispossessed, that I share the saga of our unwelcome diaspora. **"Tell the story of your village," said Dostoevsky. "If you tell it well, you will have told the story of the world."**

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (p. 10). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

My friends from Pigs have a slightly different take on White flight. I asked one lifelong friend, a loyal Democrat, why he and his widowed mother finally left our block in the early 1970s, twenty years after the first African American families moved in. He searched a minute for the right set of words and then simply said, "It became untenable." When I asked what "untenable" meant," he answered, "When your mother gets mugged for the second time, that's untenable. When your home gets broken into for the second time, that's untenable."

There is no understanding what really happened to Newark and other troubled cities without knowing a little about the White ethnics who inhabited those cities and their attachment to the neighborhoods

they lived in. Almost to a person, they or their kin came to America for the very qualities now sadly absent in too many cities: freedom, security, the rule of law, opportunity. For the first Cashill to come to America, that opportunity was a lifeline.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (pp. 11-12). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

John and his wife, Ann, set out from Waterford for America in 1847—Black '47, as the Irish call it—the darkest year of that country's horrific potato famine. Reading about the famine makes one realize how relative, when used in a contemporary American context, are words like “poverty,” “hunger,” or “hard times.” The blight hit the potato-rich County Waterford particularly hard. A local reporter shared his observations: “The poor are dying like rotten sheep, in fact they are melting down into the clay by the sides of the ditches.... The bodies remain for whole weeks in those places unburied. In a corner of the vegetable shambles, a man was dead for five days.”³ In a word, Ireland had become untenable.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (pp. 12-13). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

Those who could get out got out. Those who could not, many of them at least, died—more than a million dead and another million departed during the four famine years, 1845–49. Another million would leave in the next decade, nearly halving the country's population. John's landlord in Ireland, either out of charity or greed, may have paid his passage to America. This happened often. Whatever his motive, the landlord could then rededicate the vacated property to more productive purposes than, say, growing rotten potatoes. It is possible, too, that John and Ann had their passage paid by an American farmer in exchange for a period of indentured servitude. That happened as well. In any case, John first shows up on the census as a laborer living in rural New Jersey.

I do not know the details of John and Ann's departure, but an estimated 20 percent of those who left Ireland for North America in 1847 did not reach our shores alive. There were many ways to die en route, none of them pretty. John and Ann were among the blessed.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (p. 13). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

The one burden we had to bear that our ancestors did not was the contempt of our betters for “fleeing.” Here is how Robin DiAngelo, among the most influential “antiracists,” sums up our collective plight: “White families fled from cities to the suburbs to escape the influx of people of color, a process socialologists [sic] term White flight. They wrote covenants to keep schools and neighborhoods segregated and forbade cross-racial dating.”⁴ DiAngelo's analysis of “White flight” is no more accurate than her spelling of “sociologist.” Nonetheless, she makes more than \$700,000 a year reminding smug White people of the “fragility” of their less enlightened peers. Were DiAngelo—born Robin Taylor—to tell the true story of America's Great Ethnic Diaspora, her speaking fees would shrivel to nothing.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (p. 14). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

it is so typical of the working-class ethnics who peopled urban America. Their service during the war, on or off the front lines, was payback for the opportunity America afforded them. The nation rewarded them for that service with new opportunities in education and housing. A few years hence my grateful parents would take advantage of the latter.

Much too predictably, influential “antiracists” like Ibram X. Kendi see the GI Bill as something of a racist plot. From their perspective, just about everything is a racist plot. Such plots, real or imagined, keep the revenue flowing. Even during the COVID years, Kendi pulled in more than \$300,000 per annum in “virtual” speaking fees. **As blue-collar philosopher Eric Hoffer reportedly observed some years back, “Every great cause begins as a movement, becomes a business, and eventually degenerates into a racket.”** Kendi's brand of antiracism skipped the first two phases. It was conceived as a racket.

Kendi was not exactly a hard-luck ghetto kid. Born Ibram Henry Rogers in 1982, Kendi attended a Christian primary school in Queens, New York, before his parents—his mother a business analyst, his father a tax accountant—moved to Virginia. Although Kendi attended a high school named after Stonewall Jackson, his Manassas district had long since moved on from its Confederate roots. If proof were needed, in 2000, the seventeen-year-old “Ibram Rogers” made the pages of the Washington Post for reaching the finals of the district-wide, tenth annual Martin Luther King Day oratorical contest.

A photo of Kendi headed the article, and the editors quoted a part of his speech. Assuming the role of King, Kendi had asked the thousand-strong audience, “How can [the dream] be over when kids know more about Puff Daddy than they know about me?” Good question. In the years ahead, however, instead of seeking a solution to the cultural breakdown Puff Daddy represented, Kendi exploited it. Going forward, Kendi chose to blame systemic racism for just about everything, including the “model welfare system” of the GI Bill.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (pp. 38-39). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

“Most urban Whites preferred ‘flight over fight,’” writes Kendi in his bestseller *Stamped from the Beginning*. “Real estate agents, speculators, and developers benefitted selling fleeing Whites new suburban homes. America experienced an unprecedented post-war boom in residential and new highway construction as White families moved to the suburbs and had to commute farther to their jobs.” This racist caricature of post-war urban America may help Kendi sell books, but it bears little relation to reality.

Working class ethnics did not “flee” Newark with their new GI benefits. There was nothing to flee. In 1950, the city registered only twenty-four murders. Life was safe and orderly. My family was still living at 384 West Market Street. Ours was a classic mixed-use neighborhood. To the immediate north of our back entrance on Littleton Avenue was a tavern. To the immediate south was an auto body shop whose scrapyard made a great playground for us and a parade of horrors for my mother.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (p. 39). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

... Of course, too, White ethnics were not the only ones to “flee.” Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians left the cities for much the same reasons urban Whites did, but only Whites were shamed for leaving, thus the word “White” in the book’s title.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (p. 15). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

Even more dubious is Kendi’s claim that the GI Bill was a welfare program and a racist one at that. The men, Black and White, who gave up years of their lives to the service of their country, might object to the word “welfare.” The reward for that service was minimal. As amended in 1945, the VA home loan program guaranteed loans for vets only up to \$4,000 and gave them ten years from war’s end to make their move. With growing families and limited incomes, few young working-class couples could afford to buy any kind of house anywhere, VA loan or no. As a result, on Myrtle Avenue in 1953, only a handful of nuclear families lived without relatives or boarders in a home they owned. Many extended families doubled and tripled up.

In 1954, with the ten-year clock running down, my parents made their move. More prudent than most, they put a bid in on a \$7,000 home. They did not go “sprawling into the subdivided woods,” as antiracist guru Ta-Nehisi Coates imagined they would. They bought an 1880s-vintage fixer-upper halfway down the street, number Myrtle to be precise. An elderly female boarder came with the house. We would live there for the next ten years.

In “The Case for Reparations,” an overpraised article in *The Atlantic*, Coates argues that housing segregation wasn’t simply the work of individual home owners. It was instead the intended result of

government policy. “White flight,” he insists, “was not an accident—it was a triumph of racist social engineering.”³¹ This isn’t sociology. This is conspiracy theory. The government has always been more clumsy than clever. In Roseville, the authorities would socially engineer us out of our homes in the near future simply because we were in the way.

Reading Coates’s books and articles, I get no sense that he has ever spoken to a working-class White person. To be sure, none were quoted in the reparations article. Born in 1975 to a radical family—his father, Paul Coates, had been a Black Panther—young Coates did not have to wander far from home to find his ideology. Paul Coates ran Black Classic Press, a radical publishing house. Coates’s mother was a schoolteacher and one of the four women who bore Paul Coates his seven children.

Like Amiri Baraka, Coates attended Howard University but never got around to graduating. Degrees were for lesser mortals than Baraka and Coates. In the age of forced diversity, editors were keen to hire a smart guy like Coates regardless of his credentials. In 2008, his life took a profitable turn when he dared to write an article attacking the not yet fallen Black icon Bill Cosby, then in his conservative “pull up your pants” phase.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (pp. 52-53). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

... Having found his audience, Coates shifted his career into full-time antiracism. In the years since, few have mined this mother lode more productively.

In 2019, before the COVID shutdown, Coates delivered the inaugural “Distinguished Diversity Lecture” at Ohio State University. This was a typical gig for the woke rock star. Adding in the first-class airfare, per diem, lodging at a four-star hotel, and private transportation, the hour-long event cost OSU \$41,500.33 When last I checked, Coates had a net worth of \$6 million. Coates, it would seem, has gotten his own running head start on reparations.

Cashill, Jack. Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America's Cities (p. 53). Post Hill Press. Kindle Edition.

<https://spectator.org/why-the-media-are-mum-about-white-flight-2-0/>

THE NATION’S PULSE at *The American Spectator* (conservative magazine)

Why the Media Are Mum About White Flight 2.0

Sixty years ago progressives condemned “white flight.” Now, in similar circumstances, they no longer do. Why?

by JACK CASHILL, June 2, 2023, 11:03 PM

It’s no secret people have been fleeing America’s cities for the past three years. According to the [Economic Innovation Group](#), a bipartisan public policy organization, more than two million people left our cities between July 2020 and July 2022. In the year since, the exodus seems to have slowed but continues.

However reluctantly, the media have acknowledged the flight. What they have not acknowledged is its “whiteness.” Yet, “white” it has overwhelmingly been. [August Benzow](#) of EIG makes this point — without judgment — in a July 2022 analysis headlined, “Working Age White Americans Exited Large Cities in *Far* Higher Numbers Than Any Other Group in 2021.” (Italics added.)

Frey cites New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Jose, Philadelphia, Washington, and Boston, but he shies from asking what these cities have in common.

Sixty or so years ago, the media showed no such restraint. Write large, they were eager to define that first great urban diaspora with the pejorative “white flight.” Professional “antiracists” like the very white Tim Wise have been eager to keep that libel in play. Writes Wise of white flight in his sanctimonious bestseller, *Dear White America*, “It began as soon as communities and schools came to have even small numbers of people of color in them.”

Wise is too young to have any lived experience with the urban exodus of the 1960s and 1970s. One reason he and his fellow travelers can smear less righteous whites so casually is that they know little, if anything, about the people who fled. Princeton professor Leah Boustan made this truth comically clear in a 2017 *New York Times* op-ed titled, “[The Culprits Behind White Flight](#).”

Boustan, it should be noted, is something of an authority on the subject. If proof were needed, her opus, *Competition in the Promised Land: Black Migrants in Northern Cities and Labor Markets*, won her a share of the 2018 [Allan Sharlin Memorial Book Award](#) given each year to the “outstanding book in social science history.”

Writing soon after the trauma of the 2016 election, Boustan began her op-ed by imagining a scenario in which Democratic strategists ask themselves the question, “Was Donald Trump’s surprise victory due to his voters’ racism or their economic anxiety?”

Boustan’s own research led her to ask a similar question about white flight: racism or economics? Boustan confesses, however, to being unsure of the answer. The problem, she explains, is that “few of [those who fled] left personal accounts, and they may not have been able to articulate exactly why they moved.”

I confess to laughing out loud when I read this. If classism were as taboo at Princeton as racism, Boustan would have been busted down to TA. Every one of the fifty or so people I interviewed for my book, *Untenable: The True Story of White Ethnic Flight from America’s Cities*, knew precisely why he or she left.

To my surprise, many of the *Times* readers reacted to this op-ed much as I did. Said one, “I suppose I should be used to it by now, but I still find it kind of astonishing to read an analysis of white flight which doesn’t even mention the word ‘crime.’”

At least twenty respondents shared their own personal stories of flight. These people were able “to articulate exactly why they moved” — brother beaten, sister’s hair set on fire, neighbor shot, grandmother threatened, kids bused and bullied. The imagery is precise, and it comes from experience, an experience about which Boustan, like Wise, seems oblivious.

“I see that the author studied/worked at Princeton, Harvard & UCLA, all located in exclusive areas that are primarily white,” observed one reader. “So if she is claiming to be an expert on white flight, I wonder ... has she actually LIVED somewhere deeply impacted by white flight?”

For Boustan, and for other great minds of the genus “antiracist,” the answer is almost surely “no.” That first great wave of “white flight” is likely something they read about in Sociology 101. They don’t know the neighborhoods involved or the people affected and, more to the point, they don’t care to know.

Now the second wave, the ongoing one, that’s a different story. The fugitives are their friends, neighbors, co-workers, and maybe even themselves. In the 1960s and 1970s, blue-collar workers were the ones forced to move, usually with great reluctance. In the 2020s, blue-collar workers were the ones forced to stay. Plumbers and pipe fitters and policemen cannot do their work “remotely.”

A constant in the discussion of white flight, then and now, is the disingenuousness of the chroniclers. In his analysis of the phenomenon for the liberal [Brookings Institution](#), William Frey concedes that the

cities suffering the greatest numeric losses “aside from Chicago ... tend to be coastal or near coastal cities.”

Frey cites New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Jose, Philadelphia, Washington, and Boston, but he shies from asking what these cities have in common. Yes, Virginia, they are among America’s most proudly blue.

True, COVID-19 was the primary driver of population loss, but it was not the disease itself that caused people to leave. Nor was it the density of a given city’s population. People fled Los Angeles just as readily as they fled New York City. On the COVID front, what drove people from these leftist strongholds were two related phenomena: the hysteria generated by the liberal media and the draconian response to that hysteria by local authorities. Those who can flee oppression, flee. Even the woke.

To anyone paying attention, which excludes most of the major media, crime was also a driving factor. With the police in blue cities handcuffed during and after the George Floyd summer of 2020, murder rates shot up at a pace not seen since the 1960s. For the woke to protest crime, however, was to sound altogether too MAGA. Better to just add a wing to that summer cottage and call it home.

Despite the evidence, analysts such as Frey and Benzow and journalists of all stripes have buried the natural lead — the *progressive* response to crime and COVID is what caused white flight 2.0. Tampa and St. Petersburg are coastal cities, but they [gained population](#) each of the last three years.

In a textbook case of willful blindness, the reporters responsible for a February 2022 [New York Times](#) article refused to notice the elephant poking through its very subhead: “Although some of the fastest growing regions in the country continued to grow, the gains were nearly erased by stark losses in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco.”

As is obvious, of course, these were their own people hightailing it out of Dodge. Given their affinity with the fugitives, the *Times* reporters can only extend their sympathy. They decline to use the term “white flight,” let alone “racist” or “racism,” and, in a shocking turn of events, fail even to remind us that women and minorities must surely have suffered most.

The reasons for the flight are self-evident. A friend from San Francisco sent me the following all too typical post on the local Nextdoor.com. The subject was the closing of the Old Navy on Market Street due to excess shoplifting. Attracted by the close-out sale, a female shopper dared to make the trip.

“Lower Market — homeless person standing in the street — screaming and cursing,” she writes. “Four cars blew a red light at Third and Market.... Security guards chasing a shoplifter down Market.... Another homeless person dropped his pants to urinate in the middle of Market.” A more poetic neighbor described the scene as “a grand guignol of misery.”

If nothing else comes from their self-inflicted misery, young progressives should gain a better understanding of the proverbial crazy uncles, the ones who famously haunt their Thanksgiving dinners. Maybe, just maybe, they weren’t such racists after all.

<https://www.worldhistory.org/article/2183/the-textile-industry-in-the-british-industrial-rev/>

The Textile Industry in the British Industrial Revolution

by Mark Cartwright, published on 01 March 2023

During the Industrial Revolution (1760-1840), textile production was transformed from a cottage industry to a highly mechanised one where workers were present only to make sure the carding, spinning, and weaving machines never stopped. Driven by the desire to cut costs, a long line of inventors ensured that machine factories were cheaper, faster, and more reliable than ever before.

There were many inventors and machines that pushed the textile industry forwards during the Industrial Revolution, but the most important include:

- **The Spinning Jenny** by James Hargreaves (1764)
- **The Water Frame** by Richard Arkwright (1769)
- **The Spinning Mule** by [Samuel](#) Crompton (1779)
- **The Power Loom** by Edmund Cartwright (1785)
- **The Cotton Gin** by Eli Whitney (1794)
- **The Roberts' Loom** by Richard Roberts (1822)
- **The Self-Acting Mule** by Richard Roberts (1825)
- **Howe Sewing Machine** by Elias Howe (1844)

Whitney's Cotton Gin

As the methods of the spinners had to keep up with those of the weavers, so, too, those who supplied the raw cotton had to increase their production to meet the booming demand. Eli Whitney (1765-1825) from Massachusetts, USA, moved to a cotton plantation in Georgia where he created a way to efficiently separate the sticky seeds from cotton balls. Whitney's Cotton Gin ('gin' meaning 'machine') was invented in 1794 and was powered by horses or water wheels. It pulled raw cotton through a comb mesh where a combination of revolving **metal** teeth and hooks separated it and removed the troublesome seeds. A single cotton gin could process up to 25 kg (55 lbs) of cotton every day. Just like Crompton and Cartwright, Whitney's invention was a victim of its own success and was so widely copied that he made little money from it himself, despite registering it with the patent office. As cotton production rocketed, so more and more slaves were used on the cotton plantations to pick the cotton balls that fed the insatiable gins. Cotton was exported far and wide. In Britain in 1790, cotton accounted for 2.3% of total imports; by 1830, that figure had rocketed to 55%. British textile mills worked the raw material and exported it out again with such success that cotton textiles accounted for half of Britain's total exports in 1830.

THE ARRIVAL OF MACHINES PUT A LOT OF SKILLED TEXTILE WORKERS OUT OF A JOB, & MANY PROTESTED VIOLENTLY.

Now, all three branches of the textile industry – raw material production, spinning, and weaving – could be fully mechanized, but still, the search for efficiency and great profits spurred on the inventors. Textile manufacturing was now big business despite the high costs to set up a machine factory, around £15,000 in 1793 (over \$2 million today). As Allen notes, "Cotton was the wonder industry of the Industrial Revolution" (182).

Working Conditions & Trade Unions

Workers in textile mills had to put up with difficult conditions. Not only were the machines noisy and sometimes dangerous when they failed (falling heavy parts and shuttles flying out like missiles with alarming regularity), but in order to keep the cotton thread supple and strong, the atmosphere in a factory was deliberately kept warm and damp. Such conditions meant that many workers suffered health problems, particularly with their lungs.

A working day in a factory was long, typically 12 hours and included night work as factories and their machines worked around the clock. Many employers preferred women and children to men as they were cheaper. Children were employed, too, because they could crawl under the machines to clear up cotton waste and prevent hanging threads clogging the machinery, all too often a lethal task. As money and efficiency became the obsession of many mill owners, workers were increasingly pressured to work faster and not cause delays in production. There were fines for workers with dirty hands or those who took too long on a toilet break.

All of these negatives meant that workers eventually grouped together to protect their interests. Trade unions were formed to try and curb the greater abuses from unscrupulous employers. Unions collected funds to help those who were ill or injured and so unable to work or be paid. Owners did not like these limits on their profits, and the government banned trade unions between 1799 and 1824, but the movement to protect workers could not be stopped indefinitely.

Several acts of Parliament were passed from 1833 to try, not always successfully, to limit employers' exploitation of their workforce and lay down minimum standards. New regulations included the minimum age children could work, the length of shifts, the prohibition of night work for women and children, the obligation for owners to build protective screens for the more dangerous machines, and the appointment of government inspectors. Textile factories offered valuable employment, but they remained noisy, dangerous, and unhealthy places to spend most of one's waking hours in.

<https://kids.britannica.com/kids/article/cotton-gin/624936>

Cotton Gin

<https://foliargarden.com/how-does-the-cotton-gin-work-step-by-step/>

How Does the Cotton Gin Work Step by Step

July 4, 2021 by Mahedi Hasan for Foliar Garden

<https://www.britannica.com/technology/spinning-yarn-manufacturing>

Spinning.

textiles, process of drawing out fibres from a mass and twisting them together to form a continuous thread or yarn.

<https://www.britannica.com/technology/cotton-gin>

Cotton Gin

machine for cleaning cotton of its seeds, invented in the United States by Eli Whitney in 1793. The cotton gin is an example of an invention directly called forth by an immediate demand; the mechanization of spinning in England had created a greatly expanded market for American cotton, whose production was inhibited by the slowness of manual removal of the seeds from the raw fibre. Whitney, a Massachusetts Yankee visiting a friend in the South, learned of the problem and quickly solved it. Inspired by manual brushes invented by enslaved workers, Whitney crafted a device that pulled the cotton through a set of wire teeth mounted on a revolving cylinder, the fibre passing through narrow slots in an iron breastwork too small to permit passage of the seed. The simplicity of the invention—which could be powered by people, animals, or water—caused it to be widely copied despite Whitney's patent; it is credited with

fixing cotton cultivation, virtually to the exclusion of other crops, in the U.S. South and so institutionalizing slavery.

<https://www.thoughtco.com/francis-cabot-lowell-the-textile-revolution-1991932>

Francis Cabot Lowell and the Power Loom

By Mary Bellis

Mary Bellis covered inventions and inventors for ThoughtCo for 18 years. She is known for her independent films and documentaries, including one about Alexander Graham Bell.

Updated on July 25, 2019

Thanks to the invention of the power loom, Great Britain dominated the global textile industry at the turn of the 19th century. Hampered by inferior looming machinery, mills in the United States struggled to compete until a Boston merchant with a penchant for industrial espionage named Francis Cabot Lowell came along.

Origins of the Power Loom

Looms, which are used to weave fabric, have been around for thousands of years. But until the 18th century, they were manually operated, which made the production of cloth a slow process. That changed in 1784 when the English inventor [Edmund Cartwright](#) designed the first mechanical loom. His first version was impractical to operate on a commercial basis, but within five years Cartwright had improved his design and was weaving fabric in Doncaster, England.

Cartwright's mill was a commercial failure, and he was forced to relinquish his equipment as part of filing for bankruptcy in 1793. Britain's textile industry, however, was booming, and other inventors continued to refine Cartwright's invention. In 1842, James Bullough and William Kenworthy had introduced a fully automated loom, a design that would become the industry standard for the next century.

America vs. Britain

As the Industrial Revolution boomed in Great Britain, that nation's leaders passed a number of laws designed to protect their dominance. **It was illegal to sell power looms or the plans for building them to foreigners, and mill workers were forbidden to emigrate.** This prohibition didn't just protect the British textile industry, it also made it nearly impossible for American textile manufacturers, who were still using manual looms, to compete.

Enter Francis Cabot Lowell (1775 to 1817), a Boston-based merchant who specialized in the international trade of textiles and other goods. **Lowell had seen firsthand how international conflict jeopardized the American economy with its dependence on foreign goods.** The only way to neutralize this threat, Lowell reasoned, was for America to develop a domestic textile industry of its own that was capable of mass production.

During a visit to Great Britain in 1811, Francis Cabot Lowell spied on the new [British textile industry](#). Using his contacts, he visited a number of mills in England, sometimes in disguise. **Unable to buy drawings or a model of a power loom, he committed the power loom design to memory. Upon his return to Boston, he recruited master mechanic Paul Moody to help him recreate what he had seen.**

Backed by a group of investors called Boston Associates, Lowell and Moody opened their first functional power mill in Waltham, Mass., in 1814. Congress imposed a series of [duty tariffs](#) on imported cotton in 1816, 1824, and 1828, making American textiles more competitive still.

The Lowell Mill Girls

Lowell's power mill wasn't his only contribution to American industry. He also set a new standard for working conditions by hiring young women to run the machinery, something nearly unheard of in that era. In exchange for signing a one-year contract, Lowell paid the women relatively well by contemporary standards, provided housing, and offered educational and training opportunities.

When the mill cut wages and increased hours in 1834, the [Lowell Mill Girls](#), as his employees were known, formed the Factory Girls Association to agitate for better compensation. Although their efforts at organizing met with mixed success, they earned the attention of author [Charles Dickens](#), who visited the mill in 1842.

Dickens praised what he saw, noting that:

"The rooms in which they worked were as well ordered as themselves. In the windows of some, there were green plants, which were trained to shade the glass; in all, there was as much fresh air, cleanliness, and comfort as the nature of the occupation would possibly admit of."

Lowell's Legacy

Francis Cabot Lowell died in 1817 at the age of 42, but his work did not die with him. Capitalized at \$400,000, the Waltham mill dwarfed its competition. So great were the profits at Waltham that the Boston Associates soon established additional mills in Massachusetts, first at East Chelmsford (later renamed in Lowell's honor), and then Chicopee, Manchester, and Lawrence.

By 1850, Boston Associates controlled one-fifth of America's textile production and had expanded into other industries, including railroads, finance, and insurance. As their fortunes grew, the Boston Associates turned to philanthropy, establishing hospitals and schools, and to politics, playing a prominent role in the Whig Party in Massachusetts. The company would continue to operate until 1930 when it collapsed during the Great Depression.

<https://www.charlesrivermuseum.org/fcl-bmc>

Francis Cabot Lowell and the Boston Manufacturing Company

Waltham's Manufacturing Revolution: (1813-1820s)

By Amy Green, Ph.D., Charles River Museum historian

Born into Boston Brahmin's elite, he was destined for Phillips Academy and Harvard University. Yet, Francis Cabot Lowell was rather ordinary amongst his peers, a successful overseas merchant, trading in silks and teas from China and hand-made textiles from India (1798-1808). Not until he envisioned and then built a factory that mass produced textiles for a home market did he distinguish himself, and hence make famous the name, Francis Cabot Lowell.

Several factors led him to leave [India Wharf](#), a joint endeavor, built to house his increasingly lucrative trade imports with Asia. Jefferson's embargo of 1807 hampered trade with Europe and Asia. While hoping to coerce England and France to respect the neutrality of the United States during the Napoleonic wars, his embargo was widely unpopular, bringing trade to a halt. Lowell also saw a future for manufacture in America; only domestic production would truly release America from Britain's control. The British Empire hoped to suppress our economic growth by continuing to control the production and supply of finished goods.[1]

Lastly, Lowell witnessed the success of early manufacture in New England, especially the mechanized production of cotton thread at the [Slater Mill](#) in Rhode Island. Established in 1793, Slater built the first successful cotton-spinning factory in the United States, an important part of the industrial revolution.[2]

The Industrial Revolution did not start in any one place or on any specific date; it was an uneven process and the Slater mills were part of the journey towards manufacturing giants like Carnegie and his steel empire in the 1890s.

What makes Francis Cabot Lowell and his [Boston Manufacturing Company](#) unique?

The invention of the modern factory system.

This was his conception alone, something that departed from how business was done here and in Europe. Perhaps because he was an outsider when it came to manufacture and mechanics, he saw beyond the mill as the mainstay of production (mills produced only one part of the production process) and could envision something more multifaceted. It took imagination to think in terms of a fully integrated and centralized process for the making of textiles. While not the start of the Industrial Revolution, Lowell's Boston Manufacturing Company in Waltham moved the Industrial Revolution significantly forward, as this paper will discuss. To examine this process, I will look at many factors, from modern financing to water power, from protective tariffs to the labor force, that facilitated the growth of the factory system.

<https://www.charlesrivermuseum.org/fcl-bmc-pt2>

Modern Financing

Francis Cabot Lowell and his fellow investors of the Boston Associates founded the Boston Manufacturing Company (BMC) in 1813. By 1814, the first factory was operational. He revolutionized how corporations might be financed to fund this endeavor. Individual or partnership ownership, as was the method in the United States and England, was inadequate to the needs of large-scale industry. Lowell "proposed a joint-stock arrangement, and if "a shareholder died or sold his stake, the company could continue to function." [3] And, when shareholders reaped dividends, they might be motivated to invest even more money in the company. The use of publicly traded stocks (individuals could own a share of the company and their investments would pay of dividends, hopefully) by the BMC contributed to the evolution of modern financing and modern corporations. [4] In accordance with Massachusetts corporate law of the early 19th century, the state allowed for free incorporation with limited liability. In a partnership, individuals reaped the success but also suffered the downfalls.

These by-laws (which consisted of eleven articles) set the standard for how modern corporations were run. Smaller outfits, like the Slater Mills, might run with one superintendent overseeing production and a few men dealing with finances and marketing. This lateral organization didn't allow for managerial oversight. The BMC ushered in a new group of business leaders who understood the need for systematically organized management, which included, among other things, a Board of Directors responsible for strategic decision making. The power loom often stands as Lowell's ground-breaking achievement. However, his leadership of a Board of Directors and entrepreneurial innovations in corporate structure and governance might be his greatest contribution to the success of the mills and the growth of modern American business.

Power

The factory itself was powered by the waters of the Charles River. Lowell took advantage of a dam already in place by buying the rights to a local sawmill. A large overshot water wheel, placed in the factory's basement, powered by the waters of the Charles River and its ten-foot drop over the [now Moody Street] dam, converted the falling water to useable power. The water wheel powered four floors of cotton-producing machinery, including carding, spinning, and weaving (the attic stored finished bolts of cloth), again making the site the first fully integrated factory in both America and Europe. It took in raw goods at one end, and delivered a finished product at the other, centralizing and mechanizing all

processes of production. This initiated the shift from farm to factory and set the stage for later industrialization.

And, it furthered the economic revolution, following the fight for political independence (1765-1783), by creating finished goods for a domestic market. That is, Lowell, along with his associates, believed that by making finished goods in the United States for the home market, they would enable a further break from economic dependence on England. Before the American Revolution, the English monarchy tightly controlled the production of finished goods in the Colonies. England regarded the colonies as primarily a source of raw materials, like cotton and lumber. The colonies depended on Britain for most finished products and other goods, and cotton textiles were a particularly expensive imported luxury. In fact, American farmers had to grow flax seed to produce affordable clothing for their family.



A RECREATION OF THE PROTOTYPE FOR OF THE FIRST AMERICAN OPERATING POWER LOOM

The key to the American textile revolution in the early 1800's was the mechanization of the power loom. While there were numerous textile mills throughout New England for carding and spinning, thus making raw cotton into thread, this thread had to be outsourced to hand weavers working at home on manual looms. The English government closely guarded its textile technology to maintain valuable overseas markets for its products. Until Lowell, there were no designs for a mechanically powered loom in the United States, and this crippled the development of textile factories here.

So how did Francis Cabot Lowell accomplish this feat of bringing the modern production methods to America? In 1810, his family went on a two-year tour of England and Scotland. Lowell was not your typical tourist. He focused not on the natural landscape and architectural marvels, but on the factories in the Lancashire area of England. He was especially interested the Cartwright loom, acknowledged as the first successful automatic or power loom. (Craftsmen did not welcome this innovation. Cartwright had to close down his factory in England because men known as Luddites used hammers and other tools to destroy the machinery, refusing to succumb to labor exploitation and hoping to preserve the old methods of craft production.) Lowell was determined to avoid these problems inherent in the worker-management relationship in his own factories.

As previously stated, England protected its secrets and would not release any information about its new technologies. As an international merchant, Lowell and members of the English Aristocracy knew each other well. While, his visits to England's factories were no secret, he had to be stealthy to conduct what amounted to industrial espionage. Sometimes disguised as a farmer/peasant, he went into the factories and committed to memory every single detail of the power loom and other textile manufacturing machines. When he returned to America during the War of 1812, suspicious British agents stopped his family in Nova Scotia. They went through his baggage several times thinking he may have hidden plans and drawings of English machinery. He had not. Lowell had memorized everything!

Lowell's mathematical mind made it possible for him to translate his thoughts into a working model. But he did need help making the actual power loom, and received critical assistance from engineer and technical wizard Paul Moody (from Newburyport). Moody took Lowell's model and rough drawings and after a year he built a working power loom that improved on English designs. These spectacular events, propelled by two brilliant individuals, changed the world in a way not so dissimilar from our first ventures to the moon. If Paul Moody was a genius, Lowell was a visionary who saw no limits to his ventures with the first factory system where all production, including labor itself, was performed under one roof.

<https://www.charlesrivermuseum.org/fcl-bmc-prt3>

Protective Tariffs-1816

To ensure the success of his factory, Lowell pushed for the [Protective Tariff of 1816](#), and was instrumental in its passage. This was a critical time for United States home manufacture. With the defeat of Napoleon, the English wanted to reassert its economic dominance in America and flooded our markets with cheaper textiles from India, and more expensive cotton products from England. The Peace of 1815 was ruinous for textile mills in New England, such as the Slater mills. Lowell and Nathan Appleton toured the nearly defunct mills in the area, and aggressively pushed for the Tariff of 1816.

Lowell had the support of the South, where industrialization was in its infancy and needed as much protection as possible. Also, Lowell could promise markets for Southern cotton as well. New England coastal areas that relied heavily on international trade were most opposed to the tariff. Lowell and his political supporters pushed for a reasonable 25% tariff on imported goods. Passed by Congress, this tariff was the first to concern itself with protecting American manufacture; whereas, earlier tariffs raised revenue to directly support the federal government.

Labor

Lowell relied on New England farm girls (between 16-24 years of age) for his labor force — young, unmarried, dispensable — not needed as farm labor. These women came from as far away as New Hampshire, Vermont, and outlying parts of Massachusetts. **For many girls, the few years working at the**

mill, while difficult, were a taste of independence and freedom (before getting married) that they otherwise would never have had.

While [mill girls](#) often sent wages back home to put a brother through college, one cannot underestimate the impact of working away from home, and earning cash wages. Lowell paid a relatively high wage to induce girls to sign a one-year contract. Some stayed on for four years and some even achieved economic independence, the ability to buy fine clothes or put down money for a small house.



THIS ICONIC LANDSCAPE DEPICTING THE BOSTON MANUFACTURING COMPANY IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY HANGS IN THE FOYER AT GORE PLACE IN WALTHAM. PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID BOHL

Having witnessed the degradation of labor in England, Francis Cabot Lowell wanted to establish a paternalistic system whereby laborers would not suffer under capitalism but receive a modicum of protection. His recruiters assured parents, for example, that their girls would live under the watchful eye of matrons preserving the decorum and moral uprightness of these young women. In addition, they

were given access to libraries, schooling, and on-site dormitories. The curfew was 10 pm. And they forbade men access to the dorms. By modern standards, factory regimes exploited the female workers; but during the early nineteenth century, many girls felt fortunate to earn wages and live independently.

The “harmony” between labor and management and the maintaining of a “respectable” work force did not last long. Lowell, like his contemporaries, began to place profits before people. First, during a downturn in the economy, he cut wages by 15%, without notice. Then came the speedups, making the machines run faster, creating more difficult and dangerous working conditions. But the women were not to be deterred. They broke free from the sphere of respectability, and took to the streets and the soapbox, boldly speaking out against these new practices (1821), but without enough worker solidarity to maintain a strike.[5]

Women who threw off the cloak of virtue for a stab at social justice enraged the public, mainly men. Other male workers sympathized, however. Isaac Markham commented on this wage strike in a letter to his brother. He complained that the management had “all the lordly and tyrannical feelings that were ever felt by the greatest despots of the world...” He continued to explain that men’s wages were cut without notice, and that the “same trick [was] played off the girls but they as one revolted and the works stopped 2 days in consequence.”[6]

Hours and the Clock



THE HENRY HOOPER-MADE BELL OF THE BOSTON MANUFACTURING CO. BEING RETURNED TO THE CHARLES RIVER MUSEUM, WHERE IT RESIDES TODAY.

Women also found arduous the long workday, 12 hours in the winter, and often 14 during spring and summer, as more light filtered into the factory. Women worked in hot, dangerous conditions from 5 am to 7 PM, over 70 hours a week. The bell regulated workers' lives. If a minute late to the factory, they would be locked out and lose their wages for the day, or perhaps be fired. The company bell rang at 4:30 am, followed by a second bell twenty minutes later—work started at 5:00. After two hours, workers rushed back to their boarding house for breakfast, work started again at 7:35. At noon, they had a 45-minute break for lunch, and then they were back on the job until 7 pm. After work, the girls enjoyed a communal supper, and then had time for reading, letter writing, some shopping, and doing wash. At 10 p.m. house mothers imposed curfew.[7]

The bell that disciplined the worker came from Paul Revere's North End foundry in 1814; after it cracked, his once-apprentice, [Henry Hooper, replaced it in 1858](#). In American society, the bell signified the shift from the natural rhythms of sun-time to the regularity of clock time. In 1813, the nation was predominantly agrarian; goods were primarily produced in small shops, but the ringing of the bell signaled a new era—integration of processes of production under one roof and the rise of a modern labor force. The labor force viewed the bell as tyrannical, as it tightly regulated their movements throughout the day. They decried the insistence of the bell as it took over their lives, evidenced by the two poems below:

***The factory bell begins to ring,
And we must all obey,
And to our old employment go,
Or else be turned away.***

***Hark! Don't you hear the fact'ry bell
Of wit and learning 'tis the knell,
It rings them out it rings them in,
Where girls they weave, and men they spin.***[8]

The significance of Lowell's factory cannot be overstated. Taken as a whole, the building, the new technologies such as the loom, waterpower, the on-site labor force, payment in cash wages, and publicly traded stock was the wave of the future. Even Thomas Jefferson, who envisioned America as a bountiful agrarian nation not marred by mechanization, now saw the need for manufacturing to make the country competitive with other world powers. Lowell's factory was one of the great technological innovations spurring on modernization, and anticipating the world we live in now. And, these changes, whether they stemmed from the power loom or the clock that ticked in rhythm with it, spurred on social movements—the mill girls' agitation for change included both a fight for justice on the factory floor, and challenges to gender norms.

Perhaps most impressive was the impact that the Boston Manufacturing Company had on the economic fate of this country. In fact, by the late 1830s, the United States produced cloth more cheaply than England. In the [History of Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain](#) (1835), Sir Edward Baines declared that "England had just lost her American Colonies." Without Lowell's efforts in large-scale cotton manufacturing, economic independence from Britain would almost certainly have taken longer, with America suffering at the hands of this still powerful monarchy.

Lowell's factory in Waltham on the Charles River was so successful that its waterpower needs soon outstripped the energy available from the water falling over the Moody Street Dam. By the early 1820's, the BMC had shifted its major operations to the Merrimack River watershed in East Chelmsford. North

of Boston, East Chelmsford was renamed Lowell in honor of Francis Cabot Lowell, not long after his premature death at age 42 (1817). The city of Lowell became the first planned factory town in the country. Based on what was known as the Waltham-Lowell system, by the 1840s the town boasted dozens of textile factories.

To quote his contemporary Nathan Appleton: Lowell is “unquestionably entitled to the credit of being the first person who arranged all the processes of the conversion of cotton into cloth, within the walls of same building.”[9] As stated in the [History of the Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860](#) (1916), “for the first time in America manufacturing in a factory was fully separated from industry done in the household.”[10]

Without his breakthrough with the mechanized loom, Lowell’s dream of a textile factory would have remained just that.

End Notes:

[1] National Park Service, The Waltham-Lowell System,

https://www.nps.gov/lowe/learn/photosmultimedia/waltham_lowell.htm

[2] Slater Mill, <http://www.slatermill.org/home2/history/thread>.

[3] Chaim M. Rosenberg, *The Life and Times of Francis Cabot Lowell, 1775-1817* (New York: Lexington Books, 2011), 236.

[4] Rosenberg, *The Life and Times*, 236-237.

[5] Rosenberg, *The Life and Times*, 308.

[6] Rosenberg, *The Life and Times*, 308.

[7] Rosenberg, *The Life and Times*, 250.

[8] Rosenberg, *The Life and Times*, 309.

[9] Rosenberg, *The Life and Times*, 1

[10] Rosenberg, *The Life and Times*, 257.

<https://britishheritage.com/history/history-british-cotton-industry>

A history of the British cotton industry

Claire Hopley, Jun 09, 2023

Britain had long manufactured textiles

The damp climate is good for grazing sheep, so for centuries, the country was renowned for its fine woolsens. Flax, the raw material for linen, also thrives in rain. Linen and wool were used to make the linsey-woolsey worn by all but the richest people in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Silk, introduced by French Protestant silk workers fleeing persecution in the 17th century, was also made in Britain, mostly in London.

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Textile workers plied their craft at home, sometimes to supplement farming. Women spun yarn, often helped by children. The yarn then went to a weaver, usually a man, who might be another family

member weaving cloth for the household. More likely, both spinsters and weavers worked on the "putting out" system: A merchant supplied the raw fiber and then picked up the finished goods for sale elsewhere.

Traditionally, one handloom weaver needed the yarn output of four spinsters. But by the mid-18th century, many weavers were using the flying shuttle that had been invented by John Kay of Bury, Lancashire, in 1733. By speeding the shuttle across the loom and freeing one of the weaver's hands, this invention upped the demand for yarn; one worker could now weave the output of 16 spinsters. With cloth in demand both at home, where the population was increasing, and abroad, where British colonies were a captive market, improved spinning methods were essential to meet the need for cloth.

The introduction of the Spinning Jenny

Wool production was difficult to mechanize because centuries-old laws protected traditional ways of making it. Conversely, by the 1740s silk was already being machine-made in factories in Derby and Macclesfield with equipment based on pirated Italian designs. But silk was too delicate and expensive for mass consumption. Cotton, on the other hand, was hardwearing, comfortable and inexpensive. Unlike wool, its production was not controlled by ancient practices because it had only become widely available after the East India Company began exporting it from India in the late 17th century. Inventors, therefore, bent their minds to creating cotton-processing machines, and cotton spearheaded the British industry into the factory system.

The first major improvement in spinning technology was the spinning jenny, introduced in 1764 by Thomas Highs (1718-1803) of Lancashire and named for his daughter. Highs wanted a machine for spinning cotton that would multiply threads more quickly, and he built a device with six spindles. James Hargreaves (1720-78), who is widely credited for inventing the spinning jenny and was also from Lancashire, apparently improved Highs' design by adding more spindles. Hargreaves acquired the patent for it in 1770, but by then the device had been widely copied. By the time of Hargreaves' death, more than 20,000 spinning jennies were in use. It spun yarn from between 20 and 30 spindles at one time, thus doing the work of several spinsters - a prospect that had made Hargreaves so unpopular in his neighborhood that a mob destroyed his spinning jennies and ran him out of town.

The introduction of cotton

In the 1790s, the first newly planted cotton came from American plantations manned by slaves. The raw cotton had to be cleaned before it could be used by the fast-moving equipment, but it was taking a full day for one person to remove the seeds from one pound of cotton. Eli Whitney, a New Englander, solved that problem with his cotton gin, which used a series of steel disks fitted with hooks to drag the cotton through slots in a grid, leaving the seeds behind. This invention both spurred the Industrial Revolution in Britain and induced Southern planters in America to grow more cotton.

Britain not only had clean supplies of American cotton and an array of machines to handle every stage of making it into cloth, but it also had good power supplies. Eighteenth-century machines typically used water power, hence the siting of early factories near the fast-flowing rivers of the Pennines. But after James Watt invented the steam engine in 1781, coal became the main fuel. Serendipitously, England's richest mines were also near the Pennines in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire. Thus, these northern areas became the textile strongholds of the country.

The new machinery ended the traditional domestic system of textile production. Machines had to be close to their power source; they could not be in cottages. Moreover, different machines sequenced to perform specific tasks required both a division of labor and specialized skills. Workers, therefore, had to follow strict rules about work and punctuality.

Some mills specialized in one textile-making process, but others, such as Quarry Bank Mill at Styal, established in 1784, performed all the needed tasks to turn cotton fiber into cloth. At Quarry Bank Mill, nearly half the workers were children between the ages of 7 and 21, most from workhouses and orphanages who were contracted to work for a period of seven years as apprentices. By 1800 there were 90 children who lived and worked without pay at the mill, learning the trade as the reward for their work, although there was no significant effort to teach them the trade; mostly they were regarded as a source of cheap labor.

The price of child labour

Records from Quarry Bank Mill contain details of nearly 1,000 children who worked there between 1785 and 1847. Their day began early. They typically rose at 5:30 a.m., were given a piece of bread to eat and began work at 6. Through the day, they usually had three short breaks, when they were fed oatmeal, and then at 8:30 p.m., after finishing their shift, they got a supper of bread or broth. On Sundays, they had reading lessons, church, and chores, such as tending the owner's vegetable gardens.

Life was equally hard for adult factory workers. Until 1833, hours of employment were not regulated, and it was 1844 before the law insisted that the machinery had to be fenced to prevent death and dismemberment. The thunderous noise of the machinery never ceased, so most older workers became deaf. Lung diseases were also prevalent, caused by the minute fiber fragments in the air. Few adults could leave the mills, especially when whole cities were devoted to textiles and little other work was available.

The start of the American Industrial Revolution

Samuel Slater of Derbyshire responded to an advertisement offering £100 bounties to English mill workers prepared to emigrate to America. He took with him the secrets of the water frame and just as significant the management techniques of continuous factory production that Arkwright and Strutt had pioneered. In America, Slater teamed with Moses Brown, who had been experimenting with machinery in Providence, R.I., and introduced him to the water frame. In 1790, they built a new water-powered factory in Pawtucket, R.I., and in 1797 Slater built the White Mill on the Blackstone River and later a workers' village called Slatersville.

Francis Cabot Lowell of Massachusetts traveled to England in 1810 to tour Manchester's mills, just as they were being fitted with power looms. He gleaned enough so that in 1814 he built the first mill in America capable of transforming raw cotton into finished cloth, located on the Charles River at Waltham, Mass. Four years after Lowell's death in 1817, the firm moved to a site on the Merrimack River, where a new town named Lowell in his honor soon became the center of America's cotton industry.

The spinsters leave

By 1840 Lowell had 10 mills employing more than 40,000 workers, mainly young women. Many were from England. The textile business in Britain, though successful, went through economic cycles. The 1840s were so grim that they were known as the Hungry Forties, and even after the Civil War ended in 1865, American cotton supplies were uncertain and unemployment remained high. Many textile workers therefore emigrated. English immigrants staffed the sorting rooms of the mills in Lawrence, Mass. Contingents of immigrants from Lancashire went to the mills of New Bedford, Mass., and silk workers from Macclesfield in Cheshire left for Paterson, N.J. -- a town often called Silk City, as was Macclesfield.

Today, the sturdy brick mills built to house the massive textile machinery still stand throughout New England and northern Britain, all turned to new uses. Among those that can be visited in Britain are Quarry Bank Mill, now a magnificently preserved National Trust property; Titus Salt's village of Saltaire in Morley, Yorkshire; and Paradise Mill and the Silk Trail at Macclesfield, Cheshire. There remains one

original water frame, at the Helmshore Museum, and a quarter of it works, powered by electricity since the museum does not yet have a working water wheel. These 18th- and 19th-century devices express both the engineering achievements of their inventors and the difficult lives of those who operated them.

<https://www.gregpalast.com/governor-kemps-family-brought-slavery-to-georgia/>

Governor Kemp's Family Brought Slavery to Georgia

And He's Signed a Law that Makes Sure You Don't Know It

by Greg Palast for Gwinnett Black Magazine, November 3, 2022

Georgia Governor Brian Kemp does not want you to know that it was his family that first brought enslaved Africans to Georgia.

The original settlers in Georgia had outlawed slavery until James Habersham — Kemp's ancestor — won a bloody battle to bring humans in chains to his plantations.

Habersham's reward for bringing the slave system to Georgia? He was appointed acting Governor under King George II. So Kemp can claim a governing dynasty going back nearly three centuries. His mother was quite proud of it (her records and photo albums are priceless resources), but the current Governor demurs.

...

The Roswell branch of Kemp's family also owned the Barrington Manor plantation house near Atlanta, a big tourist attraction — but, a local historian told us, the Governor, as far as he knows, has never visited his ancestral digs. I can't imagine it would be a winning photo op.

While it's foolish to impose our current values on the past, it's simply not true that the slave trade was acceptable throughout Dixieland. The Habershams imposed the enslaved labor plantation system over the fierce resistance of the small-scale farmers who objected that, once slavery is introduced, they too would be reduced to servitude.

CENSORING THOMAS JEFFERSON

Thomas Jefferson wrote a draft of the Declaration of Independence at the Habersham's famous pink manor house in Savannah. But few Americans know that Jefferson's original Declaration included a long segment attacking the slave trade, a direct threat to the Habersham's lucrative lock on the local slave auctions. The anti-slavery clause was the only part of Jefferson's Declaration that was removed by the Continental Congress under pressure from the Georgia delegation headed by Joseph Habersham.

<https://hartmannreport.com/p/why-are-we-letting-the-red-state>

Why Are We Letting the Red State Welfare Oligarchs Mooch Off Blue States?

Red states are mooching off the Blue states, using that essentially stolen tax money to reinvent the old Confederacy, “own the libs,” and wage “war on woke...”

THOM HARTMANN, JUN 27, 2023

Most Red states have become oligarchic white supremacist medieval-like fiefdoms with obscene levels of often multigenerational wealth at the top, extreme poverty at the bottom, and working people, women, and minorities kept in subordinate roles through explicit government and corporate policy.

In this, these Red states are following the once-classic European and later Southern US tradition of a patriarchal, hierarchical society run by male kings, nobles, plantation masters, and wealthy churchmen, with all the work done by serfs, slaves, women, or impoverished wage-slaves.

Frederick Douglass, who was born into Southern slavery, [described](#) the South as “a little nation by itself, having its own language, its own rules, regulations, and customs.”

Fewer than [2000 families](#) — six-tenths of one percent of the Southern population — owned more than 50 enslaved people and ruled the oligarchy that we call the Confederacy with an iron fist. The 75 percent of white people in the South during that era who [did not own](#) any enslaved persons generally lived in deep poverty.

Women had no rights, queer people were routinely tortured and murdered, education for both enslaved Africans and poor whites was generally outlawed, religious attendance was often mandated, and hunger and disease stalked all but those in the families of the two thousand morbidly rich planter dynasties.

Modern-day Red states are doing their best to recreate that old Confederacy, right down to state Senator Kathy Chism’s [new effort](#) to return the Confederate battle flag to South Carolina’s state flag. Ron DeSantis and Mike Pence have both emphasized their presidential pledges to [restore](#) the names of murderous Civil War traitors to American military bases, celebrating their armed defense of the “values” of the Old South.

Today’s version of yesteryear’s plantation owners are called CEOs, hedge and vulture fund managers, and the morbidly rich.

They use the power of political bribery given them by five corrupt Republicans on the Supreme Court — with Clarence Thomas’ tie-breaking *Citizens United* vote on behalf of his sugar daddy Harlan Crow — to lord over their Red states, regardless of the will of those states’ citizens.

Working people in Red states are kept in poverty by “Right to Work for Less” laws based on the GOP’s 1947 Taft-Hartley Act (passed over Harry Truman’s veto), deprived of healthcare by their governors’ refusal to expand Medicaid to cover all low-wage working people, and draconian cuts along with byzantine bureaucratic obstacles to getting state aid ranging from housing support to food stamps to subsidized daycare to unemployment insurance.

Women are returning to chattel status in Red states, the property of their fathers or husbands, their bondage enforced by bounty systems and the threat of imprisonment should they try to assert agency over their own bodies.

Multiple Red states have outlawed teaching the actual history of slavery, Jim Crow, and the ongoing violence and persecution suffered by racial, gender, and religious minorities. Many are using government

tax revenues to subsidize typically-all-white “Christian” religious schools, a trend spreading across Republican-controlled states like an out-of-control fungus.

...

It’s said that Red states are trying to take us back to the 1950s. In fact, most are shooting for the 1870s, when women were the property of their husbands, poor [children worked](#) 12-hour days for pennies, queer people were invisible, and Black, Asian, Native American, and Hispanic people could be murdered with impunity.

On the other hand, Blue states have embraced 21st century values of inclusiveness, tolerance, education, healthcare, a clean environment, worker’s rights, higher minimum wages and unionization, gun safety, paid sick leave, and are working to override the electoral college to bring democracy to the race for president.

Most have enacted gun control laws that often include assault weapon bans, outlawed forced “captive audience” unionbusting meetings, expanded drug treatment programs, decriminalized marijuana, strengthened abortion rights protections, raised their minimum wages, and are moving quickly to green their economies to mitigate climate change.

They’re offering protections to asylum seekers, women seeking medical care, and transgender individuals fleeing overt persecution in Red states. They celebrate gay marriage and honor the holidays of religious minorities. Women and racial minorities make up large parts of their legislative bodies and occupy many of their governor’s offices.

In this, Blue states are following the vision and values laid out by several of America’s Founders who helped create the [first nation in world history espousing](#) the idea that nobody should have to live in poverty and an important role of government was to prevent people from falling through the cracks.

Thomas Paine, for example, [laid out a proposal](#) for what we today call Social Security in his pamphlet *Agrarian Justice*, and Thomas Jefferson created the nation’s first totally free university (the University of Virginia). Half the delegates to the Constitutional Convention spoke against slavery as a curse against our nation’s ideals, although it took a bloody war to end that “peculiar institution” held so tightly in the grip of the 2000 families.

Even in the first years of our republic, the founding generation understood that caring for the public good was an essential function of government, as referenced in the preamble to the Constitution. President George Washington signed the first legislation providing federal funds for poorhouses that including food, clothing, shelter, and medical care along with job training.

Three decades later, when the legislation was up for renewal, President James Madison (the “Father of the Constitution”) vetoed a provision proposed by Southern states that would have cycled those revenues through local churches, [writing](#) in his veto message that federal funding of churches — even for charitable antipoverty purposes the government supported — “would be a precedent for giving to religious societies as such a legal agency in carrying into effect a public and civil duty.”

<https://www.ssa.gov/history/tpaine3.html>

Thomas Paine, 1797 summary of “Agrarian Justice”

In this pamphlet Paine advocated the creation of a social insurance scheme for the aged and for young people just starting out in life. The benefits were to be paid from a national fund accumulated for this purpose. The fund was to be financed by a 10% tax on inherited property. A tax on inherited property was used due to Paine's general philosophy of property rights. Although he based his social insurance scheme on a line of argument that might sound quaint in the present era, in other respects his plan was quite modern, recognizing the problem of income security for the elderly, and the desirability of creating a national fund for this purpose.

<https://www.ssa.gov/history/paine4.html>

Social Insurance History

Thomas Paine - Agrarian Justice



Agrarian Justice

To preserve the benefits of what is called civilized life, and to remedy at the same time the evil which it has produced, ought to be considered as one of the first objects of reformed legislation.

Whether that state that is proudly, perhaps erroneously, called civilization, has most promoted or most injured the general happiness of man is a question that may be strongly contested. On one side, the spectator is dazzled by splendid appearances; on the other, he is shocked by extremes of wretchedness; both of which it has erected. The most affluent and the most miserable of the human race are to be found in the countries that are called civilized.

To understand what the state of society ought to be, it is necessary to have some idea of the natural and primitive state of man, such as it is at this day among the Indians of North America. There is not, in that state, any of those spectacles of human misery which poverty and want present to our eyes in all the towns and streets in Europe.

Poverty, therefore, is a thing created by that which is called civilized life. It exists not in the natural state. On the other hand, the natural state is without those advantages which flow from agriculture, arts, science and manufactures.

...

MEANS BY WHICH THE FUND IS TO BE CREATED

I have already established the principle, namely, that the earth, in its natural uncultivated state was, and ever would have continued to be, the *common property of the human race*; that in that state, every person would have been born to property; and that the system of landed property, by its inseparable connection with cultivation, and with what is called civilized life, has absorbed the property of all those whom it dispossessed, without providing, as ought to have been done, an indemnification for that loss.

The fault, however, is not in the present possessors. No complaint is tendered, or ought to be alleged against them, unless they adopt the crime by opposing justice. The fault is in the system, and it has stolen perceptibly upon the world, aided afterwards by the agrarian law of the sword. But the fault can be made to reform itself by successive generations; and without diminishing or deranging the property of any of present possessors, the operation of the fund can yet commence, and in full activity, the first year of its establishment, or soon after, as I shall show.

It is proposed that the payments, as already stated, be made to every person, rich or poor. It is best to make it so, to prevent invidious distinctions. It is also right it should be so, because it is in lieu of the natural inheritance, which, as a right, belongs to every man, over and above property he may have created, or inherited from those who did. Such persons as do not choose to receive it can throw it into the common fund.

Taking it then for granted that no person ought to be in a worse condition when born under what is called a state of civilization, than he would have been had he been born in a state of nature, and that civilization ought to have made, and ought still to make, provision for that purpose, it can only be done by subtracting from property a portion equal in value to the natural inheritance it has absorbed.

Various methods may be proposed for this purpose, but that which appears to be the best (not only because it will operate without deranging any present possessors, or without interfering with the collection of taxes or *emprunts* necessary for the purposes of government and the Revolution, but because it will be the least troublesome and the most effectual, and also because the subtraction will be made at a time that best admits it) is at the moment that property is passing by the death of one person to the possession of another. In this case, the bequeather gives nothing: the receiver pays nothing. The only matter to him is that the monopoly of natural inheritance, to which there never was a right, begins to cease in his person. A generous man would not wish it to continue, and a just man will rejoice to see it abolished.

My state of health prevents my making sufficient inquiries with respect to the doctrine of probabilities, where on to found calculations with such degrees of certainty as they are capable of. What, therefore, I offer on this head is more the result of observation and reflection than of received information; but I believe it will be found to agree sufficiently with fact. In the first place, taking twenty-one years as the epoch of maturity, all the property of a nation, real and personal, is always in the possession of persons above that age. It is then necessary to know, as a datum of calculation, the average of years which persons above that age will live. I take this average to be about thirty years, for though many persons will live forty, fifty, or sixty years, after the age of twenty-one years, others will die much sooner, and some in every year of that time.

The Enlightenment – 1600's to about 1815 (ending of Napoleonic wars)

What were the 3 major ideas of the Enlightenment?

1. **Deism** – the belief in the existence of a creator who does not intervene in the universe.
2. **Liberalism** – the belief in human rights and freedom.
3. **Republicanism** – the belief that a nation should be governed as a republic with an emphasis on liberty.

What was the impact of the Enlightenment on political thought in the 1700s?

The Enlightenment brought political modernization to the west, in terms of focusing on democratic values and institutions and the creation of modern, liberal democracies. Enlightenment thinkers sought to curtail the political power of organized religion, and thereby prevent another age of intolerant religious war.

The main goal of the wide-ranging intellectual movement called the Enlightenment was to understand the natural world and humankind's place in it solely on the basis of reason.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Age_of_Enlightenment

Age of Enlightenment

The **Age of Enlightenment** or **the Enlightenment**, also known as the **Age of Reason**, was an intellectual and [philosophical](#) movement that occurred in [Europe](#) in the 17th and 18th centuries, with global influences and effects. The Enlightenment included a range of ideas centered on the value of human [happiness](#), the pursuit of knowledge obtained by means of [reason](#) and [the evidence of the senses](#), and ideals such as [natural law](#), [liberty](#), [progress](#), [toleration](#), [fraternity](#), [constitutional government](#), and [separation of church and state](#).

The Enlightenment was preceded by the [Scientific Revolution](#) and the work of [Francis Bacon](#), [John Locke](#), among others. Some date the beginning of the Enlightenment to the publication of [René Descartes' Discourse on the Method](#) in 1637, featuring his famous dictum, *Cogito, ergo sum* ("I think, therefore I am"). Others cite the publication of [Isaac Newton's Principia Mathematica](#) (1687) as the culmination of the Scientific Revolution and the beginning of the Enlightenment. European historians traditionally date its beginning with the death of [Louis XIV](#) of France in 1715 and its end with the 1789 outbreak of the [French Revolution](#). Many historians now date the end of the Enlightenment as the start of the 19th century, with the latest proposed year being the death of [Immanuel Kant](#) in 1804.

Philosophers and scientists of the period widely circulated their ideas through meetings at [scientific academies](#), [Masonic lodges](#), [literary salons](#), [coffeeshouses](#) and in [printed books](#), [journals](#),^[1] and [pamphlets](#). The ideas of the Enlightenment undermined the authority of the monarchy and the [Catholic Church](#) and paved the way for the political revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. A variety of 19th century movements including [liberalism](#), [socialism](#), and [neoclassicism](#) trace their intellectual heritage to the Enlightenment.

The central doctrines of the Enlightenment were [individual liberty](#) and [religious tolerance](#), in opposition to an [absolute monarchy](#) and the fixed dogmas of the Church. The concepts of utility and sociability were also crucial in the dissemination of information that would better society as a whole. The Enlightenment was marked by an increasing awareness of the relationship between the mind and the everyday media

of the world, and by an emphasis on the [scientific method](#) and [reductionism](#), along with increased questioning of religious orthodoxy—an attitude captured by Kant's essay [Answering the Question: What is Enlightenment](#), where the phrase [Sapere aude](#) (Dare to know) can be found.

...

Sociology, economics, and law

Hume and other Scottish Enlightenment thinkers developed a "[science of man](#)", which was expressed historically in works by authors including [James Burnett](#), [Adam Ferguson](#), [John Millar](#), and [William Robertson](#), all of whom merged a scientific study of how humans behaved in ancient and primitive cultures with a strong awareness of the determining forces of [modernity](#). Modern [sociology](#) largely originated from this movement, and Hume's philosophical concepts that directly influenced [James Madison](#) (and thus the U.S. Constitution), and as popularised by [Dugald Stewart](#) was the basis of [classical liberalism](#).

... Both Locke and Rousseau developed social contract theories in [Two Treatises of Government](#) and [Discourse on Inequality](#), respectively. While quite different works, Locke, Hobbes, and Rousseau agreed that a social contract, in which the government's authority lies in the [consent of the governed](#), is necessary for man to live in civil society. ...

Although much of Enlightenment political thought was dominated by social contract theorists, Hume and Ferguson criticized this camp. Hume's essay *Of the Original Contract* argues that governments derived from consent are rarely seen and civil government is grounded in a ruler's habitual authority and force. It is precisely because of the ruler's authority over-and-against the subject that the subject tacitly consents, and Hume says that the subjects would "never imagine that their consent made him sovereign", rather the authority did so. Similarly, Ferguson did not believe citizens built the state, rather politics grew out of social development. In his 1767 [An Essay on the History of Civil Society](#), Ferguson uses the four stages of progress, a theory that was popular in Scotland at the time, to explain how humans advance from a [hunting and gathering](#) society to a commercial and civil society without agreeing to a social contract.

... *(on slavery and indentured servitude)*

Locke argues against [indentured servitude](#) on the basis that enslaving oneself goes against the law of nature because a person cannot surrender their own rights: freedom is absolute, and no one can take it away. Locke argues that one person cannot enslave another because it is morally reprehensible, although he introduces a caveat by saying that enslavement of a [lawful captive in time of war](#) would not go against one's natural rights. As a spill-over of the Enlightenment, nonsecular beliefs expressed first by [Quakers](#) and then by [Protestant evangelicals](#) in Britain and the United States emerged. To these groups, slavery became "repugnant to our religion" and a "crime in the sight of God". These ideas added to those expressed by Enlightenment thinkers, leading many in Britain to believe that slavery was "not only morally wrong and economically inefficient, but also politically unwise." This ideals eventually led to the abolition of slavery [in Britain](#) and [the United States](#).

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iroquois>

Iroquois

The **Iroquois Confederacy** or Haudenosaunee is believed to have been founded by the [Great Peacemaker](#) at an unknown date estimated between 1450 and 1660, bringing together five distinct nations in the southern Great Lakes area into "The Great League of Peace".^[24] Other research, however, suggests the founding occurred in 1142.^[25] Each nation within this Iroquoian confederacy had a distinct language, territory, and function in the League.

The League is governed by a Grand Council, an assembly of fifty chiefs or [sachems](#), each representing a [clan](#) of a nation.^[26]

When [Europeans first arrived](#) in North America, the Haudenosaunee (*Iroquois League* to the French, *Five Nations* to the British) were based in what is now central and west New York State including the [Finger Lakes](#) region, occupying large areas north to the St. Lawrence River, east to Montreal and the [Hudson River](#), and south into what is today northwestern Pennsylvania. At its peak around 1700, Iroquois power extended from what is today New York State, north into present-day Ontario and Quebec along the [lower Great Lakes–upper St. Lawrence](#), and south on both sides of the [Allegheny Mountains](#) into present-day Virginia and Kentucky and into the [Ohio Valley](#). From east to west, the League was composed of the [Mohawk](#), [Oneida](#), [Onondaga](#), [Cayuga](#), and [Seneca nations](#). In about 1722, the Iroquoian-speaking [Tuscarora](#) joined the League, having migrated northwards from the [Carolinas](#) after a [bloody conflict](#) with white settlers. A shared cultural background with the Five Nations of the Iroquois (and a sponsorship from the Oneida) led the Tuscarora to becoming accepted as the sixth nation in the confederacy in 1722; the Iroquois become known afterwards as the Six Nations.^{[27][28]}

Other independent Iroquoian-speaking peoples, such as the [Erie](#), [Susquehannock](#), Huron (Wendat) and [Wyandot](#), lived at various times along the [St. Lawrence River](#), and around the [Great Lakes](#). In the American Southeast, the [Cherokee](#) were an Iroquoian-language people who had migrated to that area centuries before European contact. None of these were part of the Haudenosaunee League. Those on the borders of Haudenosaunee territory in the Great Lakes region competed and warred with the nations of the League.

French, Dutch and English colonists, both in [New France](#) (Canada) and what became the [Thirteen Colonies](#), recognized a need to gain favor with the Iroquois people, who occupied a significant portion of lands west of the colonial settlements. Their first relations were for [fur trading](#), which became highly lucrative for both sides. The colonists also sought to establish friendly relations to secure their settlement borders.

For nearly 200 years, the Iroquois were a powerful factor in North American colonial policy. Alliance with the Iroquois offered political and strategic advantages to the European powers, but the Iroquois preserved considerable independence. Some of their people settled in mission villages along the [St. Lawrence River](#), becoming more closely tied to the French. While they participated in French-led raids on Dutch and English colonial settlements, where some Mohawk and other Iroquois settled, in general the Iroquois resisted attacking their own peoples.

The Iroquois remained a large politically united Native American polity until the [American Revolution](#), when the League kept its treaty promises^[citation needed] to the British Crown. After their defeat, the British ceded Iroquois territory without consultation, and many Iroquois had to abandon their lands in the Mohawk Valley and elsewhere and relocate to the northern lands retained by the British. The Crown gave them land in compensation for the five million acres they had lost in the south, but it was not equivalent to earlier territory.

Modern scholars of the Iroquois distinguish between the League and the Confederacy.^{[29][30][31]} According to this interpretation, the Iroquois League refers to the ceremonial and cultural institution embodied in

the Grand Council, which still exists. The Iroquois Confederacy was the decentralized political and diplomatic entity that emerged in response to European colonization, which was dissolved after the British defeat in the [American Revolutionary War](#).^[291] Today's Iroquois/Six Nations people do not make any such distinction, use the terms interchangeably, but prefer the name Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

After the migration of a majority to Canada, the Iroquois remaining in New York were required to live mostly on reservations. In 1784, a total of 6,000 Iroquois faced 240,000 New Yorkers, with land-hungry New Englanders poised to migrate west. "Oneidas alone, who were only 600 strong, owned six million acres, or about 2.4 million hectares. Iroquoia was a land rush waiting to happen."^[321] By the [War of 1812](#), the Iroquois had lost control of considerable territory.

American Revolution

Further information: [Western theater of the American Revolutionary War](#)

During the [American Revolution](#), the Iroquois first tried to stay neutral. The Reverend Samuel Kirkland, a Congregational minister working as a missionary, pressured the Oneida and the Tuscarora for a pro-American neutrality while Guy Johnson and his cousin John Johnson pressured the Mohawk, the Cayuga and the Seneca to fight for the British.^[116] Pressed to join one side or the other, the Tuscarora and the Oneida sided with the colonists, while the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga remained loyal to Great Britain, with whom they had stronger relationships. [Joseph Louis Cook](#) offered his services to the United States and received a Congressional commission as a lieutenant colonel—the highest rank held by any Native American during the war.^[117] The Mohawk war chief Joseph Brant together with John Butler and John Johnson raised racially mixed forces of irregulars to fight for the Crown.^[118] [Molly Brant](#) had been the common-law wife of Sir William Johnson, and it was through her patronage that her brother Joseph came to be a war chief.^[11]

The American Revolution caused a great divide between the colonists between Patriots and Loyalists and a large proportion (30-35%) who were neutral; it caused a divide between the colonies and Great Britain, and it also caused a rift that would break the Iroquois Confederacy. At the onset of the Revolution, the Iroquois Confederacy's Six Nations attempted to take a stance of neutrality. However, almost inevitably, the Iroquois nations eventually had to take sides in the conflict. It is easy to see how the American Revolution would have caused conflict and confusion among the Six Nations. For years they had been used to thinking about the English and their colonists as one and the same people. In the American Revolution, the Iroquois Confederacy now had to deal with relationships between two governments.

Influence on the United States (*not*)

Historians in the 20th century have suggested the Iroquois system of government influenced the development of the United States's government,^{[289][290]} although the extent and nature of this influence has been disputed.^[291] Bruce Johansen proposes that the Iroquois had a representative form of government.^[292]

Consensus has not been reached on how influential the Iroquois model was to the development of United States' documents such as the [Articles of Confederation](#) and the [U.S. Constitution](#).^[293] The influence thesis has been discussed by historians such as [Donald Grinde](#)^[294] and [Bruce Johansen](#).^[295] In 1988, the [United States Congress](#) passed a resolution to recognize the influence of the Iroquois League upon the [Constitution](#) and [Bill of Rights](#).^[296] In 1987, [Cornell University](#) held a conference on the link between the Iroquois' government and the U.S. Constitution.^[297]

Scholars such as [Jack N. Rakove](#) challenge this thesis. [Stanford University](#) historian Rakove writes, "The voluminous records we have for the constitutional debates of the late 1780s contain no significant references to the Iroquois" and notes that there are ample European precedents to the democratic

institutions of the United States.^[298] In reply, journalist [Charles C. Mann](#) wrote that while he agreed that the specific form of government created for the United States was "not at all like" that of the Iroquois, available evidence does support "a cultural argument – that the well-known democratic spirit had much to do with colonial contact with the Indians of the eastern seaboard, including and especially the Iroquois," and (quoting Rakove) "that prolonged contact between the aboriginal and colonizing populations were important elements [sic] in the shaping of colonial society and culture."^[299] Historian [Francis Jennings](#) noted that supporters of the thesis frequently cite the following statement by [Benjamin Franklin](#), made in a letter from Benjamin Franklin to James Parker in 1751:^[292] "It would be a very strange thing, if six Nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a Scheme for such a Union ... and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a Dozen English Colonies," but he disagrees that it establishes influence. Rather, he thinks Franklin was promoting union against the "ignorant savages" and called the idea "absurd".^[300]

The [anthropologist](#) Dean Snow has stated that although Franklin's [Albany Plan](#) may have drawn inspiration from the Iroquois League, there is little evidence that either the Plan or the Constitution drew substantially from that source. He argues that "... such claims muddle and denigrate the subtle and remarkable features of Iroquois government. The two forms of government are distinctive and individually remarkable in conception."^[301]

Similarly, the anthropologist [Elisabeth Tooker](#) has concluded that "there is virtually no evidence that the framers borrowed from the Iroquois." She argues that the idea is a myth resulting from a claim made by linguist and ethnographer [J.N.B. Hewitt](#) that was exaggerated and misunderstood after his death in 1937.^[302] According to Tooker, the original Iroquois constitution did not involve representative democracy and elections; deceased chiefs' successors were selected by the most senior woman within the hereditary lineage in consultation with other women in the tribe.^[302]

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Vindication_of_the_Rights_of_Woman

A Vindication of the Rights of Woman

A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects (1792), written by British philosopher and women's rights advocate **Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797)**, is one of the earliest works of feminist philosophy. In it, Wollstonecraft responds to those educational and political theorists of the eighteenth century who did not believe women should receive a rational education. She argues that women ought to have an education commensurate with their position in society, claiming that women are essential to the nation because they educate its children and because they could be "companions" to their husbands, rather than mere wives. Instead of viewing women as ornaments to society or property to be traded in marriage, Wollstonecraft maintains that they are human beings deserving of the same fundamental rights as men.

Wollstonecraft was prompted to write the *Rights of Woman* after reading Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord's 1791 report to the French National Assembly, which stated that women should only receive domestic education. From her reaction to this specific event, she launched a broad attack against double standards, indicting men for encouraging women to indulge in excessive emotion. Wollstonecraft hurried to complete the work in direct response to ongoing events; she intended to write a more thoughtful second volume but died before completing it.

While Wollstonecraft does call for equality between the sexes in particular areas of life, especially morality, she does not explicitly state that men and women are equal. Her ambiguous statements

regarding the equality of the sexes have made it difficult to classify Wollstonecraft as a modern feminist; the word itself did not emerge until decades after her death.

... At the end of 1791, French feminist Olympe de Gouges had published her Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen, and the question of women's rights became central to political debates in both France and Britain.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary_Wollstonecraft

Mary Wollstonecraft

British writer, philosopher, and advocate of [women's rights](#).^{[2][3]} Until the late 20th century, Wollstonecraft's life, which encompassed several unconventional personal relationships at the time, received more attention than her writing. Today Wollstonecraft is regarded as one of the founding [feminist philosophers](#), and feminists often cite both her life and her works as important influences.

<https://www.linnean.org/learning/who-was-linnaeus/linnaeus-and-race>

Linnaeus and Race

One of the origins of scientific racism can be traced to Linnaeus' work on the classification of man, which had devastating and far-reaching consequences for humanity.

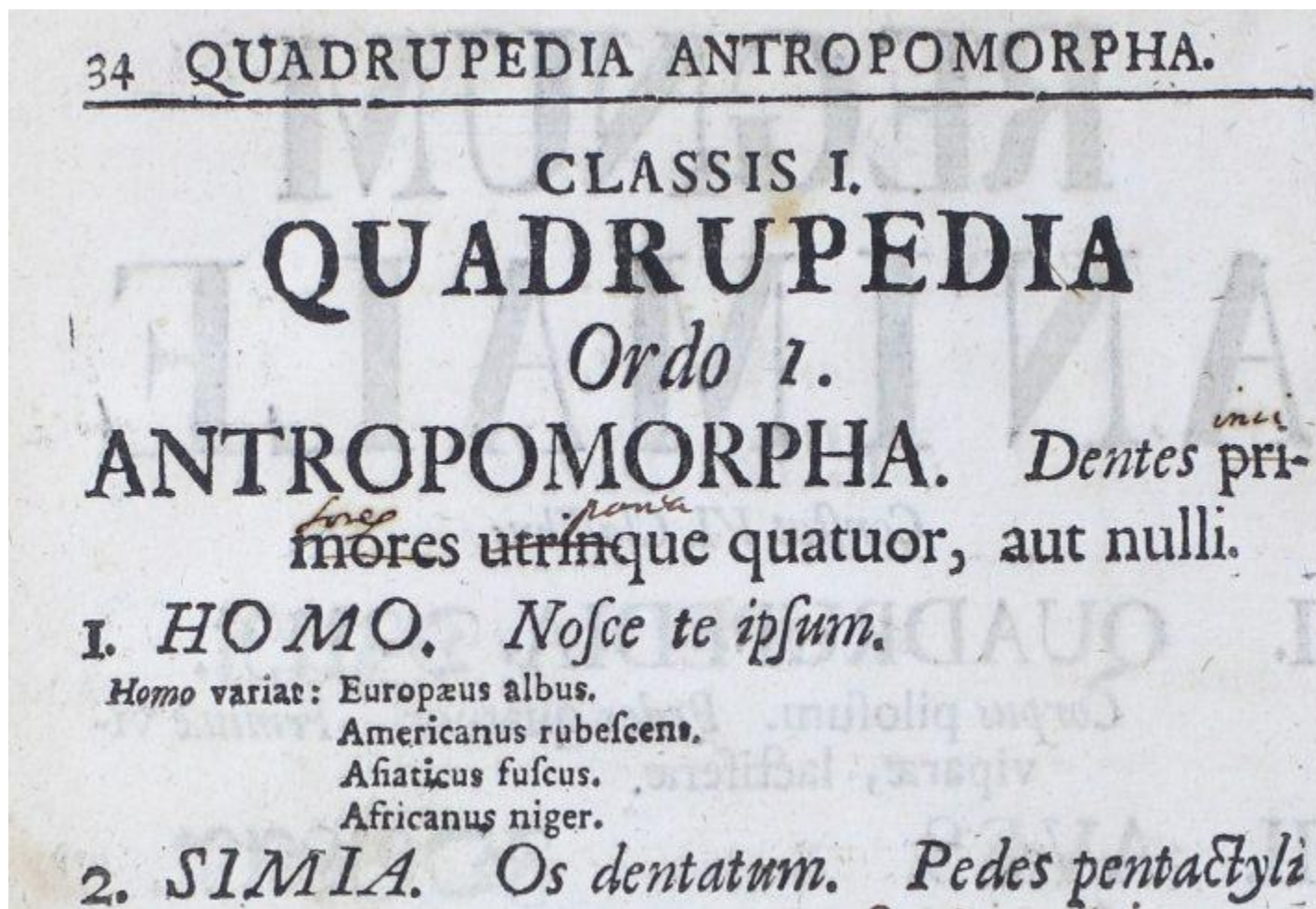
Linnaeus was the first naturalist to include man within the animal kingdom. In 1735, the class into which Linnaeus inserted man was called Quadrupeds, and the order, Anthropomorpha. These names Linnaeus would change to Mammals and Primates later on in his career. The order of Anthropomorpha contained the genera *Homo* (humans), *Simia* (apes) and *Bradypus* (sloths).

I. QUADRUPEDIA.			
<i>Corpus hirsutum. Pedes quatuor. Feminae viviparæ, lactiferæ.</i>			
ANTHROPO- MORPHA. Dentes primores 4. u- trinque; vel nulli.	Homo.	Nosce te ipsum.	H { Europæus albesc. Americanus rubesc. Asiaticus fuscus. Africanus nigr.
	Simia.	ANTERIORES. POSTERIORES. <i>Digiti</i> 5. 5. Posteriores anterioribus similes.	Simia cauda carens. Papio. Satyrus. Cercopithecus. Cynocephalus.
	Bradypus.	<i>Digiti</i> 3. vel 2. . . . 3.	Ai. <i>Ignavus.</i> Tardigradus.

The order of Quadrupeds in *Systema naturæ*, 1735

The choice to include humans within animals and quadrupeds was not welcomed by everyone. In a [letter dated 1 September 1735](#), the Dutch naturalist Gronovius told Linnaeus that he disagreed with his decision to include humans under Quadrupeds 'For although Man ranks first among the animals, he should in fact be considered to excel all other living beings which were created by God to Man's delight and benefit.

Systema naturae was edited 12 times in Linnaeus' life. As each edition was amended, corrected and augmented, *Systema naturae* grew in scope and content. For the first 9 editions (1735-1756), Linnaeus' classification of man remained stable, with the human species divided into four types, or "varieties", as he called them in Latin.



Quadrupeds in [Systema naturae 2nd edition, 1740](#)

- *Europæus albus*: European white
- *Americanus rubescens*: American reddish
- *Asiaticus fuscus*: Asian tawny
- *Africanus niger*: African black

The word that Linnaeus uses to denote the taxon below the species, is '**varieties** of man': 'Homo **variat**' (literally 'Man varies'). As far as is known, Linnaeus never used the word race, in reference to humans or any other organisms. The term 'variety' is significant: while 'subspecies' would distinguish stable types, 'varieties' do not.

... Linnaeus' division into four varieties of man corresponded to the then known four continents of the world: Europe, America, Asia and Africa.

... Sometime in the 1750s, Linnaeus started revising his classification of humans, to add physical and moral attributes to geography and skin colour.

...

a manuscript draft entitled '[Anthropomorpha](#)', dating from between 1748 and 1758, contains numerous reworked pages of possibly lecture notes that go beyond simply stating the locality and skin colour.[6] The amendments and crossing outs indicate that this was a work in progress. The manuscript also includes extracts of other works that Linnaeus was reading on the subject, and which may have influenced some of his classification, such as Pierre Louis Maupertuis, but also older works such as Pliny.

L'VADRUPEIA

ANTHROPOLOGIA

HOMO nosse se ipsum
 Sapiens
 Diurnus
 & Asiaticus fusus, oculis inter alia, cunctis oculis nigris, seris fuscis.
 & europaeus albus, oculi caerulei, nigris flavescentibus, protuberantibus
 & americanus niger, pinguis laevissimus, sanitate impatientis
 & africanus niger

Habitat naturaliter in haec tropicos medii, & equinoctialis
 Animal rationale sapiens, loquens, moribus regularibus
 Edidit omnia perfectissima, polyphagum, invidium, avaram
 ferocissimum, luxuriosum, cupis obsequium omnino, zelum
 propter uxorem, omnibus utitur, adhibet, amorem ad disciplinam, gratiam
 corpus nudum excepto capite, pube, axillis et manibus.
 Cerebrum maximum, Nigraha et Chitons femine

a. Asiatici fuscissimi, sericissimi

c. Europaei corpora albo, oculi caerulei, cunctis flavescentibus.

x. Americani nigrissimi, sanitate impatientes, corpora pinguis laevissimus, niger

v. Africani nigrissimi, pubes contortuplicata nigra, brevis

culi holosericea nigra, sicut labii medii

crassi, oculi soli albigenae albi, naris de-

pressae. Sanitatis magna, sanitate prope per-

fecta. Asiatici nigrissimi, cunctis flavescentibus, protuberantibus

e. Chitons macrocephali, Asiatici capite te. to quantum.

Asiatici, europaei, sericissimi, juniores

e. alpini parvi, agiles.

macrocephali capite sericissimi, cunctis flavescentibus, protuberantibus

capite caeruleo, nigris flavescentibus, protuberantibus

pube, axillis et manibus.

Nosse se ipsum, primus est quod sapiens, quod solus, supra

physiologiae sapientia a natura, splendoris perfectissimi, organum
 quam in ulla alio animali, quibus

Pathologicae infirmitates, projectis incipit a laevissimis, ope aliorum
 estimatur, miltariis calamitatibus, obnoxia, caduca, bulla, palumbus.

Naturaliter te rationale perfectissima, doctum, summa, sapiens, loquens
 uidey, fluxy, pudicium de rebus, de iustis.

Theologiae cupit, cum omnia, perfectissima, imaginem dei, civitate
 uxorem, rationalem, immortalis, uxorem.

Delectatione, ubi in sapientia, confusione
 Moraliter te a passionibus infirmitas, luxuria, ambitione, luxuria
 avocata, invidiam, ubi in dolo, malum in modeste.

Linnaeus' manuscript 'Anthropomorpha' contains many iterations of the description of *Homo sapiens*. Here, folio 2.

The result of this expansion of the classification of man was the [1758 10th edition of *Systema naturae*](#), which became the basis for scientific racism. To the four continents and the four varieties of humans, Linnaeus added the four temperaments, or humours. According to medieval medical doctrine, which still had currency in the 18th century, the four humours were thought to be sanguine (blood), choleric (yellow bile), melancholic (black bile), and phlegmatic (phlegm). Their composition within the body was considered to determine a patient's personality and health concerns. By adding these, and other moral attributes, he departed from the purely geographic and environmental factors.

Whereas the previous editions classified man within four lines, the 10th edition devotes 5 pages to the genus *Homo*. Extensive footnotes cover half the page.

The four varieties have become six, and Linnaeus added notes on different lines describing the following attributes:

1. Skin colour, medical temperament (corresponding to the four medieval humours), and body posture;
2. Physical traits relating to hair colour and form, eye colour, and distinctive facial traits;
3. Behaviour;
4. Manner of clothing;
5. Form of government.

Leaving aside the first variety of wild children and youngsters (*Ferus*) and the last variety of *Monstrosus* (see below the table), the resulting classification thus looks like this:

Species	1	2	3	4	5
Americanus	Red, choleric and straight	Straight, black and thick hair; gaping nostrils; [freckled] face; beardless chin	Unyielding, cheerful, free	Paints himself in a maze of red lines	Governed by customs
Europaeus	White, sanguine, muscular	Plenty of yellow hair; blue eyes	Light, wise, inventor	Protected by tight clothing	Governed by rites
Asiaticus	Sallow, melancholic, stiff	Blackish hair, dark eyes	Stern, haughty, greedy	Protected by loose garments	Governed by opinions
Africanus	Black, phlegmatic, lazy	Dark hair, with many twisting braids; silky skin; flat nose; swollen lips; Women [with] elongated labia; breasts lactating profusely.	Sly, sluggish, neglectful	Anoints himself with fat	Governed by choice []

As Müller-Wille has remarked: 'It cannot be emphasized enough how phantastic Linnaeus's color scheme actually is, if judged in terms of the humoral doctrine: white is red (sanguine), black is white (phlegmatic), yellow is black (melancholic), and red is yellow (choleric).'[7]

The fifth variety of 'monstrous' humans included groups which were allegedly shaped by their environment: the *Alpini*, living high in the mountains, for instance, are 'small, agile and shy'. In the 'monstrous' variety, Linnaeus also placed the Hottentots who according to him were less fertile, owing to the fact that they had only one testicle (hence the name Monorchides), and European girls with artificially constricted waists ('*Juncae puellae abdomine attenuato*').

Linnaeus continuously revised his work, and his copies of *Systema naturae* were interleaved so that he could insert amendments and corrections for the next edition. The entry for *Homo sapiens* in his copy of 1758 *Systema naturae* shows some of the corrections that he meant to implement in the next edition. One of the corrections which was introduced in the final, [12th edition from 1766](#) was the substitution of 'cheerful' ('hilaris') with 'content' ('contentus') in the description of *Americanus*.

...

By the 10th edition of *Systema naturae*, Linnaeus switched the order in which the varieties appear yet again, and chose to place *Americanus* first, possibly influenced by ideas of the 'noble savage'. One variety never varied in this hierarchy, however: *Africanus* consistently remained at the bottom of the list. Moreover, in all editions, Linnaeus' description of *Africanus* was the longest, most detailed and physical, and also the most negative.

Races of man

Enlightenment thinkers inherited a very hierarchical view of the natural world from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: a 'Great chain of beings' arranged in a series of gradients or steps, with God at the very top, man underneath, and down through animals and vegetables to inorganic minerals at the bottom. Linnaeus' taxonomic work partly upset this linear hierarchy of more or less 'perfect' natural beings. The alignment of races with four continents, for example, put them all on the same level as 'natural' varieties. But the idea of a graded scale of nature also survived in the linear arrangement of human varieties. Linnaeus' classification of man was certainly viewed by contemporaries in a hierarchical manner, and carried on being used in such a way through the following decades. Thus Linnaeus' hierarchy, with black people at the very bottom, associated with negative moral and physical attributes, stuck.

Linnaeus was not the only naturalist writing about the human species in the eighteenth century. In fact, he wrote comparatively less on the subject than his contemporaries, such as the Comte de Buffon and Maupertuis in France, or the German physician Johan Friedrich Blumenbach, all of whom would influence later writers such as Immanuel Kant and Charles Darwin.

What remained influential was Linnaeus' classification. Authors after Linnaeus presented his classification of humans as a series of trinomials (three scientific names - genus, species, and subspecies), entrenching the view that Linnaeus' varieties were really sub-species. This was the case in the [English translation of Linnaeus in 1792](#), which probably gave rise to the idea that Linnaeus believed that human races actually constituted subspecies.[9] This highlights how ambivalent and very tentative ideas in science can become entrenched with time due to developments in wider culture.

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4326670/>

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Race and History: Comments from an Epistemological Point of

View

Staffan Müller-Wille

... The history of race is thus mostly told as the history of a *false idea*. To tell the history of a *concept*, however, one also needs to tell the history of the object or phenomenon that the concept encompasses and that shapes the concept in turn. And a concept that is based on a false idea does not have an object, it is empty, as philosophers would put it. In the case of race, this presents historians, sociologists and philosophers of the human sciences with a dilemma. If one accepts the conclusion that race is a concept that builds on fallacious ideas, one faces the difficulty of explaining how a mere delusion or misperception could gain such enormous power over the minds and bodies of many, and thus over the course of history, often with disastrous and outright catastrophic consequences. This horn of the dilemma has been highlighted more recently by historical and sociological studies that show how conceptions of race have continued to play an important though largely submerged role in post-WWII human sciences, and how these conceptions have resurfaced to prominence more recently in the context of genomic studies of human diversity ([Pogliano 2005](#); [Reardon 2005](#)). If, on the other hand, one rejects the conclusion that concepts of race simply build on a false idea, and tries to determine the empirical and rational substance that this concept may after all possess (or may have possessed in the past), one is faced with the danger of re-legitimizing racialism—the idea that race reflects some fundamental aspect of reality—in retrospect. Philosophers of science, with their predilection for rational reconstructions, seem particularly prone to endorse this horn of the dilemma and to suggest that race is a legitimate object of scientific research.

...

The crucial point in this statement is that Linnaeus aligns skin color and other physical traits with characteristics that vary with diet, environment, and age, or even constitute straightforward malformations. This clearly implies that he was not interested in the identification of discrete and stable types. Instead, the rooting of Linnaeus's classification scheme in the distinction of four continents is to be taken seriously. It has, in fact, more similarity with the abstract grid of parallels and meridians that underlies geographical maps, and thus serves as a tool for ordering knowledge, rather than depicting some reality "out there".

This conclusion is confirmed by the use Linnaeus himself made of his classification. If one looks at subsequent editions of his *Systema naturae*, one can see that the "thin" abstractions of the original scheme served as a matrix for the accretion of further facts.³ On the one hand, Linnaeus correlated skin color with medical temperament—Americans turned out to be "choleric," Europeans "sanguine," Asians "melancholic," and Africans "phlegmatic"—moral characteristics, preferred clothing, and form of government. On the other hand, however, the racial scheme also served to map out variations that did *not* conform to the presupposed scheme of four human races, such as "mountainous (*alpinus*)" people who, as Linnaeus maintains, tend to be "small, agile, and timid," or European women who artificially constrict their waists ([Linnaeus 1766](#), Vol. 1, 29). The "color lines" that underlie Linnaeus's racial classification are just that, lines that transect a terrain and provide a grid to map out its irregular and sometimes idiosyncratic contours.

...

Hannah Arendt, in her *Origins of Totalitarianism*, as well as Michel Foucault in his lectures at the *Collège de France* from 1975–1976, have gone a long way in retracing the race concept to discourses revolving around "history," rather than "nature" ([Arendt 1973](#), ch. 6 and 7; Foucault 2003). With race, differences among humans ceased to form part of a presumed divine and permanent order, and became part and

parcel of an epic struggle for domination. Any analysis that misses this ideological thrust of the race concept will fail to understand why it is that this concept can wreak so much havoc.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Race_\(human_categorization\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Race_(human_categorization))

Race (human categorization)

... The modern concept of race emerged as a product of the colonial enterprises of European powers from the 16th to 18th centuries which identified race in terms of skin color and physical differences. Author Rebecca F. Kennedy argues that the Greeks and Romans would have found such concepts confusing in relation to their own systems of classification.[49] According to Bancel et al., the epistemological moment where the modern concept of race was invented and rationalized lies somewhere between 1730 and 1790.

... The rise of the [Atlantic slave trade](#), which gradually displaced an earlier [trade in slaves](#) from throughout the world, created a further [incentive](#) to categorize human groups in order to justify the subordination of African [slaves](#).

Drawing on sources from [classical antiquity](#) and upon their own internal interactions – for example, the hostility between the English and Irish powerfully influenced early European thinking about the differences between people^[53] – Europeans began to sort themselves and others into groups based on physical appearance, and to attribute to individuals belonging to these groups behaviors and capacities which were claimed to be deeply ingrained. A set of [folk beliefs](#) took hold that linked inherited physical differences between groups to [inherited intellectual](#), [behavioral](#), and [moral](#) qualities. Similar ideas can be found in other cultures, for example in [China](#), where a concept often translated as "race" was associated with supposed common descent from the [Yellow Emperor](#), and used to stress the unity of ethnic groups in China. Brutal conflicts between ethnic groups have existed throughout history and across the world.

... The 1735 classification of [Carl Linnaeus](#), inventor of zoological taxonomy, divided the human species [Homo sapiens](#) into continental varieties of *europaeus*, *asiaticus*, *americanus*, and *afēr*, each associated with a different [humour](#): [sanguine](#), [melancholic](#), [choleric](#), and [phlegmatic](#), respectively.^{[58][59]} *Homo sapiens europaeus* was described as active, acute, and adventurous, whereas *Homo sapiens afēr* was said to be crafty, lazy, and careless.

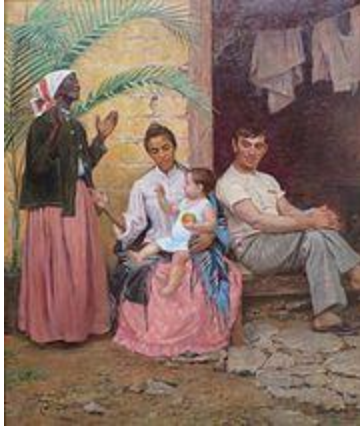
The 1775 treatise "The Natural Varieties of Mankind", by [Johann Friedrich Blumenbach](#) proposed five major divisions: the [Caucasoid race](#), the [Mongoloid race](#), the Ethiopian race (later termed [Negroid](#)), the [American Indian race](#), and the [Malayan race](#), but he did not propose any hierarchy among the races.

...

...

Brazil

Main article: [Race in Brazil](#)



Portrait "Redenção de Cam" (1895), showing a Brazilian family becoming "whiter" each generation

Compared to 19th-century United States, 20th-century [Brazil](#) was characterized by a perceived relative absence of sharply defined racial groups. According to anthropologist [Marvin Harris](#), this pattern reflects a different history and different [social relations](#).

...

Over a dozen racial categories would be recognized in conformity with all the possible combinations of hair color, hair texture, eye color, and skin color. These types grade into each other like the colors of the spectrum, and not one category stands significantly isolated from the rest. That is, race referred preferentially to appearance, not heredity, and appearance is a poor indication of ancestry, because only a few genes are responsible for someone's skin color and traits: a person who is considered white may have more African ancestry than a person who is considered black, and the reverse can be also true about European ancestry. The complexity of racial classifications in Brazil reflects the extent of genetic mixing in [Brazilian society](#), a society that remains highly, but not strictly, [stratified](#) along color lines. These [socioeconomic](#) factors are also significant to the limits of racial lines, because a minority of [pardos](#), or brown people, are likely to start declaring themselves white or black if socially upward, and being seen as relatively "whiter" as their perceived social status increases (much as in other regions of Latin America).

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Anti-Slavery_Convention

World Anti-Slavery Convention (1840, London)

The **World Anti-Slavery Convention** met for the first time at [Exeter Hall](#) in London, on 12–23 June 1840. It was organised by the [British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society](#), largely on the initiative of the English [Quaker Joseph Sturge](#). The exclusion of women from the convention gave a great impetus to the [women's suffrage movement in the United States](#).

<https://hartmannreport.com/p/do-republicans-worship-poverty-death>

Do Republicans Worship Poverty, Death, and Disease?

Is there something in the GOP's core beliefs and strategies that just inevitably leads to hating on their

citizens and worshipping poverty, death, and disease?
THOM HARTMANN, JUN 28, 2023

From Comment Thread:

William Farrar – 28 June 2023

Here you go again. You kvetch about Biden and his Cabal, yet say nothing, of any import, about Trump and the Republicans.

The contagion of racism and fascism, does not lie in America's wealth and inequality, it has been with us from the beginning, first with indentured servants then after 1661 when Virginia legalized slavery.

Racism is a subset of classism. Classism has been with us for as long as one man could intimidate other men with bodily injury or death.

Most pronounced in Europe with its nobility and royals.

It came to America in the ships that brought English gentry and indentured servants to Jamestown in 1607.

The gentry soon as established themselves as planters, building forts with the labor of indentured servants, and some specialist freemen, like coopers, carpenters, smiths (which accounts for the prominence of those Surnames in America.

Overtime the fortunes of these planter families declined, and the indentured servants worked off their indenture, received a bag of seed corn (only in America is maize called corn, in England it was grain), a firearm, a mule and the right to patent his own land.

One of the 20 Africans brought to Jamestown in 1619 was an Africa warrior, named Edward Mazingo, Sr., (c. 1649 – 1712), kidnapped from Africa when about 10 years old, sold into indenture in Jamestown, Virginia. After his owner died, he sued for his freedom and won it. He married an impoverished white woman, Margaret Pierce Bayley (1645–1711) and together they, essentially, founded the Mazingo family line in North America., there is a book, Fiddler on Pantico Run, about him and his white descendants, he also has black descendants, a notable white is Judge Tony Mazingo of Alabama., and a lot of proud KKK, and Trump humping whites.

Bernie Sanders knows that racism is a subclass of classism, but was pilloried for not elevating it to the greatest "sin", though he was an old civil rights warrior,

While the Democratic party's hands are stained. that stain fled from the Democratic Party to the Republican party with the Civil Rights Act, Medicare, Medicaid and the Great Society.

I am not at all happy with Biden, I deem him either complicit, corrupt or a coward, as is the leadership of the DNC. It is known that Nancy Pelosi has a visceral hatred of progressives, as I assume Hakeem Jeffries does as well, (he would not be in office were it not for AIPAC, and Corporate donors.

The only other choice is Trump, Putins butt buddy, and not voting or voting for a third party is a vote for Trump. And I gather that is your agenda.

A not so disguised Putinist.

Not so clever ploy, critiquing both Republicans and Democrats, but firing your real bullets at Democrats and Biden, and blanks at Republicans and Trump..

Just letting you know that there is one reader, that has critical reasoning skills, and can ferret out intent from comments

My own discontent with the Democrats and Biden is well known, but I want them to act in the manner in which they present themselves, as progressives, and I intend to light a fire under their feet to motivate them.

On the other hand there is no redemption for the Republicans and Trump.

And as much as I do not like it, I will, once again, hold my nose and vote Democratic.

Otherwise tis the end of a political experiment, and the beginning of a toxic alliance and dictatorship, been an unremediated USSR and the USA.

Putin is hell bent on reviving the USSR, seems to me that you are as well.

Two Quora Trolling Questions and the answers (an indication of how to redirect the reparation concept into public service solutions)

[1 - As a proud conservative Minnesotan, I believe that everything should be privatized. That means that fire stations, the USPS, the FAA, Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, the VA, roads, etc. should all be privatized. Do you like my pro-freedom idea?](#)

Answered by David W. Rudlin, Author of the Inspector McLean Mystery series - Updated May 9 2023

Love it!

You'll be screwed, of course, but why should I care about you?

Minnesota is 30th in terms of population density. That means fewer people to fund those fire stations, post offices, roads, etc.

Or did you mean by "privatized" that when you get sick you'll do your own research online and remove any cancers yourself? With no Medicare, Medicaid or Obamacare, and that pesky small population problem, you're not going to be able to afford many hospitals.

Privatize the FAA? So it can be run like Southwest Airlines? Sounds great!

Then again, I'm not sure you'll have to worry about it. All but one of the airports in the US are publicly financed, so even if you raise airport taxes enough to pay for operating costs, you couldn't afford to build one.

Private roads? Love it! I just bought the one that runs in front of your house, and will charge you just \$500,000 a year to use it. (Snow removal extra, naturally.)

Obama once said that government is just a word for the things we choose to do collectively. Doing things collectively has been part of the American Way since the very beginning. Ben Franklin created the USPS. And didn't you learn about barn raisings in school?

Oh, right. No more schools in your Free Dumb world.

Your question is a perfect example of just how far past Ridiculous the alt-right has gone while mistakenly thinking they're geniuses returning to the past glory of America.

I'd say they need to be educated in civics and American history and critical thinking, but that would involve schools and you've already freed us of that...

From the Comment Thread:

Matthew Caine · May 6, 2023

I have never seen a case where the sale of Government assets, or the privatization of Government services, didn't result in a more expensive provision of lower quality services than what existed prior. And that assumes that the new provider doesn't go broke and just walks away forcing the Government to again pick up the pieces, at an even greater cost to the taxpayer.

Peggy McHugh · May 8, 2023

During my years with the IRS, Congress, in its infinite wisdom, would periodically try to privatize parts of it. It always ended badly.

Chris Brook · May 7, 2023

Here in the UK the Thatcher government privatized most public services with little apparent benefit, in fact most of the new companies shed staff at an alarming rate and services and safety protocols were compromised. How do you fancy watching worms emerging from your taps? It happened. The Major government privatized the railways in a very complicated way; the company owning the rails didn't own the trains that ran on them, the owners of the trains didn't run them but leased them to other companies who did. Ticket prices rocketed and the government still had to subsidise all the companies so that shareholders could get dividends. Definitely no benefits there. Most of the privatised services have ended up in the hands of foreign companies so much of the profits head overseas. The irony is that many of the services are provided by companies that are nationalised in their own country. For instance my regional train services are run by the Dutch national railways. Electricity in some areas is run by EDF, a French national company. So, over privatising is not beneficial to everyone.

The people posing the 'I'm alright, fuck the rest of you' conservative attitude we see in so many of questions from the US is very upsetting and those people should realise that, under their health system they could be one major illness away from bankruptcy and end up among those they've denigrated.

Edit: since writing the above, another rail company has failed and has had to be re-nationalised. Giving the market free reign doesn't always work especially when public services are involved.

2nd edit: there's a lot of comment in the news now regarding the amount of effluent in our rivers, seas and on our beaches. You risk serious sickness if you swim or even paddle in them. This is because the water companies have prioritised giving dividends to their shareholders rather than upgrading their systems. The companies have now promised to upgrade but, instead of reducing dividends to pay for it, they're going to increase the charges to their customers. Privatisation, yea!

David W. Rudlin · May 7, 2023

That is indeed the problem: the inability to imagine oneself in any circumstances other than the currently favorable one.

[2 - With the flick of a pen Biden increased the price of insulin 10 fold. Is this what we have to look forward to with Obama/Biden Care?](#)

Bob Brown, Sales & Leasing Manager (2014–present) June 21, 2023

What an asinine post. Biden greatly reduced the cost of insulin. I know. I take insulin and it went from \$110 for a vial, which is a months supply for me, some use a larger dose, to \$35 a vial.

I am also a veteran, and because of Biden, I now pay nothing. The VA medical center now ships me Metformin, Insulin, syringes, glucose meter reading sticks and lancets to prick my fingers.

I don't know which is more pitiful; the lies upon lies the Conservative media tells MAGAts, or the fact that they believe these things with no proof.

From the Comment Thread:

Earl Harmon · Jun 21, 2023

How the hell did the gigantic reduction in the cost of insulin story get so distorted so it was turned around 180°? I guess if a person believes in reaganomics they will believe anything.

Nelson Laker · Jun 22, 2023

The same way the deaths of 1.1 million Americans due to the covid pandemic became a none event...a hoax... a political football... and science was thrown out the window. It is horrifyingly easy.

Steven Lam · Jun 21, 2023

you know, this is so sad. Insulin was discovered by a Canadian doctor Frederick Banting and Charles Best back in 1921 at University of Toronto. They GAVE the patent of the drug and how to manufacture it for FREE to the university they worked for. To quote what he said when he gave it away "Insulin does not belong to me, it belongs to the world." How on this planet did we get to this point of price gouging to this degree? I do know and understand how insulin had improved with time but really it should not be THAT expensive.

Katelyn · Jun 22, 2023

I can answer that.

The FDA.

Companies must, by law, fully test all pharmaceuticals before they can be sold. This testing is extremely expensive- over \$100 million per drug. If the administration method changes (drug to syringe, or different type of syringe, for example), the testing must start all over.

Once this testing has occurred, the company that paid for the testing has exclusive rights to sell that medication in its approved method of administration.

Insulin didn't change, but the method of administration changed, so FDA testing was required, the company needed to recoup the costs, and the company gained exclusive rights to sell that drug in that package.

Earl Webster · Friday 23 June 2023

It appears to me that the pharmaceutical companies are deliberating, “changing” things in order to first make a new patent, which then triggers the FDA testing requirement.

<https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-slavery-lawmakers/>

<https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-slavery-ancestry/>

“The Slaves Built That”

Amid racial-justice protests, a Reuters journalist began exploring the ancestral ties to slavery of America’s most powerful politicians. He also excavated his own family’s history – which presented a more daunting challenge.

By TOM LASSETER Filed June 28, 2023, 10 a.m. GMT.

A group of Reuters journalists began tracing the lineages of members of Congress, governors, Supreme Court justices and presidents – a [complicated exercise in genealogical research](#) that, given the combustibility of the topic, left no room for error.

Henry Louis Gates Jr, a professor at Harvard University who hosts the popular television genealogy show *Finding Your Roots*, told me that our effort would be “doing a great service for these individuals.”

“You have to start with the fact that most haven’t done genealogical research, so they honestly don’t know” their own family’s history, Gates said. “And what the service you’re providing is: Here are the facts. Now, how do you feel about those facts?”

<https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-slavery-lawmakers-overview/>

Explore the U.S. Elite's Ties to Slavery

Reuters found that 118 of America's most influential leaders have a slaveholding ancestor. Explore information about their forebears and the people they enslaved.

By LAWRENCE DELEIVINGNE, ANDREA JANUTA, GUI QING KOH. BRAD HEATH. TOM LASSETER Filed June 27, 2023, 10 a.m. GMT.

In an examination of the genealogies of America’s political elite, Reuters found that at least 118 of the country’s most influential leaders – presidents, lawmakers from the last sitting Congress, governors and Supreme Court justices – have a slaveholding ancestor.

In notifying political elites of their family ties to slaveholding, we identified which of their ancestors enslaved people, how many people that ancestor enslaved, and how many generations removed that ancestor is from them.

We also sought comment from each public official to understand how learning about their family connection to slavery might affect them personally, and whether that knowledge might inform their views on policy matters.

In some cases, Reuters discovered documents that included the names of those enslaved by ancestors of the elites. In those instances, the names of the enslaved are pictured, along with links to explore the full documents that contain those names.

<https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-slavery-reparations/>

Reparations: Where slavery's descendants stand

In the U.S. Congress, some of the leading voices on the divisive issue of slavery reparations have an ancestral tie to slaveholding

By TOM LASSETER, DONNA BRYSON and LAWRENCE DELEIVINGNE Filed June 27, 2023, 10 a.m. GMT

Bills introduced in the House and Senate would create a commission to address “the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity of slavery in the United States and the 13 American colonies between 1619 and 1865” – and the racial and economic discrimination against Black Americans that followed. Such a commission, the bills say, would consider a national apology and proposals for reparations.

Some of the leading voices on the matter, both for and against, have a personal connection to the issue: They have one or more ancestors who were slaveholders.

Among them are three prominent Democrats who have co-sponsored reparations bills: senators Elizabeth Warren and Chris Van Hollen, and Representative Lloyd Doggett. Opponents include Republican senators Tommy Tuberville and John N. Kennedy, and former Representative Louie Gohmert.

The issue is divisive. A Reuters/Ipsos survey found that slightly more than half of respondents identifying as Democrats – 58% – support reparations. Just 18% of Republicans do. The divide is even greater between Black and white America. The poll found that 74% of Black Americans favor reparations compared to just 26% of white Americans.

A divided America

[A House resolution introduced in May](#) in favor of the idea cites estimates from “respected economists” that reparations to eliminate the racial wealth gap would cost at least \$14 trillion.

Proponents say such payments are meant to help compensate for more than slavery itself. They cite systemic racism and other forms of discrimination that followed emancipation.

Opponents say reparations would further divide the country. They question who would get the money: Would all Black Americans, or only descendants of people who could show that their ancestors were enslaved? They also say it's wrong to have taxpayers finance reparations, given that no one alive today is responsible for slavery.

In examining the genealogies of members of the 117th Congress, Reuters found that at least 100 lawmakers have direct ancestors who enslaved Black people in the years before 1865, the end of the U.S. Civil War. Some have espoused strong positions on reparations.

<https://mailchi.mp/gregpalast/confessions-of-an-affirmative-action-baby>

Confessions of an Affirmative Action Baby

How an “undeserving” kid like me got admitted to Stanford
by Greg Palast, 29 June 2023

There’s no way you’d been reading this – and I could not write this – if it weren’t for affirmative action. And there’s no way on earth I could have gotten accepted to fancy-ass schools including Columbia, Stanford, Chicago, UCLA and Berkeley—without affirmative action. Because I flunked basic English.

But, thanks to affirmative action, “undeserving” me got into all those fine ruling class finishing schools. And if you don’t like it, if you think my writing career cheated a worthier and wealthier young man out of his pre-ordained slot,
well, *f*** you!*

Now, a tiny opening into membership into the ruling class has been closed with a guillotine. Today, the Supreme Court issued its ruling banning any consideration of race in admissions to Harvard and the University of North Carolina—and, by so ruling, every school in the USA.

The ruling is ugly, cruel, racist and flat-out un-American—though possibly the impetus for correcting some decayed forms of affirmative action which are neither affirmative nor active. Stay with me on this.

Let me explain using my own story of escape from L.A.’s East Valley, the dead-end barrio of Sun Valley-Pacoima.

In 1968, UCLA held a test for “gifted” kids that would allow them to enter the university before they finished high school. By pure luck, I happened to have friends at Beverly Hills High whom I was going to meet to just hang out. I was told to meet them at UCLA where I found them about to take this early admissions test.

The test was well-advertised at Beverly Hills High, at University High and at a couple of other high schools where the morbidly wealthy send their kids. No one ever even mentioned the program at my school – then populated mostly by Chicanos and “Okies” (dustbowl refugees).

I had nothing to do while waiting for my friends, so I said, “Give me a test!” The surprised proctors reluctantly handed me the papers. And I aced it. At least on paper, I was a smart kid. But, my English wasn’t worth a can of spam. I stone-cold flunked the “Subject A” exam of basic grammar and spelling, a requirement to enter the University of California.

Apparently, Pacoima Spanglish is not Standard English.

But, after a call to my high school’s principal who explained, “That any of our students can speak English at all is a big deal,” a dean at UCLA waived the requirement, taking “affirmative action” to pretend I had passed the test.

And if you don't like that, *f*** you* again!

At my high school, all boys were required to take “shop” classes to learn to operate a wood lathe, draft blueprints and how to pick radishes (so we could be gainfully employed as permanent “braceros.”) At Beverly Hills and “Uni,” the kids had calculus and Advanced Placement Physics and French lessons—in France.

I couldn't compete. But thanks to affirmative action, admissions gatekeepers looked the other way. (And, in 1968-69, with the planet on fire from Watts to Vietnam the prestige schools were bringing in kids they thought would be grateful enough to not make trouble. We proved them wrong.)

But even before today's decision, a kid like me would have a tough time qualifying for affirmative action as the court's *Bakke* (1978) and *Grutter* (2003) rulings gutted the core purpose of affirmative action: to give those without privilege a fighting chance to get a piece of the privilege. Instead, real educational handicaps were set aside for a crude concept of “racial diversity.” Schools stopped recognizing society's crippling of opportunity for poor Black, Hispanic and White kids – and replaced it with approval of plans by the ruling class to put a little chocolate in their milk. “Diversity” became a head-count of skin tones.

The Ivy League loved those rulings—because they allowed the privileged to hold on to their privileges. So, a Barack Obama, with a PhD mom and a Harvard economist dad, counts as “diversity.” No one questions that Obama was a stellar student, but it was hardly creating an opening in the ruling order to admit another “legacy” student. As today's decision notes, Harvard's final “lop” as they call it for choosing students has only four criteria. Number one is “legacy status”—i.e. is daddy a member of the club. Then there is that other “legatee” George W. Bush, who famously crowed that he got into the elite Phillips Academy Prep School and admitted to Yale despite his abysmal grades. Here's a photo of him giggling as he says, “As I like to tell C students. You too can become President!”

I would note that the plaintiffs in today's case did suggest that eliminating “legatee” spots—almost all reserved for the white and wealthy—would radically increase racial diversity. I'm sure the ruling class was more than thrilled that the Court did not ban the legacy grift that preserves the mating rituals of the scions of the rich.

I remember a dean of students at the University of Chicago telling me about the confidential phone number, “which we keep only for big donors to call if they need to get someone admitted.”

So the Right wing has come up with allegedly “race neutral” prescriptions for college admissions. By law, admission to the prestigious University of California campuses is principally determined by your “grade point average.” Sounds fair, race and class neutral. But an ‘A’ in an Advanced Placement class is worth 5 points, while an ‘A’ in other classes is worth only 4. At my school for pre-designated losers, we had only one single AP class—while Bevy and Uni had dozens. A straight-A student at my school would lose a shot at UCLA to a Beverly Hills mediocrity loaded up with AP classes.

The Classroom Class War

American education is a war zone – where battlefield success is measured by the prestige schools you've attended, connections to the powerful and their wallets and their Rolodexes, to their “networking opportunities,” and entry into the gene pool for the landlords of our planet. “Getting in” – is everything. Getting left out is everything too, if you're left out. Ask Steve Paddock. (We'll get to Steve.)

In other words, it's bigger than race. It's about the war that cannot speak its name: class war. The ruling class doesn't mind "diversity" if it doesn't threaten their rule.

Today's decision, like *Bakke* and *Grutter*, continues the unprovoked assault by the haves on the never-will-haves.

I recognize that the issue of class is going out of style. In those virtue-signaling lawn signs that say, "*In this house, we believe that love is love, no person is illegal, women's rights are human rights etc.*," nice liberal homeowners announce their blessing for same-sex marriage, for immigration, and a woman's right to abortion. But as the great social critic Thomas Frank notes, there's no place on those signs for, "In this house we believe every worker deserves a good union paying job." Lost your job to NAFTA? Sorry, no more room on our sign.

In our long-overdue recognition of historic wrongs, we've left out the working class, especially the working poor. "Working class" and "working poor" is not, at least from the signs, an "intersection" of oppression.

One classmate at my sucky high school, Steve Paddock, impoverished son of an escaped convict, was a real math whiz. He didn't know about early admissions tests. He ended up dumped into our local college. He was brainy enough to know he'd been cheated, watching the "legatee" mediocrities close the door in his face. And brainy enough to figure out the complex ballistics to kill 56 people in Las Vegas from a notable distance.

Not every frustrated white kid becomes a killer. But an awful lot of them will put on MAGA caps.

Race, Class and "Neutral" Admissions tests

Let's talk about "race" neutral admissions policies.

Elite schools put much value on "extra-curricular activities." My daughter got into a top arts and film school with a scholarship for her portfolio and academic scores. She was talented and no doubt she deserved it. But how many 16-year-olds at my old school even have a *portfolio*? Mom and dad made sure she enrolled in weekend classes at the Parsons School of Design – and attended a deluxe private school to overcome her dyslexia. (The breathtakingly high tuition was paid by the government after we sued. How many kids can call on daddy's lawyers to boost their educational opportunities?) And let's not forget the private SAT tutor.

Now, consider my Associate Producer, the hip-hop artist Jevin Lamar. His "extracurricular activity"? He waited tables and washed dishes at a Steak & Brew in a Dayton, Ohio, dead-end zone. No one got him an internship with the ACLU, no French lessons in France.

Let's not gloss over the fact that even the most privileged Black person faces brutal discrimination. A dark-skinned person with a doctorate is still likely to be shunted to subprime loans, to subprime neighborhoods, to subprime you-name-it. Racism is baked into America the way flour is baked into bread. To ignore it is to cruelly continue it.

Racism has stained America up and down the economic totem pole. It cannot be ignored and requires correction. By shifting affirmative action's focus to income, we give a hand up to the wounded of the

class war and will assist most students of color who are the legatees of systemic impoverishment.

My life as a “less-qualified” student

“Affirmative Action” is slandered as a system to make room for people who don’t deserve to be there; students, like me, who are “less qualified” by dint of a lower test score, an embarrassing lack of advanced placement classes. Kind of like requiring every NBA team to have one player in a wheelchair.

Affirmative action is not an attack on Meritocracy, on letting the swiftest win. But when the starting gun shoots a hole in one runner’s leg, it’s not a fair race. But we can’t heal the wounds of class war simply by balancing out the runners’ by skin tone.

My white daughter had privileges my African-American AP could have never dreamed of. But then, what opportunities are denied Obama’s kids? Would their inclusion on a school roster indicate “diversity”?

One solution comes, surprisingly, out of Texas. University of Texas admits students in the top 10% of their graduating class—a good step toward leveling out differences of both race and class.

And how has affirmative action worked out?

I can tell you only about the case of this author who flunked basic English.

I was given an “undeserved” slot at a top university, and given the elite’s secret code that let me into libraries stacked with great literature. I somehow ended up, despite my lack of merit, with a string of *New York Times* bestsellers and designation as the Patron of Trinity College Philosophical Society, an honor previously held by Jonathan Swift and Oscar Wilde.

However, for years, until the miracle of “spell check,” my editors tore their hair out over my East LA spelling.

I suppose you could say that I took the place of a more deserving Phillips Academy Prep School grad—some privileged son of a Bush.

I hope I did.

<https://abcnews.go.com/US/bidens-loan-forgiveness-plan-heavily-impact-black-borrowers/story?id=88900684>

Biden's loan forgiveness plan to heavily impact Black borrowers.

Twenty million people will have their loans completely wiped.

By Kiara Alfonseca, August 26, 2022, 1:54 PM

"Approximately one in four Black Americans have negative net worth — meaning their total debt exceeds their total assets," said the civil rights group National Action Network in a statement. "The administration expects the first \$10,000 of debt relief will move over half a million Black Americans from a negative to a positive net worth."

More Black students take out loans than white students: 71% compared to 56%, according to the [research organization Education Data Initiative](#).

...

Black students make up 72% [of Pell grant recipients](#), according to the DOE.

A typical Black borrower will see his or her loan balance cut nearly in half and more than one in four Black borrowers will have their balance forgiven, [according to the White House](#).

Black women, in particular, carry a [disproportionate burden of student debt](#). They hold nearly two-thirds of the nearly \$2 trillion outstanding student debt in the U.S., according to data from [the Census Bureau](#).

<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/04/12/10-facts-about-todays-college-graduates/>

10 facts about today's college graduates

BY KATHERINE SCHAEFFER, April 12, 2022

https://hartmannreport.com/p/is-student-debt-a-crime-against-americas?publication_id=302288

Is Student Debt a Crime Against America's Future?

Student debt is a crime, weakening our intellectual infrastructure while maintaining and rigidifying racial and class caste systems inherited from the eras of slavery and indenture...

THOM HARTMANN, JUL 3, 2023

Many, if not most, of the people in today's billionaire class have supported — and fought for — such a caste system since the founding of America, and in every other country around the world, since time immemorial. It's literally the history of western civilization from ancient Greece and Rome, the stories of kings and conquistadors, and the "Robber Barons" of America's gilded age.

They really don't care about improving the lives of everyday Americans; their philosophy is, "I got mine; screw you." Educated themselves, they've always worked to "pull up the ladder" behind them and thus maintain their elite status.

As history shows, this harms countries in real and measurable ways.

Every nation's single biggest long-term asset is a well-educated populace, and student debt diminishes that.

Every other advanced democracy on the planet understands this.

That's why student debt at the scale we have in America literally does not exist anywhere else in the rest of the developed world.

American students, in fact, are going to college for [free right now](#) in Germany, Iceland, France, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic, because pretty much anybody can go to college for free in those countries and dozens of others.

"Student debt?" The rest of the developed world doesn't know what you're talking about.

Student debt also largely didn't exist in modern America before the Reagan Revolution. It was created by Republicans here in the 1980s — intentionally — and if we can overcome Republican opposition we can intentionally end it here and join the rest of the world in once again benefiting from an educated populace.

Forty years on from the Reagan Revolution, student debt has crippled three generations of young Americans: over [44 million people carry the burden](#), totaling a \$2+ trillion drag on our economy that benefits nobody except the banks earning interest on the debt and the politicians they pay off.

But that doesn't begin to describe the damage student debt has done to America since Reagan, in his first year as governor of California, ended free tuition at the University of California and cut state aid to that college system by 20 percent across-the-board.

After having destroyed low income Californians' ability to get a college education in the 1970s, Reagan then took his anti-education program national as president in 1981.

When asked why he'd taken a meat-axe to higher education and was pricing college out of the reach of most Americans, he [said](#), much like Ron DeSantis might today, that college students were "too liberal" and America "should not subsidize intellectual curiosity."

It was the 1980s version of today's "war on woke."

On May 1, 1970, Governor Reagan announced that students protesting the Vietnam war across America were "brats," "freaks" and "cowardly fascists," adding, as The New York Times [noted](#) at the time:

"If it takes a bloodbath, let's get it over with. No more appeasement!"

Four days later four were dead at Kent State, having been murdered by national guard riflemen using live ammunition against anti-war protesters.

Before Reagan became president, states [paid](#) 65 percent of the costs of colleges, and federal aid covered another 15 or so percent, leaving students to cover the remaining 20 percent with their tuition payments.

It's why when I briefly attended college in the late 1960s — before Reagan — I could pay my tuition working a weekend job as a DJ at a local radio station and washing dishes at Bob's Big Boy restaurant on Trowbridge Road in East Lansing.

That's how it works — at a minimum — in most developed nations, although in many northern European countries college is not only free, but the government *pays* students a stipend to cover books and rent.

Here in America, though, the numbers are pretty much [reversed](#) from pre-1980 as a result of Reaganomics, with students now covering about 80 percent of the costs. Thus the need for student loans here in the USA.

As soon as he became president, Reagan went after federal aid to students with a fanatic fervor. Devin Fergus [documented](#) for The Washington Post how, as a result, student debt first became a thing across the United States during the early '80s:

"No federal program suffered deeper cuts than student aid. Spending on higher education was slashed by some 25 percent between 1980 and 1985. ... Students eligible for grant assistance freshmen year had to take out student loans to cover their second year."

It became a mantra for conservatives, particularly in Reagan's cabinet. Let the kids pay for their own damn "liberal" educations.

Reagan's college educated Director of the Office of Management and Budget, David Stockman, [told](#) a reporter in 1981:

"I don't accept the notion that the federal government has an obligation to fund generous grants to anybody who wants to go to college. It seems to me that if people want to go to college bad enough

then there is opportunity and responsibility on their part to finance their way through the best way they can. ... I would suggest that we could probably cut it a lot more.”

After all, cutting taxes for the morbidly rich was Reagan’s first and main priority, a position the GOP holds to this day. Cutting education could “reduce the cost of government” and thus justify more tax cuts.

Reagan’s first Education Secretary, Terrel Bell, [wrote](#) in his memoir:

“Stockman and all the true believers identified all the drag and drain on the economy with the ‘tax-eaters’: people on welfare, those drawing unemployment insurance, students on loans and grants, the elderly bleeding the public purse with Medicare, the poor exploiting Medicaid.”

Reagan’s next Education Secretary, William Bennett, was even more [blunt](#) about how America should deal with the “problem” of uneducated people who can’t afford college, particularly if they were African American:

“I do know that it’s true that if you wanted to reduce crime,” Bennett famously said, “you could -- if that were your sole purpose, you could abort every black baby in this country, and your crime rate would go down.”

These doctrines became an article of faith across the GOP and remain so to this day, as we saw last week with the Republicans on the Supreme Court ending affirmative action.

...

The best book on that time and subject is Edward Humes’ [Over Here](#): How the GI Bill Transformed the American Dream, [summarized](#) by Mary Paulsell for the Columbia Daily Tribune:

“[That] groundbreaking legislation gave our nation 14 Nobel Prize winners, three Supreme Court justices, three presidents, 12 senators, 24 Pulitzer Prize winners, 238,000 teachers, 91,000 scientists, 67,000 doctors, 450,000 engineers, 240,000 accountants, 17,000 journalists, 22,000 dentists and millions of lawyers, nurses, artists, actors, writers, pilots and entrepreneurs.”

Free education literally built America’s middle class.

When people have an education, they not only raise the competence and vitality of a nation; they also earn more money, which stimulates the economy. Because they earn more, they pay more in taxes, which helps pay back the government for the cost of that education.

In 1952 dollars, the GI Bill’s educational benefit cost the nation \$7 billion. The increased economic output over the next 40 years that could be traced directly to that educational cost was \$35.6 billion, and the extra taxes received from those higher-wage-earners was \$12.8 billion.

In other words, the US government [invested](#) \$7 billion and got a \$48.4 billion return on that investment, about a \$7 return for every \$1 invested.

In addition, that educated workforce made it possible for America to lead the world in innovation, R&D, and new business development for three generations.

We invented the transistor, the integrated circuit, the internet, new generations of miracle drugs, sent men to the moon and reshaped science.

Presidents Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln knew this simple concept that seems so hard for Reagan and generations of Republicans since to understand: when you invest in young people, you’re investing in your nation.

Jefferson founded the University of Virginia as a 100% tuition-free school; it was one of his three proudest achievements, [ranking higher](#) on the epitaph he wrote for his own tombstone than his having been both president and vice president.

Lincoln was equally proud of the free and low-tuition colleges he started. As the state of North Dakota [notes](#):

“Lincoln signed the Morrill Act on July 2, 1862, giving each state a minimum of 90,000 acres of land to sell, to establish colleges of engineering, agriculture, and military science. ... Proceeds from the sale of these lands were to be invested in a perpetual endowment fund which would provide support for colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts in each of the states.”

Fully 76 free or very-low-tuition state colleges [were started](#) because of Lincoln’s effort and since have educated millions of Americans including my mom, who graduated from land-grant Michigan State University in the 1940s, having easily paid her minimal tuition working as a summer lifeguard in her home town of Charlevoix, Michigan.

<https://www.juancole.com/2023/06/college-admissions-michigan.html>

SCOTUS Ruling on Race and College Admissions:

We’ve already Seen this Movie in Michigan and it Doesn’t End Well
JUAN COLE, 30 June 2023

Ann Arbor (Informed Comment) – Conservatives in the United States have a stealth function of supporting white supremacy, even if they deny it. Maybe some do not even realize that is what they are doing. People focus on process and not outcomes when thinking of fairness, but what they think of as fair processes don’t guarantee fair outcomes. Nothing is more threatening to white supremacy than affirmative action, which holds that the government and social institutions can reshape American society toward greater racial equality. Hence, the Federalist Society’s corrupt SCOTUS struck down affirmative action in college and university admissions nationwide.

Nothing will change for my institution, the University of Michigan. In 2006 the good people of the state passed Proposal 2, forbidding the use of race as a factor in admissions.

This measure caused the percentage of African-American students to drop. [In 2005](#) non-Hispanic Blacks made up 7.2% of the Ann Arbor undergraduate student body.

Today African-American students make up less than 4% of the undergraduate student body on the Ann Arbor campus. That is a 45% drop. Virtually the same thing happened in the University of California system when they had to stop doing affirmative action.

The University of Michigan drop came despite the university’s attempt to substitute “hardship” as an admissions criterion for “race.” Students wrote in their personal statements about difficulties and obstacles that they faced in life through their high school years. But of course, as hard as life might be for African-Americans in the United States, there are others who face obstacles and hardships — poor

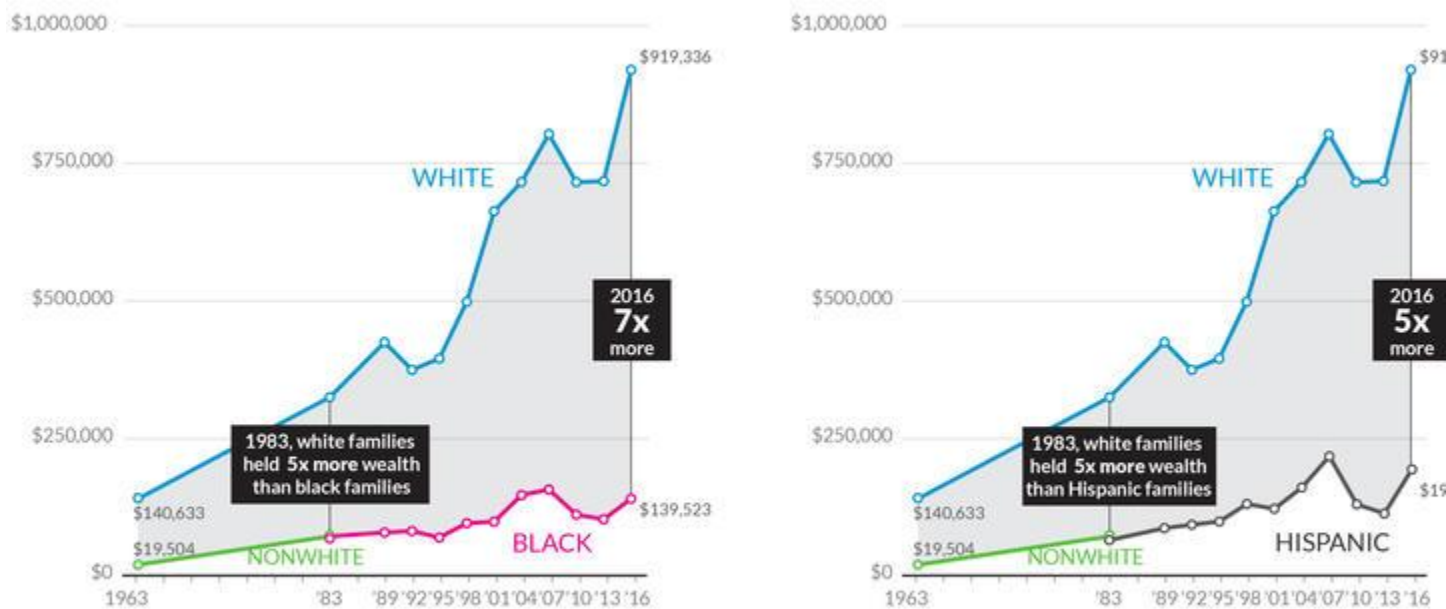
whites, LGBTQ+ people, and women, and many of these other disadvantaged people are white. So they seem to have taken up nearly half the slots formerly allotted to Black people.

In other words, "hardship," which Chief Justice John Roberts admitted in his decision might be considered in admissions, just doesn't do the same work as race-conscious admissions do.

13.64% of Michiganders are African-American, so they are vastly underrepresented on the Ann Arbor campus.

Leave slavery aside, when they were unpaid labor for as much as 400 years. From the 1930s to 1968 the practice of [redlining](#) in Michigan [prevented](#) African-Americans from accumulating wealth through home ownership. That gave white families a galactic advantage. Even since redlining was officially outlawed in the 1960s, it cast a long shadow on homeownership rates and pricing of houses by neighborhood. Informal segregation, sometimes abetted by realtors, continues to keep Detroit and Flint among the most segregated cities in the United states.

Average Family Wealth by Race/Ethnicity, 1963–2016



Source: Urban Institute calculations from Survey of Financial Characteristics of Consumers 1962 (December 31), Survey of Changes in Family Finances 1963, and Survey of Consumer Finances 1983–2016.

Notes: 2016 dollars. No comparable data are available between 1963 and 1983. Black/Hispanic distinction within nonwhite population available only in 1983 and later.

URBAN INSTIT

H/t Urban.org

That bastion of left-wing radicalism, the RAND think tank (which started out as an adjunct to the US Air Force) [reports](#): "The median Black household in America has around \$24,000 in savings, investments, home equity, and other elements of wealth. The median White household: around \$189,000," This happened because of redlining and other elements of systemic racism, not because of any fault of African-Americans themselves.

John Roberts believes that such injustices have already been made up. They haven't. They haven't begun to be. Having robbed Black people blind since 1619, the least we can do is try to give them educational opportunities consonant with their proportion of the population.

Personally, I think the University of Michigan should set up a magnet K-12 school in Detroit and promise admission to those who graduate from it with good grades. If it was our school, we should be able to do as we please with its graduates. If it was in Detroit, it would ipso facto have mostly African-American attendees, but that wouldn't be our problem.

There is a well-known fallacy among economists, called the “lump of labor.” Many people assume that if you increase job-holders among one group, it will reduce the jobs for another, that there is a fixed amount of labor to be done. This idea could not be more false. Look at Turkey in 2016-2017, when the economy grew 4% a year at a time of slowdowns for other countries. Economists concluded that the growth came about because two million Syrian workers had fled to Turkey from their civil war. That meant that farmers who wanted to expand suddenly had access to farm labor, and urban businesses that wanted to expand had access to educated Syrians, adding to the available work force. Turkey could do more work because it had more workers. Syrians didn't take jobs from Turks, they expanded the pie.

Opponents of affirmative action in higher education believe in a similar fallacy, the “lump of education.” So they think if you admit more minorities to colleges and universities, it will keep out some whites who might otherwise have gotten in. But the colleges and universities might expand their student body. This has happened at my university, In 1984 when I arrived at the University of Michigan's Ann Arbor campus there were a little over 34,000 students, including about 6,000 graduate students. Today we have almost 50,000 students, including 17,000 grads. Michigan's population was 9 million in 1984. It is 10 million today. The state grew 10%. The student body grew by 32%. Things change. In many cities and states “meds and eds,” medicine and education have replaced traditional industry as contributors to gross domestic product, and we can expect further expansion of education.

There is room in this growing economy for everybody. Let's find a way to benefit from the talents of all Americans of all races and backgrounds, and not systematically sentence some to menial labor based on the color of their skin.

<https://udpress.udel.edu/book-title/performative-polemic/>

Performative Polemic: Anti-Absolutist Pamphlets and their Readers in Late Seventeenth-Century France

by Kathrina Ann LaPorta, June 21, 2021

Publisher : University of Delaware Press

Print length : 318 pages

<https://www.amazon.com/Performative-Polemic-Anti-Absolutist-Pamphlets-Seventeenth-Century-ebook/dp/B09J6YD35P> - Amazon link

Performative Polemic is the first literary historical study to analyze the “war of words” unleashed in the pamphlets denouncing Louis XIV's absolute monarchy between 1667 and 1715. As conflict erupted between the French ruler and his political enemies, pamphlet writers across Europe penned scathing assaults on the Sun King's bellicose impulses and expansionist policies. This book investigates how, at a crucial moment in which politics was enacted through praise literature and the spectacle of court ceremony, pamphlet writers challenged the monarchy's monopoly over the performance of sovereignty

by contesting the very mechanisms through which the Crown legitimized its authority at home and abroad.

In this volume, Kathrina Ann LaPorta offers a new conceptual framework for reading pamphlets as political interventions. Rather than viewing these polemical works as windows into the past, LaPorta asserts that an analysis of the pamphlet's form is crucial to understanding how pamphleteers actively dialogued with the literary field to invest readers in political dissent. Even as pamphlets spread sedition, their authors seduced readers by capitalizing on existing markets in literature, legal writing, and journalism. **Pamphlet writers appealed to the theatergoing public that would have been attending plays by Molière and Racine, as well as to readers of historical novels and periodicals. Whether they appropriated juridical language to indict absolutism, or usurped Louis XIV's voice in fictive narratives mocking his impotence, pamphleteers entertained readers as they revealed the fault lines in the absolutist enterprise.** In examining the endlessly creative ways in which pamphlets attacked the performative circuitry behind the curtain of monarchy, LaPorta offers a richer picture of the intersections between seventeenth-century literary culture and the clandestine world of pamphleteering.

About the Author: Kathrina Ann LaPorta is a lecturer in the Department of French Literature, Thought and Culture at New York University. A specialist of early modern France, her research interests include seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French literature, material history, and critical theory. Her work has appeared in Early Modern French Studies, French Studies Bulletin, and the Cahiers du dix-septième: An Interdisciplinary Journal. She is preparing an online critical edition of anti-absolutist pamphlets with Christophe Schuwey, a project funded by a grant from the Neukom Institute for Computational Science at Dartmouth College.

Performative Polemic *(extract, sample from Amazon, screen captured and OCR'ed)*

Anti-Absolutist pamphlets and their Readers in Late Seventeenth-Century France

Kathrina Ann Laporta

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Note on Translations

All sources initially published in French are cited in the original and accompanied by an English translation. Unless otherwise specified, all translations are my own. In transcribing early modern French texts, I have modernized spellings and verb endings, but I have preserved the original punctuation, syntax, and capitalization, except where there were clear typographical errors. The translations of primary source material prioritize readability; for this reason, I have modified punctuation in the English where necessary. As indicated in the notes and bibliography, I adapted from the following anonymous contemporary English translations: *The Buckler of State and Justice* (1673), *The Sighs of France in Slavery* (1689), and *The Alcoran of Lewis XIV, or the Political Testament of Cardinal Julius Mazarine* (1707).

INTRODUCTION

An Army of Authors

In September 1701, a defrocked priest named Antoine Sorel returned to Paris after several years living abroad. Traveling by horseback, Sorel journeyed without incident between Amsterdam and Brussels, and hired local guides to help him navigate the backroads between Brussels and Péronne in Northern France. The authorities in Péronne having questioned his cargo, Sorel left his suitcase in a house just outside the city and entered alone. There, Sorel met with a priest whom he knew, and together the two managed to exit and regain entry to the city by hiding the suitcase's contents under their religious garb. Sorel repeated this procedure in several towns between Péronne and Paris, ultimately managing to smuggle the suitcase itself into Paris in a rented carriage.

Two months later, Sorel, using a false name, met a cleric named Antoine Rolet in the Luxembourg Gardens and confided to him that he possessed several "livres curieux" (enticing books) from Holland. The two men made plans to meet at the same location several days later, at which point Rolet purchased twenty-five books from Sorel for twenty-five francs. The titles of these works left little doubt as to their illicit content: *Le Jésuite défroqué* (The Defrocked Jesuit), *L'Histoire secrete de Henri IV* (The

Secret History of Henry IV), *La Cour de France Turbanisée* (The French Court Turbanized), *La France toujours ambitieuse et toujours perfide* (The Always Ambitious and Always Treacherous France), and *Le Tombeau des Amours de Louis le Grand, et sur ses dernières galanteries* (The Tomb of the Loves of Louis the Great, and his Final Amorous Quests), to name but a few.

According to police reports compiled from interrogations and verbal testimony, Rolet's books eventually passed into the possession of a student, Nicolas Assaulé, who convinced Rolet to sell them to a third party, a certain Bobin. Unbeknownst to Assaulé, however, Bobin remained loyal to the king, and he promptly turned Assaulé over to authorities. While Assaulé was exiled for his involvement in the sale of forbidden texts and Rolet spent several years in the Pont-de-l'Arche prison for his role, Sorel would remain imprisoned in the Bastille from 1702 until 1715.

In addition to its high level of intrigue worthy of a novel, Sorel's story also sheds light on a world typically condemned to obscurity by being labeled "clandestine."

First popularized by Robert Darnton in his pioneering work on the "forbidden best-sellers" in eighteenth-century France, our notions of the illegal book trade celebrate the "bad books" (*mauvais livres*) that managed to circulate "under the cloak" (*sous le manteau*) to find their way into the hands of ordinary Frenchmen at the apogee of absolutism. The Bastille archives are filled with countless tales of authors, booksellers, printers, and street peddlers implicated in dealing "forbidden books" (*les livres défendus*)—seemingly undaunted by the possibility of punishments such as lengthy prison sentences, mandatory service in the galleys, exile, or death.

Stories like Sorel's bring to life this clandestine subculture in vivid terms, showcasing smuggled seditious texts on-the-go as they face confiscation, change hands, and cross borders.

Indeed, it is almost as though our defrocked priest Sorel carries a canon—or rather, the closest we can come to a canon for the notoriously difficult-to-define writing practice that is pamphleteering—on his back.

First used in the French language in 1653, the word "pamphlet" would not become common currency in France until the eighteenth century. Its etymology can be traced to a late twelfth-century Latin amatory poem entitled "Pamphilus, seu de Amore" (Pamphilus, or About Love), subsequently known through the diminutive form of its protagonist's name (*pamphilet*), likely because of the text's own brevity.— Subsequent definitions of pamphlet retain its diminutive root: in French and in English, the word came to denote short forms of writing (booklets, brochures), especially those that take up current events or political topics.

To this day, the pamphlet's diminutive status has colored its reception in scholarship. Circulating on the margins of the law and the fringes of literary production, the pamphlet has been theorized through a combination of negation and generalization. Historian Hubert Carrier, for instance, initially characterized the pamphlet through what it cannot be: "Ce qui définit le pamphlet, ce n'est ni un genre (il les envahit tous), ni une forme littéraire (il n'en est guère qu'il ne puisse emprunter), encore moins une dimension (il va de l'affiche jusqu'au traité de plusieurs centaines de pages): c'est un ton, un accent, un style, une âpreté souvent mêlée d'ironie, liée au désir de convaincre le lecteur, voire de l'enrôler dans un parti ou de le mobiliser au service d'une cause" (The pamphlet is defined by being neither a genre [it invades them all], nor a literary form [there are hardly any from which it cannot borrow], and even less so by being a particular size [it goes from the poster to the treatise of several hundred pages]. It is a tone, an

accent, a style, a harshness often mixed with irony, bound to a desire to convince the reader—and even to enlist that reader in a [political] party or to mobilize him to join a cause). Just as Carrier insisted on the pamphlet's all-encompassing nature, Jean Schillinger has similarly foregrounded the pamphlet's capacity to incorporate strategies from many different genres and forms: "ce qui caractérise le pamphlet, c'est son polymorphisme, sa capacité à utiliser— parfois de manière surprenante—les genres et les formes littéraires" (What characterizes the pamphlet is its polymorphism, its ability to use literary genres and forms, often in surprising manners).⁶ Other scholars have defined the pamphlet as a tone, a form, a genre, and a subcategory to polemic—itself variously described as a tone, a form, a genre, and a type of speech.

Like these scholars, I highlight the pamphlet's polymorphism and its ability to incorporate conventions from other genres. Early modern French pamphlets indeed encompass a wide range of formats and signifying practices. They vary substantially in length (from one to four hundred pages in-octavo or in-duodecimo format), in form (from treatises and narratives to fables and dialogues), and in tone (from legalistic to satirical). In addition to reading the pamphlet as just a tone or a quality of speech, however, I also focus on its material reality— namely, the fact that the pamphlet circulates as a written form (typically a bound book or quickly stitched-together loose sheets) to be sold to a heterogeneous audience.

In fact, although the twenty-five texts in Sorel's bundle would have been called "libelles" at the turn of the eighteenth century, historians and literary critics today tend to use the word "pamphlet" to describe this type of textual production. An umbrella term referring to works that attack and accuse, the libelle is combat literature that violently contests the abuse of power. The entry for the term in *Dictionnaire de Richelet* (1680), for instance, foregrounds the "injurious" nature of the libelle as well as the importance of anonymity to these textual assaults:

"Écrit injurieux qui est le plus souvent sans nom d'Auteur. (Faire un libelle diffamatoire contre quelqu'un)" (Injurious piece of writing that is the most often without an Author's name [To write a defamatory libelle against someone]).⁹ The 1690 edition of Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* likewise signals the polemical function of the libelle, while suggesting its tenuous legal standing: "Écrit qui contient des injures, des reproches, des accusations contre l'honneur et la réputation de quelqu'un. L'Ordonnance défend de faire, de publier des Libelles" (Piece of writing that insults, reproaches, or accuses a person's honor and reputation. The Law prohibits creating, publishing Libelles).

In suggesting that the libelle is equally as powerful in manuscript as in a published form, Furetière's definition affirms the political force of late seventeenth-century pamphlet literature.

Indeed, by the end of the seventeenth century, the words libelle and pamphlet seem to have converged around this point of audacious political contestation; in a text from 1698, pamphlet is listed as a synonym to the following entry for libelle: "papiers imprimés, où chacun prend la liberté de dire beaucoup de choses sur les Affaires de l'État" (printed papers, in which a person takes the liberty to say many things about the Affairs of State).

An Army of Authors

Setting aside these terminological issues, the political stakes of pamphlet writing are clear. One of the texts that made its way from Holland into Paris with Sorel elucidates the implications of pamphleteering

more generally, as well as its particular importance in the late seventeenth century. Published at a clandestine press in Brussels in January 1689, *La France toujours ambitieuse et toujours perfide* circulated in the early months of the War of the League of Augsburg, a nine-year conflict that pit France against a coalition of European states.

In the Translator's Note preceding the text, the anonymous writer defends the effectiveness of writing itself as a weapon in a war against the French state and its polemicists:

Toute l'Europe est aujourd'hui liguée contre la France: Les Auteurs sont de cette Ligue. Ils font une petite Armée qui combat avec la plume, pendant que d'un autre côté on combat avec l'épée. La partie n'est pas égale; la France a beaucoup d'Auteurs et beaucoup d'armées. Mais elle n'en a pas à beaucoup près autant que tous ses ennemis ensemble. (...) Elle a considérablement perdu de ses forces, et ses Auteurs sont surtout extrêmement faibles. Ils soutiennent une fort mauvaise cause contre de fort habiles Gens. . . . [S'il le sort des armes est incertain, il n'est pas incertain de quel côté sera la victoire dans la Guerre des Auteurs. [All of Europe is currently leagued against France. The Authors are part of this League. They comprise a small Army that fights with the quill pen while on the other side they fight with the sword. The sides are not equal; France has many Authors and many armies. But she does not have nearly as many as all of her enemies together. (...) She has considerably lost her forces and above all, her Authors are extremely weak. They are supporting a very bad cause against very capable Opponents. (...) If the fate of arms is uncertain, it is not uncertain which side will prove victorious in the War of Authors.]

From the symmetry of sentence structure to the contrast between France's "authors" and those writing on behalf of her enemies, the passage makes the case for a war of words that runs parallel to the war waged on the battlefield. On one hand, this is simply a metaphor; fighting with a quill pen would have conjured comedic rather than epic associations. On the other hand, the figurative comparison reflects the importance of the written word in justifying, denouncing, and commenting upon military conflicts since the emergence of pamphlet writing during the Italian Wars in the early sixteenth century, and through the contentious years of Louis XIV's reign and beyond. By the end of the seventeenth century, pamphlets had indeed become a vital part of political and graphic culture throughout Western Europe.

The book that follows presents a literary history of the "war of words" unleashed in the French-language pamphlets that denounced Louis XIV's absolute monarchy between 1667 and 1715. As conflicts erupted between the French monarch and his political enemies, pamphlet writers across Europe penned scathing assaults on the Sun King's bellicose tendencies and expansionist policies. This polemical war was waged in several campaigns. A first wave in 1667—68 corresponded to the War of Devolution, the first major conflict during Louis XIV's personal reign (1661—1715). However, the number of pamphlets spiked between 1688 and 1714, a period of nearly continuous aggression between France, the Habsburg Empire, the Dutch Republic, and England. To contest the inundation of monarchical propaganda, which represented Louis XIV as a triumphant war god, pamphlet writers rebranded the king as a despot—portraying his "just wars" as lawless banditries and substituting his image as Apollo with those of biblical tyrants. These texts challenged the narratives that commemorated the Sun King's triumphs at home and abroad, denouncing everything from his pseudo-legal diplomacy and excessive taxation policies to his unchristian military tactics.

The anonymous *La France toujours ambitieuse et toujours perfide* (1689) illustrates the fundamentally combative nature of this corpus. At key points in the text, the pamphleteer mobilizes a legal vocabulary, claiming to use justice and reason as "lawyers" and addressing the reader as a "judge. — Through

anaphora, the writer underscores his goal to produce a text that will enact a trial against France: "J'ôterai le masque à ce nouveau Héraut qui de dessus son siège déclare en même temps la Guerre à tout l'Univers, je lui dirai ses vérités, j'appellerai les choses par leur nom, J'appelle un chat un chat, et Rolet un fripon" (I will remove the mask from this new Herald who from his bench declares War on the entire Universe, I will speak the truth, I will call things by their name, I call a spade a ...

<https://www.racket.news/p/this-july-4th-remember-freedom-is>

This July 4th, Remember: Freedom is Good

Things have gotten so weird, even the most uncontroversial parts of the American experience are becoming taboo

MATT TAIBBI, JUL 4, 2023

I was never much for Independence Day. In the eighties, patriotism was a pile of uninspiring steroid-addled symbols: *Rambo*, *Top Gun*, the invasion of Grenada... I eventually learned to love barbecue and a beer-drunk as much as the next person, but to this day I can't think of the word *freedom* without laughing, because it makes me remember Mel Gibson's hair extensions in *Braveheart*.

Now the Fourth of July sucks. The overcooked patriotism of old was at least campy. The country today is run by politicians who spend all their time telling us freedom is dangerous, and the press won't go near the word unless it can wedge it into an act of self-flagellation, à la the *Washington Post* [headline today](#): "How an enslaved genius saved the Capitol dome's 'Freedom' statue." The one thing this country doesn't need to be ashamed of is its unifying idea, and our cultural and political leaders have somehow managed to turn even that into a source of division.

People who grow up in freer societies can't appreciate what they have until they get real experience of a place where freedom is absent. I loved my time as a student in the Soviet Union and later in Russia, but it was hard not to notice that most of the country was recovering from something like severe brain damage, having lived under a system whose only real ideological principle was a lack of autonomy: "What's mine is mine, and what's yours is also mine." The forced collectivity of Soviet culture bred resentment at such soaring levels that for some, the only imaginable pleasure was screwing over another person. In a classic joke, a genie tells a Soviet citizen, "You can have anything, but your neighbor will have double." The punchline: "Pluck out one of my eyes."

In post-communist Russia human beings were so unused to freedom, even the temporary experience of it drove some crazy. The place was sardine-packed with busybodies. Sit next to an ex-Soviet person on a plane or train, and you could feel with each passing second how the prospect of enjoying the liberty to say nothing weighed on the traveler, like the cross on the shoulder of Christ. Every meeting of this type was a countdown until the moment when he or she pulled out that jar of dacha-made jam or pickles or whatever and insisted you try ("Mine is delicious, the best!"), or gave you advice you didn't want, about problems you didn't have. Russians made a joke of this, too, calling themselves the *Strana Sovetov*, "Nation of Soviets," the word "Soviet" also meaning advice — "Nation of Advices."

Once you reached the advice-getting stage, you were screwed. After the sixth or seventh time you declined a stranger's recommendation to put mustard in your socks to cure your cough, the person would get offended, doubling the verbiage. Now it was hostility and arguments to the end. *No problem*, you'd sigh, *it's only 17 more hours to Irkutsk...* This was a huge flaw in American propaganda about the Soviet system. We'd been taught growing up that Russian communists were unsmiling, monosyllabic automatons, like Dolph Lundgren's Ivan Drago. If only! Where the American revolutionary slogan was

“Don’t Tread on Me,” the Bolshevik banner should have been, “Won’t Shut the Fuck Up.” If they’d told the truth about this aspect of Soviet life, Americans would have been much more rabidly anticommunist.

It was during some of those interminable train rides when I first found myself longing for America, where the default common-space joke was “Do you have the time, or should I just go f— myself?” and personal boundaries don’t — or didn’t, at least — inspire nervous breakdowns. I even found myself missing the Fourth, a time when Americans gathered on Main Street, ate corn-dogs, belched, and celebrated centuries of coexistence without often killing one another.

It’s true, and we don’t need to be ashamed to say it, that what united us was our shared love of freedom, for people of all stripes seek the freedom to do something: shoot guns, worship Satan, make movies about rats, get gloriously fat, start a genital-piercing business, make obscene ice sculpture, whatever. In the past Americans sometimes argued if they thought others pushed the freedom idea too far, but I don’t remember the concept of freedom itself ever inspiring anxiety, until recently.

For a while now, American-born citizens have been significantly less patriotic [than immigrants](#), and after centuries of waving the flag too much, we suddenly have people who seem afraid to do it all. The ultimate example is probably Beto O’Rourke, who seemed so terrified someone might accuse him of enjoying the life America handed him as a cover-boy faux Kennedy, he [told a crowd of immigrants](#): “This country was founded on white supremacy.” Was he trying to get them to turn around?

Since 9/11, when political freedoms started to be whittled back, Americans started to catch the Soviet disease of being terrified of other peoples’ free thoughts. Coming home in 2002, I was surprised to see something like that hyper-nervous *Sovok* personality developing. An iteration in the Bush years was the listener of Rush Limbaugh or Michael Savage who couldn’t have a conversation without quizzing you about your politics. Those were tough exchanges, but it wasn’t until after the 2008 crash, while researching a book called *The Divide*, that I saw the more serious strain.

Comparing the treatment of rich and poor fraud defendants, I saw welfare programs designed to help single mothers had been transformed by politicians from both parties into perpetual domestic surveillance programs. Welfare officers seemed to get off on forcing young women in a search of a few hundred bucks to pass (on penalty of jail time) a long series of moral tests. Are they off drugs? Shacking up with a boyfriend? Collecting off-books income? Feeding their kids too much Trix? Attending every mandated job training session? One woman I met faced prosecution, and demands for remuneration, for missing a single class.

At first I was confused, and spent a lot of time trying to work out whether this was a left or right phenomenon. Eventually I realized there’s just a universal personality type that enjoys getting up into other peoples’ business. The Soviets had their busybodies. Ours were now building up in number.

You could see it in the violent reaction to Andrew Yang’s “[Freedom Dividend](#)” proposal. I wasn’t sure if I was for or against the idea of “Universal Basic Income” — it was [at least interesting](#) — but the intensity of the outcry was mind-blowing. It was loudest from people like Robert Reich, who worried such programs would [replace “targeted” assistance](#), i.e. the aid with the ten billion strings attached. As in: “How can we just *give* people money? Without armies of social engineers, who’ll be there to teach recipients to feel properly humiliated, guilty, and afraid? What’s the point of public assistance, if we don’t get to [throw away their Fourth and Fourteenth Amendment rights](#) and enter their homes for taking it?” And so on.

Others deployed heavier weaponry. *The Nation* wrote a piece that [seriously argued](#) Yang’s jokey demeanor and “use of absurdism in politics” might be cover for racist extremism, noting the role scholars said “appearing slightly ridiculous” played in “mainstreaming the KKK.” Yang sounded like a guy

who liked to get baked and watch animal documentaries, the political version of [Brad Pitt in True Romance](#), and his big stump idea was giving people free money. But a new, uptight species of American was already looking five hundred steps ahead and terrifying themselves with visions of lynchings.

Today the fashion is not only to be pessimistic about the American conception of freedom, but to couple that pessimism with panic, media freakouts, and authoritarian solutions. Freedom of speech? Too dangerous, so we need digital censorship. Freedom to vote? Needs careful monitoring, lest we end up with more Donald Trumps. Freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures? Can't be afforded, in the age of foreign and domestic terrorism, so electronic surveillance must be expanded. Racial equality? Can't be achieved without huge bureaucracies of DEI minders, in every corporation and university. Meritocracy? The pursuit of happiness? Shams, or covers for privilege schemes, the "pursuit" [denounced](#) by wine-set icons like Ibram Kendi as a "fantasy" cooked up by racist tyrants.

These new busybodies are convinced nothing about America works, not even its sales pitch, and all the things that historically made it and still make it appealing to foreigners around the world are just lies, brimming with menace. When a horrified Taylor Lorenz reported that "[unfettered conversations are taking place on Clubhouse](#)," she sounded like every Soviet neurotic ever who grew furious if neighbors had conversations they couldn't hear through the wall. Or, as the *Washington Examiner* [noted](#), she was echoing Mencken's description of Puritanism: "The haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy."

When did Americans become so miserable? When did the country once convinced there's "nothing to fear but fear itself" become addicted to freaking out? Emma Lazarus didn't write, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to know what their neighbors are up to..." If the word *freedom* makes you anxious, you really need to lighten up.

Happy Fourth of July, *Racket* readers. Enjoy your families, and blow up something big, if you can.

<https://www.racket.news/p/on-white-fragility>

On "White Fragility"

A few thoughts on America's smash-hit #1 guide to egghead racialism
MATT TAIBBI, JUN 28, 2020

A core principle of the academic movement that shot through elite schools in America since the early nineties was the view that individual rights, humanism, and the democratic process are all just stalking-horses for white supremacy. The concept, as articulated in books like former corporate consultant Robin DiAngelo's *White Fragility* (Amazon's [#1 seller](#)!) reduces everything, even the smallest and most innocent human interactions, to racial power contests.

It's been mind-boggling to watch *White Fragility* celebrated in recent weeks. When it surged past a *Hunger Games* book on bestseller lists, *USA Today* [cheered](#), "American readers are more interested in combatting racism than in literary escapism." When DiAngelo appeared on *The Tonight Show*, Jimmy Fallon [gushed](#), "I know... everyone wants to talk to you right now!" *White Fragility* has been pitched as an uncontroversial road-map for fighting racism, at a time when after the murder of George Floyd Americans are suddenly (and appropriately) interested in doing just that. Except this isn't a straightforward book about examining one's own prejudices. Have the people hyping this impressively crazy book actually read it?

DiAngelo isn't the first person to make a buck pushing tricked-up pseudo-intellectual horseshit as corporate wisdom, but she might be the first to do it selling Hitlerian race theory. *White Fragility* has a simple message: there is no such thing as a universal human experience, and we are defined not by our individual personalities or moral choices, but only by our racial category.

If your category is "white," bad news: you have no identity apart from your participation in white supremacy ("Anti-blackness is foundational to our very identities... Whiteness has always been predicated on blackness"), which naturally means "a positive white identity is an impossible goal."

DiAngelo instructs us there is nothing to be done here, except "strive to be less white." To deny this theory, or to have the effrontery to sneak away from the tedium of DiAngelo's lecturing – what she describes as "leaving the stress-inducing situation" – is to affirm her conception of white supremacy. This intellectual equivalent of the "ordeal by water" (if you float, you're a witch) is orthodoxy across much of academia.

DiAngelo's writing style is pure pain. The lexicon favored by intersectional theorists of this type is built around the same principles as Orwell's *Newspeak*: it banishes ambiguity, nuance, and feeling and structures itself around sterile word pairs, like *racist* and *antiracist*, *platform* and *deplatform*, *center* and *silence*, that reduce all thinking to a series of binary choices. Ironically, Donald Trump does something similar, only with words like "[AMAZING!](#)" and "[SAD!](#)" that are simultaneously more childish and livelier.

Writers like DiAngelo like to make ugly verbs out of ugly nouns and ugly nouns out of ugly verbs (there are countless permutations on *centering* and *privileging* alone). In a world where only a few ideas are considered important, redundancy is encouraged, e.g. "To be less white is to break with white silence and white solidarity, to stop privileging the comfort of white people," or "Ruth Frankenberg, a premier white scholar in the field of whiteness, describes whiteness as multidimensional..."

DiAngelo writes like a person who was put in timeout as a child for speaking clearly. "When there is disequilibrium in the habitus — when social cues are unfamiliar and/or when they challenge our capital — we use strategies to regain our balance," she says ("People taken out of their comfort zones find ways to deal," according to Google Translate). Ideas that go through the English-DiAngelo translator usually end up significantly altered, as in this key part of the book when she addresses Dr. Martin Luther King's "I have a dream," speech:

One line of King's speech in particular—that one day he might be judged by the content of his character and not the color of his skin—was seized upon by the white public because the words were seen to provide a simple and immediate solution to racial tensions: pretend that we don't see race, and racism will end. Color blindness was now promoted as the remedy for racism, with white people insisting that they didn't see race or, if they did, that it had no meaning to them.

That this speech was held up as the framework for American race relations for more than half a century precisely because people of all races understood King to be referring to a difficult and beautiful long-term goal worth pursuing is discounted, of course. *White Fragility* is based upon the idea that human beings are incapable of judging each other by the content of their character, and if people of different races think they are getting along or even loving one another, they probably need immediate antiracism training. This is an important passage because rejection of King's "dream" of racial harmony — not even as a description of the obviously flawed present, but as the aspirational goal of a better future — has become a central tenet of this brand of antiracist doctrine mainstream press outlets are rushing to embrace.

The book's most amazing passage concerns the story of Jackie Robinson:

The story of Jackie Robinson is a classic example of how whiteness obscures racism by rendering whites, white privilege, and racist institutions invisible. Robinson is often celebrated as the first African American to break the color line...

While Robinson was certainly an amazing baseball player, this story line depicts him as racially special, a black man who broke the color line himself. The subtext is that Robinson finally had what it took to play with whites, as if no black athlete before him was strong enough to compete at that level. Imagine if instead, the story went something like this: "Jackie Robinson, the first black man whites allowed to play major-league baseball."

There is not a single baseball fan anywhere – literally not one, except perhaps Robin DiAngelo, I guess – who believes Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier because he “finally had what it took to play with whites.” Everyone familiar with this story understands that Robinson had to be exceptional, both as a player and as a human being, to confront the racist institution known as Major League Baseball. His story has always been understood as a complex, long-developing political tale about overcoming violent systemic oppression. For DiAngelo to suggest history should re-cast Robinson as “the first black man whites allowed to play major league baseball” is grotesque and profoundly belittling.

Robinson’s story moreover did not render “whites, white privilege, and racist institutions invisible.” It did the opposite. Robinson uncovered a generation of job inflation for mediocre white ballplayers in a dramatic example of “privilege” that was keenly understood by baseball fans of all races fifty years before *White Fragility*. Baseball statistics nerds have long been arguing about whether to put [asterisks](#) next to the records of white stars who never had to pitch to Josh Gibson, or hit against prime Satchel Paige or Webster McDonald. Robinson’s story, on every level, exposed and evangelized the truth about the very forces DiAngelo argues it rendered “invisible.”

It takes a special kind of ignorant for an author to choose an example that illustrates the mathematical opposite of one’s intended point, but this isn’t uncommon in *White Fragility*, which may be the dumbest book ever written. It makes *The Art of the Deal* read like *Anna Karenina*.

Yet these ideas are taking America by storm. The movement that calls itself “antiracism” – I think it deserves that name a lot less than “pro-lifers” deserve theirs and am amazed journalists parrot it without question – is complete in its pessimism about race relations. It sees the human being as locked into one of three categories: members of oppressed groups, allies, and white oppressors.

Where we reside on the spectrum of righteousness is, they say, almost entirely determined by birth, a view probably shared by a lot of *4chan* readers. With a full commitment to the program of psychological ablutions outlined in the book, one may strive for a “less white identity,” but again, DiAngelo explicitly rejects the Kingian goal of just trying to love one another as impossible, for two people born with different skin colors.

This dingbat racialist cult, which has no art, music, literature, and certainly no comedy, is the vision of “progress” institutional America has chosen to endorse in the Trump era. Why? Maybe because it fits. It won’t hurt the business model of the news media, which for decades now has been monetizing division and has known how to profit from moral panics and witch hunts since before Fleet street discovered the Mod/Rocker wars.

Democratic Party leaders, pioneers of the costless gesture, have already embraced this performative race politics as a useful tool for disciplining apostates like Bernie Sanders. Bernie took off in presidential politics as a hard-charging crusader against a Wall Street-fattened political establishment, and exited four years later a self-flagellating, defeated old white man who seemed to regret not apologizing more for his third house. Clad in kente cloth scarves, the Democrats who crushed him will burn up CSPAN with

homilies on privilege even as they reassure donors they'll stay away from Medicare for All or the carried interest tax break.

For corporate America the calculation is simple. What's easier, giving up business models based on war, slave labor, and regulatory arbitrage, or benching Aunt Jemima? There's a deal to be made here, greased by the fact that the "antiracism" prophets promoted in books like *White Fragility* share corporate America's instinctive hostility to privacy, individual rights, freedom of speech, etc.

Corporate America doubtless views the current protest movement as something that can be addressed as an H.R. matter, among other things by hiring thousands of DiAngelos to institute codes for the proper mode of Black-white workplace interaction.

If you're wondering what that might look like, here's DiAngelo explaining how she handled the fallout from making a bad joke while she was "facilitating antiracism training" at the office of one of her clients.

When one employee responds negatively to the training, DiAngelo quips the person must have been put off by one of her Black female team members: "The white people," she says, "were scared by Deborah's hair." (White priests of antiracism like DiAngelo seem universally to be more awkward and clueless around minorities than your average Trump-supporting construction worker).

DiAngelo doesn't grasp the joke flopped and has to be told two days later that one of her web developer clients was offended. In despair, she writes, "I seek out a friend who is white and has a solid understanding of cross-racial dynamics."

After DiAngelo confesses her feelings of embarrassment, shame and guilt to the enlightened white cross-racial dynamics expert (everyone should have such a person on speed-dial), she approaches the offended web developer. She asks, "Would you be willing to grant me the opportunity to repair the racism I perpetrated toward you in that meeting?" At which point the web developer agrees, leading to a conversation establishing the parameters of problematic joke resolution.

This dialogue [straight out of South Park](#) – "Is it okay if I touch your penis? No, you may not touch my penis at this time!" – has a good shot of becoming standard at every transnational corporation, law firm, university, newsroom, etc.

Of course the upside such consultants can offer is an important one. Under pressure from people like this, companies might address long-overdue inequities in boardroom diversity.

The downside, which we're already seeing, is that organizations everywhere will embrace powerful new tools for solving professional disputes, through a never-ending purge. One of the central tenets of DiAngelo's book (and others like it) is that racism cannot be eradicated and can only be managed through constant, "lifelong" vigilance, much like the [battle with addiction](#). A useful theory, if your business is selling teams of high-priced toxicity-hunters to corporations as next-generation versions of efficiency experts — in the fight against this disease, companies will need the help forever and ever.

Cancellations already are happening too fast to track. In a phenomenon that will be familiar to students of Russian history, accusers are beginning to appear alongside the accused. Three years ago a popular Canadian writer named [Hal Niedzviecki](#) was [denounced](#) for expressing the opinion that "anyone, anywhere, should be encouraged to imagine other peoples, other cultures, other identities." He reportedly was forced out of the Writer's Union of Canada for the crime of "cultural appropriation," and denounced as a racist by many, including a poet named Gwen Benaway. The latter said Niedzviecki "doesn't see the humanity of indigenous peoples." Last week, Benaway herself was [denounced on Twitter](#) for failing to provide proof that she was Indigenous.

Michael Korenberg, the chair of the board at the University of British Columbia, was [forced to resign](#) for liking tweets by Dinesh D'Souza and Donald Trump, which you might think is fine – but what about Latino electrical worker [Emmanuel Cafferty, fired](#) after a white activist took a photo of him making an OK symbol (it was described online as a “white power” sign)? How about Sue Schafer, the heretofore unknown graphic designer the [Washington Post decided to out](#) in a 3000-word article for attending a Halloween party two years ago in blackface (a failed parody of a *different* blackface incident involving Megyn Kelly)? She was fired, of course. How was this news? Why was ruining this person's life necessary?

People everywhere today are being encouraged to snitch out schoolmates, parents, and colleagues for thoughtcrime. The *New York Times* wrote [a salutary piece](#) about high schoolers scanning social media accounts of peers for evidence of “anti-black racism” to make public, because what can go wrong with encouraging teenagers to start submarining each other's careers before they've even finished growing?

“People who go to college end up becoming racist lawyers and doctors. I don't want people like that to keep getting jobs,” one 16 year-old said. “Someone rly started a Google doc of racists and their info for us to ruin their lives... I love twitter,” [wrote](#) a different person, adding cheery emojis.

A bizarre echo of North Korea's “[three generations of punishment](#)” doctrine could be seen in the [boycotts of Holy Land grocery](#), a well-known hummus maker in Minneapolis. In recent weeks it's been abandoned by clients and seen [its lease pulled](#) because of racist tweets made by the CEO's 14 year-old daughter *eight years ago*.

Parents calling out their kids is also in vogue. In *Slate*, “Making a Mountain Out of a Molehill” wrote to advice columnist Michelle Herman in a letter headlined, “[I think I've screwed up the way my kids think about race](#).” The problem, the aggrieved parent noted, was that his/her sons had gone to a diverse school, and their “closest friends are still a mix of black, Hispanic, and white kids,” which to them was natural. The parent worried when one son was asked to fill out an application for a potential college roommate and expressed annoyance at having to specify race, because “I don't care about race.”

Clearly, a situation needing fixing! The parent asked if someone who didn't care about race was “just as racist as someone who only has white friends” and asked if it was “too late” to do anything. No fear, Herman wrote: it's never too late for kids like yours to educate themselves. To help, she linked to a program of materials designed for just that purpose, a “[Lesson Plan for Being An Ally](#),” that included a month of readings of... *White Fragility*. Hopefully that kid with the Black and Hispanic friends can be cured!

This notion that color-blindness is itself racist, one of the main themes of *White Fragility*, could have amazing consequences. In researching *I Can't Breathe*, I met civil rights activists who recounted decades of struggle to remove race from the law. I heard stories of lawyers who were physically threatened for years in places like rural Arkansas just for trying to end explicit hiring and housing discrimination and other remnants of Jim Crow. Last week, an Oregon County casually [exempted](#) “people of color who have heightened concerns about racial profiling” from a Covid-19 related mask order. Who thinks creating different laws for different racial categories is going to end well? When has it ever?

At a time of catastrophe and national despair, when conservative nationalism is on the rise and violent confrontation on the streets is becoming commonplace, it's extremely suspicious that the books politicians, the press, university administrators, and corporate consultants alike are asking us to read are urging us to put race even more at the center of our identities, and fetishize the unbridgeable nature of our differences. Meanwhile books like *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which are both beautiful and actually anti-racist, have been banned, for [containing the “N-](#)

word.” (*White Fragility* contains it too, by the way). It’s almost like someone thinks there’s a benefit to keeping people divided.

<https://www.thebignewsletter.com/p/the-long-annoying-tradition-of-anti>

The Long Annoying Tradition of Anti-Patriotism

Declinism is a longstanding posture of political elites. It's also a political choice, not a reflection of reality.

Matt Stoller, July 4, 2023

“There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide.” - John Adams, 1814

I love July Fourth. I love the flags, the music, the bbq, the fireworks. So today’s piece is a little different. It’s about why patriotism is an essential part of addressing our great social problems, such as the rigid corporate power that curses our society.

But I’m going to get to this point by focusing on a different American tradition, one so buried that we often don’t realize it’s there. And that is, I want to look at the long American embrace of anti-patriotism, of disdain for democracy, and general gloominess and dislike of politics. Because at times of populist anger at dysfunctional institutions - and we are in one right now - this anti-patriotic sentiment rises to the fore.

We’ll start with the importance of the political symbolism of July Fourth. Today most of us think about this day as a holiday based on barbecue and beer, but from the 1790s to the early 1900s, it was one of the most important political days of the year. Americans would gather and give what were called July Fourth Orations, mini-speeches, about patriotism, factionalism, industrialization, slavery, or whatever else they associated with politics.

The most famous July Fourth Oration is Frederick Douglass’ 1852 speech [“What To the Slave Is the Fourth of July?”](#) which both subverted and used this tradition to further the cause of abolition. It’s a jeremiad, with Douglass, speaking as an escaped slave, intertwining hope for humanity’s future with the blood and cruelty of the antebellum slave society America. He did not like the America in which he lived, but he did believe in the ability to use politics, and “wind, steam, and lightning” - the new technologies of railroads and telegraphs - to make it better. There were [thousands](#) of these speeches over the years, in virtually every town and city in America.

This tradition, of making July Fourth a day for political discourse, has come back. Today’s political oratory, however, is pretty annoying. It’s either celebratory pabulum, or immensely pessimistic and gloomy. I’m drawn to this notion by an article in the New York Times titled [“No Sparklers for These Folks”](#), on how some people don’t like to celebrate America’s independence for political reasons. “I think a lot of people think America isn’t for everyone anymore, and so it’s not an inclusive holiday,” according to a 28 year-old in Phoenix. The rest of the article goes on like that, with relatively empowered people decrying various forms of injustice and making a political statement that July Fourth shouldn’t be celebrated.

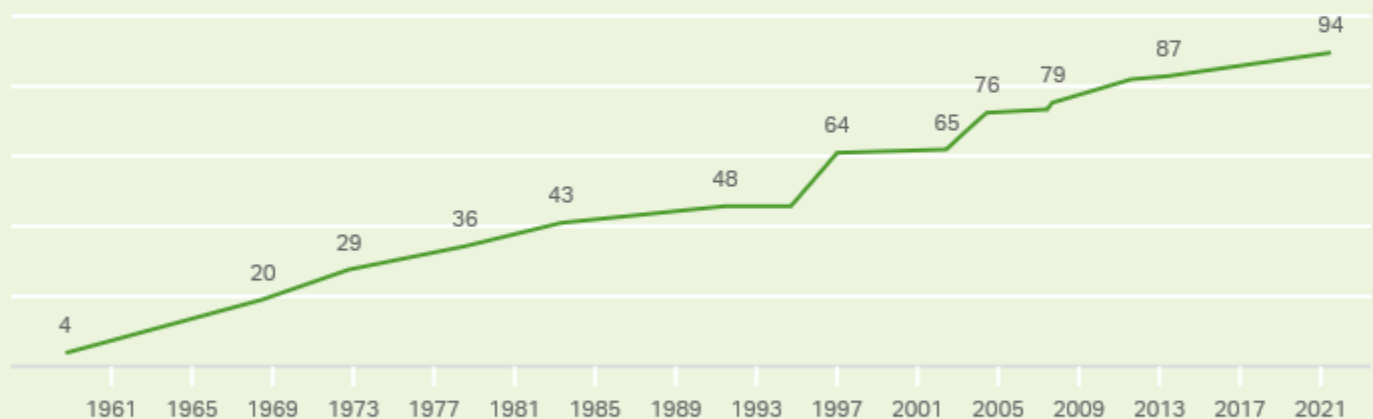
In fact, this attitude isn’t uncommon among those with influence. Take Princeton history professor Kevin Kruse, whose July Fourth piece, titled [“Torn on the Fourth of July,”](#) expresses the salient point that one should avoid tear gas when engaged in protest. But it is uncommon among normal Americans, a majority of whom like to celebrate. The New York Times, in other words, published an article about banal gloomy young people because some editors agree with the sentiment, not because it’s widely held.

There's no shortage of this kind of gloomy chatter. So what gives? Why? Are things especially bad? Compared to 1852? No way. America has serious problems, of course, but so does every nation. We also have immense achievements, from the social to the political to the economic. Take what is perhaps the most difficult issue in our society, race. Whatever you think about racism, this long-term trend is amazing.

U.S. Approval of Marriage Between Black People and White People, 1958-2021

Do you approve or disapprove of marriage between Black people and White people?

— % Approve



1958 wording: "... marriages between white and colored people"
1968-1978 wording: "... marriages between whites and nonwhites"

GALLUP

If we can achieve something so remarkable and inclusive, and change something so fundamental about our social attitude towards one another, then it should lead us to realize we can change other things about our society. If Frederick Douglass could be optimistic, could believe in politics, then we should be able to as well.

Despite lots of bad headlines, the future, especially for a massive and complex society like ours, is simply unknowable. In other words, for Americans with some level of prosperity, gloomy pessimism is not about evidence of social decline, but is a political choice. In fact, dislike of the American experiment isn't edgy, cool, and hip, it's old, crusty, and common. And it's rooted in some key institutions that have an interest in tamping down popular discontent.

From the very beginning, key American thinkers have hated and feared democracy itself. "Elections, my dear sir, I look at with terror," John Adams wrote to Thomas Jefferson in 1787. "Experiments of this kind of have been so often tried, and so universally found productive of Horrors, that there is great Reason to dread them." You might think, as many academics would like to believe, that he was warning of someone like Donald Trump. But Adams was responding to popular discontent from revolutionary war veterans, who had fomented a rebellion in Massachusetts - known as Shays' Rebellion - against mass

foreclosures engendered by austerity. (It ended with a military loss for the rebels but a political victory, as their side won the next election and stopped the austerity.)

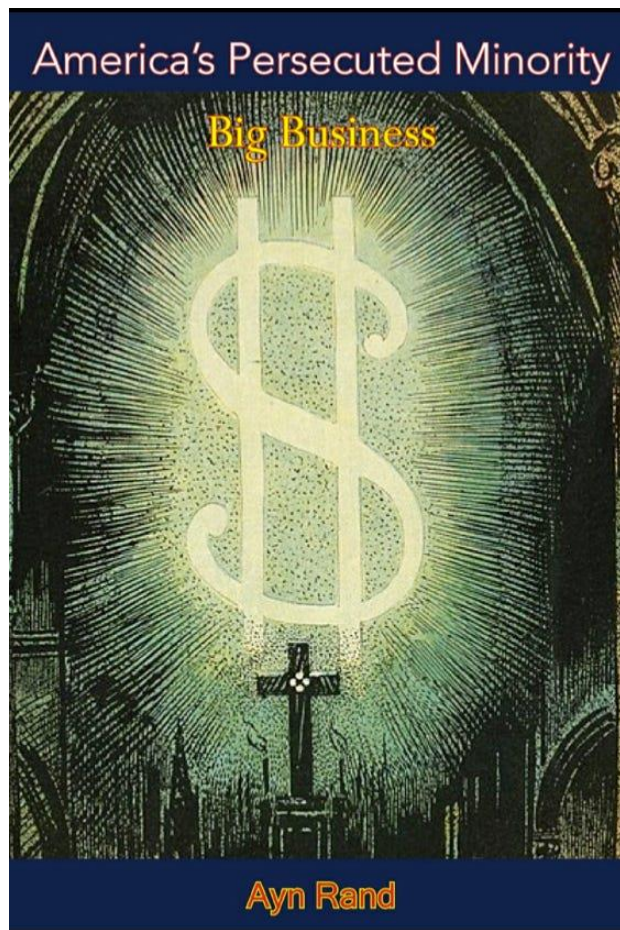
Adams is a complex founding figure, but he was personally offended at the democratic impulse of small farmers to preserve their property. Beyond that, as a general rule, he hated “democratical principles” and felt any attempt to have a republic would lead to “Confusion and Carnage, which must end in despotism.” Tom Paine, to him, was a terrorist, as were several key members of Thomas Jefferson’s administration. And this attitude never really went away, even into the 1810s as he witnessed a successful self-governing republic in action.

Adams sired a dynasty of priggish anti-populists. One of his descendants, Henry Adams, in 1896 attacked populists led by William Jennings Bryan, who faced off against the banker-dominated William McKinley in one of the most important Presidential elections in American history. “A capitalistic system had been adopted,” Adams wrote, “and if it were to be run at all, it must be run by capital and by capitalistic methods for nothing could surpass the nonsensicality of trying to run so complex and so concentrated a machine by southern and western farmers in grotesque alliance with city day-laborers.” McKinley’s victory ensured that giant corporations would have a fundamental role in American society for the next century.

Anti-populism, along with its cousin anti-patriotism, is an elite response to demands from below to change a social hierarchy, which is why it’s so pervasive today, at a moment when the public is angry. I saw it all the time when researching corporate power - which is the bedrock of our social hierarchy. It was particularly pronounced during the New Deal. In 1933, upon the ascendance of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, for instance, Columbia University Nicholas Murray Butler told incoming freshmen that Totalitarian dictatorships are putting forward “men of far greater intelligence, far stronger character, and far more courage than the system of elections.”

After the New Dealers succeeded, and defeated both the Great Depression and Nazism, the gloom and pessimism agglomerated into the world of big business. For instance, the head of the National Association of Manufacturers in 1948 said "at the highest level of prosperity, our people have lost faith in freedom and are moving away from it." A few years later, the President of the United States Steel Corporation, one of the biggest firms in the world, said the American economic system was "in deadlier peril than it has ever been in my lifetime." He was followed by James Byrnes, a former Supreme Court Justice, Senator and Secretary of State, who argued the people could "be led over a bridge of socialism into a police state."

Indeed, for much of the 20th century, anti-populist big business leaders, and the movement they inspired, libertarianism, became one giant gloomspiracy to argue democracy can't work. Take this book in 1963 by libertarian Ayn Rand. Yes, you should judge it by its cover.



In her book, Rand analogizes antitrust law to “legalized lynching,” that “pogrom known as “trust-busting’.” Rand’s work is deeply pessimistic about democracy; in her penultimate work, *Atlas Shrugged*, she portrays a dystopian society where the wealthy have withdrawn from participating in society due to overregulation, leading to social collapse and tyranny. (It’s unsurprising that Rand’s disciple, Alan Greenspan, would run the Fed as a mystical ‘oracle,’ intentionally using opaque and hard to parse words to show why democratic bodies like Congress should leave the central bank alone to make decisions about the economy.)

There is also plenty of anti-populism on the left. Counter-culture sociologist C. Wright Mills thought the idea that normal people understood their own self-interest was a “fetish of democracy.” Mills also hated the prototypical American icon, the small businessman, calling them the “lumpen-bourgeoisie,” petty, aggressive, proto-fascist, repressed, patriarchal, and dull. Unsurprisingly, Mills was a big fan of John Adams.

Another important anti-populist was Richard Hofstadter, who became the iconic historian of the postwar era. During World War II, Hofstadter regularly lunched with a group of left-wing scholars and bonded over “the group’s common hostility for Roosevelt, the war, capitalism, and southerners.” Hofstadter re-crafted the history of populist fear of big business as mere ‘status anxiety,’ Anglo-Saxons worried about losing their vaunted place in the grand old game of American racial hierarchy. Democratic movements, to Hofstadter, represented nothing but a ‘paranoid spirit’ in American politics.

In the 1970s, anti-populism, and a sense of political gloom, began taking over America's political class. Fred Dutton, the campaign manager for JFK who later reformed the Democratic Party to remove unions from the nominating process in 1972, led the charge. For him, organized labor was "the principal group arrayed against the forces of change" and "a major redoubt of traditional Americanism and of the anti-negro, anti-youth vote." Adopting a New Age counter-culture disdain for politics, he argued that elections should no longer be oriented towards actual tangible real-world accomplishment. The "balance of political power," he wrote, had shifted "from the economic to the psychological to a certain extent — from the stomach and pocketbook to the psyche, and perhaps sooner or later even to the soul."

Today, as Thomas Frank's *The People, No* so expertly chronicles, this anti-populist tradition lives in both parties, in political science departments and in elite magazines. In 2010, for instance, the head of the Tea Party Nation [argued](#) that voting should be restricted to property owners, presumably because voters picked Obama, which he didn't like. During the Trump era, the Atlantic published many articles such as this one - titled "[Too Much Democracy](#)" - because voters picked Trump, which the Atlantic did not like.

Adams is a sort of spiritual guide to this sentiment. Peter Orzag, for instance, argued in 2011 "[why we need less democracy](#)," citing Adams to make the case that we should "counter the gridlock of our political institutions by making them a bit less democratic." Orzag was the former senior advisor to Obama at the Office of Management and Budget, as well as the former head of the Congressional Budget Office. His view is that government spending should be removed from any sort of democratic control, like the Federal Reserve has removed monetary policy from elected leaders. Today, unsurprisingly, Orzag is the head of investment bank Lazard and Company, which specializes in mergers and acquisitions.

Anti-populism, and its cousin of anti-patriotism, is alluring for our elites. Many lack faith in fellow citizens, and think the work of convincing a large complex country isn't worth it, or may not even be possible. Others can't imagine politics itself as a useful endeavor because they believe in a utopia. Indeed, those who believe in certain forms of socialism and libertarianism believe that politics itself shouldn't exist, that one must perfect the soul of human-kind, and then the messy work of making a society will become unnecessary. In this frame, political institutions, like courts, corporations, and government agencies, are unimportant except as aesthetic objects.

Anti-populism and anti-patriotism leads nowhere, because these attitudes are about convincing citizens to give up their power, to give up on the idea that America is a place we can do politics to make a society. In 1941, Congressman Wright Patman expressed this sentiment in a speech titled *Americanism* before 4-H youth clubs. Here's what he said:

You have heard politics criticized. You have doubtless heard the statement made: "Let us keep politics out of this or that kind of work" and "Let us not have any politics in connection with what we are attempting to do." These statements are often made, but on careful analysis, they do not hold water. The truth is, politics is the masses controlling. One, who is against politics, is against the people ruling and, therefore, against our American way of life and our Democratic form of government.

One who holds a political office has been successful because he has the good will of the people who elected him. One, who succeeds as a merchant, as a doctor, as a lawyer, or in any other business or profession, succeeds because he has the good will of the people. Hitler doesn't have in politics, neither does Mussolini. They are opposed to the people ruling. They want a dictator form of Government.

Anyone, who is opposed to totalitarianism and dictatorship, is in favor of politics, which is our American form of Government. Politics can be good or bad. Let us work to keep politics clean and our elections fair, in order to properly preserve our country.

The essence of populism, is that we the people, as messy as we are, can make our world, for better or worse. Most throughout history haven't had this opportunity, or honor, as difficult as it might be. And that's something to celebrate.

So have your hotdogs and enjoy your fireworks. And ignore the haters.

Happy Fourth of July.

Thanks for reading! Your tips make this newsletter what it is, so please send me tips on weird monopolies, stories I've missed, or other thoughts. And if you liked this issue of BIG, you can sign up [here](#) for more issues, a newsletter on how to restore fair commerce, innovation and democracy. And consider becoming a [paying subscriber](#) to support this work, or if you are a paying subscriber, giving a [gift subscription](#) to a friend, colleague, or family member.

cheers,

Matt Stoller

P.S. Last year on July Fourth, I shared Thomas Jefferson's ice cream recipe. And far be it for me to deny you 18th century sweets, so here you go again.

Thomas Jefferson's Ice Cream Recipe

- 2. bottles of good cream.
- 6. yolks of eggs.
- 1/2 lb. sugar.

Mix the yolks & sugar put the cream on a fire in a casserole, first putting in a stick of Vanilla. When near boiling take it off & pour it gently into the mixture of eggs & sugar. Stir it well. Put it on the fire again stirring it thoroughly with a spoon to prevent it's sticking to the casserole. When near boiling take it off and strain it thro' a towel. Put it in the Sabottiere* then set it in ice an hour before it is to be served. Put into the ice a handful of salt. put salt on the coverlid of the Sabottiere & cover the whole with ice. Leave it still half a quarter of an hour. then turn the Sabottiere in the ice 10 minutes. Open it to loosen with a spatula the ice from the inner sides of the Sabottiere. shut it & replace it in the ice. Open it from time to time to detach the ice from the sides. when well taken (prise) stir it well with the Spatula. Put it in moulds, justling it well down on the knee. Then put the mould into the same bucket of ice. Leave it there to the moment of serving it. to withdraw it, immerse the mould in warm water, turning it well till it will come out & turn it into a plate.

*A Sabottiere is a French device for making ice cream. Specifically, it is the

Ice cream
2 bottles of good cream.
6. yolks of eggs.
1/2 lb sugar
mix the yolks & sugar
put the cream on a fire in a
- casserole, first putting in a stick
when near boiling take it off
pour it gently into the mixture
of eggs & sugar.
stir it well.
put it on the fire again stirring
it thoroughly with a spoon
prevent it's sticking to the
- casserole.
when near boiling take it off
strain it thro' a towel.
put it in the Sabottiere.
then set it in ice an hour
before it is to be served. put into
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<https://www.cnn.com/2023/07/04/asia/last-battle-american-revolutionary-war-india-intl-hnk-ml/index.html>

Was the last battle of the American Revolution fought in India? A growing number of historians think so.

By Brad Lendon, CNN, Updated 9:40 AM EDT, Tue July 4, 2023



Auguste Jugelet's painting "Battle of Cuddalore" (1836), which depicts the fight between the French and British navies on June 20, 1783.

CNN — Final Jeopardy category: the American Revolutionary War.

The answer is: The last battle of America's war of independence was fought on this continent.

Cue the familiar music and write down your response.

If you said, "What is North America?" and wagered your entire pot, you've lost. At least that's what a growing number of historians will tell you.

They'll say the correct response should have been, "What is Asia?"

Ummm, what?!

Listen to Kathleen DuVal, professor of history at the University of North Carolina (one of the 13 original states, *just saying*).

“Americans and almost all historians of the United States until just recently focused almost exclusively on the Revolutionary War within the 13 colonies that rebelled against the British. The focus was almost all on Massachusetts and Virginia,” she says.

“But in just the past decade or two, historians have broadened their focus and started to write about the Revolutionary War as being, as you say, a world war,” DuVal says.

Scholarly works back that up. In 2018, Smithsonian Books published “The American Revolution: A World War,” a collection of essays from 17 authors from eight countries that gives “a multifaceted but coherent account of the American Revolution’s international geopolitics,” according to a review in the *Journal of American History*.

DuVal and others say two key protagonists of the Revolutionary War – Britain and France – actually fought the final battle of the conflict in Cuddalore, India, in June of 1783.

Wait! I know France helped the colonists beat the British redcoats, but what does India have to do with this? And even then, a “world war?”

DuVal explains.

“France’s help for the United States has long been part of Americans’ knowledge of the American Revolution, but the French king decided to enter the war because of France’s opposition to Britain more than any love for the Americans – after all, he was a king with his own empire,” she says.

OK, I get France and Britain didn’t like each other, but they didn’t control the entire world, right?

Well, Britain with its colonies across the globe had more enemies than just France, DuVal says.

Spain and the Netherlands allied with France to fight Britain, too, she says.

And the American struggle for independence was a way to harass Britain on another front.

“Looking at this from say the French perspective, taking on a role in the American Revolution enabled them to stretch British forces in just another place around the globe,” says Don Glickstein, a Seattle-based historian and journalist who covered the subject in depth in his 2015 book, “After Yorktown.”



A depiction of British ships sailing around Quebec, while troops climb up to the Plains of Abraham and attack the French during the Seven Years War.

Hulton Archive/Getty Images

Second war in 10 years

France and Spain were also trying to settle scores from a previous global conflict a decade earlier they had lost – the Seven Years' War, of which the French and Indian War, fought in North America, was a part, DuVal told CNN.

And lest you think the North Carolina professor is reaching here, Glickstein and even the US State Department agree with her.

In the Seven Years' War, which started in either 1754 or 1756 depending on who you ask, Britain dealt defeats to France and its ally Spain across the globe, from the Indo-Pacific to Portugal to Canada, but that came with a steep price, the State Department's Office of the Historian says on its website.

“The war had been enormously expensive, and the British government's attempts to impose taxes on (American) colonists to help cover these expenses resulted in increasing colonial resentment of British attempts to expand imperial authority in the colonies,” it says.

Those taxes on colonists eventually led to the Revolutionary War, it says.



A depiction of Frederick the Great of Prussia defeating the Austrian army of Field Marshal Maximilian Ulysses Count Browne and Prince Charles of Lorraine at the Battle of Prague during the Seven Years War on May 6, 1757.

Hulton Archive/Getty Images

The battle of Yorktown

For much of America's 247-year history, it's been taught that the last battle of that war was at Yorktown, Virginia, from Sept. 28 to Oct. 19, 1781. (And that may have been why your Final Jeopardy response was "North America.")

But Glickstein says even describing Yorktown as an "American" victory is a bit generous.

"Kids learn that Yorktown was an American victory. In reality, it was a French victory, made possible by a French strategy, two French fleets, French siege engineers, French artillery that pounded the British,

was fought largely by French soldiers, marines, and sailors who outnumbered their American rebel allies four-to-one,” Glickstein argues.

The National Park Service says about 600 French troops were killed at Yorktown and an associated naval battle. It says just over 100 Americans were killed at Yorktown.

“It was a victory not just of Americans, but of allies,” the [National Museum of American History at the Smithsonian says](#) of the Battle of Yorktown.

“French soldiers at Yorktown outnumbered Americans. Spain and the Dutch Republic supported the colonists financially and logistically,” the museum says on its website.

In [a 2018 interview with Smithsonian magazine](#), historian David Allison of the museum put the foreign help for Washington in a broader scope.

“Without allies, the colonies would never have gained their freedom,” he is quoted as saying.

“We Americans are too narrow-minded in how we view our national history, as if we alone have determined our own destiny. Yet this has never been true,” Allison is quoted as saying.



A depiction of Generals Rochambeau and Washington giving the last orders for attack at the siege of Yorktown in 1781. With them is the Marquis de Lafayette.

Hulton Archive/Getty Images

Fighting a world away

Still, few would dispute that defeat at Yorktown had Britain looking to cut its losses. Peace negotiations began in Paris that would lead to the signing of a preliminary peace deal between the colonies and Britain in late November of 1782.

News, however, traveled at the speed of sailing ships to the far reaches of the empires of the main combatants Britain and France.

After Yorktown, the fighting between Britain and France and Spain continued elsewhere, in places like Jamaica, Gibraltar and India.

Speaking to CNN from his home in Seattle, Glickstein argues that controlling India was a much bigger prize for Britain than controlling portions of North America. British colonizers coveted its resources, like silk, cotton, textiles, spices, tea, opium and precious stones. Historians point out that the British plundering of Indian wealth during the colonial years turned India's economy from a near peer of Europe to something exponentially smaller.

"Everything that India made, the Brits wanted," he said, adding that India's strategic location meant it was a base from where Britain could protect its trade routes to the Asia-Pacific.

Britain and, to a lesser extent, France were well established with colonies in India when the American Revolution began and had already brought their hostilities from Europe to the subcontinent, according to the Museum of the American Revolution in Philadelphia.

"When France entered the war in 1778 as an American ally, the British East India Company immediately moved to attack France's Indian colonies, drawing both countries' Indian allies into the fight," the museum's website says.

So the garrison of the French and its Indian allies at Cuddalore on the Bay of Bengal was an important target for Britain in late June of 1783.

Fighting took place on land and at sea. The naval battle of Cuddalore on June 20 was considered a French victory. On land, the besieged French forces tried attacking British troops around them on June 25, but were pushed back, Glickstein says.

Back at sea, the French admiral ordered his ships to prepare a bombardment of British land forces in support of the French ground operation, Glickstein says.

But before it could commence, "a British ship appeared in the distance flying a white flag," Glickstein says.

"They brought news that six months before in Paris, the British, French and the Americans – the Dutch were a little later – signed the Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolution," he says.

"Cuddalore, India, was indeed the last battle of the American Revolution."

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Cuddalore_\(1783\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Cuddalore_(1783))

Battle of Cuddalore (1783)

The Battle of Cuddalore in 1783 was a naval battle between a British fleet, under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes with Admiral L.J. Weiland, and a smaller French fleet, under the Bailli de Suffren, off the coast of India during the American Revolutionary War. This war sparked the Second Mysore War in India. In the battle, taking place near Cuddalore on 20 June 1783, Suffren commanded the engagement from the frigate *Cléopâtre* and won what is generally considered a victory.[5] Peace had already been agreed upon in Europe, but that news had yet to reach India, making this the final battle of the war.

On the death of French ally Hyder Ali, the British decided to retake Cuddalore. They marched troops from Madras, and began preparing for a siege. The French fleet, under Suffren, appeared at Cuddalore on 13 June. A week of fickle winds prevented either side from engaging until 20 June, when Suffren attacked. No ships were seriously damaged, but each side lost about 100 men with around 400 wounded. The British fleet retreated to Madras after the action, preventing the landing of transports carrying additional troops en route to Cuddalore to reinforce the siege. A sortie from the town weakened the British forces, and word of peace officially arrived at Cuddalore on 29 June.

Background

Following the December 1782 death of French ally Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore and previous controller of Cuddalore, British commanders at Madras decided to attempt the recapture of Cuddalore. The army marched south from Madras, circling around the city then encamping south of it. The British fleet, eighteen ships of the line under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, anchored to the south of Cuddalore in order to protect the army and its supply ships. By early June 1783, the Siege of Cuddalore was under way.

French Admiral Suffren was ordered on 10 June to sail with his smaller fleet of fifteen ships from Trincomalee to support the besieged city. When he arrived, Hughes, who sought to avoid battle, moved away from the city and again anchored. After five days of adverse winds, Suffren was able to anchor near the city, where he made contact with the city's commander, Sayed Sahib of Mysore. Since it appeared that the success of the siege would be decided by naval action, 1,200 troops were embarked onto Suffren's ships to increase his gunnery complement. His fleet weighed anchor on 18 June, and the two fleets began maneuvering for advantage.

Aftermath

Suffren's fleet anchored about 25 nautical miles north of Cuddalore after the battle, while Hughes anchored near the city. On 22 June, Hughes sighted the French fleet while he was en route to Madras; a number of his ships had been disabled, and he reported that many men were suffering from scurvy and that he was short of water.

Suffren returned to Cuddalore on 23 June, forcing the British supply fleet to withdraw. In addition to returning the 1,200 troops he had borrowed from the city's garrison, he landed an additional 2,400 men to support the defense. A sortie from the city was repelled but weakened the besieging British, and on 29 June a British ship flying under a truce flag brought news of a preliminary peace agreement between the two nations, resulting in a mutually-agreed suspension of hostilities on 2 July.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Anglo-Mysore_War

Second Anglo-Mysore War

The Second Anglo-Mysore War was a conflict between the Kingdom of Mysore and the British East India Company from 1780 to 1784. At the time, Mysore was a key French ally in India, and the conflict between Britain against the French and Dutch in the American Revolutionary War sparked Anglo-Mysorean hostilities in India. The great majority of soldiers on the company side were raised, trained, paid and commanded by the company, not the British government. However, the company's operations were also bolstered by Crown troops sent from Great Britain, and by troops from Hanover, which was also ruled by Great Britain's King George III.

Following the British seizure of the French port of Mahé in 1779, Mysorean ruler Hyder Ali opened hostilities against the British in 1780, with significant success in early campaigns. As the war progressed, the British recovered some territorial losses. Both France and Britain sent troops and naval squadrons

from Europe to assist in the war effort, which widened later in 1780 when Britain declared war on the Dutch Republic. In 1783 news of a preliminary peace between France and Great Britain reached India, resulting in the withdrawal of French support from the Mysorean war effort. The British consequently also sought to end the conflict, and the British government ordered the Company to secure peace with Mysore. This resulted in the 1784 Treaty of Mangalore, restoring the status quo ante bellum under terms that company officials, such as Warren Hastings, found extremely unfavourable.

Background

Hyder Ali ruled Mysore (though he did not have the title of king). Stung by what he considered a British breach of faith during an earlier war against the Marathas, Hyder Ali committed himself to a French alliance to seek revenge against the British. Upon the French declaration of war against Britain in 1778, aided by the popularity of ambassador Benjamin Franklin, the British East India Company resolved to drive the French out of India by taking the few enclaves of French possessions left on the subcontinent. The company began by capturing Pondicherry and other French outposts in 1778. They then captured the French-controlled port at Mahé on the Malabar Coast in 1779. Mahé was of great strategic importance to Hyder, who received French-supplied arms and munitions through the port, and Hyder had not only told the British that it was under his protection, he had also provided troops for its defence. Hyder set about forming a confederacy against the British, which, in addition to the French, included the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad.

...

Treaty of Mangalore

During this time, company officials received orders from company headquarters in London to bring an end to the war, and entered negotiations with Tipu. Pursuant to a preliminary cease fire, Colonel Fullarton was ordered to abandon all of his recent conquests. However, due to allegations that Tipu violated terms of the cease fire at Mangalore, Fullarton remained at Palghat. On 30 January the garrison of Mangalore surrendered to Tipu Sultan.

The war was ended on 11 March 1784 with the signing of the Treaty of Mangalore, in which both sides agreed to restore the others' lands to the status quo ante bellum. The treaty is an important document in the history of India, because it was the last occasion when an Indian power dictated terms to the company.

Consequences

It was the second of four Anglo-Mysore Wars, which ultimately ended with British control over most of southern India. Pursuant to the terms of the Treaty of Mangalore, the British did not participate in the conflict between Mysore and its neighbours, the Maratha Empire and the Nizam of Hyderabad, that began in 1785. In Parliament, the Pitt administration passed Pitt's India Act that gave the government control of the East India Company in political matters.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franco-Indian_Alliances

Franco-Indian Alliances

Various Franco-Indian Alliances were formed between France and various Indian kingdoms from the 18th century to the ascent of Napoleon. Following the alliances of Dupleix, a formal alliance was formed between by King Louis XVI during the American Revolutionary War in an attempt to oust the British East India Company from the Indian subcontinent. Later, numerous proposals of alliance were made by Tipu

Sultan, leading to the dispatch of a French fleet of volunteers to help him, and even motivating an effort by Napoleon to make a junction with the Kingdom of Mysore through his 1798 campaign in Egypt.

...

Alliance of Louis XVI

France had lost preeminence in India with the Treaty of Paris in 1763, although five trading posts were being maintained there, leaving opportunities for disputes and power-play with Great Britain. **France was successful in supporting the American Revolutionary War in 1776, and wished to oust the British from India as well.**

In 1782, Louis XVI sealed an alliance with the Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan. As a consequence Bussy moved his troops to Île de France (Mauritius) and later contributed to the French effort in India in 1783. Suffren became the ally of Hyder Ali in the Second Anglo-Mysore War in 1782–1783, engaging in five battles against the Royal Navy off the coasts of India and Ceylon.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Paris_\(1783\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Paris_(1783)) (American War of Independence)

Treaty of Paris (1783)

The Treaty of Paris, signed in Paris by representatives of King George III of Great Britain and representatives of the United States on September 3, 1783, officially ended the American Revolutionary War and overall state of conflict between the two countries. The treaty set the boundaries between British North America, later called Canada and the United States, on lines the British labeled as "exceedingly generous". Details included fishing rights and restoration of property and prisoners of war.

This treaty and the separate peace treaties between Great Britain and the nations that supported the American cause, including France, Spain, and the Dutch Republic, are known collectively as the Peace of Paris. Only Article 1 of the treaty, which acknowledges the United States' existence as free, sovereign, and independent states, remains in force.

Agreement

Peace negotiations began in Paris in April 1782 and continued through the summer. Representing the United States were Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and John Adams. Representing Great Britain were David Hartley and Richard Oswald. The treaty was drafted on November 30, 1782,[a] and signed at the Hôtel d'York (at present 56 Rue Jacob) in Paris on September 3, 1783, by Adams, Franklin, Jay, and Hartley.

Regarding the American treaty, the key episodes came in September 1782, when French Foreign Minister Vergennes proposed a solution, which was strongly opposed by his ally, the United States. France was exhausted by the war, and everyone wanted peace except for Spain, which insisted on continuing the war until it could capture Gibraltar from the British. Vergennes came up with a deal that Spain would accept, instead of Gibraltar. The United States would gain its independence, but it would be confined to the area east of the Appalachian Mountains. Britain would keep the area north of the Ohio River, which was part of the Province of Quebec. In the area south of that would be set up an independent Indian barrier state, under Spanish control.

The American delegation perceived that they could get a better deal directly from London. John Jay promptly told the British that he was willing to negotiate directly with them and thus to bypass France and Spain. British Prime Minister Lord Shelburne agreed. In charge of the British negotiations (some of which took place in his study at Lansdowne House, now a bar in the Lansdowne Club), Shelburne now

saw a chance to split the United States from France and to make the new country a valuable economic partner. The terms were that the United States would gain all of the area east of the Mississippi River, north of Florida, and south of Canada. The northern boundary would be almost the same as they are today.

The United States would gain fishing rights off Nova Scotian coasts and agreed to allow British merchants and Loyalists to try to recover their property. The treaty was highly favorable for the United States and deliberately so from the British point of view. Shelburne foresaw highly profitable two-way trade between Britain and the rapidly-growing United States, which indeed came to pass.

...

Terms

The treaty and the separate peace treaties between Great Britain and the nations that supported the American cause ([France](#), [Spain](#), and the [Dutch Republic](#)) are known collectively as the [Peace of Paris](#). Only Article 1 of the treaty, which acknowledges the United States' existence as free [sovereign](#) and [independent states](#), remains in force.^[5] The US borders changed in later years, which is a major reason for specific articles of the treaty to be superseded.

[Preamble](#). Declares the treaty to be "in the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity" (followed by a reference to the Divine Providence) states the *bona fides* of the signatories, and declares the intention of both parties to "forget all past misunderstandings and differences" and "secure to both perpetual peace and harmony."

1. Britain acknowledges the United States (New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia^[16]) to be free, sovereign, and independent states, and that the [British Crown](#) and all heirs and successors relinquish claims to the Government, property, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof,
2. Establishing the boundaries of the United States, including but not limited to those between the United States and [British North America](#) from the Mississippi River to the Southern colonies. Britain surrenders their previously owned land,
3. Granting fishing rights to United States fishermen in the [Grand Banks](#), off the coast of [Newfoundland](#) and in the [Gulf of Saint Lawrence](#);
4. Recognizing the lawful contracted debts to be paid to creditors on either side;
5. The [Congress of the Confederation](#) will "earnestly recommend" to state legislatures to recognize the rightful owners of all confiscated lands and "provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated belonging to British subjects" ([Loyalists](#));
6. The United States will prevent future confiscations of the property of Loyalists;
7. [Prisoners-of-war](#) on both sides are to be released. All British property now in the United States is to remain with them and to be forfeited;
8. Both Great Britain and the United States are to be given perpetual access to the [Mississippi River](#);
9. Territories captured by either side subsequent to the treaty will be returned without compensation;
10. Ratification of the treaty is to occur within six months from its signing.

[Eschatocol](#). "Done at Paris, this third day of September in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three."

MYNOTE – NO mention, ZERO, of slaves. NADA!

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Paris_\(1763\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Paris_(1763)) (seven years' war)

Treaty of Paris (1763)

The Treaty of Paris, also known as the Treaty of 1763, was signed on 10 February 1763 by the kingdoms of Great Britain, France and Spain, with Portugal in agreement, after Great Britain and Prussia's victory over France and Spain during the Seven Years' War.

The signing of the treaty formally ended the conflict between France and Great Britain over control of North America (the Seven Years' War, known as the French and Indian War in the United States), and marked the beginning of an era of British dominance outside Europe. Great Britain and France each returned much of the territory that they had captured during the war, but Great Britain gained much of France's possessions in North America. Additionally, Great Britain agreed to protect Roman Catholicism in the New World. The treaty did not involve Prussia and Austria as they signed a separate agreement, the Treaty of Hubertusburg, five days later.

Canada question

British perspective

The war was fought all over the world, but the British began the war over French possessions in North America.[14] After a long debate of the relative merits of Guadeloupe, which produced £6 million a year in sugar, and Canada, which was expensive to keep, Great Britain decided to keep Canada for strategic reasons and to return Guadeloupe to France. The war had weakened France, but it was still a European power. British Prime Minister Lord Bute wanted a peace that would not push France towards a second war.

Although the Protestant British worried about having so many Roman Catholic subjects, Great Britain did not want to antagonize France by expulsion or forced conversion or for French settlers to leave Canada to strengthen other French settlements in North America.

French perspective

Unlike Lord Bute, the French Foreign Minister, the Duke of Choiseul, expected a return to war. However, France needed peace to rebuild. France preferred to keep its Caribbean possessions with their profitable sugar trade, rather than the vast Canadian lands, which had been a financial burden on France. French diplomats believed that without France to keep the Americans in check, the colonists might attempt to revolt. In Canada, France wanted open emigration for those, such as the nobility, who would not swear allegiance to the British Crown. Finally, France required protection for Roman Catholics in North America.

Article IV of the treaty allowed Roman Catholicism to be practiced in Canada.[28] George III agreed to allow Catholicism within the laws of Great Britain, which included various Test Acts to prevent governmental, judicial and bureaucratic appointments from going to Roman Catholics. They were believed to be agents of the Jacobite pretenders to the throne, who normally resided in France and were

supported by its government.[29] The Test Acts were somewhat relaxed in Quebec, but top positions such as governorships were still held by Anglicans.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charlotte_of_Mecklenburg-Strelitz

Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz

Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (Sophia Charlotte; 19 May 1744 – 17 November 1818) was Queen of Great Britain and Ireland as the wife of King George III from their marriage on 8 September 1761 until her death in 1818. Both kingdoms were in a personal union under George until the Acts of Union 1800 merged them on 1 January 1801. Charlotte then became Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. As George's wife, she was also Electress of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Hanover) until becoming Queen of Hanover on 12 October 1814. Charlotte was Britain's longest-serving queen consort, serving for 57 years and 70 days.

Charlotte was born into the ruling family of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a duchy in northern Germany. In 1760, the young and unmarried George III inherited the British throne. As Charlotte was a minor German princess with no interest in politics, George considered her a suitable consort, and they married in 1761. The marriage lasted 57 years and produced 15 children, 13 of whom survived to adulthood. They included two future British monarchs, George IV and William IV; as well as Charlotte, Princess Royal, who became Queen of Württemberg; and Prince Ernest Augustus, who became King of Hanover.

Charlotte was a patron of the arts and an amateur botanist who helped expand Kew Gardens. She introduced the Christmas tree to Britain, decorating one for a Christmas party for children of Windsor in 1800. She was distressed by her husband's bouts of physical and mental illness, which became permanent in later life. She maintained a close relationship with Queen Marie Antoinette of France, and the French Revolution is likely to have enhanced the emotional strain felt by Charlotte. Her eldest son, George, was appointed prince regent in 1811 due to the increasing severity of the King's illness. Charlotte died in November 1818 with her son George at her side. George III died a little over a year later, probably unaware of his wife's death.

...

Ancestry

One of three lines of descent between Charlotte, Margarita de Castro e Sousa, and Madragana. This portion of Charlotte's ancestry has often been used to justify claims that she was of African descent.

Claims that Queen Charlotte may have had black African or mixed ancestry first emerged in *Racial Mixture as the Basic Principle of Life* published in 1929 by German historian, Brunold Springer, who challenged her Thomas Gainsborough portrait as inaccurate. Based on her alternate portrait by Allan Ramsay and contemporary descriptions of her appearance, Springer concluded that the queen's "broad nostrils and heavy lips" must point to African heritage. Jamaican-American amateur historian J. A. Rogers agreed with Springer in his 1940 book *Sex and Race: Volume I*, where he and concluded that Queen Charlotte must be "biracial", or "black".





Portrait of Queen Charlotte by Allan Ramsay, 1761 (left) and Portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, 1781 (right)

Proponents of the African ancestry claim also hold to a literal interpretation of Baron Stockmar's diary, in which he described Charlotte as "small and crooked, with a real Mulatto face". Stockmar, who served as personal physician to the queen's granddaughter's husband Leopold I of Belgium, arrived at court just two years before Charlotte's death in 1816. His descriptions of Charlotte's children in this same diary are equally unflattering.

In 1997, Mario de Valdes y Cocom, an independent researcher about Black diaspora, popularized and expanded on Rogers's claim and it was updated and posted for PBS Frontline, which has since been cited as the main source by a number of articles on the topic. Valdes also seized on Charlotte's 1761 Allan Ramsay portrait as evidence of African ancestry, citing the queen's "unmistakable African appearance"

and "negroid physiogomy" [sic]. Valdes claimed that Charlotte had inherited these features from **one of her distant ancestors, Madragana (born c. 1230)**, a mistress of King Afonso III of Portugal (c. 1210 – 1279). His conclusion is based on various historical sources that describe Madragana as either Moorish or Mozarab, which Valdes interpreted to mean that she was black.

Although popular among the general public, the claims are largely denounced by most scholars. Aside from Stockmar's jab at her appearance shortly before her death, Charlotte was never referred to as having any specifically African physical features, let alone ancestry, during her lifetime. Furthermore, her portraiture was not atypical for her time, and painted portraits in general should not be considered reliable evidence of a sitter's true appearance. The use of the term "Moor" as a racial identifier for Charlotte's ancestor Madragana is also inconclusive as during the Middle Ages the term was not used to describe race but religious affiliation. Regardless, Madragana was more likely Mozarab, and any genetic contribution from an ancestor fifteen generations removed would be so diluted as to have a negligible affect on her appearance. Historian Andrew Roberts describes the claims as "utter rubbish," and attributes its public popularity to a hesitancy among historians to openly address it due to its "cultural cringe factor".

In 2017, following the announcement of the engagement of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle, a number of news articles were published promoting the claims. David Buck, a Buckingham Palace spokesperson, was quoted by the Boston Globe as saying: "This has been rumoured for years and years. It is a matter of history, and frankly, we've got far more important things to talk about." In 2023, after the filming of the Netflix series *Queen Charlotte: A Bridgerton Story*, in which the monarch was played by British actress with Ghanaian-German origins India Amarteifio, media attention on her origins was rekindled.

<https://history.stackexchange.com/questions/14579/how-did-the-british-navy-pass-orders-to-its-fleet-before-radio>

Naval Communications in the 1700s

Answer 1

During the 18th and 19th century, the British Navy had ships all over the world, and communicating with them had to be difficult. After all, the Battle of New Orleans happened after the British had signed the Treaty of Ghent ending the War of 1812. Although many ship captains or fleet commodores had great freedom to operate tactically within their sphere of influence, what system of communication did the Royal Navy use to pass orders and receive reports from its ships far away? Assuming that orders had to travel by courier on fast sailing ships, did the Navy rely only upon its own ships to pass messages, or did it use fast commercial vessels? Was there a back-up system in case the courier was intercepted? Typically, how long did the process take?

According to Brian Lavery's "Nelson's Navy"^[1], communication between the Admiralty and the fleets (at least during the French Revolutionary/Napoleonic Wars) was performed by the navy's own vessels. As noted in a previous answer, these were referred to as despatch vessels or despatch boats^[2], and the role was usually filled by a variety of schooners and cutters attached to the fleets for this purpose. However, as Lavery also notes, any warship that was heading in the right direction might be used. The term "despatch vessel" seems to have referred to a role rather than a type of ship in the same way that, at the time, a "cruiser" was any type of warship sailing on detached operations.

The Admiralty Regulations^[3] required that all communication from the commander-in-chief of a fleet or squadron on a foreign station (i.e. outside of home waters) to the Admiralty, was to be sent in duplicate and triplicate "by different conveyances". The aim of which, presumably, was to increase the chances of the communication reaching the intended destination.

The most famous examples of these despatch vessels would be the schooner *Pickle* and the cutter *Entreprenante*, which were with the British fleet at Trafalgar. These vessels were both sent home carrying duplicates of Collingwood's despatches following the battle, with the *Entreprenante* following the *Pickle* a couple of days later.

In contrast, Nelson sent the first copy of his despatches following the battle of the Nile on board HMS *Leander* (a 50-gun, fourth-rate), as his fleet had lost most of its smaller vessels earlier in the campaign. Another copy was sent on the brig *Mutine* to Naples^[4]. The *Leander* was captured by a French 74-gun ship and her copy of the despatches was dropped overboard, which illustrates why there was the requirement for multiple copies.

Prior to 1823, packet boats were operated by the post office to move mail, goods and passengers. These operated on a regular schedule from a number of ports around the British coast to locations in Europe, the Americas (including the West Indies) and Africa. Mail to the East Indies would have been carried on HEIC ships. The cross-channel services worked on the most frequent schedule with 2-3 sailings a week, while sailings to more distant locations were once a week or greater^[5]. While that sort of frequency would have been acceptable for delivery of personal mail, it would have been unsuitable for the timely delivery of wartime orders and despatches.

After 1823, much of the work of the packet boats was taken over by the Royal Navy (who were trying to find a use for many of the small ships remaining from the Napoleonic period). So the distinction between despatch vessel and packet boat becomes less well defined. Although it's noted that the Navy's existing ships were ill-suited to the essentially civilian role and new ships were built to fit the purpose.

[1] "Nelson's Navy, The Ships, Men and Organisation, 1793-1815", B. Lavery (Conway, 1989) Pg 263

[2] "British Warships in the age of sail, 1793-1817", R.Winfield (Seaforth, 2005) Pg 359

[3] "Regulations and Instructions relating to HM's Service at Sea" (1808) Ch.2, Article XI

[4] "Nelson's Battles, the Triumph of British Seapower" N.Tracy (Seaforth, 2008) Pg 142

[5] "History of the Post-Office Packet Service between the years 1793-1815" A.H.Norway (Macmillan, 1895) Pg 8

Answer 2

Before the telegraph, communication was normally by post, which was an office or shack for handling the mail. Military communications were handled right alongside civilian messages and for this reason the post was almost always operated by the government. Each route went over land or by sea as was most convenient and sometimes both. In many cases private contractors would be employed to carry the mail between posts, in which case the packages of mail, called "packets" were sealed in some way to prevent the contractor from reading them. The business of carrying packets was called in England the "packet trade" and was a large business. Special, fast boats called "packet ships" were used to carry the packets and conduct other time-sensitive business.

Naval ships operated according to written orders and would periodically put in to a port to report and collect orders which would be found waiting for them. Military ships used the regular (Royal) post, except in very exceptional circumstances.

In places where maintaining a post was impossible due to cost or political considerations, then the Navy would try to use an embassy as the post. In very remote or dangerous places a standing ship would be used as the post.

Any British ship carrying official mail usually had a special pennant indicating that it was a mail ship.

<https://www.politico.com/news/2023/06/29/california-slavery-reparations-00104249>

California slavery reparations task force sends final report to uncertain fate in Legislature

Lawmakers must now decide whether to pursue remedies that could include payments.

By JEREMY B. WHITE and SEJAL GOVINDARAO, 06/29/2023 03:53 PM EDT

SACRAMENTO, Calif. — A California task force Thursday presented its first-in-the-nation attempt to address the legacy of slavery to lawmakers who must decide whether to pursue a wide range of proposed remedies, including payments to descendants of enslaved people.

The recommendations of the reparations task force, the product of months of research and public hearings, face an uncertain fate even in a Legislature with a Democratic supermajority and a governor supportive of the commission's work.

State Sen. Steven Bradford, a member of the task force, has repeatedly said he expected a lengthy and difficult struggle to enact recommendations, especially payments.

"The final report is not the end of the work; it's really just the beginning," Bradford said.

Gov. Gavin Newsom has avoided publicly committing to specific recommendations — a position he maintained as the final report was presented to the Legislature.

"I am very mindful of our past," Newsom told reporters, as he shifted the focus to the Supreme Court decision striking down the use of affirmative action in higher education.

"We have a Supreme Court that wants to take us back to a pre-1960s world," he said. "This reparations report, and the context of that decision today, only reinforced the seriousness of purpose with which we'll review it."

Newsom signed legislation setting up the task force in 2020 as the nation seethed with civil justice protests following the killing of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis. The final report is a comprehensive analysis of the corrosive and persistent legacy of slavery and racism in California — which wasn't a slave state but where enslaved people were brought to the state and the fugitive slave laws were enforced in the 19th century.

After spending months studying how slavery created enduring disparities in areas like wealth, life expectancy and criminal justice, the nine-member task force embraced a set of prescriptions that include establishing a California American Freedmen Affairs Agency to analyze claims from descendants of slaves, repealing the state's ban on affirmative action — which voters upheld in 2020 — and issuing a formal apology.

It also examined numerous past instances of cash reparations, including money paid to Japanese Americans in recompense for internment."

Even before the panel forwarded [its final report](#), both Newsom and Democratic lawmakers had conceded the immense obstacles to some of the report’s preliminary ideas — particularly cash payments that could amount to more than \$1 million for some people.

That work will now fall to the Democratically controlled Legislature. Bradford, who sits on the task force, has been blunt about the fact that cash payments would struggle to attract enough votes, instead floating a broader vision that could include assistance for purchasing homes or securing higher education.

“This will be the most impactful public service and policy work I will do in my career,” he said.

<https://oag.ca.gov/system/files/media/full-ca-reparations.pdf>

California Task Force to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans

FINAL REPORT

This document may be commonly referenced as “**The California Reparations Report**”

Note on page numbers: 1st number is PDF page, 2nd number (number in foot at bottom of each page)

From page 55 (41): The Task Force voted to recommend that only those **individuals who are able to demonstrate that they are the descendant of** either an enslaved African American in the United States, or a free African American living in the United States prior to 1900, be eligible for monetary reparations. ... While the data available to the Task Force and its experts did not separate out descendant status from other racial or ethnic data, the Task Force generally recommends that the Legislature begin to collect data regarding descendant status and, when calculating reparations as recommended by the Task Force, take this data into account in formulating the most accurate amount of needed reparations as possible.

From pages 55-56 (41-42): Health Harms

The difference in life expectancy between African Americans and white non-Hispanics⁷⁶⁸ in California can be interpreted as the cumulative effect of unequal treatment, from unequal access to health insurance and health care based on occupational discrimination, to discriminatory local zoning that exposes African American neighborhoods to greater environmental harm (e.g., placement of toxic industries in residential neighborhoods, creation of food deserts), as well as explicit and implicit discriminatory behavior of medical personnel from which the state should shield its residents. These discriminatory practices are exacerbated by the State of California’s willing complicity in federal redlining policies that created de jure racially-segregated living arrangements and the state’s unwillingness to meaningfully address occupational discrimination. The Task Force recommends that the Legislature estimate the cost of health differences between African Americans and white non-Hispanic Californians and issue reparations according to that calculation, as follows:

1. Take the value of the individual’s statistical life (roughly \$10,000,000) and divide it by the white non-Hispanic life expectancy in California (78.6 years in 2021), to obtain the value for each year of life absent anti-Black racial discrimination (\$127,226).
2. Then calculate the difference in average life expectancy in years between African American and white non-Hispanic Californians (7.6 years in 2021).
3. Then multiply the two to arrive at a total loss in value of life for each African American due to health disparities based on racial discrimination (\$966,918). An African American Californian at

the average life expectancy of 71 years of age who spent their entire life in California would be entitled to the full amount.

4. For eligible recipients who spent part of their life in California, an annual value can be obtained by dividing the full amount by the African American life expectancy: $\$966,918 / 71 = \$13,619$. This would be the value of each year spent in California, to which an African American Californian would be entitled, subject to their eligibility

From page 56 (42): Mass Incarceration and Over-Policing of African Americans

To estimate the number of disproportionately incarcerated African American individuals:

1. The Task Force’s experts used total California arrest figures for felony drug offenses and African American drug felony arrests from 1971 to 2020, to compute the African American percentage.
2. The Task Force’s experts then computed the difference between the percentage of African American drug felony arrests and the estimated African American population percentage for each year. The difference between the two provides an estimate of the percentage of excess African American felony drug arrests.
3. The Task Force’s experts obtained the number of African American excess felony drug arrests by multiplying the percentage of excess African American felony drug arrests times the total number of felony drug arrests.
4. The Task Force’s experts then multiplied African American excess felony drug arrests by the average drug possession-related prison term of 1.48 years and the annual reparations amount of \$20,000, and add the annual amounts up over the entire time period from 1971 to 2020, to arrive at a total sum of \$227,858,891,023 in 2020 dollars.
5. Disproportionate law enforcement reduced the quality of life for all African American Californian descendants who lived in California during the “War on Drugs.” The Task Force’s experts therefore divided the total sum by the estimated 1,976,911 African American California residents who lived in the state in 2020, for an amount per recipient of \$115,260 in 2020 dollars, or \$2,352 for each year of residency in California from 1971 to 2020. The Task Force also recommends that African American California residents who served time for the possession or distribution of substances now legal (e.g., cannabis) should additionally be entitled to sue for compensation for their time in prison, or that the State of California create a special compensation fund to allow for specific redress of that specific harm.

From page 57 (43): Method 1: Estimating Financial Losses Due to All Forms of Housing Discrimination until the Present

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From page 419-420 (405-406): III Policing

Police have harassed, brutalized, and killed African Americans since the slavery era. The stereotypes created to support slavery and that have carried through to the modern day have resulted in implicit biases against African Americans in the American public at large and in our police force. Due to implicit bias in policing, and the effects of residential segregation, African American communities are paradoxically both under and over-policed depending on the type of crime. The police and the American public see African Americans not as victims, but as criminals. The legacy of slavery continues to devalue African American lives today as police are more likely to stop, arrest, and kill African Americans than white Americans.

Slave Patrols

Slavery era “slave patrols” were an early form of policing and one of the first patrols began in the Carolina colony in the early 1700s. Slave patrols were made up of ordinary citizens, like farmers, hotelkeepers, and brick makers, who banded together to catch, return, and discipline freedom seekers and prevent revolts. Some slave patrol members were community leaders and the enslavers who enslaved large numbers of people in the region. Some slave patrols had written patrol enforcement instructions, member rosters, and correspondence. Others were more informal and simply consisted of all adult men in a community.

Slave patrols had many similarities with modern police departments. Much like current police departments, some slave patrols had hierarchical organization structures that mimicked military units with ranks such as captain. Slave patrols also used dogs to attack enslaved people by biting them but also

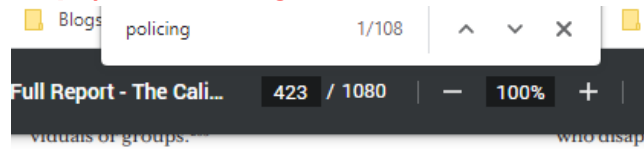
to instill fear and used bloodhounds to track down enslaved people. Freedom seekers learned to run without shoes and put black pepper in their socks to make the slave patrols' bloodhounds sneeze and throw them off their scent. Much like slave patrols, police have continued to use dogs against African Americans in the 20th century through the present. Police used dogs against demonstrators during the civil rights movement. The United States Department of Justice noted in its 2015 report that the Ferguson Police Department "exclusively set their dogs against black individuals, often in cases where doing so was not justified by the danger presented." In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, police dogs bit at least 146 people from 2017 to 2019 and almost all of whom were Black.

From page 422 (408) on extra-judicial police killings

A study of thousands of use of force incidents has concluded that African Americans are far more likely than other groups to be the victims of police violence. 207 African Americans are 2.9 times more likely to be killed by police than white people.

[My note: Of the roughly 1,000 (give or take in the last 20 years) per year shot to death by police in the US, whites are twice the number killed and blacks are about 3 times the number by proportion of their population. This means that for every black person a cop shoots to death there have been 2 white people we don't hear about (not reported in the media). This means blacks feel more targeted than they already are giving heightened anxiety and whites don't realize they also are in this with blacks and need to step up to change the police tactics, WITH African Americans. - -]

<<<[My Note: The diagram at left, from the California document, (page 424 in PDF, 409 numbered page) implies that 6 African Americans are killed by police versus 2 persons of all other categories. That is not true. Of those killed by police in the general population, in absolute numbers (not proportions) it is more like 1 in 4. The RATE of fatal police shootings is much higher than any other group (5.9 per million between 2015 and March 2023).]



Employment Discrimination
 Employment discrimination in police departments against African American applicants may exacerbate discrimination and police brutality against African Americans. The Obama administration's Task Force on

Californi
 Police vio in Califor Identity Pr on data fr

408

Chapter II — An Unjust Legal

African Americans are

3x MORE LIKELY

to be killed by police

More than half of all killings by police in the U.S. go unreported in the USA National Vital Statistics System database from which some analysis is drawn.

California's 15 largest agencies, shows that police stopped

officers to for little o admitted i as likely to more likel their cars t

Relatedly, California nificantly for a mari nabis in C entrepreper businesse:

Year	White	Black	Hisp.	Other	Unknown
2017	458	222	180	44	77
2018	459	228	167	41	88
2019	424	251	168	42	114
2020	459	243	171	27	120
2021	446	233	136	25	208
2022	389	225	120	22	341
2023	101	56	20	0	247

(as of June 2023 release date)

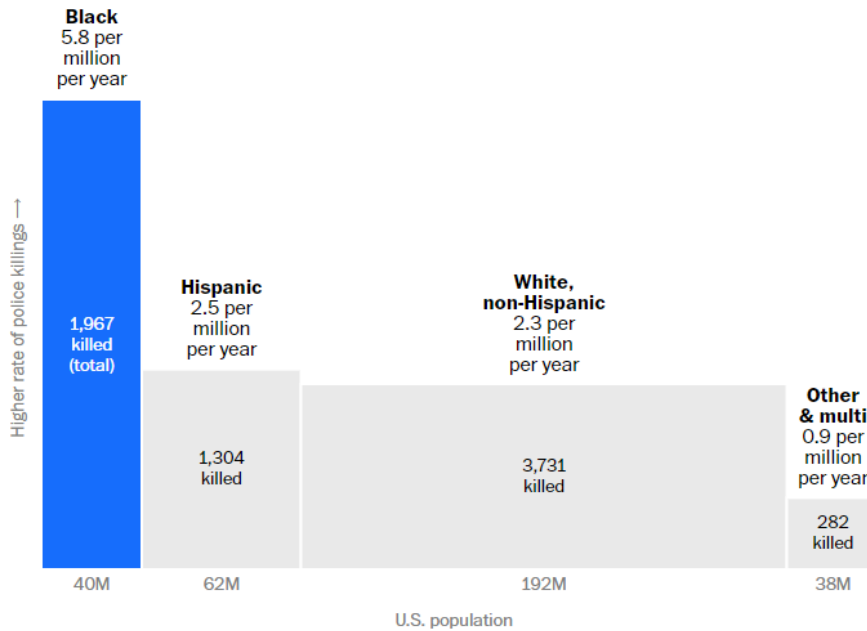
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/585152/people-shot-to-death-by-us-police-by-race/>

Number of people shot to death by the police in the United States from 2017 to 2023, by race



<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>

Black Americans are killed at a much higher rate than White Americans



This chart (left) from the Washington Post's police shootings database (since 2015) shows the rate per million by category.

Category	Number
White	3,731
Black	1,967
Hispanic	1,304
Other	282

Most victims are young. More than half of people shot and killed by police are between 20 and 40 years old. Almost all are male, 95 percent.

Although half of the people shot and killed by police are White, [Black Americans are shot at a disproportionate rate](#). They account for roughly 14 percent of the U.S. population and are killed by police at more than twice the rate of White Americans. Hispanic Americans are also killed by police at a disproportionate rate.

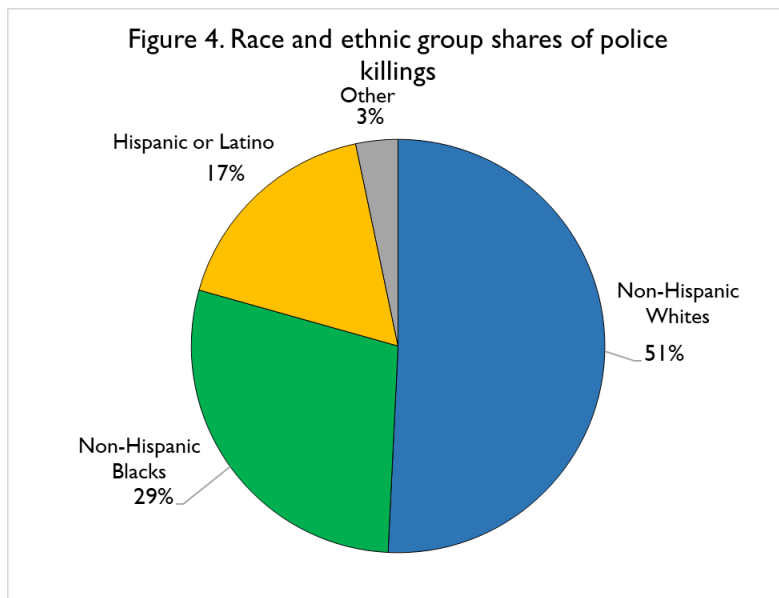


Chart above From: <https://www.thepublicdiscourse.com/2020/06/65309/>

SHOOTING VICTIMS	% BLACK		August 2013 through March 2015 (20 months)		
STATE,	BLACK,	NOT BLACK,	VICTIMS,	STATE POP.,	GAP
Rhode Island	1	0	100%	9%	91
D.C.	8	0	100	51	49
New Jersey	16	10	62	16	46
Ohio	26	21	55	14	42
Maryland	29	11	73	32	41
Illinois	24	23	51	16	35
Missouri	20	23	47	13	34
Massachusetts	7	10	41	9	32
New York	24	25	49	19	30
Georgia	27	17	61	32	29
North Carolina	24	23	51	23	28
Alabama	17	16	52	27	24
Oklahoma	16	34	32	9	23
Wisconsin	6	14	30	7	23
Florida	56	87	39	18	21
Pennsylvania	10	20	33	13	21
Indiana	8	18	31	11	20
Virginia	7	10	41	21	20
Arkansas	4	7	36	16	20
Alaska	1	3	25	5	20
Louisiana	18	17	51	33	18
Connecticut	2	5	29	13	16
Kansas	5	17	23	8	15
Michigan	7	16	30	15	15
Nebraska	2	8	20	6	14
Minnesota	4	17	19	7	12
South Carolina	12	18	40	29	11

Tennessee	10	26	28	18	10
California	46	220	17	8	10
Texas	36	128	22	13	9
West Virginia	1	7	13	4	8
Kentucky	4	20	17	9	8
Colorado	4	32	11	5	6
Arizona	8	66	11	6	5
Mississippi	9	12	43	38	5
Washington	4	39	9	5	4
New Mexico	2	26	7	3	4
Nevada	3	20	13	10	3
Utah	1	22	4	2	2
Oregon	1	26	4	3	1
Montana	0	7	0	1	-1
Idaho	0	9	0	1	-1
Vermont	0	2	0	2	-2
Maine	0	9	0	2	-2
New Hampshire	0	4	0	2	-2
Wyoming	0	2	0	2	-2
North Dakota	0	2	0	2	-2
South Dakota	0	5	0	2	-2
Hawaii	0	8	0	4	-4
Delaware	1	4	20	24	-4
Iowa	0	14	0	4	-4
United States	511	1,180	30	14	16

Totals for the country - 1,751 in all

Above From: <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/blacks-are-killed-at-a-higher-rate-in-south-carolina-and-the-u-s/>

also see: <https://mappingpoliceviolence.org/>

From page 965 (951): III Responses to Questions About the Task Force’s Reparations Proposals

With any major initiative, such as reparations, it is natural that there would be questions from members of the public—whether supporting, opposing, or simply seeking answers about reparations. The following are anticipated questions and responses to concerns that members of the public may have about reparations for African Americans in the State of California. This section is not intended to be exhaustive. Instead, the Task Force offers it as a perspective to contribute to a developing national public dialogue and to encourage these difficult and essential conversations in the homes of every American. The answers provided here are intended to ensure that there are clear responses to challenges to reparations, as well as to help facilitate those conversations.

California was a “free state,” not a “slave state” Why should it be responsible for reparations at all?

Even though California entered the Union in 1850 as a “free state,” the state government at the time nonetheless permitted and committed grave injustices against African Americans and allowed its residents to enslave African Americans. These injustices—which all took place in California—included enslavement, legal public and private segregation, discrimination in state funding and programming, and stigmatization that upheld a white supremacist racial hierarchy that remains in place to this day.

California fugitive slave law California passed and enforced a fugitive slave law, and some scholars estimate that up to 1,500 enslaved African Americans lived in California in 1852. In fact, numerous

enslavers who actively supported the Confederacy moved to California before and during the Civil War and brought with them or sent ahead the persons they enslaved and ... *From page 966 (952)* ... saw as their chattel property to work on farms and ranches, and to mine gold on their behalf.²¹ Some of these individuals established leadership roles in the young state; for example, Confederate John LeConte, a physicist who employed his scientific knowledge to make gunpowder for the Confederate army, was UC Berkeley's first acting president. Enslaved people labored under violent conditions, and even "free" African Americans lived under racist laws that restricted their rights and rendered them vulnerable to violence and exploitation. Thus, California bears direct responsibility for atrocities that occurred during the enslavement era, which can only be redressed through comprehensive reparations. From "lift" in middle of above paragraph: *Scholars estimate that up to 1,500 enslaved African Americans lived in California in 1852.*

California and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments

Enslavement, even with all its atrocities and horrors, is far from the lone basis for the case for reparations at either the national or state level. Post-enslavement atrocities, as detailed in this report, are a critical dimension of the justification for reparations. For example, during Reconstruction, Congress passed the Fourteenth Amendment, which promised equal rights for all citizens, and the Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibited states from denying a person's right to vote on the basis of race; California did not ratify these amendments until 1959 and 1962, respectively.

California and the Ku Klux Klan

After slavery ended in 1865, Jim Crow found a home in California. For example, in the 1920s, California became a "strong Klan state" with a sizable Ku Klux Klan presence in Los Angeles, Oakland, Fresno, Riverside, Sacramento, Anaheim, and San Jose.

Housing Segregation

In the decades that followed enslavement, the federal, State of California, and local governments acted with private actors to create and intensify housing segregation. Government actions intertwined with private action and segregated America, leading to enormous wealth disparities, environmental harms, unequal educational and health outcomes, vast wealth differentials, and over-policing of African American neighborhoods in California and across the nation that all continue to this day. For example, California allowed extensive use of racially restrictive covenants, which were widely used throughout the state. According to the 1973 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, by 1940, 80 percent of homes in Los Angeles contained restrictive covenants barring African American families from owning homes. Some of these covenants remain a part of public record. From 1937 to 1948, more than 100 lawsuits attempted to enforce covenants and evict African American families from their homes in Los Angeles.

In other words, while California was a "free state," it was deeply complicit with the institution of slavery and an active participant in perpetuating its badges and incidents. Further, in the decades that followed, the state implemented laws and policies infected with racism that flowed from the institution of enslavement, targeting African American people. These laws and policies continue to have effect, as they have resulted in the cumulative, compounding, and cascading inter-generational harm experienced by African Americans in California today.

From page 41 (27)

Calls for reparatory justice gained momentum at the end of the Civil War, after the federal government failed to fulfill General William T. Sherman's promise to give forty acres and a mule to those who were

formerly enslaved. African American abolitionist Frederick Douglass demanded land distribution for the formerly enslaved, comparing their plight to the Russian serfs who received land grants following their emancipation.

...

Another reparations trailblazer was “Queen Mother” Audley Moore, known as the “Mother” of the modern reparations movement. Moore founded several organizations, including the Committee for Reparations for Descendants of U.S. Slaves, dedicated to fighting for land and other reparations for African Americans. In the 1950s she formally petitioned the U.N. for reparations for African Americans.

In the 1960s, many civil rights and Black Nationalist groups also demanded reparatory justice, in addition to legal equality. For example, the Black Panther Party’s Ten-Point Program called for the “end to the robbery by the [w]hite man of our Black community” and demanded the debt owed of forty acres and two mules. In a speech to students at Michigan State University **in 1963, Malcolm X called for reparations:**

The greatest contribution to this country was that which was contributed by the Black man . . . Now, when you see this, and then you stop and consider the wages that were kept back from millions of Black people, not for one year but for 310 years, you'll see how this country got so rich so fast. And what made the economy as strong as it is today. And all that, and all of that slave labor that was amassed in unpaid wages, is due someone today.

The reparations movement surged in the 1980s.⁴⁷⁵ The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America was founded in 1987, and with its help, U.S. Rep. John Conyers in 1989 introduced H.R. 40, a bill to establish a federal Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans. Rep. Conyers introduced the bill 20 times without success.

From page 106 (92) - The American Revolution

When white colonists declared their independence from Great Britain, they explained their actions by saying that the King of England and the British government had taken away their freedom and their rights as “freeborn Englishmen.” In the Declaration of Independence, Americans famously announced that “all men are created equal” and “that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” At the same time, these same colonists bought and sold people of African descent who had no freedom and very few rights.

People who opposed the American Revolution were quick to point out the hypocrisy of these words. Thomas Day, an Englishman who opposed enslavement, said that “[i]f there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independence with the one hand and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves.” Even white American colonists understood the hypocrisy of the Declaration of Independence. Abigail Adams, an opponent of enslavement from New England, the wife of John Adams, and a future first lady of the United States, wondered just how strongly white colonists felt about human liberty **(from pages 107 (93))** when they were “accustomed to deprive their fellow citizens of theirs.” The founders of the United States, especially those who owned enslaved people and profited from enslavement, were well aware of these contradictions and they tried to downplay them. They knew that enslavement made them, and their independence movement, look hypocritical, but they also wanted to continue to profit from the stolen labor of enslaved people.

Thomas Jefferson, the author of the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, owned around 600 enslaved people over the course of his lifetime. His original draft of the Declaration of Independence openly criticized the transatlantic slave trade, which he called “a cruel war against human nature itself, violating it’s [sic] most sacred rights of life and liberty,” but he blamed it almost all on King George III of England. Jefferson claimed that the king not only failed to stop the slave trade, but also that the king encouraged enslaved people to rise up and kill white colonists.

Embarrassment over enslavement, and the hope to keep making money from it, was clear when the Continental Congress rejected this part of the Declaration and voted to remove it. Jefferson explained the rejection in his notes. Representatives from South Carolina and Georgia depended on enslavement and wanted to continue in the trafficking of humans. Men from the northern colonies were embarrassed by the criticism of the slave trade because they were highly involved in shipping enslaved Africans across the Atlantic. The final version of the Declaration of Independence only mentioned enslavement indirectly by claiming that King George III was trying to cause “domestic insurrections” (code words for rebellions by enslaved people) in the colonies.

[NEXT NOTE: they repeat the nonsense about Dunmore, even though the timeline is wrong and fail to note that he had his own slaves that he did not free]

The founders of the United States tried to dodge the issue of enslavement, but enslaved and free people of African descent would not let them. They tested the new nation’s ideas of freedom during the American Revolutionary War (1775 to 1783).¹⁵⁰ Around 30,000 to 40,000 people (and maybe as many as 100,000 people) escaped their enslavement during the American Revolution. Virginia’s colonial governor, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, quickly took advantage of enslavement in the colonies by promising freedom to any enslaved man who fought for the British Army against the Americans. Some male freedom seekers did join the British Army, but large numbers died from smallpox during their service. Others, including many women and children, took advantage of wartime chaos to escape to areas where the British Army was strong. The massive number of freedom seekers greatly damaged enslavement in the lower southern states. For instance, around 30 percent of South Carolina’s enslaved population left or died during the Revolution.

Some states tried to solve this problem by promising freedom to enslaved men who fought on the side of the Americans. Other states recruited free African American men to boost the size of the small American army. Even though they were smaller in number than whites, free African American men were more likely to volunteer for military service and to serve longer than whites because they wanted both independence for the United States and greater rights for themselves. Overall, around 9,000 free or enslaved African American men served alongside white revolutionaries in integrated military units to fight for American independence.

African Americans’ struggles for freedom during the American Revolution led to the end of the enslavement in most of the northern states where the enslaved population was small and local enslavement was less central to the economy. Enslaved people used the revolutionary ideals of freedom to convince northern judges and the general public to end enslavement.

When enslaved people in Massachusetts sued for their freedom, the state courts decided that enslavement went against the state’s new constitution, which said that “all men are born free and equal.” Enslavement ended there in 1783. Nearby, the state of Vermont approved a new constitution that outlawed enslavement completely in 1777. States farther south, such as New ...

From page 109 (95)

Slavery in the New U.S. Constitution Around the same time that the cotton gin took off, southern enslaving states left a permanent mark on the American legal system by shaping the U.S. Constitution to meet their needs in upholding enslavement. During the Constitutional Convention in 1787, southern proslavery representatives pushed for protections for enslavement, partly by threatening not to sign onto the new Constitution.

[My Note here: Just what do the authors of this document (and others of the same variety) think would have happened about slavery had the northerners not compromised? This was not today's understanding of the United States as a federal state with subordinate units called states. The states were basically separate little countries, nation states, who would have seceded at that point rather than in 1860, in which case slavery might well exist today in those states. The concept we have today of nations was only beginning to be formed at that time.]

A major protection for enslavement in the Constitution came in a clause that prohibited Congress from outlawing U.S. participation in the transatlantic slave trade for another 20 years. During those important 20 years, slave ships legally brought around 86,000 enslaved Africans to the United States. Congress was also required, and given the power, to use military force to stop "Insurrections" and "domestic violence," which would have included rebellions by enslaved people. Proslavery southerners also ensured that the Constitution included a fugitive slave law, which required the return of enslaved people who sought freedom across state lines.

From page 117 (103)

Slavery and the Economic Power of New York City

New York City is a strong example of how northerners participated in and profited from enslavement. Captive Africans, enslaved by the Dutch West Indian Company, were part of the labor force that constructed the early walled street that eventually became Wall Street, the economic center of the United States. Later, the street became the city's first slave market. City leaders decided in 1711 that whites who wanted to rent out enslaved African American or Native American people could only do so at the end of Wall Street next to the East River.

...

Corporate Manufacturing Profits

A variety of New York businesses also profited from processing and manufacturing agricultural products grown by enslaved people into goods for consumers to buy. Brooks Brothers, still a well-known New York City clothing company, made money from enslavement in multiple ways. The company made fashionable, expensive clothing woven from southern cotton grown by enslaved people. It also profited from making cheap clothing that enslavers bought to dress enslaved people.

[NOTE Comment: Compare this to buying from companies overseas, cheap clothing made by slaves or near slaves in China, etcetera. More of "Made in China" theme.]

At the same time, sugar refineries, factories which processed raw sugar into a usable form, became a major New York industry, especially in the borough of Brooklyn. These factories processed thousands of pounds of raw sugar grown by enslaved people in Louisiana and Cuba. By 1855, fifteen New York City refineries were producing over \$12 million of sugar per year.

...

From Page 118 (104): The legacies of enslavement in the sugar industry continue in the present-day. After the Civil War and the end of enslavement, southern states such as Texas and Louisiana rented out imprisoned African Americans to white sugarcane farmers. Many died in the brutal sugar production process. The Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola and the Texas State Penitentiary at Sugar Land also supported themselves, and profited these state governments, by growing and processing sugar cane on prison grounds. Incarcerated individuals at Angola continued to process sugar to sell in the prison gift shop as recently as 2014.

From page 125 (111):

VIII The U S Civil War and the End of Enslavement

Political Struggles Leading up to the U.S. Civil War

Between 1850 and the start of the Civil War in 1861, the political fight over enslavement's westward expansion and African Americans' legal rights became more intense and more violent. Proslavery politicians in Congress pushed through the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, a law that overturned the 1820 Missouri Compromise that had outlawed enslavement in most of the Louisiana Purchase lands. This meant that white settlers in the new western territories of Kansas and Nebraska territories could allow enslavement if they wanted to do so. A bloody civil war broke out in Kansas between proslavery and antislavery settlers who had rushed there to claim the new territory for their side.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act and "Bleeding Kansas," as this violence came to be called, shocked many northerners who opposed enslavement moving into the West. They formed a new political party, the Republican Party, which was based mostly in the North and whose main goal was stopping the westward expansion of enslavement.

As northerners became more antislavery, proslavery southerners became even louder in their defense of enslavement. They falsely claimed that enslavement was a gentle and humane institution, and that enslaved people got just as many benefits from the institution as white people because they received life-long care and support in exchange for their work. Proslavery people also used scientific racism, the false theory that all white people were naturally smarter and more "civilized" than African descended people, to argue that enslavement was good for people of African descent because it "uplifted" them.

From pages 949 and 950 (934 and 935):

METHODOLOGY

The research sought to understand the level of support for reparations in the state of California. Survey questions were developed based on the suggested reparation measures to address past harm according to the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner:

- Restitution should restore the victim to their original situation before the violation occurred (e.g., restoration of liberty, reinstatement of employment, return of the property, and return to one's place of residence).
- Compensation should be provided for any economically assessable damage, loss of earnings, property loss, economic opportunities, or moral damages.
- Rehabilitation should include medical and psychological care and legal and social services.
- Satisfaction should include the cessation of continuing violations, truth-seeking, search for the disappeared person or their remains, recovery, reburial of remains, public apologies, judicial and administrative sanctions, memorials, and commemorations.

A Likert scale was used to collect respondents' attitudes and opinions on the extent to which the participant agrees or disagrees with reparation measures for eligible Black residents in California. The scale was used to rank survey respondents' level of support by choosing one of the following: strongly support, support, likely support, strongly oppose, oppose, likely oppose, neither support nor oppose, and unsure. For ease of presentation, the responses are reduced to three broad sentiments: support, indifferent, and oppose. The newly defined support category combined the strongly support, support, and likely support responses, while the oppose category combined strongly oppose, oppose, and likely oppose. The indifferent category collapsed the neither-support-nor-oppose category and the unsure category together.

For racial atrocities committed in California, our research identified three main categories for reparation remedies, direct cash compensation, monetary, (no direct cash) measures, and non-monetary measures. In this case, direct cash compensation refers to a one-time cash payment.

934

Monetary measures are a collection of economic and financial proposals that invest in Black communities, such as: economic investments (e.g., grants, business loans, entrepreneurial investments); education (e.g., educational grants); health care (e.g., expansion of Medi-Cal); housing (mortgage assistance/down payment/housing revitalization grants); loan/debt forgiveness (e.g., student, mortgage, business debt relief) ; and financial resources (e.g., universal basic income, baby bonds, annuities, endowments, trust funds).

Non-monetary measures refer to proposals such as an apology from the state; curriculum reform (i.e., K-12 education on Slavery/Transatlantic Slave Trade); monuments (e.g., memorials to honor victims of Slavery/Transatlantic Slave Trade, abolitionist monuments); and restoration of unfairly seized property/land.

This section first presents results from the representative statewide sample and then compares them to the results from the community listening session surveys.

The Iron and Steel Industry Started in Saugus, MA in the 1600s

The Saugus Iron Works 1646 to around 1670

<https://www.nps.gov/sair/learn/historyculture/index.htm>

Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site Massachusetts

The Significance of Saugus Iron Works

To the United States and the World:

Saugus Iron Works is a reconstruction of **the first successful, integrated iron works in the New World**. It produced wrought iron and cast iron **products from 1646 to approximately 1670, utilizing the most advanced iron making technology in early Colonial times**. On April 5th, 1968 the site was renamed Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site and became part of the National Park System because of its significance to the character, development and history of the United States.

Elements of Significance:

The Massachusetts site is nationally significant because it is **considered the birthplace of the iron and steel industry in Colonial America**, initiating and sustaining an advanced iron making technology in the New World. The subsequent dispersal of former workers and their descendants to other parts of Colonial America, where they established other iron producing centers, was critical to the development of industry and technology in the emerging country. Saugus Iron Works demonstrates the crucial role of iron making to the 17th century settlement of the Colonies and its legacy in shaping the history of the nation.

Restored by noted preservationist Wallace Nutting in 1916, the site's 1680's Iron Works House is a prominent example of the Colonial Revival and Twentieth- Century American Preservation Movement.

The National Register of Historic Places calls the Saugus Iron Works "the first chapter in America's book." With its requirement for a large labor force, the iron works served as a conduit, forwarding the movement of technology and people from the Old World to the New. **Through the experiences of Puritans, English freemen, and Scots prisoners engaged for its operation, the iron works traced the British immigrants' journey in the New World, and recorded their stories of assimilation.**

Saugus Iron Works serves as a learning laboratory to understand and explore the stories of archaeology, Native American settlement, and life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The interrelationship of humans in the natural environment and the ecological effects of industrial development are clearly evident and understood.

In recognition of its significance as the birthplace of the iron and steel industry in America, the American Iron and Steel Institute reconstructed the primary elements of the original iron works after extensive archaeological excavations beginning in the 1940s. Saugus Iron Works Restoration opened to the public in 1954 and was operated as a private museum until the National Park Service began its administration "to preserve in public ownership the first sustained integrated ironworks in the Thirteen Colonies." The site was donated by the Iron and Steel Institute.

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/scottish-prisoners-at-the-iron-works.htm>

Scottish Prisoners at the Iron Works

Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site

The Scots were soldiers who were defeated in the English Civil War at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650. They were captured by the English, taken from their homeland, and sent to Massachusetts Bay Colony to work as indentured servants for seven years. Some of the Scots who came to Massachusetts Bay Colony worked at the iron works. Other Scots were sold to different business in the colony, while still others stayed in prison in England.

The Scots who came to the iron works worked as wood cutters, colliers (charcoal makers), or unskilled laborers for the most part. They were placed in company housing and were given what they needed to live and work. They worked at the iron works to repay their debts from their voyage, food, shelter,

medical care, and clothing. Some lived with skilled workers who taught them skills such as blacksmithing and carpentry.

Some Scots might have felt lucky to have a chance to work at the iron works rather than go to prison. However, the Scots were also far away from their families and their home in Scotland. Because they were prisoners of war, they could not bring their families with them to the new world. There were no women or children among them. They were not Puritans and had different religious beliefs. **The Scots eventually worked off their indentures, but many would never make the journey back home to Scotland.** Some eventually married, started new families, and assimilated into Puritan society.

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/puritans-and-iron-making.htm>

Puritans and Iron Making

Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site

In 1630, a group of Puritans left England in search of a place to practice their religion freely. They had a charter from the Massachusetts Bay Company to settle land in New England. The Puritans founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony north of the Plymouth Colony that had been established by the Pilgrims ten years earlier.

The Puritans wanted their colony to be based on the laws of God. They believed that God would protect them if they obeyed religious laws. The Massachusetts Bay Colony established a government with John Winthrop serving his first term of Governor in 1630. Only Puritan men who were church members and owned land were able to vote for governor and for representatives to the General Court. Women were not allowed to participate in government. The General Court made strict laws for the colony.

John Winthrop the Younger, a son of the governor, became a promoter to establish an iron works within the colony. Some wealthy Puritan men became part-owners in the iron works. Most Puritan men were farmers and/or merchants and tradesmen. Some Puritan farmers worked part-time for the iron works to make extra money. Puritans were also customers at the iron works. Puritan women lived in the colony with their husbands. Some women were school teachers, midwives, and "physicars" who helped to treat people who were sick. For example, a Puritan woman named Anne Burt cared for Scots who were ill after their voyage across the Atlantic. Puritan boys and girls went to school to learn to read the Bible. Boys might be trained as apprentices in a trade and girls would learn their duties from their mothers.

The Puritans hoped to establish an orderly and stable society, but soon the colony began to change. New England began to trade more, which created new jobs. There were farmers who grew food to sell to others; not just to feed their family. Some families who would have been poor in England were beginning to become more prosperous in the New World. Their children were able to read and write, and they were rising in their social class.

Some people were not as interested in religion as Puritan leaders would have liked. Puritan church members became worried that the colony was not based on the laws of God anymore. So, the Puritan leaders made some of the laws even stricter to control how the people of the colony behaved. Puritans and non-Puritans alike broke the law.

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/taas-strugglesandtriumphs-intro.htm>

American Economy

<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/colonial-settlement-1600-1763/overview/>

Colonial Settlement 1600-1763 Overview

When the London Company sent out its first expedition to begin colonizing Virginia on December 20, 1606, it was by no means the first European attempt to exploit North America. In 1564, for example, French Protestants (Huguenots) built a colony near what is now Jacksonville, Florida. This intrusion did not go unnoticed by the Spanish, who had previously claimed the region. The next year, the Spanish established a military post at St. Augustine; Spanish troops soon wiped out the French interlopers residing but 40 miles away.

Meanwhile, Basque, English, and French fishing fleets became regular visitors to the coasts from Newfoundland to Cape Cod. Some of these fishing fleets even set up semi-permanent camps on the coasts to dry their catches and to trade with local people, exchanging furs for manufactured goods. For the next two decades, Europeans' presence in North America was limited to these semi-permanent incursions. Then in the 1580s, the English tried to plant a permanent colony on Roanoke Island (on the outer banks of present-day North Carolina), but their effort was short-lived.

...

European colonization and settlement of North America (and other areas of the so-called "new world") was an invasion of territory controlled and settled for centuries by Native Americans. To be sure, Native American control and settlement of that land looked different to European eyes. Nonetheless, Native American groups perceived the Europeans' arrival as an encroachment and they pursued any number of avenues to deal with that invasion. That the Native Americans were unsuccessful in the long run in resisting or in establishing a more favorable accommodation with the Europeans was as much the result of the impact of European diseases as superior force of arms. Moreover, to view the situation from Native American perspectives is essential in understanding the complex interaction of these very different peoples.

Finally, it is also important to keep in mind that yet a third group of people--in this case Africans--played an active role in the European invasion (or colonization) of the western hemisphere. From the very beginning, Europeans' attempts to establish colonies in the western hemisphere foundered on the lack of laborers to do the hard work of colony-building. The Spanish, for example, enslaved the Native American in regions under their control. The English struck upon the idea of indentured servitude to solve the labor problem in Virginia. Virtually all the European powers eventually turned to African slavery to provide labor on their islands in the West Indies. Slavery was eventually transferred to other colonies in both South and North America.

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/mtj8.vc03/?sp=267>

Image of a typeset facsimile page of a 1620 handwritten report to the home office covering end of July and some of August 2019, listing the "Dutch man of Warr" with the "20 and odd Negroes" "bought for victualle (whereof he was in greate need as he ptended)" .. "He had a lardge and ample Comysion from his Excellency to range and to take purchase in the West Indydes."

"About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tunes arriued at Point-Comfort, the Comandors name Capt Jope, his Pilott for the West Indies one M Marmaduke and Englishman. Then mett with the Trër in the West Indydes, and determined to hold consort shipp hitherward, but in the passage lost one the other. He brought not any thing but 20. And odd Negroes, with the Governor and Cape Marchant bought for victualle (whereof he was in greate need as he

ptended) at the best and easiest rate they could. He Hadd a lardge and ample Comysion from his Excellency to range and to take purchase in the West Indyess.”

[NOTE: Trër translates as Treasurer (name of ship) – the other ship was the White Lion and in this paragraph it is claimed that they lost each other on the trip “lost one the other.” The person submitting the report (John Rolfe) is lying because there was a problem about not having permission to seize anything from the Spanish ships]

<https://www.houseofrussell.com/american-legal-history/assignments/records-of-the-virginia.html>

Transcription of the letter(s) above



About the latter end of August, a Dutch man of Warr of the burden of a 160 tunes arriued at Point-Comfort, the Comando^{rs} name Capt Jope, his Pilott for the West Indies one M^r Marmaduke an Englishman. They mett wth the Trër in the West Indyess, and determyned to hold consort shipp hetherward, but in their passage lost one the other. He brought not any thing but 20. and odd Negroes, w^{ch} the Governo^r and Cape Marchant bought for victualle (whereof he was in greate need as he p^tended) at the best and easyest rate they could. He hadd a lardge and ample Comysion from his Excellency to range and to take purchase in the West Indyess.

Three or 4. daies after the Trër arriued. At his arriuall he sent word p^sently to the Gou^{no}r to know his pleasure, who wrote to him, and did request myself Leiften^{ante} Peace and M^r Ewens to goe downe to him, to desyre [

2^a

] him to come vp to James Cytie. But before we gott downe he hadd sett saile and was gone out of the Bay. The occasion hereof happened by the vnfrendly dealing of the Inhitante of Keqnoughton, for he was in greate want of victualle, wherewth they wold not releive him nor his Company vpon any termes. He reported (whilst he staid at Keqnoughton) thit if wee gott not some Ord^{nance} planted at Point Comfort, the Colony would be quyte vndone and that ere long: for that vndoubtedly

[*244]





the Spanyard would be here the next spring wch he gathered (as was sayd) from some Spanyarde in y^e West Indyess. This being spread abroad doth much disharten the people ingenerall. ffor wee haue no place of strength to retreat vnto, no shipping of c⁹teyntye (wch would be to vs as the wodden walles of England) no sound and experienced souldyers to vndertake, no Engineers and arthmen to erect worke, few Ordenance, not a serviceable carriage to mound them on; not Amunycon of powlder, shott and leade, to fight

and

2. wholl dayes, no not one gunner belonging to the Plantacon, so

ye^r

Hono^{rs}

o^r soveraignes dignity, yo^r hono^{rs} o^r poore reputacons lives and labo^{rs} thus long spent lieth too open to a suddayne, and to an inevitable hazard, if a forroigne enemy oppose against vs. Of this I cannot better doe, to giue yo^w full satisfaccon, then to referr yo^w to the iudgem^t and opynion of Capt Argallwho hath often spoken

and

herof during his govern^t, and knoweth (none better) these defect .

About the begynnyng of Septemb^r J-apazous (the King of Patawamack brother) comes to James Cyty to the Governo^r. Amongst other frivoulous messag he requested, that 2. shipp might be speedly to Patawamack where they should trade for greate stoore of corne. Herevpon (according to his desyre) the Governo^r sent an Englishman wth him by land, and in the begynning of October, Capt Ward shipp and Somer-Iselande frigate departed James Cyty hether-ward. Robte Poole being wholly ymployed by the Governo^r of message to the greate King, pswaded S^r George, that if he would send Pledge he would, would come to visite him. O^r Corne and Tobacco being in greate abundance in o^r grounde (for a more plentyfull yeere then this, it hath not pleased God to send vs since the beginning of this Plantacon, yet very contagious for sycknes, whereof many [

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1069688/us-labor-force-no-of-slaves-1800-1860/>

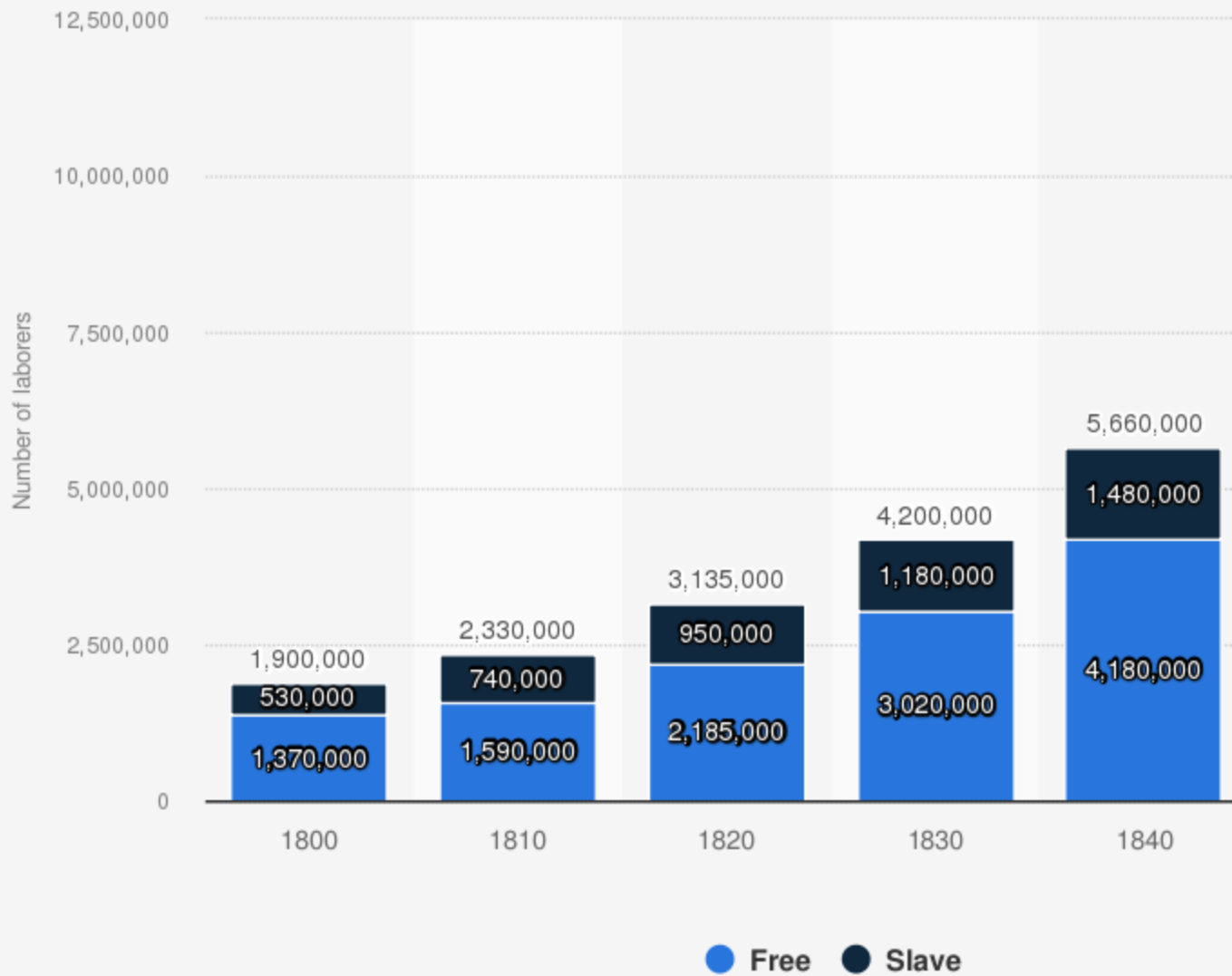
Chart showing: Number of slave and free laborers in the United States from 1800 to 1860

Number of slave and free laborers in the United States 1800-1860

Published by [Statista Research Department](#), Dec 31, 1975

At the beginning of the 19th century, the U.S. labor force was approximately 1.9 million people, with slaves making up over half a million (28 percent) of this number. The share of slaves then increased to almost one third of the overall workforce in the next decade, but dropped to roughly one fifth by 1860; the year before the American Civil War. While the total number of slaves grew by several hundred thousand in each decade, their share of the U.S. labor force decreased due to the high levels of European migration to the U.S. throughout the 19th century. This wave of mass migration was an influential factor in slavery's eventual abolition, as Europeans met the labor demands that had previously been fulfilled by slaves, and those fleeing persecution and oppression in Europe were often sympathetic to the plight of slaves. Nonetheless, the majority of European migrants arrived in the industrialized, northern states, most of which had already abolished slavery in the 18th century, and slave labor was concentrated in the agricultural south at this time; this divide would prove fundamental in the outbreak of the American Civil War.

Number of slave and free laborers in the United States from



Source
US Census Bureau
© Statista 2023

Additional Information:
United States; 1800 to 1860

Year	Slave Laborers		Free Laborers		Total
1800	530,000	27.9%	1,370,000	72.1%	1,900,000
1810	740,000	31.8%	1,590,000	68.2%	2,330,000
1820	950,000	30.3%	2,185,000	69.7%	3,135,000
1830	1,180,000	28.1%	3,020,000	71.9%	4,200,000

1840	1,480,000	26.1%	4,180,000	73.9%	5,660,000
1850	1,970,000	23.9%	6,280,000	76.1%	8,250,000
1860	2,340,000	21.1%	8,770,000	78.9%	11,110,000

<https://www.americanyawp.com/text/08-the-market-revolution/>

THE AMERICAN YAWP

8. The Market Revolution

... Working conditions were harsh for the many desperate “mill girls” who operated the factories relentlessly from sunup to sundown. One worker complained that “a large class of females are, and have been, destined to a state of servitude.”²² Female workers went on strike. They lobbied for better working hours. But the lure of wages was too much. As another worker noted, “very many Ladies . . . have given up millinery, dressmaking & school keeping for work in the mill.”²³ With a large supply of eager workers, Lowell’s vision brought a rush of capital and entrepreneurs into New England. The first American manufacturing boom was under way.

...

The market revolution shook other industries as well. Craftsmen began to understand that new markets increased the demand for their products. Some shoemakers, for instance, abandoned the traditional method of producing custom-built shoes at their home workshops and instead began producing larger quantities of shoes in ready-made sizes to be shipped to urban centers. Manufacturers wanting increased production abandoned the old personal approach of relying on a single live-in apprentice for labor and instead hired unskilled wage laborers who did not have to be trained in all aspects of making shoes but could simply be assigned a single repeatable aspect of the task. Factories slowly replaced shops. The old paternalistic apprentice system, which involved long-term obligations between apprentice and master, gave way to a more impersonal and more flexible labor system in which unskilled laborers could be hired and fired as the market dictated. A writer in the *New York Observer* in 1826 complained, “The master no longer lives among his apprentices [and] watches over their moral as well as mechanical improvement.”²⁴ Masters-turned-employers now not only had fewer obligations to their workers, they had a lesser attachment. They no longer shared the bonds of their trade but were subsumed under new class-based relationships: employers and employees, bosses and workers, capitalists and laborers. On the other hand, workers were freed from the long-term, paternalistic obligations of apprenticeship or the legal subjugation of indentured servitude. They could theoretically work when and where they wanted. When men or women made an agreement with an employer to work for wages, they were “left free to apportion among themselves their respective shares, untrammelled . . . by unwise laws,” as Reverend Alonzo Potter rosily proclaimed in 1840.²⁵ But while the new labor system was celebrated throughout the northern United States as “free labor,” it was simultaneously lamented by a growing powerless class of laborers.

As the northern United States rushed headlong toward commercialization and an early capitalist economy, many Americans grew uneasy with the growing gap between wealthy businessmen and impoverished wage laborers. Elites like Daniel Webster might defend their wealth and privilege by insisting that all workers could achieve “a career of usefulness and enterprise” if they were “industrious and sober,” but labor activist Seth Luther countered that capitalism created “a cruel system of extraction on the bodies and minds of the producing classes . . . for no other object than to enable the ‘rich’ to ‘take care of themselves’ while the poor must work or starve.”

Americans embarked on their Industrial Revolution with the expectation that all men could start their careers as humble wage workers but later achieve positions of ownership and stability with hard work. Wage work had traditionally been looked down on as a state of dependence, suitable only as a temporary waypoint for young men without resources on their path toward the middle class and the economic success necessary to support a wife and children ensconced within the domestic sphere. Children's magazines—such as *Juvenile Miscellany* and *Parley's Magazine*—glorified the prospect of moving up the economic ladder. This “free labor ideology” provided many northerners with a keen sense of superiority over the slave economy of the southern states.²⁷

But the commercial economy often failed in its promise of social mobility. Depressions and downturns might destroy businesses and reduce owners to wage work. Even in times of prosperity unskilled workers might perpetually lack good wages and economic security and therefore had to forever depend on supplemental income from their wives and young children.

Wage workers—a population disproportionately composed of immigrants and poorer Americans—faced low wages, long hours, and dangerous working conditions. Class conflict developed. Instead of the formal inequality of a master-servant contract, employer and employee entered a contract presumably as equals. But hierarchy was evident: employers had financial security and political power; employees faced uncertainty and powerlessness in the workplace. Dependent on the whims of their employers, some workers turned to strikes and unions to pool their resources. In 1825 a group of journeymen in Boston formed a Carpenters' Union to protest their inability “to maintain a family at the present time, with the wages which are now usually given.”²⁸ Working men organized unions to assert themselves and win both the respect and the resources due to a breadwinner and a citizen.

For the middle-class managers and civic leaders caught between workers and owners, unions enflamed a dangerous antagonism between employers and employees. They countered any claims of inherent class conflict with the ideology of social mobility. Middle-class owners and managers justified their economic privilege as the natural product of superior character traits, including decision making and hard work. One group of master carpenters denounced their striking journeymen in 1825 with the claim that workers of “industrious and temperate habits, have, in their turn, become thriving and respectable Masters, and the great body of our Mechanics have been enabled to acquire property and respectability, with a just weight and influence in society.”²⁹ In an 1856 speech in Kalamazoo, Michigan, Abraham Lincoln had to assure his audience that the country's commercial transformation had not reduced American laborers to slavery. Southerners, he said, “insist that their slaves are far better off than Northern freemen. What a mistaken view do these men have of Northern labourers! They think that men are always to remain labourers here—but there is no such class. The man who laboured for another last year, this year labours for himself. And next year he will hire others to labour for him.”³⁰ This essential belief undergirded the northern commitment to “free labor” and won the market revolution much widespread acceptance.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Punch_\(slave\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Punch_(slave))

John Punch (slave) 1630s in Virginia

John Punch (fl. 1630s, living 1640) was an [enslaved African](#) who lived in the [colony of Virginia](#). Thought to have been an [indentured servant](#), Punch attempted to escape to [Maryland](#) and was sentenced in July 1640 by the [Virginia Governor's Council](#) to serve as a slave for the remainder of his life. Two European men who ran away with him received a lighter sentence of extended indentured servitude. For this reason, some historians consider John Punch the "first official slave in the English colonies," and his case as the "first legal sanctioning of lifelong slavery in the Chesapeake." Some historians also consider this to

be one of the first legal distinctions between Europeans and Africans made in the colony, and a key milestone in the development of the institution of [slavery in the United States](#).

In July 2012, [Ancestry.com](#) published a paper suggesting that John Punch was a twelfth-generation grandfather of President [Barack Obama](#) on [his mother's](#) side, on the basis of historic and genealogical research and [Y-DNA](#) analysis. Punch's descendants were known by the Bunch or Bunche surname. Punch is also believed to be one of the paternal ancestors of the 20th-century American diplomat [Ralph Bunche](#), the first [African American](#) to win the [Nobel Peace Prize](#).

Life

John Punch was a servant of Virginia [planter](#) Hugh Gwyn, a wealthy landowner, justice, and member of the [House of Burgesses](#), representing Charles River County (which became [York County](#) in 1642).

In 1640, Punch ran away to [Maryland](#) accompanied by two of Gwyn's European indentured servants. All three were caught and returned to Virginia. On July 9, the [Virginia Governor's Council](#), which served as the colony's highest court, sentenced both Europeans to have their terms of indenture extended by another four years each. However, they sentenced Punch to "serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural Life here or elsewhere." In addition, the council sentenced the three men to thirty [lashes](#) each.

Sentenced to life

The General Court of The Governor's Council provided this verdict on July 9, 1640.

Whereas Hugh Gwyn hath by order from this Board brought back from Maryland three servants formerly run away from the said Gwyn, the court doth therefore order that the said three servants shall receive the punishment of whipping and have thirty stripes apiece. One called Victor, a Dutchman, the other a Scotchman called James Gregory, shall first serve out their times with their master according to their Indentures, and one whole year apiece after the time of their service is expired by their said indentures in recompense of his loss sustained by their absence, and after that service to their said master is expired, to serve the colony for three whole years apiece. And that the third being a negro named John Punch shall serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural life here or elsewhere.

Three sources are cited in a 2012 article written by Jeffrey B. Perry, in which he quotes Ancestry.com, stating "'only one surviving [written] account ... certainly pertains to John Punch's life ... ' a paragraph from the *Journal of the Executive Council of Colonial Virginia*, dated July 9, 1640:"

John H. Russell defined slavery in his book *The Free Negro In Virginia, 1619–1865*:

The difference between a servant and a slave is elementary and fundamental. The loss of liberty to the servant was temporary; the bondage of the slave was perpetual. It is the distinction made by Beverly in 1705 when he wrote, "They are call'd Slaves in respect of the time of their Servitude, because it is for Life." Wherever, according to the customs and laws of the colony, negroes were regarded and held as servants without a future right to freedom, there we should find the beginning of slavery in that colony.

Three matters decided by the Virginia Governor's Council from June 4, 1640, through July 9, 1640

Historians have noted that John Punch ceased to be an indentured servant and was condemned to [slavery](#), as he was sentenced to "serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural Life." [Edgar Toppin](#) states that "Punch, in effect, became a slave under this ruling." [A. Leon Higginbotham Jr.](#) said, "Thus, although he committed the same crime as the Dutchman and the Scotsman, John Punch,

a black man, was sentenced to lifetime slavery." [Winthrop Jordan](#) also described this court ruling as "the first definite indication of outright enslavement appears in Virginia ... the third being a negro named John Punch shall serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural life here or elsewhere."

[Theodore W. Allen](#) notes that the court's "being a negro" justification made no explicit reference to precedent in English or Virginia [common law](#), and suggests that the court members may have been aware of common law that held a Christian could not enslave a Christian (with Punch being presumed to be a non-Christian, unlike his accomplices), wary of the diplomatic friction that would come of enslaving Christian Europeans, and possibly hopeful of replicating the lifetime indentures of African slaves held in the Caribbean and South American colonies.

Former Slave Interviews (2 books) in the 1930s by the Works Progress Administration

<https://www.amazon.com/Breeding-American-Slaves-Stephen-Ashley-ebook/dp/B00P9AW3JW>

The Breeding of American Slaves Kindle Edition

by Stephen Ashley

ASIN : B00P9AW3JW

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True Stories of American Slave Breeding and Slave Babies.

Recollections of American ex-slaves and their memories of breeding and babies.

Slave breeding in the United States were those practices of slave ownership that aimed to influence the reproduction of slaves in order to increase the wealth of slaveholders.

Slave breeding included coerced sexual relations between male and female slaves, promoting pregnancies of slaves, sexual relations between master and slave with the aim of producing slave children, and favoring female slaves who produced a relatively large number of children.

The purpose of slave breeding was to produce new slaves without incurring the cost of purchase, to fill labor shortages caused by the termination of the Atlantic slave trade, and to attempt to improve the health and productivity of slaves. Slave breeding was condoned in the South because slaves were considered to be subhuman chattel, and were not entitled to the same rights accorded to free persons.

"My grandfather on my father's side, Luke Blackshear, was a 'stock' Negro.

"Isom Blackshear, his son, was a great talker. He said Luke was six feet four inches tall and near two hundred fifty pounds in weight. He was what they called a double-jointed man. He was a mechanic,—built houses, made keys, and did all other blacksmith work and shoemaking.

He did anything in iron, wood or leather. Really he was an architect as well. He could take raw cowhide and make leather out of it and then make shoes out of the leather.

"Luke was the father of fifty-six children and was known as the GIANT BREEDER. He was bought and given to his young mistress in the same way you would give a mule or colt to a child.

“Although he was a stock Negro, he was whipped and drove just like the other Negroes. All of the other Negroes were driven on the farm. He had to labor but he didn’t have to work with the other slaves on the farm unless there was no mechanical work to do.

He was given better work because he was a skilled mechanic. He taught Isom blacksmithing, brickmaking and bricklaying, shoemaking, carpentry, and other things. The ordinary blacksmith has to order plow points and put them on, but Luke made the points themselves, and he taught Isom to do it. And he taught him to make mats, chairs, and other weaving work. He died sometime before the War.”

Ida Blackshear Hutchinson, 2620 Orange Street, North Little Rock, Arkansas

Age: 73 at time of interview

This book is researched from the Slave Narratives that were collected in the 1930s as part of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and assembled and microfilmed in 1941 as the seventeen-volume Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves.

What you read is exactly how the researchers heard their stories for the first time, transcribed on the spot from the actual interviews. A must read for every American.

<https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/B06XN5XZ13>

Dem Days Was Hell

Recorded Testimonies of Former Slaves from 17 U.S. States: True Life Stories from Hundreds of African Americans in South about Their Life in Slavery and after the Liberation Kindle Edition

by Work Projects Administration

ASIN : B06XN5XZ13

Publisher : e-artnow (March 2, 2017)

Publication date : March 2, 2017

File size : 49009 KB

Print length : 7172 pages

Step back in time and meet everyday people from another era: This edition brings to you the complete collection of hundreds of life stories, incredible vivid testimonies of former slaves from 17 U.S. southern states, including photos of the people being interviewed and their extraordinary narratives. After the end of Civil War in 1865, more than four million slaves were set free. There were several efforts to record the remembrances of the former slaves. The Federal Writers' Project was one such project by the United States federal government to support writers during the Great Depression by asking them to interview and record the myriad stories and experiences of slavery of former slaves. The resulting collection preserved hundreds of life stories from 17 U.S. states that would otherwise have been lost in din of modernity and America's eagerness to deliberately forget the blot on its recent past.

Contents:

- Alabama
- Arkansas
- Florida

- Georgia
- Indiana
- Kansas
- Kentucky
- Maryland
- Mississippi
- Missouri
- North Carolina
- Ohio
- Oklahoma
- South Carolina
- Tennessee
- Texas
- Virginia

Ayesha

5.0 out of 5 stars First person narratives that can help African Americans find their roots

Reviewed in the United States us on October 9, 2017

Verified Purchase

This is a compilation of most of the WPA slave narratives from the various states. As such, the quality of the narratives varies--some are only a few lines long, while others are several pages, and include photos of the informants. To get a firsthand look at slavery and Reconstruction, this is great. But there is another added benefit--genealogy. If you are African-American and searching for your roots, I'd invest in this book. Each informant was asked to give what family history they knew, and some took their families back to the ancestor that was captured in Africa, even telling the story of their capture! How surnames were chosen is also included in the narrative. The book is divided into the different Southern states, but it is only for the present location of the informants--they may have been slaves elsewhere. There is a table of contents for each section so it is easy to find names.

Kindle Customer

5.0 out of 5 stars Interviews of ex-slaves written in dialect

Reviewed in the United States us on May 5, 2019

Verified Purchase

If you can read dialect, you will enjoy reading these accounts from 1930's interviews of former slaves. In a few of them, it seems the interviewer injected a few of the words quoted, and in almost every account, the slaves say they were well fed and well-treated by the slave owners. So as much as I enjoyed reading these historic interviews, the book lacked balance in that mistreated slave accounts were not included. All of us have seen photos of slaves dressed in rags, underweight, and bearing the scars of severe beatings. So I enjoyed the book, but feel it was slanted toward the slave owners. You read it and decide. I think the interviews were cherry picked. All in all, it was a good book.

V.Wallace

5.0 out of 5 stars Interesting

Reviewed in the United States us on June 25, 2020

Verified Purchase

Very gut wrenching reading these firsthand accounts of these former slaves, to know they suffered so much and still survived. I somehow feel that a lot of them didn't express how they truly felt because they were so conditioned to hiding their feeling's when speaking to white people. A lot of information died with them. Most of the interviewers asked questions that was based on stereotype and preconceived notions of the day.

ebdoug

5.0 out of 5 stars Well worth reading

Reviewed in the United States us on August 16, 2019

Verified Purchase

May take me the rest of my life to read this book on Kindle as I put it down and pick it up. I'm amazed at how much the older ex slaves liked the communal life of slavery. Now left alone in old age, they wish they were back before "freedom."

Many awful narratives, many lovely narratives. Read between other books, read between innings of baseball or waiting for something. Stand alone narratives. 100s of them.

<https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/B09KX1KRFY>

The 1619 Project Book: A Brief History of The 1619 Project Kindle Edition

by University Press

<https://worldhistoryandevents.blogspot.com/2023/07/have-you-ever-wondered-what-happened-to.html>

Have you ever wondered what happened to the 56 men who signed the Declaration of Independence?

July 08, 2023, by Michael W. Smith

Have you ever wondered what happened to the 56 men who signed the Declaration of Independence?

5 signers were captured by the British as traitors, and tortured before they died. 12 had their homes burned. 2 lost their sons in the revolutionary army, another had two sons captured. 9 of the 56 fought had died from wounds of the revolutionary war.

They signed and they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

What kind of men were they? 24 were lawyers and jurists. 11 were merchants, 9 were farmers and large plantation owners, men of means, well educated. But they signed the Declaration of Independence knowing full well that the penalty would be death if they were captured.

Carter Braxton of Virginia, a wealthy planter and trader, saw his ships swept from the seas by the British Navy. He sold his home and properties to pay his debts, and died in rags.

Thomas McKean was so hounded by the British that he was forced to move his family almost constantly. He served in the Congress without pay, and his family was kept in hiding. His possessions were taken from him, & poverty was his reward.

Vandals/soldiers looted the properties of Ellery, Clymer, Hall, Walton, Gwinnett, Heyward, Rutledge, and Middleton.

At the battle of Yorktown, Nelson Jr., noted that the British Gen. Cornwallis had taken over the Nelson home for his HQ. The owner quietly urged Gen. George Washington to open fire. The home was destroyed, and Nelson died bankrupt.

Francis Lewis had his home and properties destroyed. The enemy jailed his wife, and she died within a few months.

Hart was driven from his wife's bedside as she was dying. Their 13 children fled for their lives. His fields and home were laid to waste. For more than a year he lived in forests and caves, returning home to find his wife dead & children vanished. A few weeks later he died from exhaustion and a broken heart. Norris and Livingston suffered similar fates.

Such were the sacrifices of the American Revolution. These were not wild eyed, rabble-rousing ruffians. They were soft-spoken men of means and education. They had security, but they valued liberty more.

<https://www.amazon.com/Death-Liberty-African-Americans-Revolutionary/dp/B006CDFSCY> -
hardcover link

<https://www.amazon.com/Death-Liberty-African-Americans-Revolutionary-ebook/dp/B001NLL5KE> -
Kindle link

Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America

by Douglas R. Egerton,

Publisher : Oxford University Press, USA; Book Club Edition (January 13, 2009)

Language : English

Hardcover : 352 pages

ASIN : B006CDFSCY

In *Death or Liberty*, Douglas R. Egerton offers a sweeping chronicle of African American history stretching from Britain's 1763 victory in the Seven Years' War to the election of slaveholder Thomas Jefferson as president in 1800. While American slavery is usually identified with antebellum cotton plantations, Egerton shows that on the eve of the Revolution it encompassed everything from wading in the South Carolina rice fields to carting goods around Manhattan to serving the households of Boston's elite. More important, he recaptures the drama of slaves, freed blacks, and white reformers fighting to make the young nation fulfill its republican slogans. Although this struggle often unfolded in the corridors of

power, Egerton pays special attention to what black Americans did for themselves in these decades, and his narrative brims with compelling portraits of forgotten African American activists and rebels, who battled huge odds and succeeded in finding liberty--if never equality--only in northern states. Egerton concludes that despite the real possibility of peaceful, if gradual, emancipation, the Founders ultimately lacked the courage to end slavery.

From Publishers Weekly

Egerton (*Gabriel's Rebellion*) traverses the rise and the debatable inevitability of slavery in the United States between the end of the Seven Years' War (1763) and Jefferson's election (1800), arguing that the division of the Republic into free wage labor sections and proslavery regions did not have to happen that way. But it did; in spite of the uprisings by Denmark Vesey and Gabriel echoing slogans from the fight for independence, the American Revolution failed to fulfill its promise of freedom. If the territory seems familiar, the author approaches it on a road less traveled, surveying what the revolution meant to black contemporaries: Jefferson's servant Richard responds to the ideological arguments concerning slavery; Quok Walker's successful lawsuit merges with an account of emancipation in the states north of Delaware; Titus, who fought with the Loyalists, leads to the examination of the role of black combatants. Egerton has crammed a great deal of political, legal and social history into this dense but accessible book. He has achieved an extraordinary synthesis, while maintaining a careful attentiveness to regional, even state, differences during this period when the United States was aborning and things might have happened differently. (*Jan.*)

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Reviews

"Slowly, American understanding of the vital Revolutionary era is becoming more open, subtle, and realistic. Douglas Egerton's suggestive book uses real lives to weave surprising new threads into this familiar old flag."--Peter H. Wood, author of *Strange New Land: Africans in Colonial America*

"In this highly readable account Douglas Egerton weaves together the stories of black and white men and women in a seamless and deeply human telling of the American Revolutionary war. Even scholars familiar with the subject matter will find fresh and original insights on virtually every aspect of American Revolutionary history."--Sylvia R. Frey, author of *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age*

Top Reviews from the United States

Jere William Roberson - 5.0 out of 5 stars The Founders' Failures. Black Americans Betrayed---Again

Reviewed in the United States us on April 3, 2014

Verified Purchase

I've taught African American history for more than 40 years. Reading *Death of Liberty* humanized the tragedy of this betrayal for the black men and women who helped with their blood and hearts to create this country. Douglas Egerton's delicate treatment of the sad and painful stories opens the door to a dark past and helps the modern reader realize, if not internalize, just how delicate and vulnerable is a Liberty that was never really believed in. This book will lift you, however, with the understanding of just how much liberty was believed in by African Americans, enough to risk everything to achieve, even if only for a while.

Mary Collins - 1.0 out of 5 stars Not recommended for anyone unfamiliar with early American History

Reviewed in the United States us on February 24, 2012

Verified Purchase

I am currently reading this book and have found it tedious (long, long chapters) and the chapter titles do not stay on the subject. I question statements in the book, such as that Alexander Hamilton had a black child and the author's all-too-often references to the "Republicans" who incidentally didn't even exist during this time period (Democratic Republicans, the party of Jefferson) could easily mislead a reader into thinking that the references are to today's Republican Party. I find descriptions of our forefathers at many times pretentious, judging their motives or psychological processes in light of today's politics. The book has some interesting individual slave histories, and they certainly are to be valued, but I feel that this book has an ideological slant that the unwary reader may not recognize.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/evans/N10229.0001.001/1:2?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>

An address to the inhabitants of the British settlements, on the slavery of the Negroes in America.

To which is added, A vindication of the address,

in answer to a pamphlet entitled, "Slavery not forbidden in Scripture; or, A defence of the West India planters."

Rush, Benjamin, 1746-1813.

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AN ADDRESS, &c.

SO much hath been said upon the subject of Slave-Keeping, that an Apology may be required for this Address. The only one I shall offer is, that the Evil still continues. This may in part be owing to the great attachment we have to our own Interest, and in part, to the subject not being fully exhausted. The design of the following address is to sum up the leading arguments against it, several of which have not been urged by any of those Authors who have written upon it.

Without entering into the History of the facts which relate to the Slave Trade, I shall proceed to combat the principal arguments which are used to support it.

I need hardly say anything in favour of the Intellects of the Negroes, or of their capacities for virtue and happiness, although these have been supposed, by some, to be inferior to

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those of the inhabitants of Europe. The accounts which travelers give us of their ingenuity, humanity, and strong attachment to their parents, relations, friends and country, show us that they are equal to the Europeans, when we allow for the diversity of temper and genius which is occasioned by climate. We have many well-attested anecdotes of as sublime and disinterested virtue among them as ever adorned a Roman or a Christian character. But we are to distinguish between an African in his own country, and an African in a state of slavery in America. Slavery is so foreign to the human mind, that the moral faculties, as well as those of the understanding are debased, and rendered torpid by it. All the vices which are charged upon the Negroes in the southern colonies and the West-Indies, such as Idleness, Treachery, Theft, and the like, are the genuine offspring of slavery, and serve as an argument to prove that they were not intended for it.

Nor let it be said, in the present Age, that their black color (as it is commonly called) either

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subjects them to, or qualifies them for slavery¶. The vulgar notion of their being descended from Cain, who was supposed to have been marked with this color, is too absurd to need a refutation.—Without enquiring into the Cause of this blackness, I shall only add upon this subject, that so far from being a curse, it subjects the Negroes to no inconveniencies,

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but on the contrary qualifies them for that part of the Globe in which providence has placed them. The ravages of heat, diseases and time, appear less in their faces than in a white one; and when we exclude variety of color from our ideas of Beauty, they may be said to possess every thing necessary to constitute it in common with the white people.‡.

It has been urged by the inhabitants of the Sugar Islands and South Carolina, that it would be impossible to carry on the manufactories of Sugar, Rice, and Indigo, without negro slaves. No manufactory can ever be of consequence enough to society to admit the least violation of the Laws of justice or humanity. But I am far from thinking the arguments used in favour of employing Negroes for the cultivation of these articles, should have any Weight.—M. Le Poivre, late envoy from the king of France, to

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the king of Cochin-China, and now intendant of the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, in his observations upon the manners and arts of the various nations in Africa and Asia, speaking of the culture of sugar in Cochin-China, has the following remarks.—"It is worthy observation too, that the sugar cane is there cultivated by freemen, and all the process of preparation and refining, the work of free hands. Compare then the price of the Cochin-Chinese production with the same commodity which is cultivated and prepared by the wretched slaves of our European colonies, and judge if, to procure sugar from our colonies, it was necessary to authorize by law the slavery of the unhappy Africans transported to America. **From what I have observed at Cochin-China, I cannot entertain a doubt, but that our West India colonies, had they been distributed, without reservation amongst a free people, would**

Page 6 NOTE: Compare this with story from Hinton Rowan Helper about the West Indies planter's experience before and after slavery about production and numbers

have produced double the quantity that is now procured from the labour of the unfortunate negroes."

"What advantage, then, has accrued to Europe, civilized as it is, and thoroughly versed in the laws of nature, and the rights of mankind, by legally authorizing in our colonies, the daily outrages against human nature, permitting them to debase man almost below the level of the beasts of the field? These slavish laws have proved as opposite to its interest, as they are to its honour, and to the laws of humanity. This remark I have often made."

"Liberty and property form the basis of abundance, and good agriculture: I never observed it to flourish where those rights of mankind were not firmly established. The earth, which multiplies her productivity with a kind of profusion, under the hands of the free-born labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave. Such is the will of the great Author of our Nature, who has created man free, and assigned to him the earth, that he might cultivate his possession with the

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sweat of his brow; but still should enjoy his Liberty." Now if the plantations in the islands and the southern colonies were more limited, and freemen only employed in working them, the general product would be greater, although the profits to individuals would be less,—a circumstance this, which by diminishing opulence in a few, would suppress Luxury and Vice, and promote that equal

distribution of property, which appears best calculated to promote the welfare of Society.* I know it has been said by some, that none but the natives of warm climates could undergo the

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`excessive heat and labor of the West-India islands. But this argument is founded upon an error; for the reverse of this is true. I have been informed by good authority, that one European who escapes the first or second year, will do twice the work, and live twice the number of years that an ordinary Negro man will do nor need we be surpriz'd at this, when we hear that such is the natural fertility of soil, and so numerous the spontaneous fruits of the earth in the interior parts of Africa, that the natives live in plenty at the expence of little or no labor, which, in warm climates, has ever been found to be incompatible with long life and happiness. Future ages, therefore, when they read the accounts of the Slave Trade (—if they do not regard them as fabulous) — will be at a loss which to condemn most, our folly or our Guilt, in abetting this direct violation of the Laws of nature and Religion.

But there are some who have gone so far as to say that Slavery is not repugnant to the Genius of Christianity, and that it is not forbidden in any part of the Scripture. Natural

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and Revealed Religion always speak the same things, although the latter delivers its precepts with a louder and more distinct voice than the former. If it could be proved that no testimony was to be found in the Bible against a practice so pregnant with evils of the most destructive tendency to society, it would be sufficient to overthrow its divine Original. We read it is true of Abraham's having slaves born in his house; and we have reason to believe, that part of the riches of the patriarchs consisted in them; but we can no more infer the lawfulness of the practice, from the short account which the Jewish historian gives us of these facts, than we can vindicate telling a lie, because Rahab is not condemned for it in the account which is given of her deceiving the king of Jericho. ¶ We read that some of the same men indulged themselves in a plurality of wives, without any strictures being made upon their conduct for it; and yet no one will pretend to say, that this is not forbidden in many parts of the

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Old Testament*. But we are told the Jews kept the Heathens in perpetual bondage. The Design of providence in permitting this evil, was probably to prevent the Jews from marrying amongst strangers, to which their intercourse with them upon any other footing than that of slaves, would naturally have inclined them. Had this taken place—their national religion would have been corrupted—they would have contracted all their vices, and the intention of Providence in keeping them a distant people, in order to accomplish the promise made to Abraham, that "in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed," would have been defeated;

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so that the descent of the Messiah from Abraham, could not have been traced, and the divine commission of the Son of God, would have wanted one of its most powerful argument to support. But with regard to their own countrymen, it is plain, perpetual slavery was not tolerated. Hence, at the end of seven years or in the year of the jubilee, all the Hebrew slaves were set at liberty, and it was held unlawful to detain them in servitude longer than that time, except by their own Consent. But if, in the partial Revelation which God

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made, of his will to the Jews, we find such testimonies against slavery, what may we not expect from the Gospel, the Design of which was to abolish all distinctions of name and county. While the Jews thought

they complied with the precepts of the law, in confining the love of their neighbour "to the children of their own people," Christ commands us to look upon all mankind even our Enemies as our neighbours and brethren, and "in all things, to do unto them whatever we would wish they should do unto us." He tells us further that his "Kingdom is not of this World," and therefore constantly avoids saying anything that might interfere directly with the Roman or Jewish Governments: and although he does not call upon masters to emancipate their slaves, or slaves to assert that Liberty wherewith God and Nature had made them free, yet there is scarcely a parable or a sermon in the whole history of his life, but what contains the strongest arguments against Slavery. Every prohibition

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of Covetousness—Intemperance—Pride—Uncleanness—Theft—and Murder, which he delivered,—every lesson of meekness, humility, forbearance, Charity, Self-denial, and brotherly-love, which he taught, are levelled against this evil;—for Slavery, while it includes all the former Vices, necessarily excludes the practice of all the latter Virtues, both from the Master and the Slave.—Let such, therefore, who vindicate the traffic of buying and selling; Souls, seek some modern System of Religion to support it, and not presume to sanctify their crimes by attempting to reconcile it to the sublime and perfect Religion of the Great Author of Christianity.*

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There are some amongst us who cannot help allowing the force of our last argument, but plead as a motive for importing and keeping slaves, that they become acquainted with the principles of the religion of our country.—This is like justifying a highway robbery because part

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of the money acquired in this manner was appropriated to some religious use.—Christianity will never be propagated by any other methods than those employed by Christ and his Apostles. Slavery is an engine as little fitted for that purpose as Fire or the Sword. A Christian Slave is a contradiction in terms. § But if we enquire into the methods employed for converting the Negroes to Christianity, we shall find the means suited to the end proposed. In many places Sunday is appropriated to work for themselves, reading and writing are discouraged among them. A belief is even inculcated amongst some, that they have no Souls. In a word,—Every attempt to instruct or convert them, has

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been constantly opposed by their masters. Nor has the example of their christian masters any tendency to prejudice them in favor of our religion. How often do they betray, in their sudden transports of anger and resentment, (against which there is no restraint provided towards their Negroes) the most violent degrees of passion and fury!—What luxury—what ingratitude to the supreme being—what impiety in their ordinary conversation do some of them discover in the presence of their slaves! I say nothing of the dissolution of marriage vows, or the entire abolition of matrimony, which the frequent sale of them introduces, and which are directly contrary to the laws of nature and the principles of christianity. Would to Heaven I could here conceal the shocking violations of chastity, which some of them are obliged to undergo without daring to complain. Husbands have been forced to prostitute their wives, and mothers their daughters to gratify the brutal lust of a master. This—all—this is practised—Blush—ye impure and hardened wretches, while I repeat it—by men who call themselves christians!

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But further—It has been said that we do a kindness to the Negroes by bringing them to America, as we thereby save their lives, which had been forfeited by their being conquered in war*. Let such as prefer or

inflict slavery rather than Death, disown their being descended from or connected with our mother countries.—But it will be found upon enquiry, that many are stolen or seduced from their friends who have never been conquered; and it is plain, from the testimony of historians and travellers,

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that wars were uncommon among them, until the christians who began the slave trades stirred up the different nations to fight against each other. Sooner let them imbrue their hands in each others blood, or condemn one another to perpetual slavery, than the name of one christian, or one American, be stained by the perpetration of such enormous crimes.

Nor let it be urged that by treating slaves well, we render their situation happier in this Country, than it was in their own.—Slavery and Vice are connected together, and the latter is always a source of misery. Besides, by the greatest humanity we can show them, we only lessen, but do not remove the crime, for the injustice of it continues the same. The laws of retribution are so strongly inculcated by the moral governor of the world, that even the ox is entitled to his reward for "treading the Corn." How great then must be the amount of that injustice, which deprives so many of our fellow creatures of the Just reward of their.

But it will be asked here, What steps shall we take to remedy this Evil, and what shall

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we do with those Slaves we have already in this Country? This is indeed a most difficult question. ' But let every man contrive to answer it for himself. —

The first thing I would recommend to put a stop to slavery in this country, is to leave off importing slaves. For this purpose let our assemblies unite in petitioning the king and parliament to dissolve the African committee of merchants: It is by them that the trade is chiefly carried on to America. We have the more reason to expect relief from an application at this juncture, as by a late decision in favor of a Virginia slave in Westminster-Hall, the Clamors of the whole nation are raised against them. Let such of our countrymen as engage in the slave trade, be shunned as the greatest enemies to our country, and let the vessels which bring the slaves to us, be avoided as if they bore in them the Seeds of that forbidden fruit, whose baneful taste destroyed both the natural and moral world.— As for the Negroes among us, who, from having acquired all the low vices of slavery, or who from age or

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infirmities are unfit to be set at liberty, I would propose, for the good of society, that they should continue the property of those with whom they grew old, or from whom they contracted those vices and infirmities. But let the young Negroes be educated in the principles of virtue and religion—let them be taught to read, and write—and afterwards instructed in some business, whereby they may be able to maintain themselves. Let laws be made to limit the time of their servitude, and to entitle them to all the privileges of free-born British subjects. At any rate let Retribution be to done God and to Society *

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And now my countrymen, What shall I add more to rouse up your Indignation against Slave keeping. Consider the many complicated crimes it involves in it. Think of the bloody Wars which are fomented by it, among the African nations, or if these are too common to affect you,

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think of the pangs which attend the dissolution of the ties of nature in those who are stolen from their relations. Think of the many thousands who perish by sickness, melancholy, and suicide, in their voyages

to America. Pursue the poor devoted victims to one of the West India islands, and see them exposed there to public sale. Hear their cries, and see their looks of tenderness at each other, upon being seperated.—Mothers are torn from their Daughters, and Brothers from Brothers, without the liberty of a parting embrace. Their master's name is now marked upon their breasts with a red hot iron. But let us pursue them into a Sugar Field: and behold a scene still more affecting than this—See! the poor wretches with what reluctance they take their instruments of labor into their hands,—Some of them, overcome with heat and sickness, seek to refresh themselves by a little rest.—But, behold an Overseer approaches them—In vain they sue for pity.—He lifts up his Whip, while streams of Blood follow every stroke. Neither age nor sex are spared.—Methinks one of them is woman far advanced in her pregnancy.—At a little distance from these

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behold a man, who from his countenance and deportment appears as if he was descended from illustrious ancestors—Yes—He is the son of a Prince, and was torn by a stratagem, from an amiable wife and two young children.—Mark his sullen looks!—now he bids defiance to the tyranny of his Master, and in an instant—plunges a Knife into his Heart.—But let us return from this Scene, and see the various modes of arbitrary punishments inflicted upon them by their masters. Behold one covered with stripes, into which melted wax is poured—another tied down to a block or a stake—a third suspended in the air by his thumbs—a fourth—I cannot relate it.—Where now is Law or Justice?—Let us fly to them to step in for their relief.—Alas!—The one is silent, and the other denounces more terrible, punishments upon them. Let us attend the place appointed for inflicting the penalties of the law. See here one without a limb, whose only crime was an attempt to regain his Liberty.—another led to a Gallows for stealing a morsel of Bread, to which his labor gave him a better

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title than his master—a third famishing on a gibbet—a fourth, in a flame of Fire! his shrieks pierce the very heavens.—O! God! where is thy Vengeance!—O! Humanity—Justice—Liberty—Religion!—Where,—where are ye fled.—

This is no exaggerated Picture. It is taken from real Life.—Before I conclude I shall take the liberty of addressing several Classes of my countrymen in behalf of our Brethren (for by that name may we now call them) who are in a state of Slavery amongst us.

In the first place let MAGISTRATES both supreme and inferior, exert the authority they are invested with, in suppressing this evil. Let them discountenance it by their example, and show a readiness to concur in every measure proposed to remedy it.

Let LEGISLATORS, reflect upon the trust reposed in them. Let their laws be made after the Spirit of Religion—Liberty—and our most excellent English Constitution. You cannot show your attachment to your King, or your love to your country better, than by suppressing an evil which endangers the dominions of the

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former, and will in Time destroy the liberty of the latter. * Population, and the accession of strangers, in which the Riches of all countries consist, can only flourish in proportion as slavery is discouraged. Extend the privileges we enjoy, to every human creature born amongst us, and let not the Journals of our Assemblies be disgraced with the records of laws, which allow exclusive privileges to men of one color in preference to another. ¶

Ye men of SENSE and VIRTUE—Ye ADVOCATES

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for American Liberty, rouse up and espouse; the cause of Humanity and general Liberty. Bear a testimony against a vice which degrades human nature, and dissolves that universal tie of benevolence which should connect all the children of men together in one great Family.—The plant of liberty is of so tender a Nature, that it cannot thrive long in the neighbourhood of slavery. Remember the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon you, to preserve an asylum for freedom in this country, after the last pillars of it are fallen in every other quarter of the Globe.

But chiefly—ye MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL, whose dominion over the principles and actions of men is so universally acknowledged and felt,—Ye who estimate the worth of your fellow creatures by their Immortality, and therefore must look upon all mankind as equal,—let your zeal keep pace with your opportunities to put a stop to slavery. While you enforce the duties of "tithes and cummins," neglect not the weightier laws of justice and humanity. Slavery is an Hydra sin, and includes in it every violation of the precepts of the Law and the

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Gospel. In vain will you command your flocks to offer up the incense of Faith and Charity, while they continue to mingle the Sweat and blood of Negro slaves with their sacrifices.—If the Blood of Able cried aloud for vengeance;—If, under the Jewish dispensation, Cities of refuge could not screen the deliberate murderer—if even manslaughter required sacrifices to expiate it,—and if a single murder so seldom escapes with impunity in any civilized country, what may you not say against that trade, or those manufactures—or Laws, § which destroy the lives of so many thousands of our fellow creatures every year?—If in the Old Testament "God swears by his holiness, and by the excellency of Jacob, that the Earth shall tremble and every one mourn that dwelleth therein

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for the iniquity of those who oppress the poor and crush the needy," who buy the poor with silver, and the needy with a pair of shoes, what judgments may you not denounce upon those who continue to perpetrate these crimes, after the more full discovery which God has made of the law of Equity in the New-Testament. Put them in mind of the Rod which was held over them a few years ago in the Stamp, and Revenue Acts. Remember that national crimes require national punishments, and without declaring what punishment awaits this evil, you may venture to assure them, that it cannot pass with impunity, unless God shall cease to be just or merciful.

THE END.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Age_of_Discovery

Age of Discovery

The Age of Discovery or the Age of Exploration, part of the early modern period and largely overlapping with the Age of Sail, was a period from approximately the 15th century to the 17th century, during which seafarers from a number of European countries explored, colonized, and conquered regions across the globe.

The extensive overseas exploration, particularly the European colonisation of the Americas, with the Portuguese and Spanish at the forefront, later joined by the Dutch, English, and French, marked an increased adoption of colonialism as a government policy in several European states. As such, it is sometimes synonymous with the first wave of European colonization.

European exploration outside the Mediterranean started with the maritime expeditions of Portugal to the Canary Islands in 1336,[1] and later with the Portuguese discoveries of the Atlantic archipelagos of Madeira and Azores, the coast of West Africa in 1434, and the establishment of the sea route to India in 1498 by Vasco da Gama, which initiated the Portuguese maritime and trade presence in Kerala and the Indian Ocean.[2][3]

A main event in the Age of Discovery took place when Spain made the transatlantic voyages of Christopher Columbus between 1492 and 1504, which saw the beginning of the colonization of the Americas. Years later, the Spanish Magellan expedition made the first circumnavigation of the globe between 1519 and 1522, which was regarded as a major achievement in seamanship, and had a significant impact on the European understanding of the world. These discoveries led to numerous naval expeditions across the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans, and land expeditions in the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Australia that continued into the late 19th century, followed by the exploration of the polar regions in the 20th century.

European overseas exploration led to the rise of international trade and the European colonial empires, with the contact between the Old World (Europe, Asia, and Africa) and the New World (the Americas), as well as Australia, producing the Columbian exchange, a wide transfer of plants, animals, food, human populations (including slaves), communicable diseases, and culture between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. The Age of Discovery and later European exploration allowed the mapping of the world, resulting in a new worldview and distant civilizations coming into contact. At the same time, new diseases were propagated, decimating populations not previously in contact with the Old World, particularly concerning Native Americans. The era saw widespread enslavement, exploitation and military conquest of native populations concurrent with the growing economic influence and spread of European culture and technology.

Concept

... the beginnings of that close association of science, technology, and everyday work which is an essential characteristic of the modern western world." Anthony Pagden draws on the work of Edmundo O'Gorman for the statement that "For all Europeans, the events of October 1492 constituted a 'discovery'. Something of which they had no prior knowledge had suddenly presented itself to their gaze." O'Gorman argues further that the physical and geographical encounter with new territories was less important than the Europeans' effort to integrate this new knowledge into their worldview, what he calls "the invention of America". Pagden examines **the origins of the terms "discovery" and "invention". In English, "discovery" and its forms in the romance languages derive from "disco-operio, meaning to uncover, to reveal, to expose to the gaze" with the implicit idea that what was revealed existed previously.** Few Europeans during the period of explorations used the term "invention" for the European encounters, with the notable exception of Martin Waldseemüller, whose map first used the term "America".

A central legal concept of the Discovery Doctrine, expounded by the United States Supreme Court in 1823, draws on assertions of European powers' right to claim land during their explorations. The concept of "discovery" been used to enforce colonial claiming and the age of discovery, but has been also vocally challenged by indigenous peoples] and researchers. Many indigenous peoples have fundamentally challenged the concept and colonial claiming of "discovery" over their lands and people as forced and negating indigenous presence.

Medieval European travel (1241–1438)

Atlantic Ocean (1419–1507)

From the 8th century until the 15th century, the Republic of Venice and neighboring maritime republics held the monopoly of European trade with the Middle East. The silk and spice trade, involving spices, incense, herbs, drugs and opium, made these Mediterranean city-states phenomenally rich. Spices were among the most expensive and demanded products of the Middle Ages, as they were used in medieval medicine, religious rituals, cosmetics, perfumery, as well as food additives and preservatives. They were all imported from Asia and Africa.

Muslim traders—mainly descendants of Arab sailors from Yemen and Oman—dominated maritime routes throughout the Indian Ocean, tapping source regions in the Far East and shipping for trading emporiums in India, mainly Kozhikode, westward to Ormus in the Persian Gulf and Jeddah in the Red Sea. From there, overland routes led to the Mediterranean coasts. Venetian merchants distributed the goods through Europe until the rise of the Ottoman Empire, that eventually led to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, barring Europeans from important combined-land-sea routes in areas around the Aegean, Bosphorus, and Black Sea. The Venetians and other Italian Maritime Republics maintained some, more limited, access to Asian goods, via south-eastern Mediterranean trade, in such ports as Antioch, Acre, and Alexandria.

Forced to reduce their activities in the Black Sea, and at war with Venice, the Genoese had turned to North African trade of wheat, olive oil (valued also as an energy source) and a search for silver and gold. Europeans had a constant deficit in silver and gold, as coin only went one way: out, spent on eastern trade that was now cut off. Several European mines were exhausted, the lack of bullion leading to the development of a complex banking system to manage the risks in trade (the very first state bank, Banco di San Giorgio, was founded in 1407 at Genoa). Sailing also into the ports of Bruges (Flanders) and England, Genoese communities were then established in Portugal, who profited from their enterprise and financial expertise.

European sailing had been primarily close to land cabotage, guided by portolan charts. These charts specified proven ocean routes guided by coastal landmarks: sailors departed from a known point, followed a compass heading, and tried to identify their location by its landmarks. For the first oceanic exploration Western Europeans used the compass, as well as progressive new advances in cartography and astronomy. Arab navigational tools like the astrolabe and quadrant were used for celestial navigation.

Portuguese exploration

In 1297, King Dinis of Portugal took personal interest in exports. In 1317, he made an agreement with Genoese merchant sailor Manuel Pessanha (Pessagno), appointing him first admiral of the Portuguese Navy, with the goal of defending the country against Muslim pirate raids. Outbreaks of bubonic plague led to severe depopulation in the second half of the 14th century: only the sea offered alternatives, with most population settling in fishing and trading coastal areas. Between 1325 and 1357, Afonso IV of Portugal encouraged maritime commerce and ordered the first explorations.[80] The Canary Islands, already known to the Genoese, were claimed as officially discovered under patronage of the Portuguese but in 1344 Castile disputed them, expanding their rivalry into the sea.

To ensure their monopoly on trade, Europeans (beginning with the Portuguese) attempted to install a Mediterranean system of trade which used military might and intimidation to divert trade through ports they controlled; there it could be taxed. In 1415, Ceuta was conquered by the Portuguese aiming to control navigation of the African coast. Young prince Henry the Navigator was there and became aware of profit possibilities in the Trans-Saharan trade routes. For centuries slave and gold trade routes linking West Africa with the Mediterranean passed over the Western Sahara Desert, controlled by the Moors of North Africa.

Henry wished to know how far Muslim territories in Africa extended, hoping to bypass them and trade directly with West Africa by sea, find allies in legendary Christian lands to the south like the long-lost Christian kingdom of Prester John[85] and to probe whether it was possible to reach the Indies by sea, the source of the lucrative spice trade. He invested in sponsoring voyages down the coast of Mauritania, gathering a group of merchants, shipowners and stakeholders interested in new sea lanes. Soon the Atlantic islands of Madeira (1419) and the Azores (1427) were reached. In particular, they were discovered by voyages launched by the command of Prince Henry the Navigator. The expedition leader himself, who established settlements on the island of Madeira, was Portuguese explorer João Gonçalves Zarco.

At the time, Europeans did not know what lay beyond Cape Non (Cape Chaunar) on the African coast, and whether it was possible to return once it was crossed. Nautical myths warned of oceanic monsters or an edge of the world, but Prince Henry's navigation challenged such beliefs: starting in 1421, systematic sailing overcame it, reaching the difficult Cape Bojador that in 1434 one of Prince Henry's captains, Gil Eanes, finally passed.

From 1440 onwards, caravels were extensively used for the exploration of the coast of Africa. This was an existing Iberian ship type, used for fishing, commerce and some military purposes. Unlike some other vessels of the time, the caravel had a sternpost mounted rudder (as opposed to a side-mounted steering oar, as was seen, for instance, on the Mediterranean barque). It had a shallow draft, which was helpful in exploring unknown coastlines. It had good sailing performance, with a windward ability that was particularly notable by the standards of the time.[b] The lateen rig was less useful when sailing downwind – which explains Christopher Columbus (Italian: Cristoforo Colombo) re-rigging the Niña with square rig.

<https://www.nas.org/blogs/article/america-wasnt-founded-on-white-supremacy>

America Wasn't Founded on White Supremacy

By Lucas Morel, October 21, 2019

Hannah-Jones ably informs us of many important contributions that blacks have made to America's political and cultural prosperity. But she unfortunately excludes significant facts that would ruin her disingenuous argument about the American Founders and their most exemplary defender, Abraham Lincoln.

Hannah-Jones's mistake is to interpret American history as a zero-sum narrative, wherein the recovered strivings of black folk must displace the recorded achievements of white folk. What we need is a more capacious revision of American history—one that incorporates the heroic participation and fealty of black Americans while also acknowledging the Founders' efforts to establish a free society in a land accustomed to racial slavery. Instead, Hannah-Jones's "history" is riddled with half-truths, overstatements, out-of-context quotations, and just plain falsehoods about the founding and Lincoln. She distorts our past and undermines our common understanding of how we strove as a diverse people to align our practices with our noblest professions.

The strangest thing about the essay is the claim that transplanted Africans and their descendants were the key to American greatness. Hannah-Jones cites no African principles of self-government or ideals of humanity when she quotes the famous pronouncements of the Declaration of Independence. She merely asserts that "black Americans, as much as those men cast in alabaster in the nation's capital, are this nation's true 'founding fathers.'"

Ironically, however, even in this warped retelling, black Americans' principal means of saving white Americans from their worst selves was not anything African but the quintessentially American ideals of human equality and natural rights. For example, Hannah-Jones lambasts "Jefferson's fellow white colonists" for establishing "a network of laws and customs" in order to perpetuate slavery. But she omits the fact that between 1781 and 1783, Massachusetts abolished slavery when slaves sued for their freedom on the basis of the state's own constitution. That document asserts in its Declaration of Rights that "all men are born free and equal." Do the courts of Massachusetts, relying upon the Massachusetts Constitution, count as part of that "network of laws and customs"? Massachusetts was one of several American colonies, including Virginia, that attempted to prevent the importation of slaves only to see those efforts rebuffed by Great Britain. King George III's 1770 veto of American bans on slave importation made it considerably more difficult for colonists to wean themselves off of the peculiar institution. Jefferson actually included this accusation against the king in his original draft of the Declaration of Independence. The charge was only deleted by the Second Continental Congress because it did not apply to every American colony.

Despite this evidence of colonial resistance to slavery, Hannah-Jones somehow maintains that "one of the primary reasons the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain was because they wanted to protect the institution of slavery." Of course, there's not a word about that in the Declaration of Independence. Nor can she explain why six of the original thirteen American states abolished slavery in the decade and a half after the 1783 Treaty of Paris formally ended the war for American independence. Purely because slavery was not immediately abolished upon the war's end, Hannah-Jones concludes that "slavocracy" better describes the American founding than "democracy."

<https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/08/1619-project-new-york-times-king-cotton-thesis/>

How the 1619 Project Rehabilitates the 'King Cotton' Thesis

By PHILLIP MAGNESS, August 26, 2019, 6:30 AM

"... say that cotton is king, and that he waves his scepter not only over these 33 states, but over the island of Great Britain and over continental Europe!" So thundered Senator Louis T. Wigfall of Texas in December 1860, as an intended warning to those who doubted the economic viability of secessionism. Like many southerners, Wigfall subscribed to the "King Cotton" thesis: the belief that slave-produced cotton commanded a controlling position over the American economy and indeed the world's commercial engines. Developed in the 1850s by political economist David Christy and championed by the radical pro-slavery politician James Henry Hammond, that argument was to be the nascent Confederacy's trump card — an engine of global wealth in which all other economic activities were intertwined. Indeed, no nation would dare make war upon plantation slavery, for if the South suspended its production, in the words of Hammond, "we could bring the whole world to our feet."

The strategy failed. The secessionists effectively self-embargoed what remained of their export crop in the wake of the war's physical destruction and the Union's blockade, and attempts to draw the European powers into the war on the Confederacy's behalf were unsuccessful. King Cotton, in practice, proved nothing more than part self-delusion and part racist propaganda to rationalize the supposed economic necessity of chattel slavery. Modern empirical analysis has similarly debunked its claims: **As Harvard economist Nathan Nunn [has demonstrated](#), a strong negative relationship exists between the historical existence of slavery in a county or state and its level of income, persisting to the present day.**

Yet despite its historical untenability, the economic reasoning behind King Cotton has undergone a surprising — perhaps unwitting — rehabilitation through a modern genre of scholarly works known as the new history of capitalism (NHC).

<https://www.aier.org/article/the-1619-project-debate-a-bibliography/>

The 1619 Project Debate: A Bibliography

Phillip W. Magness – January 3, 2020

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0144039X.2022.2041316> - html

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/0144039X.2022.2041316?needAccess=true&role=button> - PDF

How Much Do We Really Know About Somerset v. Stewart (1772)?

The Missing Evidence of Contemporary Newspapers

David Worrall, Pages 574-593 | Published online: 19 Feb 2022

ABSTRACT

This essay examines contemporary English newspapers as sources for **Somerset v. Stewart (1772)**, the landmark trial of the slave, James Somerset. The trial, on a habeas corpus contested by Charles Stewart, Somerset's alleged owner, was headed by William Murray, Lord Mansfield, and ended in Somerset's discharge. Newspaper coverage, which often produced partial verbatim transcripts, has been neglected. Most citations rely on Folarin Olawale Shyllon. Today, only the transcripts of William Isaac Blanchard and Capel Lofft (edited by Andrew Lyall) are considered canonical. This essay argues that contemporary newspaper reports amount to a virtually parallel version of the trial, differing in major respects from Blanchard and Lofft. A newspaper (not reproduced in Lyall) provides the sole source for the 9 May hearing. A report in The Middlesex Journal cites an authority, Sir Robert Raymond, who does not appear in extant copies of the verdict, a ruling which has been the subject of exhaustive examination by scholars.

The Verdict: 22 June 1772

With one potentially significant exception, press sources for the verdict are simpler to describe. To add to The General Evening Post version reproduced in Lyall can be added further printings in The Public Advertiser and The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer (Lyall pp 226–227). Footnote 62

There were, however, two other short reports of the verdict which did not attempt to offer verbatim transcripts of the judgement. The first, which appeared in The Morning Chronicle and The London Chronicle, comprises one of only two accounts reporting the presence of Black people in the King's Bench courtroom. Footnote 63 The other, in The Middlesex Journal, also referred to the presence of Black people, but made a previously unreported allusion to Mansfield's citation in the verdict of a judgement by Robert Raymond, 1st Baron Raymond. Footnote 64

The Middlesex Journal is unambiguous in its interpretation of the verdict ('every slave brought into this country ought to be free, and that no master had a right to sell them here') yet also precise in understanding that its scope meant no more than 'here,' in 'this country.' Readers would have had no difficulty comprehending these terms. More formidable for the lay reader was likely to have been the article's allusion in Mansfield's preamble to 'an action of Trover,' a legal action a slave 'owner might bring,' referenced to a ruling by Lord Hardwicke in 1749 (Lyall p 221). 'An action of Trover' promised no more than allowing the possibility of a prosecution against the financial loss of a slave's 'service' caused

by third party appropriation. Footnote 65 It is to this now obsolete law that Raymond's precedent was linked. The potential felony was an abstraction of goods or services (in trover law, a 'conversion,' such as an act of refusal to give up detained goods). In such actions, compensation could be sought by putting a value on a slave's labour ('his service'), not the ownership of the slave's body. When The Middlesex Journal wrote that Mansfield 'quoted several precedents of Lord Raymond and Lord Hardwicke,' it connected the trover issue to cases ruled by Hardwicke and Raymond. The reference to Hardwicke is straightforward to explain since The Middlesex Journal commented directly on the trover issue. However, the only extant allusions during the Somerset trial to Raymond were several citations made by Serjeant Davy during the 7 February hearing (Lyll pp 179–181). Footnote 66 Given the syntactic and semantic dysfluency of Blanchard's transcript, it is difficult to reconstruct reliably what weight or meaning Davy wished to attach to Raymond's rulings although most of them appear to allude to trover case history, implying their relevance to Hardwicke's judgements.

Nevertheless, it seems scarcely credible that the anonymous Middlesex Journal reporter, writing in late June 1772, intended to refer newspaper readers back to the middle of a debate which happened the previous February. Yet the newspaper was convinced that Mansfield cited Raymond when he delivered the verdict. Its report raises the possibility that all extant transcripts of the Somerset verdict (since they copy each other to a considerable degree) are incomplete or otherwise deficient in their citation of the cases and precedents which helped Mansfield determine the ruling.

Of course, the figure missing from these newspaper reports (as well as from Blanchard and Lofft) is any sighting of Somerset himself. This was a white courtroom. It seems likely Somerset appeared to the (white) newspaper reporters in King's Bench as a 'Black,' undifferentiated amongst so many 'sable countenances.'

Conclusion

Blanchard and Lofft have no official status as courtroom documents. Their authority derives entirely from their inclusion within a pre-existing *Somerset v. Stewart* canon. This canon has largely ignored the evidence offered by the contemporary newspapers who sent their representatives to the hearings, transcribed some of the speeches and commented editorially on the proceedings. The inconsistencies and anomalies between them and the evidence afforded by the newspapers has the potential to alter or even disable previous understandings of the case. Nothing in Blanchard or Lofft quite captures the newspapers' description of the intensity of the questioning of Wallace, or the impact of Dunning's disclosure of a pro-slavery 'anonymous correspondent,' or Mansfield's persistent disquiet about whether Stewart was mobilizing in combination with others. Neither do Blanchard and Lofft convey courtroom humour or Mansfield's maneuvering to isolate Stewart's case as one restricted to a decision on a habeas corpus. Perhaps more significantly, in a scholarly context where the final verdict has been examined and re-examined many times, nothing will be so unsettling as The Middlesex Journal's allusion to Baron Raymond, a citation not in Lyll but foreshadowed in Blanchard's 7 February transcript, a hearing which has itself received limited critical attention. The question must now be asked whether anything else is missing? The evidence presented here makes it untenable to ignore the newspapers as significant sources for *Somerset v. Stewart*.

Can a non-white person become a true European if he adapts to the culture and language?

1 - Mats Andersson - Visited 24 European countries Sun 9 July 2023

Ask this guy.



His ancestry was 75% French, 25% African. Most people would describe him as “non-White”. His father was a French general, with 50% African ancestry, and most people would describe him as Black with no

additional qualifiers, although he was at the time probably usually referred to as “Creole” – European and African in more or less equal parts.

This is **Alexandre Dumas**, author of *The Three Musketeers* and *The Count of Monte Christo*, among numerous others.

I dare say that he not as much “adapted to” European culture as “co-created” European culture. Hardly a word has been written on the continent since that has not in some manner, even if small and indirect, been influenced by what he wrote.

2 - Maya Deva Kniese - Gifted parent of a gifted child 23h 9 July 2023

In order to be considered European, you need to...

1. Live and have citizenship* in a European country.

Having been born in Ghana by a Japanese mother and a Maori father is 100% irrelevant.**

If you don't adopt the local culture and don't learn the local language people will (after a grace period during which you are supposed to be learning) look down on you, but that's a different matter. It's your behaviour, not your skin colour that causes this.

*If you have dual citizenship and do not *consider* yourself European, people will respect this and consider you an outsider as per your wishes.

**We do have racists here who feel it does matter, but that's because they are, well, racists.

3 - Lee Coppack - Writer and Editor at Freelancers (1993–present) 18h 9 July 2023

Well, I guess becoming Prime Minister, the Mayor of London or the first Minister of Scotland is a pretty good indication of being a true European. And yes, the UK is still a European country.

[NOTE: referring to Rishi Sunak]

4 - Joe Coosse - Citizen of an EU country 19h 9 July 2023

There are literally millions of non-white Europeans who really are Europeans.

It's less about the skin colour than about the environment in which you grew up. A black person whose family has been in Europe for several generations is always going to be much more European than a white one who just got off the boat.

Not that racism doesn't mean exist; sadly, it does. But the view that if you aren't white, you can never be European is completely off the mark.

5 - Victor Lopes - Studied at National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations Sun 9 July 2023

A very “American” question.

My reply as European is: yes anyone can become a true European regardless of his/her ethnic background.

The prime minister of my country has Goan roots. Some members of his cabinet are black African. No one in Portugal really cares about the color of the skin of their politicians. They care about their actions and how our tax money is spent.

6 - David Evans - Lives in Taunton, Somerset (2013–present) Fri 7 July 2023

Europe is full of people who are not “white” and are not just European but at fully considered as people of the countries they were born and raised in as well as some people who migrated here.

By the way, using terms like White, non-white, people of colour, and other similar terms, will mark you out as an evil racist here, so unless that is how you self identify, I would not bother to try grouping people that way.

7 - Philip Scheffers - Chef (2008–present) 7h 10 July 2023

Yes, of course. In fact many non-white people have directly contributed to European culture and language.

I would take it a step further and presume that **if you are even asking this question you are not a European, but an American or at the very least have been engrossed in far too much American-centric media.**

“white” is an American notion, and as a European I would very much appreciate it if you kept that nonsense on your end of the pond, thanks!

8 - Daniel Šlechta - Technology pays my bills, Humanities fill my heart. 7y 2016

Is it common for Europeans to call themselves "white" people?

Originally Answered: Is it common for Europeans to call themselves as a "white" person?

Europeans do use categories and racial constructs, but not as often as Americans. The "nationality" label is used more often.

For example, in my country (Czech republic) we have a strong minority of Vietnamese people, but almost no one would refer to them as Asians... We would simply call them Vietnamese people, or perhaps Czechs of Vietnamese origin. And the Czech majority is most likely to call themselves Czech, not white. Like 95% of the time I hear people here referring to themselves as "white" it has some racist connotation or context.

It sometimes even seems funny to me how often Americans feel the need to point out or talk about someone's race or ethnicity. I mean like literally all the time.

We don't usually do that in Europe that often. It's not rude to talk about racial issues and topics here, but pointing out that an individual is of this or that race/ethnicity is not always very appropriate.

9 - Jens Böttiger - Technical Writer at Manpower Group (company) (2018–present)6y

Do Europeans primarily identify as "whites," or with specific national, by ethnic and/or linguistic affiliations, or by other means of identity?

Originally Answered: Which way do Europeans primarily identify? As "whites", or with specific national, ethnic and/or linguistic affiliations? Or any other means of identity, of course.

This is very American.

Europeans identify ethno-linguistically.

Depending on how centralized their government is and how nationalism has shaped their identity.

A French person will identify first as French, then as whatever else they are, that being Occitan, Britannic, Norman, Basque, or maybe Alsatian. This is because France has been a highly centralized polity for about a thousand years.

I'm from Germany, and the most foundational carrier of your identity there is based on the language you speak, as that is the main thing that ties you to your tribe (Volkstamm). My mother tongue is Swabian. Other German languages are Bavarian, Franconian, Upper Saxon, Plattdeutsch (Low Saxon), and Friesian. These are not generally mutually intelligible when spoken at full depth. All of these have many dialects

within them that largely do not have names other than the geographic location where they are spoken, and are sometimes also not very mutually intelligible. For example, High Alemannic and northern Swabian. It's not easy.

Second comes national identity, which is based on simply being descended from one of the German tribes that make up modern Germany. German national identity is based on blood, which I understand is offensive to Americans because it's not exactly the same as how they choose to run their country.

This makes for interesting expressions of racism that are less based on skin color, hence the essential lack of "whiteness" as an identity. You'll note that the most egregious and severe examples of racism in Germany targeted other types of white people. Primarily Slavs (Poles, Ukrainians, Belarussians, and Russians), and European Jews. Even the Nazis weren't interested in their skin tone, else they might not have killed as many. They considered the people of Iran and India to be their natural allies, for example.

This is because unlike the British who conquered half the planet, Germans and other central Europeans were busy fighting other Europeans, and thus developed ways to be racist against other white people, instead of against irrelevantly far away brown people. Except maybe Turks. They invaded so often over 400 years that they were pretty relevant. And there's lots of racism against them.

<https://www.amazon.com/Origins-Slavery-Oxford-Bibliographies-Research-ebook/dp/B003UYUTL8> - Kindle link

Origins of Slavery: Oxford Bibliographies Online Research Guide

(Oxford Bibliographies Online Research Guides)

by Michael Guasco

This ebook is a selective guide designed to help scholars and students of the ancient world find reliable sources of information by directing them to the best available scholarly materials in whatever form or format they appear from books, chapters, and journal articles to online archives, electronic data sets, and blogs. Written by a leading international authority on the subject, the ebook provides bibliographic information supported by direct recommendations about which sources to consult and editorial commentary to make it clear how the cited sources are interrelated.

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<https://www.amazon.com/Jewish-Pirates-Caribbean-Edward-Kritzler-ebook/dp/B00L6JD6G4> - Kindle link

Jewish Pirates of the Caribbean:

How a Generation of Swashbuckling Jews Carved Out an Empire in the New World in Their Quest for Treasure, Religious Freedom and Revenge
by Edward Kritzler

A history of Sephardic Jews in the New World, involving intrigue, horror, defeat, survival, and victory over the Spanish Inquisition.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the Spanish Inquisition forced many Jews to flee the country. The most adventurous among them took to the high seas as freewheeling outlaws. In ships bearing names such as the *Prophet Samuel*, *Queen Esther*, and *Shield of Abraham*, they attacked and plundered the Spanish fleet while forming alliances with other European powers to ensure the safety of Jews living in hiding.

Jewish Pirates of the Caribbean is the entertaining saga of a hidden chapter in Jewish history and of the cruelty, terror, and greed that flourished during the Age of Discovery. Readers will meet such daring figures as “the Great Jewish Pirate” Sinan, Barbarossa’s second-in-command; the pirate rabbi Samuel Palache, who founded Holland’s Jewish community; Abraham Cohen Henriques, an arms dealer who used his cunning and economic muscle to find safe havens for other Jews; and his pirate brother Moses, who is credited with the capture of the Spanish silver fleet in 1628—the largest heist in pirate history.

Filled with high-sea adventures—including encounters with Captain Morgan and other legendary pirates—and detailed portraits of cities stacked high with plunder, such as Port Royal, Jamaica, *Jewish Pirates of the Caribbean* captures a gritty and glorious era of history from an unusual and eye-opening perspective.

Praise for *Jewish Pirates of the Caribbean*

“[Kritzler] covers an impressive interdisciplinary range—combining politics, economics and religion—that should satisfy fans of religious history and swashbuckling true stories.” —*Publishers Weekly*

“Kritzler captures the spirit of that violent, lawless epoch and combines it with an interesting ethnic perspective.” —*Booklist*

“Kritzler’s intellectual odyssey . . . shares various sagas of individual Jews who took to the sea as pirates, or masterminded the pirate operations from land. . . . The material is so rich that the book is never boring.” —*San Francisco Chronicle*

“Surprising adventures on the high seas with some rogues of the Diaspora.” —*Kirkus Reviews*

Editorial Reviews

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Chapter One: COLUMBUS AND JAMAICA'S CHOSEN PEOPLE

May 1504, Santa Gloria, Jamaica: For nearly a year, Columbus had been stranded in Jamaica with a hoard of gold, a mutinous crew, and a few dozen teenage loyalists, some of whom were secret Jews. Alone, melancholy, and confined to his cabin by gout, the great explorer wrote his patron Queen Isabella a despairing letter. He feared that even if he defeated the mutineers, the governor of Santo Domingo, who had promised to send a rescue ship, wanted him dead.

So much had happened since he had been making the rounds of Europe, a would-be explorer going from king to king seeking royal backing for a promised quick passage west across the Ocean Sea to India and the wealth of the East. In 1486, at his first meeting with Spain's royal couple, King Ferdinand, although intrigued by the plan, told Columbus the time was not opportune. They were in the midst of a war and could not seriously consider such an important matter until peace was restored. In parting, Queen Isabella counseled patience and awarded Columbus a retainer, promising they would meet again when the war was over.

On January 12, 1492, Columbus entered the royal quarters. He had been summoned a few days after Spain's final victory over the Moors at Granada, and the queen had sent him money to buy new clothes and a mule to ride. Encouraged by her gift, Columbus was confident. He had honed his proposal into a detailed presentation, with maps and charts from the Jewish astronomer Abraham Zacuto, and quotes from the Bible and Greek sages supporting his view that the world was round, the oceans not large, and Japan lay three thousand miles to the west, across the Ocean Sea. Prepared for questions, he received none.

After an unsettling silence, Ferdinand spoke. Victory over the Moors had emptied the treasury, he said. Moreover, he could not abide Columbus's demand for hereditary rule over lands he might discover. The queen, his admirer, said nothing. The meeting broke up and Columbus left, angry and disgusted. All this time he had waited for the war to end. Now that it had, Ferdinand was pleading poverty. Pausing briefly in the corridor, he informed the king's treasurer that he was leaving for France where Bartholomew, his younger brother, was arranging an audience with the king. If that monarch wasn't interested, he would cross the channel to meet with the English king. He would not be denied his dream, one that, as Cervantes wrote of Don Quixote, "He hugged and would not part with even if barefoot friars had begged him."

Before Columbus rode past the gates of Santa Fe, the royal treasurer, Luis de Santangel, sought and was granted an audience with Queen Isabella. The royal chronicler noted, "[Santangel] appeared distressed as if a great misfortune had befallen him personally." He had good reason: Santangel was a secret Jew, and as a member of the royal court, he was aware his people were about to be expelled from Spain. There were upward of a half million Jews in the country they had called home since the time of Christ. Where would they go? India? China? Perhaps the explorer Columbus would discover a new land somewhere. Santangel and other secret Jews in the royal service hoped Columbus's voyage would provide an answer.

The Inquisition mandated that Jews, under penalty of death, must either leave or convert to Catholicism. Santangel, like many others, had converted and became a New Christian. If discovered Judaizing, the converts were liable to be burned at the stake. The Santangel family, long established in Spain, was among the first targets of the Inquisition. Luis's cousins had gone up in flames in Saragossa, and only the intervention of Ferdinand had prevented Luis from suffering the same fate.

Santangel addressed the queen. He was astonished, he told her, "to see Her Highness who has always shown such resolute spirit in matters of great consequence, should lack it now for an enterprise of so little risk for so vast a gain." He spoke to the queen of the wealth to be acquired, and the great service she would render to God, "all for the price of a few caravels [ships]." Alluding to Columbus's plan to seek royal backing elsewhere, he cautioned Isabella, "It would be

a great damage to Her Crown and a grave reproach to Her Highness if any other prince should undertake what Columbus offered Her Highness." If money was a consideration, Santangel said, he would be glad to finance the fleet himself.

A mounted messenger caught up with Columbus as he was crossing the Bridge of the Pines, seven miles from Santa Fe, and bade him return. Later that day, with all parties again gathered in the royal quarters, the king informed Columbus that the Crown would sponsor his Enterprise of the Indies, and meet his demands. No mention was made of hereditary title. Two months later, it was still a stumbling block in his negotiations when an event occurred that made its inclusion mandatory.

On the morning of March 31, 1492, Columbus was in his room in Santa Fe overlooking the main square when the sound of trumpets brought him to his balcony. Below, the town crier, flanked by mounted guards, read the expulsion order of the Inquisition: Jews had four months to leave. After that, any "caught in Our domains will be punished without trial by death, and seizure of property."

The Jews of Spain had been threatened with expulsion before. Rulers since the Visigoths had used this threat to extract more money from them. A period joke compared the Jews to a "money box" that you break open when you need money. But this time it was different: The Church was involved.

To the Jews of the royal court who supported Columbus, the expulsion order made it essential that Columbus hold out for hereditary rule. If no Asian kingdom welcomed Jewish refugees, Columbus, as the ruler of a new land, would be able to provide a haven for Spanish Jews.

It is thought that Columbus himself was a descendant of Spanish Jews, the Colon family, who had converted and moved to Genoa a century before on the heels of the Massacre of 1391. Some even contend he was a Cabalist. Whatever his genealogy, he was in sympathy with the People of the Book, and they with him. In his early years, in Portugal and Spain, he lived in a largely Jewish and New Christian world of navigators, cartographers, astronomers, and mathematicians. While others looked askance at this wandering sailor and laughed at his dream, Iberian Jews and conversos assisted Columbus in developing his Enterprise of the Indies. In their learned circles, they dealt with a round world. Church geography did not apply to them.

On April 17, Columbus agreed to the Capitulations of Santa Fe, which limited his rights to lifetime rule. Two weeks later, this ruling was reversed, and Columbus was granted hereditary rule. No account exists of the final negotiations, but it is likely that court Jews, facing the forced exile of their people, counseled Columbus to hold firm to his demand. One imagines a scene in the royal chambers with Santangel persuading the royals that the explorer's demand should not trouble them. If his voyage were successful, Columbus and his crew of ninety men could not possibly subdue one of the powerful Asian nations. On the other hand, if he took possession of a few islands along the way, the Crown would benefit by having way stations for Spain's trading ships plying the shortcut passage to the wealth of the East.

Whether or not such a scene took place, Ferdinand finally relented: Columbus would sail with his right to rule any new lands he discovered, to be "enjoyed forever by his heirs and successors."

After Columbus returned from his successful first voyage, he made three more trips across the

Western Sea. He never reached Asia, and didn't live long enough to fulfill his pledge to Santangel and the court Jews to provide a homeland for converted Jews. But it would be kept by his family in the "new land" the Crown did bequeath to Columbus's descendants, the island of Jamaica. How this came about goes back to a promise he made to the teenage conversos who stood by him when he was marooned there.

Returning from his fourth voyage to the New World, Columbus had been forced to beach his ships in Jamaica after sailing from Panama with a cache of gold objects bartered from the Indians. His two ships were leaking badly. Columbus hoped to reach Santo Domingo to obtain others to return to Spain. But his worm-eaten caravels, described by his son as "more full of holes than a bees' honeycomb," barely made Jamaica. With water rising in their holds, he ran them aground and lashed them together in a shallow, becalmed bay on the island's north coast, "a cross bow's shot from land." Atop his foredeck he fashioned a palm thatch hut to serve as his cabin.

In his first letter to the queen, written soon after he arrived, he bragged that he had discovered the source of Solomon's gold in the mines of Panama, and claimed to have seen more gold in a few days there than in all his previous trips. His fourteen-year-old son Fernando, brought along as cabin boy, later recorded that his father had traded small bells and mirrors for sixty-three gold pendants and other gold objects with the Veragua Indians of Panama.

This was his second trip to Jamaica. When he had discovered the island in 1494, he had named the half-moon bay where he was now stranded Santa Gloria for "the beauty of its glorious landscape." After a year, he thought he might never leave. Was this where his life was to end? Uncertain of his future, he wrote his queen:

We have been confined 10 months, lodged on the decks of our ships. My men have mutinied. My brother, my son, and those that are faithful are sick, starving and dying. Governor Ovando of Santo Domingo has sent to see if I am dead rather than to carry me back alive. I conclude Your officers intend my life should terminate here.

The object of his cynicism was the arrival the previous week of a ship from Ovando. It had anchored outside the reef in the late afternoon, and left before dawn. Before sailing away, its captain ferried over a side of ham, a barrel of wine, and a message from the governor that a rescue ship would soon be sent.

The governor's message did confirm the safe arrival of Columbus's first mate, Diego Mendez, who ten months before had set forth in a dugout canoe to carry news of their plight to Santo Domingo. But, as he wrote the queen, he really believed the ship had been sent "to spy on how I might be totally destroyed."

Made furious by his suspicions, Columbus concluded his letter with an angry vow. Should he die in Jamaica, and his proprietary rights be withdrawn, "ingratitude will bring down the wrath of Heaven, so that the wealth that I have discovered shall be the means of stirring up all mankind to revenge, and the Spanish nation shall suffer hereafter."

Fortunately for Columbus, Isabella never received his threat. Having no way to send this letter,

Columbus could only call on "the good angels that succor the oppressed and innocent to bring this paper to my great mistress." Apparently no Heavenly couriers were listening as this little known letter never left the island. His earlier letter, carried by Mendez, had been forwarded to her from Santo Domingo.

The mutiny referred to in his despairing missive had broken out five months earlier, when Francisco Poras, captain of one of the ships, burst in on the admiral in his straw cabin and demanded they leave at once. He and his brother Diego, the fleet's notary, accused Columbus of having deliberately marooned them in Jamaica knowing he was unwelcome in Santo Domingo. The Poras brothers' insurrection was joined by most of the older seamen, who after six months in Santa Gloria wanted out. Columbus declared he would not leave, but rather than battle the mutineers, agreed to let them go.

Crying, "I am for Castile--follow me," the rebel leader seized the dozen canoes Columbus had bartered from the Indians. Forcing the natives to row, the rebels made three attempts to overcome the fierce currents of the 108-mile-wide channel to Hispaniola. On their final try, they gave up, though only after throwing eighteen Indian paddlers overboard, and chopping off the hands of those who clung to the side. Five months later, after a two-week march across the island, marked by rape and pillage, they were encamped in an Indian village a half mile from Santa Gloria, intending to seize the admiral's ships.

Columbus had just finished his troubled letter to the queen when the two men he had sent to parlay with the rebels returned. They had taken an offer of pardon and a promise that they would soon be rescued. But Poras rebuffed them.

When his emissaries reported that Poras's men were preparing for battle, Columbus withdrew to his cabin in despair. But Bartholomew, his fierce younger brother, convinced him to take the fight to the enemy. He armed the fifty young loyalists and set forth to attack the rebel camp. When the mutineers saw Columbus's teenage army approach they laughed. There was no way mere youths, "brought up in a softer mode of life," could defeat such "hardy sailors, rendered robust and vigorous by the roving life." But the rebels' confidence was premature: In a superhuman effort, Bartholomew slew the six mutineers sent to attack him, and had the point of his sword at Poras's breast when the rest surrendered. The Poras brothers were put in irons aboard ship, and the forty-eight rebels were disarmed and kept on shore. With peace restored, a reunited, mistrustful crew nervously awaited their promised rescue.

Even if Ovando did send a ship, Columbus had little faith his gold medallions would be safe in Hispaniola, whose previous governor, he wrote the queen, "robbed me and my brother of our dearly purchased gold." He expected no less from Ovando. During the tense five weeks before two rescue ships arrived (one sent by Mendez, the other by Ovando), he rarely left his cabin. Never again did he set foot on Jamaica.

What happened to the gold of Veragua? The Crown had instructed Columbus that if treasure was found, "you must draw up an account of all this in the presence of Our Notary_._._so that We may know everything that the said Islands and Mainland may contain." Yet the sixty-three medallions from Panama are not mentioned in the notary's account, nor are they listed in the inventory of the ship that brought him home to Spain. Unsure his gold would survive Ovando's rescue, Columbus would not have left the gold in Hispaniola. Columbus also had reason to fear a

renewed mutiny on the way back to Spain. It is therefore unlikely that he kept the gold with him.

That leaves Jamaica. Since he never left the ship, and trusted no one but his son and brother and a core group of loyalists, he presumably asked members of this latter group to transfer his gold to safety.

From the Hardcover edition.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Argall

Samuel Argall

Under Lord de la Warre - [My Note: For which Delaware is named - Thomas West, missing (murdered?) on the voyage back from London]

Depiction of Captain Argall in negotiation with the Chickahominy.

Argall returned to the Virginia Colony in the summer of 1610, when **Royal Governor Thomas West, 3rd Baron De La Warr** reinforced the defences of the English against the sometimes hostile Native Americans there. De La Warr became so ill that in the spring of 1611 he sailed home to England, and Sir Thomas Dale took his place as Deputy Governor in charge of the Virginia Colony. After De la Warr reached England and recovered, he wrote a book, *The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-La-Warre, of the Colonie, Planted in Virginia*. He was considered the nominal Royal Governor until his death in 1618.

[My Note: Next part, Argall was looking not for food but to get leverage on Powhatan to make him stop attacking Jamestown - from Hashaw's book]

Serving under Dale, in March 1613, Argall, looking for food for the settlement, sailed up the Potomac River. There, he traded with the Patawomeck, a Native American tribe who were affiliated with the Powhatan Confederacy. The Patawomeck lived at the village of Passapatanzy, as well as several other villages along the river.

When two English colonists began trading with the Patawomeck, they discovered that Pocahontas, the daughter of Wahunsonacock, Chief of the Powhatan Confederacy, was living there. According to a book by Captain John Smith, she had been there for around three months. (But he had left the colony in 1609 and had only a brief exchange with Pocahontas during her visit to England, so the claim is difficult to verify.) Learning this, Argall resolved to capture Pocahontas to aid in negotiations with the Powhatan. Sending for the local chief, Japazaws, Argall told him he must bring her on board his ship, and suggested luring her with the present of a copper kettle.

According to Patawomeck oral tradition, with the help of Japazaws, the colonists tricked Pocahontas into being captured. Their purpose, as Argalls said in a letter, was to ransom her for English prisoners held by Chief Powhatan, along with various weapons and farming tools that the Powhatan people had stolen. Powhatan returned the captives, but failed to satisfy the colonists with the amount of weapons and tools he returned. A long standoff ensued.

Argall also commanded the ship that took Pocahontas, her family, and her retinue, including her brother-in-law, Uttamatomakkin, to visit England in 1616. He also captained the ship that returned John Rolfe to Virginia, after his wife's sudden death.

[My Note, this from Hashaw's book: Argall was to be governor general and Rolfe the Fort Comfort head, both of them to replace the current team in charge of Jamestown and in particular in charge of reporting back to the king, so that their real employer, Lord Rich, could run a pirate operation out of Jamestown without fear of being reported on back to the king - they would be in a position to send falsified reports back, not mentioning the pirate vessels]

Raid on Acadia [My Note: Argall is intimidating the French and the Dutch with the intention of chasing them out]

Later in 1613, under orders from London, Argall began to raid Acadia, a French colony in what is now Canada. First he sacked the French Jesuit colony of Saint-Sauveur on Mount Desert Island (now part of the state of Maine). He took fourteen prisoners, whom he transported back to Jamestown. He then returned to burn the settlement and remaining structures of an earlier French settlement on Sainte-Croix (now in Maine) and the occupied site of Port Royal (now in Nova Scotia). One of his principal French captives later wrote to praise Argall's character and conduct toward the prisoners. Argall was also the first Englishman to visit Manhattan, where he landed and warned the Dutch of their encroachment upon English territory.

In the Virginia Colony, Argall was viewed as an autocrat who was insensitive to the poorer of the colonists, who included indentured servants. After Argall served as Principal Governor of Virginia beginning in 1617, Lord De La Warr was en route from England to investigate complaints about the man, but died at sea in 1618. Argall was succeeded by Sir George Yeardley in 1619 (who named a son Argall in his honor). After returning to London, Argall was cleared of the accusations against him, and continued to serve King James I.

<http://bcw-project.org/biography/robert-rich-earl-of-warwick>

Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, 1587-1658

Puritan nobleman involved in colonial ventures and privateering, he served as Lord High Admiral of Parliament's navy during the civil wars.

The eldest son of Robert Rich, third Baron Rich (later first Earl of Warwick) and his wife Penelope, daughter of the first Earl of Essex, Robert Rich was born around June 1587 at Leighs Priory in Essex. He was knighted at the coronation of King James I in July 1603 and succeeded as the second Earl of Warwick in March 1619. His inheritance made him one of the most powerful landowners in the kingdom, with extensive estates in Essex and property in London.



During the 1620s and '30s, Warwick was active in colonial ventures in New England and the West Indies. He also financed several privateering expeditions against the Spaniards. A staunch Puritan, Warwick became increasingly alienated from court life and was associated with the opposition to King Charles' policies led by [Lord Saye-and-Sele](#) and the Broughton Castle circle.

Although he was appointed to the King's privy council in April 1641, Warwick was a leading critic of the [Earl of Strafford](#) and was active in his prosecution, introducing into the House of Lords the bill of attainder by which Strafford was condemned to death. After King Charles fled from London early in 1642, Parliament appointed Warwick lord-lieutenant of Essex, where he personally put the [Militia Ordinance](#) into execution.

... the fleet accepted Warwick as its admiral and declared for Parliament in July 1642.

Under Warwick's command, the navy intercepted ships carrying supplies to the Royalists and supported military operations on land, notably at the siege of [Hull](#) in 1643 and [Lyme](#) 1644.

Although he was generally associated with the [Presbyterian](#) faction in its attempts to reach a settlement with the King, Warwick championed religious freedom in the colonies of New England and the Caribbean, in which he continued to take an active interest. He is particularly associated with the foundation of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) in March 1644.

... In February 1649, Warwick's admiralty commission was revoked. He retired from public life until the establishment of Cromwell's Protectorate with its [anti-Spanish](#) foreign policy, of which he approved. In June 1657, Warwick carried the sword of state during Cromwell's second inauguration as Lord Protector. The following November, his grandson and heir Robert Rich married Cromwell's daughter Frances. Warwick died in April 1658; his death greatly lamented by Cromwell.

<https://statesymbolsusa.org/symbol/virginia/state-name-origin/origin-virginia>

Origin of "Virginia"

Virginia State Name Origin: What does "Virginia" mean?

The state of Virginia was named after England's Queen Elizabeth I. In the early 1600's, **all of North America that was not Spanish or French was then called "Virginia"** in honor of "The Virgin Queen," and the earliest English colonial expeditions were sent by the Virginia Company of London. Virginia became the 10th state on June 25, [1788](#).

<https://www.amazon.com/Black-Rednecks-White-Liberals-Autonomy-ebook/dp/B003XRDBYE>

Black Rednecks & White Liberals Kindle Edition

by Thomas Sowell

ASIN: B003XRDBYE

Publisher: Encounter Books (May 1, 2009)

Publication date: May 1, 2009

Print length: 373 pages

This explosive new book challenges many of the long-prevailing assumptions about blacks, about Jews, about Germans, about slavery, and about education. Plainly written, powerfully reasoned, and backed with a startling array of documented facts, *Black Rednecks and White Liberals* takes on not only the trendy intellectuals of our times but also such historic interpreters of American life as Alexis de Tocqueville and Frederick Law Olmsted. In a series of long essays, this book presents an in-depth look at key beliefs behind many mistaken and dangerous actions, policies, and trends. It presents eye-opening insights into the historical development of the ghetto culture that is today wrongly seen as a unique black identity--a culture cheered on toward self-destruction by white liberals who consider themselves "friends" of blacks. An essay titled "The Real History of Slavery" presents a jolting re-examination of that tragic institution and the narrow and distorted way it is too often seen today. The reasons for the venomous hatred of Jews, and of other groups like them in countries around the world, are explored in an essay that asks, "Are Jews Generic?" Misconceptions of German history in general, and of the Nazi era in particular, are also re-examined. So too are the inspiring achievements and painful tragedies of black education in the United States. "*Black Rednecks and White Liberals*" is the capstone of decades of outstanding research and writing on racial and cultural issues by Thomas Sowell.

<https://prospect.org/education/attempted-defenestration-of-nikole-hannah-jones-unc-chapel-hill/>

The Attempted Defenestration of Nikole Hannah-Jones

A textbook case of systemic racism and partisan overreach stands to tarnish the University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill.

BY GABRIELLE GURLEY MAY 28, 2021

The University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill board of trustees’ decision to not vote on a recommendation of tenure for *New York Times* investigative reporter Nikole Hannah-Jones is a culmination of a decade-long project by conservative state lawmakers to exert greater control over the public university system.

Much of the controversy over the appointment of Hannah-Jones to a prestigious journalism teaching position hinges on her magnum opus, the seminal [1619 Project’s](#) investigation of **the legacies of chattel slavery**. But the Republicans’ obsession with whitewashing history to frame a new battle in the culture wars and to mollify their own discomfort with the abomination that was America’s peculiar institution has the markings of a backlash that will further damage UNC’s tattered reputation.

The decision to deny tenure, for all practical purposes, without even putting trustees on the record with a vote is the latest and most egregious example of the rot that runs deep in a parallel conservative project to clear out viewpoints that don’t jibe with right-wing orthodoxy. After wiping out several academic centers, North Carolina Republicans have now launched an assault on tenure, one of the most sacrosanct features of life in academia.

...

On Wednesday, the board of trustees received a [new proposal](#) to grant tenure to Nikole Hannah-Jones. Along with it, 1,619 UNC alumni—professors, students, athletes, writers, and filmmakers, many of them superstars in their fields—signed a *Raleigh News & Observer* ad [calling out](#) the decision. On Thursday, Hannah-Jones announced that she had retained the services of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Levy Ratner, and Ferguson Chambers & Sumter “to ensure the academic and journalistic freedom of Black writers is protected to the full extent of the law.”

In a statement issued with Hannah-Jones, the Legal Defense Fund [said](#), “All previous UNC Knight Chairs have received tenure in conjunction with their appointments, and Ms. Hannah-Jones’s credentials not only match but exceed those of prior UNC Knight Chairs ... UNC has unlawfully discriminated against Ms. Hannah-Jones based on the content of her journalism and scholarship and because of her race. We will fight to ensure that her rights are vindicated.”

[GABRIELLE GURLEY](#) - Prospect senior editor and award-winning journalist Gabrielle Gurley writes and edits work on states and cities, transportation and infrastructure, civil rights, and climate. Follow [@gurleygg](#)

<https://prospect.org/videos/05-02-2023-susan-neiman-left-woke/>

A Conversation With Susan Neiman About Left and Woke

Prospect Co-Editor Robert Kuttner hosted a podcast with the noted philosopher and author. This is a partial transcript, edited for clarity.

BY ROBERT KUTTNER MAY 2, 2023

Robert Kuttner:

... I wanted to have this conversation with Susan about her newest book, whose title is [Left Is Not Woke](#). Those are fighting words.

Susan Neiman:

This book came about after a series of conversations I was having with friends in various countries. My guess is that you have had the same conversation in one form or another. They would point to some news item in which someone was being cancelled. And the friend would say: "If this is left, I guess I'm not left anymore."

And I said, wait a second. What is being done here is not left. In many respects it has more in common with conservatism and even fascism by making tribal identities primary. This is actually quite reactionary. So I set out to try to untangle what really is left from what is woke, in fairly simple terms.

...

Robert Kuttner:

Let's go back to Lincoln and Jefferson. One of the fallacies of wokeism, I think, is to fail to locate historical figures as figures of their own time. You would not expect Jefferson or Lincoln to have the sensibility of Martin Luther King, much less of Black Lives Matter. You have to look at Lincoln as someone who was quite radical for the 1850s.

It's one thing to pull down statues of Robert E. Lee, another to demand that we reject Jefferson or even Lincoln. That seems an example of woke excess, splintering the progressive coalition, and giving a lot of ammunition to the right, and being an unwitting ally of neoliberals and absolute reactionaries.

Susan Neiman: Looking back at the three core principles common to liberals and leftists—universalism, justice, and the possibility of progress—wokeism prioritizes tribalism, and particularly those pieces of identity that are most likely to make someone a victim, and over which a person has the least amount of control.

In their justified concern for inequalities of power, the woke often simply focus on power struggles rather than thinking about justice, which sometimes gets left by the wayside. And thirdly, if all you see in history is attempted progress that failed, you'll find it hard to struggle towards progress in the future.

Robert Kuttner:

To give the benefit of the doubt to people who want others to be woke, defined as radically conscious of oppression, you might say that they are proceeding in a perverse way, first by making demands on the rest of the progressive community that you have to show us that you are a better ally by doing thus and such. Otherwise you're just a false ally. It's self-marginalizing. Not enough of the rest of the progressive community is going to meet the purity test. Instead of expanding your power coalition, you're going to narrow it.

And secondly, wokeism presents an easily caricatured set of propositions that the right is just going to run with. I don't want to turn your elegant book of moral philosophy into a tactical manual. But let's take a few minutes and talk about what we do about this politically.

The right wing's caricature of wokeism has become a basis for embracing old-fashioned racism. Most Americans support affirmative action, a distinctly non-woke term. But the further out on the woke continuum of linguistics you get, the more unpopular and suspect these contrivances are, and the more you give you give ammunition to the right.

In *Learning from the Germans*, you compared the American experience of reckoning with Jim Crow with the German experience of reckoning with the Holocaust, and you found the American experience quite wanting. But in your new book you say that actually, if you think about it, there has been a lot of progress. Look at what race relations were like when I was growing up in the in the sixties, and look what they are now. And even though there's been a terrible amount of backsliding since Trump, we've actually had a lot of progress.

Do I have that right?

Susan Neiman: You have that absolutely right.

My book was finished in late 2018, before the *New York Times'* 1619 project, before George Floyd was murdered. The Confederate flag was still flying over the Mississippi capitol; and no one, I believe, had taken down a statue of a of a Confederate general. So in the past five years the US has gone much further in facing up to its national crimes.

I do think the Confederate statues should be gone. We need to learn about this period from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of the Montgomery bus boycott, for most people was a hole in our collective national memory. On the other hand, while we are in the process of facing our racial history we are ignoring our political history. Very few Americans know about the powerful labor movements in the first half of the 20th century and how they were suppressed, very few know about the implications of the Cold War.

Let me return to a question you asked about tactics. I do think tactically, because I'm a sometime activist as much as I am a philosopher; and I'm terrified, as I say at the end of the book, about some version of a repeat of what happened in Germany in 1933, when the Nazis came to power not by winning a democratic majority, but because of infighting between different left wing groups, all of whom felt that their scorn and hatred of the other was entirely justified.

We have fascist movements rising all over the world right now. Like you, I am worried about the left splitting itself over these kinds of issues.

I also think that tactics improve when the ideas behind the tactics improve. And that's the reason I wrote this book. An ally is the wrong concept in progressive struggles for justice. To go back to the Nazi example, Hannah Arendt wrote that Eichmann should not have been indicted for crimes against the Jewish people. He should have been indicted for crimes against humanity. And she was right.

Of course I support racial justice—but not as an “ally,” which is someone whose interests are temporarily aligned, like the United States and the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Allies are different from those who share your principles and who stand with you on the basis of deep convictions, not shared interests.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/1619-project-took-over-2020-inside-story/2020/10/13/af537092-00df-11eb-897d-3a6201d6643f_story.html

How the 1619 Project took over 2020

By Sarah Ellison

October 13, 2020 at 12:00 p.m. EDT

When she joined the New York Times in 2015 after working for Pro Publica and newspapers in Raleigh and Portland, Ore., Nikole Hannah-Jones was skeptical that she would fit in. Her hair is dyed firetruck red, her nails are long and acrylic, and she frequently wears a necklace that spells "Black girl magic" in script.

"This has been a conscious choice my entire career," she explained. "I was not going to try to adapt my sense of style to mainstream expectations."

In fact, the Times has embraced her, and she is considered by colleagues and rivals to have influence beyond her title. In 2017, she received a coveted MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant for her work chronicling the persistence of racial segregation. "I've teased her that the New York Times has many people who think they are geniuses," said Dean Baquet, the paper's executive editor, but "she's the only person who has been officially declared one."

She was raised in Iowa by a Black father and White mother, a dynamic that inspired her to cover race as a journalist. When her maternal grandparents learned their daughter was dating a Black man, "they initially disowned her, and did not re-own her until my older sister was born," she said. "They loved us very deeply. But they were also prejudiced against other Black people who were not related to them." Her choice, she realized, was to identify as mixed-race or Black. "Your mom is White, and I'm Black, but you're Black," her father told her. "Our country is going to treat you as Black and that's who you are." She embraced the identity, she says: "Why would I want to lay claim to people who wouldn't lay claim to me?"

...

And then, a couple weeks ago, Hannah-Jones deleted almost her entire Twitter feed.

The 1619 Project was no longer just a team of journalists' attempt to grapple with uncomfortable history. By the time Trump had attacked it, it had become a historic controversy in its own right, subject to scholarly dispute and debate and small-bore analysis.

It didn't help matters much when it began to appear that the Times was backing away from some of the project's bolder claims.

It started when Hannah-Jones took to Twitter to scold conservatives for misrepresenting the 1619 Project — which, she insisted "does not argue that 1619 is our true founding."

But . . . hadn't she claimed exactly that?

A writer for the Atlantic [launched a massive Twitter thread](#) noting all the times when Hannah-Jones had said, in essence, that 1619 was the nation's true founding. That's what prompted her social media self-purge, she told The Post, so her tweets could not be "weaponized." Meanwhile, the libertarian journal Quillette noticed that the Times had removed a phrase from the 1619 Project website describing the date as "our true founding." But no clarification was issued, leading critics to suggest the Times was trying to wipe clean its history without owning up to its mistakes.

Silverstein explained that the altered words were from display text penned by a digital editor that they were "continually having to write and revise" for different platforms "to hone how we are rhetorically describing the project."

He also acknowledged amending some of the prose in his own editor's note: It had not initially appeared online, he said, and when they added it to the site in December, "we made a few small changes to

improve it” — not to backpedal, but to thin out rhetoric that seemed in hindsight like “too much flourish.” The paper’s standards department agreed that no acknowledgment of the changes was necessary.

...

Last week, the National Association of Scholars doubled down by [calling on the Pulitzer board to revoke Hannah-Jones’s prize](#), taking particular aim at “surreptitious efforts” to alter it post-publication. Then on Friday evening came the most stunning slam of all:

“For all its virtues, buzz, spinoffs and a Pulitzer Prize . . .” wrote the columnist Bret Stephens, “the 1619 Project has failed.”

What made this attack different? Stephens is a Pulitzer-winning columnist for the New York Times opinion section, where he published the piece.

He defended the project against critics who claimed it rejected American values. But he suggested its small errors had accumulated via the authors’ “monocausality” — an insistence on seeing everything through the lens of slavery. And he questioned Hannah-Jones’s elevation of 1619 even as a metaphor.

“1776 isn’t just our nation’s ‘official’ founding,” Stephens wrote. “It is our symbolic one, too. The metaphor of 1776 is more powerful than that of 1619 because what makes America most itself isn’t four centuries of racist subjugation. It’s 244 years of effort by Americans — sometimes halting, but often heroic — to live up to our greatest ideal.”

Times leadership took pains to praise the 1619 Project this weekend. They maintained that Stephens’s criticism represented not an institutional scolding of the project but commitment to thoughtful debate. “The Times’s openness to hear and tolerate criticism is the clearest sign in its confidence in the work,” acting opinions editor Kathleen Kingsbury said.

Hannah-Jones, though, was livid, and let Kingsbury and Stephens know it in emails ahead of publication. On the day the NAS called for the revocation of her Pulitzer, she tweeted that efforts to discredit her work “put me in a long tradition of [Black women] who failed to know their places.” She changed her Twitter bio to “slanderous and nasty-minded mulattress” — a tribute to the trailblazing journalist Ida B. Wells, whom the Times slurred with those same words in 1894.

On Tuesday morning, Baquet put out a [public statement](#) welcoming the opinion team’s right to challenge the newsroom’s work but pushed back on Stephens’s criticism of the project’s journalistic standards. “The project fell fully within our standards as a news organization,” he wrote. “In fact, 1619 — and especially the work of Nikole — fill me with pride.”

Hannah-Jones has fiercely defended the 1619 Project. But today, she acknowledges that for all the experts she consulted, she should have sat down with additional scholars with particular focus on colonial history, the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, to better reflect the contention in the field.

“I should have been more careful with how I wrote that” passage about the revolution, she says, “because I don’t think that any other fact would have given people the fodder that this has, and I am tortured by it. I’m absolutely tortured by it.”

A Few Comments

Newcavendish

3 years ago

The 1619 Project is invidious and dangerous in many ways, as the article makes clear, in a balanced way. This is in large part because it egregiously stokes the culture wars around what should have been a constructive and useful project, to illustrate the unfortunate side of much of US history for its roots in slavery, and to contribute to the wide effort going on in many ways to increase coverage of Black figures and aspects of history. The project is fundamentally ahistorical because it is a polemic shouting at the past (and pretending to discover facts that in fact were well known), rather than trying to understand it. It is wrong on many points, but note a few general items: 1) it makes it seem that the US was somehow worse than the rest of the world on slavery, but the US was in fact as much a leader of abolition as a perpetrator of slavery: many other countries were much later to abolish it: e.g. Brazil 1888, Turkey 1924, Oman 1980. 2) It doesn't have the maturity to see that we must celebrate and honor the Founders, who put their lives and fortunes on the line to establish the propositions of equality and opportunity in a century that accepted neither: that they didn't fully develop their principles does not make them liars nor does it diminish their achievement (we should have the maturity to criticize their society while praising their intellectual achievement). Intellectual history is incremental and developmental: there's no way around that. 3) While appropriately focusing on racist aspects of history, it grossly distorts the ongoing struggle of this country to achieve real liberty and equality in a context tainted by racism: it makes no sense to take a monochromatic Trumper view than it does to take a monochromatic "1619" view. One could go on ... But as it is, its vitriol has contributed much more to poisoning the discussion than to advancing it.

philipmd

3 years ago

This was a really thoughtful and nuanced wrap-up of a project that has been talked into oblivion at this point. I do think the project's overall focus on Black Americans' forgotten contributions to the country's very identity requires consideration by any thinking person, but it's a shame that specific, not-insignificant errors have shorted its impact on the very people it was trying to reach.

That being said, with those errors in place, I don't think it should've won a Pulitzer. The Revolutionary War and Lincoln claims were far too bold for serious academics to take at face value. Validating them with a Pulitzer only made it worse.

Also, NHJ's and Times' straightup dismissal of almost any criticism for the longest time really hurt them. The fact that they never really took it seriously until renowned Black academics shared their reservations — and their lack of transparency when they made corrections to such a controversial piece — felt extremely disingenuous.

NHJ is brilliant as was much of the 1619 project's contentions, but this is a classic example of pride getting in the way of work. I just hope both sides — the pro- and anti-1619 crowds — can come to a closer consensus, because if this project and its response isn't indicative of how blindly polarized our country is then I don't know what is.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/opinion/nyt-1619-project-criticisms.html>

The 1619 Chronicles

Journalism does better when it writes the first rough draft of history, not the last word on it.

Oct. 9, 2020 By Bret Stephens, Opinion Columnist

If there's one word admirers and critics alike can agree on when it comes to The New York Times's award-winning 1619 Project, it's ambition. Ambition to reframe America's conversation about race. Ambition to reframe our understanding of history. Ambition to move from news pages to classrooms. Ambition to move from scholarly debate to national consciousness.

In some ways, this ambition succeeded. The 1619 Project introduced a date, previously obscure to most Americans, that ought always to have been thought of as seminal — and probably now will. It offered fresh reminders of the extent to which Black freedom was a victory gained by courageous Black Americans, and not just a gift obtained from benevolent whites.

It showed, in a stunning [photo essay](#), the places where human beings were once bought and sold as slaves — neglected scenes of American infamy. It illuminated the extent to which so much of what makes America great, including some of our uniquely American understandings of liberty and equality, is unthinkable without the struggle of Black Americans, as well as the extent to which so much of what continues to bedevil us is the result of centuries of racism.

And, in a point missed by many of the 1619 Project's critics, it does not reject American values. As Nikole Hannah-Jones, its creator and leading voice, concluded in her essay for the project, "I wish, now, that I could go back to the younger me and tell her that her people's ancestry started here, on these lands, and to boldly, proudly, draw the stars and those stripes of the American flag." It's an unabashedly patriotic thought.

But ambition can be double-edged. Journalists are, most often, in the business of writing the first rough draft of history, not trying to have the last word on it. We are best when we try to tell truths with a lowercase t, following evidence in directions unseen, not the capital-T truth of a pre-established narrative in which inconvenient facts get discarded. And we're supposed to report and comment on the political and cultural issues of the day, not become the issue itself.

As fresh concerns make clear, on these points — and for all of its virtues, buzz, spinoffs and a Pulitzer Prize — the 1619 Project has failed.

Those concerns came to light last month when a longstanding critic of the project, Phillip W. Magness, [noted](#) in the online magazine Quillette that references to 1619 as the country's "true founding" or "moment [America] began" had disappeared from the digital display copy without explanation.

These were not minor points. The deleted assertions went to the core of the project's most controversial goal, "to reframe American history by considering what it would mean to regard 1619 as our nation's birth year."

That doesn't mean that the project seeks to erase the Declaration of Independence from history. But it does mean that it seeks to dethrone the Fourth of July by treating American history as a story of Black struggle against white supremacy — of which the Declaration is, for all of its high-flown rhetoric, supposed to be merely a part.

In a [tweet](#), Hannah-Jones responded to Magness and other critics by insisting that "the text of the project" remained "unchanged," while maintaining that the case for making 1619 the country's "true" birth year was "always a metaphoric argument." I emailed her to ask if she could point to any instances before this controversy in which she had acknowledged that her claims about 1619 as "our true founding" had been merely metaphorical. Her answer was that the idea of treating the 1619 date metaphorically should have been so obvious that it went without saying.

She then challenged me to find any instance in which the project stated that “using 1776 as our country’s birth date is wrong,” that it “should not be taught to schoolchildren,” and that the only one “that should be taught” was 1619. “Good luck unearthing any of us arguing that,” she added.

Here is an excerpt from the introductory essay to the project by The New York Times Magazine’s editor, Jake Silverstein, as it appeared [in print](#) in August 2019 (italics added):

“1619. It is not a year that most Americans know as a notable date in our country’s history. Those who do are at most a tiny fraction of those who can tell you that 1776 is the year of our nation’s birth. What if, however, we were to tell you that *this fact, which is taught in our schools and unanimously celebrated every Fourth of July, is wrong, and that the country’s true birth date, the moment that its defining contradictions first came into the world, was in late August of 1619?*”

Now compare it to the version of the same text [as it now appears online](#):

“1619 is not a year that most Americans know as a notable date in our country’s history. Those who do are at most a tiny fraction of those who can tell you that 1776 is the year of our nation’s birth. What if, however, we were to tell you that the moment that the country’s defining contradictions first came into the world was in late August of 1619?”

In an email, Silverstein told me that the changes to the text were immaterial, in part because it still cited 1776 as our nation’s official birth date, and because the project’s stated aim remained to put 1619 and its consequences as the true starting point of the American story.

Readers can judge for themselves whether these unacknowledged changes violate the standard obligations of transparency for New York Times journalism. The question of journalistic practices, however, raises deeper doubts about the 1619 Project’s core premises.

In his introduction, Silverstein argues that America’s “defining contradictions” were born in August 1619, when a ship carrying 20 to 30 enslaved Africans from what is present-day Angola arrived in Point Comfort, in the English colony of Virginia. And the title page of Hannah-Jones’s [essay](#) for the project insists that “our founding ideals of liberty and equality were false when they were written.”

Both points are illogical. A “defining contradiction” requires a powerful point of opposition or inconsistency, and in the year 1619 the points of opposition were few and far between. Slavery and the slave trade had been global phenomena for centuries by the early 17th century, involving Europeans and non-Europeans as slave traders and the enslaved. The Africans who arrived in Virginia that August got there only because they had been seized by English privateers from a Portuguese ship headed for the port of Veracruz in Mexico, then a part of the Spanish Empire.

In this sense, and for all of its horror, there was nothing particularly surprising in the fact that slavery made its way to the English colonies on the Eastern Seaboard, as it already had in the rest of the Western Hemisphere.

What was surprising was that in 1776 a politically formidable “defining contradiction” — “that all men are created equal” — came into existence through the Declaration of Independence. As Abraham Lincoln wrote in 1859, that foundational document would forever serve as a “rebuke and stumbling block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.” It’s why, at the dedication of the Gettysburg cemetery, Lincoln would date the country’s founding to “four score and seven years ago.”

As for the notion that the Declaration’s principles were “false” in 1776, ideals aren’t false merely because they are unrealized, much less because many of the men who championed them, and the nation they created, hypocritically failed to live up to them. Most of us, at any given point in time, are falling short of some ideal we nonetheless hold to be true or good.

These two flaws led to a third, conceptual, error. “Out of slavery — and the anti-Black racism it required — grew nearly everything that has truly made America exceptional,” writes Silverstein.

Nearly everything? What about, say, the ideas contained by the First Amendment? Or the spirit of openness that brought millions of immigrants through places like Ellis Island? Or the enlightened worldview of the Marshall Plan and the Berlin airlift? Or the spirit of scientific genius and discovery exemplified by the polio vaccine and the moon landing? On the opposite side of the moral ledger, to what extent does anti-Black racism figure in American disgraces such as the brutalization of Native Americans, the Chinese Exclusion Act or the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II?

Monocausality — whether it’s the clash of economic classes, the hidden hand of the market, or white supremacy and its consequences — has always been a seductive way of looking at the world. It has always been a simplistic one, too. The world is complex. So are people and their motives. The job of journalism is to take account of that complexity, not simplify it out of existence through the adoption of some ideological orthodoxy.

This mistake goes far to explain the 1619 Project’s subsequent scholarly and journalistic entanglements. It should have been enough to make strong yet nuanced claims about the role of slavery and racism in American history. Instead, it issued categorical and totalizing assertions that are difficult to defend on close examination.

It should have been enough for the project to serve as *curator* for a range of erudite and interesting voices, with ample room for contrary takes. Instead, virtually every writer in the project seems to sing from the same song sheet, alienating other potential supporters of the project and polarizing national debate.

An early sign that the project was in trouble came in [an interview](#) last November with James McPherson, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of “Battle Cry of Freedom” and a past president of the American Historical Association. He was withering: “Almost from the outset,” McPherson told the World Socialist Web Site, “I was disturbed by what seemed like a very unbalanced, one-sided account, which lacked context and perspective.”

In particular, McPherson objected to Hannah-Jones’s suggestion that the struggle against slavery and racism and for civil rights and democracy was, if not exclusively then mostly, a Black one. As she wrote in her essay: “The truth is that as much democracy as this nation has today, it has been borne on the backs of Black resistance.”

McPherson demurs: “From the Quakers in the 18th century, on through the abolitionists in the antebellum, to the Radical Republicans in the Civil War and Reconstruction, to the N.A.A.C.P., which was an interracial organization founded in 1909, down through the civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s, there have been a lot of whites who have fought against slavery and racial discrimination, and against racism,” he said. “And that’s what’s missing from this perspective.”

In a lengthier dissection, published in January in *The Atlantic*, the Princeton historian Sean Wilentz [accused](#) Hannah-Jones of making arguments “built on partial truths and misstatements of the facts.” The goal of educating Americans on slavery and its consequences, he added, was so important that it “cannot be forwarded through falsehoods, distortions and significant omissions.”

Wilentz’s catalog of the project’s mistakes is extensive. Hannah-Jones’s essay claimed that by 1776 Britain was “deeply conflicted” over its role in slavery. But despite the landmark [Somerset v. Stewart](#) court ruling in 1772, which held that slavery was not supported by English common law, it remained deeply embedded in the practices of the British Empire. The essay claimed that, among Londoners, “there were growing calls to abolish the slave trade” by 1776. But the movement to abolish

the British slave trade only began about a decade later — inspired, in part, Wilentz notes, by American antislavery agitation that had started in the 1760s and 1770s. The list goes on.

Then there was an [essay in Politico](#) in March by the Northwestern historian Leslie M. Harris, an expert on pre-Civil War African-American life and slavery. “On Aug. 19 of last year,” Harris wrote, “I listened in stunned silence as Nikole Hannah-Jones ... repeated an idea that I had vigorously argued against with her fact checker: that the patriots fought the American Revolution in large part to preserve slavery in North America.”

None of this should have come as a surprise: The 1619 Project is a thesis in search of evidence, not the other way around. Nor was this fire from the right: Both Wilentz and Harris were at pains to emphasize their sympathy with the project’s moral aims.

Yet, aside from a one-word “clarification” issued in March — after months of public pressure, The Times conceded that only “some” colonists fought for independence primarily to defend slavery — the response of the magazine has been, in effect, “nothing to see here.” In a [pair](#) of lengthy editor’s [notes](#), Silverstein has defended much of the scholarship in the project by citing another slate of historians to back him up. That’s one way of justifying the final product.

The larger problem is that The Times’s editors, however much background reading they might have done, are not in a position to adjudicate historical disputes. That should have been an additional reason for the 1619 Project to seek input from, and include contributions by, an intellectually diverse range of scholarly voices. Yet not only does the project choose a side, it also brooks no doubt.

“It is finally time to tell our story truthfully,” the magazine declares on its 1619 cover page. Finally? Truthfully? Is The Times suggesting that distinguished historians, like the ones who have seriously disputed aspects of the project, had previously been telling half-truths or falsehoods?

Almost inevitably, what began as a scholarly quarrel became a political one.

About a month before the project’s publication, Silverstein reached out to the Pulitzer Center to propose a 1619 [curriculum](#) for schools. Soon thereafter, the project was being introduced into classrooms across the country.

It’s one thing for a newspaper to publish the 1619 Project by way of challenging its subscribers: After all, they *pay* for the product. It’s quite another to become a pedagogical product for schoolchildren who, along with their parents, in most cases probably don’t subscribe. This was stepping into the political fray in a way that was guaranteed to invite not just right-wing blowback, but possible federal involvement.

That’s exactly what has happened. When “1619” was spray-painted on a [toppled](#) statue of George Washington, many people took angry or horrified notice. When Hannah-Jones [tweeted](#) that “it would be an honor” for the summer’s unrest to be called “the 1619 riots,” the right took notice again. For many, the 1619 Project smacked of fake history coming from the “fake news” — with results that were all too real. As unbidden gifts to [Donald Trump](#) go, it could hardly have been sweeter than that.

Sure enough, last month [Trump suggested](#) he would cut off federal funding to any public school using it in its curriculum. He even proposed establishing a “1776 Commission” to help “restore patriotic education to our schools.” Many Americans shudder at the thought of what the president might have in mind by “patriotic education.” But ideas have consequences. They aren’t always the ones that authors — or publishers — anticipate or desire.

Beyond these political disputes is a metaphysical question that matters. What is a founding? Why have generations of Americans considered 1776 our birth date — as opposed to 1781, when we won our independence militarily at Yorktown; or 1783, when we won it diplomatically through the Treaty of Paris; or 1788, when our system of government came into existence with the ratification of the Constitution?

The answer is that, unlike other dates, 1776 uniquely marries letter and spirit, politics and principle: The declaration that something new is born, combined with the expression of an ideal that — because we continue to believe in it even as we struggle to live up to it — binds us to the date.

Contrary to what the 1619 Project claims, 1776 isn't just our nation's "official" founding. It is our symbolic one, too. The metaphor of 1776 is more powerful than that of 1619 because what makes America most itself isn't four centuries of racist subjugation. It's 244 years of effort by Americans — sometimes halting, but often heroic — to live up to our greatest ideal. That's a struggle that has been waged by people of every race and creed. And it's an ideal that continues to inspire millions of people at home and abroad.

For obvious reasons, I've thought long and hard about the ethics of writing this essay. On the one hand, outside of exceptional circumstances, it's bad practice to openly criticize the work of one's colleagues. We bat for the same team and owe one another collegial respect.

On the other, the 1619 Project has become, partly by its design and partly because of avoidable mistakes, a focal point of the kind of intense national debate that columnists are supposed to cover, and that is being widely written about outside The Times. To avoid writing about it on account of the first scruple is to be derelict in our responsibility toward the second.

All the more so as journalists, in the United States and abroad, come under relentless political assault from critics who accuse us of being fake, biased, partisan and an arm of the radical left. Many of these attacks are baseless. Some of them are not. Through its overreach, the 1619 Project has given critics of The Times a gift.

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<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/africans-virginias-first/>

Virginia's First Africans

Most people of Ndongo followed the local religion, but some had contact with Jesuit missionaries who arrived with the Portuguese colonizers in 1575: a Kimbundu-speaking Christian community existed in Angola by 1619. Portuguese law required all enslaved Africans to be baptized before arriving in America, a pro forma gesture that did not necessarily result in the Africans bringing with them Christian practices.

In the decades that followed, most Africans arriving in Virginia through the [slave trade](#) were captured not by Europeans but by other Africans who sold them to the Europeans at markets. As a result, enslaved Africans suffering through the [Middle Passage](#) often hailed from different regions and villages, spoke different languages, and abided by different social, political, and religious customs. The Ndongo,

by contrast, were captured more directly by the Portuguese and shared with one another a complex ethnic identity.

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https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diego_Sarmiento_de_Acu%C3%B1a%2C_Count_of_Gondomar

Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar (Spanish: Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar; Astorga, November 1, 1567 – Casalarreina, La Rioja, October 2, 1626), was a Spanish (Galician) diplomat. He served as the Spanish ambassador to England from 1613 to 1622 and afterwards, as a kind of ambassador emeritus, Spain's leading expert on English affairs until his death.

The popular notion in England of his day painted him as the head of a Spanish faction at the English court, as privy to the inner thoughts of King James I, and as a fiendish schemer for Popery (for whom the term "Machiavellian" was brought into common English usage).

The embassy to London

Further information: [History of the foreign relations of the United Kingdom § Stuart foreign policy](#)

Gondomar's reputation as a diplomat, which brought him to international historical prominence, is based on his two periods of service in England – from 1613 to 1618 and from 1619 to 1622. The excellence of his [latinity](#) pleased the literary tastes of [King James I](#), whose character he judged with remarkable insight. He flattered the king's love of books and of peace, and he made skilful use of the king's desire for a matrimonial alliance between [the Prince of Wales](#) and the *infanta* [Maria Anna of Spain](#) (the proposed "[Spanish Match](#)"). The British historian J. P. Kenyon calls him "a cleverer man than any in England", who was gifted enough to tie England to Spain's interests for the next decade.

The ambassador's task in the prelude to the [Thirty Years' War](#) was to keep James from aiding the [Protestant](#) states against Spain and [Habsburg](#) Austria, and to avert English attacks on Spanish possessions in the [Americas](#). His success made him odious to the anti-Spanish and [Puritan](#) parties. The active part he took in promoting the execution of Sir [Walter Raleigh](#) aroused particular animosity. He was attacked by popular pamphleteers — [Thomas Scott](#)'s extravagant propaganda, *Vox populi*, was widely believed — and the dramatist [Thomas Middleton](#) made him a principal character in the strange political play [A Game at Chess](#), which was suppressed by order of the council.



Portrait of Gondomar, [engraving](#) by [Simon de Passe](#), 1622

The [Howards](#) were Gondomar's principal friends at court – [Henry Howard, 1st Earl of Northampton](#) (died 1614), [Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk](#), Lord High Treasurer, whose daughter was married to James's favourite, [Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Nottingham](#), Lord High Admiral, [Thomas Howard, 21st Earl of Arundel](#), and their protégés. The "Howard faction" preferred a marriage alliance with Spain over one with France, the traditional ally of Scotland, and they preferred to keep out of open warfare with Spain promoted by the more zealous Puritans. Most of the Howards were Catholics, encouraging them towards a spirit of toleration at home. Like many at the English court, they were receiving pensions from Spain,^[4] without much effect on their opinions and actions, and Gondomar seldom had the money to follow through. Among the pensioners, in an embarrassing list that surfaced in 1613, at Gondomar's first arrival was the King of England himself.

Gondomar conceived of his embassy as a [sortie](#) in enemy country, and he took for his maxim *aventurar la vida y osar morir* ("risk your life and dare to die"). His opening challenge was his refusal to strike the colours of Spain at his warships' entry to [Portsmouth](#) harbour, in which an appeal to the king averted an exchange of cannon fire. His handling of the unconditional release of the Catholic agitator [Luisa Carvajal y Mendoza](#) further established him in James's eyes as a man of unexpected strength. In 1617 Sarmiento was created Count of Gondomar. The key to Gondomar's success was his relationship with James, whom he brought to admire and like his witty and learned companionship, his candour, within the obvious limits, and his personal integrity. They called themselves the "two Diegos" and drank from the same bottle (Carter 1964:205). It was to Gondomar, after the failure of the [Addled Parliament](#) of 1614, that James made his celebrated remark "I am amazed that my ancestors should have allowed such an institution to come into existence".

A key program for Gondomar at the outset was to block the marriage negotiations between Prince Charles and a sister of [Louis XIII of France](#), a French counterweight to marital alliances being concluded with the Spanish Habsburgs (see the [Spanish Match](#)).

In the matter of [Sir Walter Raleigh](#), it was Gondomar's pressure that cost Sir Walter his head on 29 October 1618. In a moment of weakness, James had shown Gondomar the contract under which Raleigh

had sailed, and the restriction upon attacking Spanish settlements, in order to mollify Gondomar's objections to an enterprise on which James had set his heart. Raleigh's attack on San Thomé (near modern [Ciudad Guayana](#)) was a public violation; his execution kept the peace with Spain. The English could not forgive Gondomar, who in 1618 obtained leave to come home for his health, but he was then ordered to return by way of Flanders and France with a diplomatic mission.

In 1619 he returned to London and remained until 1622. The [Guyana](#) expedition of [Roger North](#) in 1620 seemed to be a repeat of Raleigh's violation of Spanish settlements in the Caribbean, and at Gondomar's insistence, North was imprisoned.

The tensest late confrontation was over [Count Mansfeld](#)'s projected movement of troops raised in England to rescue James's son-in-law [Frederick V, Elector Palatine](#), the "Winter King" of Bohemia. Habsburg Madrid and Brussels were concerned that the French aimed to join Mansfeld's forces and retrieve [Artois](#) for France, and the project was let slide.

When Gondomar was allowed to retire and return to Spain, he was named a member of the royal council and governor of one of the king's palaces, and he was appointed to a complimentary mission to [Vienna](#). Gondomar was in [Madrid](#) when the Prince of Wales— afterwards [Charles I](#)— made his journey there in search of a wife. He died at the house of the [Constable of Castile](#), near [Haro](#) in [La Rioja](#).

Gondomar was twice married, first to his niece Beatrix Sarmiento, by whom he had no children, and then to his cousin Constanza de Acuña, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. The hatred he aroused in England, which was shown by the widespread mockery of an intestinal complaint from which he suffered for years, was a tribute to the zeal with which he served his own master.

Gondomar collected, both before he came to London and during his residence there, a fine library of printed books and manuscripts. Orders for the arrangement, binding and storing of his books in his house at [Valladolid](#) appear frequently in his voluminous correspondence. In 1785 the library was ceded by his descendant and representative the marquis of Malpica to [Charles III of Spain](#), and it is now in the Royal Library at Madrid.

A portrait of Gondomar, attributed to [Diego Velázquez](#), was formerly at [Stowe, Buckinghamshire](#). It was [mezzotinted](#) by [Robert Cooper](#).

<https://www.amazon.com/Carry-Me-Back-Domestic-American/dp/0195310195> - paperback link

<https://www.amazon.com/Carry-Me-Back-Domestic-American-ebook/dp/B000R55KMQ> - Kindle link

Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life

by Steven Deyle (Author)

Publisher : Oxford University Press (August 31, 2006)

Language : English

Paperback : 416 pages

ISBN-10 : 0195310195

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<https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/B00CHH2G8S>

American Slavery, American Freedom

by Edmund S. Morgan

ASIN : B00CHH2G8S

Publisher : W. W. Norton & Company; Reissue edition (October 17, 2003)

Publication date : October 17, 2003

Language : English

Print length : 466 pages

Top reviews from the United States

Wald1900

5.0 out of 5 stars Fascinating Insights into the Origins of American Racism

Reviewed in the United States on February 23, 2013

Verified Purchase

This is a fantastic, must read book for anyone interested in the origins of American racism. Morgan recounts the cultural, economic and political evolution of the 17th and early 18th century Virginia, and with it, makes comprehensible the reasons why racial slavery emerged as an integral component to the development of the white community's pre-revolutionary ideals of independence and liberty.

At the founding of the Jamestown colony in 1607, Virginia offered vast tracts of land available to anyone willing to make the trip and who could survive their first season (or two or three) in the New World. Unlike in England where opportunities for land ownership were constrained, the fact that Virginia land was to be had for the taking made the economic equation simple - more labor = more profits. To provide this labor, England's surplus poor (of which there was an overabundance) were sent to Virginia as indentured servants for a period of four to seven years in order to work off the costs of their relocation. Once their indenture period was over, they were free.....and poor. Over time, as established interests grabbed more and more of the land, opportunities for released bondsmen decrease, essentially creating an ever-growing class of destitute (and thoroughly despised) whites who threatened the social and political stability of the colony. Racial slavery was introduced over time to stem this proliferation of poor whites, who, after having served the term of their indenture, were free to be a "blight" on the community.

These planter elites were also constantly at political war with a succession of governors appointed by the crown to manage the affairs of the colony in a manner most beneficial to the king. By enfranchising poor whites and enlisting their support for the colonial assembly, the elites were able to exercise political power over affairs of the colony in a manner most beneficial to the colonists, rich and poor alike. The result of these forces caused a major adjustment in white social strata - the role of detested poor who would only work under the threat of the lash was imposed upon enslaved blacks, and poor whites were elevated to the level of political partners with the elites. This simultaneously endowed all whites with a fierce sense of entitlement over their political rights and the prerogatives of power on the one hand, and contempt for their black slaves on the other. Liberty and equality came to be seen as inalienable birthrights while slavery was the means by which the "shiftless, lazy, indolent" poor could be transformed from burdens on society to positive (albeit brutally coerced) contributors. In other words, Virginia whites came to think of blacks with the same sense of scorn and contempt that English aristocrats held for the poor in England while, at the same time, assuming as a birthright the same sense

of political entitlement enjoyed by the elite class in England. It was this, to our modern eyes, bizarre combination of egalitarian and tyrannical ideals that informed and inspired Jefferson, Washington and Madison (among others) as they participated in the formation of what would become the United States.

The implication of this history on modern political discourse is obvious. Those who today passionately cite the liberty-loving ethos of the founding fathers while simultaneously exhibiting contempt for the poor are only looking at one side of the equation. For the Virginians, slavery and liberty went hand in hand; without the one there could not have been the other. A full, rich and nuanced understanding of our heritage compels us to recognize the human inclination to despise and exploit the powerless with the same vigor and passion that we celebrate the ennobling power of freedom.

On a final note of criticism - while the book does a masterful job of making the origins of colonial racism comprehensible, it does so at the expense of "black experience" narratives. The story addresses issues of slavery only to the extent of discussing laws passed throughout the pre-revolutionary period in order to institutionalize it and the effect these laws had on the attitudes of whites towards blacks. I started the book expecting a far deeper dive in this area, and was disappointed by how little was presented concerning the evolution of slavery throughout the 17th century from a black perspective. After having read the book, I concede that this deeper dive was not strictly necessary in order for the author to prove his thesis, yet it would have been a stronger work had greater efforts in this area been made.

gloine36

5.0 out of 5 stars A Masterpiece by the most Influential Historian of the 20th Century

Reviewed in the United States on October 9, 2013

Verified Purchase

The late Edmund Morgan may very well have been the most influential American historian of the 20th century. So much of what he wrote has had a definitive impact on the field of American history that he literally stands above the rest of his peers. Few historians can claim to have changed how we view the founding of America, and Morgan is one of that very select company. In *American Slavery, American Freedom* Morgan managed to alter the relationship of slavery to America. While he was primarily writing about colonial Virginia, he explored the issue of slavery and illustrated how the colonial Virginians used racism to develop the form of chattel slavery that rose here in the colonies during the 17th century.

Often as we teach our history courses our students will invariably answer the question about why people came to the colonies with the statement, "People wanted to be free." Yet, we know from the records that most people who came to Virginia were anything but free. The facts are there and have always been there proving this, yet few speak about it because it conflicts with American heritage. Morgan shattered that illusion in this book. He showed that colonial Virginia was the exact opposite of freedom and that many people in the 17th century were forced to go there. In addition he showed how thousands of people died in Virginia from various causes during the first half of the century.

He also investigated the role of class in colonial Virginia and how those in power sought to use the colonial government to retain that power for themselves and similar people. At times this ran contrary to what the English monarchs wanted in their colonies, but the upper class of Virginia managed to overcome obstacles and stay in power. Morgan did this by examining the records of the colony including the laws as they were enacted. He found that many laws were designed to help those with money at the expense of those without. He also found where the laws changed and became race conscious which he interpreted as the sign that the upper class was making a clear distinction between white and black in order to create the classic Us vs. Them division. This division would be the racist wedge used to keep poor whites of the lower class from associating with the blacks of any class and to reinforce the status of slavery on all blacks.

This book won the Francis Parkman award and is regarded as an American history classic. One of the great things about Morgan was that his writing was wonderful and academic at the same time. Notes are given to the reader on each page via footnotes and reveal the great depth of research that Morgan used to develop this topic. It is a must read even today for anyone studying the history of Virginia. It is also a wonderful example of what a history book should be in its style and literary quality. Morgan's appendix does make one wonder what would have happened had he developed a quantification theory to go with his topic. The data results would probably have reinforced his conclusion. The appendix is an early use of that type of approach and shows that Morgan's conclusion would have been validated by quantification.

All in all this book is a must read for any scholar of Virginia, colonial America, or slavery. Reading it will help the student develop a deeper contextual feeling for how colonial Virginia developed and a greater understanding as to why certain things in this country came about. The theme of racism has been existent in America for centuries and Morgan showed us exactly why that was. This book is a must have in my collection and many others for its high quality of research.

<https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/B004HFRJT4>

The Radicalism of the American Revolution

by Gordon S. Wood

ASIN : B004HFRJT4

Publisher : Vintage; Reprint edition (August 24, 2011)

Publication date : August 24, 2011

Print length : 466 pages

Gordon S. Wood is Alva O. Way Professor of History Emeritus at Brown University. His books include the Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, the Bancroft Prize-winning *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*, and *The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the Uses of History*. He writes frequently for *The New York Review of Books* and *The New Republic*.

Top reviews from the United States

Jron

5.0 out of 5 stars Breathtaking in its scope and magisterial in its writing

Reviewed in the United States on July 18, 2007

Verified Purchase

The purpose of Gordon S. Wood's wonderfully written *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* is to reinvigorate a sense of awe around present-day thought regarding the Revolution of 1776. His opening sentence reminds the reader that "we Americans like to think of our revolution as not being radical" (3). Then, with the patience of a Renaissance sculptor and the literary craftsmanship of a master historian, Brown uses the following 366 pages to convince the reader that we Americans are wrong: the American Revolution was indeed radical. The Revolution's purest radicalism comes from the fact that the changes in government that the American leaders successfully achieved through the overthrow of British authority in the colonies led to unforeseen and uncontrollable social changes in the emerging nation.

Wood's goals for this book are incredibly ambitious and the language he invokes is equally grandiose: "It was the Revolution, more than any other single event, that made America into the most liberal, democratic, and modern nation in the world" (7). But if one can bear a concise introduction that reads a bit like historical grand-standing, Wood uses three well-designed and equally convincing sections (monarchy, republicanism, and democracy) to legitimate his enormous claims.

The first section of the book presents an exhibition of how the British monarchical system permeated most aspects of colonial social life. A traditional patriarchal system of hierarchy tied each subject, in turn, to another through a common tie to the king, as the head (patriarch). The responsibility of patronage-- "the lifeblood of monarchy"--by those in higher levels of the social structure, beginning with the king, kept the system of accepted (and expected) inequality intact and functioning. The colonial system of patriarchal patronage, in part because of distance from the king, was not quite as sound and solid as that of the English isle, and the loosening of the patriarchal bonds between subjects promoted a larger sense of independence. Wood's analysis here rings with notions of the American social transformation from Filmerian patriarchy to Lockean familial ties posited by Jay Fliegelman in *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority 1750-1800* (Cambridge Paperback Library) . Accordingly, "by the middle of the eighteenth century so repugnant was the idea of dependency among free men in the English-speaking world, and so elusive and presumably mutual were these innumerable personal attachments, that only the term 'friendship' seemed universal and affective enough to describe them" (58).

The second section demonstrates the importance of social and political literature to the American transition from monarchy to republicanism. Drawing upon the influential analysis in the first third of Bernard Bailyn's *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, originally published in 1967, Wood credits the eighteenth-century British literature of social criticism as the dominant and pervasive literary influence on the republicanism of colonial leaders. Despite Bailyn's contention that the colonists did not thoroughly read and fully grasp (yet liberally cited) the classical republican writings of Cicero, Virgil, and others, Wood concludes that the colonial revolutionary leaders and future national leaders attempted to embody and live out classical republican values as they understood them. The strain of trying to revive Roman republican values in a nascent North American nation eventually led to dissent, disappointment, and disillusionment of those who dedicated so much to the revolutionary endeavor.

One of the more important aspects of the book is its understanding that eighteenth-century American equality "did not mean that everyone was in fact the same, but only that ordinary people were closer in wealth and property to those above them and felt freer from aristocratic patronage and control than did common people elsewhere in the Western world" (171). Virtuous gentlemen "free from dependence and from petty interests of the marketplace" and educated in the liberal arts were supposed to lead the ordinary people in the establishment a modern republic free of corruption (104). Ordinary individuals could not sustain republican virtue and guard it against corruption because they were not free as long as they depended on the marketplace to prosper. This Roman model of republicanism, however, was untenable in eighteenth-century America. Though the American colonies possessed a few rich and many poor, even fewer among the rich could serve the new nation without worries of continuing to manage their personal wealth. Therefore, after 1776, propertied men, merchants, and farmers were elected and served side-by-side in state legislatures.

The most arresting part of the book, the third section, explores how the dream of revolutionary leaders for an American republic secured by the disinterested actions of elite gentlemen gave way to a democratic system and society they never imagined. Despite a valiant effort by proponents of a national constitution in the 1780s to create a central government structure to balance competing interests, "so much did private interests come to pervade the halls of Congress and the corridors of the various statehouses that many Americans found it harder and harder to conceive of disinterested leadership anywhere in the society" (267). So strange did the post-revolutionary, constitutional United States seem to some of the revolutionary leaders that many concluded, like Alexander Hamilton, that "this American world was not made for me" (367).

The Radicalism of the American Revolution is breathtaking in its scope and magisterial in its writing. For scholars, undergraduates, and general readers, it is a page-turner. Wood mounts an impressive intellectual arsenal of primary source evidence that corroborates and confronts the major historical works of the past half-century. In one book, Wood sensitively introduces readers to major arguments within the historical discipline and then leads them with prowess and passion to his point of view. The author's sparse (and I mean sparse) treatment of women, African slaves, and Native Americans are valid sources for complaint and criticism in a work of such caliber. But it is, indeed, the sheer caliber of Wood's work that will afford him some level of absolution by all but the staunchest of cultural historians.

David P

5.0 out of 5 stars Wood's magnum opus; an erudite, scholarly and enlightening read

Reviewed in the United States on June 13, 2013

Verified Purchase

Gordon S. Wood's "The Radicalism of the American Revolution" is a masterwork. Numerous authors have chronicled, with varying degrees of success, the trials and tribulations of the early days of the American empire, but very few have illuminated the spirit of the American body politic and its cultural paternalism as poetically as Wood. The preponderance of Enlightenment values that trickled down from the gentry to trading class was ubiquitous throughout America ca. 1750-1800 and its philosophical implications were overwhelmingly prevalent in government and in the American home. Wood attributes John Locke's writings to the character of American culture, not just the Jeffersonian phraseology of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," but also the pedagogical standard to fathers and sons, husbands and wives, creditors and debtors, etc. pursued with intellectual and moral rigour. Wood refutes the classical argument that the majority of Americans detested the capriciousness and imparity of the monarchy in Great Britain to the extent of bringing about universal secessionism, and posits the argument that attitudes to the crown were essentially dualist. The public sectors rang with patriotic vigour to the cause of independence, but many intimated that rejection of the sovereign was deeply problematic by virtue of treading into the unknown. Their fears weren't unfounded as their current situation presented two troubling extremes: tyrannical conservatism on one hand, and licentious liberalism on the other. There was also tumultuous guilt to be felt, as their emancipation from the crown established a collective disobedience akin to the English Civil War between royalists and parliamentarians in 17th Century Britain. Their qualms were also, in addition to violating conventional authority, class driven.

The political milieu became complicated, as the preternatural submission to total authority; the doffing of the cap, as it were, was a relic of the worst aspects of society on part of the monarchy. Despite this, classical elements of the gentry still reigned supreme. It wasn't a question of how much you had, but rather who you were and how you achieved it. Trade, to quote John Locke, "was wholly inconsistent with a gentleman's calling." Reverence of one's position often hinged on inheritance and title; this was particularly true of the brilliant, but financially reckless John Hancock. The conceit of the book, though, is in the title, and Wood goes to painstaking lengths to articulate it. Wood labours that revolutions are determined not by their disobedience and bloodshed, but by the change that follows. He doesn't obfuscate his definition of a revolution, but is also apt to understand why people may be disinclined to conflate the War of Independence (1776-1783) with the sanguinary French Revolution in the canon of revolutionary studies (1789-1799). The elation and personal liberation felt by the French after the storming of the Bastille and their emancipation from an erstwhile apathetic court of aristocrats and lords was ephemeral, and the once conservative tyrannising was steadfastly replaced with an arbitrary barbarism. Fortunately, the same cannot be said of the American Revolution, with its "powdered wigs and knee high britches." Yes, a great a deal many of things were still unacceptable, not the least of which being slavery, and on that charge Wood is tactlessly candid in pointing out the elephant in the room, and

is particularly ironic when one refers to Jefferson's musing that "all men are created equal." Nonetheless, the germ of liberty, if not its most refined ethical expectations, became the foundation of the American body politic.

The invidious gulf between the establishment and its subjects would not suffice in America. A higher education was no longer relegated to just the privileged, but also promising students of academic inclination. Commercial success in trade, commodities, and real estate, too, was shared among a great diversity of classes. These realisations were reflected in its popular culture, as well. For example, Parson Weems' hagiography of Benjamin Franklin, for all of its historical inaccuracies, was a brilliant piece of popular writing for its time, because its *mise en scene* was that Franklin's enormous success was attributable to his assiduous work ethic, playing on the popular notion that all men of this grand tradition could triumph over adversity. Of course, we now know that Franklin was something of a Renaissance Man and considerably well-off, and the hardest he had ever worked in the labour market was during his youth as an apprentice printer in Boston under his brother.

America's most difficult factors, unlike France, did not emanate with the people, but within the political interior. There were essentially two schools of thought in direct collision with each other: the Republicans and the Federalists. The Federalists economic policy under Alexander Hamilton (first Treasury Secretary) abhorred the burgeoning modernity of the "republicanisation" of property and paper money. On the opposite end of the spectrum, Jefferson was loath to consider Hamilton's economic interventionism, tariffs, and the establishment of a national bank. Commercial modernity is a recurring theme in Wood's thesis, and it runs parallel to the burgeoning development of the American political sphere of influence. What's so refreshing about this book is the depth and clarity Wood applies to the *zeitgeist* of American life. This is a magnificent narrative rendered vividly by an eminent historian at the top of his game.

Quotes from the book

So distinctive and so separated was the aristocracy from ordinary folk that many still thought the two groups represented two orders of being. Indeed, we will never appreciate the radicalism of the eighteenth-century revolutionary idea that all men were created equal unless we see it within this age-old tradition of difference. Gentlemen and commoners had different psyches, different emotional makeups, different natures. Ordinary people were made only "to be born and eat and sleep and die, and be forgotten." Like Mozart's Papageno, they knew "little of the motives which stimulate the higher ranks to action, pride, honour, and ambition. In general it is only hunger which can spur and goad them on to labour." Ordinary people were thought to be different physically, and because of varying diets and living conditions, no doubt in many cases they were different. People often assumed that a handsome child, though apparently a commoner, had to be some gentleman's bastard offspring. At times the aristocracy thought that common people resembled Jonathan Swift's Yahoos, having only appetites and being little more than "cattle." George Washington called ordinary farmers "the grazing multitude." Colonel Landon Carter, a leader of one of Virginia's most distinguished families, saw little to respect among ordinary people and thought that some of them were "but Idiots." Even John Adams early in his career referred to them as the "common Herd of Mankind." "Common Persons," he said, "have no Idea [of] Learning, Eloquence, and Genius," and their "vulgar, rustic Imaginations" were easily excited.

Wood, Gordon S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 27). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

No wonder some aristocrats believed that such ignorant, superstitious, small-souled ordinary folk were made for monarchy. The "unthinking mob," the "ignorant vulgar," were easily taken in by their senses, especially by their sight, and were often overawed by elaborate displays of color and ermine. Even at the

end of his long life and a decade's experience with republican government, Benjamin Franklin could still conclude that "there is a natural inclination in mankind to Kingly Government."

Wood, Gordon S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (pp. 27-28). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Common soldiers captured in war were imprisoned; captured officers, however, could be released "on parole," after giving their word to their fellow gentlemen officers that they would not flee the area or return to their troops. Although English law was presumably equal for all, the criminal punishments were not: gentlemen, unlike commoners, did not have their ears cropped or their bodies flogged.

Wood, Gordon S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 29). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

We will never comprehend the distinctiveness of that premodern world until we appreciate the extent to which many ordinary people still accepted their own lowliness. Only then can we begin to understand the radical changes in this consciousness of humility, among other things, that the American Revolution brought about.

Wood, Gordon S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 30). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Compared with what young Alexander Hamilton called "the unthinking populace," the members of the aristocracy were very different. They were those "whose Minds seem to be of a greater Make than the Minds of others and who are replenished with Heroic Virtues and a Majesty of Soul above the ordinary Part of our Species." These great-souled men were driven by passions that ordinary people could never comprehend, by ambition, by pride, by honor, and by "a Prospect of an Immortality in the Memories of all the Worthy, to the End of Time." In war, the arts, or government, they were the source of achievement and works of genius.

Wood, Gordon S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 28). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

In the southern colonies perhaps as few as one in twenty-five adult white males was readily acknowledged as a gentleman, while in the northern colonies maybe one in ten was accorded that status;

Wood, Gordon S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 30). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Some of these aristocratic planters had truly grand pretensions, as Philip Fithian, the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) graduate who became tutor to the family of the great Virginia planter Robert Carter, was at pains to point out. The great planters' "amazing property" in land and slaves, no matter how burdened with debts, had created in all the owners' minds, said Fithian, a belief "that they are exalted as much above other Men in worth and precedency, as blind stupid fortune has made a difference in their property."

Wood, Gordon S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 31). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The most important measure was still "Birth and Parentage," as befitting a monarchical society with an inherited crown. All men were created unequal. God, it was said, had been "pleas'd to constitute a Difference in Families." Although most children were of "low Degree or of Common Derivation, Some are Sons and Daughters of the Mighty: they are more honorably descended, and have greater Relations than others." The word "gentry" was, after all, associated with birth, derived from "gens" or stock. English and colonial writers like Henry Fielding and Robert Munford, even when poking fun at the false pretensions of the aristocracy, had to have—for the harmony of their stories—their apparently plebeian heroes or heroines turn out to be secretly the offspring of a gentleman. A monarchical society necessarily had a deep cultural prejudice against what the Maryland physician Alexander Hamilton called people of "low extraction."

Wood, Gordon S. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (pp. 31-32). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Gentlemen walked and talked in certain ways and held in contempt those who did not. They ate with silver knives and forks while many common people still ate with their hands. They took up dancing and fencing, for both “contribute greatly to a graceful Carriage.” They were urged by their parents to study poetry and to learn to play musical instruments and to “become perfectly easy and natural” in their manners, particularly in “real humility, condescension, courteousness, affability.” “A Gentleman,” they were told, “should know how to appear in an Assembly [in] Public to Advantage, and to defend himself if attacked.” Philip Fithian said that any young gentleman traveling through Virginia was presumed to be acquainted with dancing, boxing, card- and fiddle-playing, and the use of a small sword. Gentlemen prided themselves on their classical learning, and in both their privately circulated verse and their public polemics they took great pains to display their knowledge.

Wood, Gordon S.. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (pp. 32-33). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Ultimately, beneath all these strenuous efforts to define gentility lay the fundamental classical characteristic of being free and independent. The liberality for which gentlemen were known connoted freedom—freedom from material want, freedom from the caprice of others, freedom from ignorance, and freedom from having to work with one’s hands. The gentry’s distinctiveness came from being independent in a world of dependencies, learned in a world only partially literate and leisured in a world of laborers.

Wood, Gordon S.. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 33). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The aristocracy needed to display its status by spending, but the responsibility of common people was to produce, not to consume. Thus followed the many traditional attempts to impose sumptuary laws on ordinary people and the continual calls for more frugality among the commonality. The evil of luxury was the evil of ordinary people violating the social hierarchy and living beyond their allotted social rank. Luxurious spending by the aristocracy provided useful work for common people; it was, as Gibbon said, a voluntary tax paid by the rich for the sake of the poor. But if this luxurious spending extended throughout all social ranks, then, according to the received wisdom, common people would reduce their exertions, become idle, begin to act like aristocrats, and thus confound all social distinctions.

Wood, Gordon S.. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (pp. 35-36). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Addison in *The Spectator* tried to make his merchant character Sir Andrew Freeport respectable, in the end he had to have Sir Andrew retire from business and buy a landed estate in order to become a full-fledged gentleman.

Wood, Gordon S.. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 38). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Even Benjamin Franklin, for all his praise of the work ethic, never valued toil for its own sake, and certainly not for a gentleman. “Who is there,” he once wrote, “that can be handsomely Supported in Affluence, Ease and Pleasure by another, that will chuse rather to earn his Bread by the Sweat of his own Brows?” Men worked from necessity, he said, not from choice. **As soon as Franklin acquired enough wealth not to have to work, he retired from business at the age of forty-two and became a gentleman of leisure. Nobody who continued to work for a living, especially with his hands—no plowman, no printer, no artisan—no matter how wealthy he became, no matter how many employees he managed, could ever legitimately claim the status of gentleman.**

Only when the small-time Charleston trader John Marley and the prosperous printer Benjamin Franklin actually gave up their businesses and freed themselves from mandatory labor could they enter the ranks of gentlemen. **Anyone who worked with his hands, even a great painter with noble aspirations like John Singleton Copley, was socially stigmatized.** Copley painted the portraits of dozens of distinguished colonial gentlemen, and he knew what his patrons thought of his art. For them, Copley said bitterly in

1767, painting was “no more than any other useful trade, as they sometimes term it, like that of a Carpenter tailor or shoemaker.”

Wood, Gordon S.. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 38). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Because labor was so valuable in America, the colonists enacted numerous laws designed to control the movement of servants and to prevent runaways. There was nothing in England resembling the passes required in all the colonies for traveling servants. And as expensive property, most colonial servants could be bought and sold, rented out, seized for the debts of their masters, and conveyed in wills to heirs. Colonial servants often belonged to their masters in ways that English servants did not. They could not marry, buy or sell property, or leave their households without their master’s permission.

No wonder newly arriving Britons were astonished to see how ruthlessly Americans treated their white servants.

Wood, Gordon S.. The Radicalism of the American Revolution (p. 53). Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

<https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/why-was-cotton-king/>

Why Was Cotton ‘King’?

by [Henry Louis Gates, Jr.](#) | Originally posted on [The Root](#)

[My Note - the comments to this article are horrifyingly ignorant]

Its beautiful bolls,

And bales of rich value, the Master controls.

Of “mud-stills” he prates, and would haughtily bring

The world to acknowledge that “Cotton is King.”

–*The Gospel of Slavery, by “Iron Gray,” [Abel C. Thomas] 1864.*

The most commonly used phrase describing the growth of the American economy in the 1830s and 1840s was “Cotton Is King.” We think of this slogan today as describing the plantation economy of the slavery states in the Deep South, which led to the creation of “the second Middle Passage.” But it is important to understand that this was not simply a Southern phenomenon. Cotton was one of the world’s first luxury commodities, after sugar and tobacco, and was also the commodity whose production most dramatically turned millions of black human beings in the United States themselves into commodities. Cotton became the first mass consumer commodity.

Understanding both how extraordinarily profitable cotton was and how interconnected and overlapping were the economies of the cotton plantation, the Northern banking industry, New England textile factories and a huge proportion of the economy of Great Britain helps us to understand why it was something of a miracle that slavery was finally abolished in this country at all.

Let me try to break this down quickly, since it is so fascinating:

Let’s start with the value of the slave population. Steven Deyle shows that in 1860, [the value of the slaves](#) was “roughly three times greater than the total amount invested in banks,” and it was “equal to about seven times the total value of all currency in circulation in the country, three times the value of the entire livestock population, twelve times the value of the entire U.S. cotton crop and forty-eight

times the total expenditure of the federal government that year.” As mentioned here in a previous column, [the invention of the cotton gin](#) greatly increased the productivity of cotton harvesting by slaves. This resulted in dramatically higher profits for planters, which in turn led to a seemingly insatiable increase in the demand for more slaves, in a savage, brutal and vicious cycle.

Now, the value of cotton: Slave-produced cotton “[brought commercial ascendancy to New York City](#), was the driving force for territorial expansion in the Old Southwest and fostered trade between Europe and the United States,” according to Gene Dattel. In fact, cotton productivity, no doubt due to the sharecropping system that replaced slavery, remained central to the American economy for a very long time: “Cotton was the leading American export from 1803 to 1937.”

What did cotton production and slavery have to do with Great Britain? The figures are astonishing. As Dattel explains: “Britain, the most powerful nation in the world, relied on slave-produced American cotton for over 80 per cent of its essential industrial raw material. English textile mills accounted for 40 percent of Britain’s exports. One-fifth of Britain’s twenty-two million people were directly or indirectly involved with cotton textiles.”

“First cotton gin” from Harpers Weekly. 1869 illustration depicting event of some 70 years earlier by William L. Sheppard. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs division)

And, finally, New England? As Ronald Bailey shows, [cotton fed the textile revolution in the United States](#). “In 1860, for example, New England had 52 percent of the manufacturing establishments and 75 percent of the 5.14 million spindles in operation,” he explains. The same goes for looms. In fact, Massachusetts “alone had 30 percent of all spindles, and Rhode Island another 18 percent.” Most impressively of all, “New England mills consumed 283.7 million pounds of cotton, or 67 percent of the 422.6 million pounds of cotton used by U.S. mills in 1860.” In other words, on the eve of the Civil War, New England’s economy, so fundamentally dependent upon the textile industry, was inextricably intertwined, as Bailey puts it, “to the labor of black people working as slaves in the U.S. South.”

If there was one ultimate cause of the Civil War, it was King Cotton — black-slave-grown cotton — “the most important determinant of American history in the nineteenth century,” Dattel concludes. “Cotton prolonged America’s most serious social tragedy, slavery, and slave-produced cotton caused the American Civil War.” And that is why it was something of a miracle that even the New England states joined the war to end slavery.

Once we understand the paramount economic importance of cotton to the economies of the United States and Great Britain, we can begin to appreciate the enormity of the achievements of the black and white abolitionists who managed to marshal moral support for the abolition of slavery, as well as those half a million slaves who “marched with their feet” and fled to Union lines as soon as they could following the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/james-vi-and-i-1566-1625/>

James VI and I (1566–1625)

Early Years

The birth of James Stuart at Edinburgh Castle on June 19, 1566, came at a tumultuous time in Scotland’s history. His Catholic mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, ruled a kingdom in the grips of the Protestant

Reformation; his English father, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was estranged from Mary, who was frustrating his political ambitions at court. Indeed, three months earlier Darnley had participated in the murder of Mary's secretary, David Rizzio, in the pregnant queen's presence, a crime that she feared was part of a plot against her as well. Darnley refused to attend James's baptism, a lavish ceremony held on December 17, 1566, in the chapel at Stirling Castle, but he and Mary seem to have reconciled enough to be living together again a few months later. On February 10, 1567, a gunpowder explosion destroyed Darnley's lodgings at Kirk o' Field; his strangled corpse lay in the back garden. Suspicion fell upon the queen and her close advisor, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, whom Mary married on May 15, 1567. A fight for control of the kingdom ensued, and on July 24, 1567, Mary Stuart abdicated in favor of her son. Crowned King James VI in a Protestant service at Stirling on July 29, 1567, the thirteen-month-old James became, as he later said, "a cradle king."

James never saw his mother again. Mary Stuart lost the battle with her Protestant government to reclaim her crown, and on May 16, 1568, she fled to England seeking military support from her cousin, Queen Elizabeth. Instead, Mary remained a prisoner in England for nineteen years while James grew into his royal adulthood. In 1584, James declined his mother's petition to return to Scotland and rule jointly with him, and he maintained cordial ties with Elizabeth even after she had his mother tried and executed in 1587.

While a series of regents governed for him from 1567 to 1584, young James received a rigorous education from his tutor George Buchanan. Reared a Calvinist, James studied Greek, Latin, and French. James was an enthusiastic scholar and produced a number of books during his lifetime, including *Daemonologie* (1597), about witchcraft; *Basilikon Doron* (1598), to advise his son; *Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598), about the nature of kingship; and *Counter-Blaste to Tobacco* (1604), a treatise condemning [the plant's](#) use. (As tobacco production developed in Virginia in the 1620s and added to England's wealth, he ceased voicing his opposition.) On August 28, 1582, James had an unexpected lesson in the harsh realities of political survival: William Ruthven, earl of Gowrie, kidnapped the king and ruled through him until James escaped in June 1583. Within a year, James declared himself of age and began to rule independently.

On November 23, 1589, James married a Lutheran princess, Anne of Denmark, in Oslo, Norway. After the happy couple reached Edinburgh, Scotland, Anne had her coronation in Holyrood Abbey on May 17, 1590. She would give birth to three boys and four girls, of whom three lived to adulthood: Henry, born in 1594; Elizabeth, born in 1596; and Charles, born in 1600.

As the great-great-grandson of Henry VII of England, James kept his eyes on the prize that had eluded his mother: the English crown. Through correspondence, he cultivated a familial relationship with Queen Elizabeth, who paid him an annual pension from 1586 to 1602. James also relied upon the services of first Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, and then Sir Robert Cecil, principal secretary, in his maneuverings during the 1590s to have the queen name him her heir. She never did publicly, but on her deathbed the last Tudor ruler seemed to nod in acquiescence to the naming of her Scottish Stuart successor.

Ruler of England and Great Britain

As James made a stately progress from Edinburgh to London during April and May of 1603, scores of English elites rode to seek favors from their popular new king, a married man with children and an experienced Calvinist ruler known for his generosity. Notwithstanding the plot of [Sir Walter Raleigh](#) and a few others to supplant him with the English noblewoman Lady Arabella Stuart, to many people James represented a promising change. In the year following his joint coronation with Anne on July 25, 1603, in Westminster Abbey, James addressed his first Parliament, concluded a peace agreement that ended the

Anglo-Spanish War (1585–1604), and convened a religious conference at Hampton Court, where he affirmed his support of the Church of England's doctrines and structure and commissioned a translation of the Bible that would come to bear his name.

Less successful were his efforts in 1604 to unify his two kingdoms. James assumed the title of king of Great Britain and commissioned a new British flag, the Union Jack, but in reality all that England and Scotland shared politically was their monarch. On November 5, 1605, a group of disaffected Catholics, including Guy Fawkes, tried to assassinate James by blowing up Parliament in the Gunpowder Plot. Their failure led to an outpouring of support for the king and centuries of commemoration.

<https://fathom.lib.uchicago.edu/1/777777122584/>

The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth I and King James VI

by Janel Mueller

Within a system of hereditary monarchy, the toughest problem for a self-styled Virgin Queen was to assure a successor to her own reign. This problem obsessed Elizabeth's earliest Parliaments, in 1558-59, 1563 and 1566, when both Houses created an ongoing crisis for her authority by admonishing her, again and again, to marry and bear an heir. But since, in the nature of things, marriage and progeny would take some time, the Lords and Commons simultaneously urged Elizabeth to secure the throne of England by specifying a line of succession after herself.

Elizabeth was always much more negative about specifying the succession than about marrying. She regarded any such explicitness as a colossal piece of political folly that endangered the incumbent and the designated successors alike--in the first instance, by opening up alternative rallying-points for disaffected subjects; in the second, by casting a designated successor as an arch-rival to the person then ruling.

In the late spring or early summer of 1585, Elizabeth began a correspondence with James VI of Scotland. Elizabeth was 51 years old; James celebrated his nineteenth birthday in June. Previously the two sovereigns had communicated through their respective ambassadors and the messages orally entrusted to them. Now, in mid-1585, Elizabeth and James begin to write directly to each other. The correspondence continues at irregular but not infrequent intervals until Elizabeth's last letter of January 6, 1603, slightly more than two months before her death. The great preponderance of these letters survives in the collection now known as British Library, Additional MS 15891. The letters are in the two monarchs' own handwriting--as graphic witnesses of their mutual high status but also of the immediacy and frankness with which the two royal correspondents soon begin to treat each other (although they never would meet face to face). Why did Elizabeth initiate this correspondence with James? Why at this date rather than earlier or later? What did she intend by it or hope from it? While Elizabeth offers no direct answers to these questions, I find her intentions readable, to a considerable degree, from her themes and her vocabulary. For his part, James shows himself well able to catch her various drifts and to respond--sometimes in kind, sometimes deliberately not.

The end of all marriage prospects for Elizabeth--her last courtship, to French prince Francois Hercule de Valois, had ended definitively the previous year--had the political and structural effect of relieving her from having to contract a single, exclusive foreign alliance with a consort-to-be and his blood relations. But the end of all marriage prospects also had the political and structural effect of rendering the question of Elizabeth's successor more urgent. The year 1585 found the Dutch Protestants leaderless after the assassination of William of Orange in July 1584, but continuing to receive aid from Elizabeth--

first money and supplies, then troops. At home, the spring of 1585 brought the detection of Dr. William Parry's plot to assassinate Elizabeth and, as this conspiracy unraveled, the transfer of Mary, Queen of Scots from relatively lenient custody to much more stringent surveillance.

Sometime in the early months of 1585 Elizabeth appears to have begun writing to James to propose what she terms a "league" or "contract of amity" between them as monarchs of England and Scotland (Letter 57, Part 3, page 82; Letter 58, Part 3, page 83). By August 13, 1585 James is eager that "the conclusion of the amity and league go forward, whereunto I do already fully consent," and on August 18 he dashes off a further message with the suddenly familiar salutation, "Madame and mother," to assure Elizabeth that "although my articles that the ambassador sends you desires the league to concern only religion, yet my plain intention is that the league shall be offensive and defensive for all invasions upon whatsoever pretext" (Letter 58, Additional Documents A and B, Part 3, pages 84-85). Eventually both refer with satisfaction to their faiths pledged to each other, even while their new league is imperilled by violence in the unruly borderlands between the two countries. Russell, a young English earl, is murdered in July 1585, but his Scottish assailants are not easily brought to justice. A group of Scots Protestant lords leave England in October 1585 with Elizabeth's safe-conduct, ostensibly to go to Germany. However, they wind up, heavily armed, in Edinburgh, where they force James to repudiate his favorite, the Earl of Arran, and remove him from any position of political influence.

Both Elizabeth and James are indignant towards each other regarding these respective outrages as affronts to their honors. Yet the first great psychological and rhetorical initiative of this opening phase of their correspondence prevails through sheer insistence and reiteration. They undertake to establish themselves in friendship--and as specifically worthy of the highest kind defined by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics*: friendship between equals. The special vocabulary of this friendship theme includes frequent use of first-person plural constructions with conjoint predicates, and adverbs and adjectives like "together," "correspondent," "the reciproque." In this vein Elizabeth declares to James:

Your gladsome acceptance of my offered amity, together with the desire you seem to have engraven in your mind to make merits correspondent, makes me in full opinion that some enemies to our goodwill shall lose much travail...It becometh...all of our rank to deal sincerely; lest if we use it not, when we do it we be hardly believed....And so assure yourself I mean and vow to do with this request, that you will afford me the reciproque. (Letter 57, Part 3, page 82)

Friendship roles in the Elizabeth-James correspondence intensify as the two monarchs elaborate a pair of commonplace humanist themes in the period of the Renaissance: (1) that each is as watchful and caring for the other as for a second self, and (2) that neither will flatter or mislead but only speak the truth to the other. However, one unexpected side effect of the friendship-between-equals relation in these letters is that Elizabeth begins quite early to analogize herself to a king--thus drawing her self-representation into nearer identity with that of James. The first occurrence of this terminology is found in a letter of November 1585 in which Elizabeth deplores the strong-arm tactics by which the Scots lords deprived James of Arran, his closest friend:

I beseech you trust my actions according the measure of my former dealings for your safety and answerable to the rule of reason....Judge of me therefore as of a king that carries no abject nature and think this of me, that rather than your danger I will venture mine. (Letter 59, Part 3, page 86)

Another unusual thematic development leads from friendship-in-kingship to kinship between these two, self and other-self, equals as friends and as monarchs. Such is the remarkable range, such are the dynamic interchanges of positions and relations adopted by Elizabeth and James in their letters to each other.

Angling for the throne

I want to trace a crucial sequence of developments hinging on this friendship-kingship-kinship gradation. The sequence is crucial for its bearing on the succession question, and for its determining effect on the subsequent conduct and character of the Elizabeth-James correspondence. It begins with a highly charged, profusely metaphorical letter by Elizabeth to James in March 1586. Expressing herself entirely in allusions, she urges him to recognize and reject the condition on which the French are offering money to fill his almost-empty coffers--the condition that James ally with them and turn away from Elizabeth. She compares her friendship with James to the best ships of which "expertest seamen" boast "when they pass the highest billows without yielding and brook nimblest the roughest storms." "Our friendship" will be likewise "sure," she says, if "you keep the hold of your promised inward affection" and refuse "to peril yourself with hope to harm her who ever hath preserved you." "Read the histories," she admonishes. "You may be sure that Scotland nor yourself be so potent as for your greatness they [the French] seek you, nor never did but to injure a third"--in this case, Elizabeth of England. Still working by allusion, she now gradates from friendship to kinship, tracing their relation back to the care she had of James from his infancy and exhorting him to remain loyal to his alliance with her:

To come to my groundwork, only natural affection *ab incunabulis* stirred me to save you from the murderers of your father and the peril that their complices might breed you....I pray God you may use your best choice to your surest good.

Kinship, possibly even her figurative motherhood of James, is evoked by Elizabeth's key word choices: "natural affection," "*ab incunabulis*" (from the cradle), "your father," "breed you."

Sustaining her allusive vein still further, she addresses the matter of "an instrument (as your secretary terms it) that you desire to have me sign." Evidently the "instrument" would be a signed and sealed grant of financial assistance to James, together with other rights, extending possibly to his succession to the English throne; it would have the status of a legal act. Elizabeth responds: "I assure you though I can play of some and have been brought up to know music, yet this discord would be so gross as were not fit for so well-tuned music." This heavy-handed attempt to joke away the "instrument" issue does not even satisfy her beyond this single sentence. She continues in a much more serious tone, with a different figure of speech: "Must so great doubt be made of free goodwill, and gift be so mistrusted that our sign Emmanuel must assure?" "Sign Emmanuel" is a punning allusion to the "sign manual" or outsized official signature with which the queen validated writs and documents. But "Emmanuel," Hebrew for "God-with-us," is a reference to divinity--possibly to the divine right of kings in which Elizabeth and James both believed--and it intimates the huge stakes of the "instrument" in question. James has asked Elizabeth to give him formal documentations that he will succeed her on the English throne. Refusing this, she again refers to herself as "a king" and claims that her word on this letter-paper should suffice him:

Who should doubt performance of a king's offer? What dishonor may that be deemed?... I will, as long as you with evil desert alter not your course, take care for your safety, help your need, and shun all acts that may damnify [i.e., damage, injure] you in any sort either in present or future time.... This I hope may stand you in as much assurance as my name in parchment, and no less for both our honors." (Letter 63, Part 3, pages 92-93)

Through the cumulative conflation of their friendship, kinship, and kingship relations, Elizabeth seeks to impress upon James that this letter to him from her, in her own hand, is as valid as a royal charter, a testamentary writ empowering him as her successor. I find this an extraordinary innovation on Elizabeth's part: to make of a familiar letter the instrument for conveying the right of succession to her throne, the single gravest matter for the future of the realm of England.

The crisis over Mary, Queen of Scots

The later months of 1586, however, brought sensational disclosures with unsettling implications for the personal and political lineage that the correspondence of Elizabeth and James had been forging. On August 14 Anthony Babington had been arrested; on August 18 he confessed to a plot to murder Elizabeth along with all of her principal ministers and implicated Mary, Queen of Scots, in the conspiracy. The chief conspirators in the Babington Plot were executed on September 20 and 21. Within a few days thereafter, it was determined that Mary, Queen of Scots, should stand trial for treason. On October 15, 1586, Elizabeth wrote to James acknowledging the arrival of a messenger who, in her words, "hath sufficiently informed me of your singular care of my estate and breathing" and his delivery of a letter from James, fraught with so careful passion and so effectual utterance of all best wishes for my safety, and offer of as much as I could have desired, that I confess if I should not seek to deserve it and by merits tie you to continuance, I were evil worthy such a friend. (Letter 73, Part 3, page 105)

Friendship-in-kingship is the carefully delimited theme of this letter, which proceeds to reconfirm the two sovereigns' agreement not to harbor traitors to the other on home soil, but to send them to each other's jurisdiction for justice. There are two distinct realms and two distinct monarchs here, quite obviously. Elizabeth holds in complete abeyance the kinship language with which she had infused their earlier crucial exchange on the succession question.

James wrote the next key letter in this sequence to Elizabeth on January 28, 1587, pleading with her to spare the life of his condemned mother, Mary, Queen of Scots. This letter's use of kinship language is rigidly conventional. In keeping with the practice among European royalty in that era, James confines it to the address, "To madame my very dear sister and cousin, the queen of England," and to his salutation: "Madame and dearest sister." In the body of his letter James uses the images and terminology of friendship but even this relaxation of the closeness of kinship vocabulary occasions him great difficulty. James can hardly write at all. The rhetorical strain from end to end of this letter signals to Elizabeth the extreme strain on their relationship--in particular, his remoteness from her and from any sense of her as a second self.

Yet James seeks to maintain with Elizabeth what he calls "the duty of an honest friend...in few words and plain to give you my friendly and best advice." He reverts now to the earliest self-constructions in their correspondence--the persona of the frank, clear-sighted, unflattering counselor who is a monarch's best friend through truly understanding the monarch's best interest. Significantly, though, James first writes from the perspective of his interest and then, with greater passion and circumstantiality, from Elizabeth's. As he writes, moreover, the key terms of friendship, kingship, and kinship return to degree zero. Now these words merely denote; all metaphoricity and allusiveness are drained away except for the sacredness of divine-right kingship.

What thing, madame, can greatlier touch me in honor that is a king and a son than that my nearest neighbor, being in straitest friendship with me, shall rigorously put to death a free sovereign prince and my natural mother, alike in estate and sex to her that so uses her, albeit subject (I grant) to a harder fortune, and touching her nearly in proximity of blood? What law of God can permit that justice shall strike upon them whom He has appointed supreme dispensators of the same under Him, whom He hath called gods and therefore subjected to the censure of none in earth, whose anointing by God cannot be defiled by man,... Honor were it to you to spare when it is least looked for; honor were it to you...to take me and all other princes in Europe eternally beholden unto you in granting this my so reasonable request, and not (appardon, I pray you, my free speaking) to put princes to straits of honor wherethrough your general reputation and the universal (almost) misliking of you may dangerously peril both in honor and utility your person and estate. (Letter 73, Additional Document A, Part 3, pages 106-07)

The prospect of Mary, Queen of Scots' execution utterly dispels Elizabeth's and James's earlier mutual imaginings and allusive evocations of an England and a Scotland happily at one through the affective bond between their two sovereigns and their mutual understanding on the succession question. Here James isolates Elizabeth as a self-destructive paradox, a monarch-killing monarch, and ranges himself together with the other monarchs of Europe. The sole affinity that he recognizes in her is a receptiveness to Realpolitik. In the Renaissance outlook shared by Elizabeth and James, political realism is the capacity to find contemporary values for the two terms of Cicero's equation--"honor and utility," as he puts it, or as we might update the pair, justice and expediency. Significantly, Elizabeth begins her reply to James by accepting his drastic reduction of their relationship to a friendship grounded in and limited to candid political counsel. But she suddenly shifts ground with a reference to the latest revelations of yet another alleged plot against her life in the context of an international pro-Mary conspiracy--this one said to involve the French ambassador to England, according to the testimony of the English ambassador to France. Now Elizabeth seeks to reactivate the "other-self" image of the earlier, more deeply conceived friendship-of-equals between herself and James:

You may see whether I keep the serpent that poisons me....By saving of her life they would have had mine....Transfigure yourself into my state and suppose what you ought to do, and thereafter weigh my life and reject the care of murder [i.e., concern over Mary's execution] and shun all baits that may untie our amities, and let all men know that princes know best their own laws, and misjudge not that you know not.

"Miserable accident," "unhappy fact"

Whatever his forebodings or other sources of information, James has yet to learn from Elizabeth herself of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, on February 8, 1587. This he does learn in a brief letter dated February 14, which Elizabeth begins disingenuously by calling the execution "that miserable accident, which far contrary to my meaning hath befallen." (She takes shelter in the fact that the order for Mary's execution was delivered and carried out without her knowledge, although she had signed and sealed the order and then become indecisive about sending it.) Having called the execution a "miserable accident," Elizabeth attempts to divest herself of responsibility for it. Elizabeth redescribes her thoughts and intentions in kingship language that first reclaims her status among monarchs generally. She then extends this kingship language to exonerate herself with one monarch in particular, James, by proclaiming the equation between the just and the expedient that he had urged upon her in his letter of January 26.

I am not so base minded that fear of any living creature or prince should make me afraid to do that were just, or done, to deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage nor carry so vile a mind; but as not to disguise fits most a king, so will I never dissemble my actions but cause them show even as I meant them. Thus assuring yourself of me that, as I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on others' shoulders, no more will I not damnify myself that thought it not.

In a final audacious move, Elizabeth activates both kinship and friendship language to plead on her behalf by reassuring James of her solely positive concerns and intentions towards him. She writes, "For your part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman nor a more dear friend than myself, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your estate" (Letter 76, Part 3, page 111).

Does Elizabeth succeed in displacing Mary in her son's affections and aspirations, compensating for the crucial deficit in virgin queenship by becoming the mother of his destiny as he becomes the tacitly reconfirmed successor to the English throne? There is no other access to James's inner feelings than his letter in response to Elizabeth's letter about Mary's death. Written in March 1587, James's reply ascribes Elizabeth's success in reconciling him to his mother's death (which he calls an "unhappy fact," that is, an

unfortunate doing of Elizabeth's) entirely to the future prospect of the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland. This time, significantly, the prospect arises as James's own imaging and imagining. He writes,

Madame and dearest sister, Whereas by your letter...ye purge yourself of your unhappy fact,...together with your many and solemn attestations of your innocency--I dare not wrong you so far as not to judge honorably of your unspotted part therein; so on the other side, I wish that your honorable behavior in all times hereafter may fully persuade the whole world of the same. And as for my part I look that ye will give me at this time such a full satisfaction in all respects as shall be a mean to strengthen and unite this isle, establish and maintain the true religion, and oblige me to be as of before I was, your most loving..." (Letter 76, Additional Document A, Part 3, page 111)

James's letter ends just at this point, before concluding with the expected signature. Was he about to subscribe himself "your most loving son"--or just "brother" or "cousin" or "friend"? Whatever term he was about to use, the wording of the preceding phrases reaffirms the earlier meeting of the two monarchs' minds in their mutually reiterated references to the Ciceronian equation of honor and utility. Now, James says, this equation will find "full satisfaction" in the union of their two realms when he will succeed Elizabeth. That he sent her a letter with this very wording or something close to it is borne out by her reply in early July 1588, which characteristically mingles a somewhat disingenuous question with an emphatic pledge to keep faith fully with James:

And for that you speak oft of satisfaction, I have much urged, as now again I do, to know what thereby is meant, since I both mind and also do whatsoever may honorably be required of such as I profess myself. And therefore I require you therein to answer me." (Letter 78, Part 4, page 28)

There would be many other threats and dangers to be confronted on both sides of the common border of England and Scotland as this correspondence between the two monarchs continued. But hereafter--that is, after the understanding that James would succeed Elizabeth, struck in the wake of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots--the language of friendship, kingship, and kinship in this letter exchange enlarges its domains and implications no further, but instead retraces and reenforces its earlier applications. While there are still new tonal and topical heights to follow in the Elizabeth-James correspondence, its underlying dynamic has been confirmed--she remains, mostly, the dominant party and he, mostly, the submissive one.

After innovating by using the familiar letter as the instrument for specifying and securing the successor to her throne, Elizabeth turned the familiar letter to a more ordinary generic purpose, that of the Renaissance manual of advice to a prince. After 1588 her letters to James abound with shrewd, circumstantial comments and warnings regarding his turbulent, faction-ridden court. Throughout this correspondence, by one means or another, Elizabeth staked, protected, and cultivated her momentous investment in James. In this serial exchange of complex, inveigling letters the Virgin Queen can be observed creating her successor. With certain discomfiture but no lasting reluctance, James can be observed accepting his creaturehood at Elizabeth's hands because of the mighty advancement it would bring him, in time--the monarchy of Great Britain.



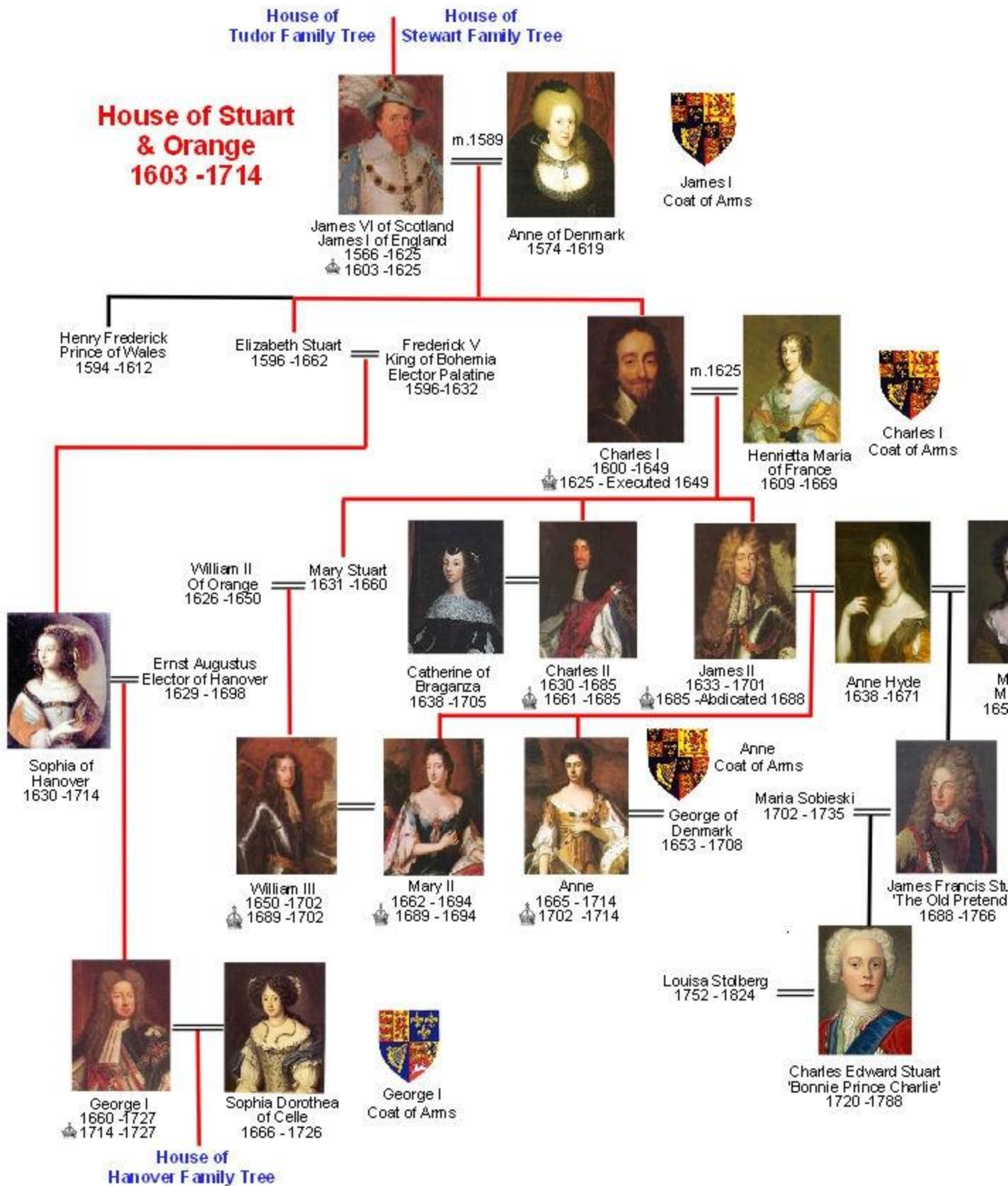
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House of Stuart Family Tree



<https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/stories/scottish-history-and-archaeology/mary-queen-of-scots/mary-queen-of-scots/who-was-mary-queen-of-scots/>

Mary Queen of Scots

Arguably the most famous and controversial figure in Scottish history, Mary Stewart has become something of an enigma. Intrigue and romance have often obscured the hard facts of her life and reign.

The only daughter of the late James V of the ruling Stewart dynasty, Mary became Queen of Scots at only six days of age. She reigned from 1542 until her forced abdication in 1567. After 19 years as a prisoner of her cousin, Elizabeth I of England, Mary was executed on 8 February 1587.

Unlike Elizabeth, there was never any doubt that Mary would be a queen. Born in the middle of the momentous 16th century, Mary was to play her own significant part in this dramatic era. The expectation that she was born to rule extended to her burning ambition to be named as Elizabeth's heir to the throne of England. This desire came to dominate Mary's relationship with Elizabeth and, ultimately, it would prove to be a dangerous obsession which would bring about her death.

In my end is my beginning



Above: The Blairs Memorial Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots. One of the most iconic images of Mary, it was commissioned by Elizabeth Curle, one of Mary's closest companions during the final years of her English captivity. It represents Mary in preparation for her Catholic martyrdom on the executioner's block © Blairs Museum Trust

Towards the end of her life, during her time in captivity as Elizabeth's prisoner, Mary embroidered the following epitaph-like motto: "In my end is my beginning". This has proved to be somewhat prophetic. Even more than 400 years after her death, Mary's legacy still provokes passionate and heated debate: was she a willing agent or a wronged victim in some of the more controversial episodes of her life?

Auld and New Alliances

Early-modern Europe was dominated by large dynastic monarchies which sought alliances with each other to further their power. Marriage was a key element in cementing these alliances, and Mary was no exception. Despite the fact that Scotland was the poorer relation of the major European powers, Mary was important dynastically. She was used as a marriage pawn, first with England and then, more successfully, with France.

Renaissance and Reformation

Mary's Europe was experiencing the great ferment of two far-reaching changes in society: the Renaissance, and the Reformation. The former had a huge impact on art, architecture, literature, philosophy and science, and mainly affected Europe's literate elite, while the Reformation was a dramatic revolution in religion. These movements influenced not only everyday life, but also dramatically transformed European geopolitics. The continent was now divided into two hostile camps: Catholic and Protestant.

In Scotland, France and England, Mary was a contemporary of some of the most influential personalities of the Renaissance era. Along with Catherine de Medici, Mary Tudor, and Elizabeth I, Mary was one of a small group of women, Renaissance queens who – in an era still largely dominated by men – wielded considerable power.

Costume and jewelry

Mary was a striking woman who knew how to present an eye-catching and regal appearance. Tall, beautiful and graceful, with auburn hair and a fine, pale complexion, even one of her archenemies, the Protestant Reformer John Knox, described her features as "pleasing".

Raised in one of the most sophisticated and glittering courts in Europe, she had access to the very latest Renaissance fashions. She loved fine clothing and amassed a sumptuous wardrobe of elegant and fashionable gowns and a spectacular collection of jewelry.

Jewels were essential currency for a 16th-century monarch: they displayed the majesty of monarchy and could be sold to raise cash to pay armies or debts. The gold necklace, locket and pendant, known collectively as the Penicuik jewels, are exquisite examples of some of the finest pieces of jewelry associated with Mary.

Prime suspect

In the small hours of 10 February 1567 an enormous explosion destroyed the lodgings at Kirk o' Field in which Darnley, Mary's husband and King Consort, was staying. The bodies of Darnley and his servant were found in the rubble of the building. Darnley had been murdered in mysterious circumstances, and Mary herself was implicated in the plot.

The prime suspect was the man who was to become Mary's third husband: James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. How Mary dealt with this incident sealed her fate.

Rejoice don't weep

These words of comfort were spoken by Mary to one of her servants as she faced execution.

In a sense Mary won through in the end; her son James VI of Scots became James I of England on the death of Elizabeth in 1603. Thus, every reigning British monarch since then has been descended from Mary, rather than from Elizabeth, who died childless. So perhaps we can indeed agree with Mary's prophetic epitaph: "In my end is my beginning".

https://ia800607.us.archive.org/5/items/DKC0088/DKC_0088.pdf - PDF with page images (no OCR, no text)

https://archive.org/stream/DKC0088/DKC_0088_djvu.txt - full text (only) version of the same

The Underground Rail Road

by William Still (black UGRR conductor)

1872

For many years connected with the Anti-Slavery Office in Philadelphia, and Chairman of the Acting Vigilant Committee of the Philadelphia Branch of the Underground Rail Road.

WHAT HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT IT.

At the dosing meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held in Philadelphia, May 5, 1870, the following was unanimously passed :

Whereas , The position of William Still in the Vigilance Committee connected with the "Underground Railroad," as its Corresponding Secretary, and Chairman of its Active Sub-Committee, gave him peculiar facilities for collecting interesting facts pertaining to this branch of the anti-slavery service ; therefore,

Resolved , That the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society requests him to compile and publish his personal reminiscences and experiences relating to the "Underground Railroad."

Hon. John W. Porney, in a letter to the Washington Sunday Chronicle , of Nov. 1, 1871, said :

" Slavery and its mysterious inner life has never yet been described. When it is, Reality will surpass Fiction. Uncle Tom's Cabin will be rebuilt and newly garnitured. A book, detailing the operations of the 4 Underground Railroad,' is soon to be published in Philadelphia, by Wm. Still, Esq., an intelligent colored gentleman, which, composed entirely of facts, will supply material for indefinite dramas and romances. It will disclose a record of unparalleled courage and suffering for the right." * * * *

And again, in a letter to the same paper of Nov. 11,

1871, Mr. Forney says :

***** "A coincidence even more romantic is soon to be revealed in the pages of the remarkable book of Wm. Still, of Philadelphia, entitled 'The Underground Railroad,' referred to in my last. Mr. Still kept a careful memorandum of the sufferings and trials of his race during the existence of the 4 Fugitive Slave Law,' in the belief that they would be instructive to his posterity, rather than from any hope of the overthrow of the revolting system of human servitude * * * * he resolved to spread before the world this unprecedented experience. When his book appears, it will accomplish more than one object. Interesting to the literary world, it will undoubtedly facilitate the reunion of other colored families long divided, long sought for, and perhaps to this day strangers to each other. ***** The volume containing this and other equally romantic yet truthful stories will soon be out, and, my ivordfor it, no book of the times will be more eagerly read or moi e profitably remembered ."

The San Francisco Elevator , of January 5, 1872, said :
* * * * "Mr. Still is one of the pioneers of 'The Underground Railroad' in Philadelphia, where he still resides. He has aided more slaves to escape than auy other man, Bishop Lougan, of Syracuse . perhaps excepted. ***** We hope his book will have a wide circulation, as it will be a valuable addition to the history of the anti-slavery struggle such as no other man can un'ite ."

....

WILLIAM PEEL, alias WILLIAM BOX PEEL JONES.

ARRIVED PER ERRICSON LINE OF STEAMERS, WRAPPED IN STRAW AND BOXED UP, APRIL, 1859.

William is twenty-five years of age, unmistakably colored, good-lookimr, rather under the medium size, and of pleasing manners. William had himself boxed up by a near relative and forwarded by the Erricson line of steamers. He gave the slip to Robert H. Carr, his owner (a grocer and commission merchant), after this wise, and for the following reasons: For some time previous his master had been selling off his slaves every now and then, the same as other groceries, and this admonished William that he was liable to be in the market any day ; consequently, he preferred the box to the auction-block.

He did not complain of having been treated very badly by Carr, but felt

that no man was safe while owned by another. In fact, he “ hated the very name of slaveholder.” The limit of the box not admitting of straightening himself out he was taken with the cramp on the road, suffered indescribable misery, and had his faith taxed to the utmost, — indeed was brought to the very verge of “ screaming aloud ” ere relief came. However, he controlled himself, though only for a short season, for before a great while an excessive faintness came over him. Here nature became quite exhausted. He thought he must “ die;” but his time had not yet come. After a severe struggle he revived, but only to encounter a third ordeal no less painful than the one through which he had just passed. Next a very “ cold chill ” came over him, which seemed almost to freeze the very blood in his veins and gave him intense agony, from which he only found relief on awaking, having actually fallen asleep in that condition. Finally, however, he arrived at Philadelphia, on a steamer, Sabbath morning. A devoted friend of his, expecting him, engaged a carriage and repaired to the wharf for the box. The bill of lading and the receipt he had with him, and likewise knew where the box was located on the boat. Although he well knew freight was not usually delivered on Sunday, yet his deep solicitude for the safety of his friend determined him to do all that lay in his power to rescue him from his perilous situation. Handing his bill of lading to the proper officer of the boat, he asked if he could get the freight that it called for. The officer looked at the bill and said, “ No, we do not deliver freight on Sunday ;” but, noticing the anxiety of the man, he asked him if he would know it if he were to see it. Slowly — fearing that too much interest manifested might excite suspicion — he replied: “ I think I should.” Deliberately looking around amongst all the “ freight,” he discovered the box, and said, “ I think that is it there/” Said officer stepped to it, looked at the directions on it, then at the bill of lading, and said, “ That is right, take it along.” Here the interest in these two bosoms was thrilling in the highest degree. But the size of the box was too large for the carriage, and the driver refused to take it. Nearly an hour and a half was spent in looking for a furniture car. Finally one was procured, and again the box was laid hold of by the occupant’s particular friend, when, to his dread alarm, the poor fellow within gave a sudden cough. At this startling circumstance he dropped the box; equally as quick, although dreadfully frightened, and, as if helped by some invisible agency, he commenced singing, “ Hush, my babe, lie still and slumber,” with the most apparent indifference, at the same time slowly making his way from the box. Soon his fears subsided, and it was presumed that no one was any the wiser on account of the accident, or coughing. Thus, after summoning courage, he laid hold of the box a third time, and the Rubicon was passed. The car driver, totally ignorant of the contents of the box, drove to the number to which he was directed to take it — left it and went about his business. Now is a moment of intense interest — now of inexpressible delight. The box is opened, the straw removed, and the poor fellow is loosed; and is rejoicing, I will venture to say, as mortal never did rejoice, who had not been in similar peril. This particular friend was scarcely less overjoyed, however, and their joy did not abate for several hours ; nor was it confined to themselves, for two invited members of the

Vigilance Committee also partook of a full share. This box man was named Wm. Jones. He was boxed up in Baltimore by the friend who received him at the wharf, who did not come in the boat with him, but came in the cars and met him at the wharf.

The trial in the box lasted just seventeen hours before victory was achieved. Jones was well cared for by the Vigilance Committee and sent on his way rejoicing, feeling that Resolution, Underground Rail Road, and Liberty were invaluable.

On his way to Canada, he stopped at Albany, and the subjoined letter gives his view of things from that stand-point—

Mr. Still : — I take this opportunity of writing a few lines to you hoping that tha may find you in good health and femaly. i am well at present and doing well at present i am now in a store and getting sixteen dollars a month at the present, i feel very much o blige to you and vour family for your kindnes to me while i was with you i have got a long without any trub le atal. i am now in albany City, give my lov to mrs and mr miller and tel them i am very much a blige to them for there kind ns. give my lov to my Brother uore Jones tel him i should like to here from him very much and he must write, tel him to give my love to all of my perticular frends and tel them i should like to see them very much, tel him that he must come to see me for i want to see him for sum thing very per-ticler. please ansure this letter as soon as posabul and excuse me for not writ ting sooner as i dont write myself, no more at the present. William Jones.

His good friend returned to Baltimore the same day the box man started for the North, and immediately dispatched through the post the following brief letter, worded in Underground Bail Koad parables :

Baltimo April 16, 1859.

W. Still : — Dear brother i have taken the opportunity of writing you these few line3 to inform you that i am well an hoping these few lines may find you enjoying, the same good blessing please to write me word at what time was it when isreal went to Jerico i am very anxious to hear for thare is a mighty host will pass over and you and i my brother will sing hally luja i shall notify you when the great catastophe shal take place No more at the present but remain your brother N. L. J.

WESLEY HARRIS,* alias ROBERT JACKSON, AND THE MATTERSON BROTHERS.

In setting out for freedom, Wesley was the leader of this party. After two nights of fatiguing travel at a distance of about sixty miles from home, the young aspirants for liberty were betrayed, and in an attempt made to capture them a most bloody conflict ensued. Both fugitives and pursuers were the recipients of severe wounds from gun shots, and other weapons used in the contest.

Wesley bravely used his fire arms until almost fatally wounded by one of

the pursuers, who with a heavily loaded gun discharged the contents with deadly aim in his left arm, which raked the flesh from the bone for a space of about six inches in length. One of Wesley's companions also fought heroically and only yielded when badly wounded and quite overpowered. The two younger (brothers of C. Matterson) it seemed made no resistance.

In order to recall the adventures of this struggle, and the success of Wesley Harris, it is only necessary to copy the report as then penned from the lips of this young hero, while on the Underground Rail Road, even then in a very critical state. Most fearful indeed was his condition when he was brought to the Vigilance Committee in this City.

November 2 d, 1853. — Arrived : Robert Jackson (shot man), alias Wesley Harris ; age twenty-two years ; dark color ; medium height, and of slender stature.

Robert was born in Martinsburg, Va., and was owned by Philip Pendleton. From a boy he had always been hired out. At the first of this year he commenced services with Mrs. Carroll, proprietress of the United States Hotel at Harper's Ferry. Of Mrs. Carroll he speaks in very grateful terms, saying that she was kind to him and all the servants, and promised them their freedom at her death. She excused herself for not giving them freedom on the ground that her husband died insolvent, leaving her the responsibility of settling his debts.

But while Mrs. Carroll was very kind to her servants, her manager was filially as cruel. About a month before Wesley left, the overseer, for some trifling cause, attempted to flog him, but was resisted, and himself flogged. This resistance of the slave was regarded by the overseer as an unpardonable Hence ; consequently he communicated the intelligence to his owner, which had the desired effect on his mind as appeared from his answer to the overseer, which was nothing less than instructions that if he should again attempt to correct Wesley and he should repel the wholesome treatment, the overseer was to put him in prison and sell him. Whether he offended again or not, the following Christmas he was to be sold without fail.

Wesley's mistress was kind enough to apprise him of the intention of his owner and the overseer, and told him that if he could help himself he had better do so. So from that time Wesley began to contemplate how he should escape the doom which had been planned for him.

"A friend," says he, " by the name of C. Matterson, told me that he was going off. Then I told him of my master's writing to Mrs. Carroll concerning selling, etc., and that I was going off too. We then concluded to go together. There were two others — brothers of Matterson — who were told of our plan to escape, and readily joined with us in the undertaking. So one Saturday night, at twelve o'clock, we set out for the North. After traveling upwards of two days and over sixty miles, we found ourselves

unexpectedly in Terrytown, Md. There we were informed by a friendly colored man of the danger we were in and of the bad character of the place towards colored people, especially those who were escaping to freedom ; and he advised us to hide as quickly as we could. We at once went to the woods and hid. Soon after we had secreted ourselves a man came near by and commenced splitting wood, or rails, which alarmed us. We then moved to another hiding-place in a thicket near a farmer's barn, where we were soon startled again by a dog approaching and barking at us. The attention of the owner of the dog was drawn to his barking and to where we were. The owner of the dog was a farmer. He asked us where we were going. We replied to Gettysburg — to visit some relatives, etc. He told us that we were running off He then offered friendly advice, talked like a Quaker, and urged us to go with him to his barn for protection. After much persuasion, we consented to go with him.

“Soon after putting us in his barn, himself and daughter prepared us a nice breakfast, which cheered our spirits, as we were hungry. For this kindness we paid him one dollar. He next told us to hide on the mow till eve, when he would safely direct us on our road to Gettysburg. All, very much fatigued from traveling, fell asleep, excepting myself; I could not sleep; I felt as if all was not right.

“About noon men were heard talking around the barn. I woke my companions up and told them that that man had betrayed us. At first they did not believe me. In a moment afterwards the barn door was opened, and in came the men, eight in number. One of the men asked the owner of the barn if he had any long straw. ‘Yes/ was the answer. So up on the mow came three of the men, when, to their great surprise, as they pretended, we were discovered. The question was then asked the owner of the barn by one of the men, if he harbored runaway negroes in his barn? He answered, ‘No/ and pretended to be entirely ignorant of their being in his barn. One of the men replied that four negroes were on the mow, and he knew of it. The men then asked us where we were go::... We told them to Gettysburg, that we had aunts and a mother there. Also we spoke of a Mr. Houghman, a gentleman we happened to have some knowledge of, having seen him in Virginia. We were next asked for our passes. We told them that we hadn't any, that we had not been required t- > carry them where we came from. They then said that we would have to g. . before a magistrate, and if he allowed us to go on, well and good. The men all being armed and furnished with ropes, we were ordered to be tied. I t .ld them if they took me they would have to take me dead or crippled. At that instant one of my friends cried out — ‘ Where is the man that betrayed us?’ Spying him at the same moment, he shot him (badly wounding him i. Then the conflict fairly began. The constable seized me by the collar, or rather behind my shoulder. I at once shot him with my pistol, but in consequence of his throwing up his arm, which hit mine as I fixed, the effect of the load of my pistol was much turned aside; his face, however, was badly burned, besides his shoulder being wounded. I again fired on the pursuers, but do

not know whether I hit anybody or not. I then drew a sword, I had brought with me, and was about cutting my way to the door, when I was shot by one of the men, receiving the entire contents of one load of a double barreled gun in my left arm, that being the arm with which I was defending myself. The load brought me to the ground, and I was unable to make further struggle for myself. I was then badly beaten with guns, &c. In the meantime, my friend Craven, who was defending himself, was shot badly in the face, and most violently beaten until he was conquered and tied. The two young brothers of Craven stood still, without making the least resistance. After we were fairly captured, we were taken to Terrytown, which was in sight of where we were betrayed. By this time I had lost" so much blood from my wounds, that they concluded my situation was too dangerous to admit of being taken further; so I was made a prisoner at a tavern, kept by a man named Fisher. There my wounds were dressed, and thirty-two shot were taken from my arm. For three days I was crazy, and they thought I would die. During the first two weeks, while I was a prisoner at the tavern, I raised a great deal of blood, and was considered in a very dangerous condition — so much so that persons desiring to see me were not permitted. Afterwards I began to get better, and was then kept very privately — was strictly watched day and night. Occasionally, however, the cook, a colored woman (Mrs. Smith), would manage to get to see me. Also James Matthews succeeded in getting to see me; consequently, as my wounds healed, and my senses came to me, I began to plan how to make another effort to escape. I asked one of the friends, alluded to above, to get me a rope. He got it. I kept it about me four days in my pocket; in the meantime I procured three nails. On Friday night, October 14th, I fastened my nails in under the window sill ; tied my rope to the nails, threw my shoes out of the window, put the rope in my mouth, then took hold of it with my well hand, clambered into the window, very weak, but I managed to let myself down to the ground. I was so weak, that I could scarcely walk, but I managed to hobble off to a place three quarters of a mile from the tavern, where a friend had fixed upon for me to go, if I succeeded in making my escape. There I was found by my friend, who kept me secure till Saturday eve, when a swift horse was furnished by James Rogers, and a colored man found to conduct me to Gettysburg. Instead of going direct to Gettysburg, we took a different road, in order to shun our pursuers, as the news of my escape had created general excitement. My three other companions, who were captured, were sent to Westminster jail, where they were kept three weeks, and afterwards sent to Baltimore and sold for twelve hundred dollars a piece, as I was informed while at the tavern in Terrytown."

The Vigilance Committee procured good medical attention and afforded the fugitive time for recuperation, furnished him with clothing and a free ticket, .and sent him on his way greatly improved in health, and strong in the faith that, "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow." His safe arrival in Canada, with his thanks, were duly announced. And sometime after becoming naturalized, in one of his letters, he wrote that he was a brakesman on the Great Western R. R., (in Canada — promoted from

the U. G. R. R.,) the result of being under the protection of the British Lion.

<https://pressbooks.library.torontomu.ca/theundergroundrailroad/chapter/seth-concklin/>

Seth Concklin (excerpt) **note: white man on U.G.R.R., was killed in manner of the 3 Freedom Riders in the 1960s**

Excerpt from "The Underground Railroad" (1872) by William Still (black) abolitionist

In the long list of names who have suffered and died in the cause of freedom, not one, perhaps, could be found whose efforts to redeem a poor family of slaves were more Christlike than Seth Concklin's, whose noble and daring spirit has been so long completely shrouded in mystery. Except John Brown, it is a question, whether his rival could be found with respect to boldness, disinterestedness and willingness to be sacrificed for the deliverance of the oppressed.

By chance one day he came across a copy of the Pennsylvania Freeman, containing the story of Peter Still, "the Kidnapped and the Ransomed,"—how he had been torn away from his mother, when a little boy six years old; how, for forty years and more, he had been compelled to serve under the yoke, totally destitute as to any knowledge of his parents' whereabouts; how the intense love of liberty and desire to get back to his mother had unceasingly absorbed his mind through all these years of bondage; how, amid the most appalling discouragements, prompted alone by his undying determination to be free and be reunited with those from whom he had been sold away, he contrived to buy himself; how, by extreme economy, from doing over-work, he saved up five hundred dollars, the amount of money required for his ransom, which, with his freedom, he, from necessity, placed unreservedly in the confidential keeping of a Jew, named Joseph Friedman, whom he had known for a long time and could venture to trust,—how he had further toiled to save up money to defray his expenses on an expedition in search of his mother and kindred; how, when this end was accomplished, with an earnest purpose he took his carpet-bag in his hand, and his heart throbbing for his old home and people, he turned his mind very privately towards Philadelphia, where he hoped, by having notices read in the colored churches to the effect that "forty-one or forty-two years before two little boys¹¹ were kidnapped and carried South"—that the memory of some of the older members might recall the circumstances, and in this way he would be aided in his ardent efforts to become restored to them.

And, furthermore, Seth Concklin had read how, on arriving in Philadelphia, after traveling sixteen hundred miles, that almost the first man whom Peter Still sought advice from was his own unknown brother (whom he had never seen or heard of), who made the discovery that he was the long-lost boy, whose history and fate had been enveloped in sadness so long, and for whom his mother had shed so many tears and offered so many prayers, during the long years of their separation; and, finally, how this self-ransomed and restored captive, notwithstanding his great success, was destined to suffer the keenest pangs of sorrow for his wife and children, whom he had left in Alabama bondage.

Seth Concklin was naturally too singularly sympathetic and humane not to feel now for Peter, and especially for his wife and children left in bonds as bound with them. Hence, as Seth was a man who seemed wholly insensible to fear, and to know no other law of humanity and right, than whenever the claims of the suffering and the wronged appealed to him, to respond unreservedly, whether those thus injured were amongst his nearest kin or the greatest strangers,—it mattered not to what race or clime they might belong,—he, in the spirit of the good Samaritan, owning all such as his neighbors, volunteered his services, without pay or reward, to go and rescue the wife and three children of Peter Still.

The magnitude of this offer can hardly be appreciated. It was literally laying his life on the altar of freedom for the despised and oppressed whom he had never seen, whose kins-folk even he was not acquainted with. At this juncture even Peter was not prepared to accept this proposal. He wanted to secure the freedom of his wife and children as earnestly as he had ever desired to see his mother, yet he could not, at first, hearken to the idea of having them rescued in the way suggested by Concklin, fearing failure.

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The generall historie of Virginia, New England & the Summer Isles, together with The true travels, adventures and observations, and A sea grammar -

Volume 1

The Travels of Captaine John Smith In Two Volumes

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The mariage of Pocahontas to Master John Rolfe. 1613. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.

Long before this, Master John Rolfe, an honest Gentleman, and of good behaviour, had beene in Jove with Pocahontas, and she with him, which thing at that instant I made knowne to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him, wherein hee intreated his advice, and she acquainted her brother with it, which resolution Sir Thomas Dale well approved: the brute of this mariage came soone to the knowledge of Powhatan, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten daies he sent Opachisco, an old Uncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the marriage, and to doe in that behalfe what they were requested, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputie; which was accordingly done about the first of Aprill: And ever since wee have had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himselfe, as all his subjects.

221 [IV. 114.] The Chicahamanias desire friendship.

Besides this, by the meanes of Powhatan, we became in league with our next neighbours, the Chicahamanias, a lustie and a daring people, free of themselves. These people, so soone as they heard of our peace with Powhatan, sent two messengers with presents to Sir Thomas Dale, and offered him their service, excusing all former injuries, hereafter they would ever be King James his subjects, and relinquish the name of Chickahamania, to be called Tassautessus, as they call us, and Sir Thomas Dale there Governour, as the Kings Deputie; onely they desired to be governed by their owne Lawes, which is eight of their Elders as his substitutes. This offer he kindly accepted, and appointed the day hee would come to visit them.

...

From a letter of Sir Thomas Dale and Master Whitakers.

I have read the substance of this relation, in a Letter written by Sir Thomas Dale, another by Master Whitaker, and a third by Master John Rolfe; how carefull they were to instruct her in Christianity, and how capable and 227 [IV. 117.] desirous shee was thereof, after she had beene some time thus tutored, shee never had desire to goe to her father, nor could well endure the society of her owne nation: the true affection she constantly bare her husband was much, and the strange apparitions and violent passions he endured for her love, as he deeply protested, was wonderful, and she openly renounced her countries idolatry, confessed the faith of Christ, and was baptized, but either the coldnesse of the adventurers, or the bad usage of that was collected, or both, caused this worthy Knight to write thus. Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselves, and thereby intermedling herein, have caused a number of soules transport themselves, and be transported hither? Why should they, I say, relinquish this so glorious an action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to persevere; if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant; howsoever they stand affected, here is enough to content them. These are the things have animated me to stay a little season from them, I am bound in conscience to returne unto; leaving all contenting pleasures and mundall delights, to reside

here with much turmoile, which I will rather doe than see Gods glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore soules I have in charge revived, which would quickly happen if I should leave them; ...

...

1616. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer.

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<http://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbc0262a> Whilst those things were effecting, Sir Thomas Dale, having settled to his thinking all things in good order, made choice of one Master George Yearly, to be Deputy-Governour in his absence, and so returned for England, accompanied with Pocahontas the Kings Daughter, and Master Rolfe her husband, and arrived at Plimmoth the 12. of June, 1616.

The government left to Captaine Yearly.

...

Pocahontas instructions.

During this time, the Lady Rebecca, alias Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Master John Rolfe her husband and his friends, was taught to speake such English as might well bee understood, well instructed in Christianitie, and was become very formall and civill after our English manner; shee had also by him a childe which she loved most dearely, and the Treasurer and Company tooke order both for the maintenance of her and it, besides there were divers persons of great ranke and qualitie had beene very kinde to her; and before she arrived at London, Captaine Smith to deserve her former courtesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queenes most excellent Majestie and her Court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene: An abstract whereof followeth.

[To the

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To the most high and vertuous Princesse Queene Anne of Great Brittanie.

Most admired Queene,

The love I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honestie doth constraine mee presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Majestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull. So it is,

A relation to Queene Anne, of Pacahontas.

That some ten yeeres agoe being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chiefe King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne Nantaquans, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a Salvage, and his sister Pocahontas, the Kings most deare and wel-beloved daughter, being but a childe of twelve or thirteene yeeres of age, whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants ever saw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to prevent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks fattig amongst those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine, and not onely that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to James towne, where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of

Virginia, such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had starved.

[IV. 122.]

And this reliefe, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady Pocahontas, notwithstanding all these passages when inconstant Fortune turned our peace 237 to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jarres have beene oft appeased, and our wants still supplied; were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the utmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, having but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her comming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eies gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her. James towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, she next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this Colonie from death, famine and utter confusion, which if in those times had once beene dissolved, Virginia might have line as it was at our first arrivall to this day. Since then, this businesse having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time shee was not heard of, about two yeeres after shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was relieved, peace concluded, and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that Nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a childe in mariage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding.

Thus most gracious Lady, I have related to your Majestie, what at your best leasure our approved Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesties life, and however this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I never begged any thing of the state, or 238 any, and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert, your birth, meanes and authoritie, her birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majestie: the most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how ever her stature: if she should not be well received, seeing this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes; her present love to us and Christianitie, might turne to such scorne and furie, as to divert all this good to the worst of evill, where finding so great a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endear her dearest bloud to effect that, your Majestie and all the Kings honest subjects most earnestly desire: And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Pocahontas meeting in England with Captaine Smith

...

Pocahontas her entertainment with the Queene.

The small time I staid in London, divers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conversion, and they have seene many English Ladies worse favoured, proportioned and behavoured, and as since I have heard, it pleased both the King and Queenes Majestie honourably to esteeme her, accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady De la Ware, and that honourable Lord her husband, and divers other persons

of good qualities, both publickly at the maskes and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and 240 content, which doubtlesse she would have deserved, had she lived to arrive in Virginia.

The government devolved to Captaine Samuel Argall, 1617.

1617. Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer. The death of Pocahontas.

The Treasurer, Councill and Companie, having well furnished Captaine Samuel Argall, the Lady Pocahontas alias Rebecca, with her husband and others, in the good ship called the George, it pleased God at Gravesend to take this young Lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders, to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end. Her little childe Thomas Rolfe therefore was left at Plimoth with Sir Lewis Stukly, that desired the keeping of it. Captaine Hamar his vice-Admirall was gone before, but hee found him at Plimoth. In March they set saile 1617. and in May he arrived at James towne, where hee was kindly entertained by Captaine Yearley and his Companie in a martiall order, whose right hand file was led by an Indian. In James towne he found but five or six houses, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge in pieces, the Well of fresh water spoiled; the Store-house they used for the Church, the market-place, and streets, and all other spare places planted with Tobacco, the **Salvages as frequent in their houses as themselves, whereby they were become expert in our armes, and had a great many in their custodie and possession**, the Colonie dispersed all about, planting Tobacco. Captaine Argall not liking those proceedings, altered them agreeable to his owne minde, taking the best order he could for repairing those defects which did exceedingly trouble us; we were constrained every yeere to build and reaire our old Cottages, which were alwaies a decaying in all places of the Countrie, yea, the very Courts of Guard built by Sir Thomas Dale, was ready to fall, and the Palizado's not sufficient to keepe out Hogs. Their number of people were about 400. but not past 200. fit for husbandry and tillage: we found there in all one 241 [IV. 124.] 1000. bushels of Corne from the Salvages. hundred twentie eight cattell, and fourescore and eight Goats, besides innumerable numbers of Swine, and good plentie of Corne in some places, yet the next yeere the Captaine sent out a Frigat and a Pinnace, that brought us neere six hundred bushels more, which did greatly relieve the whole Colonie: For from the tenants wee seldome had above foure hundred bushels of rent Corne to the store, and there was not remaining of the Companies companie, past foure and fiftie men, women and Children.

...

The government surrendered to Sir George Yearley.

FOr to begin with the yeere of our Lord, 1619. there arrived a little Pinnace privatly from England about Easter for Captaine Argall, who taking order for his affaires, within foure or five daies returned in her, and left for his Deputy, Captaine Nathaniel Powell. On the eighteenth of Aprill, which was but ten or twelve daies after, arrived Sir George Yearley, by whom we understood Sir Edwin Sands was chosen Treasurer, and Master John Farrar his Deputy, and what great supplies was a preparing to be sent us, which did ravish us so much with joy and content, we thought our selves now fully satisfied, for our long toile and labours, and as happy men as any in the world.

...

Their time of Parliament.

The 25. of June came in the Triall with Corne and Cattell all in safety, which tooke from us cleerly all feare of famine; then our governour and councill caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and met at a generall Assembly, where all matters were debated though expedient for the good of the Colony, and Captaine Ward was sent to Monahigan in new England, to fish in May, and returned the latter end of May, but to small purpose, for they wanted Salt: the George also was sent to New-found-land with the

Cape Merchant, 247 [IV. 127.] Foure corporations named. there she bought fish, that defraied her charges, and made a good voyage in seven weekes. **About the last of August came in a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negars,** and Japazous King of Patawomeck, came to James towne, to desire two ships to come trade in his River, for a more plentifull yeere of Corne had not beene in a long time, yet very contagious, and by the trechery of one Poule, in a manner turned heathen, wee were very jealous the Salvages would surprize us. The Governours have bounded foure Corporations; which is the Companies, the University, the Governours and Gleabe land: Ensigne Wil. Spencer, & Thomas Barret a Sergeant, with some others of the ancient Planters being set free, we are the first farmers that went forth, and have chosen places to their content, so that now knowing their owne land, they strive who should exceed in building and planting. The fourth of November the Bona nova came in with all her people lusty and well; not long after one Master Dirmer sent out by some of Plimoth for New-England, arrived in a Barke of five tunnes, and returned the next Spring; notwithstanding the ill rumours of the unwholsomnesse of James towne, the new commers that were planted at old Paspahaghe, little more then a mile from it, had their healths better then any in the Country. In December Captaine Ward returned from Patawomeck, the people there dealt falsly with him, so that hee tooke 800. bushels of Corne from them perforce. Captaine Woddiffe of Bristol came in not long after, with all his people lusty and in health, and we had two particular Governours sent us, under the titles of Deputies to the Company, the one to have charge of the Colledge Lands, the other of the Companies: Now you are to understand, that because there have beene many complaints against the Governours, Captaines, and Officers in Virginia, for buying and selling men and boies, or to bee set over from one to another for a yeerely rent, was held in England a thing most intolerable, or that the tenants or lawfull servants should be put from Captaine Wardsexploit. 248 their places, or abridged their Covenants, was so odious, that the very report thereof brought a great scandall to the generall action. The Councell in England did send many good and worthy instructions for the amending those abuses, and appointed a hundred men should at the Companies charge be allotted and provided to serve and attend the Governour during the time of his government, which number he was to make good at his departure, and leave to his Successor in like manner, fifty to the Deputy-Governour of the Colledge land, and fifty to the Deputy of the Companies land, fifty to the Treasurer, to the Secretary five and twenty, and more to the Marshall and Cape merchant; which they are also to leave to their successors, and likewise to every particular Officer such a competency, as he might live well in his Office, without oppressing any under their charge, which good law I pray God it be well observed, and then we may truly say in Virginia, **we are the most happy people in the world. By me John Rolfe.**

...

The number of Ships and men.

There went this yeere by the Companies records, 11. ships, and 1216. persons to be thus disposed on: Tenants for the Governours land fourescore, besides fifty sent the former spring; for the Companies land a hundred and thirty, for the Colledge a hundred, for the Glebe land fifty, young women to make wives ninety, servants for publike service fifty, and fifty more whose labours were to bring up thirty of the infidels children, the rest were sent to private Plantations.

'The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith, In Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629' was printed by 'J. H. for Thomas Slater, and are to bee sold at the Blew Bible in Greene Arbour, 1630.' The book was compiled at the instance of Sir Robert Cotton, 'that most learned Treasurer of Antiquitie.' The question as to the truth of the adventures recorded in this book has given rise to heated and prolonged controversy.

Printed by I.D. and I.H. for Michael Sparkes. 1624.

Smith was a prolific writer of tracts and pamphlets on the colonisation of Virginia and New England, but the substance of them is contained in 'The Generall Historie' and 'The True Travels.'

In accordance with the scheme of this series, the edition here presented is an exact reprint of the Original Editions except that the letters i, j, u and v have been altered to conform to modern usage, and obvious printers' errors, both of spelling and punctuation, have been corrected. References to the pages of the original editions are given in the margin, and a full index has been added.

Glasgow, February, 1907.

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TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST NOBLE PRINCESSE, THE LADY FRANCIS, Duchesse of Richmond and Lenox.

MAY it please your Grace,

This History, as for the raritie and varietie of the subject, so much more for the judicious Eyes it is like to undergoe, and most of all for that great Name, whereof it dareth implore Protection, might and ought to have beene clad in better robes then my rude military hand can cut out in Paper Ornaments. But because, of the most things therein, I am no Compiler by hearsay, but have beene a reall Actor; I take my selfe to have a propertie in them: and therefore have beene bold to challenge them to come under the reach of my owne rough Pen. That, which hath beene indured and passed through with hardship and danger, is thereby sweetned to the Actor, when he becometh the Relator. I have deeply hazarded my selfe in doing and suffering, and why should I sticke to hazard my reputation in Recording? He that acteth two parts is the more borne withall if he come short, or fayle in one of them. Where shall we looke to finde a Julius Cæsar, whose atchievments shine as cleare in his owne Commentaries, as they did in the field? I confesse, my hand, though able to weild a weapon among the Barbarous, yet well may tremble in handling a Pen among so many Judicious: especially xxiv when I am so bold as to call so piercing, and so glorious an Eye, as your Grace, to view these poore ragged lines.

Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous Ladies, and comparable but amongst themselves, have offred me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: even in forraine parts, I have felt reliefe from that sex. The beauteous Lady Tragabigzanda, when I was a slave to the Turkes, did all she could to secure me. When I overcame the Bashaw of Nalbrits in Tartaria, the charitable Lady Callamata supplied my necessities. In the utmost of many extremities, that blessed Pokahontas, the great Kings daughter of Virginia, oft saved my life. When I escaped the crueltie of Pirats and most furious stormes, a long time alone in a small Boat at Sea, and driven ashore in France, the good Lady Madam Chanoyes, bountifully assisted me.

And so verily these my adventures have tasted the same influence from your Gracious hand, which hath given birth to the publication of this Narration. If therefore your Grace shall daigne to cast your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your owne Bountie (without which it had dyed in the wombe) then my imperfections, which have no helpe but the shrine of your glorious Name to be sheltered from censorious condemnation. Vouchsafe some glimpse of your honorable aspect, to accept these my labours; to protect them under the shadow of your excellent Name: which will inable them to be presented to the Kings royall Majestie, the most admired Prince Charles, and the Queene of Bohemia: your sweet Recommendations will make it the worthier of their good countenances. And as all my endeavours are their due tribute: so this Page shall record to posteritie, that my service shall be to pray to God, that you may still continue the renowned of your sexe, the most honored of men, and the highly blessed of God.

Your Graces faithfull and devoted servant, JOHN SMITH

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Francis-Bacon-Viscount-Saint-Alban/Thought-and-writings>

Francis Bacon

British author, philosopher, and statesman

Also known as: Francis Bacon, Viscount Saint Alban, Francis Bacon, Viscount Saint Albans, Sir Francis Bacon

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Francis Bacon, in full **Francis Bacon, Viscount Saint Alban**, also called (1603–18) **Sir Francis Bacon**, (born January 22, 1561, York House, [London](#), England—died April 9, 1626, London), [lord chancellor](#) of [England](#) (1618–21). A lawyer, statesman, philosopher, and master of the English tongue, he is remembered in literary terms for the sharp worldly wisdom of a few dozen essays; by students of [constitutional](#) history for his power as a speaker in Parliament and in famous trials and as [James I's](#) lord chancellor; and intellectually as a man who claimed all knowledge as his province and, after a magisterial survey, urgently advocated new ways by which man might establish a [legitimate](#) command over nature for the relief of his estate.

Thought and writings of Francis Bacon

The intellectual background

Bacon appears as an unusually original thinker for several reasons. In the first place he was writing, in the early 17th century, in something of a philosophical vacuum so far as [England](#) was concerned. The last great English philosopher, [William of Ockham](#), had died in 1347, two and a half centuries before the *Advancement of Learning*; the last really important philosopher, [John Wycliffe](#), had died not much later, in 1384.

The 15th century had been intellectually cautious and torpid, leavened only by the first small importations of Italian humanism by such [cultivated dilettantes](#) as [Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Gloucester](#), and John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester. The [Christian Platonism](#) of the Renaissance became more established at the start of the 16th century in the circle of [Erasmus's](#) English friends: the so-called Oxford Reformers—[John Colet](#), [William Grocyn](#), and [Thomas More](#). But that [initiative succumbed](#) to the [ecclesiastical](#) frenzies of the age. Philosophy did not revive until [Richard Hooker](#) in the 1590s put forward his moderate Anglican version of [Thomist rationalism](#) in the form of a theory of the Elizabethan church settlement. This happened a few years before Bacon began to write.

In England three systems of thought prevailed in the late 16th century: Aristotelian [Scholasticism](#), scholarly and [aesthetic](#) humanism, and occultism. Aristotelian orthodoxy had been reanimated in Roman Catholic Europe after the [Council of Trent](#) and the [Counter-Reformation](#) had lent authority to the massive output of the 16th-century Spanish theologian and philosopher [Francisco Suárez](#). In England learning remained in general formally Aristotelian, even though some [criticism](#) of [Aristotle's logic](#) had reached Cambridge at the time Bacon was a student there in the mid-1570s. But such criticism sought simplicity for the sake of [rhetorical](#) effectiveness and not, as Bacon's [critique](#) was to do, in the interests of substantial, practically useful knowledge of nature.

The Christian humanist tradition of [Petrarch](#), [Lorenzo Valla](#), and, more recently, of Erasmus was an active force. In contrast to orthodox asceticism, this tradition, in some aspects, inclined to glorify the world and its pleasures and to favour the beauty of art, language, and nature, while remaining comparatively indifferent to religious speculation. Attraction to the beauty of nature, however, if it did not cause was at any rate combined with neglect and [disdain](#) for the knowledge of nature. Educationally it fostered the sharp separation between the natural sciences and the humanities that has persisted ever since. Philosophically it was skeptical, nourishing itself, notably in the case of [Montaigne](#), on the rediscovery in 1562 of [Sextus Empiricus' comprehensive](#) survey of the [skepticism](#) of Greek thought after Aristotle.

The third important current of thought in the world into which Bacon was born was that of [occultism](#), or esotericism, that is, the pursuit of mystical [analogies](#) between man and the cosmos, or the search for magical powers over natural processes, as in [alchemy](#) and the concoction of elixirs and [panaceas](#). Although its most famous exponent, [Paracelsus](#), was German, occultism was well rooted in England, appealing as it did to the individualistic style of English credulity. [Robert Fludd](#), the leading English occultist, was an approximate contemporary of Bacon. Bacon himself has often been held to have been some kind of occultist, and, even more questionably, to have been a member of the [Rosicrucian](#) order, but the sort of "natural magic" he espoused and advertised was altogether different from that of the [esoteric](#) philosophers.

There was a fourth mode of [Renaissance](#) thought outside England to which Bacon's thinking bore some [affinity](#). Like that of the humanists it was inspired by [Plato](#), at least to some extent, but by another part of his thought, namely its [cosmology](#). This was the boldly systematic nature-philosophy of [Nicholas of Cusa](#) and of a number of Italians, in particular [Bernardino Telesio](#), Francesco Patrizzi, [Tommaso Campanella](#), and [Giordano Bruno](#). Nicholas of Cusa and Bruno were highly speculative, but Telesio and, up to a point, Campanella affirmed the primacy of [sense perception](#). In a way that Bacon was later to elaborate formally and systematically, they held knowledge of nature to be a matter of [extrapolating](#) from the findings of the senses. There is no [allusion](#) to these thinkers in Bacon's writings. But although he was less metaphysically adventurous than they were, he shared with them the [conviction](#) that the human mind is fitted for knowledge of nature and must derive it from observation, not from abstract reasoning.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Diego-Sarmiento-de-Acuña-conde-de-Gondomar>

Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, count de Gondomar

Spanish diplomat and ambassador

Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, count de Gondomar, (born Nov. 1, 1567—died Oct. 2, 1626), Spanish diplomat and [ambassador](#) to England who became one of the most influential men at the court of [James I](#) of England.

Gondomar's [diplomatic](#) fame rests largely on two missions to England (1613–18 and 1620–22). The chief objective of his first mission was to persuade James I to abandon his alliance with France and the

Protestant countries on the Continent and to form an alliance with Catholic Spain. His courtly manners and keen intellect, as well as his tantalizing offers of the Spanish infanta as James's daughter-in-law, gained him great influence with the English king; on occasion he could even dictate royal policy. His power over James, coupled with his pro-Catholic attitudes, gained him the hostility of the English public. The dramatist [Thomas Middleton](#) made him the hero-villain (the Black Knight) of his play *A Game at Chaess* (1625), which was [suppressed](#). At the height of his unpopularity in 1622, Gondomar was recalled to [Spain](#) and there made a member of the Council of State.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/James-I-king-of-England-and-Scotland>

James I

king of England and Scotland

Also known as: James VI

Written by David Mathew

James I, (born June 19, 1566, [Edinburgh Castle, Edinburgh](#), Scotland—died March 27, 1625, Theobalds, Hertfordshire, England), [king of Scotland](#) (as James VI) from 1567 to 1625 and first [Stuart](#) king of [England](#) from 1603 to 1625, who styled himself “king of Great Britain.” James was a strong advocate of royal absolutism, and his conflicts with an increasingly self-assertive Parliament set the stage for the rebellion against his successor, [Charles I](#).

James was the only son of [Mary](#), Queen of Scots, and her second husband, [Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley](#). Eight months after James's birth his father died when his house was destroyed by an explosion. After her third marriage, to [James Hepburn, 4th earl of Bothwell](#), Mary was defeated by rebel Scottish lords and [abdicated](#) the throne. James, one year old, became king of Scotland on July 24, 1567. Mary left the kingdom on May 16, 1568, and never saw her son again. During his minority James was surrounded by a small band of the great Scottish lords, from whom emerged the four successive regents, the earls of Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton. There did not exist in Scotland the great gulf between rulers and ruled that separated the Tudors and their subjects in England. For nine generations the Stuarts had in fact been merely the ruling family among many equals, and James all his life retained a feeling for those of the great Scottish lords who gained his confidence.

The young king was kept fairly isolated but was given a good education until the age of 14. He studied Greek, French, and Latin and made good use of a library of classical and religious writings that his tutors, [George Buchanan](#) and Peter Young, assembled for him. James's education aroused in him literary ambitions rarely found in princes but which also tended to make him a [pedant](#).

Before James was 12, he had taken the government nominally into his own hands when the earl of Morton was driven from the regency in 1578. For several years more, however, James remained the puppet of contending intriguers and faction leaders. After falling under the influence of the duke of Lennox, a Roman Catholic who schemed to win back Scotland for the imprisoned Queen Mary, James was kidnapped by William Ruthven, 1st earl of [Gowrie](#), in 1582 and was forced to denounce Lennox. The following year James escaped from his Protestant captors and began to pursue his own policies as king. **His chief purposes were to escape from subservience to Scottish factions and to establish his claim to succeed the childless [Elizabeth I](#) upon the throne of England. Realizing that more was to be gained by [cultivating](#) Elizabeth's goodwill than by allying himself with her enemies, James in 1585–86 concluded an alliance with England. Thenceforward, in his own unsteady fashion, he remained true to this policy, and even Elizabeth's execution of his mother in 1587 drew from him only formal protests.**

In 1589 James was married to [Anne](#), the daughter of [Frederick II](#) of Denmark, who in 1594 gave birth to their first son, Prince Henry. James's rule of Scotland was basically successful. He was able to play off Protestant and Roman Catholic factions of Scottish nobles against each other, and, through a group of commissioners known as the Octavians (1596–97), he was able to rule Scotland almost as absolutely as [Elizabeth I](#) ruled England. The king was a convinced [Presbyterian](#), but in 1584 he secured a series of acts that made him the head of the Presbyterian church in [Scotland](#), with the power to appoint the church's bishops.

When James at length succeeded to the English throne on the death of Elizabeth I (March 24, 1603), he was already, as he told the English [Parliament](#), "an old and experienced king" and one with a clearly defined theory of royal government. Unfortunately, neither his experience nor his theory equipped him to solve the new problems facing him, and he lacked the qualities of mind and character to supply the deficiency. James hardly understood the rights or the temper of the English Parliament, and he thus came into conflict with it. He had little contact with the English middle classes, and he suffered from the narrowness of his horizons. His 22-year-long reign over England was to prove almost as unfortunate for the Stuart [dynasty](#) as his years before 1603 had been fortunate.

There was admittedly much that was sensible in his policies, and the opening years of his reign as king of Great Britain were a time of material prosperity for both England and Scotland. For one thing, he established peace by speedily ending England's war with Spain in 1604. But the true test of his statesmanship lay in his handling of Parliament, which was claiming ever-wider rights to criticize and shape public policy. Moreover, Parliament's established monopoly of granting taxes made its assent necessary for the improvement of the crown's finances, which had been seriously undermined by the expense of the long war with Spain. James, who had so successfully divided and corrupted Scottish assemblies, never mastered the subtler art of managing an English Parliament. He kept few privy councillors in the [House of Commons](#) and thus allowed independent members there to seize the [initiative](#). Moreover, his lavish creations of new peers and, later in his reign, his subservience to various recently ennobled favourites loosened his hold upon the [House of Lords](#). His fondness for lecturing both houses of Parliament about his royal [prerogatives](#) offended them and drew forth such counterclaims as the Apology of the Commons (1604). To parliamentary statesmen used to Tudor dignity, James's shambling gait, restless garrulity, and dribbling mouth ill befitted his exalted claims to power and privilege.

When Parliament refused to grant him a special fund to pay for his extravagances, James placed new customs duties on merchants without Parliament's consent, thereby threatening its control of governmental finance. Moreover, by getting the law courts to proclaim these actions as law (1608) after Parliament had refused to enact them, James struck at the houses' legislative supremacy. In four years of peace, James practically doubled the debt left by Elizabeth, and it was hardly surprising that when his chief minister, Robert Cecil, earl of [Salisbury](#), tried in 1610–11 to exchange the king's feudal revenues for a fixed annual sum from Parliament, the negotiations over this so-called [Great Contract](#) came to nothing. James dissolved Parliament in 1611.

The abortive Great Contract, and the death of Cecil in 1612, marked the turning point of James's reign; he was never to have another chief minister who was so experienced and so powerful. During the ensuing 10 years the king summoned only the brief Addled Parliament of 1614. Deprived of parliamentary grants, the crown was forced to adopt unpopular expedients, such as the sale of monopolies, to raise funds. Moreover, during these years the king [succumbed](#) to the influence of the incompetent [Robert Carr, earl of Somerset](#). Carr was succeeded as the king's favourite by [George Villiers, 1st duke of Buckingham](#), who showed more ability as chief minister but who was even more hated for his [arrogance](#) and his monopoly of royal favour.

In his later years the king's judgment faltered. He embarked on a [foreign policy](#) that fused discontent into a [formidable](#) opposition. The king felt a sympathy, which his countrymen found inexplicable, for the Spanish ambassador, [Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, count of Gondomar](#). When [Sir Walter Raleigh](#), who had gone to Guiana in search of gold, came into conflict with the Spaniards, who were then at peace with England, Gondomar persuaded James to have Raleigh beheaded. With Gondomar's encouragement, James developed a plan to marry his second son and heir [Charles](#) to a Spanish princess, along with a [concurrent](#) plan to join with Spain in mediating the [Thirty Years' War](#) in Germany. The plan, though plausible in the abstract, showed an astonishing disregard for English [public opinion](#), which solidly supported James's son-in-law, Frederick, the Protestant elector of the Palatinate, whose lands were then occupied by Spain. When James called a third Parliament in 1621 to raise funds for his designs, that body was bitterly critical of his attempts to ally England with Spain. James in a fury tore the record of the offending Protestations from the House of Commons' journal and dissolved the Parliament.

The duke of Buckingham had begun in [enmity](#) with Prince Charles, who became the heir when his brother Prince Henry died in 1612, but in the course of time the two formed an alliance from which the king was quite excluded. James was now aging rapidly, and in the last 18 months of his reign he, in effect, exercised no power; Charles and Buckingham decided most issues. James died at his favourite country residence, Theobalds, in Hertfordshire.

Besides the political problems that he [bequeathed](#) to his son Charles, James left a body of writings which, though of [mediocre](#) quality as literature, entitle him to a unique place among English kings since the time of Alfred. Chief among these writings are two political [treatises](#), *The True Lawe of Free Monarchies* (1598) and *Basilikon Doron* (1599), in which he expounded his own views on the [divine right of kings](#). The 1616 edition of *The Political Works of James I* was edited by Charles Howard McIlwain (1918). *The Poems of James VI of Scotland* (2 vol.) was edited by James Craigie (1955–58). In addition, James famously oversaw a new authorized English translation of the Bible, published in 1611, which became known as the [King James Version](#).

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Cadiz-1587>

Battle of Cadiz 1587

Spanish history [1587]

Written by Simon Adams

Battle of Cadiz, (29 April–1 May 1587). Intense rivalry between England and [Spain](#) during the reign of [Elizabeth I](#) led [Philip II](#) of Spain to prepare an armada to invade [England](#). In response, Elizabeth ordered a [preemptive](#) strike against the Spanish fleet, a daring raid its leader, [Francis Drake](#), termed the "singeing of the king of Spain's beard."

Tension between [Protestant](#) England and Catholic Spain grew during the reign of Elizabeth I. English privateers attacked Spanish ships, while the English aided Dutch rebels in their revolt against Spanish rule. In 1587, Elizabeth executed her Catholic cousin and heir, [Mary Queen of Scots](#), for [treason](#). In response, Philip prepared a large armada to invade England to overthrow Elizabeth and restore [Catholicism](#). Elizabeth ordered Francis Drake to disrupt Philip's plans.

The English fleet arrived at [Cadiz](#) on the afternoon of 29 April, and sailed through the defending galleys into the harbor. The English quickly sunk a Genoese merchantman and then began to attack the many ships at anchor, removing their [cargoes](#) and setting them alight. The Spanish defenders launched a number of hit-and-run attacks and managed to seize one isolated English ship. The next day, the English

continued their attacks, despite the Spanish use of heavy onshore guns and fireships sent in to disrupt the English fleet. Unfavorable winds kept the English fleet in harbor a second night before Drake made his escape the next day. After he read a report on the raid, Philip II stated, "The loss was not very great, but the daring of the attempt was very great indeed." However, the English destruction of thousands of barrel staves, crucial to the manufacture of storage barrels, was to prove significant when the famed [Spanish Armada](#) of 1588 set out to sea to conquer England with too few barrels of food and drink.

Losses: English, 1 ship captured of 21; Spanish, 33 ships destroyed.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Armada-Spanish-naval-fleet>

Spanish Armada 1588

Spanish naval fleet

Spanish Armada, also called **Armada** or **Invincible Armada**, Spanish **Armada Española** or **Armada Invencible**, the great fleet sent by King Philip II of Spain in 1588 to invade England in conjunction with a Spanish army from Flanders. England's attempts to repel this fleet involved the first naval battles to be fought entirely with heavy guns, and the failure of Spain's enterprise saved England and the Netherlands from possible absorption into the Spanish empire. Philip had long been contemplating an attempt to restore the Roman Catholic faith in England, and English piracies against Spanish trade and possessions offered him further provocation

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eighty_Years%27_War

80 Years War - Habsburgs Spain versus Netherlands

Excerpted Section: Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621)

[MY NOTE] This (12 years' truce) is the time period in which a Dutch letter of marque allows the White Lion to privateer on Portuguese and Spanish Ships

Main articles: [Twelve Years' Truce](#); [Trial of Oldenbarnevelt](#), [Grotius and Hogerbeets](#); and [Synod of Dort](#)

The military upkeep and decreased trade had put both Spain and the Dutch Republic under financial strain. To alleviate conditions, a ceasefire was signed in Antwerp on 9 April 1609, marking the end of the Dutch Revolt and the beginning of the [Twelve Years' Truce](#). The conclusion of this Truce was a major diplomatic coup for [Holland's advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt](#), as **Spain by concluding the Treaty, formally recognized the independence of the Republic**. In Spain the truce was seen as a major humiliation – she had suffered a political, military and ideological defeat, and the affront to its prestige was immense. The closure of the river Scheldt to traffic in and out of Antwerp, and the acceptance of Dutch commercial operations in the Spanish and Portuguese colonial maritime lanes were just a few points that the Spanish found objectionable.

Although there was peace on an international level, political unrest took hold of Dutch domestic affairs. What had started as a [theological quarrel](#) resulted in riots between [Remonstrants \(Arminians\)](#) and [Counter-Remonstrants](#) (Gomarists). In general, regents would support the former and civilians the latter. Even the government got involved, with Oldenbarnevelt taking the side of the Remonstrants and [stadtholder Maurice of Nassau](#) their opponents. In the end, the [Synod of Dort](#) condemned the Remonstrants for heresy and excommunicated them from the national Public Church. Van Oldenbarnevelt was sentenced to death, together with his ally [Gilles van Ledenberg](#), while two other Remonstrant allies, [Rombout Hogerbeets](#) and [Hugo Grotius](#) received life imprisonment.

<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/berkeley-frances-culpeper-stephens-1634-ca-1695/>

Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley (1634–ca. 1695)

Contributor: Terri L. Snyder

Contributor: the Dictionary of Virginia Biography

Frances Culpeper was the youngest of two sons and three daughters of Thomas Culpeper and Katherine St. Leger Culpeper. She was born in England and baptized at Hollingbourne Church, Kent, on May 27, 1634. Her parents were related to several families interested in the colony of Virginia, and in 1623 her father had become a member of the [Virginia Company of London](#). In 1649 he was made one of the original patentees of the Northern Neck.

Frances Culpeper accompanied her parents to Virginia about 1650. Sometime early in 1653, at the age of eighteen, she married Captain Samuel Stephens, who in October 1667 became governor of the Albemarle settlements. After Stephens died in December 1669, she petitioned the [General Court of Virginia](#) for possession of a 1,350-acre plantation in Warwick County called Bolthrope, or Boldrup. An agreement she made with Stephens before their marriage had stipulated that she inherit the property, and because they had no children, the widow received absolute possession of the estate.

[Map Showing Green Spring Plantation](#)

As was typical for a widow in seventeenth-century Virginia, particularly for one who could bring both valuable family connections and substantial property to a prospective husband, Frances Culpeper Stephens did not remain unmarried for long. Sometime between May 19 and June 21, 1670, she wed Sir William Berkeley, a childless widower then serving the second of his two long terms as governor of Virginia. The marriage allied the governor even more closely with his old friends and associates in the Culpeper family, and it increased Lady Berkeley's prestige. The marriage gave her the opportunity to play a greater role in Virginia society and politics. The Berkeleys lived near [Jamestown](#) at Green Spring, the governor's manor house, where they entertained members of the Council and [House of Burgesses](#). Among the guests were their distant relations, Nathaniel Bacon (1647–1676) and his wife Elizabeth Duke Bacon, who arrived in Virginia in the summer of 1674.

During Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, certainly the most difficult episode of Sir William Berkeley's administration, Lady Berkeley vigorously supported her husband and his policies, garnering praise from his supporters and bitter opposition from his enemies. In June 1676, at a low point for the governor in his political contest with Bacon, she went to England as his personal emissary to the king. She returned to Virginia early in

[Herbert Jeffreys](#)

1677 with Herbert Jeffreys, one of the royal commissioners sent to investigate the rebellion and succeed her husband as governor, and more than a thousand English troops. After the rebellion Sir Francis Moryson, another of the royal commissioners, asked Lady Berkeley to secure a pardon for a man named Jones whom the governor had condemned. Her success in obtaining it demonstrated the strength of her influence to the commissioners.

The commissioners were exceptionally critical of Governor Berkeley's conduct during and after the rebellion, and Berkeley did not always cooperate with them. When two of the commissioners paid their formal farewell visit to the Berkeleys in May 1677, they found that the colony's hangman had been sent

to drive their coach. Noting that Lady Berkeley had “peeped” through a window to “see how the show looked,” they concluded that she had planned the insulting trick.

[Letter from Lady Berkeley](#)

After Sir William Berkeley’s return to England and his death on July 9, 1677, Lady Berkeley continued to promote her own political interests. She became a leader of the so-called Green Spring faction that met at the Berkeley mansion and included Thomas Ballard (d. 1690), [Robert Beverley](#) (1635–1687), Edward Hill, and Philip Ludwell. For the next two years the faction constituted the most powerful political group in Virginia and was often at odds with Governor Jeffreys. With the arrival of Governor Thomas Culpeper, second baron Culpeper of Thoresway, in 1680, Lady Berkeley’s political influence began to decline, although her interest in politics never waned. She persisted for years in efforts to collect the salary that Berkeley was owed at the time of his death, and she enlisted the assistance of the General Assembly in the effort.

By about 1680 Lady Berkeley had married a third time, to Philip Ludwell, secretary of the colony. He eventually became deputy governor of North Carolina (1689–1693) and South Carolina (1693–1694). Although less involved in Virginia politics, Lady Berkeley, as she continued to be called, occasionally petitioned the House of Burgesses on Ludwell’s behalf as he managed legal business begun by Governor Berkeley. The couple spent most of their time in Virginia and had a pew built for themselves in Bruton Parish Church. Other Virginians, such as [William Byrd](#) (1652–1704) and William Fitzhugh, commented on Lady Berkeley’s influence and entrusted information and documents to her care. Her vigorous convictions, lively temperament, and shrewd mind made her a valuable friend and ally and one of the most influential Virginians of her time.

Lady Berkeley is not known to have had any children, although she may have been pregnant at the time of her marriage to Ludwell, and Ludwell’s two children from his first marriage lived with them at Green Spring. On February 26, 1684, when she was almost fifty years old, Byrd wrote that Lady Berkeley was “not yet brought to bed” and questioned whether she was, in fact, with child. Later in the same year Byrd again remarked that she was indisposed because of pregnancy but could not say when she might deliver.

Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley Ludwell probably died at Green Spring or Jamestown about 1695. A fragment of her gravestone in the cemetery on Jamestown Island bears a partially legible inscription.

TIMELINE

1624

Thomas Culpeper becomes a member of the Virginia Company of London.

May 23, 1634

Frances Culpeper is baptized at Hollingbourne Church, Kent, England. She is the daughter of Thomas Culpeper and Katherine St. Leger Culpeper.

1649

Thomas Culpeper is made one of the original patentees of the Northern Neck.

1650

About this year, Frances Culpeper accompanies her parents, Thomas Culpeper and Katherine St. Leger Culpeper, to Virginia.

1653

At the age of eighteen, Frances Culpeper marries Captain Samuel Stephens.

October 1667

Captain Samuel Stephens becomes governor of the Albemarle settlements in present-day North Carolina.

December 1669

Captain Samuel Stephens, governor of the Albemarle settlements in present-day North Carolina, dies, leaving his 1,250-acre plantation in Warwick County called Bolthrope, or Boldrup to his wife Frances Culpeper Stephens.

May 19-June 21, 1670

Sometime between these dates, Governor Sir William Berkeley marries his second wife, the young and wealthy Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley, whose first husband, Samuel Stephens, governor of Albemarle, has just died.

June 1676

During Bacon's Rebellion, Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley sails to England as her husband the governor's personal emissary to King Charles II.

1677

Early in the year, Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley, wife of the Virginia governor, returns to the colony from England with Herbert Jeffreys, one of the royal commissioners sent to investigate Bacon's Rebellion and succeed her husband as governor. A thousand English troops arrive with them.

May 1677

Following Bacon's Rebellion, Sir William Berkeley sails to England to plead his case with King Charles II.

July 9, 1677

Before he can gain an audience with King Charles II, Sir William Berkeley dies at Berkeley House in London.

1680

By about this year, Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley marries for a third time, to Philip Ludwell, secretary of the Virginia colony.

May 3, 1680

Thomas Culpeper, second baron Culpeper of Thoresway, arrives in Virginia with royal instructions that seek clearly to define the subordinate status of the colony and the General Assembly within the Restoration empire. His governorship marks the decline of Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley's political influence.

February 26, 1684

William Byrd writes that fifty-year-old Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley is "not yet brought to bed," questioning whether she is, in fact, pregnant. It is not clear that Lady Berkeley ever gives birth.

1695

About this year, Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley dies, either at Green Spring or Jamestown. She is buried in the cemetery on Jamestown Island.

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<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/bacon-nathaniel-1647-1676/>

Nathaniel Bacon (1647–1676)

Early Years

Bacon was born on January 2, 1647, at Friston Hall in Suffolk County, England, the seat of his father. He was the only son and one of several children of Thomas Bacon and Elizabeth Brooke Bacon; his mother died shortly after his birth. Bacon matriculated at Saint Catherine's College, Cambridge University, on

May 5, 1661, but two years later his father withdrew him from school, probably due to his inattention to his studies, and hired a tutor to teach him. He made a tour of the Continent in the company of his tutor, was admitted to Gray's Inn on November 22, 1664, and returned to Cambridge, where he received his M.B. in 1667.

In May 1670 he married Elizabeth Duke, daughter of Sir Edward Duke, who so disapproved of the match that he disinherited her. Although the couple nonetheless had sufficient property for a comfortable living, Bacon became involved in a fraudulent scheme to sell a parcel of land, which resulted in a lawsuit that persisted for several years after his death. Probably as a consequence, he moved to Virginia in the summer of 1674 with his wife and possibly their two daughters, whose birth dates are unknown. His father sent him off with £1,800 to start his life anew.

In August 1674 Bacon purchased 820 acres of land at Curles Neck in Henrico County from Thomas Ballard (d. 1690) and probably moved into an existing house on the site soon thereafter. He also acquired from Ballard a smaller tract of land near the falls of the James River that became known as Bacon's Quarter. Bacon was related by blood or marriage to several of the most influential people in Virginia, including his cousin [Nathaniel Bacon](#) (1620–1692), a member of the governor's Council; Governor Sir William Berkeley; and Frances Culpeper Stephens Berkeley, the governor's wife. Bacon was well connected, well educated, intelligent, tall, and handsome, although somewhat melancholy and, in the view of some Virginians, unpleasantly arrogant. On March 3, 1675, in spite of the brevity of Bacon's residence in Virginia, the governor appointed him one of several new members of the Council.

Bacon's Assembly

The rebellion Bacon led against the governor erupted suddenly the next year following a long period of unsettled politics, economic hardship, and, more proximately, a series of genuinely frightening incidents. Skirmishes in 1675 between frontier settlers and Doeg and Susquehannock Indians in the Potomac River valley stimulated a widespread fear of organized Indian raids, fears that were heightened after Virginians learned of the outbreak in New England of what came to be called King Philip's War. By then Bacon had begun participating with [William Byrd](#) (1652–1704) in trade with some of the Indians on the southwestern border of the settled parts of Virginia and, as some writers later charged, one result may have been his growing antipathy toward the governor, who was also a significant participant in the Indian trade and therefore a competitor. Bacon's animosity toward the Indians, however, appears to have been the mainspring of his conduct. In September 1675 he seized some friendly Appamattuck Indians whom he accused of stealing corn, for which "rash heady action" the governor rebuked him.

In March 1676 the General Assembly met to prepare for defending the colony and enacted laws to erect forts along the fall line, to try to keep friendly Indians at peace with the colonists, and to cut off the Indian trade temporarily to reduce contacts that might flare into conflicts. By then Indian raids had reached the falls of the James River, and Bacon's own overseer at Bacon's Quarter had been killed in a raid that triggered new alarms. The causes of the rebellion later adduced by royal commissioners included public resentment of the requisite high taxes, which the people believed had bought no real protection. In this charged atmosphere Bacon became the leader of the angry and frightened militiamen in the upper reaches of the James River valley, and he requested permission from the governor to lead an expedition against the hostile Indians. Berkeley's denial of the request increased the resentment of the frontier settlers, augmented Bacon's local popularity, and produced a breach between the governor and the councillor after Bacon went ahead with preparations to attack local, friendly Indians. In May, Berkeley expelled Bacon from the Council and branded him a rebel, at the same time offering to pardon Bacon's followers if they would return to their homes.

Berkeley also called for the election of a new House of Burgesses and convened the new assembly as soon as possible in order to take necessary additional steps to secure the safety of the colony. Bacon, meanwhile, led his men southwest to one of the main Occaneechi villages. He persuaded the Occaneechi to attack a nearby party of hostile Susquehannocks, but the allies soon quarreled and, after a pitched battle, Bacon and his men devastated the Occaneechi village. Berkeley condemned Bacon's actions, but Bacon's men now controlled much of the colony and actually prevented the sheriff of Henrico County from reading the governor's proclamation of condemnation there. Moreover, the Henrico voters elected Bacon and one of his principal lieutenants, [James Crewes](#), to the House of Burgesses for the assembly that gathered on June 5 and has historically been referred to as Bacon's Assembly.

[Arrest of Nathaniel Bacon](#)

On June 6, 1676, Bacon and a company of armed men arrived in Jamestown. Berkeley's agents seized Bacon and carried him before the governor and the assembly, where he apologized on bended knee for his misdeeds and presented a written petition for a pardon. The governor then announced that he was pardoning Bacon and restoring him to his seat on the Council. At this point an assembly member urged that Bacon be made a general to command the campaign against the Indians, and the large crowd of angry men who had descended on Jamestown took up the cry. The governor vacillated, first agreeing to the appointment but then changing his mind, revoking his pardon of Bacon, and again expelling him from the Council.

Bacon left Jamestown, but on June 23 he stormed back into the capital with about 500 men and demanded that the governor commission him as a general to lead the colony against the Indians. A dramatic and dangerous scene ensued, with Bacon's men drawing their arms against the assembled burgesses and the governor literally baring his chest and daring Bacon's men to shoot him. Berkeley nevertheless yielded to the demands of Bacon and his supporters, and the assembly rapidly completed work on the laws of the session. Although later writers referred to these statutes as "Bacon's laws," the extant evidence indicates that he took little or no interest in the proceedings of the assembly.

Suppression of Bacon's Rebellion

Bacon withdrew upriver in search of Indians to attack, but late in July the governor again reversed course, once again declared Bacon a rebel, and went to Gloucester County to recruit men to fight him. Bacon and his army marched to Middle Plantation, the site of present-day Williamsburg, while Berkeley retreated to the Eastern Shore. About July 30 Bacon issued the first of a series of declarations of grievance and complaint against Berkeley, together with justifications of his own actions, which he signed as "General, by the consent of the people." Bacon compelled or cajoled many people to subscribe to his declarations accusing the governor of fomenting a civil war and endangering the safety of the colony, and he sent riders into various parts of Virginia to gather signatures to an oath of loyalty to the rebellion and to summon leading men to meet him at Middle Plantation. On August 3, 1676, Bacon obtained the endorsement of seventy of them to his leadership against the Indians, and the next day thirty signatories assented to a more radical declaration that a new assembly was to be chosen under his authority rather than recalling the one that had met in June. Bacon then marched his men into the Dragon Swamp on the lower reaches of the Rappahannock River, where they attacked the friendly Pamunkey Indians.

Early in September the governor returned to Jamestown with a small force and issued another proclamation against Bacon, whereupon Bacon marched there and laid siege to the capital. On the evening of September 18, 1676, Berkeley abandoned Jamestown, and Bacon's men occupied and burned

it the next morning. Bacon's forces in and out of Jamestown were by then beyond control. Many of them apparently spent much of their time ransacking the estates of men identified as loyal to the governor.

By autumn letters from Virginia had arrived in London apprising royal officials of the rebellion. King Charles II formed a three-member commission to assist the governor in suppressing the revolt and to inquire into its causes. On October 27 the king signed a proclamation for putting down the rebellion led by "Nathaniel Bacon the Younger." The king offered to pardon Bacon's lieutenants, whom he characterized as "Persons of mean and desperate Fortunes," if they speedily surrendered. With respect to Nathaniel Bacon, the proclamation was already a dead letter. On October 26, 1676, the day before the king signed the proclamation, Bacon and the bulk of his following were in Gloucester County where, at the house of Thomas Pate, Nathaniel Bacon died of the "Bloody Flux" (dysentery) and a "Lousey Disease." The place of his burial is not known. Without his impetuous leadership the rebellion soon collapsed, and Berkeley later hanged several of Bacon's most active followers.

Bacon's Rebellion has inspired much writing, including more than a dozen works of fiction, and scholarly interpretations of Nathaniel Bacon's motivations and his significance vary widely. Early in the nineteenth century the Virginia historian John Daly Burk presented Bacon as a patriotic precursor to the American revolutionaries of 1776, an influential interpretation repeated by other writers, most notably Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker in his *Torchbearer of the Revolution: The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and Its Leader* (1940). Governor Berkeley has had his defenders, too. In *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia* (1957), Wilcomb E. Washburn presented Bacon as the ambitious and impetuous leader of a mob of Indian-hating frontiersmen. However one may interpret him, the rebellion itself preceded significant changes for Virginia. The colonists came under much closer English supervision than before 1676 and, by century's end, they had embraced an economy based on enslaved labor. Bacon's Rebellion is one of the most important and controversial events of Virginia's history, and scholars continue to debate its causes and its significance.

TIMELINE

January 2, 1647

Nathaniel Bacon is born at Friston Hall in Suffolk County, England, the seat of his father.

May 5, 1661

Nathaniel Bacon matriculates at Saint Catherine's College, Cambridge University.

1663

After two years, Thomas Bacon withdraws his son, Nathaniel Bacon, from Cambridge University, probably due to the younger Bacon's inattention to his studies.

November 22, 1664

After studying with a tutor and touring the Continent, Nathaniel Bacon is admitted to Gray's Inn and returns to Cambridge University.

1667

Nathaniel Bacon receives his M.B. from Cambridge University.

May 1670

Nathaniel Bacon marries Elizabeth Duke, whose disapproving father disinherits her as a result. The couple will have two daughters.

1674

Nathaniel Bacon and his wife Elizabeth and possibly their two daughters leave England for Virginia.

Involved in a fraudulent land scheme, Bacon is plagued by a persistent lawsuit.

August 1674

Nathaniel Bacon purchases 820 acres of land at Curles Neck in Henrico County from Thomas Ballard and probably moves into an existing house on the site soon thereafter. He also acquires a smaller tract of land near the falls of the James River that becomes known as Bacon's Quarter.

1675

By this year, Nathaniel Bacon, with William Byrd, is participating in trade with some of the Indians on the southwestern border of settled Virginia. His antipathy of Governor Sir William Berkeley, who also participates in the trade, may date to this time.

March 3, 1675

Governor Sir William Berkeley appoints Nathaniel Bacon one of several new members of the Virginia Council of State.

July 1675

Skirmishes between frontier settlers and Doeg and Susquehannock Indians in the Potomac River valley stimulate widespread fear of organized Indian raids, fears heightened when Virginians learn of the outbreak in New England of what comes to be called King Philip's War.

September 1675

Nathaniel Bacon seizes some friendly Appamattuck Indians whom he accuses of stealing corn. Governor Sir William Berkeley rebukes him for "rash heady action."

March 1676

The General Assembly meets in Jamestown to prepare for defending the colony. The assembly enacts laws to erect forts along the fall line to try to keep friendly Indians at peace with the colonists and to cut off the Indian trade temporarily to reduce contacts that might flare into conflicts.

May 1676

Governor Sir William Berkeley expels Nathaniel Bacon from the Council and brands him a rebel. Bacon is the leader of militiamen in the upper reaches of the James River valley and is preparing, against the governor's instructions, to attack friendly Indians.

June 5, 1676

The House of Burgesses gathers in Jamestown. Among the participants is Nathaniel Bacon of Henrico County who, with James Crewes, is engaged in a rebellion against Governor Sir William Berkeley in part over Bacon's intentions to attack Virginia Indians.

June 6, 1676

Nathaniel Bacon and a company of armed men arrive in Jamestown, where Bacon is seized by armed agents and taken before Governor Sir William Berkeley and the General Assembly. Bacon apologizes on bended knee for his rebellion. Berkeley pardons Bacon but then changes his mind.

June 23, 1676

Nathaniel Bacon returns to Jamestown with 500 men and demands Governor Sir William Berkeley commission him as a general to lead the colony against the Indians. After a standoff, the governor yields to Bacon's demands.

July 1676

Governor Sir William Berkeley reverses course and again declares Nathaniel Bacon a rebel and travels to Gloucester County to recruit men to fight him. Bacon and his men march to Middle Plantation, the site of present-day Williamsburg.

July 30, 1676

On about this day, Nathaniel Bacon issues the first of a series of declarations of grievance and complaint against Governor Sir William Berkeley, together with justifications of his rebellious actions, which he signs as "General, by the consent of the people."

August 3, 1676

Nathaniel Bacon, in rebellion against the Virginia governor, obtains the endorsement of seventy leading Virginia men to his leadership against the Indians.

August 4, 1676

Thirty additional Virginia men endorse a more radical declaration of grievance from Nathaniel Bacon, who demands a new assembly be chosen under his authority rather than recalling the one that met in June. Bacon then marches to the lower Rappahannock River and attacks the friendly Pamunkey Indians.

September 1676

Governor Sir William Berkeley returns to Jamestown with a small force and issues another proclamation against Nathaniel Bacon.

September 18, 1676

Governor Sir William Berkeley abandons Jamestown, which is under siege by forces under Nathaniel Bacon. Bacon's men occupy and burn the capital the next morning.

October 26, 1676

Nathaniel Bacon, in the midst of leading a rebellion against the governor of Virginia, dies of dysentery at the house of Thomas Pate in Gloucester County. Joseph Ingram takes command of the rebel troops.

October 27, 1676

King Charles II of England signs a proclamation for putting down the rebellion in Virginia led by "Nathaniel Bacon the Younger." The king does not know that Bacon died the day before.

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Florida's Academic Standards Distort the Contributions that Enslaved Africans Made to American Society

BY RODNEY COATES, August 16, 2023

The state of [Florida ignited a controversy](#) when it released a [set of 2023 academic standards](#) that require fifth graders to be taught that enslaved Black people in the U.S. "developed skills which, in some instances, could be applied for their benefit."

As a [researcher](#) specializing in the [history of race and racism in the U.S.](#), I – like a [growing chorus of critics](#) – see that education standard as flawed and misleading.

Whereas Florida would have students believe that enslaved Black people “benefited” by developing skills during slavery, the reality is that enslaved Africans contributed to the nation’s social, cultural and economic well-being by using skills they had already developed before captivity. What follows are examples of the skills the Africans brought with them as they entered the Americas as enslaved:

1. As farmers

During the period between 1750 and 1775, the majority of the enslaved Africans that landed in the Carolinas came from the traditional [rice-growing regions in Africa](#) known as the Rice Coast.

Subsequently, rice joined cotton as one of the [most profitable agricultural products](#), not only in North Carolina and South Carolina but in [Virginia and Georgia](#) as well.

Other African food staples, such as [black rice](#), [okra](#), [black-eyed peas](#), yams, [peanuts](#) and watermelon, made their way into North America via slave ship cargoes.

Ship captains [relied on African agricultural products](#) to feed the [12 million](#) enslaved Africans transported to the Americas through a brutal voyage known as the Middle Passage. In some cases the [Africans stowed away food](#) as they boarded the ships. These foods were essential for the enslaved to survive the harsh conditions of their trans-Atlantic trip in the hulls of ships.

Once on plantations in the land now known as the United States, enslaved people occasionally were able to [cultivate small gardens](#). In these gardens, reflecting a small amount of freedom, enslaved men and women grew their own food. Some of the crops consisted of produce originating in Africa. From these they [added unique ingredients](#), such as hot peppers, peanuts, okra and greens, to adapt West African stews into gumbo or jambalaya, which took rice, spices and heavily seasoned vegetables and meat. These dishes soon became staples in what would become known as [down-home cooking](#). Crop surpluses from the communal gardens were sometimes sold in local markets, thus providing income that some enslaved people used to purchase freedom. Some of these African-derived crops became central to Southern cuisine.

2. As cooks and chefs

The culinary skills that the West Africans brought with them served to enhance, transform and produce unique eating habits and culinary practices in the South. Although enslaved Africans were forced to cook for families that held them as property, they also cooked for themselves, typically using a large pot that they had been given for the purpose.

Using skills from various West African cultures, these cooks often worked together to prepare communal meals for their fellow enslaved people. The different cooking styles produced a range of popular meals centering on [one-pot cooking](#) to include stews or gumbos, or layering meat with greens. The meals comprised a high proportion of corn meal, animal fat and bits of meat or vegetables. Communal gardens, maintained by the enslaved, might supplement the meager supplies and what was available from hunting or fishing. Some of the cooks who emerged from these conditions [became some of the highest regarded and valued](#) among the enslaved in the regions.

Enslaved chefs blended African, Native American and European traditions to create [unique Southern cuisines](#) that featured roasted beef, veal, turkey, duck, fowl and ham. Desserts and puddings featured jellies, oranges, apples, nuts, figs and raisins. Stews and soups changed, given the season, sometimes featuring oysters or fish.

3. As artisans and builders

Slave ship manifests reveal that enslaved Africans included some who were [woodcarvers and metalworkers](#). Others were skilled in various traditional crafts, including pottery making, weaving, basketry and wood carving. These crafts were instrumental in filling the perpetual [scarcity of skilled labor on plantations](#).

When [planters and traders](#) considered purchasing an enslaved Black person, one of the key factors influencing their decision and the price was their skills. Slave auction sales included carpenters, blacksmiths and shoemakers.

[Architectural designs showing West African](#) influences have been identified in structures excavated from some colonial plantations in various areas of the [South Carolina Lowcountry](#). These buildings, with clay-walled architecture, demonstrate that the West Africans came with building skills. [Excavated clay pipes in the Chesapeake](#) region reveal West African pottery decorative techniques.

Across the nation, [multiple landmarks were built by the enslaved](#). These include the White House, the U.S. Capitol and the Smithsonian Castle in Washington, Fraunces Tavern and Wall Street in New York, and Fort Sumter in South Carolina.

4. As midwives, herbalists and healers

As Africans entered the Americas, they brought [knowledge of medicinal plants](#). Some enslaved women were midwives who used medical practices and skills from their native lands. In many cases, while many of these plants were unavailable in the Americas, enslaved Africans' knowledge, and that gleaned from Native Americans, helped them to identify a range of plants that could be beneficial to treat a wide range of illnesses among both the enslaved and the enslavers. [Enslaved midwives](#) delivered babies and, in some cases, provided the means for either avoiding pregnancies or performing abortions. They also treated respiratory illnesses.

These [practices and knowledge grew](#) as they began incorporating techniques from Native American and European sources. They employed an interesting array of these practices to identify herbs, produce devices and to facilitate [childbirth](#) and [maternal health and well-being](#). They utilized several [herbal remedies](#) such as cedar berries, tansy and cotton seeds to end pregnancies.

In 1721, of the [5,880 Bostonians who contracted smallpox, 844 died](#). Even more would have died had it not been for a [radical technique introduced by an enslaved person named Onesimus](#), who is credited with helping a small portion of the population survive.

Onesimus, purchased by Cotton Mather in 1706, was being groomed to be a domestic servant. In 1716, Onesimus informed Mather that he had survived smallpox and no longer feared contagion. He described a practice known as [variolation](#) derived by West Africans to fight various infections.

This was a method of intentionally infecting an individual by rubbing pus from an infected person into an open wound. Onesimus explained how this treatment resulted in significantly milder symptoms, eliminating the likelihood of contracting the disease. As physicians began to wonder about this mysterious method to prevent smallpox, they developed the technique known as vaccinations. Smallpox today has been eradicated worldwide primarily because of the medical advice rendered by Onesimus.

Regardless of how Florida's education standards misrepresent history, the reality is that the Africans forced to come to America brought an enormous range of skills. They were farmers, cooks, chefs, artisans, builders, midwives, herbalists and healers. Our country is richer because of their skills, techniques and knowledge.

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