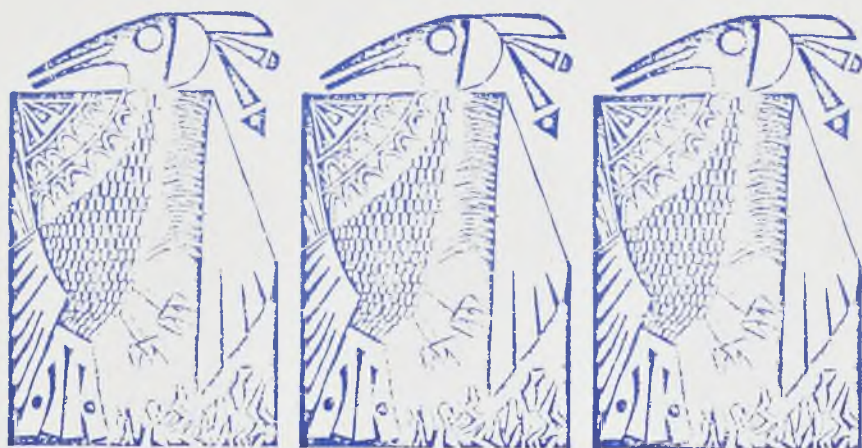


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The *Phoenix* is a journal created by the History Club, under the aegis of the History Department. It is devoted to the publication of historical studies written by students who are eager to share their exciting discoveries of the past with you. It is dedicated to history.

What is history? It is everything men and women have ever done—building, loving, fighting, working, owning, leading, betraying, raising children, killing, healing, creating, and thinking. Every human activity takes place in time. It grows out of previous events and out of the belief prevailing in the society at the time. These are all historical factors, and how they interact in a particular event or case is history. Seeing this interaction is active, not passive; it is like detective work. Events, whether they happened a year ago, or thousands of years ago, have to be analyzed, verified, and reconstructed. The essays contained in this journal are the result of this careful, painstaking but exciting and rewarding effort to reconstruct our past as it was and to discover its relation to our present.

The essays that appear in the *Phoenix* have been selected for their high quality and because they reflect a variety of viewpoints that do not necessarily represent those of the faculty of the History Department.

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Differences Between First, Second and Third Generation Italian-American Women*

Charlene Johnson

Although the Italian-American woman has come a long way from the traditional place she held in the *Mezzogiorno* of Italy (the area south of Rome which includes Sicily), the old values have been largely imported to the New World. This is especially true regarding the roles of men and women. It is the intent of this paper to compare the first three generations of Italian-American women with emphasis towards sex, ideals and marriage. Initially, this paper will examine the role of the first generation Italian-American.

An old Italian proverb says, "A woman is like an egg. The more she is beaten, the better she becomes."¹ The first generation Italian-American male regarded himself as superior to his female counterpart.² He was visibly the master of creation, like all inferior people, his wife must by every means be kept in her place.³ Putting one's wife down was typical of the first and second generation Italian-American man. This was true privately and publicly as well.⁴ Richard Gambino, author of *Blood of My Blood*, suitably brings out how in the old country a wife would never contradict her husband in public. She even addressed him in public by the formal form of the pronoun you (*Lei*), rather than the informal form (*tu*). But as Gambino points out, she had her ways of expressing herself within the walls of the home. She assuaged her husband's feeling. For instance, the first generation Italian-American woman avoided open conflicts with her husband, but usually had the last unspoken word.⁵

In the first generation Italian-American family the father held the highest status.⁶ The man was the undisputed head of the household. In this capacity, he was responsible for providing for his family and maintaining relations outside the family.

The first generation Italian-American wife was officially a subordinate figure, in charge of humbler duties, but her sphere was largely ambiguous and wide-ranging. She was given a greater moral responsibility. As the mother, she was the center of the family and as such, had a great deal of power in internal matters. The wife and mother kept the home, which as the source of all that gave any meaning of life, and she also, managed all financial affairs. The mother played an important part in securing the

*Submitted to Professor Charles LaCerra, American History 249, Spring 1981.

status of the family's well-being, which was critical for the survival of *la via vecchia*: the old way. First generation Italian-American women were ant-like in their incessant and undaunted efforts in the preservation of *la via vecchia*.⁷

Second generation Italian-American women basically shared the values of their parents. Yet they experienced intergenerational cultural conflicts. Gambino explains their problem, "they go through the fruitless agony of ill-understood anger against their families alternating with confusing guilt and anger against themselves."⁸

The first generation Italian-American family's ultimate aim for a daughter was to see her *sistemata*, settled and competent in her role as a woman.⁹ As were young girls of the Mezzogiorno, so too, first generation Italian-American women throughout their childhood were trained in their responsibilities. But in the Mezzogiorno, according to Gambino: "Their apprenticeship in *la serietà*, the ideal of womanliness, was so rigorous that by the age of seven, they were permitted little time or approval for play. By that age, they were earnestly engaged throughout their waking hours in learning skills and developing qualities of womanhood by constant supervised practice."¹⁰

Gambino explains how girls remained in an environment dominated by females until they married. At marriage they were expected to assume the full burden of womanhood. Studies of Italian immigrants have disclosed that a female went from her father's household to that of her husband, to that of her sons. As a female moved through the states she was first, as a child, an apprentice in womanhood. Upon her marriage, she was a responsible woman who fulfilled economic, cultural, and more strictly, family roles. And finally in her old age, she became progressively more of a teacher of womanhood to her daughters, daughters-in-law, nieces, goddaughters and grandchildren. In the Little Italys of America, the only kind of dolls given to little first and second generation Italian girls were bride dolls. The Italian-American households were filled with happiness when their little girl showed her parents and family that she knew how to dress the bridal dolls.¹² First and second generation children were told they were put on earth so they could get married and propagate. The parents pushed the concept of marriage as if it were the only alternative in life.¹³ Marriage was an important institution in the lives of Italian-Americans, especially since it was essential in the preservation of *la via vecchia*. Marriage was necessary as a source of social identity.¹⁴ In the Mezzogiorno, girls married in their early teens. The selection of the marriage mate was made by the parents. Those wishing to marry had to wed someone from the same village.¹⁵

For first generation Italian-Americans, marriage took place when the parties were in their late teens or early twenties. The selection of the mate was by the individual, but with parental consent. To marry someone from

the same village was ideal, but marriage from the same region was tolerated. Very reluctant permission was granted for marriage outside of the nationality. No permission was granted for marriage outside of the Catholic religion.¹⁶

Marriage for the second generation Italian-American occurred in early or middle twenties. The mate selection process was usually left up to the individual. There were even some marriages between non-Italians and non-Catholics. Italian-American reverence toward marriage will take a long time to change. The idea of a couple living together for a few years to see if they are compatible is unheard of in the mind of a first or for that matter, second generation Italian-American.¹⁷

The older generations regarded sex as something done for reproductive purposes only. The central sexual norm was that sex was a man's pleasure and a woman's duty. Women were believed not to have sexual desires at all.¹⁸

Lieta Harrison, an American writer of Sicilian heritage, took a survey among Italian-American mothers and their daughters, second and third generations, respectively. A radical change was revealed in their views towards sex. The married daughters have "discovered" sex. Sex is no longer a household chore for the convenience and pleasure of the husbands only. Most of the younger women now believe that sex is not shameful. Sixty-six per cent of the young married women consider sex the most important factor in marriage. Only eight per cent of their mothers think so.¹⁹ According to the survey, between a quarter and thirty per cent of the wives interviewed said their husband were having extramarital affairs. The survey also disclosed that more than a quarter of the young housewives retaliate in the same manner, double from the figure a generation ago. Half of the remaining faithful wives said they remained faithful only because of fear and because they didn't have the chance to do otherwise.²⁰

In the *Mezzogiorno* and also for the first generation Italian-American, the wife, although she was suspicious of her husband having a mistress, trustfully waited for his return home and was happy with whatever he told her.²¹ But, as for herself, she knew her place and with that, she had to be careful as to not so much as even look at another man. If she did, she would deserve and sometimes receive severe punishment and repudiation.²²

One of the foremost masculine duties of Italian-American men is to be jealous and suspicious of their women.²³ Much greater concern centers around the extramarital behavior of the wife than that of the husband. Extramarital coitus is condoned for the male if he is reasonably circumspect about it and if he does not carry it to extremes that would break up his home, lead to neglect of his family, outrage his in-laws, stir up public scandal, or start difficulties with the husbands or other relatives of the women with whom he has his relationships.²⁴ The stability and good name of the family and more importantly, the preservation of *la via vecchia*

notoriously depend more on the wife's faithfulness than on her husband's. The laws in the *Mezzogiorno* were very clear on the subject; "Adultery committed by a woman is a punishable crime, adultery committed by a man is not, unless it is accompanied by scandalous and outrageous behavior."²⁵ Comparably, first and second generation Italian-Americans maintained a similar attitude. Adultery in the *Mezzogiorno* was not only legally but also socially forbidden.

According to Gambino, the pejorative term *mala femmina*, a useless woman, is a woman who cannot or does not fulfill her complicated role as the center of the family. A *mala femmina* is one with no competence as a woman, therefore, she is not a good wife, mother or godmother. But most of all, she is found lacking in comparison with the Italian ideal of what it means to be a woman. Although this ideal includes the ability to bear children and handle household skills, it goes much further. It includes life-supporting qualities, the *mala femmina* lacks the competence to be the cohesive force which binds a family together and thus, makes all life possible. Gambino points out that she is considered "... a base, unfortunate creature".²⁶

Divorce, of course, was not allowed in the *Mezzogiorno*. Generally the life style of the first generation Italian-American had no place for divorce either. However, in some cases second generation Italian-Americans did divorce, a display of total disregard towards religious beliefs.²⁷

The double standard comes up again with the attitudes taken towards the divorced man and the divorced woman. Keeping in mind the fact that the woman may not have necessarily been at fault in the divorce, older Italian-Americans become very close minded as they only see the principle as being the woman was not able to retain her responsibilities of upholding the institution of *la via vecchia*, and when that happens, it can only lead to the destruction of the family unit. A divorced woman was viewed as evil.²⁸ To be an incompetent woman, to not be able to handle the responsibilities of *la serietà*, was to court the ruin of self and family. Because of the high stakes involved, failure was more condemned as immoral than pitied as a shortcoming. Thus, the term *disgraziata* became synonymous with a base insult.²⁹

A related belief was that the most shameful condition of all to early Italian-Americans was to be without a family. To dismantle one's family through divorce would ultimately result in exclusion from family activities such as weddings, funerals, holidays and private parties.³⁰ Of this Gambino writes: "This condition only befell one who was a *scomunicato*, one who violated the unwritten system of rules governing one's relations within and responsibilities to her family, and was excluded from all respected social intercourse by families." Because the sanction was so severe, excommunication from the family was applied only in the cases of the most treacherous and/or scandalous violations of the all important honor of the

family. For to be without family was to be truly a non-being, “un sacco vacante” (an empty sack) as Sicilians say.³¹

The significance of the women's liberation movement for the Italian-American woman dons a different purpose than that of women from other nationalities. The third generation Italian-American women's liberation efforts are cast at redefining women's responsibilities. Today, Italian-American women are far more concerned with their own education and with working out new relations with their parents, husbands, and children.³² Since Italian-American women have traditionally been considered the center of the family group, their new status brings responsibilities, demands and expectations which are alien to non-Italian women.³³

This change of roles and status has caused Gambino to comment how some third generation Italian-American females are bewildered by the behavior of their mothers. While second generation mothers encourage their daughters to pursue a higher education than they achieved, to widen their economic roles by entering new careers, and to take pride in their individuality and personal talents, they constantly press their daughters to maintain the old-fashioned values of womanhood which revolve around family solidarity, practical wisdom, and self-contained sexual pride. Because the younger women lack insight into the compromise of cultures that shaped their mothers, and because they are alien to the ideals of the old culture, young Italian-American women today are stunned by the seeming contradictions in their mothers' attitudes. This split is extremely puzzling, and the efforts of the older women to explain themselves have been unsatisfactory.³⁴ The younger women's understanding of their mother's values is further crippled by an absence of self-awareness as well as a lack of information about cultural roots.³⁵

The Sicilians have an appropriate proverb, “*Chi lascia la via vecchia per la nuova, sa quel che perde e non sa quel che trova.*” Translated this reads: “Whoever forsakes the old way for the new, knows what he is losing but not what he will find.”³⁶ This proverb has meaning for many Italian-American women today. It seems inevitable that they will increasingly become more concerned with themselves as individuals and at the same time will become aware of what they are losing.

Notes

1. Luigi Barzini, *The Italians*, p. 208.
2. Francesco Cordasco and Bucchioni, Edward, *The Italians: Social Backgrounds of an American Group*, p. 314.
3. Barzini, *The Italians*, p. 208.

4. Carol Arnone, *Identity Through Autobiography*, pp. 38-39.
5. Barzini, *The Italians*, p. 210.
6. Cordasco and Bucchioni, *The Italians: Social Backgrounds*, p. 313.
7. C. H. Mindel and R. W. Habenstein, eds., *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations*, p. 65.
8. Richard Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, pp. 175-76.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
12. *New York Magazine*, 23 October 1978, p. 85.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
14. Mindel and Hobenstein, eds., *Ethnic Families in America*, p. 73.
15. Cordasco and Bucchioni, *The Italians: Social Backgrounds*, p. 314.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *New York Magazine*, p. 87.
18. J. Ross Eshleman, *The Family: An Introduction*, p. 438.
19. *Ibid.*, p. C-8.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Barzini, *The Italians*, p. 209.
22. Cordasco and Bucchioni, *The Italians: Social Backgrounds*, p. 315.
23. Barzini, *The Italians*, p. 447.
24. Eshleman, *The Family*, p. 447.
25. Barzini, *The Italians*, p. 213.
26. Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, p. 162.
27. Cordasco and Bucchioni, *The Italians: Social Backgrounds*, p. 315.
28. Arnone, *Identity through Autobiography*, p. 39.
29. Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, p. 163
30. Arnone, *Identity through Autobiography*, p. 39.
31. Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, p. 3.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.* p. 176.
36. *Ibid.* p. 3.

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The Atlantic Slave Trade and The Development of American Slavery*

Margaret Kimble

Slavery had existed since ancient times in Egypt, Sumer, Israel, and Greece, and among the Muslims and the European kingdoms of the Middle Ages. On the eve of exploration and colonization of America by Europeans, slavery was firmly established in the Iberian peninsula as a result of the religious wars against the Moors. Christians enslaved Muslims and the Muslims, in turn, enslaved Christians. But, the slavery that developed in the New World during the sixteenth century was in many respects different and more cruel than earlier forms.

The Atlantic slave trade was begun by the Portuguese during the latter half of the fifteenth century as their explorers moved southward along the coast of Africa in search of an all-water route to the Indies. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had to compete, first with the Dutch, then with the English and French for continued supremacy in the slave trade. In this rivalry, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, Great Britain emerged as the principal power in the Atlantic slave trade. The system of slavery that developed in the New World as a consequence of the Atlantic slave trade was influenced by laws, religion, economics, and racism, but its main cause was economic.

In the fifteenth century, the Portuguese explorations of the coasts of Africa brought thousands of Negroes to Portugal as slaves. Many of these Negroes were already slaves and were obtained by trading with their African captors. Men became slaves as a result of captivity, by selling oneself into captivity, as punishment for a crime, or by being born of slave parents.

In England, slavery was not clearly defined in the laws as a social concept. Chattel slavery did not exist. Even the feudal system of villeinage had virtually died out. But even a villein had not been completely deprived of his social and legal rights. There was a Parliamentary statute in 1547 which provided that an able-bodied vagabond could be enslaved. (Upon presentation of two judges, he would be branded with a V on his chest and made a slave for two years. He could be fed bread, water and scraps; beaten and chained. A runaway could be branded on the face and enslaved for life.) But this statute was never enforced and was repealed three years

*Submitted to Professor Herbert Foster, History 144, American Civilization, Spring 1981

later. Most English laws were “in favorem libertatis.” Even slaves who came to England from other countries were set free.

After 1500, the Portuguese began supplying Spanish and Portuguese settlements in America with Negro slaves. When the Pope divided the New World between Spain and Portugal, Spain was prohibited from establishing trading posts in Africa. A contract (known as the “Asiento”) to bring slaves to Spain’s New World colonies was made with Portugal.

New World slavery first began in the Caribbean Islands. In 1502, the Spanish governor of Hispaniola (the Dominican Republic and Haiti) imported a few Christian Negroes born in Spain and Portugal. In 1510, the King of Spain allowed colonists to import 250 Negroes to meet the labor shortage. In 1517, Bishop Bartolme de las Casas (a missionary to the Indians) proposed that each Spaniard be permitted to import twelve Negro slaves in order to spare the Indians from hardship, to attract more Europeans, and to provide an adequate labor supply. These slaves were transported by Portugal. After the conquest of Mexico by Cortez in 1519, slaves were brought from the Caribbean Islands to the Spanish colonies on the mainland. On the Caribbean Islands, newly arrived slaves were “seasoned” by having them work with veteran slaves or by “specialists” trained in “breaking in” Africans. In 1538, African slaves were first brought to Brazil.*

Some historians argue that slavery in Central and Southern American colonies was not as harsh as slavery in the Caribbean Islands or the slavery that developed in the English colonies in North America. The customs of Spain and Portugal, where slavery had existed for a long time, were carried over to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. There was little or no prejudice against the Negro population. Negro slaves had certain rights and privileges and could purchase their freedom. The slave population in Spanish and Portuguese mainland colonies was not confined to a small region as it was in the Caribbean Islands and English America. The proportion of slaves to non-slaves was not so great as to cause widespread fear of revolt. Slaveholders did not inflict cruel punishment or enact “Black Codes” to discourage rebellions. Very few women colonists came from Spain or Portugal and interracial marriages took place. This accounted for less race hatred and better treatment of Negro slaves.

The influence of the Roman Catholic Church did much to reduce cruelties against slaves. Many church leaders spoke against slavery. The church conducted schools for slaves and Negroes were admitted to its religious orders. The separation of families was forbidden by the church. Also, the church encouraged masters to free slaves.

*Editor’s note: In the seventeenth Century Spain lost exclusive control over the islands of the Caribbean, and Denmark, Holland, France, and England acquired territory in the area. Since slaves were being constantly exported from the islands, especially those of the British, to other islands and the American mainland, this process of re-exportation came to be known as “seasoning” in the islands.

After the New England colonies were established and a New England merchant fleet developed, the New Englanders began trading with the West Indian Islands. A great deal of trading was done between New England and Providence Island, a Puritan colony where Negroes were enslaved. Also, many Puritans migrated from Providence Island to New England.

In New England, the body of Liberties reserved the colony's right to enslave convicted criminals. Some white men were enslaved, but most were later freed. This practice was stopped in 1642 as slavery was designated for "strangers" only. The Body of Liberties also stated that captives by war could be enslaved. During the first major conflict with the Indians, (the Pequot War of 1637) enslaved Indians were shipped to Providence Island in exchange for Negroes. However, two Africans captured and brought directly to New England from Africa were freed and sent back to Africa. The captain who enslaved them was punished.

In New England, generally the same protections against mistreatment that white servants had, were extended to Negro and Indian servants. In 1652, a Rhode Island law forbade slavery (service was limited to ten years), but this law was ignored. New England laws gave evidence of discrimination. In 1656, Negroes were excluded from military service in Massachusetts and in Connecticut in 1660.

In Virginia, the first Negroes arrived in 1619, apparently as indentured servants. They were later enslaved. Geographic conditions, absence of strong communal spirit, and the dependence on a tobacco crop created a demand for labor that was cheap but not temporary. Slave labor was cheap, permanent, mobile, unindependent, and unskilled, but inexhaustible. Because of the abundance of land, indentured servants left as soon as their time was up. Slavery did not occur suddenly, but developed over a period of time. War with the Indians did not result in the enslavement of the Indians. Virginia did not have as much contact with the Spanish and Portuguese as New England Colonies had. From 1640 to 1754 a series of laws were enacted which eventually permanently enslaved all Negroes. In 1705, a Slave Code was created from a generation of random statutes.

Other English colonies followed Virginia's pattern of changing the Negro's status from indentured servants to slaves. In most of these other colonies slavery began soon after settlement, except in Georgia. The original charter of Georgia prohibited the ownership of slaves until this ban was lifted in 1750.

The demand for slaves grew rapidly in the Southern colonies where large cash crops of tobacco, rice and indigo required a great deal of labor. Virginia's Negro slave population grew to 12,000 in 1707; 42,000 in 1743; and to 120,000 by 1756. In South Carolina the Negro population equaled the white population by 1707. In 1765, South Carolina had roughly 90,000

Negroes to 40,000 whites.

The attitudes of the American colonists toward slavery were influenced by the economic groups to which they belonged and by the prevailing moral and religious views of their communities. For example, in New England where geographical conditions did not foster large agricultural undertakings, there were few slaves and little fear of runaways and rebellion. Slaves were educated, accepted into churches, and permitted to marry and live with their families. On the other hand, New England slave traders profited greatly from the growth of slavery in the southern colonies. The slave trade was one of the most profitable commercial activities in colonial New England.

In 1672, the English government granted the Royal African Company a monopoly on the slave trade. This action symbolized official approval of the slave trade and slavery in the colonies. Although this grant was withdrawn in 1698, the English retained a monopoly on the slave trade. England, or rather Great Britain, became the world's foremost naval power by 1713. In this year the Treaty of Utrecht signed with Spain gave Great Britain the "Asiento," the exclusive right to bring African slaves to Spanish America, for thirty years.

The biggest profits were made by southern plantation owners for several reasons. One was that slaves were a lower-cost source of labor than indentured servants. Another was that the children of slaves either became laborers or could be sold. Then, of course, there were the money crops that the plantations produced. In addition to working the fields, slaves repaired tools and equipment, constructed buildings, and made various articles. This made the plantations largely self-sufficient. The Southern colonies did not have the legal and religious education that New Englanders had. From the time they originally settled, the Southern colonists were under pressure to make money and in fact that is the main reason they came to America.

Stanley Elkins, in his book, *Slavery*, associated the growth of slavery in the United States to the unopposed growth of capitalism. The man of means was responsible for the growth of Negro slavery. Where public opinion should have deterred brutalities against slaves, self-interest compelled lawmakers to allow cruelty, mutilation and murder against Negro slaves on the justification that a slaveowner would not have reason to damage his own property.

There was no unified church in the American colonies to oppose slavery. Demands for individual satisfaction took precedence over and even contaminated churches. To declare slavery unconditionally immoral would be to speak out against a great many wealthy "Christians". Some proponents of slavery within the church attempted to justify slavery as a tradition and an economic necessity. They pointed out that slavery had been tolerated by churches in the past. Others took the position that the church was not able to control slavery any more that it could control other

economic issues.

From the first initial encounter of Englishmen with black Africans, the English considered them different, heathens, accursed by God. Once Negro slavery began, the black population grew rapidly. White colonists feared a large, free society of Negroes living near them. Along with the fear of slave uprisings, these attitudes promoted the enactment of laws that made all Negroes slaves for life and forbidding the manumission of Negro slaves. In 1691, the Virginia assembly said that no Negroes could be freed unless they were transported out of the country.

Although laws, religion and racism all had definite effects on the development of Negro slavery in America, the main, underlying cause was always economic. The laws enacted to promote slavery, although some were weak attempts at religious or racial motives, were obviously intended to protect and enrich the wealth of the colonial aristocracy and/or the European colonizer.

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Darwinism and Society*

Francine Lewis

Within the past few years, due to the emergence of a popular best-seller, people have become enamored with the idea of tracing their family trees. Countless time and infinite expense have been spent in the quest for ancestors in hope of discovering a duke or lord or at least someone of significance. None of us need have gone to so much bother. Due to the insight and investigation of an auspicious Englishman, we can all claim a common ancestor of such historical consequence that future relatives fade by comparison. He was no duke or lord, and his deportment, by our standards, would appear rather simian. Our esteemed progenitor, the father of us all, according to our English friend, Charles Darwin, was an ape.*

Evolution, the theory that all species developed from earlier and simpler forms of life, was expanded upon and made famous by Charles Darwin, a noted British naturalist. Evolution, was not a new idea. As far back as the fourth century B.C., Aristotle emphasized the idea of "graduation" in living things from simple to complex forms. Even *Vestiges of Creation*, an anonymously written and published book which espoused some evolutionary theories, was still widely read and already in its tenth edition at the time Darwin published *The Origin of Species*.

In 1859, the era of Victorian England, biological ignorance was rampant. Little or nothing was known of the processes of fertilization, heredity, or variation; ecology and the study of animal behavior had scarcely begun. Even the geological field of paleontology had not discovered a good series which traced the evolution of a horse or elephant, let alone fossils which had any bearing on man's ancestry. In spite of this, Darwin gave an incredible account of the process of evolution and more importantly followed up this theory in a systematic and comprehensive manner.

It was on a voyage of the *H.M.S. Beagle*, when Darwin first formulated his hypothesis. As he traveled the Galapagos Islands he noted that related

*Submitted to Instructor Paula Carlo. History 100, Past and Present, Summer 1981.

*Editor's note: One of Darwin's main points in *The Origin of Species* was that all living things have evolved from either one or several earlier, simpler and lower forms of life. In *The Descent of Man* he applied this conclusion to the evolution of man. Darwin contended that man and all other mammals had a common progenitor.

species of birds occupied similar environments in adjacent territories and that vegetation on the west and east sides of the islands were obviously different, although soil and climate were very much the same. These observations made little sense in light of the Biblical theory of creation which stated that independently created species of organisms were created by a supernatural power. But it did make sense in regard to evolutionary theory which held that a simple type of organism had spread out over a wide area and in time changed itself to cope with the environment.

Darwin's basic idea was that all living organisms are truly related to one another by common inheritance. In his two famous works, *On The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* and *The Descent of Man*, he stressed that all organisms are constantly in a "struggle for existence", in which only the fittest survive. He further believed that individuals of the same species differ and that these variations, if favorable, provide the determining factors in this survival of the fittest. These variations are passed down and augmented by future generations and eventually evolve into an entirely new organism, different enough to be considered a new species. This whole idea of "natural selection," as he called it, was further assisted by a sexual selection and mating of the best members of a species which in turn eventually produce superior offspring. Darwin also believed that this natural selection of mates was apparent in acquired sexual characteristics, such as a cock's comb, deer's antlers and facial hair in adult men. These acquired characteristics supposedly were developed to help secure the best of the female of the species and may have been inherited.

Darwin did not commit his hypotheses to paper until four years after his voyage, and the final formulation of his book, *On The Origin of Species*, was not published until 1859, over twenty years after his trip. Darwin knew there would be storms of protests. Indeed, floodgates of both abuse and praise precipitated a war that would rage without let-up for at least ten years, and the repercussions of which are still felt.

The most obvious and emphatic opponents to this idea of evolution came from religious sectors. Scientific progress and technology were growing rapidly during this period and the prominent place that religion once held for the poor and lower middle class was quickly being replaced by such ideologies as socialism, nationalism, and materialism. Darwin's theories, like many scientific discoveries, contradicted some basic Christian beliefs. By refuting the Biblical view of creation, Darwin in essence deposed the Creator and served to weaken the hold of the churches. In response to this, in 1864 the Catholic Church, issued "A Syllabus of the Principle Errors of Our Times". This syllabus, authorized by Pope Pius IX, was supposed to reinforce belief in the Pope's infallibility on matters of faith and the morals of its members. Further, it condemned the burgeoning ideas of science and politics.

Although the Protestants rooted their doctrines more in the Bible, than

in tradition, their belief in the individual's freedom to convene with God as he or she saw fit made some compromise possible. The Protestant mode-of-thinking was extremely crucial in that it was virtually impossible to devise a uniform position due to the existence of more than 200 sects and denominations within the faith. The Fundamentalists, however, with their strict literal translation of the Bible, left no room for a symbolic interpretation of the Scripture. The Reverend Dr. Lee asserted at the time that if Darwinism is true, "there is no place for God . . . by no method of interpretation can the language of the Holy Scriptures be made wide enough to re-echo the orangutan theory of man's natural history."¹ Indeed, to this day, fundamental Protestants remain staunchly opposed to anything which "smacks" of Darwinism.

As mentioned earlier, there were many political changes taking place during this time and Darwinism was used as an effective tool by many politicians. It appeared to give a nod of approval to the economic policy of laissez-faire with its emphasis on competition. Further, it coincided with the idea of progress and the desire to improve the environment for man's overall betterment and gave confidence and optimism to the socialists in their hope for social and economic reform. This strive for materialism and the popularity of socialism and even communism, was strengthened by economic and social interpretations of Darwin's ideas. This approach drove the wedge between science and religion even further.

Eventually, as more and more evidence was unearthed, Darwin's theory was both substantiated and refuted. Paleontological discoveries on ancient man provided additional evidence as to man's true lineage. Other breakthroughs proved that Darwin's hypotheses in regard to acquired characteristics were incorrect. Future studies indicted that extreme change came from mutations rather than from the gradual process of evolution. Despite this, Darwin's ideas of the survival of the fittest and natural selection still remain to be the most cogent explanation of man's past.

Evolution has brought man through many changes, yet through it all he has remained unique. Darwin described man in *The Descent of Man* as "a moral being . . . who is capable of reflecting on his past actions and his motives—approving of some and disapproving of others; . . . this is the greatest of all distinctions between him and the lower animals."² Let us hope that we and future generations can "reflect" on "past actions" and come to a truer understanding of the ultimate level of evolution — the ability to live in peace.

Notes

1. Garrett Hardin, *Nature and Man's Fate* (New York: Rinehard and Co., Inc., 1959), p. 102.

2. Joseph R. Strayer and Hans W. Gatzke, *The Mainstream of Civilization Since 1500* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 3rd Edition, 1979), p. 668.

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The Problem of Labor in Colonial Virginia*

Raymond Mojica

Virginia, oh how the mere mention of that state conjures up certain visions in the mind! Virginia was the State that gave us some of our greatest leaders—Jefferson, Henry, Madison, Monroe, and of course, Washington. It evokes the image of hoop skirts and magnolia blossoms that filled the Tidewater twilight with sweet fragrance. It was the land of people who sat on wide front porches and sipped cool mint julep as the tall marble columns cast long shadows across the mahogany doors and a gang of Negro laborers sweetened the warm spring night with melancholy spirituals. How wonderfully these pictures go with those already presented of Virginia's founding days—of happy, excited pioneers glancing-off to the new land upon their arrival. What could have been the images which danced through their minds? Did they envision Indians and Englishmen working hand-in-hand to build a great new nation, or the struggle (albeit a happy one) as Englishmen labored together to enrich their lives?

Not exactly, though it would be nicer if it were true. The landed gentry who first settled Virginia were followed by Englishmen who came to America straight from the gutters of London, Birmingham, Leeds and Liverpool and knew either they had seven more years in a brand new gutter in what was to become the United States, or they had an eternity to spend in their own private gutters in the ground. They were indentured servants—vagrants, bar swills, debtors—conscripted to give seven long years of free service to masters who had invested in the Virginia Company and thus, had paid their way to the New World. This meant they had seen the last of England. It also meant that for the next seven years they were to be virtual slaves—unpaid and underfed laborers. But their prospects after that were supposed to be secure. They were promised a good piece of land to work, a future. This would ensure that Virginia would be another Anglicized, Christianized, and conquered province. Unfortunately, it did not work out that way. Indentured servitude never turned out to be the expedient that the rich Virginia planters had hoped it would be, as the freed servants never got their land.

The main problem with the system of indentured servitude was that after seven or even eight, nine or ten years (the term of service could be extended), the newly freed man became a threat to his former master. He became a threat because his only skills could be supplied by new shipments

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of indentured servants who worked for no pay. Hence, the freed man had no money, no land, no hope, but plenty of time to think about how he had been mistreated, how he had been kicked around, and how he was now sleeping in the woods on cold rainy nights with an empty stomach and an equally empty purse. What these men did have, were guns—big and clumsy but murderously efficient guns. These guns had been given them upon their release by their former masters and were originally meant for protection against the supposedly merciless Indian savages; but now they could be turned upon a former master to blow away years of anger, frustration, and cruelty. Before a large enough number of these wild young freed men decided to take this recourse, the planters, in their “ultimate wisdom,” decided that it was time to go back to the drawing board.

At first they tried a not too imaginative, nor effective plan to extend the servant’s term for committing certain crimes. One might have a year added to one’s term of service for killing a hog, stealing a chicken, or a host of other innocuous deeds. But the servant was ultimately freed, probably much angrier than he would have been had he been released according to the contract. Thus the extension of terms did nothing but delay the solution and worsen the problem.

Why did the planters not pay the freedmen to work and thereby halt the importation of indentured servants? Why should they pay people to work when they could get “free” labor? The planters certainly could have worked out a system, had they not been so blinded by greed, in which they could have paid freedmen absolutely minimal wages, much like today’s migrant farmworkers are paid. They would no longer have to pay to feed the workers, they would buy their own food out of their wages. By instituting a series of benefits to provide incentives for greater productivity they probably could have made much greater profits than they did when they were paying workers nothing. This would have started competition between workers, fueled by their own pettiness, jealousy and greed, and would have kept them too busy hating each other to realize how poorly they were being treated.* Unfortunately, the planters did not have the insight of hindsight and indentured servitude went the way of another “brilliant” scheme to supply the new colony with labor by using Indians—a plan also doomed to failure.

The problem of getting Indians to work for the Crown was essentially a problem of enormous differences in culture and values between white and red man. It was a major aim in the life of an Indian to have much time for rest, relaxation and recreation. The Indian needed only food in his stomach,

*Editor’s note: The solution was not quite so simple. In the early days of settlement, Virginia was plagued by a chronic labor shortage. Hence, the only way to get workers was to import them from somewhere. Indentured servants were persons who agreed to work for a certain number of years in exchange for paid passage to the New World.

shelter from the elements and just enough clothes on his back to keep him warm. He did not dream of dwelling in marble halls, of wearing silk breeches or sleeping between silk sheets. He cared little for ivory and gold toilet accessories, for caviar fished from the Black Sea, or for dancing with the King's daughter. His was a life of bare essentials and the ultimate enjoyment of nature's gifts to man.

Since the white man could not exploit a passion for status, greed for money and the "fine" things in life in the Indian, he could not dominate him. He thought that once the Indian saw the grand manner in which the white man lived he would fall over himself to be able to serve the white man so he could have a taste of real civilization. Of course this did not happen, and the Indian came to be hated and feared in that he might convince some of the poor whites that Indian life was better. Then the poor European would become as an Indian, unable to be dominated by his "betters", and the end might be just as grisly for the planters as a rebellion by freedmen. The Indian had to be separated from the whites and therefore could not work with him.

Finally the problem of labor in the newly-established colony became the "black man's burden." By the end of the seventeenth century, African slavery became the accepted labor source of American knavery. The Blacks, as the Indians, were not interested in the luxuries of the white man's civilization and in acquiring material goods, but this difference quickly turned to concern when the black slave was informed that either he work or be whipped, dismembered, or branded. Why were the English unable to do this with Indians? The Indians were too formidable to be defeated at that time, since their tribes had not been broken-up, nor families separated, as was the case with captured Africans. Further, the Indians were familiar with the land, while the Africans were not.

The system of indentured servitude had several inherent problems which African slavery did away with. The servant was only a servant for a specific number of years; upon his release he was free to cause trouble for his former employers. The African was a slave for life. He would never be freed, gun in hand, to cause problems in later years. His skin was a different color, easily distinguishable from that of an Englishman. And with the African there was an extra bonus—his children in turn became slaves, to be kept or sold. The slave was a very rare instruments—a machine of labor that reproduced itself at no charge to those who owned and operated it.

So the problem of supplying good, cheap labor to the new American colonies was solved. Or was it? The use of African slaves was again another postponement—like a man fighting death he might survive through pure will, although with a horrible wound. But that is merely putting off the inevitable. He will eventually die. So it was with labor at no price to the employers. The African slave would eventually be freed and the slave

system would come to an end. When it did, the old civilization of the South also died.

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The Iroquois Nation*

Laura Wilson

The Iroquois Indians who occupied the Northeastern Woodlands of North America were an interesting and individual people. The Iroquois Confederacy at one time was called the League of Five Nations. The League consisted of the Senecas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Mohawks and Cayugas. In 1719 the Tuscarora came to live in New York after being forced out of North Carolina by the settlers' pressure and war. Thus, around 1735 the League of Five Nations came to be known as the Six Nations. The Iroquois Confederacy was a strong group of people, basically a kinship state. It was, and is, an Indian nation that is bound together by a clan and a chieftain system.

Before their occupation of New York and the surrounding areas the Iroquois resided upon the Northern bank of the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois were one nation but few in number. To escape extermination from the Adirondacks (a branch of the Algonquin Indian language group), the Iroquois migrated to the central parts of New York. The League developed as a means to enable the Iroquois to band together and produce a strong force to protect themselves from unfriendly Indian nations. After the formation of the League the Iroquois strength and power became well known. The social, political, and economic organization of the Iroquois Indians is truly remarkable.

In the Iroquois Indians' social and political organization the women played an important role. Their society was matrilineal as well as matriarchal. A "hearth" consisted of a mother and all her children. Each hearth was part of a wider group called a *otiianer*. Two or more *otiianers* made a clan. This system was headed by a "mother". All sons and daughters of a particular clan were connected by the same mother but they might have different fathers. So, a husband went to live with his wife's family, and his children became members of her mother's clan. The oldest daughter of the head of the *otiianer* usually inherited her mother's honored position. By uniting the descendants in a female line of a particular woman, the Iroquois formed a cohesive social and political group that had little to do with where a people lived or from what village the hearth originated. The Iroquois resided in permanent villages. They fixed their villages upon banks, rivers, lakes or new springs. The villages were compact and stockaded but the houses were grouped at irregular intervals. The Iroquois *Ga-no-sote* or

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barkhouses were long rectangular buildings. When the village was settled over a large area, the houses were single and usually designed for one family. In ancient times the houses were very long and subdivided and this enabled them to house a number of families. The Iroquois Indians were farmers as well as hunters. They buried their surplus corn in caches that would preserve the corn throughout the year.

The Iroquois had a strong but sometime vague religious belief. Dreams must always be observed by the Iroquois. Stone giants, beasts, fairies and spirits were common figures in the Iroquois religion. The Iroquois seldom prayed—they worshipped by singing and dancing.

Marriage was not founded upon love. It was a contract between the mothers of the couple to be married. In ancient times a young warrior was often wed to an older woman. A maiden who was twenty was often married to a widower who was sixty. This reasoning was based on the idea that a young person needed a companion who was experienced in the affairs of life.

The Indian mode of life divided the people socially into two great classes—male and female. There was little sociality between the two classes. During the season of councils socializing was confined to the dance. The Indian regarded women as inferior servants of man and the women actually believed this.

Polygamy was forbidden among the Iroquois but the right of voluntary separation or divorce was granted to all. Property was limited but the rights of property were equal for women as well as men. The wife held and controlled her property while her husband held and controlled his property.

One of the most celebrated features of the Iroquois Indians was their spirit of hospitality. The Iroquois houses were opened to a stranger as well as a neighbor, at any time day or night.

The Iroquois can scarcely be said to have a criminal code because crime was very infrequent in their society. Witchcraft was punishable by death, adultery was punished by whipping and murder was also punished by death. Unless the family of a murder victim was appeased in some way, the family could take private vengeance. Theft was the most despicable of crimes. Public indignation, the severest form of punishment known to the Indians, was the only penalty for this crime. The love of truth was an inborn sentiment of the Indian character. The Iroquois spoke the truth without fear or hesitation.

Strength and courage were honorable traits for the Iroquois Indians. The adoption of male captives was a test of endurance. The captives were taken to a long line of Indians and each Indian held a whip. The captives ran through this line of whips with their backs exposed. Those who fell from exhaustion or fear were tortured. Those captives who survived the whipping were adopted and treated with kindness and affection.

The Iroquois Indians loved to hunt. The deer, the elk, the moose, the bear and several species of wild bird made up their principal game. The Indian's love of a hunter's life proved to be a principal that was too deep to be controlled by legislation. Upon judgment of their institutions you soon realize that the league was designed to be an elaboration of the family relationship. Their traditions, laws, rules and type of administration were passed down through many generations and still survive today. The government was organized and administered on the same basis that our individual states bear to the United States.

The relations between ruler and people were merely those of sachems and followers. Fifty sachemships were created when the league was formed. Sachems were titles for those men who were vested with supreme powers in the Iroquois Confederacy. These sachemships were hereditary but under limited laws. The sachemships were distributed unequally between the nations. Nine of the sachemships were given to the Mohawk nation, five to the Onedia, fourteen to the Onondaga, ten to the Cayuga and eight to the Seneca. The sachems formed the Council of the League and from this council the executive legislative and judicial authority reigned. The Onondaga nation was made both the keeper of the Council of Brand and the keepers of the Council of Wampum. The Council of the League declared war and peace, sent and received embassies, entered into treaties, received new members into the League and extended its protection over feeble Indian tribes. The structures of the principles of government, laws and treaties were recorded by the Council of Wampum and the Council of Brand.

The individual nations though were entirely independent of one another. Each nation's sachems administered the affairs of that nation; they regulated local and domestic matters. Next to the sachems in position were the chiefs. The office of chief was made elective without any power of descent. No limit to the number of chiefs was established. The position was a reward of merit. The Iroquois had no distinct class of war chiefs—if a sachem had to go out to war he put aside his official role and became a common warrior. However, the principle war captains were found among the chiefs. It was lawful for any warrior to organize a party of individuals and direct their actions and efforts; thus the belief that the Iroquois' warlike ways were nothing more than personal adventures. When several nations were uniting into one body to wage war, the positions of two military chieftains were established. These war chiefships were made hereditary. The Iroquois were ruthless but courageous warriors and their reputation often proceeded their attack. Inhabitants of villages often fled before the Iroquois could strike.

The Iroquois currency is often referred to as wampum. The word wampum is not of Iroquois origin. Wampum beads were rarely worn and valued highly. The beads were used for religious purposes, to preserve

laws and to preserve treaties. Wampum is made of the conch shell which has both white and purple beads. A full string of wampum is usually three feet long and contains more than a dozen strands. In ancient times six strands of wampum were offered to overlook a murder. These six strands of wampum were offered as remuneration to the family of the victim.

All personal ornaments and belongings could be passed from person to person at a fixed value, but it appears that the Iroquois had no common standard of currency. When the Europeans appeared wampum would come closest to a type of currency because it was valuable and had various different uses. When it was sold the strings were worth a one-half cent per bead. A belt would contain several thousands beads and could be valued at a high rate.

In conclusion, it seems evident that the Iroquois nation was rigidly structured and more complex than is generally known. No other Indian people throughout North America reached their level of organization. The Iroquois were a unique and powerful Indian people who deserve greater recognition for their elaborate social structure, laws and advanced governmental administration.

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The Social Conditions of The American Slave From Childhood to Maturity*

Lawrence Schilder

If the young black child was strong enough to survive the rigors of infancy, he was then able to experience the many joys of childhood. Often the black child would play with white children, not knowing that there were differences in equality between them. Together they wandered around the plantation having fun. They would go fishing or hunting. Sometimes they would raid watermelon or potato patches or go berry picking. At this age the black child did not know that he was a slave. He had no real worries. The excitement of his early years and his closeness with white children sometimes blurred the black child's vision of the fact that he was a slave.

Most young slaves began their working lives before the age of ten by doing light work. This beginning labor was the first realization for the black child that he was only a slave and the white child was a free and superior person. One of the most important lessons for the black child to learn was to be very cautious about what he said around white people. One reason mothers were so persistent in telling their children to be careful was because some plantation masters tried to use the black child to spy on his parents.

Black parents taught their children to be honest and not to lie. Stricter parents taught them not to rebel against their masters, and even to accept personal abuse. To accept personal abuse and to watch the abuse of his family was most difficult for the young slave. Yet parents taught their children obedience as a means to avoid pain or even death. There were a minority of parents, however, who taught their children to fight against their masters or overseers in order to protect the family.

As the black child grew older and began to work regularly, he also began to understand his position as a slave. His day began just before sunrise and ended at dusk, when he was able to return to his quarters. During the winter his working day was shorter than in the summer because there was less daylight.

The majority of slaves lived in poorly-constructed cabins in little villages, called quarters, within sight of the master's house or the overseer's cottage. A major cause of disease among slaves were the cabins they lived in. They were low, cramped and filthy. The logs were decayed, the floors

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open, and the roofs leaked. Some cabins were no more than twelve square feet, with no windows. At times there were gaps of seven inches between boards; there was nothing to prevent the elements from coming in. The average cabin had only a small clay chimney, was unfurnished and unpainted.

Only a small percentage of plantation owners took the time to house their slaves in snug cabins covered with weather-boarding and shingles. Some of these better cabins were even made out of brick and were elevated two feet above the ground to make them weatherproof. Some even put up mosquito bars and furnished the cabins with decent bedding. These cabins had partitions which separated them into rooms. Some had brick fireplaces, closets with locks and front and rear doors. These cabins would also have windows with hinged wooden shutters. The quarters consisted of single or double rows of cabins. These types of quarters were only found rarely, and then only among the wealthier plantations.

When a slave was ready to marry he had to have the permission of his master. On most plantations, masters refused to allow one of their slaves to marry a slave belonging to another plantation. Occasionally, a benevolent master would purchase the slave from another plantation so that the two could be together.

After marriage many masters ignored the couple as long as their behavior did not disturb anyone else. On the other hand, some masters required that the husband provide the fire wood for his cabin as well as care for his wife. In turn the wife did the sewing, washing and cooking. If any problems arose in this arrangement the master would punish either the husband, wife, or both. In enforcing discipline some masters whipped both husband and wife if they had loud arguments or fights. If slaves of different plantations were allowed to marry they could be punished by their masters by not being allowed to visit one another. If a couple wanted a divorce they had to get the approval of their master. Some masters let their slaves change spouses as often as they wanted to; but some other masters made the slave give him a certain time notice. Before they could remarry they might have to receive twenty-five lashes.

One of the most humiliating things a man had to watch was the beating of his disrobed wife or child. The sexual abuse of the black woman by her white master took a terrible toll on the black male. The slave frequently could do little or nothing to protect his wife from this sexual abuse. Probably the worst punishment for any slave was to see his family broken up forcibly. This was a haunting and constant possibility that made the slave's life miserable. This threat was a method of discipline used effectively by many slave owners.

When a female slave was pregnant it was the master who decided what kind of care and attention, if any, she would receive. Slave women usually worked up until a couple weeks before the child was born. The woman

might be given a few days of rest where she would not have to work after the baby was born. The master would then establish the nursing routine for the baby. On many plantations the women had no time to prepare any breakfast and usually worked a hard day so that they couldn't give their children much attention. When the child was very young he was placed in the hands of an elderly woman in charge. Either way, the child was usually neglected. Sometimes these young infants were fed irregularly. They suffered from a variety of illnesses. Since they usually were cared for by ignorant women, many of these infants died.

A class structure existed within the slave community itself. Sometimes bondsmen disapproved of troublemakers because they could cause all of the slaves to suffer. But in most cases the one slave out of the group who would challenge slave discipline was admired. The runaway who knew how he would suffer if caught, yet still ran away, was much admired. There was a great feeling of triumph not only for him but also for the other slaves. The slave who could trick his master was highly respected by the other slaves. The unlettered slave rarely won distinction. The only way a slave could be anything was if he had sharp wits or strong muscles, preferably both. These were important elements for a slave's survival. Usually there was one slave who was looked-up to for leadership. He often held a magical sway over the minds of the other slaves. A carpenter, blacksmith, cooper or cobbler was higher in the internal class structure of the slaves than a field slave. Also, a plantation cook had many advantages over the other slaves. If a slave could humor the master or be his "fool" he was better-off than the others. A slave might also reach the upper level in his slave society through intimate contact with his master. Many domestic slaves were proud of their positions, more refined manners and speech and handsome clothes. Other slaves bragged about the fact that their masters paid good money for them and would not sell them. For example, a \$1,200 slave might feel superior to a \$700 slave.

Cruelty towards the slave was common. There were some masters who were drunks, psychopaths or sadists who tortured or even killed their slaves for amusement. Cruelty was not perpetrated by the unbalanced alone. If, for example, a plantation owner had a fight with his wife he just might take out his anger on his slaves. There were, however, some small slave owners who were in close contact with their slaves and treated them more benevolently. The overseers appointed to watch over the slaves seldom felt any personal affection for the slave. The overseer seemed to have little confidence in using rewards or incentives as a method of keeping the slave in line. Most of them preferred to use physical force for discipline. Thus, many slaves had permanently scarred backs and others were left crippled as a result of this horrible treatment.

In conclusion, most slaves had severe masters and were consistently abused. The male slave was rarely able to protect his family. Families could

be broken-up and life in general was miserable; yet the slave tried to find things to raise his spirits. In the final analysis, even if the slave had a humane master he was still a slave.

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The Development of Apartheid And The First Anglo-Boer War*

Peter Williams

The First Anglo-Boer War (1881) was a war of economics, as many wars are. It was fought in the Transvaal at a time when it seemed that the British were weakening. This came after the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold elsewhere in the Transvaal. The British had annexed other parts of South Africa and dreamed of a Union under British control. But the independent Afrikaaners would not stand for it, especially since the Dutch and British were traditional enemies.

The Boer victory gave the Transvaal and other republics an opportunity to develop their economies and racist oppressive policies to the fullest extent. I will discuss these topics starting with the first European contacts with South Africans, to the War and beyond.

The first contact of Europe and Southern Africa resulted from the successful attempts of the Portuguese to discover a trade route to India, which would not have been accomplished if Vasco da Gama had not solicited the help of a Muslim navigator, whom he picked up on the east coast of Africa after rounding the Cape of Good Hope. After doing this, the Portuguese had a virtual monopoly on trade with the East throughout the sixteenth century. When Phillip II of Spain gained control of Portugal at the end of the sixteenth century, he closed the trading port of Lisbon to the Dutch, who were the most important traders with the Portuguese in their eastern goods. This was done as an attempt to deprive the Dutch of their main source of wealth and thus to crash their power to resist a Spanish takeover of the Netherlands. But this plan proved fatal to Spanish and Portuguese interests. For the Dutch, determined to trade, sent out an exploratory expedition to the east in 1598, and by 1602 had established the Dutch East India Company.

Fifty years after its foundation, the Company felt the need to pause for refreshment on the long and arduous journey (the death rate on the voyage was often as high as 50 percent). During the first half of the seventeenth century they usually stopped at St. Helena, the Cape, or Mauritius. For several decades the Dutch ships made a practice of putting into Table Bay to take in fresh water, to barter with the Hottentots, for meat, and to find the latest information about the affairs of Europe or Asia in dispatches they

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left one another under inscribed stones.¹ Then in 1647 Leendert Janssen was shipwrecked in Table Bay with the of the *Noord Harlem*, and after his return to the Netherlands he presented a report advising the Company to found a permanent refreshment station at the Cape. Largely because of the imminence of the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–54 the directors of the Company eventually agreed to this proposal. Three ships were to take out building materials, seeds, and farm implements, and 90 men were to build a fort and develop a vegetable garden.

To command this expedition the Dutch chose Jan van Riebeeck, a doctor by training, who had already six years of commercial experience with the Company. He landed at the Cape on 7 April 1652 and remained ten years. The first aborigines whom van Riebeeck came across were the Hottentots; the Standlopers (Beachcombers) at the coast; and about eighty or ninety miles to the east, the nomadic, cattle-owning tribes who were accustomed to take their cattle periodically to graze at the Table Mountains, where the Dutch made their settlements. They rightfully regarded the Dutch as intruders in their domain, especially when it became clear that the Dutch were there to stay.

The Dutch welcomed the Hottentots from whom they could purchase cattle for copper wire and beads, but it was not long before the question of grazing rights brought about the first differences between blacks and whites. The Hottentots found that year after year more of their valuable pasturage land was being enclosed by Dutch forts and houses. They resisted this expansion by guerrilla warfare which failed, and at the end of his ten year stay van Riebeeck reported that the Hottentots were forced to recognize Dutch occupation.² Thus the Hottentots were the first victims of the vicious cycle of occupation, resistance, war, and conquest, ending in the dispossession which ran the course of South African history.

Van Riebeeck freed nine married men from their contracts with the Company (they were known as free burghers). This was done partly to provide a cheaper form of defense against the indigenous peoples and partly because he thought that a rigidly controlled production by non-official farmers would be less expensive than state production. This free burgher class increased and began to move eastwards towards the fertile valleys of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. And by the end of the seventeenth century the population swelled with the influx of Dutch and German settlers whom the Company helped find land.

During the governorships of Simon Van de Stel (1679–99) and his son W. A. Vander Stel (1699–1707), the Company made its one serious effort to encourage immigration by bringing in Dutch and German immigrants. There were also about 200 French Huguenots, who came to the colony fleeing the persecution of the French Roman Catholic Church. In a 1707 census there was a burgher population of 1,779 men, women, and children, owning 1,107 slaves.³ The Company did not want to establish a New

Netherlands in South Africa. Nevertheless by 1795 the white population had grown to 15,000, mainly due to natural increases and less to immigration, which was not encouraged. By now South Africa was their home and they also spoke Afrikaans, their own language.

As the Cape Colony grew in population and size, the need for unskilled labor also grew. At first there was no intention on the part of the Company to encourage racial discrimination. To show approval for inter-racial miscegenation the surgeon of the original settlement was given a promotion and wedding feast in the commander's house when he married a Hottentot lady called Eva.⁴ Simon Van Der Stel was the son of an Indian woman.

The situation began to change in the early 1700's, with the increased importation of slaves from West Africa, Delgoa Bay and the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar). The Cape Colony had a slave population of 17,000 in 1795. There was a large amount of adultery between white men and slave women. Most of the slaves were the property of farmers, for whom they were the main labor force. Others were owned by the Company and the Cape Town Burghers, and a few by trekboers. Their treatment was mild (as mildly as slaves are treated) but steadily deteriorated and the 1754 slave code was very oppressive.⁵ The trekboers advanced into Hottentot lands after the latter were devastated by war and an epidemic of small pox in 1713. After the loss of their cattle and independence, they were reduced to the level of serfs, and became the main labor force of the trekboers, whose demands they were to satisfy. Although there was a certain amount of sexual mixture among the white men and Hottentot women, intermarriage had been ruled unlawful since 1685.⁶ The offspring of this intercourse were usually disowned by their fathers and became known as Bastards; some entered into service, while others retreated before the advance of the trekboers, becoming trekkers themselves. As the Hottentots monopolized manual labor the whites developed an attitude of natural superiority over the blacks. This attitude was even more prevalent on the cattle farms of the interior, where the whites were isolated and surrounded by large numbers of blacks who could rebel at any moment. They believed the only way to protect themselves was to treat the workers harshly and support each other always. Thus, the attitude of white superiority was developed and strengthened in an atmosphere of fear and was strongly believed by the farmers.

The Calvinist religion, which the Dutch brought, served to augment this problem, for it taught that men are divided from birth into the chosen and the damned. Though the church did not accept it, the ordinary farmer came to believe the whites to be the "haves" and the subordinate blacks the "have-nots", and that the distinction between the two was in accordance with the will of God.

The Bushmen were still more primitive than their Hottentot brothers and sisters. Before white settlement began they were driven into the more

arid and mountainous parts of South Africa by the Hottentots and other tribes. Although everyone was against them, they tried to survive as best they could by making hit-and-run raids to get sheep and cattle for food, and if cornered were able to kill their enemies with poisoned arrows. As the trekboers entered Bushmen country and started to suffer from the raids, they organized Boer commandos to hunt down and kill them. Toward the end of the eighteenth century several Bushmen bands made a prolonged stand; operating from mountains along the northern fringes of white intrusion. The commandos gradually won out, murdering 2,500 Bushmen and capturing 650 in the decade ending in 1795. Those captured were children, and were taken into slavery.

Their slave experiences with Hottentots and Bushmen have had important and longlasting effects on the racial attitudes of Afrikaaners towards all non-whites. Most of the blacks they came in contact with were at a low cultural level comparatively, so the Afrikaaners tended to think themselves innately superior to one and all. The displaced Africans' claim to their birthplace was never acknowledged by the Afrikaaners. They were just brushed aside or taken over.

In the course of the Napoleonic Wars, the Cape was captured by a British naval and military force in September 1795, nominally on behalf of the Prince of Orange who had taken refuge in England away from the Dutch republicans. In their struggle with France the British considered it essential not to let the Cape fall into enemy hands, and until the Treaty of Amiens a hold was kept on it for strategic reasons.

After 1870 the South African economy was rapidly transformed. Previously South Africa had been a pauper country, with most of its inhabitants, black and white, engaged in inefficient near-subsistence farming; and it lacked the means to attract the capital and skilled personnel to create the facilities of a modern country. Then in 1867 diamonds were found along the Orange and Vaal rivers; in 1870 the dry diamond diggings began to be worked at Kimberly; and in 1886 the gold rush to the Witwatersrand began to eclipse all previous gold rushes. Immigration raised the white population from about 320,000 in 1875 to 1,117,000 in 1904. Railway construction was even more spontaneous. In 1870 there were only 69 miles of railway track in all of South Africa, by 1886 there were 1,800 miles of track and the line from Cape Town had reached Kimberly; by 1895 there were 3,600 miles of track and Johannesburg was connected with five ports: Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Lourenco Marques, Portuguese East Africa and Mozambique. The Free State had been annexed in October of 1871 by Sir Henry Barkly, a new high commissioner sent to South Africa to settle the dispute between the Free State, Transvaal as well as with the Griquas (who are descendants of pure Hottentot blood but mostly of half-caste lineage due to the extramarial relationships of white male South Africans) over land.

Lord Carnarvon, colonial secretary in Disraeli's 1874 ministry, hoped that the South African states and colonies might unite in an autonomous federation under the British crown. Having failed in the south, Carnarvon turned towards the north and found what he saw to be promising. The Transvaal was in political and economic turmoil, due to the weakness in the leadership of Thomas Francois Burgers. In 1876 the Afrikaaners and Paul Kruger were plotting against him, and the traders were conniving with the Cape and Natal merchants to bring in the British. Carnarvon heard their cries and commissioned Shepstone to annex the Transvaal. Entering the republic in January 1877 with twenty-five police and a staff of seven, Shepstone annexed it in April in a proclamation which promised "the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of the people."⁷

But British rule in the Transvaal was neither efficient nor tactful and there were no elections. Then the Zulu War revealed the weakness of British arms (the Zulu Nation with their spirit for independence revived by Cetewayo, routed a large British force at Isandhlwana in 1879 before they were vanquished in the following year). By this time the Transvaalers, who had passively acquiesced in the annexation, were moving toward open rebellion under the leadership of Paul Kruger, Piet Joubert, and M.W. Pretorius. Finally in 1881 they rose in rebellion, besieged the British garrison in Pretoria and routed a relief column at Bronkhorstspuit. Troops were rushed up from Natal but they met severe check at Laings Nek. Shaken in his resolution, Gladstone decided to negotiate, but before any settlement could be reached the final battle was fought at Majuba, where a British force was wiped out. Gladstone's ministry, which assumed office in Britain in 1880, failed to reform the Transvaal administration in time to avoid the rebellion. And in 1881 at the Pretoria Convention gave the Transvaalers a qualified independence. Three years later they allowed the republic full internal autonomy, while maintaining British control over its foreign relations with all states except the Free State. This was reached at the London Convention of 1884. Thus Carnarvon's project had completely failed but a union was only delayed.

South Africa is a microcosm in our world. In its races, religions and its perilous division into "haves" and "have-nots". Yet, alone in this world, it is a country in which a racial minority is committed to preserving power in its own hands, a policy which is enforced with inequitable laws imposed upon the masses with brute force. This state is doomed. It must be. For a cruel condition, as the one that exists in South Africa cannot be allowed to exist among mankind. All the other colonies in Africa have been felled by the mighty sword of man's will be free and think for himself.

It is possible for whites and non-whites to live together (Zimbabwe is a current example of this) but the South Africans' persistent ideas of racism and apartheid government makes this impossible. For the South Africans'

own racism spawns a counter-racism in an attempt by the blacks of South Africa to gain their freedom and keep their cultural identity. Guerrilla warfare is usually a slow process but if it is persistent the oppressive agitators usually lose out in the end. Cuba, Viet Nam, China, and these United States are but a few testaments to that. But it should be remembered that whenever possible bloodshed is always best avoided.

Appendix

Ethnic Groups

The Hottentots: Hottentot is a generic designation for a group of nomadic, mainly pastoral people (herding cattle and sheep), whom the first European explorers of Southern Africa found in areas from the Swakop to the Buffalo River. They are very similar to the Bushmen: on the one hand they are physically alike the Bushmen, while several groups in Botswana who were previously thought to be Bushmen on the grounds of their hunting and gathering economy, have been said to speak Hottentot languages. War, disease and absorption into the Cape Coloured Community have diminished most of the original Hottentot groups. Those that survive, such as the Nama in South and South West Africa (Namibia), have attained European customs and dress. They mainly live on reserves controlled by the South African government (although the United Nations declared an end to the mandate of South Africa over Namibia in 1966)⁸ and have taken up mixed farming and working outside the reserve for wages.

These people are rapidly losing their heritage as Afrikaans replaces their own languages in the schools and society. Extended families are less common but may be found and are no longer organized into larger patrilineal groups.

The Bushmen: This is European term used to denote those people of South Africa whom the Hottentots originally called San.⁹

The San were supposed to be easily identifiable by physical features, languages, and culture. They were first identified by their physical features: light colored skin with a tendency to wrinkle; dark, curly hair; flat faces and platyrhinian noses; and steatopygeia (protruding buttocks, more prominent during pregnancy). But none of these features are exclusively San, and they are also serologically related to the Hottentots and Bantu. Secondly, some Bushmen groups who practice the supposedly characteristic economy of hunting and gathering are said to speak

Hottentot languages.

Most of the Bushmen have been restricted by the government to the unyielding semi-arid areas, so that many of them have to work, temporarily or permanently, for wages on European farms or to continue in a kind of client relationship with the other Africans (especially the Twana), whom they serve as hunters, cattle herders, or laborers in return for provision of food, livestock, clothing and tobacco. Therefore, they no longer fit into a distinct cultural category. In fact Bushmen who can be classified as being "true" number only 50,000. The majority live in Botswana (30,000) and the rest in Namibia (20,000).¹⁰

The Bantu: The main portion of the South African population consists of black people speaking southern Bantu languages. The first group to enter South Africa would seem to have been the group of tribes speaking the Nguni dialects. They occupied what is now Natal and had covered much of the eastern Cape before the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498, and held the same ground when met by the Dutch and English in the eighteenth century. There are northern and southern Nguni. The southern or Cape Nguni consist of several tribes mostly living in the Transkei area: The Pondo, Thembu, Xhosa, Bomvana, Mpondomise and others, in all numbering well over 2.5 million.

The northern Nguni include the Zulu, Swazi, Bhaca, Fingo, and others also totaling over 2.5 million people in Natal and surrounding areas. As a result of the political upheavals of the early nineteenth century associated with the rise of the Zulu king Shaka, several offshoots of the northern Nguni moved farther northward: the Ndebele of the Transvaal; the Ndebele (Matavele) of Zimbabwe and the Ngoni of Malawi, Zambia and Tanganyika. Behind the Nguni came other people speaking Sotho dialects, which are closely related to Nguni but lack the Hottentot derived click (c,q,x) found in the Nguni languages. The Sotho speakers consist of the southern Sotho, or Suto of Lesotho; and the northern Sotho of the Transvaal (the Pedi, Lovedu, and others). In their economy the Sotho people resemble the Nguni, but differ in certain other respects; some of them live in large towns rather than in the dispersed settlements of the Nguni, and they approve of marriages between cousins, whereas the Nguni prohibit it.

While blacks are the majority in South Africa, they are not the rulers of their own fate. They are ruled by a white minority of mixed European origins (Dutch, English, French, German), who have been present in South Africa, starting with the Dutch since the establishment of the Cape Colony in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company.

There is also a small Indian population in South Africa. They were brought to Natal in 1860 as indentured servants in the central zone. There are also a few hundred Chinese and small numbers of Mauritians, St. Helenians, and others living mainly in the towns.

Notes

1. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, volume 4, p. 469 (hereafter cited as *E B*)
2. Herbert Adam, *Modernizing Racial Domination* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1971), p. 21.

E B, volume 20, pp. 965—66.
4. J. D. Omer-Cooper, et al, *The Making of Modern Africa*, volume 1: *The Nineteenth Century to the Partition* (London: Longmans 1972), pp. 206—07.
5. John Burger, *The Black Man's Burden* (London: Victor Gollancy Limited, 1943), pp. 451—53.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
7. Eric A. Walker, *A History of South Africa* (London: Longman, Green and Company Limited, 1965), p. 275.
8. Mary Benson, *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright* (New York: Minerva Press, 1969) p. 268.
9. *E B*, volume 4, p. 468.
10. *E B*, volume 20, p. 956.

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