ABSTRACT

Many people fail to realise that words are more than often mere umbrella concepts which denote things differing markedly in nature. The term "slavery" is such an instance. Greek slavery and American slavery have always been taken as similar. This study has analysed both systems of slavery from the secondary material available in order to see the similarities, or dissimilarities, of these two types of slavery. The study concludes that both systems differed to such an extent that they deserve to be considered as differing "types." We have also pointed to those factors within each slavery system which accounted for that particular "breed" of slavery. Various theoretical works in Sociology, and in the Sociology of slavery, are re-examined in the light of the descriptive data presented in this study. From all this we have produced a concise account of the nature of both Greek and American slavery "systems."

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CULTURE, CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY

by

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts (Sociology)

McGill University

August, 1969

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study owes particular debt to the pioneers in the field of the Sociology of Slavery--both to the slaves who lived it and to the men who reflected on this experience. Among the latter, I am particularly indebt to scholars ranging from Plato and Aristotle to Elkins and Klein. Without the observations and data of the many authors acknowledged in the study, this thesis could not have been examined.

It is not an easy matter to express the gratitude (and admiration) deserved by those few men who make certain institutions like the University a delightful and worthwhile place to be in. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor Lou Goldberg and Professor Donald Von Eschen who never tire of being helpful advisors nor of being admirable as individuals. My thanks to them for the encouragement, confidence and advice given me, without which this study might not have been possible.

I also wish to acknowledge the inspiration that I have received from those toiling masses of the Third World whose tears and sweat have kept me enthused in an endeavour to overcome and excel in all of life's endeavours. I hope that an understanding of slavery, and the forces behind its different varieties, will enable all of us to know objectively our past in order to direct our energies objectively in the present and the future.

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to compare the ancient Greek and the "modern" American slavery systems. Prior to the American Civil War, the defenders of American slavery commonly asserted that American slavery was no different from the slavery of Greece and Rome. George Fitzhugh (1806-1881), for example, the most noted of the pro-slavery intellectuals, stated in his famous defense of slavery:

"To it (slavery) Greece and Rome, Egypt and Judea, and all the other distinguished states of antiquity, were indebted for their great prosperity and high civilization . . . . But this high civilization and domestic slavery did not merely co-exist, they were cause and effect."[1] This type of argument functioned to soothe the conscience of American planters, to bestow the institution of slavery with some semblance of historical continuity and legitimacy, and to reconcile the American claim to Democracy with the social facts of the Slave system.

But can we legitimately say that Greek and American slavery were of the same kind or type? This study attempts to answer this question. The main research objective is to analyse both systems of slavery in order to see the contrasts between both. To do this we will identify the main factors that entered into the development of the Greek and American slavery systems. At the most general level, we will attempt to assess the relationships between "slavery," "capitalistic economic organisation" and "culture." These macro-concepts will be broken down into micro-variables in order to show the detailed interrelationships between social, economic and cultural facts, and

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[1] George Fitzhugh, Sociology for the South (Richmond: A. Morris, 1854), pp. 226-258.

and the ways in which the various constellation of factors affected the lives of the main actors within the two systems examined.

Methodology

Our approach is essentially "sociological" rather than philosophical: it concerns the functionality of slavery rather than the abstract "idea" of slavery or the morality of slavery. It sees slavery as existing within a particular social context. Specifically, we hold that the slavery system of any particular locality helps to determine the culture of its time and place, but that, even more, it reflects the general features of the total culture. Elkins sees slavery, for example,

> ". . . as a social institution functioning by laws and logic like other institutions, mutable like others, a product of human custom, fashioned by the culture in which it flourished, and capable of infinite variation from culture to culture. [1]

As this study is concerned with characterising slavery systems as a whole against the background of the societies out of which they emerged, the methodological approach used here has been of the "Qualitative Descriptive" type. This method has the merit of handling the social system in the round, as it is not limited by the rigorous requirements of measurement. Obviously too, the unfeasibility of applying modern survey methods and other statistical tools to the study of historical societies means that, out of necessity, qualitative non-numerical evidence must be relied upon. But the simpler the society the more applicable the qualitative descriptive approach because of the relatively smaller number of variables involved and the tendency towards stability in these societies.

It is notable also, that in ancient societies there were men specialised in the art of observing and recording the inner workings of their

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[1] Alvin Gouldner, Enter Plato. Linton Myres, The Ancient Greeks.

societies. In our characterisation of ancient Greece we use the works of such informed men - Homer's poems, the "Politics" of Aristotle, the observations of Plato, The Fragments of Antiphon ("On Truth"), etc. The Literature of Greece in this period, as Gouldner and others have admirably argued elsewhere, can provide valuable insights as to the nature of its social institutions. Much use will also be made of the political vocabulary of the Greeks from which much can be deduced. Such legal codes as that found at Gortyna (the "Gortyna Codes") provide indispensable insights and some use is also made of archeological findings.

For American slavery we rely on the secondary data presented in the classic studies of Cairnes, Elkins, Genovese, Klein, Phillips, Stampp, etc., and a wide selection of other researches on American slavery which have attempted to sort out sense from nonsense in the debates about American slavery.

One other methodological aspect of this study needs to be mentioned. This is the use of the Historical Comparative method. Tannenbaum's classic study of "Slave and Citizen" was the first in modern slavery historiography to utilize this technique. Assessing the validity of the approach, Elkins affirms that:

> The technique of "Slave and Citizen" is one which has remained practically unexploited in the work done in American history--the technique of comparison--and there are conceivable problems in which one judicious and intelligent comparative statement can be worth an entire attic full of plantation records.

Of late there have been some comparative studies of slavery: Harry Hoetink's The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations (1962); Herbert Klein's Slavery in the Americas (1967); and Pierre Van Den Berghe's Race and Racism (1967). However, the practice of all these studies is to

remain within the New World "types" of slavery, yet at the same time making ad hoc and fleeting remarks about ancient slavery. Ancient slavery is therefore always approached from the "outside." We hold, however, that by comparing societies widely separated by time it is possible to identify key macro-variables that accounted for the differing patterns of slavery.

The inclusion of Greek slavery into the sociology of slavery may also provide a useful "test case" for resolving many of the controversial issues relating to American slavery. If it can be shown, for example, that Greek slavery, starting off from a pure Patriarchal type, degenerated with the development of complex economic forms, then this is added proof that economic factors have an important bearing on the development of chattel status slave systems. Likewise, if we could prove that cultural factors played a large role in determining Greek slavery, this would be evidence in favour of the theory that "culture" is the causal factor responsible for the paternal treatment of slaves in the Iberian areas.

Chapter Outline

The rest of the introduction will provide a brief outline of the contents of our work. Chapter 2 describes the economic, social and cultural features associated with Greek patriarchal slavery, showing how slavery fitted into a patriarchal social structure. Economic changes are then mentioned with their related social repercussions like the rise of individualism, serfdom for debt, etc. The main features of Athenian slavery are described. The chapter ends with an outline of the Platonic and the Aristotelian metaphysical justification of slavery.

Chapter 3 deals with American slavery. It starts with an outline of the factors entering into the development of American slavery and traces the changing status of the negroes from "serfs" to "slaves." The sharply contrasting "worlds" of planter and slave are described. The system is described in the round, and an attempt is made to apply certain theories of Weber, Gouldner and Lockwood to show how conflict was generated within the system. (This is of general theoretical interest for it shows that, contrary to the alleged static nature of the Functionalist approach, it can explain both conflict and change.) We end the chapter with a description of the "Scientific" attempts made to justify the system, in part necessitated by the serious conflicts generated from within.

Chapter 4 summarises the main findings of this study: it extracts the contrasting features of the two slavery systems and condenses these in "ideal-type" form. It is in this chapter that American and Greek slavery are juxtaposed to bring out the chief contrasts. One contrast, for example, relates to racial attitudes. The Greeks were free of anything resembling race-prejudice.[1] The Greeks, as Isocrates (436-338) noted, thought of Hellenism as a thing of the spirit rather than of "Race." "So far," he wrote,

> has Athens distanced the rest of mankind in thought and in speech that her pupils have become the teachers of the rest of the world, and she has brought it about that the name 'Hellenes' is applied to those who share our culture rather than to those who share a common blood.[2]

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[1] Aubrey Dille, Race Mixture Among the Greeks Before Alexander. Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Vol. XX, Urbana, 1937, pp. 137 ff.; Mathew McClure, "Greek Genius and Race Mixture," in Studies in the History of Ideas, III, pp. 25-33 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935).

[2] Quoted in Ashley Montague, Man's Most Dangerous Myth, World Publishing Co., 1968, pp. 35-36.

The contrasts having been explicated, Chapter 5 gives a concise account of the variables which, from the finding of this study, seems to "explain" these two "types" of systems. In the discussion of the causal sequence in American slavery, there is presented a rather extended assessment of Elkins' theory. The justification for doing this is that while the central arguments of Elkins seem correct, his theory needs to take account of other factors which he ignored. This modification is done at this point of the thesis because by criticising Elkins we simultaneously bring to light the operations of these other factors within the causal network.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis. It includes a brief re-statement of the Research goals accomplished, a re-examination of Van Den Berghe's typology of "race" relations in the light of our findings, a reference to some unexpected factors brought out by the thesis, and lastly, a discussion of some theoretical issues and speculations. The latter consists of a commentary on the possible relevance of the thesis for the debate between Weberian and Marxist scholars regarding the relationships of "ideas" and "economic reality."

PART ONE

THE GREEK AND AMERICAN SLAVERY SYSTEM DESCRIBED

CHAPTER 2

THE GREEK SLAVERY SYSTEM

Patriarchal Origins

About Ancient Patriarchal societies Karl Marx states:

> The division of labour is still elementary, and it is no more than the extension of the natural division of labour occurring within the family. The social structure, therefore is not more than an extension of the family, with patriarchal family chiefs, below them the members of the tribe, and finally slaves. The slavery which is latent in the family only, develops gradually with the extension of external intercourse, due either to war or trade.[1]

Marx based his argument on a reading of the history of Greece. Early Greece had a Patriarchal social structure.[2] This discussion of the early form of society illustrates how this early form of social structure synchronized with slavery.

Most of our knowledge of that period is derived from the poems of Homer. As one scholar puts it:

> The Odyssey of Homer is a living record of the social conditions at the time when it was composed and tells us more about early Greek society than any other documents in our possession.[3]

The household, or 'OIKOS', formed the basic economic and social organisation in Homeric Society. Glotz[4] lists four main industries within Homeric society: wood and stone (tekton), metal (chalkeus), leather (skytotomous) and clay (kerameus).

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[1] Marx-Engels, Gesamtausgabe, Section 1, Vol. 5, pp. 11-15.

[2] Hugh Seebohm, On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society (London: MacMillan & Co., 1895).

[3] Moses Finley, The World of Odysseus, Cambridge, 1954, p. 9.

[4] Gustave Glotz, Ancient Greek at Work, Paris, 1926.

Forests and pastures were open to all, but the family had lands of its own.

> Land was the visible mark of his full tribal privilege, and was the practical means of his fulfilling his duty towards his fellows and the public religion, as well as to the needs of his ancestors and household.[1]

The 'OIKOS' with its flocks and labour force, its building materials and land, was both politically and economically self-sufficient. Everything radiated from the family. Gouldner writes:

> Membership in it (the family) determines social position in the Homeric society. In many ways even the slave who was part of an 'OIKOS' might be more advantaged than propertyless workers who hired themselves out and who were attached. It is in some part because membership in or exclusion from an 'OIKOS' was of such importance that it mitigated the significance of slavery, diminishing the distinction between the propertyless free and the slaves, so that the word 'drester', meaning 'one who works or serves', was applied to both. [2]

What were the origins of enslavement in Homeric society? Glotz quotes their old jibe that "Enslavement by the spear is the normal origin of slavery." Prisoners were taken on battlefields or taken in captured cities. Some were able to regain their freedom by ransom. Glotz writes:

> In those days of violence no one was ever sure that he would not see 'the day of slavery.' Whoever was unable to defend himself was liable to be carried off by the slave trade, for example, Odysseus was nearly seized by sailors aboard a ship.[3]

But slavery was in its infancy for trade and industry hardly required slave labour, and the domestic, agricultural and pastoral occupations needed very little.

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[1] Seebohm, op. cit., p. 139.

[2] Alvin Gouldner, Enter Plato, Basic Books Inc., 1965.

[3] Glotz, op. cit., p. 16.

The slaves were chiefly women, for there was very little ground, economic or moral, for sparing the lives of the defeated men. The place of the women was in the household, washing, sewing, cleaning, grinding meal, valeting or being a concubine to the master. The few male slaves worked in the fields and vineyards.

Some modern Social Scientists, such as Pierre Van Den Berghe, use the American Slavery System as the ideal Paternalistic system, but it would be more accurate to use the Homeric Slave System as truly paternalistic. Such scholars all err in not realizing that for the slave system to be "paternalistic" the total society must also be "paternalistic." (And in Greece the 'social structure' consisted of the paternalistic 'OIKOS').

In the 'Odyssey' the word 'drester' is used for the free and the unfree alike. Likewise the Gortynian Code shows that another word, 'dolos', is used to mean both 'slave' and 'serf'.[1] The work both did and the treatment they received at the hands of their masters were often indistinguishable. If any thing slaves got better treatment. The hired freedmen ('thetes') were spoken of as a wretched class (for example, by Homer). Having no powerful protector to whom they could look up, and depending on casual jobs, they were probably in a less desirable position than the average slave.

Moses Finley agrees that,

> The treatment of the slaves was essentially milder and more humane than the pattern familiar from plantation slavery, for example, Eumaeus, a favourite slave, had been able to purchase a slave for himself.[2]

The institution does not present itself in a very harsh form in Homer, especially if we consider (as Grote[3] suggests) that "all classes were

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[1] R.F. Willets, Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete. For a proof of this point and for a discussion of the discovery of the Gortyna Codes.

[2] Moses Finley, op. cit., p. 62.

[3] George Grote, History of Greece (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1930).

much on a level in taste, sentiment and instruction."

In Homeric society the slave is part of a family. Once he has been taken into a house by a kind of inferior adoption, there is established between him and his master a reciprocity of obligations which, reinforced by common labour, easily led to reciprocal affection. So the slave is not seen as a "beast of burden." Witness this sentence of Homer:

> Around the house ("Laertes") ran many huts on every side, in which the trusty slaves ate and sat and slept, and worked at his pleasure. [1]

It is legitimate to take this statement at its face value since the slavery institution was not in a state of crisis or moral dilemma, hence Homer had no ideological reasons for conjuring up a rosy view of the conditions of slaves. Glotz writes:

> Grateful for the security which he (the slave) enjoys, and sensitive to consideration, the slave forgets his birth little by little and tries to deserve an improvement of his lot and an old age free from care . . . . The right to form a family of his own, with use if not ownership of a bit of landed property--that is the supreme reward to which the slave with a good record aspires. [2]

Furthermore, in the Homeric period the slaves were seldom children of slaves. The father's status determined that of the child. This is confirmed by the Gortyna codes.

> Though the slave woman's son might sometimes be a second-class member of the family, he was still part of that narrower circle within the OIKOS as a whole, free and without the stigma of bastardy in our sense, let alone the mark of slavery.[3]

And if there was only very little mating of the slaves among themselves, it was because there were so few males among them. The Gortyna Codes

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[1] Odyssey 1, 189-193.

[2] Glotz, op. cit., p. 21.

[3] Moses Finley, op. cit., p. 62.

provide inscriptional evidence to the effect that there was a penalty for the rape of domestic slaves.

Economic Changes

I have outlined the nature of slavery in Homeric society and have argued that it approached a "Paternalistic" type by virtue of its peculiar role in the 'OIKOS'.

But this system did not remain in its pure patriarchal stage: economic changes began to break up Homeric society and to induce changes in its social organization.

> Greece presents the unique spectacle of a race passing in a few centuries from family institutions to a system of individualism in the sovereign city state and extending its horizon rapidly beyond the small districts in which it was once contained to the whole basin of the Mediterranean.[1]

More and more the "genos" breaks up and within the narrow family the power of the father becomes weaker; the growing freedom of the individual keeps pace with the growing strength of the state. The survival of collective ownership vanishes in favour of personal ownership. Willetts writes:

> The most likely explanation of the premium set upon division (of family properties) is the growing power of the new form of economy, with its natural and imperative emphasis on alienation . . . . In the communities where commerce was more highly developed, and with the introduction of coined money in the early fifth century the break-up of the older system, now represented by the transitional form of the OIKOS , must have been accelerated. For coined money made possible the alienation of estates which had become general by the Hellenistic period. [2]

Serfdom for debt increased as a result. There was also an awakening of initiative and a releasing of energy. The population increased and the

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[1] Glotz, op. cit., p. 1.

[2] R.F. Willetts, The Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete (London: Routledge and Kegan, Paul Ltd., 1955), pp. 62, 253.

food shortages worsened. Trading became regular. Glotz describes these economic changes in the following way:

> In Greece as a whole there prevails, from the seventh century onwards, an economic system which is commercial urban, and monetary. The effects of these changes were to be immense from every point of view.

Glotz continues:

> There grows up a system which is already Capitalist, in opposition to the primitive economy. Aristotle argued that this 'Chrematistic' system set out to satisfy artificial wants and to accumulate wealth in the form of money, which is useless in itself, by means of trade which creates no value and has no other object than gain.[1]

From agriculture, competition extends to industry. "Carpenter is jealous of carpenter and potter of potter." (Glotz). And it was becoming acceptable that "this rivalry is good for mortals." Solon lamented this insatiable greed and this unchaining of individualism which he saw as fostering inequality.

In Sparta, Crete and Thessaly, the old system of ownership was maintained, the sale and division of certain lots were forbidden, and the owners of the land made much use of serfs.

In his study of Crete, Willetts writes:

> In Crete the aristocracy continued to maintain a dominant position because the early form of patriarchal slavery persisted for centuries after commercial chattel had become the dominating form of servitude in other city states.[2]

But Willetts found that even there, "the introduction of a monetary system led gradually to a disintegration of the old collective system of land tenure and the emergence of the autonomous family based upon private property."

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[1] Glotz, op. cit., p. 69.

[2] R.F. Willetts, Ancient Crete: A Social History: Section on Slavery, Birmingham University, 1965.

(I will later point to constraints that prevented a real unchaining of the Capitalist spirit in Greece.)

By the Hellenistic period historians agree that slavery had changed.

> Slavery was no longer what it had become. Alexander's expeditions, which might have been expected to throw multitudes of prisoners on the market, on the contrary reduced very few to slavery; and the reason was that this circumspect policy did not conflict with economic interests. The field for recruiting them was larger, yet slaves were less numerous.[1]

By then free labour was sufficient. So from 200 B.C. onwards the inscribed walls of Delphi are covered with deeds of manumission placed under the guarantee of the Gods. Slavery was gradually superseded by free or partially free labour.

The "World" of the Slaves in the Athenian Period

I have briefly sketched the changing economic base on which slavery occurred and which in turn affected the nature of slavery. The development of slavery is one of the most general phenomena which the collapse of the patriarchal system produced. The family in its reduced form no longer furnished either the amount of labour or the variety of talents required to satisfy the wants which grew up with the habits of well-being. To make up the deficit recourse must be had to slave labour. More slaves were needed for housework than formerly.

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[1] Glotz, op. cit., p. 350.

Sources of Slaves

By the "Athenian Period" the sources of slaves had been extended.

(1) Birth: In the deeds of manumission found at Delphi, out of 841 slaves freed, there are 217 of this class.

During this period children born to a slave concubine who had been impregnated by her master would assume the status of their mother. This was in contrast to the situation in Homeric times when children commonly took their father's status and were freemen if he was free.

(2) Purchase: The sale of slaves had now become widespread. The so-called "barbarians" came into the Greek world in a steady stream--the Thracians, Scythians, Cappodicians, etc.--through the activity of full-time traders, much like the process by which the African slaves reached the New World in more modern times. Herodotus says that the Thracians even sold their children for export. (Herod., 5.6)

(3) Kidnapping: This was one of the common sources of slave supply, and there were even organized kidnapping gangs on a commercial basis. This was not confined to the "barbarian" countries, and "children were stolen in every city in Greece."[1] This was evidenced by the fact that Athens made it a capital offence to seize and sell a freeman into slavery; but this law was very difficult to enforce. Glotz writes:

> The traffickers in human flesh had no more scruples about exporting Greek slaves than about importing barbarian slaves. They bought families of insolvent debtors from their creditors; they sought out children to make eunuchs of them for the harems of Sardis or Susa.

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[1] Alvin Gouldner, op. cit., p. 28.

(4) Warfare: The main recruiting area of slaves continued to be wars:

> Slavery and war in Greece are interdependent . . . the maintenance of a cheap slave supply requires large areas of social disorder between the city-states; it requires kidnapping, piracy and war.[1]

One of the main peculiarities of Greek slavery stemmed precisely from this reliance on war for the recruitment of slaves. It fostered in Greek culture a fatalism and an unpredictability which was not found in American society. It is accepted today that in that period

> the condition of servitude was one which no man, woman or child, regardless of status or wealth, could be sure to escape in case of war or on some other unpredictable and uncontrollable emergency.

Over everyone, from the highest to the lowest thing, hung that horror of possible enslavement.

Gouldner rightly thinks that the psychological costs of such a high degree of unpredictability must have been tremendous since it heightens anxiety and deters husbands from making psychic investment in their wives. As a result, Greek culture insisted that to be successful is not to be immune to the worst disaster.

Role of Slaves in Athenian Society

I will not enter the polemical debate about whether or not Greek society was based on slavery. Many have tried to settle the issue by estimating the slave population of Athens in the classical period; estimates have ranged from 80,000 to 100,000. Likewise the free population has been estimated to be between 40,000 and 60,000 people. But there has been too much discussion about numbers, for a mere count of heads does not answer

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[1] Alvin Gouldner, op. cit., p.145.

many crucial questions. Within broad limits the numbers are irrelevant to the question of "function." In fact, Kenneth Stampp writes that:

> In 1860, according to official census figures, slightly less than a third of the total population of the American slave states were slaves. Furthermore, merely three-quarters of all free Southerners had no connection with slavery through either family ties or direct ownership. The typical Southerner was a non-slaveholder. In Greece the ownership of slaves was even more widespread. Yet this does not signify that slavery was more important to the Greeks.[1]

With little exception there was no activity which was not performed by slaves at some times and in some places in the Greek world. (The major exception being the "political" which were exclusive to citizens.)

Mining comprised the biggest utiliser of slaves, and Nicias is reported to have owned 1,000 in the fifth century. The great majority of Athenian industrial slaves worked in the silver mines of Laurium. Xenophon gave the figure of 10,000 slaves in the mines. But later, 415 - 340 B.C., mines slumped and employment declined.

Also the general consensus is that agriculture did not make a very great use of slaves since corn growing furnished only intermittent work. And to feed slaves all the year round in order to employ them usually for about seven weeks is bad business!

Industry could not work without slavery. The division of labour in the crafts required an ever greater variety of manual operations. And the smallest craftsman had a few slaves as workmen. All were paid at the same rate as the free man and their master himself. They were commonly employed in secretarial and managerial posts as in the case of Nicias who entrusted his mining interests to a slave.

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[1] Kenneth Stampp, The Peculiar Institution in the Antebellum South (New York: Vintage, 1964).

In the fourth century, Bank Managers were often slaves of freedmen of the owners like Archestratus who entrusted his bank to his slave Pasion, whom he freed and to whom he ultimately bequeathed his business, and Pasion in his turn, when he retired, leased the bank to his freed slave, Phormis.

One scholar gave the following explanation for this:

> Self-respecting free men were unwilling to accept positions in which they had to obey the orders of an employed. So employers preferred to use in positions of trust men whose obedience they could rely. Slaves could be chastened if they disobeyed orders and the freedmen had formed the habit of executing their master's orders.[1]

In the commercial and manufacturing cities the slave population was greater than the free, but in agricultural areas there were few slaves. Hence slavery appears in Greece as a concomitant of trade and industry, varying according to their development.

From this, one can see that the Greeks did not practise the monoculture of the modern plantation and they existed within an essentially pre-capitalist economy.[2]

Treatment of Slaves

Did the economic and individualistic changes induce changes in master-servant relationship? Did the earlier paternalistic relationship carry over into the newer era?

It is not easy to judge the relative severity of slave systems. Since so much depends on local customs, social pressures, economic development, and the extent to which slaves are feared, it would appear that regulatory laws

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[1] A.H. Jones, Slavery in the Ancient World.

[2] Moses Finley, "Slavert," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 14, 1968.

and the ease of emancipation are fallible guides when taken by themselves.[1]

There is good reason to expect more personalized relationship in so far as the slave lives and works in the same household as his master. Such personalized relations, however, waned with the decline of the earlier paternalistic slave relations, and are probably less frequent in classical times with the growth of large-scale commercialized slavery.[2]

As time went on the laws were increasingly codified against the slaves. But the reality was milder than the laws would suggest. Kitto reports that

> from vase painting and other sources we know that real friendship between the slave and his master was not uncommon . . . . The Athenians were sensible enough to distinguish between the status and the man.[3]

Glotz supports this view:

> The Athenian people had the merit of introducing humane contradictions into its laws and improving the condition of the slaves . . . the slaves had a better time in Athens than in any other city, and it was said that they enjoyed there an amount of freedom which the poor citizens of many oligarchic states might have envied.[4]

Likewise Demosthenes argues that if the Barbarians from whom the slaves were bought were informed of the mild treatment they received they would entertain a great esteem for the Athenians. He says that the slaves at Athens could speak more freely than citizens in some other states. He boasts that the slave had an action for personal outrage like a freeman, and that his death at the hand of a stranger was avenged like that of a citizen, (Eurip., Hec. 288), whilst if caused by his master's violence it

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[1]But our picture of North American society rests on a wealth of traveller accounts and evidence accumulated by anti-slavery writers. It is no apology for the cruelty and injustice of American slavery to suggest that if such evidence were available from other societies, the contrast might not seem so great.

[2]Alvin Gouldner, op. cit., p. 354.

[3]Humphrey Kitto, The Greeks, Hammondsworth, Middlesex, 1960.

[4]Glotz, op. cit., p. 196.

had to be atoned for by religious expiation and perhaps by temporary exile. Even when the slave had killed his master, the relatives of the house could not themselves inflict punishment; they were obliged to hand him over to the magistrate to be dealt with by legal process.[1] (This contrasts sharply with the mob lynchings in Southern United States).

The slave was recognized as a human being: the master had a very extensive right of correction but no longer the right of life and death. The slave could take refuge in certain sanctuaries and, under the aegis of the deity, call upon his master to sell him.

In a rather detailed account of The Greeks, Kitto writes that "The slaves in general had much freedom, and much more legal protection than the Negro citizens of the United States--so much so that it was a Spartan jibe that in the streets of Athens you could not distinguish between a slave and a citizen."

More novel was the idea of giving the slave guarantees even against officials who embodied the state. One of the foremost authorities on ancient slavery systems asks, "where else than in Greece will one find a purchased group of public slaves used as a police force, armed with powers of arresting the free?"[2]

The existence of benefit clubs (eranoi), a social institution peculiar to the Greeks alone in antiquity, enabled slaves to get advances of money to be used for the purchase of their freedom. This practice was already developed in Attica in the fourth century. In the list of silver

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[1] J.K. Ingram, History of Slavery; also see this for a summary of Demosthenes accounts of slavery at Athens.

[2] William Westermann, "Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece," in Moses Finley, Slavery in Antiquity, Cambridge, 1960.

bowl dedications by emancipated slaves, no less than fourteen examples of such appear. (Westermann, p. 24).

The lingering paternalism is indicated by the concern that "the female slaves may not have babies without our knowledge."[1] Both Xenophon and Aristotle remark that to have children made a decent female slave more well disposed to her owner, but that a man does like to have some idea who is likely to be born in his house! This shows the continued belief that the slave was part of the household.

Kitto dwells on the lack of social exclusiveness found in Athens: "Athenian society was singularly free from the barriers that depended on status, whether political or financial . . . In social life slaves were treated as equals and in dress they were often indistinguishable." We may even regard them as advantaged to be excluded from all levies for military service or the many civic duties which engrossed the time of the citizens.

In Attica also there is evidence of a fairly mild form of slavery. We have Sir Ernest Barker's researches to this effect:

> The slaves of Attica were clearly chiefly recent importations; few had been born of slave parents in the country and there was nothing like the problem of a class of hereditary slaves which the United States had to face, and with the results of which it is still confronted. Their lot was comfortable. There were no features of dress to distinguish them from the ordinary citizen . . . In their owner's household they were treated as members of the family. Legally as well as socially they were not degraded: they were protected from ill usage by the stage and they could not be punished with death except by its tribunals.[2]

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[1] Quoted in Kitto, The Greeks, op. cit., p. 230.

[2] Ernest Barker, The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1959), p. 361. Also for this picture of slavery in Attica, see Alfred Zimmern's Greek Commonwealth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915).

"Pay-Bringers"

From the fifth to the fourth century there grew up a large body of slaves on the hiring system. The skilled workmen, because of the type of urban residences of the time, lived apart from their masters. This is deduced from archeological observations. There is no example of any slave barracks in older Greek cities being excavated. They "lived apart" and were "Pay-Bringers."

The practice of letting them work out brought them more liberty; so there was formed in industry, and still more in trade, a class of slaves whose situation was greatly improved. The main advantage was permission to live where they pleased, and they were also free to form a family. Some became master potters. Some acted as deputies to the kings of Athenian business.

"In this way," writes Gouldner, "there rose out of the slave class personages who were wealthy, lavish and have proven themselves."

Thinking of Athens, Plato made the well-known remark that it was difficult to recognize the slave "as he jostles about through the streets." With this state of affairs one can readily understand why Athenian slaves were described as impudent and shameless, and why Plato argued that in a democracy the slaves share the prevalent laxity. (The Republic). One sees, too, the difference between this domestic slavery in which the slave is not separated by a gulf from his master, and the slavery of the modern plantation with its deep lines of demarcation and its exploitation of the slave to the uttermost farthing.

The Other "Face" of Slavery

I am not here suggesting that Greek slavery lacked any of the atrocities associated with American slavery. On the contrary, much existed. Spartan helots were the property of the state and could not be privately manumitted. There are indications that slaves were sometimes badly beaten and poorly fed. They could usually give testimony in courts of law only under torture on the assumption that only under physical duress were they trustworthy witnesses.[1]

Manumission

The ease and frequency of manumission would seem to be the crucial standard in measuring the relative harshness of slave systems--but one should not assume an invariable correlation between the frequency of emancipation and the overall conditions of slaves, for in Greece a relative rarity of manumission was coupled with what appears to have been relatively mild domestic servitude.

Manumission was chiefly by repurchase. "The last extreme of popular liberty," wrote Plato, thinking of Athens, "is when the slave bought with money is just as free as his or her purchaser."[2]

In most cities manumission was confirmed by solemn formalities. It was done inside or in front of a temple. The terms of the deed were generally carved on a wall of the sanctuary.

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[1] Crete was the exception. The Gortyna Code shows that the slaves there were allowed to give oath in courts without being subjected to torture. Willetts attributes this to the patriarchal and underdeveloped nature of Crete compared to Athens. Another ensuing peculiarity, inconceivable in the American system, is the fact that the purchase of a slave was not binding until after 60 days and that the purchaser can repudiate the purchase if it is a bad deal. See R.F. Willetts, The Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

[2] Quoted in Ernest Barker's Greek Political Theory, Methuen & Co. Ltd., p.32.

Athens did not cast the freedman into a separate class. She placed them among the Metics. He took a new name; he acquired a civil personality but no political rights (but many obligations were still imposed on him).

Compared with the slaves, freedmen were not numerous. At Delphi we find from nine to twenty manumissions in the various years. (Glotz). This author also reports that the slaves who most easily obtained their liberty were those who had most opportunity for making themselves pleasant. He gives evidence: "Of the 1675 manumissions known from the inscriptions, 927 refer to women and 748 refer to men."[1]

Glotz then explained this infrequency of manumission to economic reasons: "They need as many slaves as possible." But this explanation is not sufficeint, because even if the slaves were manumitted they would still be available to industry. Rather the small amount of manumission says something significant about the structure of Greek society.

In the metic class of the city-states the manumitted slave found a group into which as a freedman he merged easily, without opposition from the group he entered. Westermann writes, "There was a great fluidity of status in both directions from slavery to freedom as from freedom to slavery . . . Why should an enslaved person revolt if thereby he merely gains that which might so easily be obtained by just borrowing money for his emancipation?"

Hence one sees that the dominant mode of slave protest took the form of escape rather than rebellion. Thucydides estimated that more than 20,000 Athenian slaves fled in the final decade of the Peloponesian War. To grasp this we must realize that the majority of foreign slaves entertained

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[1]Glotz, op. cit., p. 199.

the thought of escaping to their homelands when the opportunity arose.

It was in commerce and industry that the freedman found his chief resource. "From the cook to the banker they continued at their old trade, often with their patron. Most were hawkers, shop-keepers, labourers, porters or transport agents." (Glotz).

A few climbed to such a position as to be bestowed with citizenship. "Nicomachos rose from slave to citizen, from beggar to rich, from assistant register to legislation. (This resembles the "The Great American Dream" story.)

Concluding his polemical article, Westermann noted that classical Athens used slave labour upon a fairly large scale. "But (that) the slaves were employed at the same work as the free, usually side by side with them and apparently without prejudice or friction."[1]

The best order-inducing mechanism was the promise of freedom, which fosters an optimistic obedience in one's role-play.

Justification of Slavery

The Platonic Variant

The Platonic Theory of slavery may be interpreted as an onslaught on the Sophist view that slavery was conventional.[2] According to Plato, Greek slavery exists by "Physis" (Nature) and not by "Nomos" (Convention).

But Plato's views on slavery were related more to his general philosophy. He saw the relation of slave to master as a kind of microcosm

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[1] William Westermann, Athenaeus and the Slaves of Athens, in Moses Finley, op. cit.

[2] Antiphon, Fragments, On Truth.

of the hierarchical pattern that pervaded society and the entire universe. He saw slavery as exemplifying a Cosmic principle of authority and subordination: the slave was a partial man, lacking the governing element of the soul and consequently needing to be ruled by someone who possessed this element.

Alvin Gouldner shrugs at the thought that we might "even remotely imply a view of Platonic Metaphysics as a deliberate effort to formulate an ideology serviceable to a slave-owning group." I take this one step further to suggest that the Greek slavery institution was not in a state of crisis and wanting moral propping.[1] In fact, Plato's theory of slavery was the result of his general Metaphysics about "How Order can be Maintained in Greek Society." To answer this he sought the "Idea" or "Physis" of justice.

His conception of the human personality is central to his theory of slavery. For him the human personality contains a hierarchy of parts:

(1) Reason

(2) Courage

(3) Appetite (in descending order, based on their degrees of self-sufficiency).

For Plato the Ruling class is governed by Reason, and the Slaves by Appetite. Andit is contrary to nature that Appetite and Courage should govern Reason. Plato further thinks that historical experience has shown that disorder is induced when people are not kept in their "natural positions" in society.

Basically Plato is an "Order" theorist. And what is sociologically relevant is not Plato's inner feelings but rather the "function" or

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[1] It was the old traditional way of life that had declined and now needed re-kindling. Karl Popper, "The Open Society & Its Enemies," Vol. I.

"consequence" of his theory for the social structure. His conservatism becomes overt when he complains that the slave is not being kept in his place. He thinks that the relationship between slaves and masters needed tightening up, so that they may serve the citizen class and provide them with the means for the life of leisure required for governance. His thoughts and his theory of slavery is important in so far as it reflects the dominant beliefs of the times on the matter of slavery.[1]

The Aristotelian Variant

Aristotle also advocated the "Natural Theory" of slavery. He holds that some men are born natural masters and others natural slaves: "From the hour of their birth some are marked for subjection, others for rule."

By slavery he means what we mean by domestic service: "A piece of property of an animate kind engaged in rendering services."

He regards slavery as a moral institution. As a property the slave is a part of his master. It is an "organic" or functional relationship. Either is nothing in itself; both are entirely what they are through that to which they belong.

For him the same principle governed the rule of slaves, of a household, or of a nation. It was as natural as other relationship of superiority and inferiority such as soul and body, man and wife. The slave stands to his master, exactly as the body stands to the soul: the slave is a mere body meant to be ruled by the soul of his master, as much as the master's own body is meant to be ruled by his soul.

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[1] For the Platonic theory of slavery, see Plato's Republic (Cornford's translation); Sabine History of Political Theory, McIlwain Political Thought in the West.

He was aware of the great difficulties of sorting out the "natural slaves" from "natural rulers" and he admitted that physical differences were no clear indication of natural status.

While justifying natural slavery, he rejects legal slavery. Natural slavery is moral; it gives the slave a moral excellence which he could not otherwise attain; the slave becomes a moral being through being supplemented by the moral faculty of his master. Aristotle's conception of slavery is of the paternalistic type, involving friendship between master and slave. Within the family the slave is a person sharing in its full moral life, as a real "part" and not a mere "condition."

The main flaw in this theory of slavery stems from the fact that the differences he perceives between slaves and free men may not be "natural" but rather the results of the condition of slavery itself.

CHAPTER 3

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SLAVERY SYSTEM

Having described the Greek slavery system in the round, we will similarly outline and describe that system of slavery that developed in North America, particularly in Virginia, where the first flowering of the plantocracy took place.

The growth of the slave population in Virginia is illustrated by the following figures:

Table 1 - Slave Population in Virginia, 1625-1708[1]

Year	Numbers
1625	23
1655	300
1683	3,000
1708	12,000

These figures reveal the remarkable growth of the slave population in the American areas. What accounted for the phenomenal growth?

Between 1619 and 1700 the increase of slaves was small because of the presence of European indentured servants and because of the development of the South's plantation economy.

> In the emergent agricultural Capitalism of colonial Virginia there was emerging a mode of economic organisation which was taking on a purity of form never yet seen and the difference lay in the fact that here a growing system of large-scale staple production for profit was free to develop in a society where no prior traditional institutions with competing claims of their own, might interpose at any of a dozen points with sufficient power to retard or modify its progress.[2]

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[1]Benjamin Brawley, A Social History of the American Negro (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1934), p. 15. Also Peter Duignan and Clarence Clendenen, The United States and the African Slave Trade, 1619-1862, Hoover Institution Studies, 1963, p. 4.

[2]Stanley Elkins, Slavery (New York: Grossett and Dunlop, 1959), p. 45.

The 1660's marked a transition. Owing to the Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1661 and the large drop in tobacco prices large plantations became increasingly necessary to attain efficiency: to carry out substantial investment in slaves and land. The introduction of rice and indigo culture in South Carolina and the concurrent expansion of tobacco production in Virginia around [illegible] 1689 converted slavery into a fixed institution. By the early eighteenth century the days of subsistence agriculture had passed. Tobacco growing became almost a craze in Virginia. Fines, taxes, salaries and bills were all evaluated and paid in pounds of tobacco through the seventeenth century.

One of the earliest and best studies of the conditions necessary for the success of slavery as an industrial system was that of Cairnes.[1] He was led to study this question by the fact that slavery, having originally existed in all the English colonies in America, in the more northerly of these had declined and become spontaneously extinct, whilst in the Southern states it had arisen to great importance and shaped the entire social system in conformity with its requirements.[2] Cairnes argues that the slave system was not adapted to the requirements of the North and was replaced by that of peasant proprietors, who with their families, did the work on the farms. He summarised his findings:

> The successful maintenance of slavery as a system of industry requires the following conditions: first, abundance of fertile soil; and second, a crop, the cultivation of which demands combination and organisation of labour on an extensive scale, and admits of its concentration. It is owing to the presence of these conditions that slavery has maintained itself in the Southern states and to their absence that it has disappeared from the Northern states.

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[1] John E. Cairnes, The Slave Power, New York, 1862.

[2] Eugene Genovese, The Political Economy of the Slave South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965.

Eli Whitney's invention of the Cotton Gin (1793) also strengthened the institution of slavery making cotton production vastly more efficient. The economic role of slavery in the American colonies was to be summarised in the following way:

> From around 1619, the English settlements were largely dependent upon Africa for their economic success. Without slaves the agricultural colonies would probably have languished largely in a subsistence economy and the New England colonies probably would have had great difficulty in finding any other means of heightening the value of their colonial products through commercial exchange.[1]

We can deduce the economic success of slavery from the figures indicating the tremendous growth in cotton export.

Table 2

Cotton Export from U.S.A., 1792 - 1835[2]

Year	Export in Pounds
1792	138,328
1804	38,118,041
1835	127,860,152

As early as the 1690's the demand for slaves in the British colonies had become so great and the Royal African Company so inefficient in supplying them that in 1698 Parliament revoked the company's monopoly on the African coast and threw open the traffic to independent merchants and traders. Blacks thus increased rapidly, while white servants fell. By 1690 Negroes were the largest group in Virginia. Their value increased correspondingly. A slave which initially cost £20 was £500 in worth by the 1850's.

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[1] Duignan and Clendenen, op. cit., p. 12.

[2] J.K. Ingram, op. cit., Appendix.

Then "with the full development of the plantation there was nothing, so far as his interests were concerned, to prevent unmitigated Capitalism from becoming unmitigated slavery . . . The emergent institution of slavery was in effect unchallenged by any other institution."[1]

Even the bulk of newcomers (*immigrants*) went northwards beyond the confines of the Southern staple belts. This entrenched the slave plantations yet more strongly in their local domination, and by that very fact it perpeutated itself.[2]

From "Serf" to "Slave"

There is no other startling proof of the underlying role of economic factors than the part they played in changing the status of the negro in America. One study has described the early status of negroes thus:

> Early negroes fell in the servant categories long familiar to the Common Law of England, none of which included perpetual and inherited chattel bondage. In the early phase negroes were 'servants' like the rest, with no articulated legal structure to impede their becoming free after a term of service and entering society as artisans and holders of property.[3]

The distinction between "slave" and "free" that was entrenched by the eighteenth century was not an important distinction at the opening of the seventeenth century. Until the 1660's the status of the early negroes was that of "servants" and they received a corresponding treatment.

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[1] Stanley Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (New York: Universal Library, Grossett & Dunlap, 1959), p. 42.

[2] J.K. Ingram, op. cit., Appendix.

[3] Oscar & Mary Handlin, Origins of the Southern Labour System, William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, VII, April, 1950.

It is evident, further, that in its early phase the colonies were guided by ideas as by economic imperatives. Oscar Handlin has affirmed that planters of Virginia and Maryland at first did not think Negro labour more desirable.[1] They appeared to have preferred a labouring force of white servants from England, Scotland and Ireland, rather than "Blacks" from Africa.[2] This initial dislike for "Blackness" cannot be explained in the Marxist framework, but in terms of the antecedent ideas, partly inherited from the Judae-Christianic tradition, which associated blackness with evil and whiteness with goodness.

What accounted for the overriding of this long held belief which caused the shift to Negro labour? The major role must be attributed to the increasing demand for American produce and the "superiority of negro labour" as the instrument of production. At first the conditions of indentured servants were improved in order to attract a large supply, but the failure of this move necessitated negro labour. And as the number of negroes increased their status was crystallised to suit the logic of Capitalism.

Elkins asks the pertinent question: "Why should the status of "Slave" have been elaborated in little more than two generations with such utter logic and completeness to make American slavery unique among all such systems known to civilisation."[3]

Elkins answers this question in terms of a countervailing view of power:

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[1] Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life (New York:Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), p. 10.

[2] Stanley Elkins, op. cit., p.37.

[3] Ibid.

> A growing system of large-scale staple production for profit was free to develop in a society where no prior traditional institutions, with competing claims of their own might interpose with sufficient power to retard or modify its progress . . . Capitalism became the main dynamic force; Europeans stressed personal achievement and America was the ideal spot for working this out.[1]

This particular form of Capitalism, by its very logic, demanded a certain form of status to be ascribed to the negroes: the master must have absolute power over the slave's body; physical discipline was to be made virtually unlimited and the slaves' chattel status unalterably fixed--no legal or moral recognition of their family, no recognition of the religious need of slaves.

> The law was to clarify beyond all question, to rationalise, to simplify and to make more logical and symetrical the slave's status in society.[2]

In a recent comparative study of Cuba and Virginia, the author concludes:

> So thoroughgoing was the right of possession of the slave's person and the consequent loss to the latter of even the right to personal security, that under Virginia law killing of a slave by his master was not considered a felony for, as the Code logically reasoned 'it cannot be presumed that prepensed malice should induce a man to destroy his own estate.' " 3

Ulrich Bonnell Phillips agrees that "the severity of the slave laws in the commonwealth of English origins . . . was largely due to the historic possession by their citizens of the power of self-government . . . Assemblymen locally elected and responsive to the fears as well as the hopes of their constituents necessarily reflected more fully the desire of social control."[4]

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[1]Stanley Elkins, op. cit., p. 42.

[2]Ibid., p. 44.

[3]Herbert Klein, Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba, Chicago, 1967, p. 38.

[4]Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, American Negro Slavery (New York: University of Michigan, 1933, p. 495.

However this explanation does not go all the way in explaining the severity of the system. For the Ancient Greeks also treasured autonomy and independence and all the other "democratic" ideas, and yet their system of slavery was different. This difference stems from their differential economic arrangements.

Colonial leaders early recognised that they ebuld possess the labour of the negro for hislife-time without much opposition from either internal or external power. The planters created the institution of slavery to satisfy their interests.

> But the Judiciary and the Legislature, which were uniquely representative of and entirely composed of the members of the Planter Class, were not far behind in taking cognisance of this growing customary law governing the negroes' condition, and they early gave recognition to this whole body of practice.[1]

Klein continues to explain this pattern:

> The elaboration of the slave status in law however, took more time than did its development in practice, for the legal structure of negro slavery was not really begun until 1662 when the Virginia General Assembly, by statutory law, undertook to work out as systematic a slave code as possible.[2]

Let us use Virginia as an illustration. In 1662 a law made children to take the status of their mothers. (This seems to have been adopted for very pragmatic reasons.)[3] In 1672 any white person could kill a run-away slave if he offered resistance. In 1688 a master could kill a slave and this would not be regarded as a felony. Negroes in 1692 were denied the right of jury and the right to own property. By

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[1] Herbert Klein, op. cit., p. 44.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ballagh, Slavery in Virginia, p. 44.

1805 a state law had prohibited all masters from teaching their free coloured indentured youths to read and write. Miscegenation was strongly discouraged. The slave became "elaborately hemmed into the plantation by a complex procedure of warrants and patrol system whereby all the negroes of the state were constantly and carefully accounted for."[1]

The only time the law considered the slave a human being was in cases of conspiracy.

> To the extent that Southerners ceased to think in terms of the seventeenth century degrees of freedom, to the extent that they thought of liberty as a whole, natural and inalienable, they were forced to conclude that the slave was wholly unfree, wholly lacking in personality, wholly a chattel.[2]

Virginia's "Legislation of Iron," created by "pure Capitalism," was a sharp contrast to Cuba's slave code which was a product of historic institutions and ancient philosophies alien to the modern Capitalistic temperament.[3]

The North was no different. Between 1700 and 1723 a series of repressive laws emerged in the Northern colonies.

"These Acts," writes Phillips, "which remained in effect throughout the colonial period constituted a code of slave police which differed only in degree and fullness from those enacted by the more southernly colonies in the same generation."[4]

Furthermore, the similarity of conditions (due to the logic of chattel capitalism) and the difficulty of devising laws to comply with

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[1] Herbert Klein, op. cit., p. 56.

[2] Oscar Handlin, op.cit., p. 22.

[3] Herbert Klein, op.cit., p. 57.

[4] Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, op. cit., p. 105.

intricate customs and to guard against apprehended dangers caused a great deal of intercolonial and inter-state borrowing of statutes, so that we get:

> . . . a perfect chain of this sort, with each link a basic police law for slaves in a separate colony or state (which) extended from Barbados through the South-eastern countries of Commonwealth on the continent.[1]

Phillips gave the following explanation: "The institution of slavery was first established by custom alone and was merely recognised by statutes when these came to be enacted."[2]

What does he mean by the term "custom"? By the use of the word "alone" he denies himself the right of discussing the economic facts that shaped these "customs."

After discussing the status of American slaves, Elkins agrees that the American "breed" of slavery was uniquely fashioned by Englishmen in America, for it was not imported from elsewhere.[3]

Oscar Handlin's study reached a similar conclusion:

> Clearly American slavery was no direct imitation of Biblical or Roman or Spanish or Portuguese or West Indian models.[4]

It was the economic reality, to the exclusion of all others that operated most decisively upon the entire structure of stautory law and custom that made up the slave regime.[5] Only this interpretation could

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[1] Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, op.cit., p. 105.

[2] Ibid., p. 449.

[3] Stanley Elkins, op. cit., p. 38.

[4] Oscar Handlin, op. cit., p. 9.

[5] Herbert Klein, op. cit., p. 164.

account for the confidence and pathological zeal with which some planters defended the slavery institution. Witness the following:

> True philantropy to the negro begins at home and if Southern men would act as if the heaven were inscribed with a covenant, in letters of fire, that the negro is here, and here forever; is our property and ours forever; is never to be emancipated; to be kept hard at work and in rigid subjection all his days, they would accomplish more good for the race.[1]

Treatment of Slaves

Phillips once questioned the possibility of "loose and glib generalising" about the living conditions and treatment of slaves. "The only generalisation that can be made with relative confidence is that some masters were harsh and frugal, others were mild and generous, and the rest ran the whole gamut in-between. In short the human factor introduced a variable that defied generalisation."[2]

Phillips later overlooked this and gives a very biased account of the treatment of slaves by basing his study on an unrepresentative sample of plantation records. The present study thinks that by focusing on the maze of institutions, customs, values and interest we can deduce approximately where on the spectrum a particular slave system falls. The test is that of consistency between the slave system and other factors in the American situation. I am not here stressing the cruelties of the slave trade. This is by now a well known fact.[3]

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[1]Quoted in William Chambers, American Slavery and Colour, p. 7. Taken from the"Richmond Observer."

[2]Quoted by Stanley Elkins, op. cit., p. 22.

[3]Daniel Mannix, Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, New York, 1962.

The present concern is with the Anglo-American system of slavery. And a clue to the overall treatment of the slaves can be deduced from the "types of plantations" and their type-distribution.

Phillips notes that,

> If a proprietor had but one or two families of slaves, he and his sons commonly laboured alongside the blacks not less than step for step at the plow . . . If there were a dozen or two working hands, the master and son, instead of labouring manually, would superintend the work of the plow and hoe-gangs. If slave numbered several score the master and his family might live in pleasure, while delegating the field supervision to an overseer, aided perhaps by one or more slave foremen. If he owns several plantations he might put an overseer in charge and a steward might be employed to supervise the several overseers.[1]

It is commonly accepted today that relationships on the smaller plantations were better than those on large plantations where land and labour were exploited in the zeal for immediate financial returns, and these "factories in the field" differed substantially from the more paternalistically organised smaller units and older tide-water plantations.[2] The large plantations approached the rational-bureaucratic organisation. Its goal was specific, and Cairnes summarised it thus:

> It is the maxim of slave management in slave importing countries, that the most effective economy is that which takes out of the human chattel in the shortest space of time the utmost amount of exertion it is capable of putting forth.[3]

Large units were more common in the Lower South and most of the large shareholdings were concentrated in those areas best suited for staple crops. Until 1830 overseers in Virginia were paid by the amount of

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[1] Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, op. cit., p. 228.

[2] August Meier and Eliott Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto: An Interpretive History of American Negroes (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966).

[3] John E. Cairnes, op.cit.,

production, so their policy was to push the slaves as far as their physical capacity would take. One study has found that,

> Brutality was more frequent in the Deep South operated by overseers who had no personal concern about the slaves as people or even as property, and as long as the overseer produced a large crop, the planter was ordinarily satisfied regardless of the brutal discipline that might be used.[1]

In the "South" in 1860 there were 385,000 slaveholders in a free population of 1,500,000 families. And if we take the ownership of twenty slaves as the minimum for membership in the Planter Class, a study of the census data reveals that the great majority of southern slaveholders could not be called planters. One authoritative study of the South found that more than a half of the slaves lived on plantation units of more than twenty slaves and a quarter lived on units of more than fifty; it also found that the majority of slaves belonged to members of the Planter Class and not to those who operated small farms with a single slave family.[2] Most of those in the Planter Class owned twenty to fifty slaves, about 10,000 owned fifty and some 3,000 persons owned more than one hundred slaves.[3]

To assess the role of slavery in any society the main criteria should, however, not be the absolute totals or proportions but rather the location and function of slavery:

> If the economic and political elite depended primarily on slave labour for basic production, then we may speak of a slave society. [4]

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[1]August Meier and Eliott Rudwick, op. cit.

[2]Kenneth Stampp, op. cit., p. 31.

[3]August Meier and Eliott Rudwick, op. cit.

[4]Moses Finley, "Slavery," op. cit.

There is some evidence suggesting that the slavery relationship on the small plantations were "paternalistic" but this does not imply a "paternalistic" social structure. To really grasp the real nature of the American slavery system we will have to follow the logic of that system and see the extremes which that system is capable of producing. In the New York Tribune (24.2.1857) the following advertisements appeared:

1. "Fifty dollars for the apprehension of the slave Sam, or one hundred dollars for his head";
2. "Fifty dollars for the person of the said boy Sam, but one hundred dollars for his head, the killing of him without incurring any penalty or forfeiture thereby";
3. "I would inform the citizens of Holmes County that I still have my negro dogs and that they are in good training and ready to attend all calls of hunting run-away negroes."[1]

The New York Tribune happened to be an "average" newspaper of the time. The first two advertisements could be interpreted as the general strategy of inducing fear and paralysis into potentially recalcitrant slaves. However, "eye-accounts" and Court cases suggest this logical extreme of the system was commonly enforced.[2] The last advertisement shows that the business of social control of the slaves had been professionalised. In fact the whole system for the slaves represents one of the most stringent forms of totalitarian arrangement ever conceived. All the Southern states provided for a patrol system to guard against "unlawful"

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[1] William Chambers, op. cit.

[2] Even more gruesome was the practice of "dismembering" some male slaves from fear of sexual threat.

assemblying, the secreting of firearms or insurrection. All adult whites, whether slaveholders or not, were required to serve periodically in the patrol system.

Despite the multitude of atrocities dictated by the logic of the system, many scholars, represented by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, have painted a very rosy and one-sided picture of the slavery regime. He writes:

> Planters avoided cruel, vindictive and captious punishments. Their despotism was benevolent in intent and on the whole beneficial in effect . . . The master was ruled by a sense of dignity, duty, moderation and the slaves by a moral code of their own.[1]

He talks of children supplying the bond between the races, and plantations as "the best schools yet invented for the mass training of that sort of inert and backward people which the bulk of the American negroes represented."[2]

Phillips, a priori, accepted the notion of negro inferiority. And he included only the type of evidence that portrayed the planter as "tender, hospitable and patriarchal" and the household as charming and harmonious.[3] Relative quiescence in the system could only exist if the slaves accepted their degraded lot. But there were many reasons why they would not always submit passively.

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[1] Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, op. cit., p. 328.

[2] Ibid., p. 343.

[3] For example, Philip Fithian's accounts. Journal of Letters, Princeton, 1900, p. 287.

A Planter-Dominated Society

Within the Plantation

The main characteristic of the plantation, according to a recent study of Slavery in Jamaica, was the high degree of local autonomy of the Plantations.[1] There arose typical features in such a system; the coercive nature of the institution, its envelopment of the lives of the slaves, the drawing of its labour force from many diverse cultures and the consequent problems of "race" relations which ensue.

In the self-contained United States system all lines of communication to society at large originated and ended with the master. There the master and his conceptions dominated and conformity to them was the only means of survival. The small world of the plantation was rigidly stratified and this was regulated by a whole set of behavioural rules. As Van Den Berghe puts it:

> Slaves were expected to behave submissively through self-deprecatory gestures and speech, the frequent use of terms of respect toward Whites, self-debasing clowning and general fulfilment of their role expectation as incompetent and backward grown-up children.[2]

He continues:

> They were treated at best like a 'stern but just' father would deal with backward children; at worst like special and expensive species of livestock whose labour was to be exploited for the greatest economic gain.[3]

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[1] Orlando Patterson, Slavery in Jamaica, 1967.

[2] Pierre Van Den Berghe, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967, p. 80.

[3] Ibid., p. 82.

Within the plantations, order was maintained not only by brute coercion but also by "symbolic coercion." This manner of control was succintly put by Genovese:

> One wealthy planter with a great house and a reputation for living and entertaining on a grand scale would impress a whole community and keep before its humbler men the shining ideal of plantation magnificence; the planter thus appears as an awe-inspiring being. So every dollar spent by the planters for elegant clothes, a college education for their children, or a lavish barbeque contributed to the political and social domination of their class.[1]

> The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect.[2]

The masters could deny slaves access to non-slaves, to literacy and to mobility, and they could mold the personality of the slave in the direction of docility and subservience, ruthlessly destroying those who would not bend. Elkins argues that in such a tightly closed system like the plantation the slave's position of absolute dependency compels him to see the authority figure as somehow really "good."[3]

The plantation was a microcosm of the larger society and the status distinctions on the plantations were generalised to the wider society.

> This generalisation of colour as a status sign, besides having the effect of stressing categories at the expense of personal judgement, introduced a new element of rigidity. It upgraded poorer whites as against negroes and no intermediate groups were tolerated.[4]

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[1] Eugene Genovese, op. cit., p. 18.

[2] Michael Banton, Race Relations, p. 122.

[3] Stanley Elkins, op. cit., p. 129.

[4] Michael Banton, op. cit., p. 117.

Planter-Dominated Society at Large

The plantation society that had begun as an appendage of British capitalism ended as a powerful, largely autonomous civilisation with aristocratic pretensions and possibilities, although it remained tied to the capitalist world by bonds of commodity production.[1]

The slave owners formed a feudal land-owning aristocracy that dominated both the economic and political life of the South and the nation as a whole. Ten of the sixteen pre-civil war Presidents were born in the South and as many were slaveowners.[2]

Independent merchants found their businesses dependent on the patronages of the slave-holders, so bankers either became planters themselves or assumed a servile disposition toward the planters.

The Southern system caused banking to be tied to the Planter Class, so we find planters on the governing boards of the banks. This prevented bankers emerging as an independent and challenging middle-class.

The all-pervading influence of the planters extended also to the realm of social life and ideas.

> The planters commanded Southern politics and set the tone of social life. Their mores emphasised family and status, a strong code of honour and aspirations to luxury, ease and accomplishment.[3]

Genovese tried to show that somehow the South was aristocratic rather than Capitalist. But these are not mutually exclusive. An aristocratic class still needs the Capitalistic foundation to support

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[1] Eugene Genovese, op. cit., p. 15.

[2] Van Den Berghe, op. cit., p. 80.

[3] This description of Genovese resembles Pareto's typology of a society characterised by Class I Residues ("Foxes").

luxurious living.

In Virginia the lack of Royal Control aided the creation of the all-powerful Planter Class. The aim of the English crown was only maximum revenue.

> On truly essential matters that had no direct relationship to the royal customs monopolies, the crown was indifferent or indecisive.

Eventually for want of a more positive conception of imperial government, the crown decided to accept what had been established in the colonies.[1] Because of the Crown's refusal to provide adequate funds for the colonial administration it was forced to concede to the General Assembly the rights of petition, of legislation, of taxation; and of control of finance.[2] Colonial leadership passed to the most prominent planters, who consolidated their position, especially after 1624 in all the major political and administrative offices of the colony.

Likewise in the religious sphere, "rapid erosion soon wiped out the complete edifice of the church as it was known in England."[3]

Take the case of Virginia. The control of the church there became ledged in the General Assembly of Virginia. In 1662 Vestries were created to control the Church. Commenting on the structure of these Vestries, Klein writes:

> Vestries became autocratic local bodies of the leading planters who exercised enormous control over social and economic conditions within the Parish . . . When vacancies occurred the Vestrymen themselves proceeded to choose leading planters as members.[4]

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[1] Andrews, The Colonial Period, I, pp. 98-205.

[2] Craven, The Southern Colonies, p. 159.

[3] Herbert Klein, op. cit., p. 107.

[4] Ibid., p. 109.

Commissionary James Blair spoke up against the custom of making annual agreements with the ministers which the Vestries call "Hiring of Ministers" . . . "They are only in the nature of chaplains" whose tenure of office was dependent on an annual agreement renewable at the option of a small body of men.[1]

No functional autonomy was allowed to the Church, so the Church could not offer education to the slaves, sanction their marriages nor convince the planters about the morality of emancipation. There was no boundary between the Clergy and the Planter Class.

Hence Virginia was allowed to grow in the light of her interests and could ignore many external forces that handicapped say, Cuba.

Manumission and Urbanisation

By focusing on these two factors of Manumission and Urbanisation we will see the ways in which their particular forms conformed to the logic of Capitalist slavery, and how they were related and mutually reinforcing.

The system itself fostered the increasing severity of the laws against manumission, the horror of miscegenation, the depressed condition of the free negro and his peculiar place in southern society; all signs of how difficult it was to conceive a non-slave coloured class. Such a class was unnatural and logically awry.[2]

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[1]Quoted by Klein, op. cit., p. 109.

[2]Stanley Elkins, op. cit., p. 61.

In 1691 a Virginia General Assembly proclamation decreed that:

> Great inconvenience may happen to this country by the setting of negroes and mulattoes free . . .

and it provided, under pain of heavy penalty, that owners who emancipated their slaves had to pay for their transportation out of the country within six months.[1]

A similar attitude was displayed throughout the slave-era in the United States. A report submitted to the Maryland Legislature of 1844 on the removal of the free negro element from a section of that state affirmatively argued that,

> They do not derive their rights from the constitution. They had no part in the formation of our government. They are not members of our community. They enjoy no rights as citizens . . . The free negroes have their independent existence by the consent of the Government of Maryland; and that Government has the right at any time to repeal the law giving them their separate existence or their special privileges.[2]

The "Americans" felt that a free-coloured class had a self-contradictory status. They wished to remove him altogether for fear he would incite invidious comparison in the minds of the "docile" slaves.

> The more the slave regime settled into its mold the more the freedmen became an anomaly and an irritating element in the well-ordered view of the races. This required that every coloured be a dependent being who could not function without a white master . . . Under this system he was a dangerous element who by his very existence challenged the legitimacy and threatened the stability of race relations.[3]

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[1] See Herbert Klein, op. cit., p. 228.

[2] Quoted in William Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South, Massachussetts, 1960, p. 155.

[3] Stanley Elkins, op.cit., p. 245.

Wherever the Negroes clustered numerically, from Boston to Philadelphia and Cincinnati, they were not only brow-beaten and excluded from the trades but were often victims of brutal assaults whether from mobs or individual persecutors.[1] The free negroes were described as "worthless and indolent, the very droves and pests of society." Census figures were even used to show how the freed slaves had deteriorated as a result of emancipation because now they had a greater crime rate, greater poverty and greater disease.[2]

Among the extreme measures advocated to remove this complicating element was the repatriation of freedmen owing to the knowledge that "their locomotive habits fit them for a dangerous agency in schemes, wild and visionary."

Lynching became the extreme form of social control of the newly freed negro population of the South. Until the negro was emancipated his cash value to his owner helped preserve him from attack, but when he was freed he ceased to be anybody's property.[3] And there was no normative system to protect him. Lynching was an adaptive instrument to buttress White supremacy by destroying or by suppressing the potential economic and sexual threat of the freedmen. The existence of Blacks was a source of psychological strain through the sexual guilt syndrome, which must have been very irritating and frustrating to all. Cash describes this in the following way:

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[1] Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, op. cit., p. 440.

[2] For a discussion of this topic, see Meier and Rudwick, op. cit., pp. 66 - 122.

[3] Walter F. White, Rope and Faggot, 1929.

> As perpetuator of White superiority and as a creature absolutely inaccessible to the males of the inferior group, she (the White woman) inevitably became the focal centre of the fundamental pattern of proto-Dorian pride . . . Yet if such a woman knew that the maid in her kitchen was in reality half-sister to her own daughter, if she suspected that her husband sometimes slipped away ffom her bed to the arms of a mulatto wench, or even if she suspected these things of any of her male relatives, why of course, she was being cruelly wounded in the sentiments she held most sacred! . . . And the guilty man, supposing he possessed any shadow of decency, must inexorably writhe in shame and an intolerable sense of impurity under her eyes.[1]

Though Cash's description is a little over-refined, it is accepted by others that the psychology-syndrome of the stereotype of negro sexuality led to the projection of the guilt feelings and frustrations on to others, especially on to the negroes themse' ;s.[2]

The "poor Whites" became firm bastions of the system. They displayed a strong dislike for the slaves who often fared better than the "po white trash" or "po buckra" through the protection of powerful Whites. The poor whites thus carried out the lynching acts because they had a vested interest in the subordination of the negroes. About the poor Whites, Cash writes:

> If he had no worth-while interest at stake in slavery, if his real interest ran the other way about, he did nevertheless have that to him, dear treasure of his superiority as a white man, which had been conferred on him by slavery; and he was as determined to keep the black man in chains, and he saw in the offensive of the Yankee as great a danger to himself, as the angriest planter.[3]

The poor white's patriotism and identification with the Planter-Class was reinforced by his lack of class feeling and the contrast of his

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[1] W.J. Cash, The Mind of the South (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954), pp. 87-88.

[2] Michael Banton, op. cit., pp. 155-157.

[3] W.J. Cash, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

image of the crass, uncouth Yankee with that of the "Southern Gentleman" who he admired.[1]

The lack of Urbanisation also contributed to planter-domination. In the cities the slaves could not be controlled as tightly as in rural areas. But yet in the cities the coloured class was small and conspicuous and was controlled thoroughly through a tight registration and pass system. That the plantation system was so predominant in Virginia was due to its mono-cultivation of tobacco and the lack of urban growth and alternative economic opportunities for the use of slave labour. There were really no other major occupations for the negro and almost two-thirds would be found on the plantations until about 1860.

Urban slavery, even at its height in 1860, accounted for only 7% of the total slave labour force. And within cities the coloured population was very small. Whites were therefore able to single out and isolate the urban coloured population, to break down their social cohesion, and to control their non-working habits.[2]

Movements to the cities were very hard because the strict residence laws confined the free coloured population to the place of his emancipation. So urban centres remained relatively small.[3]

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[1] Guy Hunter, Industrialisation and Race Relations.

[2] Herbert Klein, op. cit., p. 15.

[3] Ibid., p. 228.

System Integration and Conflict

Before we can "understand" the ideologies used in the attempts to prop up the slave regimes we should try to see the "systemness" of the slavery institution and how this itself generated conflicts which in turn called for the fervent justification of a crumbling system.

By the mid-nineteenth century the slave codes had been worked out to reinforce the social relationships established by the economic relationship of the slave regime. Everything seemed geared to maintaining such relationships. This "systemness" occurred simultaneously with a high degree of "functional autonomy" of the "parts" (Plantations) in the system. This calls for a modification of Gouldner's theory which argues that a high degree of functional autonomy is antithetical to the stability of the status quo.[1] What proved more important was the "interests" of those functional "parts" rather than the degree of their autonomy and interdependence per se.

The society at large was a plantation writ large and the interests of the Planter Class were evident. Further, domestic slavery caused an identity of interests among all the whites to the extent that they approached the singleness of a class. Colour became the badge of distinction and all classes of Whites were interested in maintaining that distinction. However poor and ignorant or miserable, he may be, he has yet the consoling consciousness that there is still lower condition to which he can never be reduced.[2] The poorest man in the

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[1] Alvin Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functionalism," in L. Gross, Symposium on Sociological Theory.

[2] William Jenkins, op. cit.

slave society felt an interest in the laws which protected the rights of property "for though he has none as yet, he has the purpose and hope to be rich before he dies and to leave property to his children."

It is pertinent at this point to ask a number of questions. Was the Planter Class afraid of Social Change? If the slavery system tended to be a self-reinforcing institution, how was conflict generated within the system? Can the study of the slavery system help us to understand Social Conflict and Social Change?

One student defines Social Change as "a change in the institutional structure of a social system, especially a transformation of the core institutional order of a society such that we can speak of a change in the type of Society."[1] Most sociologists, however, agree that it is very difficult to locate the "Core institution" of a society. But this is easy in the American slave society. In fact, "the whole Southern Civilisation which had so many distinctive features as a way of life was so completely identified with slavery as to make its very existence seem to depend upon the defence of that institution.[2]

In one of his speeches, Calhoun reiterates:

> I feel myself called upon to speak freely upon the subject (of Slavery) where the honour and interests of those I represent are involved. . . Be assured that emancipation itself would not satisfy these fanatics: that gained, the next step would be to raise the negroes to a social and political equality with the Whites--a reversal of the races.[3]

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[1]David Lockwood, "Social Integration and System Integration," in H. Demerath, System, Change and Conflict.

[2]William Jenkins, op. cit., Preface.

[3]J.C. Cathoun, "Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, in E.L. McKitrick, Slavery Defended: The Views of the Old South (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1963).

Some defenders even quantified the economic centrality, or importance, of the slave institution. Thomas Dew defended slavery by pointing to the institutional disruptions of any emancipation. He writes in anguish:

> It is gravely recommended to the state of Virginia to give up a species of property which constitutes nearly a third of the wealth of the whole state and almost a half of that of lower Virginia . . . It is the slave labour in Virginia which gives value to her soil and her habitations; take away this and you pull down the atlas that upholds the whole system. (He estimated the value of Virginian slaves at $100,000,000).[1]

Accepting then that "slavery gave the South a social system and a civilisation with a distinct class structure, political community economy, ideology and a set of psychological patterns,"[2] how was conflict generated within the system? Were there 'internal contradictions'?

We may view the sources and the type of conflict on three levels of sociological analysis:

1. The level of groups
2. The level of values and ideas
3. The level of institutions.[3]

If we focus on the conflict between various groups within the slave system we may perhaps get a picture of relative calm and order. Elkins' theory that the absolute repression deterred rebellion on the part of the slaves seems plausible. One ex-slave has given a brilliant analysis of the psychology of repression that seems to substantiate Elkins' theory.

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[1] T. Dew, Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832, in Eric L. McKitrick, Slavery Defended: The Views of the Old South (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1963).

[2] Eugene Genovese, op. cit., p. 3.

[3] American Journal of Sociology, 1963. P.L. Van Den Berghe, Dialectic and Functionalism; P.L. Van Den Berghe, Race and Racism, op. cit., pp.136-147.

In 1855 Frederick Douglass, on the basis of his slavery experience, postulates:

> Beat and cuff your slave, keep him hungry and spiritless, and he will follow the chain of his master like a dog; but feed and clothe him well, work him moderately, surround him with physical comfort, and dreams of freedom intrude; give him a good master, and he wishes to become his own master.[1]

This analysis cannot be dismissed as a mere "Uncle Tomist" statement, but rather a sociological analysis supported by various analogies like that of the Nazi Concentration camps which also succeeded in creating a submissive personality. However, while there was relative quiescence on the group level, there were many contradictions on the institutional level which were undermining the system. David Lockwood gives theoretical formulation to this situation:

> At any particular point of time a society may have a high degree of social integration (in the form of relative absence of group conflicts) and a low degree of system integration (in the form of little contradictions between its main institutions).[2]

The same author goes on to outline a theory of conflict and change. He postulates:

> A source of conflict and possibly change is the lack of fit between the society's core institutional order and its material substructure . . . The conflict decisive for change is not the power conflict arising from the relationships in the productive system, but the "system conflict" arising from the property institutions and the forces of production.[3]

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[1] Quoted from Kenneth Stampp, op. cit., p. 89.

[2] David Lockwood, "System Integration and Social Integration," op. cit.,

[3] Ibid.

This theory may be applied to the South where, owing to the dysfunctions of slavery, the South was unable to develop the technological base and was thus unable to compete effectively with the more advanced North. Slavery in the long run contributed to the economic impotence of the South. Max Weber pointed to various contradictions inherent in the American slave economics:

(1) The master cannot adjust the size of his labour in accordance with business fluctuations,

(2) Capital outlay is greater and riskier for slave labour,

(3) The domination of society by a planter class increases the risk of political influence in the market, and

(4) There is not much ploughing back of profits into investment, only into slaves and land.[1]

In the "Protestant Ethic" Weber also notes that "The early history of the North American colonies is dominated by the sharp contrast of the adventurers who wanted to set up plantations with the labour of indentured servants and live as feudal lords and the specifically middle-class outlook of the Puritans (imbued with the rational Capitalist ethics)."[2] Slavery encouraged the concentration of land and wealth and narrowed the home market, deterred industrialisation and urbanisation, and proved antithetical to a general rise of education which would allow a better use of agricultural machinery; it retarded capital formation by providing an inefficient labour supply and by preventing the rise of a large home market.

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[1] See Eugene Genovese, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[2] Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (Parson's Translation), p. 173.

All the above factors helped to produce a situation which Genovese describes in the following way:

> The social system was breaking on imminent contradictions and the economy was proving incapable of adapting itself to reforms while slavery existed . . . The South needed to develop its economy to keep pace with that of the free states, or the proud slaveholding class could no longer expect to retain hegemony. On the other hand, successful reform meant the tne of slavery and of the basis for the very power the planters were trying to preserve.[1]

Many other studies have also shown such contradictions between slavery and the technological base which prevented the South from effectively competing with the North.[2] As Weber says, Capitalism "is a discipline of the survival of the fittest."[3] Slavery prevented the South from being in the "fittest" shape. Genovese summarised his thesis thus:

> Faced with an inability to earn a decent living under conditions of deteriorating soil and falling profits, the slaveholders had to stake everything on political independence that could lead to the acquisition of virgin soils. Secession and the risk of war were necessary to show up a faltering economy.[4]

A similar conclusion stemmed from one of the most recent studies of Slavery Economics in the Caribbean areas. Lloyd Best has listed the major sources of economic difficulties generating in the "Golden Age" of plantations and about which he writes:

> These results can be avoided only if the Plantation Economy faces the fact of over maturity and lack of competitiveness by replacing its basic structures and

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[1] Eugene Genovese, op. cit., p. 8.

[2] Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, op. cit., p. 338; Ray Marshall, Industrialisation and Race Relations in the Southern U.S.A. in G. Hunter's Industrialisation and Race Relations; John E. Cairnes, The Slave Power, op. cit.

[3] Max Weber, op. cit., p. 55

[4] Eugene Genovese, op. cit., p.282.

> institutions, thereby introducing more flexibility into the adjustment process. This implies a 'Political Solution.' The economic solution is largely ruled out by the fact that it requires large capital outlays to de-specialise, to transform technology, and to finance the culturally entrenched taste for imports built up in the Golden Age. But these were not available.[1]

Slavery thus proved dysfunctional for the slave areas in the context of American Capitalism.

Justification of Anglo-American Slavery

Faced with the "General Crisis" I have just outlined, Southern intellecuals were absorbed in making a defense of slavery. The defense of slavery was always anteceded by an attack or by the recognition of many of its contradictions.

Between 1790 and 1820 pro-slavery theorising was passive. The slave institution remained securely entrenched with few persons having the need to defend it. But the 1820's witnessed the need for a more positive defense of slavery. Then during the mid-nineteenth century there arose a great systematic justification of slavery caused by the onslaught levied by the Abolitionists who recognised the conflict of values (the "American Dilemma") and by the Reformists who saw the dysfunctions of chattel slavery.

> The Church developed its theory of slavery on principles of moral philosophy, the Scientist undertook to prove that inferiority was the natural condition of the Negro and the Political Economist pictured the system as an important cog in the world economy.[2]

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[1] Lloyd Best, "Outlines of a Model of Pure Plantation Economy," Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 17, No. 3, September, 1968.

[2] William Jenkins, op. cit., p. 105.

The old Metaphysical justification of slavery continued. Aristotle's ideas were revitalised by men like Calhoun. Similarly, "the scriptural defense of slavery was prepared with exhaustive research and probably attained the most elaborate and systematic statement of any of the types of pro-slavery theory."[1] The Church's picture of slavery was of the Biblical and Patriarchal type. This theoretical view of American slavery was expressed by a Bishop in the following way:

> We are fighting to protect and preserve a race who form a part of our household and stand with us next to our children.[2]

A whole set of conservative Sociological theories were also constructed to defend the institution of slavery. One type, the "Mud-Sill" theory,[3] argued that, "In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life." Calhoun expressed a similar justification:

> There has never yet been a wealthy and civilised society in which one portion of the community did not, in fact, live on the labour of another.[4]

A slight variation on this kind of theory was that which sees slavery as the best method of uniting capital and labour; the interest of capital and labour were identical; and this union of labour and capital in the same hands, counteracts all those social, moral and material and political evils which afflict the north and Western Europe. William Gregg argued that whereas labour and capital were becoming antagonistic in

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[1] William Jenkins, op. cit., p. 105.

[2] Bishop Stephen Eliott of Georgia. Quoted in William Jenkins, op. cit., p. 210.

[3] Governor Hammond, Speech in the Senate, 4/3/1858, Congressional Glove.

[4] J.C. Calhoun, Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions.

industrial centers, slavery united the interests of labour and capital in the person of the slave and thereby avoided the class struggle. The brains of Fitzhugh was also directed to this issue. In "Canibals All II" he postulated that:

> As modern civilisation advances slavery becomes daily more necessary . . . it is impossible to place labour and capital in harmonious relations except by means of slavery. Slavery and socialism are alike in their opposition to laisse-faire economics and they attempt to mold the society in terms of independent values.

A third sub-type of the conservative Sociological theories argued that the so-called "Free" societies have failed, that the South escapes revolutionary movements and that slavery allows many advantages to the slaves.

The third kind of ideological justification was the "King Cotton Theory," which showed how the iron necessity of world trade upheld slavery. Note this in one of Fitzhugh's speeches:

> England is dependent for the very necessities of life on the slaveholding states. If those states cut off commercial intercourse with her, as they certainly will do if she does not speedily cease interference with slavery, she will be without food and clothing for her over-grown population.

The fourth type of argument is of more interest to the present study for it points to one way in which the New World slavery system differed from that of the Greeks. The Ethnological or "Scientific" justification of slavery introduced a new dimension into the issue. The Anatomist, the Ethnologist and Ethnographer worked out the scientific counterpart to the Aristotelian philosophy of slavery. "Ultimately the philosophy of the slaveholder becomes empirical in character."[1]

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[1] William Jenkins, op. cit., p. 106.

There was a vast attempt to find a "Scientific" foundation for slavery. By the information gathered from the Natural Sciences they were able to show that slavery grew out of Nature's well-ordered plans. Jefferson even thought that the research findings would determine the abolition issue. The notion of negro racial inferiority was cloaked in the cautious, reasoned language of science.

One branch of this "Empirical Racialism" was more socio-historical. Historians argued that even in Ancient Egypt the negroes were held as inferior or that even without enslavement Africans were incapable of creating a civilisation, or that, given their freedom, they lapse into barbarism as the Santo Domingo and Haitian emancipation allegedly indicated.

The other and more important branch relied upon Physiological data. Through Comparative anatomy certain distinct features in the physical structure of the Negro (Brains, nerves, colour, blood, oxygen-requirements, etc.) which differed from those of the White races, provided some of the "hardest" evidence supporting negro inferiority. The negro's brain was found to be much smaller than that of the Caucasian.[1] The following statement can be taken as a sample of the "scientific" statements:

> The brain of an adult negro never gets beyond that observable in the Caucasian in boyhood. And besides other singularities it bears a striking resemblance, in several particulars, to the brain of an Ourang Outang.[2]

Taking the comparison even further, it was affirmed that the facial angle of the Caucasian was 80°, that of the Negro 70°, while that of the Ourang-Outang was only 58°. They found, in other words, a correlation

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[1] e.g. Samuel George Morton.

[2] Sawyer, p. 195, quoting Louis Agassis.

between slanting heads and inferior mentality. There appears to have been a fanaticism to prove that there was a hierarchy of beings rising from the lowest Ourangs, to the highest Caucasians. Dr. Nott's "Types of Mankind" and the work of his associate, Dr. Bachman, developed this line of scientific investigation. Both defined species in terms of their capacity for successive reproduction. They claimed that mulattoes tended to die out quickly and to be very bad-breeders and that intermarriages were less prolific than when crossed with a parent stock (1842). The inference they drew from these observations was that the races were not intended to mix and that a violation of the law would reduce the white race to inferiority. Gobineau "proved" that the mixing of "inferior blood" with that of the ruling class inevitably bastardises the "Great Race" and leads to decadence.[1]

Edward Long followed in this tradition.[2] He was the "Scientific Philosopher" about which one scholar wrote: "He couched the most vicious falsehoods in the language of cautious inquiry."[3] Typical of Long's statements are the following: He did not know of children born to mulattoes, without the "Lady" intriguing with a white man or a Negro; an omnipotent creator made a chain of being, a "series and progression from a lump of dirt to a perfect man." Africans now were "a brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful and superstitious people"; "The chimpanzee would covet negro women from a natural impulse of desire, such as inclines one animal towards another

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[1] Gobineau, Essay on the Inequality of Races.

[2] Edward Long, History of Jamaica, London, 1774.

[3] David Davis, Problem of Slavery in Western Culture, Cornell University, 1966.

of the same species." "An Ourang Outang husband would be no dishonour to an Hottentot female."

Edward Long and the other "Scientists" did not stop to consider that there could be some sociological explanation of the low fecundity of creoles. Such an explanation might include the frustration of the Creoles' desire for leadership which often generated a pathology of self-disrespect so deep that they rejected even sexual contact with each other.[1] Long failed further to point to the apparent inconsistency that although these creoles were "found" to be "inferior" they enjoyed a much higher "position" to the negroes within the Jamaican society and elsewhere.

Describing the general tendency towards Scientific Racism one author concludes:

> Hard Scientists rather than soft theorists built up elaborate classifications of the 'inborn' racial and cultural traits of the Nordics, Aryans, Semites, Teutons, Hottentots, Magyars and Negroes. With typical scientific thoroughness, one professor even recorded some 5,000 measurements on a single skull . . . By the end of the century most respectable scientists, impressed as always with elaborate statistical tables carried to two to three decimal places, were inclined to agree with this new orthodoxy.[2]

As to the effect of all this "scientism" of slavery, Handlin said:

> The weary search for precedent, the laborious interpretation of texts, the accumulation of questionable facts persuaded only those who wished to believe. 3

It is also true that it helped to firmly implant stereotypes of the negroes in the minds of men.

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[1]Gordon Lewis, Growth of Modern West Indies, 1967.

[2]Digby Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment, p. 104.

[3]Oscar Handlin, op. cit., p.31.

One "scientist" recanting in his Autobiography years later after his race theorising, writes:

> Difference of Race means far less to me now than it once did. Starting with the naive feeling that only my own race is right, all other races are more or less "queer," I gained insight and sympathy until my heart overleapt barriers of race. For behind me in the ditch lies the Nordic Myth, which had some fascination for me forty years ago.[1]

All these many attempts to base moral judgements on the empirical world committed what G.E. Moore calls the "Naturalistic Fallacy."[2] He regards it as fallacious to jump from an "Is" to an "Ought," from the empirical world of facts to making moral prescriptions. This argument weighs against such justifications as the one that claimed that slavery has always existed and hence must be natural and right. But the continuance or prior existence of an institution does not make it right. Ethics is not grounded on science, though science may influence it.

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[1] Edward A. Ross, "Seven Years of It," quoted in Baltzell's, The Protestant Establishment, op. cit., p. 275.

[2] G.E. Moore, Principia Ethica, 1903.

PART TWO

A SYSTEMATIC COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS OF THE TWO SLAVERY SYSTEMS

CHAPTER 4

A TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF VARIATION IN THE GREEK AND AMERICAN SYSTEMS

This chapter is concerned with the contrasting features of Grecian and American slavery systems. For the sake of analytical clarification, I will separate the main differences under the following headings:-

(1) The differences in the lives of the slaves;

(2) The differences in the lives of the non-slaves;

(3) The differences for the total social systems.

Difficult as it is to determine the degree of harshness of a slavery system, most of the evidence available suggests that Grecian slaves had it far easier than American slaves. This study argues that the degree of institutional harshness depends upon the interaction between traditional cultural factors and economic forces. Greek slaves had rights and privileges guaranteed by the laws and conventions of the society. David Davis even posits the theory that it is a general phenomenon that the treatment of slaves from one's own tribe was better than the treatment of the slaves captured abroad.[1] The American system had slaves wholly obtained from abroad. Marked off from the free population by racial and cultural differences and deprived of the hope of manumission, the slave found his life regimented in a highly organized system that was geared to maximum production for market economy.

We also find differing attitudes to manumission, and also differences in the amounts of slave mobility. Manumission was entirely discretional within the American slavery system: it depended entirely upon the goodwill of the planter. But within the Greek system, Westermann

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[1] David Davis, op. cit., p. 47.

testifies that

> The lack in antiquity of any deep abhorrence of slavery as a social and economic evil may be explained in part by the fact that a change in legal status out of enslavement into liberty, by the way of manumission was as constant and as easy in Greco-Roman life as the reverse transition over the passage from individual freedom of action into the constraints of non-freedom and the methods employed for making either transition were many.[1]

This is in sharp contrast to the great horror at manumission within the American system. Such was the alarm that Americans were even against their slaves working in the crafts. James Hammond expressed the popular fear: "Whenever a slave is made a mechanic he is more than half-freed and soon becomes the most corrupt and turbulent of his class."[2]

Thirdly, the differing systems of control had differing effects upon the personalities of the slaves. In Greece it appears that the slaves were controlled and regulated more by "mores" rather than by brute coercion.[3] In contrast to the "liberal" ordering of slaves, the American slaves were rigidly suppressed by a highly systematized and "totalitarian" set of controls. One study has convincingly argued that this system of absolute regimentation could not fail to alter the psychology of slaves in the direction of the "Sambo type."[4] There is no evidence to suggest the existence of the Sambo-personality in ancient Greece; this seems to be the result of the semi-permanence of Greek slavery and to its more easy going nature.

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[1] William Westermann, "Between Slavery and Freedom," American Historical Review, op. cit.

[2] Quoted in E. Genovese, op. cit., p. 225.

[3] Sparta is the exception in Greece.

[4] Stanley Elkins, op. cit. (Note that this theory is a source of continual debate.)

Table 3

System Variables in Greek and American Slavery Systems

	Greek	American
Treatment of slaves	As "part" of household, with rights and privileges.	Harsh treatment, especially on large plantations.
Recruitment of slaves: slave-inputs	Random, but preponderance of female slaves.	Non-random ("racist") with male preponderance.
Control of slaves	Normative.	Totalitarian control, and symbolic coercion.
Manumission and slave mobility	Institutionalised and constant.	Discretional. Very little slave mobility.
Authority-structure	Continuous or hierarchic.	Dichotomous, along caste-line.
Psychology - syndrome of non-slaves	General insecurity, unpredictability and pessimism.	Confident and aggressive, but prone to conspiracy views, sadism, frustration, and scapegoating.
"Who (what) governs the Guardians"	The Laws ("Physics"), Norms ("Nomos"), and Empathy.	Economic interests, with cultural biases as secondary.
Systemness (degree of integration)	High. Very few slave revolts, or moral dilemma.	Low. Initial integration tending to degenerate through structural contradictions; moral dilemma; miscegenation and freed-negroes.
Justification	Metaphysical	"Scientific".

This study has also revealed that marked differences between the systems stemmed from the frequent warfare in ancient Greece which was the recruitment source for Greek slavery. For this reason we find that Greek slavery was dissociated from colour. The recruitment of slaves was random. From time to time an entire Greek city was "andropodised"--the population selectively killed or enslaved. In other words, their institution of slavery had no clearly defined slave race or caste. From this a unique psychology-syndrome operated. The freemen in Greece expressed constant dread of being overpowered and sold into slavery. This insecurity and pessimism was all-pervasive in Greek culture. Even the strongest were not exempt from this possibility that "the small cities become great and (that) human happiness moves in cycles and has no abiding stay." One can only speculate that the psychic costs of such insecurity must have been very high. The effect on the personality must be similar to that of living on the edge of a sleeping volcano.[1]

In contrast, the American slaves were recruited by force and by purchase, mainly from Africa.[2] We can therefore say that in the American system color and race were a critical feature, but we cannot say the same of Greek slavery. The "Americans", too, did not suffer the same syndrome of psychological strains like the Greeks. Instead, they were prone to "sexuality, sadism, frustration and scapegoating" and a constant fear of slave rebellions. The opposite face of this attitude was the idealization of the white woman who became a matter of " Proto-Dorian pride," though she suffered mentally from the knowledge or suspicion that her male relatives "lower" themselves to the level of the black women slaves.

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[1] "Climatic Determinists" have pointed to the psychological effects of living near volcanoes or other frightening areas.

[2] There were also Irish "Indentured Labourers" but they found it easy to climb into the white-caste.

Let us now review the differences in the "total systems." The distribution of authority within Greek society tended to be "continuous" while that in America was "dichotomous." In Greece the more fluid social structure contributed to the hierarchical distribution of authority. But in America, once the necessity of a two category social order was perceived, many forces were mobilized to maintain the status- and authority-gap between the categories and to restore it if some development tended to upset this pattern. To enforce this, they institutionalized a most elaborate system of etiquette. "In no other ancient society was the distinction between slave and freemen so sharply drawn as in America."[1] This caste rigidity helps to account for the concern expressed over the danger of slave revolts.

Greece and America also differed in the extent of their "systemness."[2] There tended to be a "natural fit" between slavery and the semi-patriarchal society. In America, the system tended towards crisis and conflict, especially between "slavery" and technological developments. Slavery tended to retard the economic growth of the south and some scholars even claim that this contradiction became embodied in the Civil War.[3]

In Greece also there was no moral dilemma over slavery--there was very little hysteria and fear in discussing it, compared to the moral horror in the American case. Greece had a more integrated value system, which helped to shape its particular form of slavery. Even during the fifth century period of Enlightenment in Greece and the Sophistic criticism

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[1] David Davis, op. cit., p. 46.

[2] "Systemness" refers to a set of elements in the Functional Analysis of a social system: consensus, integration, restraint, reciprocity, persistence, etc.

[3] For example, see E. Genovese, The Political Economy of the Slave South, op. cit.

of almost all institutions, there was relatively little criticism of slavery itself. It did not occur to Plato and Aristotle to doubt that slavery was necessary to the good life in the Polis. So we can conclude that Greece had a higher level of both value consensus and institutional compatibility.

Lastly, the "Belief Systems" used to justify their institutions differed markedly. Greece employed Metaphysical arguments. This was due to the fact that this was the prevailing type of explanation, and secondly, the institution was self-evidently right to the Greeks. In America, however, metaphysical arguments became insufficient to bolster up the practice as the structural and ideological conflicts developed. The "Americans" resorted to "scientific" justification. Commenting on this shift one scholar argues that:

> Only few human groups have deemed themselves superior because of the content of their gonads . . . In folklore, literature, and science, racism became embedded in the western weltanschauung . . . This is a record not even remotely approached in either scope or complexity by any other cultural tradition.[1]

The Greeks saw differences in terms of culture rather than in terms of biology.[2] Whereas, the "Americans" set out to "prove" that blacks were naturally inferior. By doing this, they committed the "Naturalist Fallacy" by trying to deduce moral prescriptions wholly from the empirical world.[3]

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[1]Pierre Van Den Berghe, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

[2]Michael Banton, Race Relations, p. 12.

[3]G.E. Moore, Principia Ethica, op. cit.

CHAPTER 5

THE CAUSAL SYSTEMS OF GREEK AND AMERICAN SLAVERY

Table 4 summarises the main causal factors that operated within the Greek and American systems. This chapter will elaborate on these factors:

A. The Causal Sequence of Greek Slavery

It would appear that warfare in Greece had an immense impact upon the nature of Greek society, and upon slavery in particular. The causal network is pictured in Diagram I. The general direction of the arrows indicates that the vertical chain of factors to the left of the diagram exerted the ultimate causal effects (and, of course, independent variables are also "causally related.").[1] It would appear that the prevalence of warfare must have "ultimate" causal priority in the causal sequence. One study observes that "the Greek city-state carried on war continuously; to contract a durable peace was regarded as a crime."[2]

Warfare affected the treatment of slaves in at least three ways:

(1) Through its effects on the recruitment pattern,

(2) Through its effects on Grecian values, and

(3) Through its effects on Grecian economic organization.

First its effects on the recruitment pattern, and the ensuing psychological syndrome. The constant warfare led to the random recruitment of slaves. "Might" was "Right." Any individual was susceptible to this possible fate of enslavement; this excluded the possibility of a discriminatory recruitment drive in favour of a particular "race." It was

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[1] Hubert Blalock, "The Relative Importance of Variables," A.S.R., December, 1961.

[2] Max Weber, General Economic History (New York:Collier Books, 1961), p. 105.

Diagram 1

Independent and Dependent Variables in the Greek Slavery System

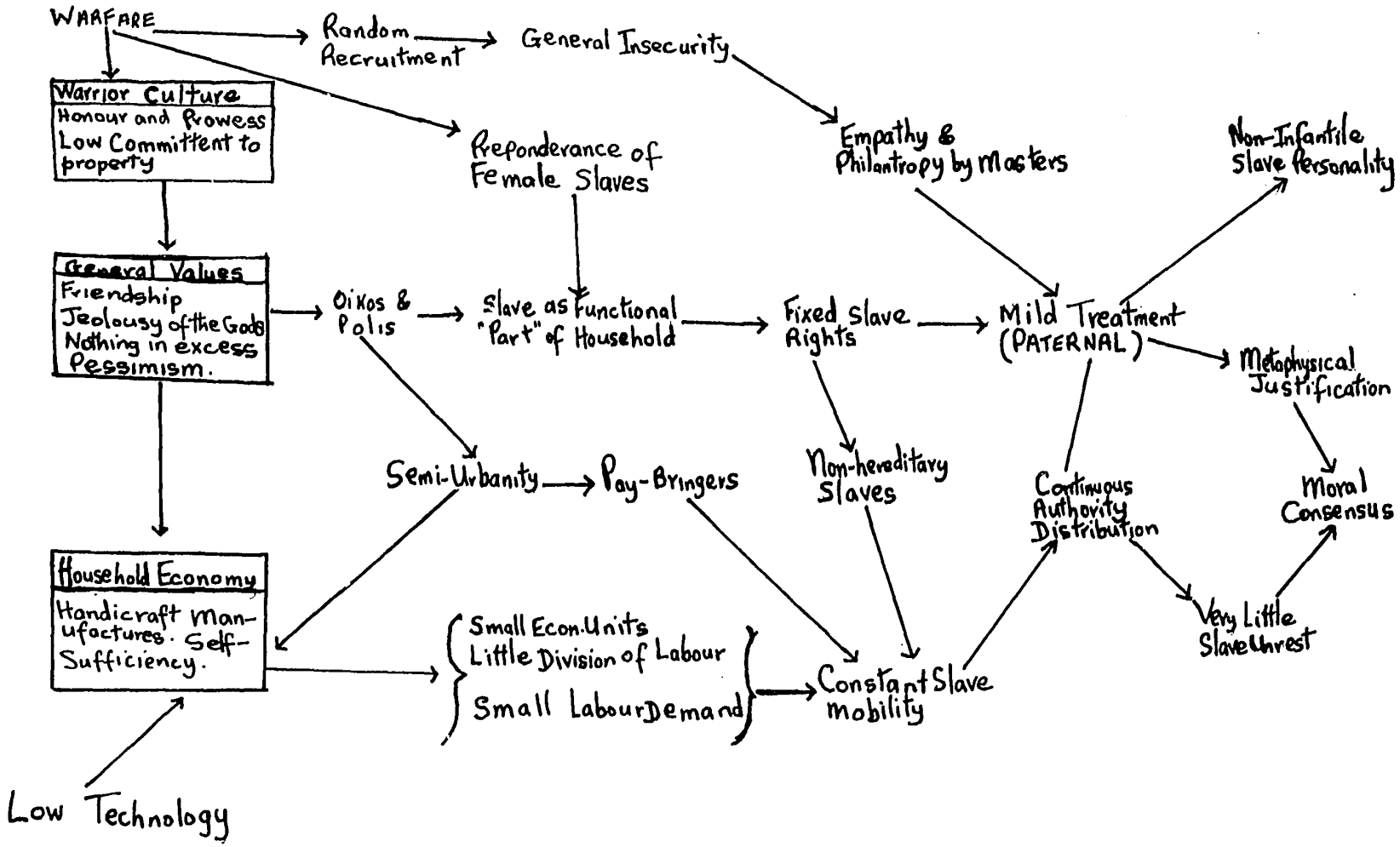

Table 4

Independent Variables in the Greek and American Slavery Systems:

	GREEK	AMERICAN
SOCIAL UNIT	"Oikos". Self-sufficient. Later: Polis - communal and with smaller family unit.	Autonomous Plantation.
ECONOMY	Simple, self-sufficient economy. Diverse handicrafts. Cities predominant.	Mono-culture economy based on cash crops. Little urbanisation.
ORIGIN OF SLAVERY	Warfare	Slave Trade: developed to facilitate exploitation of America.
VALUES	"Anticapitalist" e.g. "Nothing in Excess," "Jealousy of the gods," Honour in preference to wealth.	"Capitalist" e.g. Aggressive individualism, Maximum profit, Secularism.

discriminatory not against a particular race but against a sex--the female sex. The majority of male slaves were either slaughtered or were taken to work in the mines, while the female slaves were "spared" to be the concubines and domestic servants of the captors. This prevalence of female slaves fostered the easier incorporation of these slaves within the household and also lessened the fear of slave revolts that is associated with a slave system numerically dominated by male slaves. Let us see the psychological effects. This syndrome included the constant dread and fear of enslavement. The empathy that resulted contributed to the milder treatment of Greek slaves. Gouldner writes:

> The viability of these traditional status prerogatives was buttressed by the Greek capacity for empathizing: the Greeks could feel pity because they could imagine themselves enslaved.[1]

There is a striking passage in Adam Smith's "Theory of Moral Sentiments" which supports this interpretation by pointing to the universal sense of insecurity arising from the constitution and habits of the Grecian world. He writes:

> The smallness of the greater part of those rendered it to each of them no very improbable event that it might fall into that very calamity which it had so frequently either inflicted or at least attempted to inflict, upon some of its neighbours. In this disorderly state of things, the most perfect innocence, joined to the highest rank and the greatest public services, could give no security to any man . . . It was impossible that a Grecian patriot should not familiarize his imagination with all the different calamities to which he was sensitive his situation must frequently and constantly expose him. [2]

This unpredictability undoubtedly contributed to empathy and the ensuing caution, moderation and "Philantropy" found in Greece. The

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[1] Alvin Gouldner, op. cit., p. 34.

[2] Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Third Edition, London, 1967, Part 7.

belief in the envy of the gods fostered a sense of order; it encouraged men at the top of the system to restraint in their relations with the rest, limiting the resentment they would provoke. This became institutionalized in Greek culture: personal outrage at a slave in Athens was from early time an indictable offense; there were laws against outrageous insult to a slave. Added was the slave's customary right to asylum in the Theseum or at the altar of Emerides,[1] and his admission to certain religious gatherings and public sacrifices.

The prevalence of warfare not only affected the recruitment of slaves but also the value-system of the Greeks. One of the most important pronouncements of the Priests of the Delphic Appolo runs throughout the gamut of Greek life and expresses one of the most cherished Greek values: "Nothing too Much," or "Nothing in Excess." This recurs over and over in Greek literature.[2] The "Illiad" and the "Odysseus" of Homer give the best account of the traditional values which were associated with the early and pure form of Patriarchal slavery. Warfare produced this value. Their "Warrior Culture" emphasized above all, prowess and honour.[3] Life itself may not stand in the way of honour. This heroic code was complete and unambiguous, so much so, that neither the poet nor his characters had the occasion to debate it.

The all-pervasive pessimism one finds in Greek culture was antithetical to Capitalistic organization. Despite the economic changes mentioned elsewhere, we find that Greece of the fifth century continued to

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[1]Sir Ernest Barker, Greek Political Theory, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

[2]This idea formed the basis of their conception of Justice. Pythagoros expresses it thus: "Justice is a square number," or "The sun will not vacate its place or the handmaid of Justice will find out."

[3]Moses Finley, The World of Odysseus, op. cit., p. 124.

have a culture detrimental to "Capitalism." Fame and individual honour were still the core values. Fame is to be brought by individual efforts--not through inheritance. The deep pessimism continued. Gouldner puts it thus:

> They believe that the human lot is vulnerable to sudden and smashing disaster, and that the more successful a man, the more certain his destruction. Man should control and limit his hopes and his ambitions lest the Gods regard him as guilty.[1]

More general was the belief that excess in any one direction--but peculiarly an excess of success--will provoke the Gods to envy and that they will first strike down those who are highest. The following Grecian statements express this notion of "Jealousy of the Heavens"; "Any greatness in human life brings doom" (Gouldner attributes this to Isocrates). "God suffers no man to boast except himself" (Herodotus, VII, 10, 5). "He strikes the tallest trees, the highest palaces (Herodotus, VII, 10, 4) and gives a man or a state or a race a taste of prosperity, then dashes the cup from their lips or passes it to another." "The small cities become great and the great cities small, and the human happiness moves in cycles and has no biding stay (Herodotus, 1, 5). This Content Analysis of Greek cultural forms suggests unambiguously that Capitalistic trends were stifled by cultural practices. They emphasized competition,[2] and success like nineteen century Americans, but their societal goals were not geared around maximum profits, but around honour, glory, friendship and "Eudaimonia" (happiness). If wealth clashed with these, wealth would be sacrificed for it was regarded as essentially secondary.

Noting this emphasis on competition, Finley writes:

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[1] Alvin Gouldner, op. cit., p. 49.

[2] Ibid., pp. 48-50, characterizes this system as a "Contest-Culture."

> It is the nature of honour that it must be exclusive or at least hierarchic. When everyone attains equal honour, then there is no honour for anyone. Of necessity, therefore, the world of Odysseus was fiercely competitive . . . Nothing defines the quality of Greek culture more neatly than the way in which the idea of competition was extended from physical prowess to the realm of the intellect.[1]

Further, their pervading pessimism was opposed to economic investment and enterprise. Having the effects of warfare in mind, Seebohm argued that:

> Men hesitate to sow when the harvest is to be reaped by the enemies. The flocks and herds of the pastoral tribes could be driven for safety into the mountain strongholds; yet even they were liable to frequent losses.[2]

Willetts' study reached a similar conclusion:

> The incessant warfare, the seizure and subjection of the weaker by the more powerful states, piracy and the mercenary service all alike militated against dramatic economic reforms.[3]

Weber deserves to be quoted here at length for his recognition of this general argument:

> On scrutinizing the slave property of antiquity, one observes that slaves of the most diverse types were intermingled to such a degree that a modern shop industry could produce nothing by their use . . . In antiquity the owner of men was compelled to acquire the most diverse sorts of hand workers in order to distribute his risks. The final result however was that the possession of slaves militated against the establishment of large scale industry . . . Slavery in antiquity prevented the development of a factory-type of establishment. Slaves were especially subject to vicissitudes and exposed to risk. Slaves could run away, especially in time of war and did so with especial frequency at time of military misfortune. When Athens collapsed into the Pelopenesian War, the whole slave capital utilized in industry became a loss.[4]

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[1] Moses Finley, World of Odysseus, op. cit., pp. 131-133.

[2] Hugh Seebohm, On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society, op. cit., p.84.

[3] R.F. Willetts, The Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete, op. cit., p.253.

[4] Max Weber, General Economic History, op. cit., p. 138.

Some economic changes did occur involving an overseas orientation of the Greeks, but these people remained uncommercial:

> Greek commerce, like Greek politics was always upon a small, individual and centrifugal scale. Vast organizations, trusts and combines were beyond the thought of the Greek merchant . . . The political instinct which builds up alike a great business and a great state was missing.[1]

We can also deduce this traditional Greek emphasis on small enterprises from Plato's comparison of owners of fifty slaves, or more, with "tyrants."[2]

How materialistic were the Greeks? What were the effects of warfare on their orientation to material things? The Greeks stressed a rationality of a different form to Americans:

> Rationality means a readiness to depart from traditionally received forms . . . but there was a distinctive element in Athenian rationality which sets it off from the minds of rationality dominant in the modern world.[3]

The Greeks had a "total commitment rationality." They seem relatively free of sentimental attachment to their property, homes, furnishings and even land. The Athenians abandoned their properties at the very beginning of a war, and long before their city was in definite disaster. Associated, also, was the contemptuous attitude towards technology and toward economic activities more generally. Take the beliefs about "labour." In Sparta these beliefs took the most extreme form. The law forbade the Spartiate to descend to any paying occupation. This reflects their belief that the passion for gain prevents the Spartiate from cultivating his mind. The artist or scholar preserves his dignity only if he refuses the pay.

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[1] Maurice Hutton, The Greek Point of View (Toronto: Musson Book Co., Ltd), pp.107-198.

[2] The word "tyrant" or "despot" carried derogatory connotations for the Greeks who saw this as foreign to Polis-life.

[3] Alvin Gouldner, op. cit., p. 65.

In the other city-states this rule was not so vigorously upheld. But being for the most part their own employers, they did not work to excess or lose themselves in their work. Work was part of a full and harmonious life, but it could not be so if it were pursued in excess.

The Greeks were only attached to their embodied person and to their image of it: to health, to beauty and to youth.

> It is an aspiration for and achievement of personal repute that sustains them rather than the attachments to the world of inanimate objects.[1]

As a result it became as honourable to give as to receive. One measure of man's worth was how much he can give away in treasure. There was the delicate distinction between honourable acquisition and a trader's gain. This differs from the modern emphasis on material acquisition. For them, being rich involves culturally defined duties like bearing the costs of religious ceremonies, processions, plays and sacrifices.

So far we have stressed the primacy of warfare in molding the values, fostering pessimism and empathy and exerting effects upon the development of complex economic organizations. Now that we have elaborated on the place of values in Greek society, we can now continue through the causal sequence on Diagram 1.

The effects of the persistence of an "Household economy" on the lives of the slaves can be read from the bottom horizontal line of Diagram 1. This simple form of economic organization meant a small demand for slave labour which in turn allowed for the constant mobility of slaves. Other factors contributed to this pattern of mobility, like the existence of a class of "pay-bringers" owing to the semi-urbanity of Polis life, and the cultural provisions for slave mobility. From this pattern of mobility

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[1]Alvin Gouldner, op. cit., p. 69.

follows the more hierarchical distribution of authority and a consequential high slave acquiescence to the system, and also a high moral consensus about slavery per se. The variables depicted in the Diagram converge on a "mild treatment" of the slaves. This "paternal" treatment of the slaves had implications for the slave-personality: There is no evidence at all of an "infantile" slave personality. It also contributed to a Metaphysical rationalization of slavery since the whole system appeared to benefit all, and hence appeared to be divinely sanctioned.

Let us elaborate on the notion that the Greeks both had, and believed in, a more gradient authority distribution rather than a dichotomous social structure.

This may be seen in their conception of "Freedom and the Slave." Their conception of Freedom was hierarchic. To the Greek mind, Freedom was not a unit but something divisible. They used four criteria of liberty that distinguished the free from the enslaved. These four elements are expressed by the Priests of the Delphian Apollo in the terms of the Manumission:

(1) To be one's own master,

(2) To be protected against seizure (except by due process of law),

(3) To have freedom of action,

(4) To have freedom of movement.

A freedman might be in possession of any one of any two, but legal recognition is the necessary component of complete freedom. The Greek society was one in which a man could be part free and part slave. For example, slaves "living apart" enjoyed much freedom; also the slave policemen at Athens, enjoyed much authority and freedom. The Delphic

Manumission deeds studied by Westermann show that slavery was not separate from freedom by a sharp dividing line.[1]

Ingram expresses this same phenomenon:

> By manumission the Athenian slave became in relation to the state a metic, and in relation to his master, a client. He was thus in an intermediary condition between slavery and complete freedom. He might be reduced to slavery if he violates his rights.[2]

Dahrendorf's theory[3] that "Authority" rather than "property" is the basis for stratification in a society is supported by the data presented so far. But the other notion of Dahrendorf about the "dichotomous" nature of "Authority" seems to be refuted by Greece, where there was the tendency for a "continuous" flow of "Authority." This is reflected also in the corresponding lack of a conspiracy view of their society which would have been seen in a constant fear of slave revolts.

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[1] William Westermann, "Slavery and the Elements of Freedom in Ancient Greece," in Moses Finley's Slavery in Classical Antiquity, op. cit.

[2] J.K. Ingram, History of Slavery, op.cit., p. 28.

[3] Ralph Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford University Press, 1959.

B. The Causal Sequence of American Slavery

In Chapter 3, under the heading of "From Serf to Slave," certain of the causal factors were briefly discussed. Diagram 2 gives a summary account of this causal network. This will be briefly outlined and then discussed. Of particular relevance for our discussion will be the thesis of Stanley Elkins.

Starting from the top left hand corner of Diagram 2 we find two sets of factors that contributed to the autonomous plantocracies. First, there were the Religious factors: the inner discipline of Protestantism ("the Protestant Ethic") and the organizational method of Protestantism. In 1835 Tocqueville onserved that:

> There was no other country where the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America.[1]

The other set of factors referred to as "Tocquevillian factors" denotes "the peculiar and accidental situation which Providence has placed the American." Under this Tocqueville includes: "the absence of any great wars due to the absence of neighbours, the absence of any great Capital city; the diverse social origin of settlers; unlimited land and resources; the desire for riches and expansion which kept the people on the move, and a commercial passion."[2] These factors contributed to the establishment of the "Plantation" as the normal unit of production.

If we follow the diagram directly across we see that the resulting monoculture and the aggressive confidence of the planter directly contributed to the "chattel" treatment of the slave. If we follow the vertical causal sequence of the left corner of the diagram downwards we see that a whole

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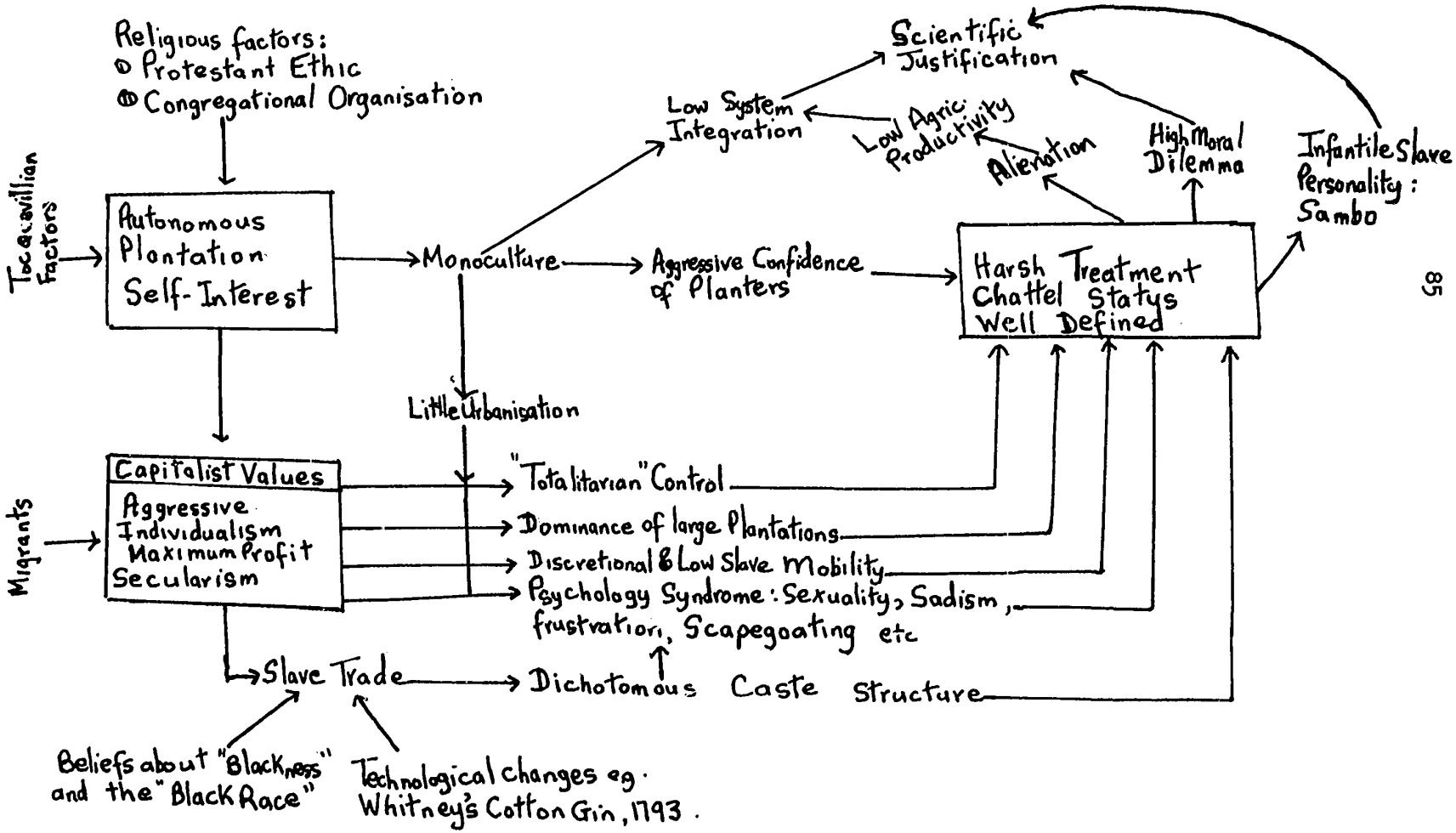
[1] A. Tocqueville, Democracy in America.

[2] Ibid.

Diagram 2

Independent and Dependent Variables in the American Slavery System



set of "Capitalist values" resulted from the religious and economic situation of the United States. These values contributed to the harsh treatment of the slaves through the rigid system of control that resulted, the rise of larger and more bureaucratic plantations, the small amount of slave mobility and the "Psychology syndrome" operating on the planter class and on the poor whites. The trade in "Black Slave Cargo" also developed as a result of these values and this gained impetus with the development of technology (pictured here as coming from without the system). The development of slavery led to a caste-like social structure which meant that the black slaves more and more gained chattel status while the white "indentured" workers moved into the white upper caste. The harsh treatment of American slaves seems to have affected the slaves' personality, and this in turn contributed to a "Scientific" justification of the system — aimed to "prove" that the "infantile" behavior of the slave was so marked that it could be "proven" that they were naturally inferior. The tendency towards conflict within the system has been termed "low system integration"; this also contributed to the need for a "scientific" form of justification, this being the only type of explanation that could prop up the system as it was attacked.

An Assessment of Elkins' Theory

This causal network will now be elaborated by using Elkins' "Slavery" as our starting point.

"Vulgar marxists" explain American slavery solely in terms of economic exploitation. Eric Williams may be cited:

> . . . Here then is the origin of negro slavery. The reason was economic, not racial. It had to do not with the colour of the labourer, but the cheapness of the labour. As compared with the Indian and white labourer, Negro slavery was eminently superior . . . The features of the man, his hair, colour and dentrifice, his subhuman qualities were mere reationalisations to justify a simple economic fact; that the colonists needed labourers because it was cheapest and best. That was not a theory, it was a practical conclusion deducted from the personal experience of the planter.[1]

Another author argued that:

> Tobacco required labour which was cheap but not temporary, mobile but not independent, and tireless rather than skilled.[2]

Racist ideology then becomes simply an epiphenomenon.[3]

But granted that slavery was above all else an "Industrial System,"[4] why was its intensity different in different areas? Vulgar Marxism fails to answer this question. Elkins' theory is an immense advance in this respect:

> "Nothing," he said, "was inherent even, in the fact of Negro slavery, which sould compel it to take the form that it took in America." [5]

He does not think that Marxian "Economic Determinism" explains important differences within basically Capitalist societies:

> This idea cannot tell us much about the differences between two societies both Capitalist, but in one of which the "means of production" have changed into Capitalistic ones and in the other of which the "means of production" were never anything but Capitalistic and in which no other forces were present to resist their development. [6]

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[1] Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, op. cit., pp. 10-20.

[2] Winthrop Jordon, White Over Black, University of North Carolina Press, 1968, p. 72.

[3] Oliver Cromwell, Race, Class and Caste (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1948).

[4] H.J. Nieboer, Slavery as an Industrial System, The Hague, 1910.

[5] Stanley Elkins, Slavery, op. cit., p. 38.

[6] Ibid., p. 43, footnote 23.

Elkins stressed the "Dynamics of Unopposed Capitalism." American slavery was distinctive because it occurred in the context of "unmitigated Capitalism." "This led to unmitigated slavery." There were no independent centres of countervailing power within the Anglo-American areas--no institutional checks on the Capitalist exploitation, whether it be Church or Crown. Elkins added that:

> Virginia had proven a uniquely appropriate theatre for the acting out of this narrower, essentially modern ideal of economic success: land in the early days was plentiful and cheap; a ready market for tobacco existed. And even the small yeoman could prosper if he created a plantation.[1]

Within very broad outlines Elkins' theory is acceptable. David Davis writes:

> No doubt a harsh form of chattel slavery was more likely to appear in expansive fluid societies such as the United States . . . .[2]

> Slavery was more appropriate to an open commercial society which valued the perpetuity and easy transferability of relationships, then to a feudal society, with its limits of place and tenure.[3]

But how complete is Elkins' theory? Has he left out important variables?

No explanation of American slavery is complete without emphasis on the traditional biases about "Blacks." One author explains:

> For reasons that can perhaps never be fully explained, it was the African's colour of skin that became his defining characteristic, and aroused the deepest response in Europeans . . . To the Spanish, Portuguese, French and English, the word "black" carried connotations of gloom, evil, baseness, wretchedness and misfortune.[4]

A more recent survey concludes that:

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[1] Stanley Elkins, op. cit., p. 44.

[2] David Davis, Problem of Slavery in Western Culture, op. cit., p. 30.

[3] Ibid., p. 46.

[4] Ibid., p. 47.

> From the first Englishmen tended to set negroes over against themselves, to stress what they conceived to be radically contrasting qualities of colour, religion and style of life, as well as animality and a peculiarity potent sexuality . . . Nor does it appear, in the light of attitudes which developed during their first two centuries in America, that they left behind all the impressions initially gathered of the Negro before he became pre-eminently the slave.[1]

So contrary to the conclusions of Eric Williams, many of these beliefs pre-dates slavery. Many other writers have noticed how the moral and esthetic "power of blackness" became all-pervasive.[2] This bias long preceeded Capitalism. Capitalism proceeded upon the already made system of "mobilised bias" operating against negroes and which gained increased definition and momentum as the economic necessity demanded it.

The second factor neglected by Elkins is Nationalism. It seems that peoples of Anglo-Saxon origin had a strong conception of nationalism which operated constantly to keep the negroes as permanent outsiders. From the beginning, the English regarded themselves as the "chosen people" like the Israelites. Handlin saw this as developing even further on the American soil:

> The immigrants longed in the strangeness for the company of familiar men and singled out to be welcomed those who were most like themselves . . . They began considering themselves a people, different from Europeans, new men, distinct products of the New World environment . . . Subjection to the conditions of the new environment had molded them from many into one and had given them all a new, distinctive culture. 3

By the Revolutionary era, many non-English peoples in the American colonies had lost much of their cultural distinctiveness to the voracious dominance

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[1] Winthrop Jordon, op. cit., p. 48.

[2] Harry Levin, The Power of Blackness (New York: Knopf, 1967); P.J. Heather, Colour Symbolicism, 1943.

[3] Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life, op. cit., p. 23.

of English language, customs, and institutions and their original genetic character to English numerical superiority.[1] It is no wonder, then, that Cotton Mather told the Massachussets Governor and the General Court in 1700, "It is no little blessing of God, that we are a part of the English nation."[2] It was this feeling in part which fostered the horror at miscegenation. Many "Americans" acting on the basis of this nationalistic principle, advocated a programme of positive Eugenics in order to preserve their "Americanism" against the possible pollution through immigration.

> Immigrant blood was slowly polluting the purer American blood. 3

Blacks were not seen as part of the "American people." Many whites even wanted to exclude them altogether from the "American soil." Barzun has explained this white-in-group feeling in psychological terms:

> Since 1850, when industrialization broke traditional bonds and detached man from his native soil without affording him new loyalties, the idea of race has been put forward as a principle of political and emotional union . . . It satisfies the starved sense of Kingship and it promises a vast supernatural community.4

Elkins also ignored certain demographic factors which certainly helped to fashion American slavery. He did not stress the importance of the numbers of slaves which is certainly crucial. It is clear that one variable which helped to determine the pattern of race relations during slavery was the fear of slave revolts. The famous lawyer, Daniel Dulany of Maryland, explained:

> In proportion of the jealousy entertained of them (the slaves), or as they are considered to be formidable,

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[1]Winthrop Jordon, op. cit., p. 338.

[2]Ibid., p. 46.

[3]Edward Ross, The Old World in the New, 1914.

[4]Jacques Barzun, Race: A Study in Superstition, Harper Torchbooks, Harper and Row Publishers, 1937.

> the rigours and severities to which they are exposed seem to rise, and the power of the magistrate or of the master, is more easily admitted.[1]

Jordon interprets this fear by arguing that:

> The spectre of negro rebellion presented an appalling world turned upside down, a crazy nonsense world of black over white, an anti-community which was the direct negation of the community as white men knew it . . . Abhorrence of Negro rule united all white men.[2]

The sense of insecurity was heightened as a result of the numerical preponderance of male slaves. As a result there arose a concern and a dread of negro male masculinity. The colonists became particularly interested in physical attributes. They became overtly concerned with negro sexuality:

> White men anxious over their own sexual inadequacy were touched by a racking fear and jealousy.[3]

During many scares of slave conspiracies reports circulated that negroes had plotted killing all white persons except the young women, whom they "intended to reserve for themselves." This fear was reinforced by the stereotypes of negro men as virile, promiscuous, lusty and the belief that negro men lusted after white women. There is evidence to suggest that American slavery was harsh partly because of the high proportion of negro males. "Feminine" negro women were treated better: they could be integrated in the household without posing any threat to white male dominance. John Hammond wrote in a 1656 tract defending the Tobacco colonies, that women servants were not put to work in the fields but in domestic employments, "Yet some wenches that are nasty and beastly and not fit to be so employed are put into the ground."[4]

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[1] Winthrop Jordon, op. cit., p. 105.

[2] Ibid., p. 114.

[3] Ibid., p. 152.

[4] Quoted in Jordon, op. cit., p. 77.

The next addition to Elkins' theory stems from the Weberian theory of Religion and Capitalism. In his analysis of the "Dynamics of Unopposed Capitalism," Elkins posits the theory that the lack of an ecclesiastical center of independent power contributed to "Unmitigated Capitalism." An elaboration of this point is needed for Elkins focuses only on the institutional level and neglected the psychological dynamics of religion as it affects the invidivual's will to achieve or his "Achievement Drive."[1]

Much of what Weber posits in his study of the "Protestant Ethic . . ." is pertinent at this point.[2] His basic research goal took the form of a question: "What are the psychological conditions which make possible the development of Capitalist civilisation?"

Weber defines Capitalism as a rationalistic and systematic pursuit of profits. He accepts that there are "different degrees" of rationality in Capitalism,[3] such that we can detect two types of Capitalism:

1. Adventure Capitalism, having a lower degree of rational organisation but a high acquisitive drive. He observes that "even the organisation of unfree labour reached a considerable degree of rationality."[4]
2. Bureaucratic Capitalism, "resting on the organisation of legally free wage-earners, for the purpose of pecuniary profit, by the owner of capital or his agents and setting its stamp on

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[1] McClelland, The Achieving Society; Hagen, On The Theory of Social Change, Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1962.

[2] Max Weber, op. cit. (Parson's translation).

[3] Ibid., p. 19.

[4] Ibid., p. 20.

every aspect of society."[1]

In explaining the rise of this second type, Weber did not focus on the institutional level. He noticed that "there is a kind of natural inaptness in the Popish religion to business whereas, on the contrary, among the Reformed the greater their zeal the greater their inclination to trade and industry, as holding idleness unlawful."[2] The important idea relevant here is the clue that there is something inherent in the religions relevant to Capitalistic organisation. He explicitly formulated this theory in this way:

> Protestants (of all classes) have shown a special tendency to develop economic rationalism which cannot be observed to the same extent among Catholics. Thus the principal explanation of this difference must be sought in the permanent intrinsic character of their religious beliefs and not only in their temporary external historico-political situations. 3 (my emphasis).

Throughout his study Weber stresses this "inner relationship" between religion and the rational acquisitive spirit, (Elkins neglects this factor), and "the purely religious characteristics."

His thesis is that "The Spirit of Capitalism had to fight its way to supremacy against a whole world of hostile forces,"[4] . . . , and that "the main opposing force to the "spirit" was tradition."[5] The other part of the theory argues that the "Protestant ascetism created the force which was alone decisive for its effectiveness: the psychological sanction of it through the conception of this labour as a calling, as the best, or the only means of attaining certainty of grace."[6]

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[1] Max Weber, op. cit., p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

[3] Ibid., p. 40

[4] Ibid., p. 56.

[5] Ibid., p. 57.

[6] Ibid., p. 178.

In fact, the British New World culture did put a high premium on personal achievement and there they transformed this career concept from its earlier chivalric form into one of economic fulfilment. There is thus some evidence to suggest that the Protestant religion contributed to that brand of Anglo-American slavery. As Weber puts it: it played a part in "unchaining the economic interest." John Saffin and others have used the puritan theory of election. In his reply to the attack of Sewell, Saffin argued that : "God hath set different Orders and Decrees of men in the world, both in Church and Common Weal . . . God hath ordained different degrees and Orders of men."[1]

The Puritans actually modelled their institutions as prototypes of the old Hebrew society, and the Law of Moses, with ultimate divine sanction, was their standard. There were orders and grades in God's Kingdom, so there should be distinctions in the worldly. The Negro according to Puritan theory was a heritage of God's elect.[2] Cotton Mather epitomised this phenomena when he wrote in his diary of 1706 that he regarded the gift of a slave to him a singular blessing and "a mighty smile of heaven upon his family."[3] Puritan ideas thus penetrated their thoughts and affected their actions: it fostered the acquisitive drive. A recent study agrees that the British organised their colonies as commercial companies, whose shareholdeers expected good profits on their investment and that this contrasted sharply with the practices in Catholic areas.[4]

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[1]Quoted from William Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South, op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Ibid., p. 6.

[3]W.B.O. Peabody, Life of Cotton Mather.

[4]Cahman,"The Mediterranean and Caribbean Regions," Social Forces, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1-4, Oct. 1943 - May, 1944.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Research Goals Accomplished

In order to examine the claim that Greek and American slavery were similar, it was necessary to analyse both systems in depth. We claim some originality in the treatment of Greek slavery. Previous ad hoc studies dealt with Greek slavery in partial or total isolation from the other aspects of Greek society. However this study has shown how Greek society affected slavery and vice-versa. Likewise a "holistic" approach was used to interpret and order the data on America. We have described the social structures in which slavery occurred and the reciprocal interaction between structure and slavery. Prime consideration was given to describing the social relationships and the ideas found in each system. The many variables in each system were looked at one by one, then their place in the causal network was specified. But being a socio-historical and descriptive study, it was impossible to show the relationships between these variables with any mathematical precision. However, by the use of the available descriptive studies, etc., it was possible to show the direction of these causal processes and the ways in which the variables were interrelated.

The chief conclusion of this study is the discovery that both systems of slavery differed in so many ways that they form two contrasting "types" of slavery systems--one Paternal and the other Capitalist. They differed on most of the relevant dimensions discussed: the origin and development of slavery, the treatment of slaves, the justification of slavery and the causes of these differences, etc. Thus any claim that

American slavery was comparable to, and inherited from, Greek slavery is clearly fallacious. There were enough differences between, and enough internal consistency within each, to warrant the recognition of these systematic differences.

At this point it may be very useful to briefly compare Van Den Berghe's Paternalistic/Competitive dichotomy with the Paternalistic/Capitalistic dichotomy presented here. We present this in Table 5. Admirable as Van Den Berghe's "Ideal Types" are, his schema has serious shortcomings that cannot simply be blamed on the shortcomings inherent in the use of the "Ideal Type" methodology. It is evident that his model does not allow for the inclusion of Greek slavery. Nor could he say that Greek slavery fits his Paternal type, for the data and arguments presented in this study suggests that Greek and American slavery form two distinct patterns. Greece does not fit into his Paternalistic category. Note how he characterises a Paternal type:

> A paternal type of race relations is characteristic of a fairly complex but pre-industrial societies . . . Large scale production constitutes the basis of the Economy . . . Large scale production of a cash crop on a slave plantation is a common and perhaps the 'purest' case of paternalistic relations by the pre-abolition regimes in north-eastern Brazil, the West Indies and the Southern United States.[1]

These characteristics were clearly non-existent in Greece. Further, there is no evidence to suggest that in Greece slaves were stereotyped as "childish, immature, exuberant, uninhibited, lazy, impulsive, fun-loving," so either we ignore Greek slavery or we construct another typological schema. The latter has been done in Table 5. This amended

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[1] For an extended discussion of the schema, see Pierre Van Den Berghe, Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective, op. cit., pp. 25-34.

Table 5

Two Typologies of Slave Relations

Van Den Berghe's Typology (Two stages)	Amended Typology (Three stages)
Stages	Stages
	1 PATERNALISTIC: Ancient Greece, Rome, Pre-Colonial Africa, etc. Features: Simple handicraft manufacture, Agricultural and pastoral activities; Patriarchal Social Structure, with slave integrated within household; non-hereditary slave status.
1 PATERNALISTIC : U.S.A., West Indies, S. Africa. Features: Caste system with horizontal colour bar; integrated value system - no ideological conflict; "Sambo-boy" stereotypes	2 CAPITALISTIC ("Adventure" type): As in Van Den Berghe's stage 1 + Inherent tendencies towards conflict; chattel status of slaves; maximum exploitation.
2 COMPETITIVE: Industrial societies Features: Classes within castes, moral dilemma.	3 COMPETITIVE ("Rational" Capitalistic) As in Van Den Berghe's stage 2

version should be regarded as an improvement on Van Den Berghe's, for all the useful elements from his model are extracted, while new elements are added. First, we accept the developmental implications in his model, involving the notion that a slavery system changes over time. We also accept his Stage 2, the Competitive stage, though this can be termed the "Rational Capitalist" stage. We disagree about his Paternalistic stage; not that there was no paternal stage, but rather that the United States, the West Indies and South Africa are better described as "Capitalistic." The features listed by Van Den Berghe and described as "Paternal" are features, we found, mainly associated with Capitalistic exploitation. We have subsumed these elements under our category of "Adventure Capitalism." We have added other features to this stage which were found in American slavery like the chattel status of slaves and the harsh treatment, etc.

We have found that some societies like Ancient Greece produced slavery systems which are better examples of a Paternal type. Chapter 2 has described this type; unlike say, the United States, it had a very simple economy and a patriarchal social structure with slaves performing chiefly domestic service within the household yet with the greater probability of getting out of that status. The Amended typology, we believe, involving three stages instead of two, gives a much more accurate description yet at the same time reaps the advantages of the Ideal Type methodology and enables us to construct categories which are mutually exclusive.

Unanticipated Findings and Areas for New Research

The study of Greek slavery has accidentally brought to the fore the primacy of warfare in shaping not only the Grecian slavery institution but also Greek society as a whole. The origin of Greek tribal life and later, Polis life, was the constant insecurity arising from the incessant warfare.[1]

The threat of warfare helped to maintain internal order within the city-states. It was found that this persistence of warfare affected most Grecian institutions, economic, cultural and social. For the institution of slavery, warfare led to a preponderance of female slaves since the majority of males were slaughtered in battle because there were no pressing economic need for them.[2] The female slaves could then be more easily integrated within the Patriarchal family.

But in America, as Tocqueville observed, there was an absence of "great wars." Initially small scale wars occurred between the Indians and the whites. In New England the concept of the "just war" developed. The Puritans in 1641 put it thus:

> There shall never be any bond-slavery, villenage or captivite amonst us; unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars.[3]

The Body of Liberties made equally clear that captivity in a just war constituted legitimate grounds for slavery. The practice had begun during the first major conflict with the Indians, the Pequot War of 1637.[4] But

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[1] Hobbes, Rousseau and Locke used this Grecian experience as the basis for advocating their "contract theories" or Order.

[2] Male slaves were used chiefly in the mines--and their conditions were really bad!

[3] Max Farrand (ed.) The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts, Cambridge, Mass., 1929; quoted in Jordon's White Over Black, op. cit.

[4] See Winthrop Jordon, White Over Black, op. cit., p. 69. Also George Moore, Notes on History of Slavery in Massachusetts, N.Y., 1866, p. 1.

this practice was not widespread in America. As Jordon notes:

> The Virginians did not possess either the legal and scriptural learning of the New England Puritans whose conception of the just war had opened the way to enslavement of the Indians. Slavery in the Tobacco colonies did not begin as an adjunct of captivity; in marked contrast to the Puritan response to the Pequot War the settlers of Virginia did not generally react to the Indian massacre of 1622 with propositions for taking captives and selling them as slaves.[1]

And "even the Scottish prisoners taken by Cromwell at Worcester and Dunbar--captives in a just war!--were never treated as slaves in England or the colonies."[2]

The point is that warfare did not develop in America and did not affect American slavery as it did in Greece. Instead the Americans turned to the slave trade to provide it with robust and healthy Africans. And since the majority were males, the perceived threat was greater, and hence the harsher treatment.

This study, therefore, suggests that the impact of warfare on social institutions such as slavery should be further studied. Very little has been done in this field and no study has even suggested that warfare could be an important independent variable in determining the type of slavery institution.[3] In fact, it may be more important than "culture" in some instances.

Much historical and contemporary data are available and which could contribute to the study of the Sociological impacts of persistent warfare on social institutions ("Warrology").

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[1] Winthrop Jordon, White Over Black, op. cit., p. 72.

[2] George Moore, op. cit., p.1.

[3] Economists have studied the impact of war on economic development. But the impact of persistent warfare on social institutions like the family has been only peripherally touched on by some like Franz Fanon in his Studies in a Dying Colonialism.

Theoretical Implications and Speculations

Finally, some remarks are in order concerning how the study of slavery as illustrated by this thesis can be used to highlight the century-old theoretical debate about the relationship between the "infra-structure" and "super-structure" of a society. Traditionally, there have been two opposing sides which have admitted little compromise. On one, we have the "Idealists" who stress the causal priority of values and beliefs. John Maynard Keynes took the view that "It is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil."[1] Weber's brilliant study of the rise of Capitalism stressed the primacy of the belief system in the rise of Capitalism. The latest systematic formalization of this approach is to be found in Winch's work:

> Social relations really exist only in and through the ideas which are current in the Society . . . All behavior which is meaningful (i.e. all specifically human behavior) is ipso facto rule-governed . . . So if one knows the rules which someone is following, one can, in a large number of cases, predict what he will do in given circumstances.[2]

Winch believes that to explain a historical or social institution one must "understand" it by getting the hang of the implicit ideas and reasons which determine the form it takes.

The other perspective stresses the primacy of the "infra-structure." Marx argued that "The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and intellectual processes of life."[3] Eric Williams' study of slavery follows directly in this tradition.

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[1]Quoted by Digby Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment, op. cit., p. 157.

[2]Peter Winch, The Idea of a Social Science. For a similar formulation, see Ernest A. Gellner, Concepts and Society. Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology.

[3]Karl Marx, Capital, I, pp. 87-88.

The latest trend on this theoretical platform, however, is the argument that Marx had also stressed the autonomous role of ideas and beliefs in determining social processes.[1] Most serious theorists today reject the old distinction and see a two-way causal relationship between the "forces of production" and the associated "belief system."[2]

The evidence and arguments presented on Greek slavery seems to suggest that, in comparison to economic factors, the belief system was more important, though this does not necessarily have ultimate causal priority. In America it seems that the "Economic Determinist" model is more appropriate as seen in the development of slavery in Virginia under the impetus of the developing economic forces. But even so, the issue is not so simple: throughout the period values and biases helped to shape the institution. The theories used to justify slavery were clearly determined by economic necessity, while certain values and beliefs were traditional and were therefore not determined by the "forces of production." It is more satisfactory therefore to say that there was a constant dialectical relationship between the economic forces and the ideas of the time. Both affected the type of slavery institution (Paternal and Capitalist) and hence the treatment of the slaves.

Slavery in the Iberian areas provides a supporting example of this process. There, certain ideas antecedent to the discovery of the New World, proved a stumbling block to the development of Capitalism in the Weberian sense:

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[1] Gramsci and Lucas, etc.

[2] A. MacIntyre, "A Mistake about Causality."

> The very nature of slavery was developed on different moral and ethical biases and in turn shaped the political and ethical biases that have manifestly separated the United States from the other parts of the New World in this respect. [1]

Tannenbaum holds that juridical traditions and the influence of religion together helped to determine the position of the slave. Similarly other studies have depicted the symbiotic and cooperative nature of the Catholic cultures and the Catholic emphasis on the unity of society which is opposite to the Protestant exaltation of the individual.[2] The "hidalguismo" notion (sense of nobility) also discouraged the willingness to do manual tasks.

What I am here suggesting is that these values have affected slavery, either directly or in so far as they prevented the rise of Capitalistic organisations. For example, in 1810, there was a "medieval" structure in Catholic areas,[3] and in the 1570's Phillip extended the Inquisition to the Americas, declaring the protection of the Church the inalienable duty of the Crown and putting his administration within the framework of a Divine Law. This functioned to preserve a fixed social hierarchy and the status quo. At times, the "spirit" of exploitation, characteristic of emergent Capitalism, cropped up; but enterprises fostered in this spirit, like the Carocas Company, an eighteenth century trade monopoly, or the disciplined commerciality of the Jesuits, were doomes to a short life. Likewise in his general theory of history, Toynbee argues that Catholics were more free from "race-feeling."

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[1] Cahman, op. cit.; D. Pierson, "Race Relations in Portuguese America," Race Relations in World Perspective, Honolulu; C. Rogler, "The Morality of Race-Mixing in Puerto Rico," Social Forces, Vol. XXV, No. 1, Oct. 1944.

[2] R. Morse, "Towards a Theory of Spanish American Government," Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol. XV, No. 1, January, 1954.

He found that the "medieval" Western freedom from prejudice has survived only among Western peoples who have remained more or less in the "medieval" phase of our Western Civilisation as the Spanish and Portuguese settlers in America.

These illustrations are meant to show that the Sociology of Slavery can provide an area in which many general theoretical issues can be thrashed out--like this debate between Marxists and Weberians. (In the past the area chosen to resolve this particular debate, without much success, was class conflicts.)

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