

CHAPTER OUTLINE

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- Eastern Woodlands Indians
- The British and Jamestown
- Africans Arrive in the Chesapeake

Black Servitude in the Chesapeake

- Race and the Origins of Black Slavery
- The Emergence of Chattel Slavery
- Bacon's Rebellion and American Slavery

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Conclusion

WHEREAS, the plantations and estates of this Province [of South Carolina] cannot be well and sufficiently managed and brought into use, without the labor and service of negroes and other slaves; and forasmuch as the said negroes and other slaves brought unto the People of the Province for that purpose, are of barbarous, wild, savage natures, and such as renders them wholly unqualified to be governed by the laws, customs, and practices of this Province; . . . it is absolutely necessary, that such other constitutions, laws and orders, should in this Province be made and enacted, for the good regulating and ordering of them, as may restrain the disorderly rapines and inhumanity, to which they are naturally prone and induced; and may also tend to the safety and security of the people of this Province and their estates.

From the introduction to the original South Carolina Slave Code of 1696

African Americans were living in the British North American colonies—the region that would become the first thirteen United States—for almost a century and a half before Olaudah Equiano was briefly a slave in Virginia in the 1750s. But the black Americans of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries left scant written testimony about their lives. Their history, therefore, must be learned mainly through the writings of the white settlers who enslaved and oppressed them.

The passage that begins this chapter is an excellent example of what we can learn about African-American history by reading between the lines in the official publications of the colonial governments. As historian Winthrop D. Jordan points out, the founders

of South Carolina in 1696 borrowed much of this section of the colony's law code from Barbados.

The code indicates that the British Carolinians believed they needed the labor of enslaved Africans for their colony to prosper. It also shows that the colonial British feared Africans and their African-American descendants. This ambivalence among white Americans concerning African Americans shaped life in colonial South Carolina and in other British colonies in North America. The same ambivalence persisted in the minds of white southerners into the twentieth century. The dichotomy of white economic dependence on black people and fear of black revolt was a central fact of American history and provided a rationale for racial oppression.

The opening passage also reveals the willingness of British and other European settlers in North America to brand Africans and their American descendants as "barbarous, wild, [and] savage." Although real cultural differences underlay such negative perceptions, white people used them to justify oppressing black people. Unlike white people, black people by the 1640s could be enslaved for life. Black people did not enjoy the same legal protection as white people and were punished more harshly.

This chapter describes the history of African-American life in colonial British North America during the colonies' first century and a half, from the first permanent British mainland colony in 1607 to the end of the French and Indian War in 1763. During these years the southern plantation system that became a central part of black life in America for nearly two centuries took shape in the Chesapeake tobacco country and in the low country of South Carolina and Georgia. Unfree labor, which in the Chesapeake had originally involved white people as well as black people, solidified into a system of slavery based on race that spread to the northern British colonies. While interacting with the other peoples of early America, African Americans responded to these conditions by preserving parts of their African culture, seeking strength through religion, and finding ways to resist and rebel against enslavement.

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gels adopted had much in common with West African "spirit possession." Like their African counterparts, eighteenth-century revivalists in North America emphasized personal rebirth, singing, movement, and emotion. The practice of total body immersion during baptism in rivers, ponds, and lakes that gave the Baptist church its name paralleled West African water rites.

The Great Awakening

The major turning point in African-American religion came in conjunction with the religious revival known as the Great Awakening. This extensive social movement of the mid- to late-eighteenth century grew out of growing dissatisfaction among white Americans with a deterministic and increasingly formalistic style of Protestantism that seemed to deny most people a chance for salvation. During the early 1730s in western Massachusetts, a Congregationalist minister named Jonathan Edwards began an emotional and participatory ministry aimed at bringing more people into the church. Later that decade, George Whitefield, an Englishman who with John Wesley founded the Methodist Church, carried a similarly evangelical style of Christianity to the mainland colonies. In his sermons, Whitefield appealed to emotions, offered salvation to all who believed in Christ, and—while he did not advocate emancipation—preached to black people as well as white people.

Because it drew African Americans into an evangelical movement that helped shape American society, the Great Awakening increased black acculturation. Revivalists appealed to the poor of all races and emphasized spiritual equality. Evangelical Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches welcomed blacks. Members of these biracial churches addressed each other as *brother* and *sister*. Black members took communion with white members, served as church officers, and were subject to the same church discipline. By the late eighteenth century, black men were being ordained as priests and ministers and—often while still enslaved—preached to white congregations and thereby influenced the white people's perception of how services should be conducted.

Some people of African descent had converted to Christianity before Whitefield's arrival in North America. But two factors had prevented widespread black conversion. First, most masters feared that converted slaves would interpret their new religious status as a step toward freedom and equality. A South Carolina minister lamented in 1713 that "the Masters of Slaves are generally of Opinion that a Slave grows worse by being a Christian; and therefore instead of instructing them in the principles of Christianity . . . malign and traduce those that attempt it." Second, many slaves—as we note above—continued to derive spiritual satisfaction from their ancestral religions and were not attracted to Christianity.

Black worshipers also influenced white preachers. In 1756 a white minister in Virginia noted that African Americans spent nights in his kitchen. He recorded in his diary that "sometimes, when I have awakened about two or three a-clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber, and carried my mind away to Heaven."

With the Great Awakening, however, a process of conversion began. African Americans now not only became Christians but influenced white religion. This was because the religious movement unwittingly emphasized points of convergence between Christianity and indigenous West African religions. The African belief in ancestral gods, nature gods, and an almighty creator, for example, resembled the Christian trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Even more important, the style of preaching Whitefield and other evan-

Other factors favored the development of a distinct African-American church. From the start, white churches seated black people apart from white people, belying claims to spiritual equality. Black members took communion *after* white members. Masters also tried to use religion to instill such self-serving Christian virtues as meekness, humility, and obedience in their chattels. Consequently African Americans established their own churches when they could. Dancing, shouting, clapping, and singing became especially characteristic of their religious meetings. Black spirituals probably date from the eighteenth century and like African-American Christianity itself, blended West African and European elements.

African Americans also retained the West African assumption that the souls of the dead returned to their homeland and rejoined their ancestors. Reflecting this family-oriented view of death, African-American funerals were often loud and joyous occasions with dancing, laughing, and drinking. Perhaps most important, the emerging black church reinforced black people's collective identity and helped them persevere in slavery.

African Americans. But by 1820, when the Missouri Compromise confirmed the power of slaveholders in national affairs, black people in the North and the South had long known that the struggle for freedom was far from over.

That struggle took place at the state and local as well as the regional and national levels. The forces involved in it were often impersonal. They included the emergence of a market economy based on wage labor in the North and an economy based on the production of cotton by slave labor in the South. A revolutionary ideology encouraged African Americans to seek freedom, by force if necessary. Meanwhile economic self-interest encouraged white northerners to limit black freedom, and fear of race war caused white southerners to strengthen the slave system.

Yet individuals and groups also shaped African-American life in the new nation. As urban, church-centered black communities arose, men and women—both slave and free—influenced culture, politics, economics, and perceptions of race. This was particularly true in the North and the Chesapeake, but also to a lesser degree in the Deep South. These were years of considerable progress for African Americans, although they ended with free black people facing deteriorating conditions in the North and with slavery spreading westward across the South.

FORCES FOR FREEDOM

During the decades after the War for Independence ended in 1783, a strong trend in the North and the Chesapeake favored emancipation. It had roots in economic change, evangelical Christianity, and a revolutionary ethos based on the natural rights doctrines of the Enlightenment. African Americans took advantage of these forces to escape from slavery, purchase the freedom of their families and themselves, sue for freedom in the courts, and petition state legislatures to grant them equal rights.

In the post-revolutionary North, slavery, though widespread, was not economically essential. Farmers could more efficiently hire hands during the labor-intensive seasons of planting and harvesting than they could maintain a year-round slave labor force. There-

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE NORTH

1777	Vermont constitutional convention prohibits slavery within what becomes the fourteenth state
1780	Pennsylvania begins gradually abolishing slavery within its borders
1783	Massachusetts's supreme court abolishes slavery there
1784	Connecticut and Rhode Island adopt gradual abolition plans
1785	New Jersey and New York legislatures defeat gradual abolition plans
1799	The New York legislature provides for gradual abolition within its jurisdiction
1804	New Jersey becomes the last northern state to initiate gradual abolition

fore northern slaveholders were a tiny class with limited political power. Moreover, trans-Atlantic immigration brought to the North plenty of white laborers, who worked cheaply and resented slave competition. As the Great Awakening initiated a new religious morality, as natural rights doctrines flourished, and as a market economy based on wage labor emerged, northern slaveholders had difficulty defending perpetual black slavery.

In Chapter 4 we saw that emancipation in the North was a direct result of the War for Independence. But the *process* of doing away with slavery unfolded in these states only after the war. Meanwhile antislavery societies proliferated in the upper South, and the national Congress set an important precedent in discouraging the expansion of slavery.

Northern Emancipation

There were similarities and differences in the handling of emancipation between the New England states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont and the Mid-Atlantic states of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey (Map 5–1). Slavery collapsed in the New England states because African Americans who lived there refused to remain in servitude and because most white residents acquiesced. The struggle against slavery in the Middle States was longer and harder because more white people there had a vested interest in maintaining it.

Two states—Vermont and Massachusetts (and possibly New Hampshire)—abolished slavery immediately



Map 5-1 Emancipation and Slavery in the Early Republic. This map indicates the abolition policies adopted by the states of the Northeast between 1777 and 1804, the antislavery impact of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and extent of slavery in the South during the early republic.

during the 1770s and 1780s. Vermont, where there had never been more than a few slaves, prohibited slavery in the constitution it adopted in 1777. Massachusetts, in its constitution of 1780, declared “that all men are born free and equal; and that every subject is entitled to liberty.” Although this constitution did not specifically ban slavery, within a year Elizabeth Freeman and other slaves in Massachusetts sued for their freedom. Freeman, while serving as a waitress at her master’s home in Sheffield, Massachusetts, overheard “gentlemen” discussing the “free and equal” clause of the new constitution. Shortly thereafter she contacted a prominent local white lawyer Theodore Sedgwick Sr., who agreed to represent her in court.

Meanwhile, another slave, Quok Walker, left his master and began living as a free person. In response, Walker’s master sought a court order to force Walker to return to slavery. This case led in 1783 to a Massachusetts supreme court ruling that “slavery is . . . as effectively abolished as it can be by the granting of rights and

privileges wholly incompatible and repugnant to its existence.” At the same time, another judge used similar logic to grant Freeman her liberty. These decisions encouraged other Massachusetts slaves to sue for their freedom or—like Walker—to leave their masters, since the courts had ruled that the law did not recognize the right of slaveholders to their human chattel.

As a result, the first United States census in 1790 found no slaves in Massachusetts. Even before then, black men in the state had gained the right to vote. In 1780 Paul and John Cuffe, free black brothers, who lived in the town of Dartmouth, protested with five other free black men to the state legislature that they were being taxed without representation. After several setbacks, the courts finally decided in 1783 that African-American men who paid taxes in Massachusetts could vote there. This was a notable and rare victory. Before the Civil War, only several New England states and—by the mid-1840s—New York permitted black men to vote.

New Hampshire's record on emancipation is less clear than that of Vermont and Massachusetts. In 1779 black residents petitioned the New Hampshire legislature for freedom. There is also evidence that court rulings based on New Hampshire's 1783 constitution, which was similar to Massachusetts' constitution, refused to recognize human property. Nevertheless, New Hampshire still had about 150 slaves in 1792, and slavery may have simply withered away there rather than having been abolished by the courts.

In Connecticut and Rhode Island, the state legislatures, rather than individual African Americans, took the initiative against slavery. In 1784 these states adopted gradual abolition plans, which left adult slaves in bondage but proposed to free their children over a period of years. In Connecticut all children born to enslaved mothers after March 1, 1774, were to become free at age twenty-five. Rhode Island's plan was less gradual. Beginning that same March 1, it freed the children of enslaved women at birth. By 1790 only 3,763 slaves remained in New England out of a total black population there of 16,882. By 1800 only 1,339 slaves remained in the region, and by 1810 only 418 were left—108 in Rhode Island and 310 in Connecticut.

In New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, the investment in slaves was much greater than in New England. After considerable debate, the Pennsylvania legislature in 1780 voted that the children of enslaved mothers would become free at age twenty-eight. Under this scheme, Pennsylvania still had 403 slaves in 1830 (Table 5-1). But many African Americans in the state gained their freedom much earlier by lawsuits or by simply leaving their masters.

Emancipation came even more slowly in New York and New Jersey. In 1785 their legislatures *defeated* proposals for gradual abolition. White Revolutionary leaders, such as Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, worked for abolition in New York, and Quakers had long advocated it in New Jersey. But these states had relatively large slave populations, powerful slaveholders, and white workforces fearful of free black competition.

In 1799 the New York legislature finally agreed that male slaves born after July 4 of that year were to become free at age twenty-eight and females at age twenty-five. In 1804 New Jersey adopted a similar law that freed male slaves born after July 4 of that year when they reached age twenty-five and females when they reached age twenty-one. Under this plan, New Jersey still had eighteen slaves in 1860.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787

During the 1780s the United States Congress drew its authority from a constitution known as the Articles of Confederation. The Articles created a weak central government that lacked power either to tax or regulate commerce. Despite its weaknesses, this government acquired jurisdiction over the region west of the Appalachian Mountains and east of the Mississippi River, where several states had previously had conflicting land claims.

During the War for Independence, increasing numbers of Americans had migrated across the Appalachians into this huge region. The migrants invariably provoked hostilities with Indian nations, faced British opposition in the Northwest, and contested with Spanish forces in the Southwest. In response to these circumstances, Congress formulated policies to protect the migrants and provide for their effective government. The new nation's leaders were also concerned with the expansion of slavery into this vast region. Thomas Jefferson proposed to deal with both issues. First, he suggested that the region be divided into separate territories and prepared for statehood. Second, he proposed that after 1800 slavery be banned from the entire region stretching from the Appalachians to the Mississippi River and from Spanish Florida (Spain had regained Florida in 1783) to British Canada.

Jefferson's proposal failed to pass Congress in 1784 by a single vote. Instead in 1787, Congress adopted the Northwest Ordinance. It applied the essence of Jefferson's plan to the region north of the Ohio River—what historians call the Old Northwest. The ordinance

Table 5-1 Slave Populations in the Mid-Atlantic States, 1790-1860

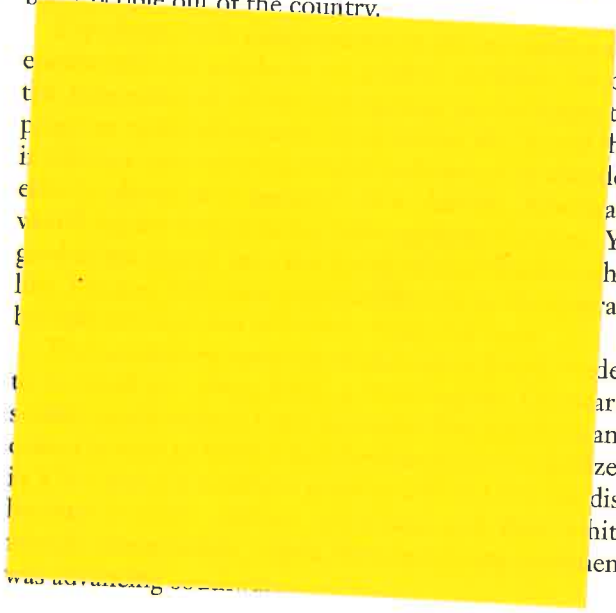
	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
New York	21,324	20,343	15,017	10,888	75	4		
New Jersey	11,432	12,343	19,851	7,557	2,243	674	236	18
Pennsylvania	3,737	1,706	795	211	403	64		

Source: Philip S. Foner, *History of Black Americans, from Africa to the Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom*, vol. 1, (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1975), 374.

provided for the orderly sale of land, support for public education, territorial government, and the eventual formation of new states. Unlike Jefferson's plan, the ordinance banned slavery immediately. But, because it applied only to the Northwest Territory, the ordinance left the huge region south of the Ohio River open to slavery expansion.

By preventing slaveholders from taking slaves legally into areas north of the Ohio River, the ordinance set a precedent for excluding slavery from United States territories. Whether Congress had the power to do this became a contentious issue after President Jefferson annexed the huge Louisiana Territory in 1803. The issue continued to divide northern and southern politicians until the Civil War. Yet, despite the importance of the ordinance for black freedom, African Americans remained slaves in parts of the Old Northwest even after 1787. The first governor of the territory forced those who had been slaves before the adoption of the ordinance to remain slaves. In 1803 when Ohio became a state, the remainder of the Northwest Territory legalized indentured servitude. Therefore, in the southern parts of what became Illinois and Indiana, a few African Americans remained in involuntary servitude well into the nineteenth century.

reenslavement; and frequently advocated sending freed black people out of the country.



Manumission and Self-Purchase

Another hopeful sign for African Americans was that most southern states liberalized their manumission laws

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who were Quakers—freed their slaves anyway or let them live in quasi-freedom.

FORCES FOR SLAVERY

The forces for black freedom in the new republic rested on widespread African-American dissatisfaction with slavery, economic change, Christian morality, and revolutionary precepts. Most black northerners had achieved freedom by 1800; three-quarters were free by 1810; and by 1840, only .7 percent remained in slavery.

Yet for the nation as a whole and for the mass of African Americans, the forces favoring slavery proved to be stronger. Abolition took place in the North where slavery was weak. In the South where it was strong, slavery thrived and expanded. For example, Virginia had 293,427 slaves in 1790. Despite manumissions and escapes, the state had 425,153 slaves in 1820. Although Virginia continued to have the largest population of enslaved African Americans in the country, the rate of growth of the slave population was greater in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Meanwhile slavery expanded westward. For example, when Tennessee was still a territory in 1790, it had 3,417 slaves. By 1820 the state of Tennessee had 80,107.

The United States Constitution

The United States Constitution was a major force in favor of the continued enslavement of African Americans. The Continental Congress had become the central government of the United States when it declared independence from Great Britain in 1776, but the thirteen new states retained sovereignty over their internal affairs. The Articles of Confederation, in effect from 1781 to 1789, formally divided political authority between the states and the central government.

However, wealthy and powerful men soon perceived that the Confederation Congress was too weak to protect their interests. Democratic movements in the states threatened property rights. The inability of Congress to regulate commerce led to trade disputes among the states; its inability to tax left it unable to maintain an army and navy. Congress could not control the western territories, and, most frightening to the wealthy, it could not help states put down popular uprisings, such as that led by Daniel Shays in western Massachusetts in 1786.

The fears Shays's Rebellion caused led directly to a decision to hold the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, which in 1787 produced the constitution

under which the United States is still governed. But the convention could not create a more powerful central government without first making important concessions to southern slaveholders.

The delegates to the convention omitted the words *slave* and *slavery* from the Constitution. But they included several clauses designed to secure the enslavement of African Americans in the southern states. These clauses provided for continuing the Atlantic slave trade for twenty years and returning slaves who escaped to other states to their masters. The Constitution also enhanced representation for slaveholders in Congress and the electoral college that elected the president.

Humanitarian opposition to the Atlantic slave trade had mounted during the revolutionary era. Under pressure from black activists—such as Prince Hall of Boston—and Quakers, northern state legislatures during the 1780s forbade their citizens to engage in the slave trade. Rhode Island led the way in 1787. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania followed in 1788. Economic change in the upper South also prompted opposition to the trade. Virginia, for example, banned the importation of slaves from abroad nearly a decade before Rhode Island.

Yet delegates to the convention from South Carolina and Georgia maintained that they had an acute labor shortage. The delegates threatened that their citizens would not tolerate a central government that could stop them from importing slaves—at least not in the near future. The convention compromised by including a provision in the Constitution that prohibited Congress from abolishing the trade until 1808. During the twenty years between 1787 and 1808, when Congress banned the trade, thousands of Africans were brought into the southern states. Between 1804 and 1808, for example, forty thousand entered through Charleston. More slaves entered the United States during these two decades than during any other twenty years in American history. Such huge numbers helped fuel the westward expansion of the slave system.

Another proslavery clause of the United States Constitution provided that persons “held in service or labour in one State, escaping into another . . . shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.” This clause was the basis for the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, which allowed masters or their agents to pursue slaves across state lines, capture them, and take them before a magistrate. There, on presentation of satisfactory evidence, masters could regain legal custody of the person they claimed. This act did not stop slaves from escaping from Virginia and Maryland to Pennsylvania. But it did extend the power

of masters into the North, force the federal and northern state governments to uphold slavery, create personal tragedies for those who were recaptured, and encourage the kidnapping of free black northerners falsely claimed as escapees.

Finally the Constitution strengthened the political power of slaveholders through the Three-Fifths Clause. This clause was also a compromise between northern and southern delegates at the Convention. Southern delegates desired slaves to be counted toward representation in the national government but not counted for purposes of taxation. Northern delegates desired just the opposite. The Three-Fifths Clause provided that slaves be counted as three-fifths of a free person in determining a state’s representation in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college. Slaves would be counted similarly when and if Congress instituted a per capita tax.

This gave southern slaveholders increased representation on the basis of the number of slaves they owned—slaves who, of course, had no vote or representation. The South gained enormous political advantage from it. If not for the three-fifths clause, for example, northern nonslaveholder John Adams would have been reelected president in 1800 instead of losing the presidency to southern slaveholder Thomas Jefferson. For many years this clause contributed to the domination of the United States government by slaveholding southerners, although the South’s population steadily fell behind the North’s. That Congress never instituted a per capita tax made this victory for slaveholders all the more remarkable.

Cotton

Three other factors were more important than constitutional provisions in fostering the continued enslavement of African Americans in the new republic:

1. Increased cultivation of cotton
2. Declining revolutionary fervor
3. Intensified white racism

The most obvious of these three developments was the increase in cotton production. By the late eighteenth century, Britain was the world’s leading textile producer. As mechanization made the spinning of cotton cloth more economical, its demand for raw cotton increased dramatically. The United States took the lead in filling that demand as a result of Eli Whitney’s invention of the cotton gin in 1793. This simple machine provided an easy and quick way to remove the seeds from the cotton most commonly grown in the South.

British demand combined with the cotton gin encouraged cotton production in the United States to rise from 3,000 to 178,000 bales between 1790 and 1810. Cotton became by far the United States' most lucrative export. Southern cotton production also encouraged the development of textile mills in New England, thereby creating a proslavery alliance between the "lords of the lash and the lords of the loom."

Cotton reinvigorated the slave-labor system, which spread rapidly across Georgia into the new slave states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Cotton was also cultivated in South Carolina, North Carolina, and parts of Virginia and Tennessee. To make matters worse for African Americans, the westward expansion of cotton production encouraged an internal slave trade. Masters in the old tobacco-growing regions of Maryland, Virginia, and other states began to support themselves by selling their slaves to the new cotton-growing regions (see Figure 5-1).

Conservatism and Racism

The waning of revolutionary humanitarianism and the rise of a more intense racism among white people are less tangible forces than the Constitution and cotton production, but they were just as important in strengthening slavery in these years. They also made life more difficult for free African Americans.

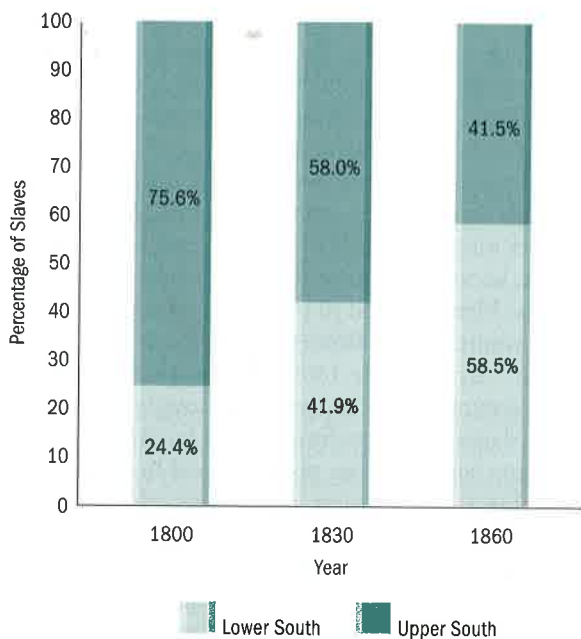


Figure 5-1 Distribution of the Southern Slave Population, 1800–1860. The demand for slaves in the cotton-growing lower South produced a major shift in the distribution of the slave population.

By the 1790s white Americans had begun a long retreat from the egalitarianism of the revolutionary era. In the North and Chesapeake, white people became less willing to challenge the prerogatives of slaveholders and more willing to accept slavery as suitable for African Americans. Most Marylanders and Virginians came to think of emancipation as best left to the distant future. This outlook strengthened the slaveholders and their nonslaveholding white supporters in the Deep South who had never embraced the humanitarian precepts of the Enlightenment and Great Awakening.

In part, increasing proslavery sentiment among white Americans stemmed from revulsion against the radicalism of the French Revolution that began in 1789. Most Americans came to value property rights—including rights to human property—and social order above liberty. Also, as cotton production spread westward and the value of slaves soared, rationalist and evangelical criticism of human bondage withered. Antislavery sentiment in the upper South that had flourished among slaveholders, nonslaveholders, Deists, Methodists, and Baptists became increasingly confined to African Americans and Quakers. By the early 1800s, manumissions began a long decline.

Using race to justify slavery was an important component of this conservative trend. Unlike white people, the argument went, black people were unsuited for freedom or citizenship. The doctrines embodied in the Declaration of Independence were, therefore, not applicable to them.

A new scientific racism supported this outlook. As early as the 1770s, some people challenged the Enlightenment's explanation that perceived racial differences were the results of different environments in which Africans and Europeans lived and were not essential or inherent. Scholars began to propose that, on the basis of a great chain of being from lesser creatures to higher creatures, black people constituted a separate species that was as close to the great apes as it was to white people. In the 1780s Thomas Jefferson reflected this view when he argued that "scientific observation" supported the conclusion that black people were inherently "inferior to whites in the endowments of both body and mind."

Such views were common among both white northerners and white southerners and had practical results. During the 1790s, Congress expressed its determination to exclude African Americans from the benefits of citizenship in "a white man's country." A 1790 law limited the granting of naturalized citizenship to "any alien, being a white person." Two years later, Congress limited enrollment in state militias to "each and every

free, able-bodied white male citizen.” These laws implied that African Americans had no place in the United States except as slaves. In other words, the free black class was an anomaly and, in the opinion of most white people, a dangerous anomaly.

appeared in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport (Rhode Island), Richmond, Norfolk, New York, and Boston. Free black people in these cities acquired a modicum of wealth and education, they established institutions that have shaped African-American life ever since.

A combination of factors encouraged African American

institutions. First, as they realized that they would not be admitted into white organizations, they organized their own. Second, the heritage they had passed on. They wanted institutions that reflected their heritage.

These institutions were not just fraternal societies, these were insurance companies. They provided for the needs of their members and helped support African Americans in New York. The first such black organization was the first black insurance company. Years later, Richmond had the more famous

admitted only men. When it appeared during Philadelphia's Femenine Society took over the welfare of the society. Other black organizations in Philadelphia during the eighteenth century. Daughters of Liberty's wife Sarah. In 1812, the American Colonization Society formed in 1817,

maintained a decision. They insisted that the black class propriety as well as mutual aid. They refrain from forming their "disreputable" societies also organized to recapture African Americans.

These mutual benefits and, they spread. More than one hundred in Philadelphia alone. More than one hundred in the North, but thirty of them in the South. South Carolina's Brown Fellowship Society had only black members.



Map 5-2 The Missouri Compromise of 1820. Under the Missouri Compromise, Missouri entered the Union as a slave state, Maine entered as a free state, and Congress banned slavery in the huge unorganized portion of the old Louisiana Territory north of the 36° 30' line of latitude.