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This list, which includes many modern classics on slavery, includes works that inform the scholar on the internal slave trade that resulted from the 1808 legal end to the international slave trade in the U.S. The end of the slave trade coincided with the rise of “King Cotton” in the Miss-Lou region. This caused a westward expansion of the peculiar institution to the Western industrialized cotton plantations. Slaves were sold from the failing, indebted tobacco farms of the Upper South in slave coffles that amounted to an African American “Trail of Tears.” This trade was pioneered and led by the firm Franklin & Armfield who sold slaves from pens in Natchez, MS, and New Orleans. Abolitionists pointed to the breaking up of families that resulted from the movement of thousands across the country as abhorrent. Of interest to me is the argument between cliometric historians who see this trade as a numbers game and cultural historians who focus on the human cost.

Bancroft, Frederic. *Slave Trading in the Old South*. Baltimore, MD: J.H. Furst, 1931.

The first work of academic history that dealt specifically with the internal slave trade, Bancroft was able to speak to former slaves about their experiences of being people with a price on their heads. He countered Philips (see below) in two ways: by arguing that slavery was an oppressive system and that the internal slave trade was a financially cornerstone of the Southern economy. Bancroft focused less on the major slave trading firms and more on the person to person sales. He was the first to show evidence that the 19th century Upper South plantations’ main income came not from tobacco, but actually the exporting of slaves.

Baptist, Edward. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books, 2014.

Baptist’s controversial book is an indictment of capitalism as it was developing in the early republic. It tore slaves apart and caused them to lose control of their bodies. The “enslavers,” as he calls them, managed to industrialize slavery by innovating techniques of oppression. The chapters are separated not by number, but by the body parts of an “enslaved person.” This book caused arguments with economic historians who felt it was more a work of advocacy than fact. (I realize this book was included in one of the bibliographies in last week’s discussion, but I wanted to give a different take on it, considering my topic of the internal slave trade and rise of King Cotton.)

Deyle, Steven. *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Deyle took a cue from Johnson (see below) and examined the internal slave trade at the point of sale, but does so on a macro level. Most interesting in Deyle’s work was the treatment of the slave traders themselves, men he sees wrapped up as speculators in the capitalist hustle and bustle of the growing market revolution. He saw what amounted to a dangerous “hypermasculine ethos in the emerging world of commerce.” (123) Slave traders were not the slimy immoral men on the periphery, as abolitionists would have one believe, but consisted of men who very much were respected and keyed into their local communities. The threat of breaking up families, he proved, was used to increase control on enslaved people on the plantations of the Upper South.

Fogel, Robert and Stanley Engerman. *Time on the Cross: the Economics of Negro Slavery*. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.: 1974.

Fogel and Engerman used cliometric techniques and crunched the numbers of the westward slave coffles in this now infamous work. The raw data showed economic benefits for the enslavers *and* the enslaved and argued that slavery in the early 19th century was not a failing institution. This work also made the argument that less families were broken up than historians like Elkins and Stamp, who saw slavery as a thoroughly crushing force, would have one think. Cultural historians led by Herbert Gutman (see below) declared war on economic historians after the publication of this book.

Gutman, Herbert. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*. NY: Pantheon, 1976.

In 1975 Gutman published a blistering book-long critique of *Time and the Cross* (see above) and followed up with this, his own work on the westward slave trade. Gutman uses the techniques of social and cultural history to show the cost of the internal slave trade on the family. Moynihan's famous 1965 report on the black family in America blamed slavery for the many broken families he observed and inspired Gutman's counter argument. Gutman depicted families, with strong familial bonds, struggling to keep together despite the huge obstacles brought about by the splitting up of families by the internal slave trade. While Fogel and Engerman estimated that 2% of black families were split up (44-5), Gutman puts the number at 17% (144).

Johnson, Walter. *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Like Baptist's book a generation later, Johnson's *Soul by Soul* was criticized by some critics as being a work of advocacy. Building upon Tadmans (see below), Johnson continues to look at the slave trade by examining the auction places and slave holding pens of New Orleans. He tends to use thick description in his narratives and paints emotional scenes, all based on documents that he could find from the point of view of the dispossessed. Johnson sees capitalism as the sin in that it puts a price on the heads of workers.

Phillips, U.B. *American Negro Slavery*. NY: Appleton, 1918.

Phillips was the consummate progressive historian. His book was discredited by Stamp (see below), but for generations was *the* textbook on slavery in America. His book is almost always cited now as a counter-point and appears in the introduction of almost every other book on this list. Phillips saw slavery as a failing and inefficient institution, but one which benefitted enslavers' social standing. Enslaved people, he argued, were civilized by their paternalistic and benevolent masters.

Stamp, Kenneth. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South*. NY: Knopf, 1956.

While Phillips (see above) saw slavery as an old-fashioned, but almost positive force, Stamp (notably a WW2 veteran) likened it to the horrors of the Holocaust. Stamp depicted slavery as a violent, harsh system that enslaved people resisted every way that they could, every day in attempts to maintain some level of agency. He also downplayed

the idea of previous historians that the Civil War was about anything but the moral arguments of abolitionism.

Tadman, Michael. *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

After the famous *Time on the Cross* debate and Gutman's book, the next major work to pick up the topic of the internal slave trade was this work. Tadman attempts to marry the practices of data analysis, as seen in Fogel and Engerman, and cultural history, as seen in Gutman. Tadman's qualitative data brought the attention of historians of slavery, who have always been focused on everyday life on the plantations, to the slave coffles and slave trade routes across the Upper South. Tadman refers to the trade as "soul driving" (71) and makes the claim that one million people made the long trek across the country to the slave pens in the Delta.

Williams, Heather Andrea. *Help Me to Find My People: The African American Search for Family Lost in Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Building on the argument made by Gutman (see above), Williams uses narratives and Reconstruction-era advertisements looking for lost family to make the argument that black families, while torn apart by the internal slave trade, continued to have strong ties. Her analysis attempted to pose questions about the "inner lives" of enslaved people, and she does so using the latest psychological research into mourning. She argues that the sometimes emotionless responses of slaves being separated from their families masked a crushing trauma.