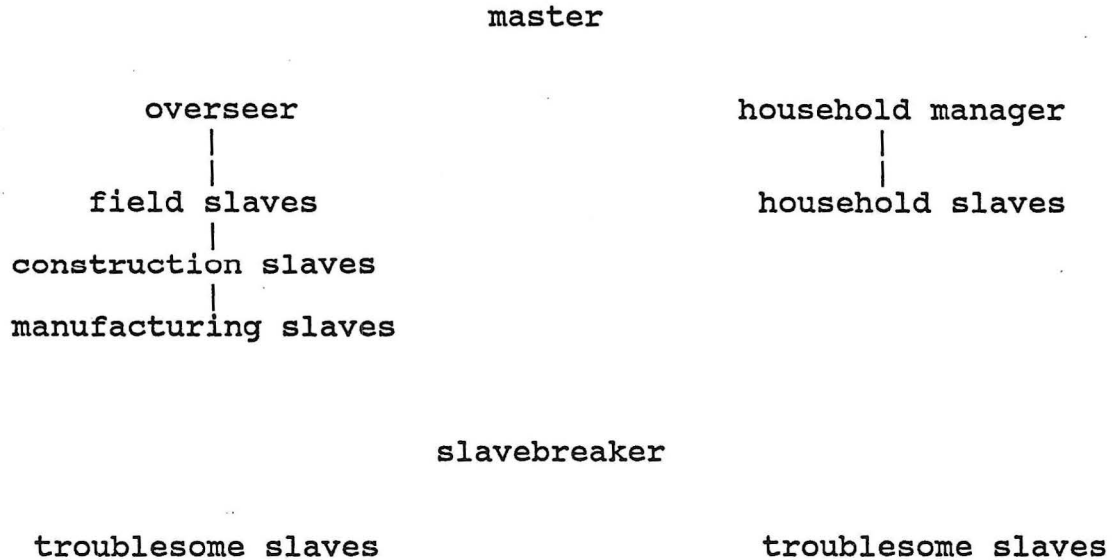


SOCIAL SYSTEM OF CHATTEL SLAVERY

Fundamental Contradiction: Economic

THE PLANTATION SYSTEM AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

Relations of Production



Principal Contradiction in the plantation system: sexism.
 PA: the practice of sexual intercourse (for reproduction).
 NPA: capital equipment -- the less need for quantity of slave labor.

BLACK SLAVE WOMEN V. WHITE WOMEN OF THE OWNER CLASS

	Conditions	
servant		master's wife & daughter
	Contradictions	
1) Field workers --treated same as men --brutalized		1) Performed no productive labor --treated paternalistically --pampered
2) Household workers --perform all necessary household functions --perform personal tasks for slaveowner's family		2) Household managers and creators of consumer demand --assign and oversee household labor --order slaves to perform personal tasks for family

- | | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| 3) Breeders for capital renewal
--no concept of individualized family

--socialized childcare | 4) Production workers (mills, mines, railroad, etc.)
--treated as beasts of burden, because women slaves were cheaper to maintain than men slaves | 3) Produce children to inherit and manage family's property
--concept of individualized family as key to passage of private property
--privatized childcare | 4) No work in socialized production |
| 5) Sexual property
--victims of sexual coercion | 6) No formalized education

--cycle of knowledge in the production process
--quantity of practice in production | 5) Sexual relations with slave men as property | 6) Formal education: specialized training for women
--learn to read and write

--learn household management
--learn social skills |

SEXISM: One-to-many sexual relationships

BLACK WOMEN	slave owners	overseers	Black men
Political	x		
Economic			x
Recreational	x	x	

ECONOMIC ASPECT:

Contradiction--

Economic relations of sexism between Black women and white women of slave-holding families: relations of domination/subordination -- household manager v. household servant

Connection--

--Both Black women and white women of slave-holding families shared the social function of childbearing as an integral role in support of the social system of slavery. The distinction lies in the particular purpose for which they had to bear children (capital renewal v. inheritance of private property).

SEXUAL ASPECT: non-existent

FORMS OF STRUGGLE

- A. Passive resistance: Education (political FOS) --
Southern white women teaching slaves to read and write
- B. Passive sabotage: Choice of work (economic FOS) --
Southern Black women escaping from slavery (underground railroad)

INPUT	PRESENT STATE	OUTPUT	NEXT STATE
Chattle Slavery	plantation system	sexism racism	capital formation
--Black women	breeders for capital renewal	direct labor	production output
--white women	breeders to pass on private prop.	sexism	household manager
--Black men	forced labor workers	instrument of production	accumulation of surplus value
--white men	total ownership	private prop. relations with all under his domain	the ideologies of male chauvinism and white chauvinism

- C. Open opposition to slavery: books and articles written to
expose the nature of slavery

Resultant: anti-slavery associations

IN OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY:

D.A.	S.A.
American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) was founded in 1833 -- --interracial organization-- did not allow women to speak or participate in the decision-making process. --headed by William Lloyd Garrison throughout the AASS' existence --AASS was unquestionably the leadership of the anti-slavery movement. --AASS attracted: -Grimke sisters -Frederick Douglass	Female Anti-Slavery Society (FASS) was organized in 1833 by Lucretia Mott in opposition to white male chauvinism of AASS --did not attract the necessary personalities to be in leadership of the anti-slavery movement.

AASS (D.A.)

FASS (S.A.)

Feature:

AASS voted to allow women to participate on an equal basis (1839)

Feature:

political feminism established by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony

--key supporters:

-Sojourner Truth

-Frederick Douglass

THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Angelina and Sarah Grimke = the cornerstone of the working women's rights movement

--The Grimkes stood for a broad-based alliance between women, Black people and the working class.

--The Grimkes' historical material basis for their profound contribution to the anti-slavery and women's movements:

*Grew up in a prominent slave-holding family in the South;

*Their father required his sons and daughters to develop productive skills, which included some work in the cotton fields;

*Sarah, 13 years older than Angelina, aspired to be a lawyer like her brother, and was allowed by her father to participate in debates set up by him to develop lawyering skills in her brothers; but in Sara's era, realization of her aspiration was out of the question.

--Attraction to the Grimkes during the early anti-slavery movement in the North was based on the materialism of their first-hand witnessing of slavery.

--On their first lecture tour as part of the American Anti-Slavery Association (AASS) in 1837, the Grimke sisters struggled with the AASS leadership to allow them to link the issues of women's rights and anti-slavery. They also criticized those in the anti-slavery movement who excluded Black people from their associations.

--The Grimke sisters integrated their political principles in practice:

*Despite difficulties in managing a farm and Angelina's 3 children, the Grimkes refused to hire any servants.

*In their later years, after discovering 3 nephews, sons of their brother and a slave woman, they welcomed them into the family and provided for the education of two of them at Harvard Law School and Princeton Seminary School

1847: Douglass selected Rochester, N.Y., as his base, in part because FASS leadership (Stanton, Anthony and Sojourner Truth) was based there.

1847: White women developed mass opposition to male chauvinism and sexism.

1848: Seneca Falls Convention -- marked the beginning of the women's suffragist movement.

1850: First National Convention on Women's Rights

TRANSITION: Douglass v. Garrison

1858: Douglass broke with Garrison's philosophy in approach to abolition of slavery. Douglass adopted John Brown's philosophy.

CIVIL WAR (1861-1865)

1860: The united front effort was forged to give aid and support in the military effort to defeat the confederacy.

OLD V. NEW: THE RIGHT TO VOTE

EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION ("ERA")	
Douglass & Truth	Stanton & Anthony
Understood that the abolition of slavery alone did not guarantee freedom. Political power through the vote was the guarantee. The vote was but a means to an end (economic).	--Viewed the vote as an end in itself. --"Revolution," published by Anthony in 1868, was funded by avowed racist Train.

ERA SPLIT (1869)	
American Women's Suffrage Association ("AWSA")	National Women's Suffrage Association ("NAWSA")
Supported passage of the 15th Amendment.	--Opposed passage of the 15th Amendment.
1869: formation of National Colored Labor Union	--Allied themselves with racist ideology and anti-working class forces. --Against Black men

FEATURE: Passage of the 15th Amendment (1870)

1870: Massachusetts Women's Suffrage Association was formed. The Grimke sisters were appointed to its Board of Directors.

SUMMATION

The end of the Civil War was the culmination of 32 years of an intense organized effort to end the 400-year history of chattle slavery in the U.S.

There are a few processes and actors in the struggle that deserve mention in the following overview and summary.

First, the anti-slavery movement was the dominant force driving to end an economic system that perpetuated chattle slavery, misery, illiteracy, and human brutality. The social system of slavery was growing more powerful each year and inevitably would have overtaken the industrial North.

We know that the leading ideologies of chattle slavery were sexism and racism. We also know that sexism and racism are inseparable ideologies. However, these ideologies appear to be without connection because of the external representation of the external differences in skin color and gender.

We know that the origin of the first political rights of women came in earnest when Lucretia Mott stood up against the ideology of male chauvinism in the anti-slavery movement. She organized the Female Anti-Slavery Society ("FASS") in 1833. FASS was a political expression of women opposing their exclusion from the decision-making process that formulated issues and direction for the anti-slavery movement. Mott and other women did not intend to exercise decisive leadership over and against men.

The movement for political rights for women was clearly shaped by the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1848. Political rights for women was a goal to which Stanton and Susan B. Anthony committed 63 years of their lives. To them, the right to vote symbolized political rights for women--like men, their would-be counterparts. Two thirds of those 63 years of work for political rights for women was marked by opportunism and defamation of the cause for ex-slaves to be the key force in reconstructing a new political order.

During the long and hard fight to achieve the right to vote, Stanton became disillusioned about the power of the ballot and ceded the NAWSA presidency to Anthony in 1892. Stanton clearly did not grasp the ideologies of sexism and racism. Her class position in society and her world outlook led her to believe that an educated white woman should have all of the social and political rights available to white men.

Fully supported by Anthony, Stanton fought an ongoing fight for 52 years for women's right to vote. Yet, Stanton never had an economic agenda of how to use the ballot to bring about social change. Because of her background of class privilege, Stanton always had contempt for the working class and, therefore, her base was predominantly white middle class in North and South.

Toward the end of the 19th Century and with the ongoing development of capitalism, social conditions for women of Stanton's class were improving. The new conditions enabled her to gain equivalency with men (which was her personal ideological goal) and, accordingly, she abandoned the struggle for women's suffrage.

Sarah and Angeline Grimke, on the other hand, developed over time with the correct conceptualization of the role of white women, the working class, and social and political treatment of ex-slaves and Black citizens. Having been part of the long fight to abolish chattel slavery, their lifetime desire was fulfilled with the end of the Civil War. The Grimkes' historical political and social priorities were in keeping with the mass movements of their time and of their own personal conditions. They did not try to get too far ahead of the social and political contradictions faced by the masses. Toward the closing chapter of their lives, the Grimkes were addressing the substantive economic and political issues of working women. In 1870, at the ages of about 77 and 64 respectively, Sarah and Angelina accepted positions on the Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Women's Suffrage Association.

The Grimke sisters, we think, must be fully acknowledged by history for making possible by their exemplary lives the principle that the struggles against racism and sexism, and the working class struggle are politically inseparable.

Frederick Douglass completed in his lifetime a full cycle against chattel slavery. Born a slave, Douglass became an escaped slave, a freeman, a leader of the anti-slavery movement and a leading advocate of the women's movement for political rights.

Given the necessary conditions and conscious actors of history, it is very doubtful that Stanton and Anthony would not have been able to sustain the struggle for women's rights to political expression and to participation in political decisions and positions, had not Douglass maintained the unity of anti-racism and anti-sexism--the twin sisters of the ideology of capital.

The political and economic forces of the post-Reconstruction period re-cast Douglass into the role of political advisor on Black issues, a political statesman. The formation of many Black women's groups and Black political organizations demanded his time and attention. The issue of all issues was lynching. Ida B. Wells spearheaded the anti-lynching campaign with Douglass in co-leadership. The fight for Black equality was a fight with, in some instances, qualitatively different forms of leadership.

W.E.B. DuBois rose to the requirements of several forms of struggle urgently in need of solutions and answers.