Black, Slave, Woman—The Role of Slave Women in the Ante-bellum South

Chin-yu Chen, Ph.D.
Professor
Department of History, National Chung Hsing University Taichung, Taiwan (R.O.C.)
cychen@dragon.nchu.edu.tw

Abstract

There is a famous Chinese proverb which says "a good man never fights with a woman." From the viewpoint of this Chinese custom, women should always be respected. This maxim certainly was never applied to Black women in the Ante-bellum south of the United States prior to the Civil War. The intent of this paper is to bring to the attention of the reader some of the inhumanity practiced on slave women when they were required to work, without pay, on the plantations in the American South before that country's Civil War. The women learned quickly to "respect" the "lash" which beat them if they did not do their work properly, or sassed their master. Slavery, at its best, is a terrible institution, and this paper does not address the subject of slavery in other parts of the world. This study is designed to study the plight of Black women, and their struggles, in that time of supposed Southern "gentility." This study will also attempt to provide an insight into the work and family life of Black women in the era of the Antebellum South.

Keywords: Black woman, Antebellum South, Civil War, slavery

Introduction

There is a famous Chinese proverb which says "a good man never fights with a woman." From the viewpoint of this Chinese custom, women should always be respected. This maxim certainly was never applied to Black women in the Ante-bellum South of the United States prior to the Civil War. The intent of this paper is to bring to the attention of the reader some of the inhumanity practiced on slave women when they were required to work, without pay, on the plantations in the American South before that country's Civil War. The women learned quickly to "respect" the "lash" which beat them if they did not do their work properly, or sassed their master. Slavery, at its best, is a terrible institution, and this paper does not address the subject of slavery in other parts of the world. This study is designed to study the plight of Black women, and their struggles, in that time of supposed Southern "gentility." This study will also attempt to provide an insight into the work and family life of Black women in the era of the Antebellum South.

During the era of the Ante-bellum South, Black women were described as "quick". Black women were not expected to have temperaments of charm, gentility, and sweetness, attributes often expected of white women in the South. A study of original sources from eighteenth and nineteenth century American South indicated that the work of Black women was not always defined as "female-work" on the plantations since, in many instances, there was no firm and fixed work assignment based solely on gender.

Before the Civil War, the economy of the South grew dramatically with the advent of the Cotton Boom. Agriculture and slavery dominated this southern development. Non-mechanized, slave-based agriculture sustained the plantation economy, and became highly profitable in the South. Thus, the Antebellum United States incorporated a Southern economy based upon cotton and slavery. Black male and female slaves worked side by side in this economy without regard to gender on the plantations. However, black women played very important roles throughout the entire period of American slavery by doing double-duty and multiple tasks. Like

the male slaves, black women did hard work in the fields. They were treated harshly and had many justifiable grievances. Their blood and tears were shed throughout the period of the slave economy, and this paper focuses on the hardships of Black women in the Ante-bellum south.

Household Service

The division of labor on the plantation, which was the economic unit in the South, was as important as it is in any industrial plant today. The three main divisions into which slaves were divided were: household servants, field hands, and factory workers.

Household service involved traditional "female jobs" on the plantation, and these occupations absorbed a considerable portion of women slaves who served as washer women, cooks, maids, seamstresses, nursemaids and gardeners. These slaves played very important roles throughout the period of slavery and became fixtures in the plantation economy. Their chores also included the work of fetching wood and water, preparing the family meals daily in front of a smoky fireplace, pressing damp clothes with a hot flatiron heated by the fire, peeling potatoes, building a fire, or carrying heavy loads of laundry in from the clotheslines. Household servants did not have easy lives, and endured many cruelties from their masters and mistresses. Harriet Jacobs, in recording the life of the slave girl, Linda Brent, published a book in 1861. In her narrative Linda told her that the servants in the house of Dr. Flint were terrified to serve him, and the cook was always full of fear and trembling when she prepared a dinner for his table. If some small imperfection occurred in the service he would whip the servants with harsh words, and he sometimes would push food down the throat of the slave girl.[1] Another slave related in a narrative that "Work, work, work",[2] consumed all her days, from dawn until midnight, and all her years. "I have been so exhausted working, I was like an inch worm crawling along a roof. I worked till I thought another lick will kill me."[3]

The master's house offered no shelter from the most brutal manifestations of slavery. Slave workers were only allowed two meals a day, the first being at twelve o'clock noon, and the other one very late in the day. Meals were often kept from the slaves as a method of punishment.[4] Women servants often had to snatch a bite to eat whenever they could while they remained standing in the presence of their masters. Slaves were never allowed to sit around a table to partake of any meal. Each one took a tin pan and iron spoon and ate standing up. In their cabins, as a general rule, they were provided no lights of any kind, no towels, basins, or soap, no table, and certainly no chairs other than what they could make themselves.[5] Household maids had to sleep on the floor near the beds of their mistresses.[6]

[1] Harriet Jacobs, Interview with Linda Brent. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Michigan, MI: Negro History Press, 1861), p. 22.
[2] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family: From Slavery to the Present* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1985), p. 13.
[3] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family: From Slavery to the Present*, p. 14.
[4] Gerda Lerner, *Black Women in White America*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1972) p. 19.
[5] Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 223.
[6] Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South*, p. 234.

Slaves were fed poorly. In the famous investigation of 1790-91, no plantation was found where a slave received more than nine pints of corn and one pound of salt per week. Fish of the least desirable grades were imported from the New England colonies for them to eat.[7]

Housework involved hard, steady, and often strenuous labor as women juggled the demands made by the mistress and other members of the master's family. Mingo White of Alabama never forgot that his mother had shouldered a workload which he believed was too heavy for any one person. In addition to serving as a personal maid to the master's daughter, she worked with all the hands on the plantation, carded cotton, spun a daily quota of thread, wove and dyed cloth. Every Wednesday she carried the white family laundry three quarters of a mile to a creek, where she beat each garment with a wooden paddle. Ironing consumed the rest of her day. Like the lowliest field hand, she felt the lash if any tasks went undone.[8]

Plantation Life

Although black women were the predominant household workers, only about five percent of all antebellum adult slaves served in the elite corps of house servants trained for specific household duties.[9] The majority worked in the field. During the harvest season all slaves, including those in the house, went to the field to work. Harvesting season on plantations found men and women gathered into sex-integrated gangs, but at other times women often worked exclusively or predominantly in female gangs.

Picking cotton became a specific job for black women. It was generally believed that one slave was required for the successful cultivation of three acres of cotton. The planting, cultivation, and picking of the cotton required little skill, but a great deal of time.[10] Black women were required to be in the cotton fields as soon as there was light in the morning. Except for ten to fifteen minutes allowed for them to swallow their cold bacon at noon, they were not permitted to be idle for a single moment. Everyone was expected to pick cotton as fast as possible.[11] When the day's work was over in the field, each woman carried her basket of cotton to the gin-house for weighing. A slave always approached the gin-house with apprehension as the consequences of not bringing in enough cotton were fearful.[12] The cotton was weighed, and each slave had to bring in the same weight each night. If the amount exceeded the previous day by ten or twenty pounds, in all probability the master would measure the next day's work, and if it fell short of the amount of day before, the lash was applied for a whipping. Still, when a new hand went for the first time to the field, she had to try her best to pick cotton quickly. If an appropriate amount was not brought in at night, the slave was whipped, and the number of pounds lacking was added to the next day's job. This procedure was often repeated from day to day.

Black women also labored on the sugar plantations where there was no idle season during the entire whole year. After the harvesting of the sugar crop of the preceding year had been completed, the ground for the new cane crop had to be thoroughly plowed. "Deep furrows were dug six feet apart, and the cane seeds were placed length-wise in them and covered with several inches of soil."[13] In March all hands were set to work plowing

---

[7] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. 65; John Solomon Otto, *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South* (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1984), p. 57.

[8] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, p. 23.

[9] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, p. 22.

[10] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, p. 65.

[11] Ralph W. Haskins, "Planter and Cotton Factor in the Old South: Some Areas of Friction," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 29 (1955), pp. 1-14.

[12] Ralph W. Haskins, "Planter and Cotton Factor in the Old South: Some Areas of Friction," pp. 243-244.

[13] Ralph Betts Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), p. 213.

and hoeing to keep the cane free from grass and weeds and to loosen the soil in order to encourage the rapid growth of the cane. These processes were usually repeated five or more times, until the cane was laid up later in the summer.[14]

The master of the sugar plantation had plenty of other work to keep his slaves busy when the cane crop did not require attention. In April, he had slaves plant the first crop of corn. After the first crop matured and laid up in July, a second crop of peas was planted. During the intervals of cane cultivation, black women performed many kinds of work, such as weeding the corn and peas, bending corn when it was mature enough, and chopping weeds in the pastures and in other places on the plantation. This work could be performed at any time when there was nothing more pressing to be done.[15] The first cane was cut in October. During the frantic weeks from then until December, most of the black women worked at the cane, stripping the leaves from the stalks, loading it into carts, and hauling it to the sugar house. The women worked from sixteen to eighteen hours a day, seven days a week.[16] When the last soup from the cane was boiled, usually around Christmas, it was almost time to begin planting the next crop.[17] Another crop that slave women cultivated was rice, an arduous task. Between March and May, seed was scattered and the fields flooded and left covered until the seed sprouted. From time to time, the fields were drained in order for weeds to be destroyed and the ground worked. During summer, temperatures ranged from 90 to 100 degrees, and the water was not cool to their bare feet. Their driver stood on the bank wielding a whip, and directing their work the slaves to keep moving at a steady pace.[18] Standing in water up to their knees, the men rolled up their pants to keep them dry while women pulled their shirts above their knees, using a cord around the waists or hips to hold up the slack.

Plantation records indicate a year-round routine for growing cotton, rice, tobacco, sugarcane and hemp, and this time schedule did not vary from year to year.[19] Each of these staples required special techniques for planting, cultivating and preparing for market, all of which were performed by slaves. Often, the operations of one growing cycle overlapped those of the next. The stoop labor was arduous, and there was no standing to straighten sore backs, and no rest periods allowed for the women and men who worked these fields.[20]

Heavy Labor and Factory Work

Working in the plantation home and tending to crops in the fields represents only a portion of the work performed by Black women. They also did a variety of heavy and dirty labor which was performed by men. During the winter or spring, black women helped to cut down trees in clearing land for cultivation, and also hauled logs by means of leather straps attached to their shoulders. They plowed using mule and oxen teams,

---

[14] J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753-1950* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), pp. 101-112.

[15] Salter Prichard, "Pourine on a Sugar Plantation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* Vol. 14 (September 1927), pp. 168169.

[16] Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1950* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1968) p. 318.

[17] Anonymous, "On the Management of Slaves," *Southern Agriculturist* Vol. 6 (1833), p. 284.

[18] Joan Rezner Gundersen, "The Double Bonds of Race and Sex: Black and White Women in a Colonial," *Journal of Southern History* Vol. 52 (August 1986), pp. 351-372.

[19] James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1964), p. 45.

[20] James C. Conner, "Plantation and Farm: The Agricultural South" in *Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green* by Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1965) p. 72.

and dug the ground with hoes, and other heavy instruments available.[21] They dug ditches, spread manure, and piled coarse fodder with their bare hands. They built and cleaned southern roads and helped construct the new railroads which were being built throughout the South. Testimonies relate that although the blacks themselves considered certain jobs unsuitable for bondswomen, at times they were required to perform these duties. Louise Terrell recalled her days on a farm near Jackson, Mississippi: "The women had to split rails all day long, just like the men."[22]

In *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow,* Jacqueline Jones wrote of an interview with Mary Frances Webb who declared that her slave grandmother, "In the winter, she sawed and cut lord wood just like a man. She said it did not hurt her as she was strong as an ox."[23] In 1850, Frederick Olmsted watched South Carolina slaves of both sexes carting manure with their hands in between the ridges where cotton was planted. In Fayetteville, North Carolina, he noticed that women not only hoed and shovelled crops, but they also cut down trees.[24] In short, Black women were used as poorly as Black men. One case revealing some cooperation pointing out a "common differentiation where men plowed and women hoed."[25]

It is evident that Black women were treated with no less severity than their men. When their master needed a field hand, Black women were forced to work alongside men who labored in the fields. At the same time, the master believed that most forms of domestic service required the attention of a female, reinforcing the traditional role of women as household workers. Despite an obvious double standard Black women continued to make significant contributions to the agricultural development of the Ante-bellum South through their hard work, thrift and industry.

To some extent, Black female slave labor was used in southern factories related to the plantation economy. Primary materials studied indicate that a large number of Black women were extensively employed in southern cotton mills, tobacco factories, bagging factories, and iron furnaces previous to the Civil War.[26] One Alabama cotton mill employed one hundred slaves, three-fourths of whom were women.[27] In South Carolina, a small cotton mill owned by David R. Williams, totally depended on five young slaves in 1792 to spin and wind thread. Williams demanded additional women for this manufacturing industry in the following year.[28] Although conclusive data is yet to be obtained, it appears that Black women were widely placed in textile industry, and quite frequently worked side by side with Black males.[29]

Family Roles

[21] John Couper, "On the Employment of Oxen as Substitutes for Horse in Agricultural Operations," *Southern Agriculturist* Vol. 5 (1832), pp. 286-290.

[22] Timothy Dwight Weld, *American Slavery as It is*: *Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839; reprint New York, NY: Arno Press, 1968) p. 12.

[23] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, p. 11.

[24] James H. Couper, Letter to James Couper, 31 October, on microfilm, *Jone Couper Collection, 1775-1963* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Library , 1860).

[25] Kenneth Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New-York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 740.

[26] Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World The Slaves Made* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 23.

[27] Deborah Gary White, "The Lives of Slave Women," *Southern Exposure* Vol. 12 (November-December, 1984), p. 33.

[28] Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World The Slaves Made,* p. 21.

[29] Ernest M., Jr. Lander, "Slave Labor in South Carolina," *Journal of Negro History* Vol. 38 (1953), pp. 161-167.

The story of Black women involved in American slavery has generally been one which required hard work, adaptability, and efforts of survival. Their roles required a great deal of strength and courage, not only in the field and factories, but also at home.

Some of the problems that troubled slave families were uniquely a part of life in bondage. A poignant example was the scene that transpired when an overseer tied and whipped a slave mother in the presence of her children. The frightened children pelted the overseer with stones, and one of them ran up and bit him in the leg. During this episode, the cries of the mother were mingled with the screams of the children. "Let my mommy go … Let my mommy go."[30] Lacking authority, the slave family could not offer the child shelter or security from the frightening creatures in the outside world. The cumulative effects of slavery had left the Black family in disarray. Fathers were sometimes unknown, and countless numbers of Black children had white slave masters as unacknowledged fathers. Due to these factors, Black women were faced with the unilateral responsibility for care of their children and their families. K. M. Stampp, in his study of *The Peculiar Institution*, stated: "… in the life of the slave, the family had nothing like the social significance that it held in the life of the white men … parents frequently had little to do with the raising of their children … the husband─was not the head of the family, the provider or protector─the male slave's only crucial function within the family was that of siring offspring."[31] Considering the absence of legal marriages, the family's minor social and economic significance, and the father's limited role, it is hardly surprising to find that slave families were highly unstable. Lacking both outer pressures and inner pull, they were also exposed to the threat of forced separations through whenever the master of the plantation decided to put one of the familial partners on the dreaded sale block.

This author views the role of the mother in the Black family as not only as very important, but prodigious. These women did double duty: a man's share in the field, and a woman's tender care at home. They performed all types of field work, and at home they did the cooking, washing, milking and gardening after working on the plantation all day. Surely Black women became exhausted mothers at home where they were busy caring for their families into the night. As one slave related: "… Finally, at a late hour, they reach the quarters, sleep and are overcome by the long day's toil. Then a fire must be kindled in the cabin, the corn ground in the small hand-mill, and supper, and dinner prepared for the next day in the field."[32]

John Curry, a former slave who grew up in North Carolina, recalled that his mother's labor was very hard. Then he went on to outline her daily responsibilities in the cow pen where she milked fourteen cows, in addition to caring for the children of mothers who worked in the fields. She did all the ironing and washing for the master's household, and also cooked for the slaves on the plantation as well as for her own husband and seven children. At night in her cabin, "she would find one boy with his knee out, a patch wanted here, and a stitch there, and she would sit down by her lightwood fire, and sew and sleep alternately…."[33]

Narratives and interviews all reflected the slave mother's fierce devotion to her own offspring. The bonds of affection between mother and children were generally developed in the slave cabin where the Black mother nurtured her children after laboring from sunrise to sunset. When the Black father was sold or separated from his family, the slave mother then became the titular head of the household under the authority of the plantation master.[34] Wives and mothers completed their personal household tasks of cooking, sewing either very early in

---

[30] Theodore Dwight Weld, *American Slavery As It Is*: *Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*, p.34.

[31] Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution*, pp. 284-85.

[32] Gerda Lerner, *Black Women in White America*, p. 16.

[33] Theodore Dwight Weld, *American Slavery As It Is*: *Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*, p. 24.

[34] Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*, Published for the Institute of Early American history and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968) p. 557.

the morning before the start of the "regular" work day on the plantation, or at night, after other family members had gone to sleep.

Black women had the additional accompanying burden of childbearing since the termination of the African trade compelled the masters to pay greater attention to the reproduction of their labor force during the era of Ante-bellum south. Black women became more valuable property, not only because their labor was capital, but also because they were used as breeders of slaves who could later be sold by slaveholders for profitable sums of money. In many instances Black women were actually forced to bear children every twelve months, nursing one child after another.[35] When they were old enough to sell, these children were taken from their mothers by their masters, many of whom had fathered the children. Sometimes, the children were used as hostages to prevent the mother from running away.

Early in the nineteenth century, the fertility years among slave women spanned the ages of eighteen to forty-five.[36] During the time of her pregnancy, work and punishment was seldom reduced for Black women. In some cases, they were given only a few weeks' reprieve prior to and immediately after childbirth. Some women were forced to work until the time of delivery. In some instances they were allowed to take four weeks after the birth of a child. After that they took the child into the field with them and nursed it at intervals during the day.[37]

Black mothers fastened their small children in a knapsack upon their backs while they continued to work. The slaveholder had no hesitation about putting black women in the field gangs. Indeed, no season of the year guaranteed any noticeable increase in special treatment for pregnant slaves. When they finished preparing the cotton fields, they still had to hoe and plow corn. When they completed these tasks, they tended the potatoes, peas, or rice, and so on.[38] A slave described the nursing mothers in his narrative:

> *"As we went out in the morning, an observed several women, who carried their young children in their arms to the field. These mothers laid their children at the side of the fence, or under the shade of the cotton plants, whilst they were at work; and when the rest of us went to get water, they would go to nurse their children, requesting to carry to the field with them. One young woman did not leave her child at the end of the row, like the others, but had contrived a sort of rude knapsack, made of a piece of coarse linen cloth, in which she fastened her child, which was very young, upon her back; and in this way carried it all day, and performed her task at the hoe with the other people."*[39]

Sometimes, the overseers beat the Black women with rawhide,"…so that the blood and milk flow mingled from their breast."[40]

Conclusion

In conclusion, the life of a Black woman under the institution of slavery was in every respect more arduous and restrictive than that of Black men, because the extra pressure of excessive childbearing fell upon them as

---

[35] Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812,* p. 562.
[36] Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), p. 112.
[37] Theodore Dwight Weld, Testimony of Angelina Grimke Weld, in *Anerucan Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses,* pp. 42-45.
[38] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, p. 35.
[39] Theodore Dwight Weld, *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses,* p. 48.
[40] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, p. 36.

an added burden. Punishment was meted out to them regardless of motherhood, pregnancy, or physical infirmity. Their children could always be held as hostages in case the mother wanted to attempt escape. This made chances of escape to be fewer for female slaves than for male slaves. "Slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women."[41]

The institution of slavery, a horrible practice of long duration designed to fill the coffers of the Antebellum south literally created the form of Black womanhood in America. She moved silently through the mythological roles forced upon her—from chattel to Mammy to Matriarch. She solaced and fortified the Ante-bellum south, black and white, male and female. Her masters and mistresses heeded her in secret, confided in her and trusted her to rear its children, Black and white, yet which never asked her to speak, to reveal her private history, to heed publicly to her knowledge, and never asked her participation in anything but maintenance of humanity by way of the back door.[42]

Not only on the plantation, but also in the family, Black women played a very great role in the era of the Ante-bellum south. These women bent to the lash, and to the evil darkness which entered their cabins in the twilight. These Black women drew from the deep sensitivity within their spirits to survive in a world which maimed and tortured them. Love for their little children brought hope that the child might have a better life than the one surrounding them on the plantation. They sang songs, reminiscent of their homeland in Africa, and combined these songs with new ones learned in America, in order to bring a bit of solace at the end of the day. Always and ever, they hoped for freedom, and it did come to some of them. For others, it came too late. The fundamental point of this paper is to relate the severity of atrocities heaped upon Black women in the Ante-bellum south in the hope that such harsh acts remain only in the past.

References

[1]Anonymous. "On the Management of Slaves," *Southern Agriculturist* Vol. 6 (1833), p. 284.

]2]Ball, Charles. *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball: A Black Man*. New York, NY: John S. Taylor, 1837, reprint Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004.

[3]Bonner, James C. *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1964.

[4]Clinton, Catherine. *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1982.

[5]Conner, James C. "Plantation and Farm: The Agricultural South" in *Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green* by Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1965.

[6]Couper, James H. Letter to James Couper, 31 October, on microfilm, *Jone Couper Collection, 1775-1963*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Library , 1860.

[7]Couper, John. "On the Employment of Oxen as Substitutes for Horse in Agricultural Operations," *Southern Agriculturist* Vol. 5 (1832), pp. 286-290.

[8]Flanders, Ralph Betts. *Plantation Slavery in Georgia*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

[41] Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball: A Black Man* (New York, NY: John S. Taylor, 1837, reprint Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004), pp. 150-151.

[42] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow,* pp.32-35, 137-138.

[9]Franklin, John Hope. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 196.

[10]Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World The Slaves Made*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1974.

[11]Gundersen, Joan Rezner. "The Double Bonds of Race and Sex: Black and White Women in a Colonial," *Journal of Southern History* Vol. 52 (August 1986), pp. 351-372.

[12]Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*.New York: Pantheon Books, 1976.

[13]Haskins, Ralph W. "Planter and Cotton Factor in the Old South: Some Areas of Friction," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 29 (1955), pp. 1-14.

[14]Jacobs, Harriet. Interview with Linda Brent. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Michigan, MI: Negro History Press, 1861.

[15]Jones, Jacqueline J. *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family: From Slavery to the Present*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 1985.

[16]Jordan, Winthrop D. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1950*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

[17]Jordan, Winthrop D. *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812,* Published for the Institute of Early American history and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

[18]Jordan, Winthrop D. *White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812,* p. 562.

[19]Lander, Ernest M., Jr. "Slave Labor in South Carolina," *Journal of Negro History* Vol. 38 (1953), pp. 161-167.

[20]Lerner, Gerda. *Black Women in White America*. New York, NY: Random House, 1972.

[21]Otto, John Solomon. *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South* . Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1984.

[22]Prichard, Salter. "Pourine on a Sugar Plantation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* Vol. 14 (September 1927), pp. 168-169.

[23] Haskins, Ralph W. "Planter and Cotton Factor in the Old South: Some Areas of Friction," pp. 243-244.

[24]Sitterson, J. Carlyle. *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753-1950*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1953.

[25]Stampp, Kenneth. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. New-York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956.

[26]Weld, Theodore Dwight. Testimony of Angelina Grimke Weld, in *Anerucan Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses,* pp. 42-45.

[27]Weld, Timothy Dwight. *American Slavery as It is*: *Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*. American AntiSlavery Society, 1839; reprint New York, NY: Arno Press, 1968.

[28]White, Deborah Gary. "The Lives of Slave Women," *Southern Exposure* Vol. 12 (November-December, 1984), p. 33.