### University of Nebraska - Lincoln

## DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Nebraska Anthropologist

Anthropology, Department of

1999

## Slavery in the Platte Region

H. Jason Combs

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/nebanthro



Part of the Anthropology Commons

Combs, H. Jason, "Slavery in the Platte Region" (1999). Nebraska Anthropologist. 117. https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/nebanthro/117

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Anthropology, Department of at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Nebraska Anthropologist by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

### Slavery in the Platte Region

#### H. Jason Combs

Missouri's bid for statehood reflected the struggle to extend the southern slave culture onto the western frontier of settlement. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise set specific geographic boundaries for the extension of slavery, which in turn created distinctive patterns of migration and settlement on the frontier. The Platte Purchase region of northwest Missouri is one of the areas that reflect slavery's influence on settlement. This paper will discuss slave ownership, the need for slavery, and explain the geographic distribution of slaves in the Platte region.

In order to better comprehend the slavery issue in the Platte region, a review of the political compromises that allowed the institution of slavery to be establish in Missouri needs to be undertaken. Missouri's bid for statehood reflected the struggle to extend the southern slave culture onto the western frontier of settlement. Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise of 1820 set specific geographic boundaries for the extension of slavery, which in turn created distinctive patterns of migration and settlement on the The Platte Purchase region of northwest Missouri (Figure 1) is one of the areas that reflect slavery's influence on settlement.

#### Missouri's Statehood

One of the fundamental causes of Missouri's statehood controversy was the desire of each section of the nation to spread its own type of civilization over the western country and appropriate its resources for its own use (Moore 1953). One salient objection to the admission of Missouri as a slave state was that it lay in the same latitude as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois-- a segment of the West which the North had come to regard as its own. The idea of demarcating a line in the West for the

separation of slave and non-slave states came about with the argument over Missouri's statehood (Moore 1953).

Missouri's appeal for statehood was primarily driven by political and economic concerns. Politically, this decision meant a disruption in the balance of power between the "slave" states in the South and the "free" states of the North: "Southern leaders strongly supported the admission of Missouri as a slave state, while northern political interests opposed it with equal vigor, fearing that the slave states would have a majority in Congress" (Wexler 1995). The main issue surrounding slavery at this time was not a moral question of right or wrong, but a political concern. Both the North and South wanted to extend their sphere of influence onto the western frontier; each "political culture" needed to acquire additional territory to perpetuate their ideals.

#### The Missouri Compromise

Missouri's bid for statehood, and its associated political ramifications, was tied to Maine's bid to break away from Massachusetts and form an independent state. Those opposing slavery's restriction saw this as an opportunity to ensure that

Missouri was admitted as a slave state. In 1819, a majority of the members of the House of Representatives came from free states, but after the admission of Alabama on December 14, 1819, the Senate's membership was evenly divided between the North and South-- eleven free and eleven Southern leaders could slave states. additionally count on support from two slaveholding Illinois Senators, Thomas and Edwards, and pro-slavery senators Parrott Hampshire, from New Lanman Connecticut, and Taylor of Indiana. With the support of these northern Senators the South had a clear majority in the Senate. With this majority, the pro-slavery faction announced their intention of blocking Maine's admission in the Senate until the House of Representatives consented to Missouri's admission as a slave state (Moore 1953).

The combination of the Maine and Missouri calls for statehood came to be known as the Missouri Compromise. The amendment to Maine and Missouri's bills for statehood was established to prohibit slavery in the unorganized Louisiana Purchase lands north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude. The amendment read:

"That, in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and minutes north latitude. excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the state contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited: Provided, always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to

the person claiming his or her labor service as aforesaid" (Moore 1953).

This proposition was to make Maine a free state, admit Missouri as a slave state, leave the present-day states of Arkansas and Oklahoma open to future settlement by slaveholders, and prohibit slavery in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude (Moore 1953).

President Monroe was in favor of the Missouri Compromise, stating that it was Missouri's constitutional right to be admitted on an equal footing with the older states. Furthermore, President Monroe, along with many other southerners, felt that confining slavery to a few states would ensure its perpetuation; whereas, if slavery were to be diffused throughout several states it would be more easily eliminated (Ammon 1997). It was thought that confining slavery to a specific geographic area would allow the pro-slavery faction to remain the dominant force politically. The extension of slavery over a large spatial area would relegate the advocates of slavery into a minority role politically. Summarizing the Missouri Compromise, Horace Greeley wrote "it was, in effect, an offer from the milder opponents of slavery restriction to the more moderate and flexible advocates of that restriction." Greeley continued: "Let us have slavery in Missouri and we will unite with you in excluding it from all the uninhabited territories north and west of that state" (Moore 1953).

The political significance of the Missouri Compromise, at the time, was apparent, involving the balance of power between state and federal governments and the three-fifths ratio. The amount of representation a state received in the House of Representatives was, and still today, based on its total population. Each slave counted as three-fifths of a person, therefore, states with a large slave population potentially could hold additional seats of representation based on the three-fifths ratio.

The northern delegates feared that if slave representation were extended into the vast areas beyond the Mississippi River, the eastern states' political influence would be drastically reduced. Senator John Sergeant of Pennsylvania hyperbolically stated that "for every five slaves there are three votes, and the time may come when the voice of the slaves, in the councils of the nation will be louder than that of the freeman" (Moore 1953). Senator Jonathan Roberts, also of Pennsylvania, added: "The expansion of slavery would inure to the benefit of the slaveholding interest, shifting the balance of power in the favor of the slaveholding states" (Moore 1953). For the first time southerners defended slave' rights in Congress. Arguing the value of slaves as a productive part of the South's direct taxes paid to the federal government; slave representation, southerners contended, was needed.

Southern states feared the capability of the federal government to enact such sweeping legislation. Dixon (1899) states:

"If Congress could by a mere act deprive the citizens of Missouri of their property without any compensation, notwithstanding this property was guaranteed to them by both the Constitution and treaty, what could hinder this or another Congress from applying the same power to other states?"

The southern states saw this as a struggle for power and territory. They were concerned that the limitations and restrictions placed on slavery in the newly acquired territory and associated states could be applied to all of the southern states as well (Dixon 1899).

Ultimately, the Missouri Compromise allowed Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state, with the provision that slavery would not be permitted in any new states formed from the remaining lands of the Louisiana Purchase north of the latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes—the southern boundary of the state of Missouri (Wexler 1995) (Figure 2). This controversy was the first occasion in which all of the strands in the fabric of North-South sectionalism were brought together. The westward expansion of slavery was an issue upon which a united North could stand against a united South. Moore (1953) calls the Missouri Compromise the "title page to a great tragic volume."

Moore (1953) acknowledges that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was probably the most satisfactory solution to a difficult problem that was possible at this time and under those circumstances. It set definite legal boundaries for the extension of slavery, while at the same time placed a reasonable amount of territory at the disposal of the slaveholding portion of the population.

The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had a powerful affect on migration and settlement. The slaveholding Kentucky-Virginia population extended their domain north to the Iowa border and west to the line of Kansas, creating the most pronounced cultural divide in the Middle West (Hudson 1988). Many incoming immigrants did indeed see Missouri as a "promised-land" for slavery (Moore 1953).

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise of 1820 excluded a significant portion of the settlement frontier from slavery. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 excluded a region north and west of the Ohio River, the present-day states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, from slavery, while the Missouri Compromise limited the extension of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase lands (Shelley, et al. 1996). Thus, Missouri attracted many slaveholding immigrants from Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Turner (1935) and Lynch (1922) conclude that many migrating settlers from the South crossed "free" states and territories, such as Illinois and Indiana, to

occupy the Missouri Valley, where slavery was permitted.

#### Slaves in the Platte Purchase Region

According to United States' Slave Schedules for the six counties of northwest Missouri, the Platte Purchase region contained 4589 slaves in 1850. By far the majority of these slaves were found in the southern portion of the region, specifically in the counties of Andrew, Buchanan, and Platte (Table 1). Of the total slave population in 1850, 2798, or 61 percent, were located in Platte County alone. The three counties combined accounted for over 93 percent of all slaves found in the region.

Overall, as a percentage of the total population in the Platte Purchase region, slaves comprised 9.7 percent of the population (Table 2). Again, Andrew, Buchanan, and Platte Counties led the way. Of the total number of Platte County inhabitants in 1850, 16.6 percent of those were slave, followed by Buchanan County with 7.0 percent and Andrew County with 6.8 percent. None of the remaining three counties in the Platte region contained a slave population of more than 4.0 percent of its total population.

The proportion of slaves in the total population in the Platte region was well below the Missouri and national averages. Slaves comprised 12.9 percent of Missouri's statewide population in 1850. On the national scale, many regions found in the southern states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia had populations that were 50 percent, or more, slave (Figure 3). These areas possessed the plantation agricultural systems that were not found, for the most part, in the Upper South and the Platte region.

Unlike the wealthy slave owners of the Deep South the slave owners of the Platte Purchase region did not own large numbers of slaves. They more closely resembled the Upper South's yeomen farmer, as defined by Jordan (1967), who held only a minimal number of slaves. Kolchin (1993) is in agreement with Jordan that the majority of slaves in the United States resided on holdings of less than fifty slaves: "More representative of normal American slaveholding patterns were conditions in the Upper South, where most slaves lived on small and medium-sized units" (Kolchin 1993).

In 1850, there were 1189 individual slave owners in the six counties of northwest On average, therefore, each individual slave owner in the Platte Purchase region possessed 3.86 slaves (Table 3). The number of slaves per owner at the county level ranged from a low of 2.82 slaves per owner in Holt County to a high of 4.30 slaves per owner in Platte County. This low average indicates that the large slave plantation was indeed a rare phenomenon in the Platte Purchase region, but the variation between counties does suggest that there was a difference in the type of agricultural commodity being produced-- and therefore the labor requirements-- within the Platte region. The further south slave owners were located in the region the more likely they were to be engaged in a more labor intense agriculture, such as the production of hemp and/or tobacco.

These slave data for the Platte Purchase region substantiate the claim that northwest Missouri was settled primarily by yeomen farmers from the Upper South. The Platte Purchase region, averaging only 3.86 slaves per holding, was far below national and regional averages regarding slave ownership (Table 4). In 1850, Missouri, averaging 8.6 slaves per holding, ranked near the bottom of median slave holdings when compared to the other slaveholding states of the South, and was well below the national average of 20.6 slaves per owner.

Overall, for the South in 1860, roughly half of the slave population resided on holdings with between ten and forty-nine

slaves (Table 5). The clear majority-- 92.2 percent-- of all slaves in the Platte region resided on holdings of fewer than ten slaves, while only thirteen holdings in the region had more than twenty slaves. Five owners in the region owned more than thirty slaves; the largest single holding in the Platte Purchase region was located in Andrew County and possessed thirty-six slaves.

#### **Slave Owner Nativity**

According to the Slave Schedules, Platte County had the greatest number of slave owners, 651, while Atchison County was home to only ten slave owners in 1850 (Table 6). Slave owners in the Platte region, based on nativity, came from thirty-one different locations, with the greatest diversity of nativity found in Platte County. Tables 7 and 8 stress the southern influence on slave ownership. Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina dominated slave owner nativity in the Platte Purchase region. The states of Kentucky and Virginia by themselves accounted for 714, or 68.4 percent, of the total number of slave owner nativity areas.

The "slave" state status of Missouri obviously had a major impact on migration. Slave owners from the Upper South, viewing the Platte region as one of the last bastions for slavery, transplanted their culture and the institution of slavery into The dominance of northwest Missouri. slave owners from the Upper South in the Platte region is similar to the pattern found by Jordan (1967) in eastern Texas in the mid-1800s. Jordan (1967) found that the majority of slave owners that settled in Texas essentially moved their cultural-economic system from the Upper South to eastern Texas.

Individuals born overseas did not make up a significant proportion of the slave owners in the Platte region. Foreign-born slave owners came from only seven different countries and numbered thirty-two in all. The country with the highest number of

slave owners was Ireland, with eight, while England and Scotland each had seven, and Germany six. The thirty-two foreign-born owners represented only 2.69 percent of all slave owners in the Platte Purchase region. It is apparent that the pioneers from foreign lands who settled in this area did not bring, or adopt, the institution of slavery in large numbers.

The same conclusion can generally be applied to the entire population found in the Platte region. Kolchin (1993) states that even though the South was a slaveholding society, substantial numbers of southerners had no direct interest in, or experience with, slavery. In the South as a whole, slave owners always constituted a minority of the white population (Kolchin 1993). The Platte Purchase region is no exception to this rule. Of the 41,092 settlers found in the area in 1850 only 1189, or 2.89 percent, possessed slaves.

# Gender, Age, and Demography of Slaves in the Platte Purchase Region

Comparable statistics as those for the gender and age of the "free" inhabitants located in the Platte region can also be generated for the slave population found in the area. Overall the Platte region had 2360 female slaves and 2229 male slaves in 1850 (Table 9). This slight female numerical advantage was the case in all six counties. The largest percentage discrepancy was found in Atchison County, which was 60.0 percent female, but Andrew County, with fifty-six more females, had the largest numerical difference between the two genders.

The gender variations of slaves in the Platte region can partially be explained by the number of juveniles. If the male and female slave population is divided into categories based on age, above and below the age of sixteen, the under-sixteen classes stand out. In all six counties the largest group, by percentage, is that of the under sixteen age divisions, and four of these are

female groups under sixteen years of age. From these data it is apparent that a portion of the variance found between the number of male and female slaves can be attributed to the abundance of juvenile females in the region (Figure 4).

The median age of slaves in the Platte Purchase region was extremely young. In general, this can partially be explained by the abbreviated life expectancy of slaves in 1850. Fogel and Engerman (1974) calculate the life expectation for slaves at this time to be thirty-six years of age. No Platte Purchase county had an average slave age over seventeen years (Table 10). The lowest median slave age, 14 years, was found in Nodaway County, and the oldest median age, 16.7 years, was located in Holt County. Once again, a cautionary note must be added to point out that the number of months was used to define the age of slaves under oneyear of age, which would act to lower the overall age.

Factors contributing to the low average age of slaves found in the Platte region were numerous. The poor nutritional quality of their diets, the number of deadly diseases at this time for which no medical cures were available, and the amount of manual labor would make for a short life Additionally, expectancy. as previously, the predominance of children in the slave segment of the population would act to lower the overall median age of the slaves. The large number of children can be attributed to a number of facts. Orphans, due to high adult death rates, comprised approximately 16 percent of the total slave population in the United States (Fogel and Engerman 1974). Also, it must be remembered that slaves were viewed as a long-term investment. Children, although not capable of strenuous fieldwork, were valued as household servants and as future laborers (Fogel and Engerman 1974).

The median age of male and female slaves at the county level was considerably higher when the juveniles were excluded, approaching the median age of the "free" inhabitants in the region (Table 11). At the county level, the average age of females exceeded that of the males. The adult-male slave median ages ranged from a low of 21.2 years of age in Holt County to a high of 30.5 years in Atchison County. The adult-female slave median ages ranged from a low of 27.9 years of age in Buchanan County to a high of 31.4 years in Atchison County.

The final variable dealing with slave demography is ethnicity. The 1850 Slave Schedules made the ethnic distinction black and mulatto-between individuals having at least one-eighth ancestry of another race (Fogel and Engerman 1974). Of the 4589 slaves in the Platte Purchase region, 3499, or 76.2 percent, were listed as being black, with the remainder categorized as mulatto (Table 12). The proportion of mulatto in the Platte region slaves is well above the national average of the time. According to Fogel and Engerman (1974) 7.7 percent of all slaves in 1850 were mulatto.

The strict adherence to recording accurate census data, demonstrated by the separation of black and mulatto slaves, was due to political considerations. Taxes and political representation were based on a state's overall population. Slaves, both black and mulatto, counted as three-fifths of an individual. The number of slaves in each state had a significant impact on both the amounts of taxes and representation a state would receive. Obviously, non-slaveholding were greatly concerned garnering their "fair-share" of government taxes and representation, as were the proslavery states (Jackson and Teeples 1976). Additionally, the separation of race, even distinguishing between black and mulatto, was a means to solidify the "we-they" dichotomy. In this way race was used to legitimize the institution of slavery (Kolchin 1993).

Unfortunately the demographic variable of nativity was not listed on the

Slave Schedules in 1850, although several studies have attempted to generate estimates regarding slave nativity elsewhere (Fogel and Engerman, 1974, Kolchin, 1993, and Thomas, 1997). In general, slaves came to the settlement frontier either with their owners or by way of a trade network. Fogel and Engerman (1974) estimate that "about 84 percent of the slaves engaged in the westward movement migrated with their owners." Thomas (1997) discussing slave trading routes, concludes that between 1810 and 1860, approximately 127,000 slaves were traded from the eastern states to the Only one such slave western states. transaction was found in the records of Atchison County prior to 1851. On November 10, 1846 Nathan Meek in "consideration of the sum of fifteen dollars paid by Margaret Eberman. sold to her one certain Negro woman known by the name of Betty" (Atchison County Land Records, Book 1, Page 32, 1847).

However the slave population might have arrived in the Platte Purchase region, it is highly unlikely-- considering the low median age of the slaves in the Platte region and the fact that a ban on the importation of slaves from Africa went into effect on January 1, 1807-- that any of the slaves found in northwest Missouri had been born in Africa (Thomas 1997). Based on the slave migration data and the slave statistics provided, owner nativity and slave median age, the most probable scenario is that slaves migrated to the Platte region with their owners from their owner's previous place of residence, most likely the Upper South.

#### Geographic Distribution and the Need for Slave Labor

Thus far, this analysis of slavery in the Platte Purchase region has demonstrated why slavery was allowed, where the slaves were found in the region, and described the nature of slave ownership. The questions of why slaves were needed, or brought, to the Platte Purchase region now needs to be addressed, along with the evaluation of the

geographic distribution of the slaves. The answers to those questions appear to relate to the economy of the Platte region, specifically the type of the agricultural goods being produced, as well as the north-south gradation of settlement.

Earle (1987) states that agriculture at this time significantly shaped the patterns of regional economic development and the spatial distribution of slaves: the type of agricultural commodity being produced created the demand for slave labor. Kolchin (1993) agrees that the institution of slavery emerged to meet the labor shortages that developed with certain agricultural activities—the more intense the activity the higher the labor demand.

The opening of the fertile Platte Purchase region, located in an area that permitted slavery, created a demand for cheap labor to clear the land and open up the territory for settlement (Moore 1953). The extension of slavery throughout the Platte Purchase region was motivated by the profitability associated with it and the need for a cheap labor pool.

Kolchin (1993) states that during this period "approximately seventy-five percent of all adult slaves worked as field hands." Once the Platte region was cleared for settlement and agriculture, several crops were grown that depended heavily upon slave labor. This fact is substantiated by agricultural data found in the United States' 1850 census records (Table 13). These data demonstrate the importance of agriculture to the economy of the Platte Purchase region, which predicated the use of slave labor.

The three counties, Andrew, Buchanan, and Platte, with the highest production of labor-intensive commodities, such as tobacco and hemp, and the highest percent of improved land, also had the highest number of slaves. The relationship between the location of slaves and agricultural commodity type can be

statistically substantiated by the use of correlation coefficients.

Correlation coefficients indicate the degree to which variation, or change, in one variable is related to variation in another variable. A correlation coefficient not only summarizes the strength of association between a pair of variables, but also provides the means for comparing the strength of relationship between one pair of variables and a different pair. The range of possible values for the correlation coefficient varies from -1, which is a perfect negative relationship, through 0, no relationship, to +1, which is a perfect relationship. Any correlation value greater than +.5 is deemed as a highly positive relationship (Bailey 1978).

In this particular analysis, the number of slaves by county are the first data set, with twelve agricultural variables being the second data set— one in each of the successive correlation tests (Table 14). The strength of association in these twelve analyses goes a long way in explaining the spatial patterns of slave ownership.

All twelve variables were positively correlated to slavery, although the strength of the relationship is in line with the individual labor demands agricultural commodity. For example, labor intense crops, such as hemp, tobacco, and the clearing of land, all had a correlation above .94. Draft animals-- horses, oxen, and mules that would have been used to assist in production of most agricultural commodities-- also registered extremely high positive correlations. Commodities that required less labor, such as wheat, hay, and some livestock (sheep and swine) had positive correlations, but not as strong as the more labor-intensive crops.

The best example of slavery and labor intensity is the growing of corn, listed as Indian Corn in the 1850 census records. Northern cereal farmers supplied their labor demands from rural laborers, having little need for the use of slave labor (Earle 1987).

Relying on slave labor for the production of corn was not economically viable; therefore, northern farmers tended to look negatively upon the use of slaves. Corn requires a substantial amount of labor in the spring and early summer, but the fall harvest is much less labor-intensive. Although the harvest involves a large amount of work, the time frame when the harvest can occur is much wider than that for the fieldwork in early spring and summer. Farmers had the luxury of harvesting Indian Corn throughout the fall months and on into the winter. This fact makes corn a "seasonal" crop and the use of slave labor is not cost efficient for the growers of corn. The lower correlation, 0.79, when compared to the other agricultural commodities, between number of slaves per county and the number of bushels of Indian Corn produced in the Platte region substantiates Earle's (1987) thesis regarding labor demands and crop intensity.

The predominance of certain agricultural commodities reflects the Upper South's influence on settlement in the Platte Purchase region. According to Jordan (1967) certain regions of Kentucky and Tennessee were prolific producers of tobacco and hemp. County level data for the Platte region-- settler nativity, and the production of tobacco and hemp-- define those areas dominated by southerners.

Not only did crop production define regional differences, but draft animals did as well. In the yeomen-farmer-dominated Upper South the horse was the work animal of choice, giving way only in frontier areas to the oxen. Prior to 1860 the use of mules was very largely confined to areas where African slaves did the fieldwork (Jordan 1967). In areas of Texas settled primarily by pioneers from the Upper South, the ratio of horses to mules was ten to one. In the Platte Purchase region the horse to mule ratio was approximately eight to one. Also, nearly 91 percent of the total number of mules, was located in Andrew, Buchanan, and Platte Counties, those areas possessing

the majority of slaves. Also as Jordan (1967) suggests, the use of oxen on the frontier did tend to increase; with 10,072 oxen in 1850 the Platte Purchase region was no exception to that rule. The National Historic Company (1882) concludes that the use of oxen in breaking ground was thought by early pioneers to be indispensable.

# **Atchison County Slave Owner Settlement Pattern**

According to the Census Slave Schedule, there were ten slave owners in Atchison County, Missouri in 1850. The Atchison County land records were utilized to determine the geographic distribution of these settlers throughout the county. total, these slave owners acquired thirty parcels-- seventeen town lots and thirteen rural parcels. William Mann, from Virginia, owned the most rural parcels-- three-- while S.F. Nuckolls, also from Virginia, owned the most town lots-- six. Three was the average number of parcels owned by each slave owner, with six of these early settlers possessing both rural parcels and town lots. Studying the geographic distribution of these parcels reveals that there were two

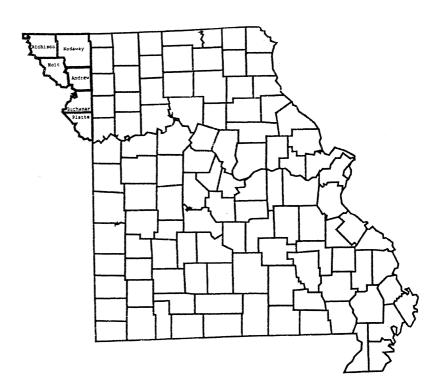
prominent areas of slave owner settlement within the county (Figure 5). One cluster existed in the northern portion of the county, two to three sections from the Iowa state-border, and the other in the southern reaches of the county in the loess hills. The pattern of slave owner settlement represents areas in which individuals were simply buying adjacent farms or parcels in close proximity to existing ones. It does not provide concrete evidence that slave owners were more apt to congregate together.

#### **Conclusions**

The economy of northwest Missouri relied heavily upon agriculture, which led to a demand for slave labor. The geographic distribution of slaves can be explained by the north-south gradation of settlement and the location of certain labor intense crops-hemp and tobacco-- as revealed by the correlation analysis. The dominance of the Upper South in slave owner nativity suggests that the Upper South's yeomen farmer culture was essentially transplanted to the Platte Purchase region of northwest Missouri.

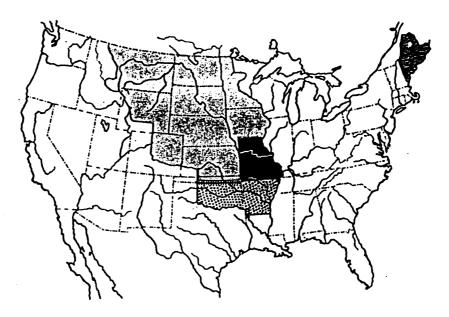
#### **Appendix**

Figure 1-- Platte Purchase Region of Northwest Missouri



Cartography by: H. Jason Combs, UNL.

Figure 2-- Slavery's Boundaries After the Missouri Compromise



THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

Louisiana Purchase territory closed to slavery

Compromise line of 36° 30′

Louisiana Purchase territory left open to slavery

New free state, Maine

New slave state, Missouri

Source: Moore, Glover. *The Missouri Controversy, 1819-1821*. Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1953, Page 349.

**Table 1-- Number of Slaves, by County** 

County	Number of Slaves	% of Total Number*
Andrew	662	14.426
Atchison	30	0.007
Buchanan	902	19.656
Holt	127	2.767
Nodaway	70	1.525
Platte	2798	60.972
Total	4589	

<sup>\*</sup>Percentages may not = 100% due to rounding.

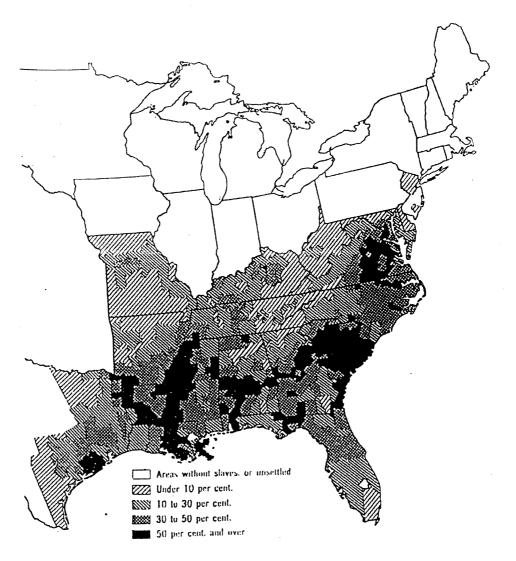
Table 2-- Slaves as a Percentage of the Total Population

County	Percentage*
Andrew	6.8
Buchanan	1.8
Holt	7.0
Nodaway	3.2
Platte	3.3
Total Platte Purchase Region	9.7
Missouri Statewide Percentage	12.9

\*Percentages may not = 100% due to rounding.

Source: United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

Figure 3-- 1850 Percentage of Slaves in Total Population



Source: Paullin, Charles. *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. Baltimore, Maryland: A. Hoen and Company, 1932, Plate 68.

Table 3-- Average Number of Slaves/Owner

County	Average/Owner
Andrew	3.45
Atchison	3.00
Buchanan	3.32
Holt	2.82
Nodaway	3.68
Platte	4.30
Total Platte Purchase Average	3.86

Source: United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

Table 4-- Median Holdings of Slaves, by State, 1790, 1850, and 1860

State	1790	1850	1860
Louisiana		38.9	49.3
South Carolina	36.2	38.2	38.9
Mississippi		33.0	35.0
Alabama		29.9	33.4
Florida		28.5	28.4
Georgia		26.0	26.4
Arkansas		18.4	23.4
North Carolina	13.3	18.6	19.3
Virginia	17.4	18.1	18.8
Texas		14.9	17.6
Tennessee		15.2	15.1
Maryland	15.5	12.2	14.0
Kentucky		10.3	10.4
Missouri		8.6	8.3
Delaware		5.7	6.3
Total Average		20.6	23.0

Source: Kolchin, Peter. *American Slavery 1619-1877*. New York, New York: Hill and Wang, 1993, Page 244.

Table 5-- Comparison of Slave Distributions, by Size of Holding

Region	1-9 %	10-49 %	50-99 %	>99 %
South	25.6	49.5	22.5	2.4
Upper South*	35.4	52.7	11.2	0.6
Deep South**	19.4	47.4	39.6	35.9

<sup>\*--</sup> Upper South: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee.

<sup>\*\*--</sup> Deep South: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas. Source: Kolchin, Peter. *American Slavery 1619-1877*. New York, New York: Hill and Wang, 1993, Page 243.

<b>Holding Size</b>		1-9	10	-19	20	-29	>.	30
County	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	<b>%</b> *
Andrew	182	94.8	7	3.6	1	<1.0	2	<1.0
Atchison	9	90.0	1	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Buchanan	261	69.0	10	3.7	0	0.0	1	<1.0
Holt	44	97.8	1	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nodaway	18	94.7	1	5.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Platte	582	89.4	60	9.2	7	1.1	2	<1.0
Platte Total	1096	92.2	80	6.7	8	<1.0	5	<1.0

\*Percentages may not = 100% due to rounding.

Source: United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

Table 6-- 1850 Platte Purchase Slave Owner Nativity, by County

Nativity	A	A	В	Н	N	P
*Bermuda						, 2
*England	1		3			3
*Germany		2			2	2
*Ireland		2	1		5	
*Isle of Man			1			
*Nova Scotia					1	
*Prussia	1					1
*Scotland	4				1	2
*Wales					1	
AL				1		1
AR						1
GA	1		1	1		1
IL		1		1		
IN	2					5
IA			1	. 1		
KY	73		83	11	8	312
LA						1
MA			1			1
MD	1		5			8
MI						1
MO	6	2	5	1	2	25
NH						1
NJ			1			3
NY	1		2			15
NC	10		14	3		26
ОН			4	1		11
PA	10	1	_2		1	17
SC	1		3		1	2
TN			16_	10	4	58
VA	39	3	38	10		139
VT		1				1
Illegible	42		91	3		5
<b>Total Slave Owners</b>	192	10	272	45	19	651
* Foreign-Born						

**Table 7-- 1850 Ranked Slave Owner Nativity** 

Nativity	N
Kentucky	487
Virginia	227
Tennessee	88
North Carolina	53
Missouri	41
Pennsylvania	31
New York	18
Ohio	16
Maryland	14
*Ireland	88
*England	7
*Scotland	7
Indiana	7
South Carolina	7
*Germany	6
Georgia	4
New Jersey	4
Illinois	2
<u>Iowa</u>	2
Massachusetts	2
*Prussia	2
*Bermuda	2
Alabama	2
Vermont	2
*Isle of Man	11
*Wales	11
Arkansas	1
Louisiana	l
Michigan	1
New Hampshire	1
*Illegible	141
Total	1189

#### \*-- Foreign-Born

Source: United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

**Table 8-- Slave Owner Nativity Based on Percentage** 

\*Percentage Excludes Number of Illegible

State/Country	Percentage
Kentucky	46
Virginia	21.9
Tennessee	8.4
North Carolina	5.1
Missouri	4.0
Pennsylvania	3.0
New York	1.7
Ohio	1.5
Maryland	1.3
Michigan	<1.0
Vermont	<1.0
New Hampshire	<1.0
New Jersey	<1.0
*Bermuda	<1.0
*England	<1.0
*Germany	<1.0
*Ireland	
*Isle of Man	<1.0
*Prussia	<1.0
*Scotland	<1.0
*Wales	<1.0
Alabama	<1.0
Arkansas	<1.0
Georgia	<1.0
Illinois	<1.0
Indiana	<1.0
Iowa	<1.0
Louisiana	<1.0
Massachusetts	<1.0
South Carolina	<1.0

#### \*-- Foreign-Born

<sup>\*</sup>Percentages may not = 100% due to rounding.

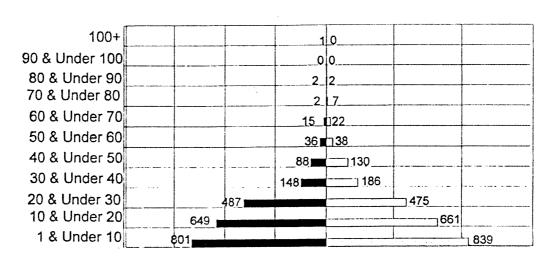
Table 9-- Number and Percent of Male and Female Slaves

	Male		Female	
County	N	%	N	%
Andrew	303	46	359	54
Atchison	12	40	18	60
Buchanan	426	47	476	53
Holt	58	46	69	54
Nodaway	33	47	37	54
Platte	1397	49.9	1401	50.1

\*Percentages may not = 100% due to rounding.

Source: United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

Figure 4-- 1850 Platte Purchase Slave Population Pyramid



Male

Female

Source: United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850.* Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

Table 10-- Average Age of Slaves, by County

County	Total Average	Male	Female
Andrew	16.48	16.16	16.75
Atchison	15.00	12.33	16.78
Buchanan	16.68	15.52	17.73
Holt	15.41	11.83	18.32
Nodaway	13.95	11.74	15.92
Platte	16.64	16.55	16.75

Table 11-- Number and Percent of Slaves Over/Under Sixteen Years of Age, Median Age of Those Over Sixteen

County		N	Median Age	%
Andrew	Under 16	164	26.58	24.8
(Male)	Over 16	139		21.0
Andrew	Under 16	196	28.78	29.6
(Female)	Over 16	163		24.6
Atchison	Under 16	10	30.5	33.3
(Male)	Over 16	2		6.7
Atchison	Under 16	11	31.4	36.7
(Female)	Over 16	7		23.3
Buchanan	Under 16	237	25.6	26.3
(Male)	Over 16	189		21.0
Buchanan	Under 16	244	27.9	27.1
(Female)	Over 16	232		25.6
Holt	Under 16	38	21.2	30.0
(Male)	Over 16	20		15.7
Holt	Under 16	33	28.8	26.0
(Female)	Over 16	36		28.3
Nodaway	Under 16	22	22.6	31.4
(Male)	Over 16	11		15.7
Nodaway	Under 16	21	28.4	30.0
(Female)	Over 16	16		22.9
Platte	Under 16	724	26.9	25.9
(Male)	Over 16	673		24.1
Platte	Under 16	762	28.5	27.2
(Female)	Over 16	639		22.8

Platte Purchase Region		N	<b>%</b>
Male	Under 16	1195	26.0
	Over 16	1034	22.5
Female	Under 16	1267	27.6
	Over 16	1093	23.8

\*Percentages may not = 100% due to rounding.

Source: United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

**Table 12-- Slave Ethnic Composition, Black Versus Mulatto** 

County	Black	%	Mulatto	%
Andrew	500	75.5	162	24.5
Atchison	27	90.0	3	10.0
Buchanan	748	82.9	154	17.1
Holt	90	70.9	37	29.1
Nodaway	51	72.9	19	27.1
Platte	2083	74.5	715	25.5
Total	3499	76.2	1090	23.8

\*Percentages may not = 100% due to rounding.

Table 13-- 1850 Agricultural Statistics

County	Slaves	Horses	Oxen	Mules	Wheat(BU)
Andrew	662	2460	1590	257	109,547
Atchison	30	601	621	27	15,577
Buchanan	902	3567	2602	455	121,682
Holt	127	1236	1062	85	48,355
Nodaway	70	639	550	70	10,208
Platte	2798	6288	3647	960	129,067

County	Oats(BU)	% Improved	Tobacco(LBS)	Hay(Tons)
Andrew	59,293	26	9443	2478
Atchison	9773	21	0	24
Buchanan	56,549	30	300	1075
Holt	11,423	20	2100	870
Nodaway	16,485	21	2200	64
Platte	127,392	43	66,000	3551

County	Hemp(Tons)	Sheep	Swine_
Andrew	475	12,080	20,461
Atchison	5	1694	8159
Buchanan	1894	15,054	9373
Holt	78	5137	30,323
Nodaway	5	3194	6775
Platte	4345	20,234	45,137

County	Indian Corn(BU)
Andrew	518,795
Atchison	149,387
Buchanan	1,935,713
Holt	240,327
Nodaway	167,113
Platte	1,844,287

Source: United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

**Table 14-- Correlations, Slavery and Agricultural Products** 

Variable 1	Variable 2	Correlation Coefficient_
Number of Slaves	Horses	0.9763
Number of Slaves	Oxen	0.9402
Number of Slaves	Mules	0.9899
Number of Slaves	Wheat	0.7620
Number of Slaves	Oats	0.9786
Number of Slaves	% Improved	0.9908
Number of Slaves	Tobacco	0.9474
Number of Slaves	Hay	0.8758
Number of Slaves	Hemp	0.9817
Number of Slaves	Sheep	0.9023
Number of Slaves	Swine	0.7540
Number of Slaves	Indian Corn	0.7988

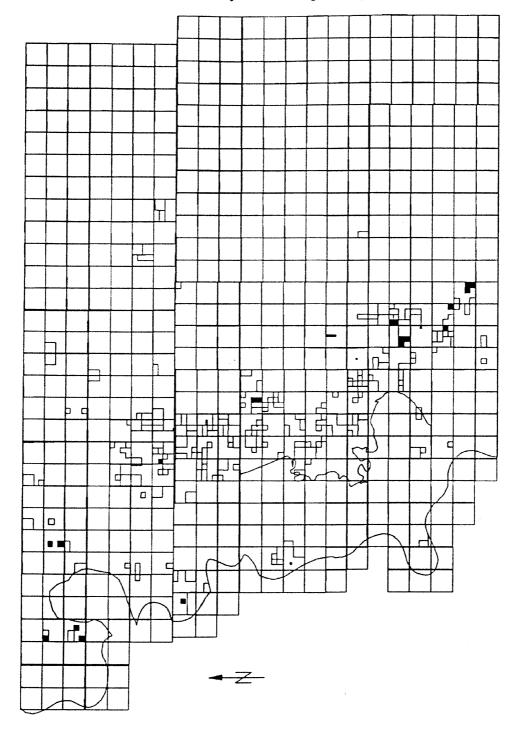


Figure 5-- Atchison County Parcels Acquired by Slave Owners

Cartography by: H. Jason Combs, UNL.

Source: Atchison County Land Records. *Index Books 1-13*. Rock Port, Missouri, 1845-1850 and United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of the Census. *The Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853.

#### **References Cited**

Ammon, Harry. James Monroe.

1997 *The Presidents*, Ed. Henry Graff, 75-90, Simon & Schuster Macmillan New York, New York.

Anbinder, Tyler.

1992 Nativism and Slavery The Northern Know Nothings & the Politics of the 1850s. Oxford University Press. New York, New York.

Atchison County Land Records. *Index Books 1-13*. Rock Port, Missouri, 1845-1850.

Bailey, Kenneth.

1978 Methods of Social Research. Free Press. New York, New York.

Berlin, Ira.

1975 Slaves Without Masters. Pantheon Books New York, New York.

Billington, Ray.

1959 The Westward Movement in the United States. D. Van Nostrand. New York, New York.

1967 Westward Expansion; A History of the American Frontier. Macmillan Publishing. New York, New York.

Brown, Ralph.

1948 Historical Geography of the United States. Ed. J. Russell Whitaker. Harcourt, Brace. New York, New York.

Dixon, Archibald.

1899 The True History of the Missouri Compromise and its Repeal. The Robert Clarke Company. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Earle, Carville.

1987 Regional Economic Development West of the Appalachians, 1815-1860. In, *North America The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent*, Ed. Robert Mitchell and Paul Groves, 172-197, Rowman & Littlefield. London, United Kingdom.

Eidt, Robert.

1984 Advances in Abandoned Settlement Analysis. University of Wisconsin. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Ellis, Joseph.

1996 American Sphinx The Character of Thomas Jefferson. Random House, Incorporated. New York, New York.

Fogel, Robert, and Engerman, Stanley.

1974 Time on the Cross. Little, Brown. Boston, Massachusetts.

Gerlach, Russel.

1974 Rural Ethnic and Religious Groups as Cultural Islands in the Ozarks of Missouri: Their Emergence and Persistence. University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln, Nebraska.

1976 Immigrants in the Ozarks. University of Missouri Press. Columbia, Missouri.

1976 Population Origins in Rural Missouri. *Missouri Historical Review* 71: 1-20.

Goodwin, Cardinal.

1967 The Trans-Mississippi West, 1803-1853. Russell and Russell. New York, New York.

Gray, Lewis.

1933 History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860. The Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D.C.

Gutman, Herbert.

1975 Slavery and the Numbers Game. University of Illinois Press. Urbana, Illinois.

Haring, Lloyd, Lounsbury, John, and Frazier, John.

1992 Introduction to Scientific Geographic Research. Brown Publishers. Dubuque, Iowa.

Houck, Louis.

1908 A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into the Union. R.R Donnelley and Sons Company. Chicago, Illinois.

Hudson, John.

1969 A Location Theory for Rural Settlement. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 59: 365-381.

Jackson, Ronald, and Teeples, Gary.

1976 Missouri 1850 Census Index. Accelerated Indexing Systems, Incorporated. Bountiful, Utah.

Jacobs, Wilbur.

1965 Frederick Jackson Turner's Legacy. The Huntington Library. San Marino, California.

Jordan, Terry.

The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid-Nineteenth-Century Texas. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 57: 667-690.

1975 Vegetational Perception and Choice of Settlement Site in Frontier Texas. In, *Pattern and Process Research in Historical Geography*, Ed. Ralph Ehrenberg, 244-257. Howard University Press. Washington, District of Columbia.

Kachigan, Sam.

1991 Multivariate Statistical Analysis. Radius Press. New York, New York.

Kolchin, Peter.

1993 American Slavery 1619-1877. Hill and Wang. New York, New York.

Latner, Richard.

1997 Andrew Jackson. In, *The Presidents*, Ed. Henry Graff. 105-128. Simon & Schuster Macmillan, New York, New York.

Lynch, William.

The Influence of Population Movements on Missouri Before 1861. *Missouri Historical Review* 16: 506-516.

Malin, James.

1940 Local Historical Studies and Population Problems. In, *The Cultural Approach to History*, Ed. Caroline Ware, 300-307. Columbia University Press. Morningside Heights, New York.

1984 History and Ecology Studies of the Grassland. University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln, Nebraska.

McCandless, Percy.

1972 A History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860. University of Missouri Press. Columbia, Missouri.

McGlothlan, A.W.

1915 Andrew County. In, *History of Northwest Missouri*. Ed. Williams. 308-324, The Lewis Publishing Company. Chicago, Illinois.

McKee, Howard.

1938 The Platte Purchase. Missouri Historical Review. 32: 129-147.

Miles, M. and Crush, J.

1993 Personal Narrative as Interactive Texts: Collecting and Interpreting Migrant Life Histories. *The Professional Geographer*. 45: 84-94.

Mills, Raymond.

1915 Holt County. In, *History of Northwest Missouri*. Ed. Williams. 527-544. The Lewis Publishing Company. Chicago, Illinois.

Missouri House of Representatives

House Journal. Seventh General Assembly, First Session, 1832-1833, Pages 119-120.

House Journal. Eighth General Assembly, First Session, 1834-1835, Page 64.

Moore, Glover.

1953 The Missouri Controversy 1819-1821. University of Kentucky Press. Lexington, Kentucky.

National Historic Company

1882 History of Atchison and Holt Counties, Missouri. O.P. Williams and Company. St. Joe, Missouri.

Neuhoff, Dorothy.

1924 The Platte Purchase. Missouri Historical Review. 18: 307-346.

Nie, Norman, Bent, Dale, and Hull, Haldlai.

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. McGraw-Hill. New York, New York.

Ohman, Marian.

1980 Missouri County Organization 1812-1876. Missouri Historical Review. 75: 253-281.

Parrish, William, Foley, William, McCandless, Perry, and Kirkendall, Richard.

1971 A History of Missouri. University of Missouri Press. Columbia, Missouri.

Paullin, Charles.

1932 Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States. A. Hoen and Company. Baltimore, Maryland.

Richardson, Charles.

1968 Early Settlement of Eastern Nebraska Territory: A Geographical Study Based on the Original Land Survey. University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln, Nebraska.

Riegel, Robert.

1930 America Moves West. H. Holt and Company. New York, New York.

Rutt, Chris.

Buchanan County. In, *History of Northwest Missouri*. Ed. Williams. 335-369. The Lewis Publishing Company. Chicago, Illinois.

Schroeder, Walter.

1968 Spread of Settlement in Howard County, Missouri 1810-1859. *Missouri Historical Review*, 63: 1-37.

Shaw, Gareth, and Wheeler, Dennis.

1996 Statistical Techniques in Geographical Analysis. David Fulton Publishers. London, United Kingdom.

Shelley, Fred, Archer, J. Clark, Davidson, Fiona, and Brunn, Stanley

1996 Political Geography of the United States. The Guilford Press. New York, New York.

Shortridge, James.

1995 Peopling the Plains: Who Settled Where in Frontier Kansas. University Press of Kansas. Lawrence, Kansas.

1980 The Expansion of the Settlement Frontier in Missouri. *Missouri Historical Review.* 75: 64-90.

Skelton, S.W.

1954 Early History of Atchison County, County Superintendent. Atchison County, Missouri.

Smith, Jane.

1975 Settlement on the Public Domain as Reflected in Federal Records: Suggested Research Approaches, In *Pattern and Process Research in Historical Geography*. Ed. Ralph Ehrenberg, 290-304. Howard University Press, 1975. Washington, District of Columbia.

Stapel, H.F.

1915 Atchison County. In, *History of Northwest Missouri*, Ed. Williams. 325-334. The Lewis Publishing Company. Chicago, Illinois.

Stevens, Walter.

1915 Missouri The Center State 1821-1915. The S.J. Clarke Company. St. Louis, Missouri.

Tadman, Michael.

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

Taylor, George.

1956 The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History. D.C. Heath and Company. Boston, Massachusetts.

Thomas, Hugh.

1997 The Slave Trade. Simon and Schuster. New York. New York.

Todd, James.

Nodaway County. In, *History of Northwest Missouri*. Ed. Williams. 590-597. The Lewis Publishing Company. Chicago, Illinois.

Tucker, J.P.

1915 Platte County. In, *History of Northwest Missouri*. Ed. Williams. 598-606. The Lewis Publishing Company. Chicago, Illinois.

Turner, Frederick.

1935 The United States 1830-1850 The Nation and its Sections. Henry Holt and Company. New York, New York.

United States Bureau of the Census.

1853a Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Andrew County, Missouri. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

1853b Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Atchison County, Missouri. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

1853c Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Buchanan County, Missouri. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

1853d Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Holt County, Missouri. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

1853e Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Nodaway County, Missouri. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

1853f Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Platte County, Missouri. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C.

#### United States Congress.

House of Representatives. *House Reports.* 24th Congress, First Session, Volume II, Number 379, Page 5.

Statutes at Large. Volume IV, Pages 411-412.

Statutes at Large. Volume V, Page 802.

Senate. Senate Documents. 24th Congress, First Session, Volume III, Document 206.

Senate. Senate Documents. 24th Congress, First Session, Volume III, Document 251.

#### Wandsnider, LuAnn.

1998 Regional Scale Processes and Archaeological Landscape Units. In, *Unit Issues in Archaeology*, Ed. Ramenofsky and Anastasia. University of Utah Press. Salt Lake City, Utah.

#### Wexler, Alan.

1995 Atlas of Westward Expansion. Facts on File. New York, New York.

#### Williams, Walter.

1915 A History of Northwest Missouri. The Lewis Publishing Company. Chicago, Illinois.

#### Williams, Walter, and Shoemaker, Floyd.

1930 History of Missouri. American Historical Society Incorporated. New York, New York.

#### Wishart, David.

1973 Age and Sex Composition of the Population on the Nebraska Frontier. *Nebraska History*. 54: 107-119.

#### Zelinsky, Wilbur.

1973 *The Cultural Geography of the United States*. Prentice-Hall, Incorporation. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.