

# WHITE SUPREMACY

A Comparative Study  
in American and South African History

George M. Fredrickson

New York                      Oxford  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1981

# Contents

INTRODUCTION, xi

I. SETTLEMENT AND SUBJUGATION, 1600–1840, 3

*Two Frontiers, 3; The Image of the Savage, 7; Rehearsals: Ireland and Indonesia, 13; The Dispossession of the Coastal Indians and the Cape Khoikhoi, 21; The Trans-Appalachian and Eastern Cape Frontiers, 40*

II. THE RISE OF RACIAL SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH AND THE CAPE, 54

*The Emergence of a Labor System, 54; The Ideological Origins of Slavery, 70; From Religious to Racial Slavery in Virginia and South Africa, 76; Slavery and Society in the South and the Cape, 85*

III. RACE MIXTURE AND THE COLOR LINE, 94

*Race Mixture in Comparative Perspective, 94; Early Race Mixture: The Restrictive American Pattern, 99; Early Race Mixture: The Permissive South African Pattern, 108; The Origins of Difference, 124; The Legacy of the Early Patterns, 129*

- IV. LIBERTY, UNION, AND WHITE SUPREMACY,  
1776–1910, 136  
*White Politics and the Emergence of New Nations, 136; Revolution, Rebellion, and the Limits of Equality, 1776–1820, 140; White Supremacy and the American Sectional Conflict, 150; White Supremacy and the Anglo-Afrikaner Conflict, 1820–77, 162; Emancipations, Reconstructions, and Political Consolidation, 179*
- V. INDUSTRIALISM, WHITE LABOR,  
AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, 199  
*Industrialization and Ethnic Pluralism, 199; The Industrial Legacy of Slavery and the Rise of the Machine, 205; The Segmentation of Labor, 1870–1910, 212; The Emergence of Class and Race Conflict, 221; Why No Industrial Color Bar in the United States?, 234*
- VI. TWO STRANGE CAREERS: SEGREGATION  
IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOUTH, 239  
*Jim Crow and “Native Segregation”: A Contrast, 239; A Closer Parallel: Southern Blacks and Cape Coloreds, 255; The Era of Laissez-Faire Segregation, 257; The Emergence of Legalized Segregation and Disfranchisement, 268*
- CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS, 283
- NOTES, 289
- INDEX, 341

### MAPS

- The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution, 26
- The Cape Colony to 1803, 32
- The United States, 1861, 157
- South Africa in the Nineteenth Century, 174
- Contemporary South Africa, 243