

# **A Second Slavery**

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# Slavery's decline?

# Slavery and the Revolution

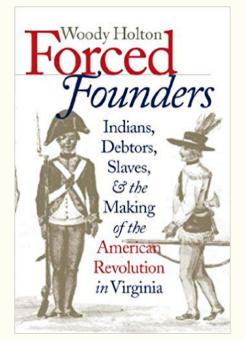
- The Revolution puts slavery at the center of the political discussion:
  - 1. Directly: How can you defend simultaneously slavery and the freedom of the colonies?

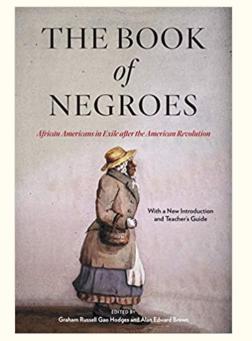
#### Samuel Johnson (1775)

"How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?"

- 2. Indirectly: By changing power relations. For example, Lord Dunmore's Proclamation (1775) promises freedom for any enslaved persons who would leave their patriot enslavers and join the British.
- Many former enslaved persons are evacuated by the British when the war ends (as well as the current enslaved persons of loyalists).
- Many slavers freed enslaved men if they fought in the Revolutionary War.

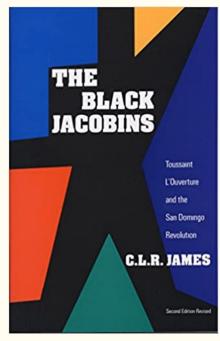


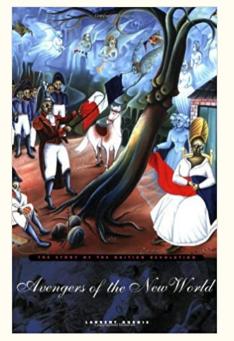




## **Haiti Revolution (1791-1804)**

- Hard to overestimate the impact of the Haiti Revolution on the new U.S.
- The most successful slave rebellion in history.
- Unfortunately, the consequences within Haiti are not as positive as some hoped: Toussaint L'Ouverture and Jean-Pierre Boyer.
- Ripple effect in all the continent:
  - 1. Pushes some of the new Latin American Republics to emancipation.
  - 2. Deep impact in the U.S. political economy: fear of a similar rebellion in the south. The U.S. does not recognize Haitian Independence until 1862!
  - 3. Paradoxically, the Haiti Revolution helps the U.S. by convincing Napoleon to liquidate the French empire in the Americas.



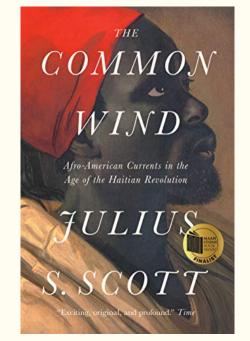




# BLACK SPARTACUS

THE EPIC LIFE OF TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE

SUDHIR HAZAREESINGH



## First steps toward abolition

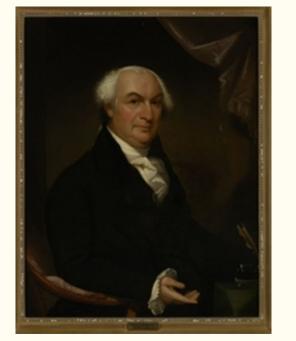
- Northern states start abolishing slavery after the Revolution:
  - Pennsylvania in 1780, New Hampshire and Massachusetts in 1783, Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, New York in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804 (Vermont joins as a free state in 1791).
  - Some of these abolitions were immediate (*Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Nathaniel Jennison* in 1783), some extremely slow (New Jersey still had 19 enslaved persons in 1865).
- Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibits slavery in the Northwest Territory.
- After 1808, importation of enslaved persons is prohibited at the federal level (all states but South Carolina have prohibited importation on their own before 1808). Act passed by Congress on March 2, 1807.
- Britain has done the same just one week before (February 22, 1807).

# Slavery's apparent decline, I

- With low tobacco prices in the 1780s and 1790s, slavery was becoming less profitable in the upper South.
- Exports of other commodities, such as rice, also stagnate.
- Growing concern that slavery slows down economic growth.

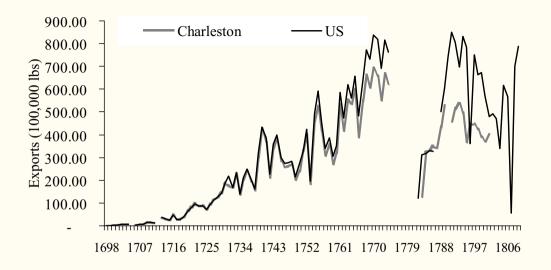
#### Gouverneur Morris speech to the Constitutional Convention

"It was the curse of heaven on the States where it prevailed. Compare the free regions of the Middle States, where a rich & noble cultivation marks the prosperity & happiness of the people, with the misery & poverty which overspread the barren wastes of Va. Maryd. & the other States having slaves. Travel thro' ye whole Continent & you behold the prospect continually varying with the appearance & disappearance of slavery. The moment you leave ye E(astern) Sts. & enter N(ew) York, the effects of the institution become visible; Passing thro' the Jerseys and entering Pa.-every criterion of superior improvement witnesses the change. Proceed Southw(ar)dly, & every step you take thro? ye great regions of slaves, presents a desert increasing with ye increasing proportion of these wretched beings."



# Slavery's apparent decline, II

- The combination of economic forces and a growing ideology against slavery prompted an increasing rate of manumissions, especially in Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware.
- Notable examples were George Washington (posthumously) and Robert Carter III (1728-1804).
- However, legal and economic situation of free persons of color is challenging.
- Also, the first Fugitive Slave Act on February 1793.



 $\label{eq:Figure 6} Figure \, 6$  EXPORTS OF RICE FROM CHARLESTON AND FROM THE UNITED STATES, 1698–1809

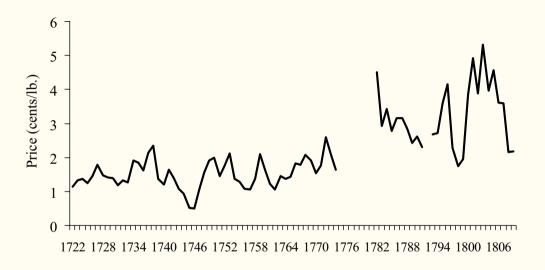


FIGURE 7
PRICE OF RICE, 1722–1809
(cents/pound)



# Beyond Slavery's Shadow FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR IN THE SOUTH WARREN EUGENE MILTEER JR.

# Slavery's apparent decline, III

- In 1780, Virginia had about 2,000 free black persons; by 1810, there were over 30,000. But still only about 6%.
- In Maryland and Delaware, manumission was more common, with Maryland having 53,000 free black persons in 1830, which was about half of the African American population.
- In South Carolina, the numbers rose from 1,800 in 1790 to 7,900 in 1810 and then stopped growing.
- 20% of U.S. merchant sailors were free black men.
- These observations led many to believe that slavery was doomed to disappear.
- Did it influence the Constitution? And the "three-fifths compromise"?

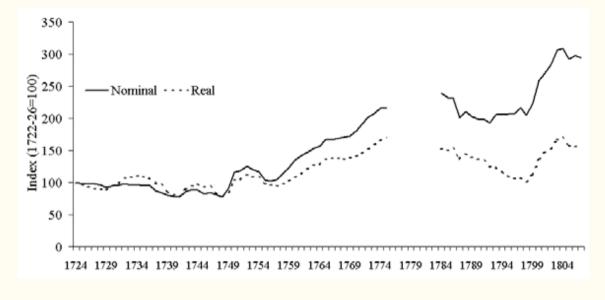


FIGURE 1
FIVE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE OF NOMINAL AND REAL SLAVE PRICE INDEXES

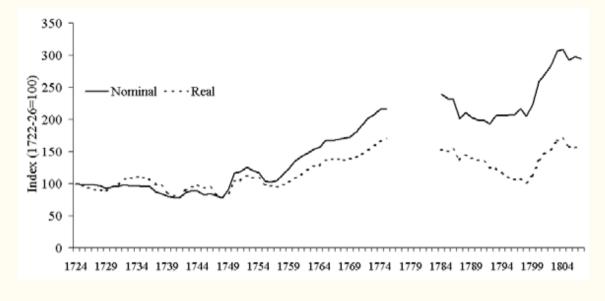
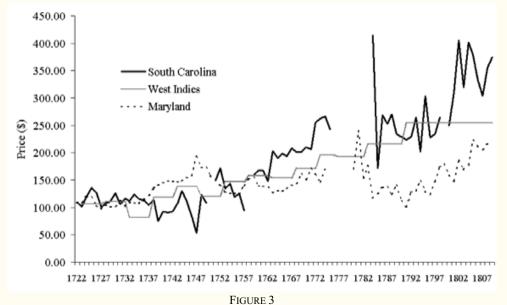


FIGURE 1
FIVE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE OF NOMINAL AND REAL SLAVE PRICE INDEXES

 ${\small \mathsf{TABLE}\,2}\\ \mathsf{SOURCES}\,\mathsf{OF}\,\mathsf{GROWTH}\,\mathsf{OF}\,\mathsf{THE}\,\mathsf{SOUTH}\,\mathsf{CAROLINA}\,\mathsf{SLAVE}\,\mathsf{POPULATION},\,1720–1809\\$ 

	Slave Population			Slaves Imported	
Period	Beginning of Period	End of Period	Change over Preceding Decade	Number	Ratio of Imports to Total Increase
1700–1710	2,444	5,768	3,324	3,000	0.90
1710-1720	5,768	11,868	6,100	6,000	0.98
1720-1730	11,868	20,000	8,132	11,600	1.43
1730-1740	20,000	39,155	19,155	21,150	1.10
1740-1750	39,155	40,000	845	1,950	2.31
1750-1760	40,000	53,000	13,000	16,497	1.27
1760-1770	53,000	75,178	22,178	21,840	0.99
1770-1780	75,178	97,000	21,822	18,866	0.87
1780-1790	97,000	107,094	10,094	19,200	1.90
1790-1800	107,094	146,151	39,057	19,991	0.51
1800-1810	146,151	196,365	50,214	30,195	0.60



SLAVE PRICES IN SOUTH CAROLINA, THE WEST INDIES, AND MARYLAND, 1722–1809

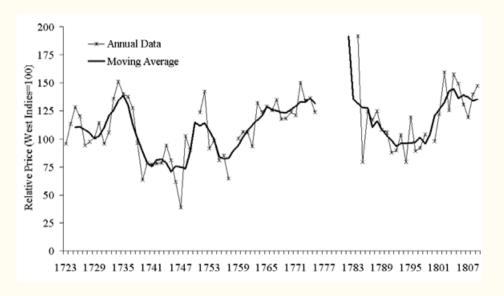
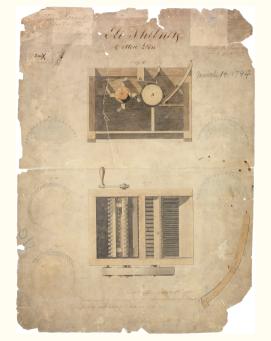


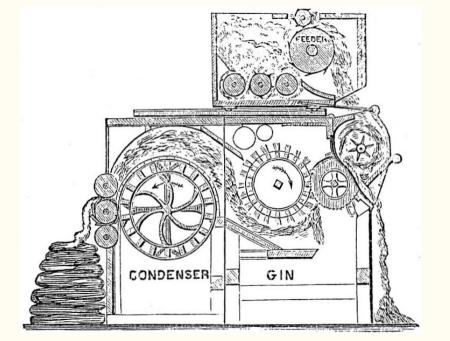
FIGURE 4
SLAVE PRICES IN SOUTH CAROLINA RELATIVE TO THE WEST INDIES

# Slavery's resurgence

## A technological breakthrough

- The invention of the cotton gin (short for engine) changed everything: the birth of a "second slavery" in the Atlantic world.
- Colonial slavery was spent, but not slavery itself.
- Eli Whitney (1765-1825) gets a patent for a cotton gin in 1794.
- Before the invention, separating fibers from seeds in upland short-staple cotton was tedious (previous gins for long-staple cotton, but less common).
- The gin enabled one worker to clean 23 kg of lint per day.
- Dovetails with the British Industrial Revolution and the growth of the world economy during the 19th century.



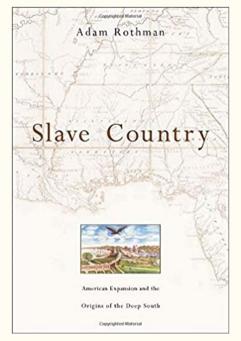


#### A cotton boom

- Cotton is a cash cow, much like sugar before it and oil after.
- Opening much of the large landmass acquired by the Louisiana Purchase (plus Florida and its navigation facilities) makes cotton the dominant crop of the United States. It creates the opportunity for many enterprising planters to become rich.
- Cotton production soared from 73,000 bales in 1800 to 720,000 bales in 1825 and 2.85 million bales in 1850. On the eve of the Civil War, 4.5 million bales.
- In 1800, the U.S. produces 9% of the world's cotton, but by 1850 that has risen to 68%.
- Between 1816 and 1820, cotton accounts for 39% of U.S. exports, and by 1836 it accounts for 59%, earning \$71 million.

## **Consequences: Economic**

- In 1790, cotton production required about 2,000 workers, with the number increasing 200 fold by 1850.
- In concert, the number of enslaved persons rose from 700,000 in 1790 to 3.2 million in 1850.
- Chattel slavery becomes firmly entrenched, as does the domestic slave trade.
- In particular, the Deep South becomes a slave society. In contrast, the Chesapeake region becomes an exporter as an enslaved person's value on a cotton plantation far exceeded his value in tobacco production.
  - 1. Around 124,000 persons were forcefully moved between 1800 and 1810.
  - 2. The percentage of free black persons declines from 8% in 1830 to 6% in 1860.
- Paradox: a terrible institution is "turbocharged" by other good institutions (unified national market, freedom of contracts, advanced financial system, ...).
- The end result is the most complex and dynamic slave society in human history.





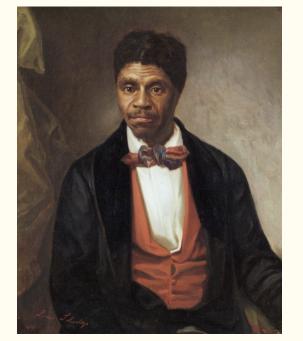


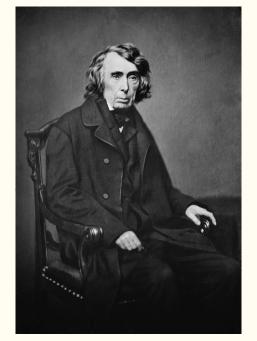




# **Consequences: Legal**

- Between 1820 and 1860, slavery becomes more legally protected:
  - 1. Various barriers to manumission were erected.
  - 2. Life of free blacks becomes harder (e.g., free black sailors arriving at Charleston had to spend their time in prison). Even in the north, the voting rights of free blacks are often reduced.
  - 3. Additionally, the failed insurrection organized by Denmark Vesey, a free black in Charleston (South Carolina) in 1822, led to a renewed crackdown on enslaved persons.
  - 4. Insurrection was made punishable by death in 11 states, and in 13 inciting enslaved persons to insurrection by a white man was made a capital crime.
  - 5. Dred Scott case (1857).





# THE DRED SCOTT CASE



Its Significance in American Law and Politic

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

# **Consequences: Intellectual**

- Changes in the intellectual foundations of the defenders of slavery: from "necessary evil" to "positive good."
- Souther elite was cosmopolitan and well-educated.
- Sophisticated arguments in favor of inequality and restricting democracy, including the voting rights of poor whites.
- Expansionary views (we will return to this later) joined with the construction of a growing sectional identity.
- There are even proposals to re-open the Atlantic slave trade! (Illegal importation had survived, especially in Brazil and Cuba).
- Influence in Cuba, Brazil, and European colonial empires: growth of sugar (Cuba) and coffee (Brazil) plantations along similar lines as in the Deep South plantations. Some in Europe even start doubting the wisdom of abolition.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese Eugene D. Genovese The Mind of the Master Class History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholder's Worldview



# INTELLECTUAL LIFE AND THE AMERICAN SOUTH, 1810-1860

AN ABRIDGED EDITION OF Conjectures of Order

"Provides the most ambitious, suphisticated, and detailed intellectual history of the Old South yet written. In scale and acope are amounting, in analysis illuminating, and its prior grandul"—Journal of the Early Republic

## Michael O'Brien

FOREWORD BY DANIEL WALKER HOW

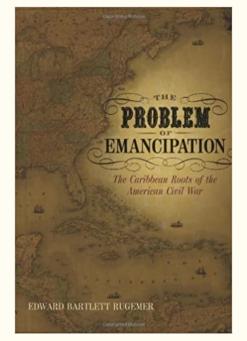
### JOHN F. KVACH



# THE ANTEBELLUM VISION OF A NEW SOUTH

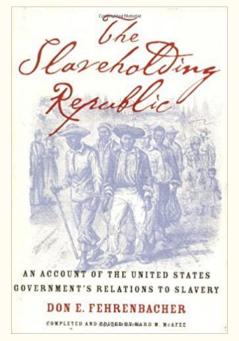
guide worthernen toward a sconger future, and it sows humanum a primary nefrence for plantors and emergeneous in the Old South. While the publication regionally promoted whose development and industrialization and absorated investment in schools, libraries, and other cultural resources, De flow began to use internations meant no.

Is its incoors preceding the Clei War, the South strangled against wikespread regarder characterisation of its econcors and society as it without to motify the North's inflatorisecture and level of development. Recognising the need of auditors, James Disastendity Bromeson G. D. B. Ohe Bow began publishing a monthly journal—De Bork Review—to



# Consequences: Collapse of the party system

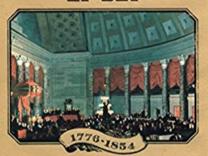
- Creates political-economic dynamics that leads to Mexican-American War and Civil War.
- In particular, second party system (Democratic vs. Whig) collapses due to slavery concerns:
  - 1. Strong control of Federal government by Southerners and their Northern allies ("doughfaces") from the 1830s until Lincoln's victory: Jackson, Tyler, Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan (and their corresponding cabinets). Also, Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice, 1836-1864.
  - 2. More in general: between 1789 and 1860, the President is from the south in 48 years and from the North in 24.
  - 3. Souther elite is more than happy to centralize power in the Federal government when it serves its interests (e.g., the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, foreign affairs).
  - Growing feeling in the north of being under a "slave power" ⇒ a central reason for the creation of the Republican Party.
  - This is why Lincoln's victory is such a no-return point for the secessionist: the first time (perhaps ever!)
    that they would not control the Federal government,



# THE ROAD TO DISUNION

. VOLUMET.

SECESSIONISTS AT BAY



WILLIAM W. FREEHLING

"Splendid." - Washington Post Book World

# THE RUAD TO DISUNION

\*VOLUME II\*

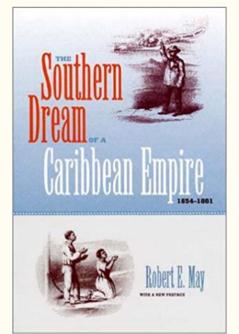
SECESSIONISTS TRIUMPHANT

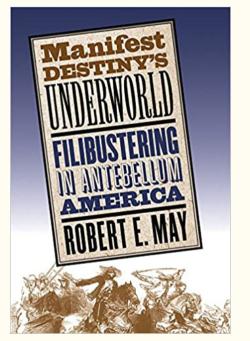


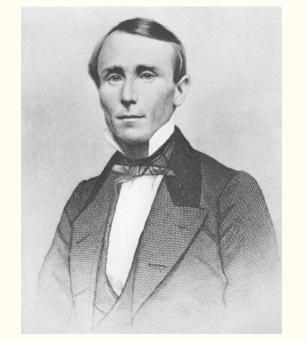
WILLIAM W. FREEHLING

# Consequences: A foreign policy of slavey

- Highly aggressive foreign policy with a focus on protecting slavery:
  - 1. Support for other slave territories (Texas, Cuba, Brazil) even if it risks war (Mexico) or opposing Great Britain.
  - 2. Opposition to participation in the Congress of Panama (1826), sabotaging the Monroe Doctrine.
  - 3. Often articulated in the desire to expand the U.S. For example, Ostend Manifesto (1854).
  - 4. Building of a navy.
- Support for filibustering. William Walker in Nicaragua.
- Again, strong opposition in the north. "Manifest destiny" is a highly partisan view, and Mexican-American War is opposed by many in the north: Abraham Lincoln's "Spot Resolutions."
- Although there were also expansionary aims in the north: Canada.





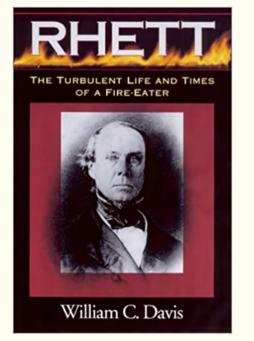


# The project of a Southern Nation

- These consequences help us to understand the logic behind secession.
  - Secession was pushed by young radicals ("fire-eaters"), not by old plantation owners.
- Break away from the North to complete the construction of a slavery empire: the Golden Circle.
  - This project helps to understand British reluctance to recognize the Confederate States.
- Fully modernized economy.
  - Feasible within the political-economic constraints imposed by the slaver elite?
- Idea of the Confederate States defending a traditional, agrarian economy or fully committed to "states rights" is part of the "myth of the lost cause."

# A Richmond editor

"Mr. Calhoun was the master and not the slave of theories."



"Deeply researched, provocatively argued, and forcefully written." George C. Rable, Professor Emeritus, University of Alabama THE SOUTH'S **FORGOTTEN DAVID HUBBARD NORTH ALABAMA'S** LONG ROAD TO DISUNION CHRIS McILWAIN

MATTHEW KARP

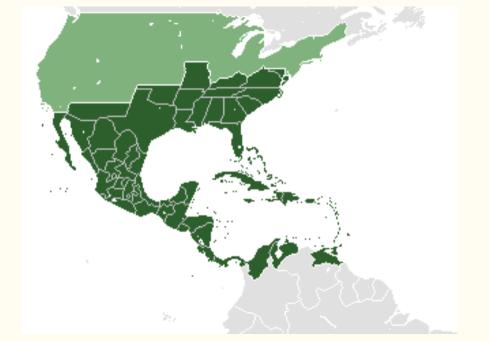
# THIS VAST SOUTHERN E M P I R E

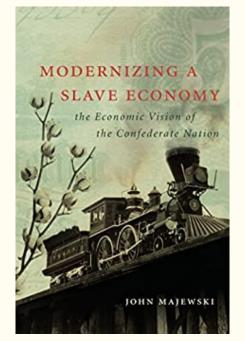
SLAVEHOLDERS

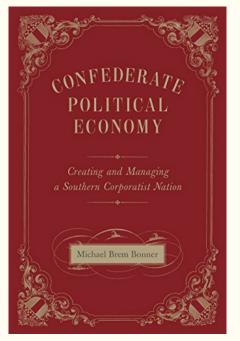
AT THE HELM

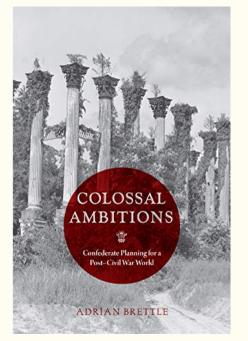
OF AMERICAN

FOREIGN POLICY









# What if the cotton gin had not been invented?

- However, even absent the cotton gin, it is not clear that slavery would have spent itself.
- Demand for enslaved persons had already picked up in the 1790s.
- The bulk of manumissions probably occurred before 1810 and, perhaps, even earlier.
- In cities, owners often allowed enslaved persons to hire themselves out in return for a percentage of their earnings.
- By 1830, 80% of Baltimore's black persons were free. However, only 40% in New Orleans.
- Nonetheless, it is doubtful that tobacco and rice could have employed as many enslaved persons as the cotton plantation.
- What about other crops?