

Slavery and American Colonization

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Some context



W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction* (1935)

“The most magnificent drama in the last thousand years of human history is the transportation of ten million human beings out of the dark beauty of their mother continent into the new-found Eldorado of the West. They descended into Hell; and in the third century they arose from the dead, in the finest effort to achieve democracy for the working millions which this world had ever seen. It was a tragedy that beggared the Greek; it was an upheaval of humanity like the Reformation and the French Revolution.”

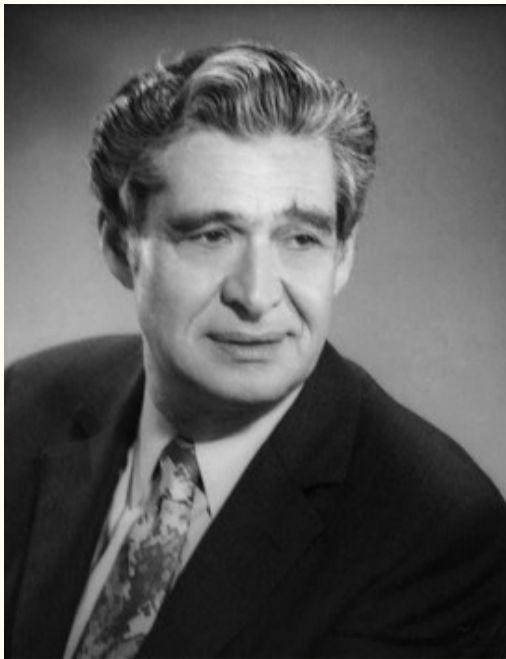
Some context, II

- We will be dealing with a deeply disturbing set of institutions (slave trade, slavery, the plantation system,...).
- We will be approaching them from the perspective of economics and quantitative methods.
- Thus, we should be careful not to transform numbers into ends.
- We do numbers to understand better the persons and their lives behind them, not to forget them.

Jamelle Bouie, We Still Can't See American Slavery for What It Was (January 28, 2020, NYT)

“As we learn from new data and new methods, it is paramount that we keep the truth of their [enslaved people] essential humanity at the forefront of our efforts. We must have awareness, care and respect, lest we recapitulate the objectification of the slave trade itself. It is possible, after all, to disturb a grave without ever touching the soil.”

Coerced labor in global history



Moses Finley (1976)

“In the context of universal history, free labour, wage labour, is the peculiar institution.”

- Notice that we are using “coerced labor” in this slide. Why?
- And why is this important to understand the economic history of the Americas?

Coerced labor, II

- During most of history, coerced labor has been a central component of economic life:
 1. Ancient Middle East.
 2. Western Classical world: Columella's *De Re Rustica* and big latifundia in Southern Italy.
 3. Middle Ages Europe: *σκλαβος*.
 4. Muslim world: Zanj Rebellion from 869 until 883 and military slavery (*Mamluk*).
 5. Ancient India.
 6. Ancient China.
 7. Pre-Columbian America: Tupinambá.
 8. Soviet Union and National Socialist Germany.
 9. Even today in many emerging economies.
Check <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dIz0dCiocbw> (Warning: some scenes are painful to watch).



EROS COONVS
POSIDIPPE SER
HIC SITVS EST

وَكُنَّا أَحْسِبَانَهُ سَيِّئًا نَرْتَدِّيهِ أَلِیَّ وَيُعَلِّمُ السَّمْعَةَ عَلِيًّا فَأَحْلَقَ الْحَبِيشُ جَلَّتْ عَالُ الْعَلْفَتِ
بِقَالَ إِذَا الْعَبْدُ إِذَا نَزَرَ كُنْهُ وَخَفَّتْ مُؤْنُهُ يَبْرُكْ جِمْ مَوْلَاهُ وَالْقَهْفُ عَلَيْهِ مَوَاةٌ فَأَخِي



لَا وَتَرْجِيْبُ هَذَا الْخَلَامِ النَّبِيَّ بَانَ الْخَفْفُ شَمَّةٌ عَلَيْكَ فَرَا مَا يَنْبَغِي دَهْمُ وَرَاشِيَّةٌ







Historical evidence

- Orlando Patterson, in *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*, has analyzed 66 slave-holding societies:
 1. Different levels of coercion: chattel slavery, serfs, peonage, semi-free workers, forced marriages,...
 2. Different durations: hereditary, life, temporary,...
 3. Different foundations: racial vs. non-racial slavery.
 4. Different origins: extrusive vs. intrusive.
- Similar absence of markets for land.
- In an agricultural economy, the absence of markets for labor and land configures a very concrete model of production.



A simple typology

- Three types of societies:
 1. Societies with slavery.
 2. Slave societies.
 3. Slave and free societies.
- Two types of legal frameworks:
 1. Loose.
 2. Sharp.
- Why slavery? Incentive and enforcement problems are not trivial.

An economic model of slavery

- **The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis** by Evsey Domar.
- Domar postulated that, to have a wealthy upper class of aristocrats, warriors, and bureaucrats that rules over a large coerced population, we need three requirements:
 1. Sufficient productivity in the sector where coerced workers are employed to support an upper class with their output. Domar highlighted a low labor/land ratio.
 2. Sufficient differential in military effectiveness to make becoming a lord or an unproductive specialist in coercive violence worth the risk.
 3. An effective “recapture technology” to keep your coerced labor from successfully running away. For example, in Russia, the lords used the Cossacks as a mobile police to enforce serfdom. Western Europeans preferred other systems, such as language competence or skin color.



Slavery and the British colonies

- Having said all that, slavery in the Americas is novel among two critical dimensions.
 1. It revived an institution that was in decadence in Western Europe.
 2. It was racialized in ways that it had rarely occurred before.
- Slavery is of such historical importance to understand the origins and evolution of the U.S. that, even if we just focus on its political-economic aspects, it would deserve a whole semester.

A selection of topics

Topics covered and not covered

- Given time constraints, we will focus on an extremely narrow set of topics.
- We will ignore:
 1. Detailed variety among colonies (i.e., gang vs. task system).
 2. Effects within families (both enslavers and enslaved families, sexual relations between enslavers and enslaved people).
 3. Effects on human capital accumulation.
 4. Effects on financial markets and international trade.
 5. Effects of slavery on metropolis (i.e., relation with industrial revolution).
 6. Bargaining, resistance, and rebellions.
 7. Slavery legacy in current U.S. conditions.
 8. Interactions of slavery trade with Asia.

No.	DATE	APPLICANT	RESIDENCE	LIFE INSURED	REMARKS
1142	275 May 11	Marion S. Sample	Sample St. Sample, Conn.		

275 April 1891

WRITE SLIP

No.	DATE	APPLICANT	RESIDENCE	LIFE INSURED	REMARKS
1143	276 May 12	Adolphus Sample	Sample	Sample	

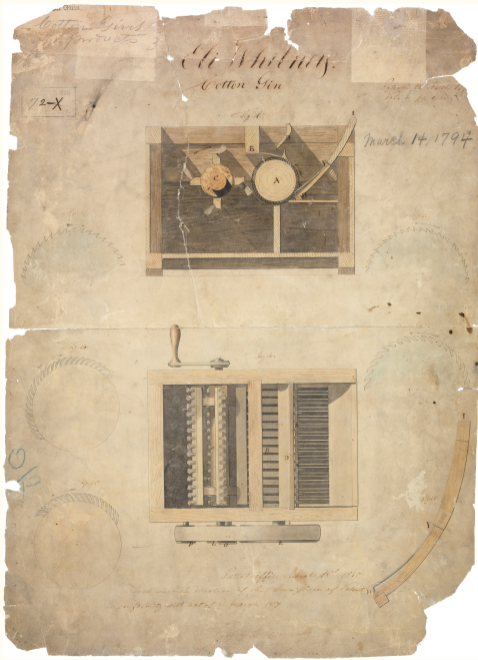
RESIDENCE	AGE	PREMIUM	TERM	EXPIRES	REMARKS
Sample	11	11	11	11	

11 20 April 1891
 11 20 April 1891
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 11 20 April 1891

WRITE SLIP

Time scope

- Furthermore, today, we will mainly concentrate on slavery before 1776 in the British colonies of North America.
- Why is this so important?
 1. Before cotton boom and settlement of the Deep South: Eli Whitney's cotton gin.
 2. Before Haitian Revolution (1791-1804).
 3. Before discussions about the role of slavery profitability and its role in U.S. economic growth in the antebellum period (Ulrich Phillips vs. Stanley Engerman and Robert Fogel).
 4. Before massive European migration from the 1830s and 1840s and the opening of the Midwest to settlement.
 5. Before the appearance of modern abolitionist movement.
 6. Part of a broader Atlantic world.
 7. Includes enslavement of Native Americans.





TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE

Chef des Noirs Insurgés de Saint Domingue.

A Paris chez Anon, rue de Beaune, N° 20.

References

A few references

- I emphasize here books with a high content of economic and political-economic content.
- Also, I omit some classics focused on the 19th century (I will return to them later in the semester).
- Check:
 1. <http://www.slaveryimages.org>
 2. <https://www.slavevoyages.org/>

"A magisterial synthesis." —Edmund S. Morgan

IRA BERLIN



MANY THOUSANDS GONE

THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES
OF SLAVERY IN NORTH AMERICA



IRA BERLIN



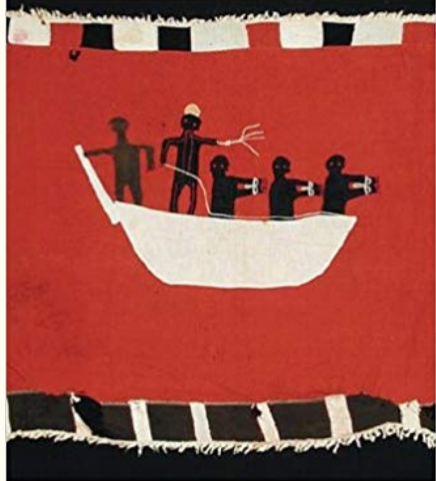
GENERATIONS
OF CAPTIVITY

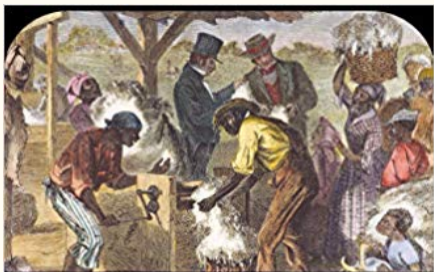
A History of African-American Slaves

SALTWATER SLAVERY

A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora

STEPHANIE E. SMALLWOOD





WINNER OF THE FRANCIS PARKMAN PRIZE

"Will surely rank among the most significant books of the coming decade—and beyond"

—Eugene S. Savoy, *Washington Post*

American Slavery, American Freedom

EDMUND S. MORGAN

AUTHOR OF THE BEST-SELLING *BENJAMIN FRANKLIN*

Just Imported from *Antigua*, in the
Brigg *Martha*, *Gurnay Wall* Com-
mander, and to be Sold by *Edward*
Jones, in *Norris's Alley*.

A VERY likely Parcel of young
Negro Men and Women, Boys
and Girls. Also Rum, Sugar, Ginger
and Coffee.

final Passages

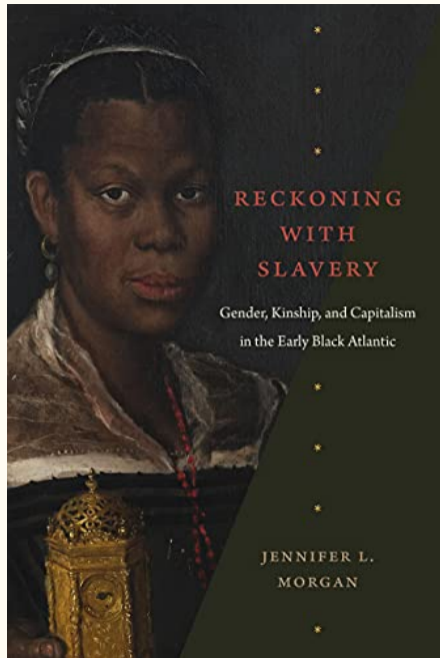
The Intercolonial Slave Trade of
British America, 1619-1807

.....
GREGORY E. O'MALLEY



Just Imported from *Antigua*, and to
be Sold by *Edward Jones* in
Norris's Alley.

A LIKELY Parcel of young
Negro Men and Women, Boys
and Girls, as also very good Coffee
and Muscavado Sugar



Wicked Flesh

Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom
in the Atlantic World

Jessica Marie Johnson



The
OTHER
SLAVERY

"Long-awaited and important . . . No other book before has so thoroughly related the broad history of Indian slavery in the Americas."

— SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE



*The
Uncovered Story
of Indian Enslavement
in America*



ANDRÉS RESÉNDEZ

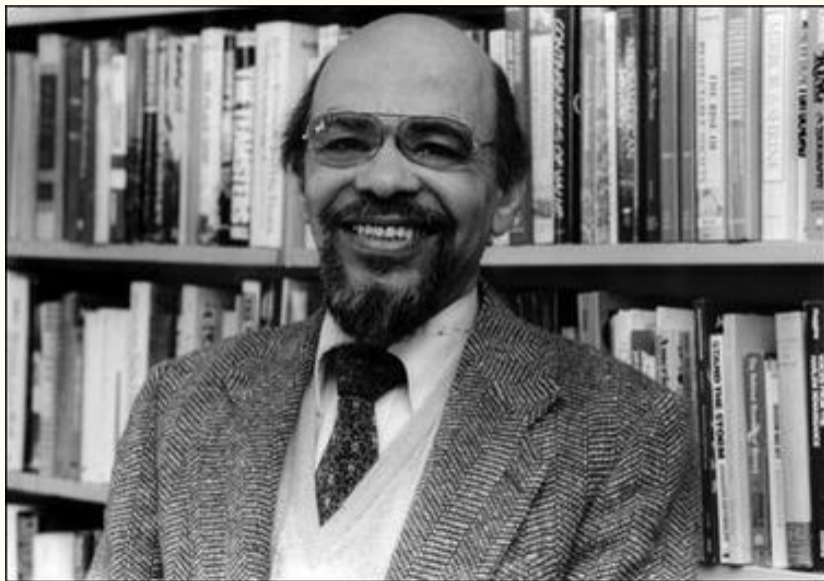
Additional references

- A few favorites of mine (if you are really interested).
- **Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World** by David Brion Davis (check also his trilogy: **The Problem of Slavery**).
- **Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World** by Trevor Burnard.
- **Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713** by Richard S. Dunn.
- **Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660-1740** by Anthony S. Parent Jr.
- **Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia** by Kathleen M. Brown.
- **Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763** by Lorena S. Walsh.

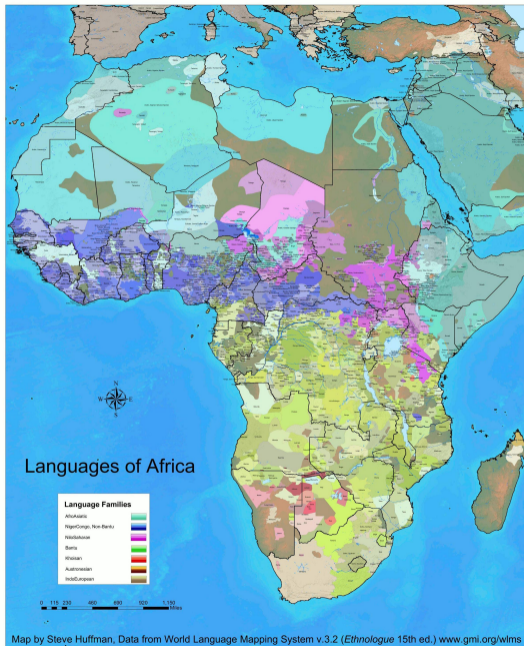
The Atlantic trade network



An essential lesson from Nathan Huggins







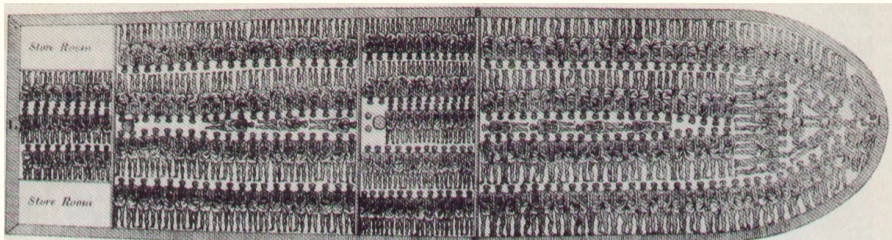
Map by Steve Huffman, Data from World Language Mapping System v.3.2 (*Ethnologue* 15th ed.) www.gmi.org/wlms



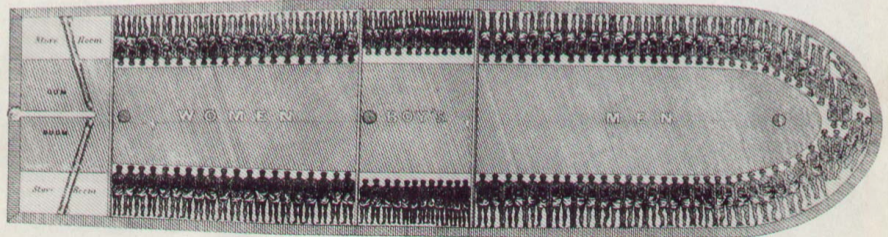
ALDUS VERTOONT HEM HET CASTEEL DE MÿN AEN DE NOORDT-
 WEST ZÿDE, VÿT DE RIVIER AEN TE STEN. *volgens op de grote kist te Glinne. van...*







PLAN SHEWING THE STOWAGE OF 130 ADDITIONAL SLAVES ROUND THE WINGS OR SIDES OF THE LOWER DECK BY MEANS OF PLATFORMS OR SHELVES (IN THE MANNER OF GALLERIES IN A CHURCH) THE SLAVES STOWED ON THE SHELVES AND BELOW THEM HAVE ONLY A HEIGHT OF 2 FEET 7 INCHES BETWEEN THE BEAMS AND FAR LESS UNDER THE BEAMS . See Fig 1.





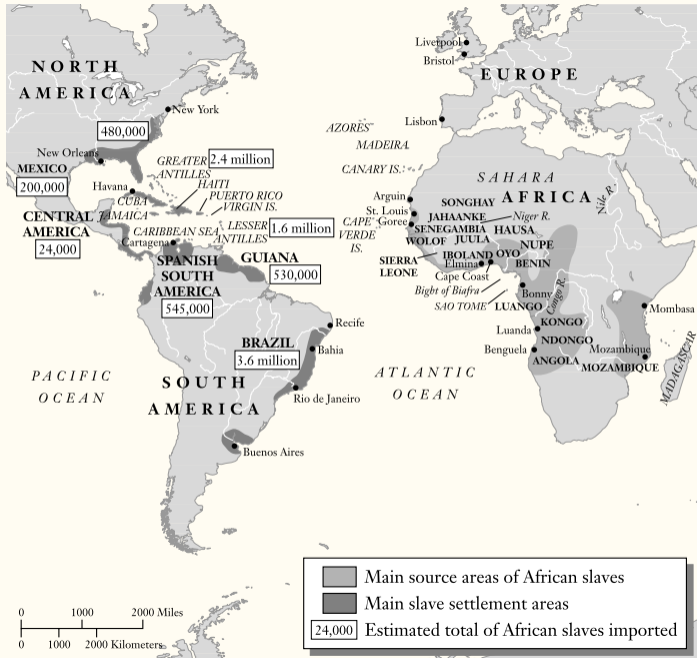
ATLAS OF THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

DAVID ELTIS · DAVID RICHARDSON

Foreword by David Brion Davis · Afterword by David W. Blight



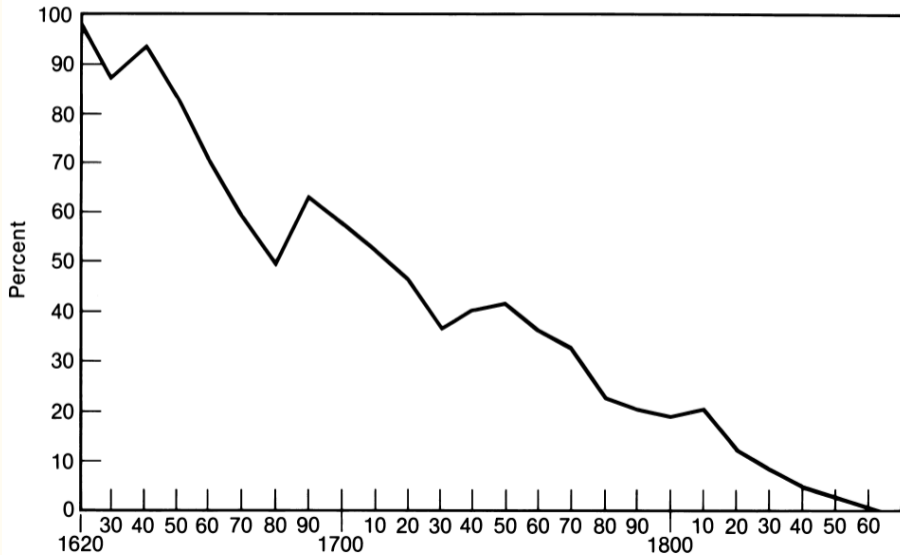




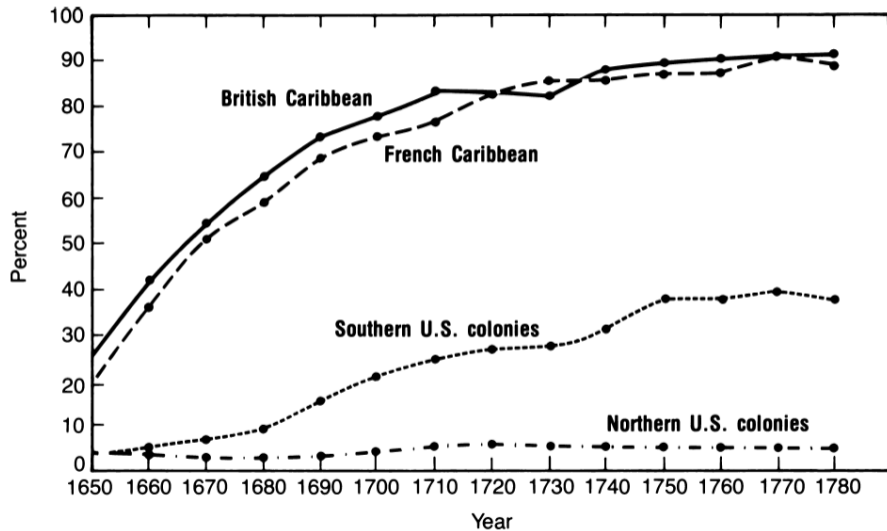
YEAR	NEW ENGLAND			MIDDLE COLONIES		
	WHITES	BLACKS	TOTAL	WHITES	BLACKS	TOTAL
1620	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
1640	13.5	0.2	13.7	1.7	0.2	1.9
1660	32.6	0.6	33.2	4.8	0.6	5.4
1680	68.0	0.5	68.5	13.4	1.5	14.9
1700	90.7	1.7	92.4	49.9	3.7	53.5
1710	112.5	2.6	115.1	63.4	6.2	69.6
1720	166.9	4.0	170.9	92.3	10.8	103.1
1730	211.2	6.1	217.3	135.3	11.7	147.0
1740	281.2	8.5	289.7	204.1	16.5	220.5
1750	349.0	11.0	360.0	275.7	20.7	296.4
1760	436.9	12.7	449.6	398.9	29.0	427.9
1770	565.7	15.4	581.1	521.0	34.9	555.9
1780	698.4	14.4	712.8	680.5	42.4	722.9

YEAR	UPPER SOUTH			LOWER SOUTH			TOTAL OF 13 COLONIES		
	WHITES	BLACKS	TOTAL	WHITES	BLACKS	TOTAL	WHITES	BLACKS	TOTAL
1620	0.9	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
1640	8.0	0.1	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.2	0.5	23.7
1660	24.0	0.9	24.9	1.0	0.0	1.0	62.4	2.1	64.6
1680	55.6	4.3	59.9	6.2	0.4	6.6	143.2	6.7	149.9
1700	85.2	12.9	98.1	13.6	2.9	16.4	239.4	21.1	260.4
1710	101.3	22.4	123.7	18.8	6.6	25.4	296.0	37.8	333.8
1720	128.0	30.6	158.6	24.8	14.8	39.6	412.0	60.2	472.2
1730	171.4	53.2	224.6	34.0	26.0	60.0	551.9	97.0	648.9
1740	212.5	84.0	296.5	57.8	50.2	108.0	755.6	159.2	914.7
1750	227.2	150.6	377.8	82.4	59.8	142.2	934.3	242.1	1,176.5
1760	312.4	189.6	502.0	119.6	94.5	214.1	1,267.8	325.8	1,593.6
1770	398.2	251.4	649.6	189.4	155.4	344.8	1,674.3	457.1	2,131.4
1780	482.4	303.6	786.0	297.4	208.8	506.2	2,158.7	569.2	2,727.9

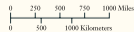
From African to African American



Slavery across the Americas







The plantation complex

Slavery and the plantation complex

- Now, we will discuss slavery in plantations.
- Importance of sugar.
- However, there were also a considerable number of enslaved people in other occupations.
- Urban slavery (mainly domestic servants) was rather typical in New York City.
- Also, there were more coerced workers in manufacturing than thought in the past.
- Urban slavery had advantages and disadvantages for enslaved people.

Six characteristics of the plantation complex

- **The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex** by Philip D. Curtin.
 1. Most of the productive labor is forced labor; most people were coerced workers (not all legally defined as enslaved: e.g., indentured servants, semi-free workers).
 2. The population is not self-sustaining.
 3. Agricultural enterprise is organized in large-scale, market-oriented plantation with between 50 to several hundred workers.
 4. The plantations had certain features that can be called feudal.
 5. The plantations are created to supply a distant market with a highly specialized product, at first sugar, but latter coffee and cotton.
 6. Political control over the system lay on another continent.
- This model only applies partially to the British colonies in North America.

The **RISE AND FALL** *of the*
PLANTATION COMPLEX

Second Edition

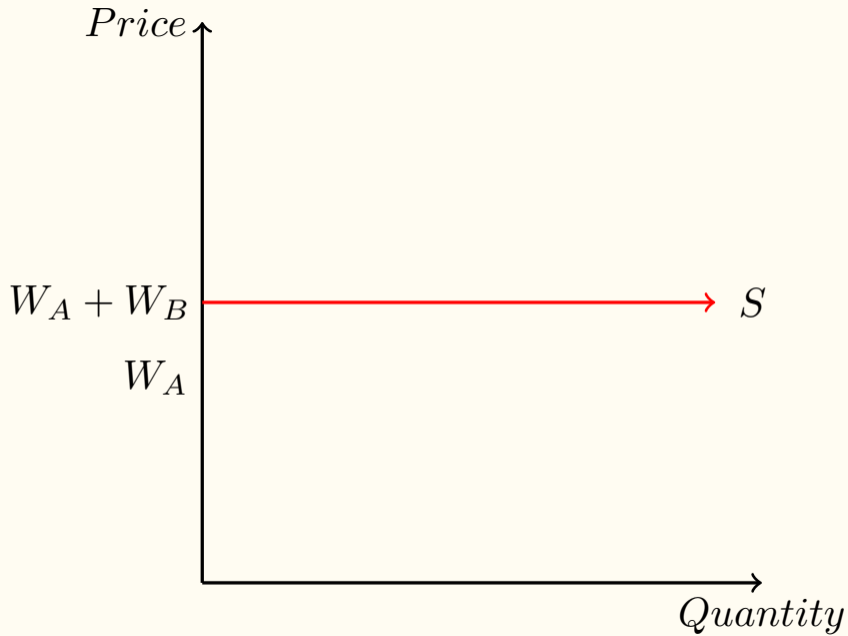


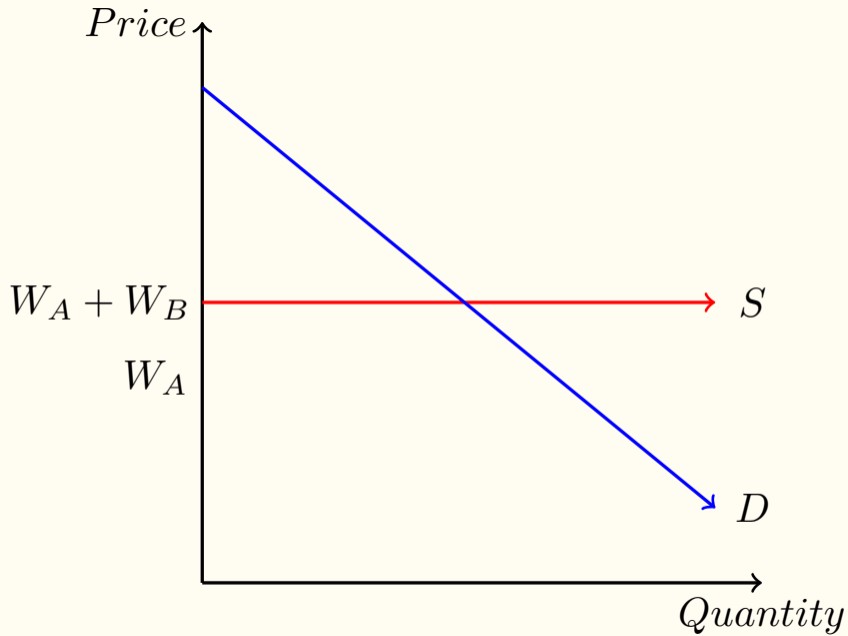
Essays in Atlantic History

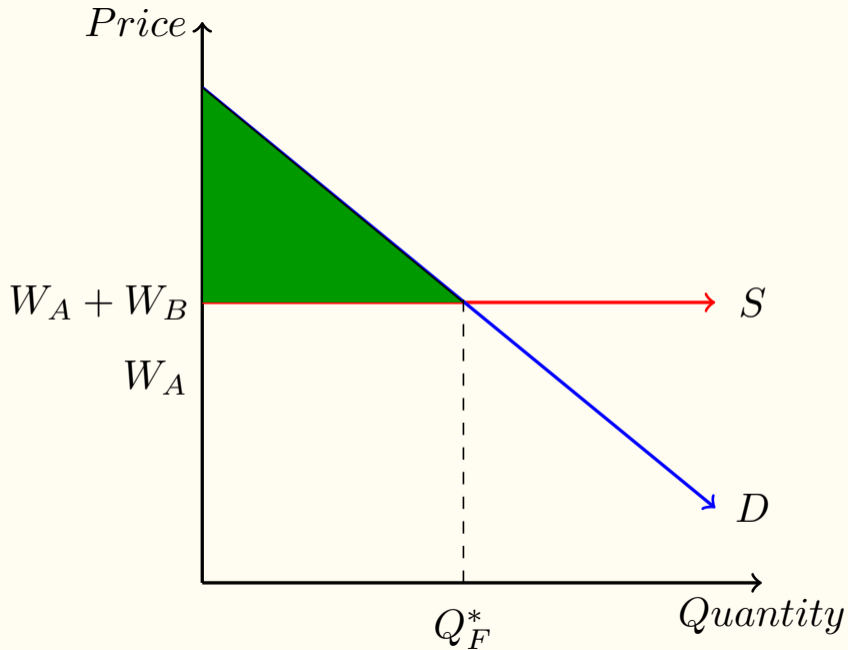
PHILIP D. CURTIN

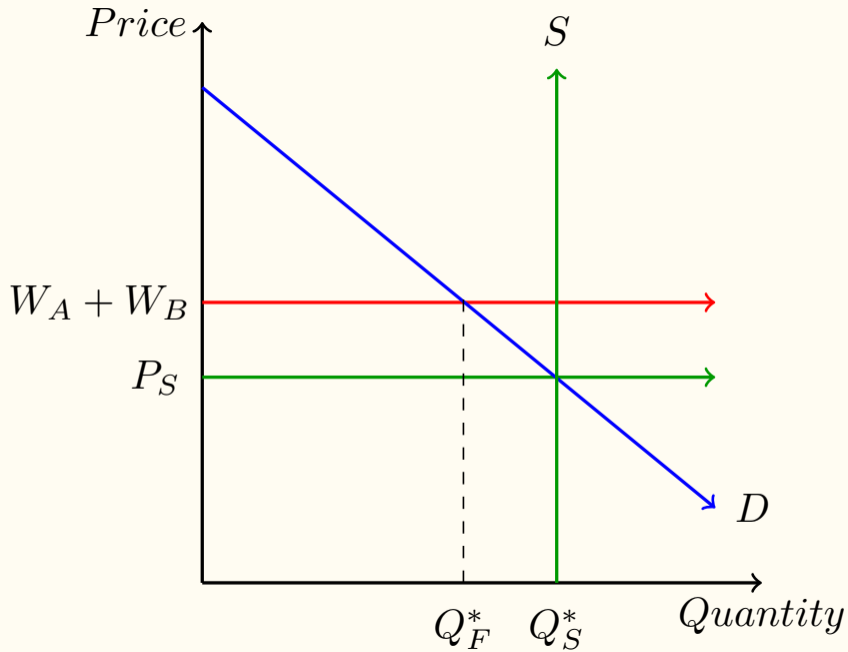


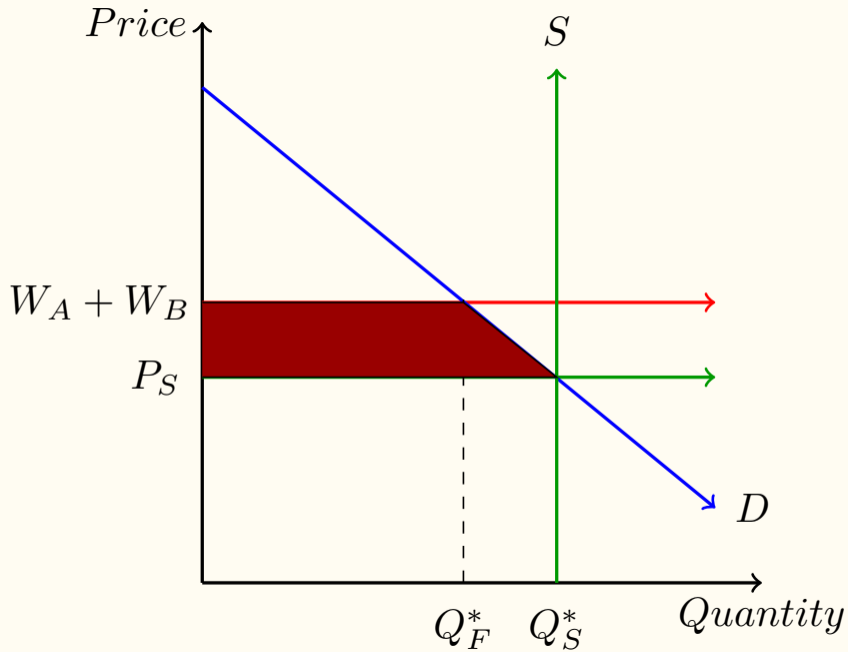
EXTERIOR OF A DISTILLERY,
on Weatherell's Estate, Antigua.









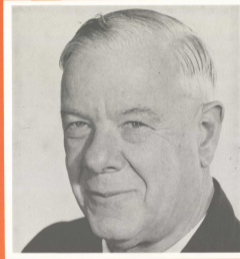


Herrenvolk republicanism?

Herrenvolk republicanism?, I

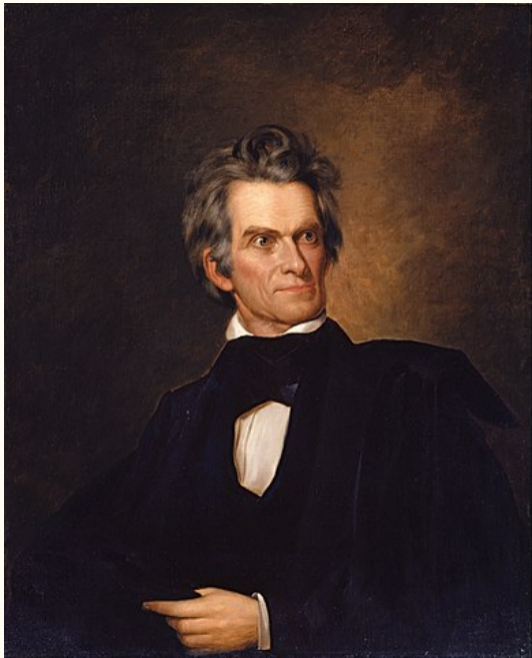
- “Herrenvolk” republicanism is a form of government where extensive political rights are given to only a group of the society (usually ethnic-based, but also possibly under a religious or linguistic base).
- Simultaneous existence of democratic and authoritarian aspects within the same polity.
- Paradoxically, ethnic-based politics facilitates democratic franchise within the “herrenvolk” and the spread of equalitarian ideologies.
- Clearest example: South Africa under Apartheid.
- Similar idea of the Volksgemeinschaft (people’s community).
- Explicitly argued by John C. Calhoun, James Henry Hammond, and George Fitzhugh.
- In fact, South Carolina adopted white male universal suffrage in 1810, only after Vermont.

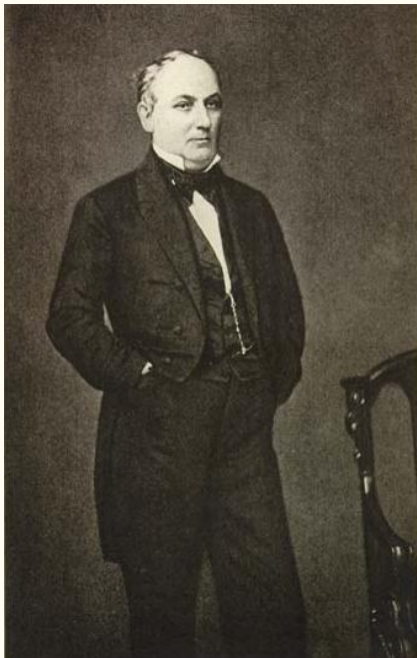
**STEM
NASIONALE
PARTY**



**VIR VOLK EN
VADERLAND**









GEORGE FITZHUGH

PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1855 JUST BEFORE THE FITZHUGH-WENDELL PIERCE
DEBATE AT NEW HAVEN

Herrenvolk republicanism?, II

- Was the South a “herrenvolk” democracy?
- Georgia malcontents talked about “Liberty and Property without restrictions.”
- Role of the Democratic Party under Andrew Jackson.
- Collapse of Federalist Party (Rufus King’s early anti-slavery position).
- Relation with Britain after 1834 abolition.
- Intense debate among historians regarding the construction of racial identity.
- For example, Spanish had a few enslaved European in the Americas.
- Check **White Over Black** by Winthrop D. Jordan and all the subsequent literature.



