

## **Slavery and American Colonization**

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### **Some context**



#### Some context, I

#### 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."

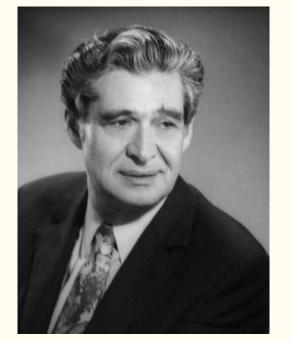
#### Some context, II

- 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



#### Coerced labor, I

#### Moses Finley (1976)

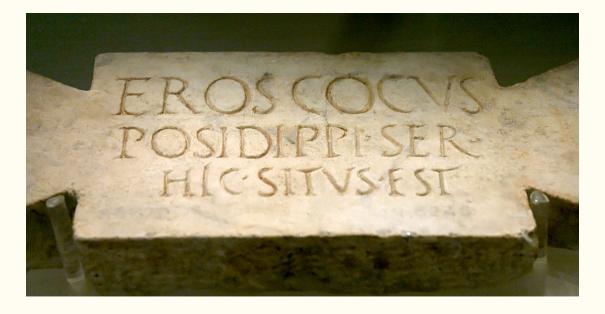
"In the context of universal history, free labour, wage labour, is the peculiar institution."

- 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:  $\sigma \kappa \lambda \alpha \beta o \varsigma$ .
  - 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.
  - Even today in many emerging economies.
     Check https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dIz0dCiocbw (Warning: some scenes are painful to watch).

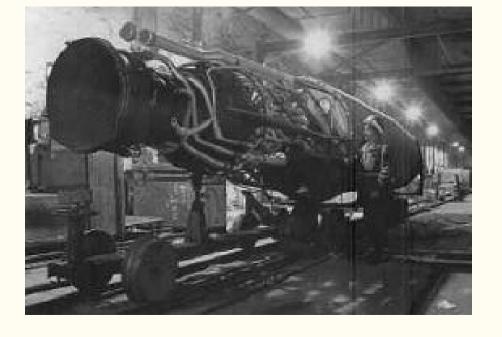




وكنتا حنيا مُسَيِّع فَا يُحَدِّرُ الْمُوفِقُ لِلسِّمُ وَهُولَ فَاحْلُو الْمُسْتِعَ فَالْفَلْفُ الْ قَالَ اللَّهُ عِنادَا كُرْزَةُ كُنْهُ وَحَدَّتْ مُؤَنَّهُ مُرْلَدُ مِسُولًا وَالْخِفَ عَلَيْهُ مُؤلَّهُ عَالَيْن لْأُورْتِينِ مَذَالِلْ الْعُلَامِلِ لِنَبُّ مِا لَلْخُفَدْ شَكْمَةُ عَلِيكُمْ فِي مَا يَحْ مُعُولَ فَ







#### 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.

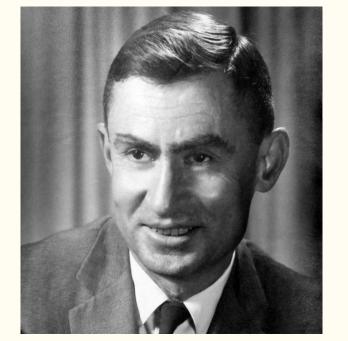


#### A simple typology

- 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.



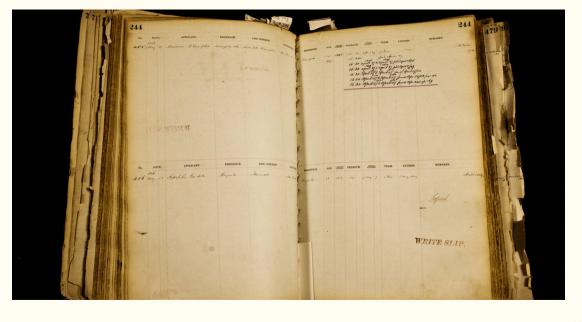
#### **Slavery and the British colonies**

- 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.



#### 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).
  - 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.

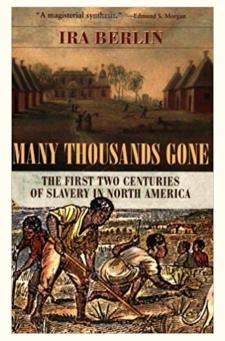




## References

#### 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/

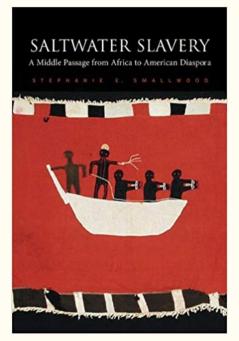


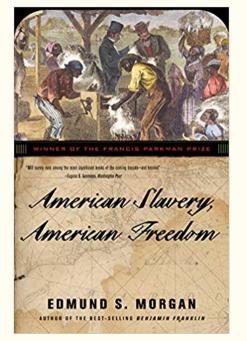
## IRA BERLIN



# GENERATIONS OF CAPTIVITY

A History of African-American Slaves





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

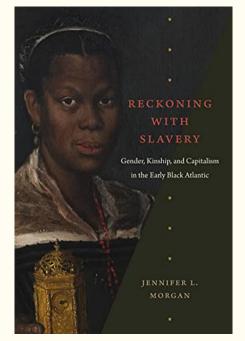
A VERY likely Parcel of young Negro Men and Women, Boys and Girls. Alfo Rum, Sugar, Ginger and Coffee.

# final Passages

The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807

GREGORY E. O'MALLEY



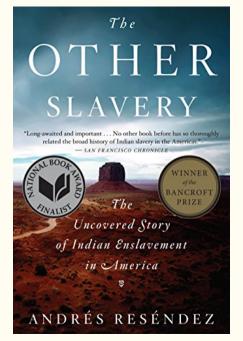


# Wicked Flesh

Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom in the Atlantic World

Jessica Marie Johnson

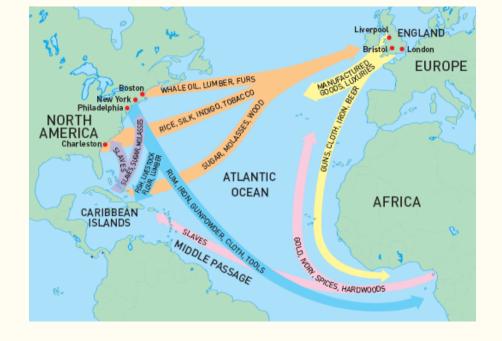




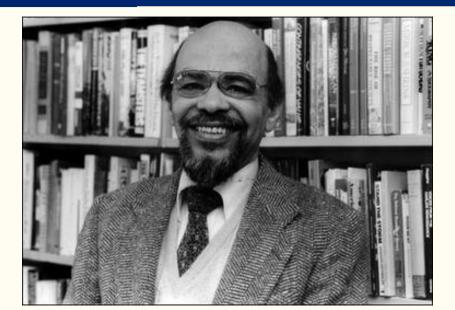
#### **Additional references**

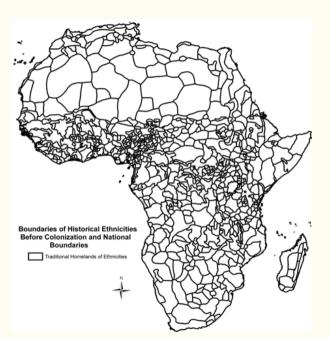
- A few favorites of mine (if you are really interested).
- Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World by David Brion Davis (check also his trilogy: The Problem of Slavery).
- Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World by Trevor Burnard.
- 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.

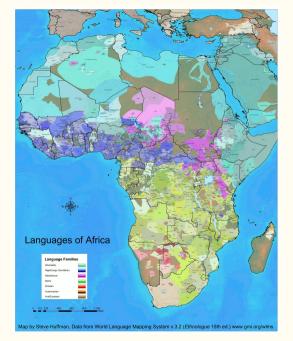
# The Atlantic trade network

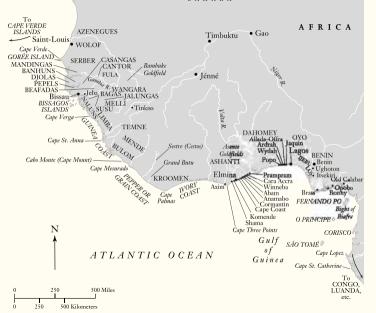


#### An essential lesson from Nathan Huggins



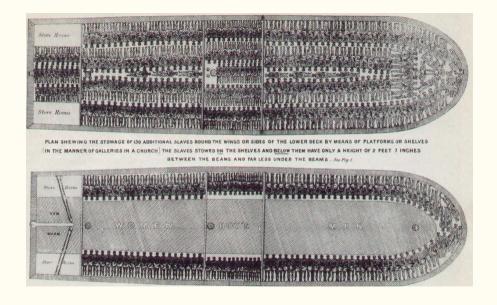




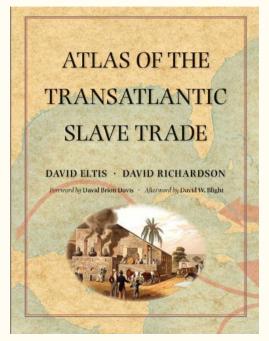


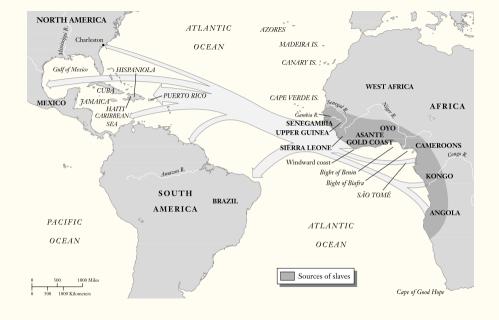










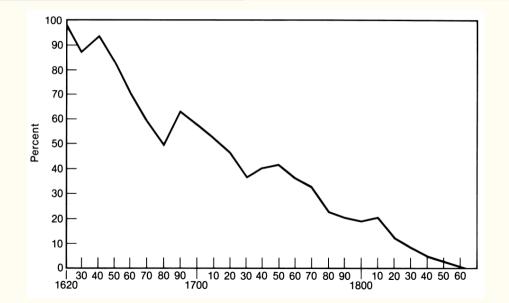




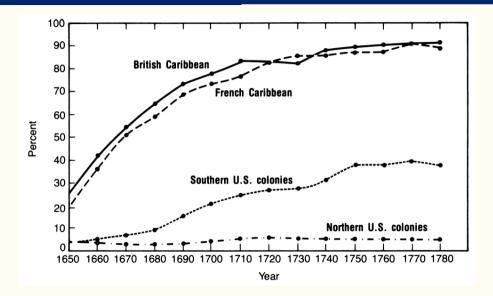
	NEW ENGLAND			MIDDLE COLONIES			
YEAR	WHITES	BLACKS	TOTAL	WHITES BLACKS TOTAL			
1620	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0 0.0 0.0			
1640	13.5	0.2	13.7	1.7 0.2 1.9			
1660	32.6	0.6	33.2	4.8 0.6 5.4			
1680	68.0	0.5	68.5	13.4 1.5 14.9			
1700	90.7	1.7	92.4	49.9 3.7 53.5			
1710	112.5	2.6	115.1	63.4 6.2 69.6			
1720	166.9	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			

	UPPER SOUTH				WER SOU	ľН	TOTAL OF 13 COLONIES		
YEAR	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

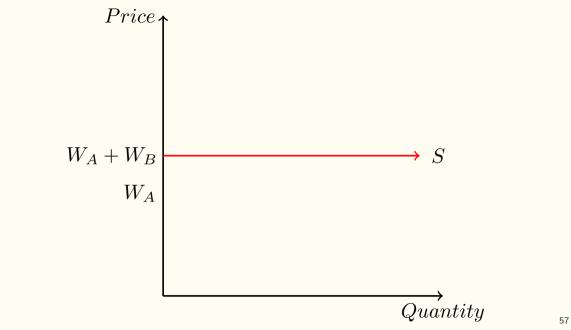


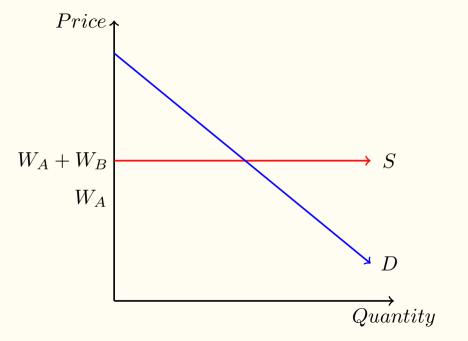
Essays in Pallantic History
PHILIP D. CURTIN

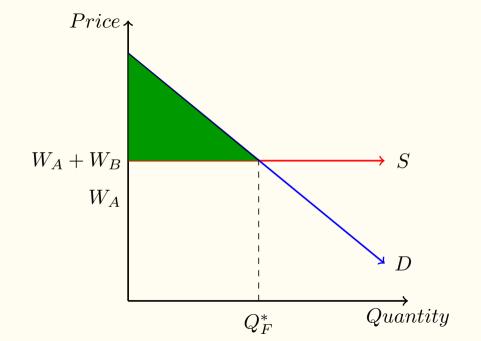


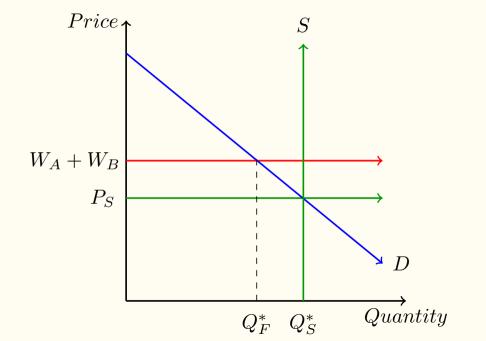


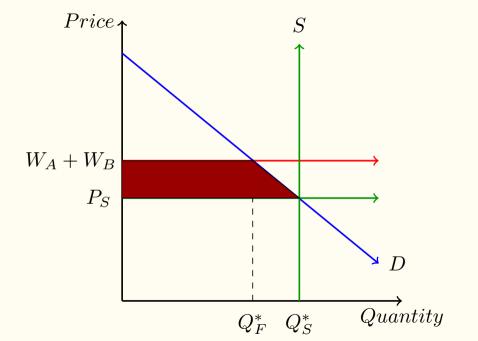
EXTERIOR OF A DISTILLERY, on Weatherell's Estate, Antiqua.











## Herrenvolk republicanism?

#### Herrenvolk republicanism?, I

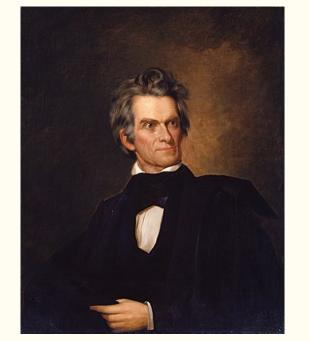
- "Herrenvolk" republicanism is a form of government where extensive political rights are given to only a group of the society (usually ethnic-based, but also possibly under a religious or linguistic base).
- Simultaneous existence of democratic and authoritarian aspects within the same polity.
- Paradoxically, 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.

# NASIONALE PARTY



VIR VOLK EN VADERLAND









GEORGE FITZHUGH PROTOGRAPH TARK IN 1955 JOST BEFORE THE PETERSON-WOMEL POILLING BEAUT, 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.



