A Second Slavery

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Slavery’s decline?
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 slaves of patriots who would leave their masters and join the British.

- Many former slaves are evacuated by the British when the war ends (as well as the current slaves of loyalists).

- Many slave holders freed slaves if they fought in the Revolutionary War.
Forced Founders

Indians, Debtors, Slaves,
& the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia

Woody Holton
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.
THE BLACK JACOBINS

Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution

C.L.R. JAMES

Second Edition Revised
THE COMMON WIND

Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution

JULIUS S. SCOTT

“Exciting, original, and profound.” *Time*
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 slaves in 1865).

• Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibits slavery in the Northwest Territory.

• After 1808, importation of slaves 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).
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.

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).
Exporters of rice from Charleston and from the United States, 1698–1809. Encouraged by expanding European demand after 1700, South Carolina's rice exports increased rapidly, rising from 450 thousand pounds at the turn of the century to 6.5 million pounds in 1720. European demand conditions were less favorable after 1720, but poor harvests in Italy coupled with the lifting of British restrictions on direct shipments of the crop to southern Europe in 1730 helped to lift the prices received by South Carolina exporters. As Figure 7 shows, rice prices received by South Carolina planters nearly doubled between 1720 and their peak in 1738. Responded to rising prices, planters increased their production of rice and the volume of exports continued its upward trend, increasing by a factor of more than 6.5 to 43 million pounds in 1740 (Figure 6). To achieve these increases planters vastly expanded the area under cultivation and adopted new methods of cultivation, shifting production from upland areas to inland swamps so that they could take advantage of nearby ponds and reservoirs to provide a more regular supply of water for their crops. Irrigation raised yields, but was also more labor intensive. Construction and maintenance of the dikes, canals, and floodgates necessary to implement.
This demographic pattern is similar to the situation in the British West Indies. See, for example, Sheridan, *Doctors*, especially, ch. 8.

Rice cultivation also required a great deal of weeding, which was difficult and unpleasant work performed ankle- or even knee-deep in mud. According to contemporary estimates successful plantations in South Carolina required a labor force of 30 or more slaves. To meet these labor demands, slave imports boomed. Between 1700 and 1720, planters imported 9,000 slaves (see Table 2), contributing to a more than four-fold increase in the slave population. By 1720 the slave share of the population had increased to 70 percent, reaching its highest level. In the next 20 years as planters further expanded production they purchased more than 32,000 additional slaves, nearly three times the number of slaves resident in the colony in 1720. Despite this importation, the slave population increased by just 18,000 over these years reflecting the harsh demographic regime. The combination of strong demand for their primary product and the need to continue importation simply to maintain the existing slave population helped to push up slave prices in the colony despite the influx of slaves.

The initial period of rice expansion came to a sudden end in 1740. In 1739 the Stono rebellion, in which slaves killed 39 colonists, contributed to the planters' fears about the growing black majority in the colony and resulted in the passage of a prohibitive duty on slave imports, which lasted...
In 1780, Virginia had about 2,000 free black persons and, 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 clause”? 
report in Table 1. To facilitate comparison we have plotted in Figure 2 the time series of inventory valuations and sales prices for the years in which both are available. Between 1751 and 1770 the long-run trends in both series were similar, with sale prices rising by about 44 percent and valuations increasing 35 percent. As we would expect, given the difference in sources, sale prices were generally below appraised values, though the sale prices did rise above the appraised values briefly in the late 1750s. After 1798 movements in inventory valuations appear to have lagged somewhat behind sale prices, as we might expect in a period of sharply changing prices such as occurred in the initial cotton boom of the 1790s, but the movements of the two series appear similar. Finally, comparison between the two periods indicates that the inventory values capture accurately the longer-run rise in slave prices between the 1750s and the early nineteenth century. Based on the similarity between sale prices and inventory valuations we will in the remainder of the article refer to the valuations simply as slave prices.

The second issue that must be addressed concerns the interpretation of the price series derived from the inventory valuations. Individual slave prices are likely to have varied widely, reflecting differences in age, sex, skills, physical condition, health, and other characteristics. Ideally, we would like to make comparisons over time in terms of the price of a homogeneous class of labor. Doing so would require that we control for variations in prices caused by differences in individual characteristics that might otherwise introduce spurious variations in prices. We are able to control for some of the most important sources of individual price variation by focusing on the prices of adult males, but this still leaves room for a considerable degree of variation attributable to individual characteristics. Although we cannot...
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Slave Prices

14 Morgan, Slave Counterpoint, p. 90. For a more extensive discussion of slave demography in the first half of the eighteenth century see Menard, “Slave Demography.”

### Table 2
**Sources of Growth of the South Carolina Slave Population, 1720–1809**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Beginning of Period</th>
<th>End of Period</th>
<th>Change over Preceding Decade</th>
<th>Slaves Imported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700–1710</td>
<td>2,444</td>
<td>5,768</td>
<td>3,324</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710–1720</td>
<td>5,768</td>
<td>11,868</td>
<td>6,100</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720–1730</td>
<td>11,868</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>8,132</td>
<td>11,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730–1740</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>39,155</td>
<td>19,155</td>
<td>21,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740–1750</td>
<td>39,155</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750–1760</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>16,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760–1770</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>75,178</td>
<td>22,178</td>
<td>21,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770–1780</td>
<td>75,178</td>
<td>97,000</td>
<td>21,822</td>
<td>18,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780–1790</td>
<td>97,000</td>
<td>107,094</td>
<td>10,094</td>
<td>19,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790–1800</td>
<td>107,094</td>
<td>146,151</td>
<td>39,057</td>
<td>19,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800–1810</td>
<td>146,151</td>
<td>196,365</td>
<td>50,214</td>
<td>30,195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes and Sources: Slave population is from Coclanis, *Shadow*, p. 64, and U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics*; slave imports are from Philip Morgan, “Black Society,” p. 87, and *Slave Counterpoint*, p. 59. Through 1775, there are reasonably complete data on the number of slaves imported into South Carolina. After 1775, Morgan had to impute the volume of imports using an estimate of the rate of increase of the resident population, and then calculating the difference between actual and estimated population at each date. During the colonial era, British Naval Office records provide a reasonably accurate measure of the volume of slave imports into the colony. With American independence, however, this source of evidence ends. Consequently, historians have had to estimate slave imports after 1775 from evidence about the overall growth of the slave population in combination with assumptions about the likely rate of natural increase. Table 2 summarizes estimates of slave imports into South Carolina compiled by Philip Morgan and places them in the context of the overall growth of the slave population. The data reveal that imports played a significant role in the expansion of the slave population throughout the entire period. During much of the first half of the eighteenth century, deaths outnumbered births among the colony’s slaves, and the expansion of the slave population was possible only because of the large volume of imports. With the exception of the 1740s, when imports dropped to very low levels, imported slaves were the major source of population increase throughout the colonial period. Although the rate of natural increase may have become positive as early as the 1750s it was not until after 1790 that natural increase began to contribute significantly to the growth of the slave population.

14 Although South Carolina received more slaves than any other mainland colony, it still accounted for only a small fraction of the larger Atlantic slave trade.
According to Richardson, “British Slave Trade,” pp. 127–29, about 1.7 million slaves were shipped to the Western Hemisphere between 1700 and 1775. Over this same period the data in Table 2 indicate that South Carolina imported about 101,000 slaves, or about 6 percent of total slave shipments. Morgan, “Slave Sales,” p. 914, for example, asserted that “changes in prices paid for slaves in South Carolina appear to have been caused more by aggregate supply and demand conditions within the Atlantic trading world than by factors within the colony.” Ryden, “Slave Trade,” explicitly assumes a perfectly elastic supply function in his analysis of the South Carolina slave market.

These are the only comparable series of New World slave prices that we have been able to find. Manning, Slavery, pp. 177–78, summarizes a variety of different time series of slave prices in the eighteenth century, but all of them refer to slaves purchased on the Atlantic Coast of Africa, not to slaves delivered in the New World.

Figure 3
SLAVE PRICES IN SOUTH CAROLINA, THE WEST INDIES, AND MARYLAND, 1722–1809

Note: All prices are in current dollars.

Sources: South Carolina: Table 1; Maryland, Kulikoff, “Tobacco,” pp. 485–88, and Fogel and Engerman, “Slave Sales”; and West Indies, Bean, British Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, p. 77, and LeVeen, British Slave Trade, pp. 146–47.
Between the 1720s and the late 1730s slave prices in South Carolina rose relative to prices in the West Indies and the Chesapeake. This divergence continued until 1739, when prices in South Carolina collapsed, falling below the level of prices in other British colonies for most of the 1740s. By the late 1740s prices in South Carolina had begun to recover, and starting in the mid-1750s, they once again began to rise in relative terms, an increase that continued through the early 1770s. At the end of the colonial period slave prices were roughly 30 percent higher in South Carolina than in the West Indies and close to 50 percent higher than in the Chesapeake. In the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, prices in South Carolina remained high, but by the early 1790s they had fallen back into line with the West Indies, though they remained well above prices in the Chesapeake. Beginning in the mid-1790s slave prices in South Carolina once again began to rise in relative terms, reaching a new peak in the first decade of the nineteenth century. These variations in relative prices account for much of the variation in the volume of slave imports documented in Table 2, and coincide closely with qualitative accounts of fluctuations in the growth of the South Carolina economy in the eighteenth century. Illustrating the relationship between relative prices and slave imports, Figure 5 plots slave imports against the average relative price of slaves in each decade. Because a high volume of imports during a decade ought to exert downward pressure on prices during...
Slavery’s resurgence
A technological breakthrough

- The invention of the cotton gin (short for engine) changed everything: 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.

- Prior to 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 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 and 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 to 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 world’s cotton, but by 1850 that rises 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 field hands, with the number increasing 200 fold by 1850.
- In concert, the number of slaves 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 while the Chesapeake region becomes exporters as a slave’s value on a cotton plantation far exceeded his value in the production of tobacco.
  1. Around 124,000 slaves exported 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.
In 1783, the United States had expansive bounds, reaching north to the Great Lakes, south to Florida, and west to the Mississippi, but the new country lacked possession and control of that claim. To the north and west, a rival confederacy of Native peoples defended their homelands, with the help of British garrisons at Niagara and Detroit. To the south and west, the Spanish Empire also claimed the territory between Tennessee and Florida. "North America, 1783," by Jeffrey L. Ward.
By 1806, the United States had secured and begun to settle the contested border zones of 1783 after shattering the Indian confederacy and inducing the British and Spanish to recede. In 1803, American leaders obtained the Louisiana Territory, including New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi. This purchase stretched the Union's territorial claims westward to the Rocky Mountains, but almost all of that land remained in the possession of Native peoples. The Americans, British, and Spanish all claimed the Oregon Country.
By 1845, the United States had removed most Native peoples from east of the Mississippi to "Indian Territory" west of Arkansas and Missouri. In 1845 the United States annexed Texas, shown here with the region's borders as defined by Mexico. The United States provoked a war by extending those bounds south and west to the Rio Grande and to include Santa Fe. The United States and the British Empire still disputed sovereignty over the Oregon Country.

In 1846, the United States divided the Oregon Country with the British Empire and launched a war with Mexico that conquered the Southwest and California, extending American power to the Pacific.
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 slaves.
  4. Insurrection was made punishable by death in 11 states and in 13 inciting slaves 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 Politics

DON E. FEHRENBACKER
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 come back to this later) joined with a growing sectional identity construction.

- There are even proposals to re-open the Atlantic slave trade! (Illegal importation had survived, specially 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.
In the decades preceding the Civil War, the South struggled against widespread negative characterizations of its economy and society as it worked to match the North’s infrastructure and level of development. Recognizing the need for reform, James Dunwoody Bowes (J. D. B.) De Bow began publishing a monthly journal—De Bow’s Review—to guide southerners toward a stronger future, and it soon became a primary reference for planters and entrepreneurs in the Old South. While the publication originally promoted urban development and industrialization and advocated investment in schools, libraries, and other cultural resources, De Bow began to use
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).
  4. Growing feeling in the north of being under a “slave power” ⇒ a central reason for the creation of the Republican Party.
  5. This is why Lincoln’s victory is such a no-return point for the secessionist: first time (perhaps ever!) that the Federal government would not be controlled by them,
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).

- 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 slavers 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"
RHETT
THE TURBULENT LIFE AND TIMES
OF A FIRE-EATER

William C. Davis
THE SOUTH’S FORGOTTEN FIRE EATER

DAVID HUBBARD
&
NORTH ALABAMA’S LONG ROAD TO DISUNION

CHRIS McILWAIN

"Deeply researched, provocatively argued, and forcefully written."
George C. Rable, Professor Emeritus, University of Alabama
MATTHEW KARP

THIS VAST SOUTHERN EMPIRE

SLAVEHOLDERS AT THE HELM OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
COLOSSAL AMBITIONS
Confederate Planning for a Post–Civil War World
ADRIAN BRETTE
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 slaves had already picked up in the 1790s.

- The bulk of manumissions probably occurred prior to 1810 and, perhaps, even earlier.

- In cities, owners often allowed slaves 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 slaves as the cotton plantation.

- What about other crops?