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Raymond J. Jirran

A. *Introduction*

One of the principal ways of interpreting Western civilization is through economic analysis. The material goods of this life are indeed powerful motivators that do account for much of the human condition.¹ The view offered here is less crass and more idealistic, but hardly any more probable for all of that. Human concern, or love, is a greater communicator than money.

The readings focus on the mid-Eighteenth Century. The lecture extends through the mid-Nineteenth Century. The readings look at the promoters of slavery, the lecture at the dissuaders. The readings tend toward a global outlook; the lecture focuses more closely upon England. The course goal, covering both, is **to evaluate the economic dimension of Western civilization**.

B. *Global Implications*

Historians generally ignore the fact slavery existed in the Old World, whether European, Arab, or African. In the words of one historian, Old World slavery

tended to reinforce existing communities of family, royal houses or lineage. The differentiating massiveness of the forced resettlement of Africans among Europeans in America (ten million from the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries)² left Africans exposed to rationalizing impulses of industrial (albeit rural) discipline before 1700 or so.³

Historians generally treat White enslavement of Blacks as an economic phenomenon, when, from a Black perspective, it is much more a moral matter. The economic phenomenon of the industrial revolution in Great Britain, in one way or another, depended upon slavery. Slave economies went into decline after the American Revolution, or, if one likes a Black perspective, the War for Independence (from England). Students will find such generalizations as part of standard historical presentations.⁴

When freedom came, Blacks, both slave and free, and serfs and peasants were part of it. In Brazil as well as in parts of Spanish America, Blacks joined into the national liberation movements. For both British and Spanish, the name *America* only became prominent in the second half of the Eighteenth Century. Before that, Europeans referred to America as the Indies.⁵ In the West Indies, massive slave revolts and Maroon wars affected European politics and Twentieth Century nationalism. Black revolts, like the peasant revolts of Europe, were critical for the making of the modern world. Black participation secured freedom and dignity with democracy and social justice for the revolutions. Black participation prevented a roll back to earlier times.⁶

C. *The Caribbean*⁷

The local phase of the world problem rests heavily in the United States. While in the colonial United States rice, tobacco, and cotton became familiar products of the slave economy, sugar came first. Historians trace the relationship between slaves and sugar from the Twelfth Century Mediterranean to the African coast to the Americas.⁸ During the early 1500s, sugar was a luxury

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item, used primarily for treating wine. By 1525, increased supply caused a drop in prices that, in turn, permitted a more general use in the making of preserves and confectionery. After that, prices went up, causing an increase in production, causing a drop in prices, causing an increase in consumption, starting the cycle all over again.⁹

As early as the 1670-90 period, this cyclical crisis ruined both planters and their creditors in the sugar economies of the Caribbean and Brazil. The fact that between 1570 and 1710 sugar production in Brazil rose 450 per cent offers a sense of the cycle at work. Compared to tobacco and cotton, sugar required relatively heavy investment. Planters divided the work and for both technical and political reasons, the refining of sugar shifted to Europe. When Portugal forbade refining sugar in Lisbon, in order to strengthen the Brazilian economy, Amsterdam and Hamburg began refining, with little or no benefit to Brazil.

Sugar also affected the English metropolis, which became the largest per capita consumer of sucrose during the period 1650 to 1850. Sugar was rare in 1650 and still a luxury in 1750, but by 1850 a psychological necessity. World demand exercised the most influence over slave economies.

The Caribbean linked the center and periphery of the Atlantic economy. Sugar was the favored child of the Caribbean and capitalism, the geographic region and the monetary institution, both. As such, the plantation financed the Industrial Revolution in England. West Indian plantations, in organization, size of labor force, division of labor, and insistence on discipline, foreshadowed the factory. Comparisons made at the time remain significant. For example, in 1833, the U. S. slave worked approximately a fifty-five hour week, while the English mechanic worked approximately an eighty-four hour week.¹⁰

D. Conclusion

In this lesson, the student has examined the Introduction to Slavery; Global Implications; and the Caribbean. In this way, the student has come to evaluate the worldwide economic dimension of Western civilization. Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico, Atlantic Ocean, Mississippi River, Ohio River Valley, Fort Duquesne, Quebec, and Hudson Bay on "Map 18.2 Anglo-French Rivalry in North America and the Caribbean as of 1756," on page 649¹¹ all merit special attention.

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Supplement

E. Introduction

Were this lecture prepared for a Global History course, more would be required in such areas as Korean and Russian slavery. Social death is that which holds all forms of slavery together. This makes the eunuch the ultimate slave.¹²

Two sections, K. The Sugar Duties of 1846 and L. British Significance for Capitalism, used to be in the "notes" part of the lecture, i.e., in the part of the lecture to be known rather than simply read. New formatting procedures for the Hewlett-Packard Laser Jet Series II printer, available at Thomas Nelson Community College in the fall of 1989, left less space than was previously used. Students should like both results, shorter lectures and clearer print.

F. Global Implications (continued)

Historians generally treat racism as a local phenomenon, when, from a Black perspective, racism is "but a local phase of a world problem."¹³ American slavery is inseparable from its total context. English colonial slaveholders opposed parliamentary reforms favoring abolition. French slaveholders in the colonies and aristocrats in France supported the pro-slavery counterrevolution. Prussian Junkers demolished the liberal movement of 1848 that had severed all of the bonds of peasant servility. In exchange for their freedom, the peasants basically lost their land.¹⁴ Russian boyars suicidally refused to limit the power of the Tsar. In like manner did Southern slaveholders act in the U. S. Southern slaveholders: opposed legal reforms favoring abolition; supported the counterrevolution by trying to expand, rather than contain, slavery; opposed the liberating Republicans; refused to limit the power of the state to enforce slavery.¹⁵

Germans, Russians, Hungarians, and other European landowners traditionally treated their serfs and peasants much like American slaves. Likewise, European masters regarded their serfs and peasants as of different ethnic stock. What is difficult to assimilate are the parallel facts and chronology that, at the same time as slavery arose in the New World, so did the idea arise that human rights had to be respected and that individuals had a right to own private property. This combination of facts and chronology made it important to exclude slaves and serfs and peasants from the community of important men.

Scholars debate whether economics, rather than either philanthropy or humanitarianism motivated the abolition of the slave trade. Philanthropic and humanitarian motives include the spread of Christianity and the relief of the native Americans. When enslaved, native Americans died. The Africans did not die, at least. This is not to deny that what sometimes is attributed to humanitarian motives was due to ecological adjustments involving unrecognized diseases.¹⁶

The professor considers the abolition of the slave trade as a multi-causal event. European and North American scholars generally prefer the philanthropic and humanitarian arguments.¹⁷ Third world scholars generally prefer the economic arguments about why slavery ended. Caribbean historians particularly approve of the economic argument.

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Only about six percent of the Africans ended up in what came to be the United States. More than three-quarters found their way to Brazil and the Caribbean. The rest went elsewhere in the Americas.¹⁸

Not everything moved toward progress. During the Eighteenth Century, noting the success of slavery in the West Indies, French and English merchants tried the same approach in the Indian Ocean. One important port of call was the Seychelles Islands (4.35S 55.40E). The French began settling the approximately hundred islands in 1768. In 1794, the English took control. The Seychelles finally became an independent republic in 1976.¹⁹ Carl Stokes served as ambassador to the Seychelles following World War II. Stokes was the first Black mayor of a major United States City, Cleveland. The illicit slave trade flourished on this French colony between 1807 and 1833. Sugar was the main crop. Although the trip from the East African coast was relatively short, the death rate of twenty-five percent was higher than for the Middle Passage.²⁰

G. The Caribbean (continued)

1. London

Calorie-rich sugar functioned to fill the caloric insufficiency of the English working class diet. Sugar liberated the wage-earning wife from one or even two meal preparations per day. One meal per day would be sufficient. It was customary for the adult males to consume protein foods leaving to women and children cheaper sucrose. Protein insufficiency of children may have constituted a somewhat culturally legitimated population control. Planters, bankers, shippers, refiners, grocers, and bureaucrats all combined to transform the English working-class diet.

Primitive consumerism transformed sugar into an opiate, providing symbolic demonstration that the system that produced it was successful. The working class, by emulating its betters in sugar consumption, enjoyed the illusion of freedom of choice. In the final analysis, the legacy of capitalism in the colonial periphery, such as Barbados, and even in its metropolitan core, such as London, remained persistent poverty.

2. Barbados

In Barbados, by the mid-Seventeenth Century, sugar replaced tobacco as Black workers replaced White. Unlike indentured servants, slaves did not expect to become owners of small farms. While the constant land give-away would work in continental America, such a program was incompatible with island life.²¹

Experiences of White English, Irish, and Scottish servants paralleled and overlapped those of the Black slaves. White servitude was a precursor, a "form of proto-slavery."²² The trade in servants was a trade in property that recorded White cargo as "freight" or "half-freight," depending on age.

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Portuguese recorded Black cargo similarly. Technically the merchants sold contracts for labor; actually, the merchants sold men and women.²³

As many as fourteen percent of the passengers died during the six-to ten-week sea journey from Africa to America. Many of these White people were taken forcibly either as convicts or through abduction. These mortality rates rival and exceed those for the terrible and more familiar middle-passage.²⁴

Once in Barbados, life was worse for Whites than for Blacks, in that Whites got right to work, without any "seasoning." Whites could not look to the protective paternalistic policies that mitigated Black life. Whites were not worth as much as Blacks to the ruling class. Planters paid a property tax on both White servants and Black slaves. As property, indentured servants cost less than slaves, even taking into account the five to ten year limit on the contracts. Consistency of supply, rather than relative cost, made planters prefer the Africans.²⁵

Whites refused to work alongside of Blacks. There were times, however, when Whites joined Blacks in mutual attempts to flee their masters. Over the course of the Seventeenth Century, Whites lost such skilled jobs as artisans, domestic laborers, and members of the militia to slaves. By the mid-Eighteenth Century the creole (born in America) slave society had its own distinct way of life.²⁶

3. Trinidad

Demographic studies uncover out some interesting facts about the plantation slaves of Trinidad between 1783 and 1816. Life expectancy was only seventeen years. Infant mortality for both boy and girl babies was 365 per thousand. Fewer than half of the babies lived to age five. Contrary to expectations, slave women who survived to menopause bore about five children. This fertility rate was not low. Scholars have yet further to analyze their statistics. Dr. Jirran lacks comparable statistics for his own analysis.²⁷

Life was shorter on sugar, cocoa, and provision cotton farms than on cotton and coffee properties. Trinidad creole women were slightly more fertile than those born in Africa were. Life was shorter under Protestant British than under Catholic Spanish or Catholic French masters. British absenteeism and concentration in sugar accounted for the difference. The slave population of Trinidad did not replace itself, declining at a rate of 1.25 per cent per year. Without infusions from abroad, the slave population would have decreased from 17,087 in 1813 to 9,000 by 1863. What happened on Trinidad seems likely to have happened throughout the British Caribbean.²⁸

4. Cuba

In 1842, the Spanish imposed a much harsher slave law than had been in place before. In 1844, the colonial government began a reign of terror known as La Escalera or "the Ladder." The terror used ladders as whipping posts. In opposition to this terror, a member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, David Turnbull, was dedicated to spreading the gospel of abolition and viewed democratic revolution as inevitable.²⁹

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In 1844, A British court convicted Turnbull in absentia of causing an uprising. Such an involvement in an uprising would have enabled the British to expand financial interests under the guise of humanitarianism. Historians remain unconvinced that Turnbull was involved. Because of La Escalera, of which there is no doubt, both the North and the South in the United States became worried about British imperialism in Texas. Fearing a Black Cuba, Southerners cozied up to the White Cubans over possible annexation to the United States.³⁰

H. From Utrecht (1714) to the French and Indian War (1763)

In that part of the Treaty of Utrecht negotiated in 1714, England received an asiento concession from Spain. An asiento is a license. The South Sea Company exercised the asiento from 1714 until 1739. England, consequently, exercised the sole right to deliver slaves in Spanish America and carried an estimated 2.5 million Africans to the New World.³¹

To get a better idea of what was going on, further estimate is that some three hundred thousand slaves arrived in the Cuban slave trade between 1790 and 1820.³² According to the traditional interpretation, the value of the concession was in the delivery of non-human cargo, for the slave trade was unprofitable and few slaves arrived. Recent scholarship indicates that 88,000³³ slaves arrived annually between 1713 and 1763 and that slave trading was profitable, if not lucrative. During a period of almost four centuries, about ten million Africans arrived in the New World.³⁴

However, what about the Europeans? Between 1718 and 1775, some fifty thousand felons were transported to British America. The break down was 36,000 English, 13,000 Irish, and 700 Scots. The 1718 Transportation Act aimed at ridding Britain and Ireland of people who, otherwise, would have gone to prison. More than half was less than twenty-five years of age. Males outnumbered females four to one. Trade in convicts was more than twice as profitable as the slave trade. In contrast to Seventeenth Century Barbados, convicts, because already Europeanized, were more valuable than Africans during the Eighteenth Century.³⁵

Chained convicts publicly paraded to their ships. Most convicts came here, to the Chesapeake, because of the high demand. While these convicts were not as likely to commit crimes in the colonies as they were in the British Isles, they were likely to run away. Professional criminals really did not like it in America and tried might and main to return home.

James Edward Oglethorpe arrived in Georgia in 1733 to offer an asylum for debtors. Australia started taking British felons in 1788. By 1850, free colonists had replaced these felons in both Georgia and Australia.³⁶

I. From the French and Indian War (1763) to Napoleon (1795)

After 1763, the slave economies continued to prosper. This prosperity included the British who were gaining a commanding position in the slave trade. Sometimes the British ships did fly non-British flags in order to avoid problems, first with Napoleonic and then with British regulations. In the past, some observers misread the flag changing. Traders were not abandoning markets due to a drying up of market resources. Sources of trade, however, were present. There was plenty of

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business for all. British slavery and the slave trade were properly adjusting to laissez-faire capitalism.

By the year 2000 standards, the nature of international trade was slow. In 1790, only four percent of European gross national products crossed national boundaries. By 1850 there was a tremendous increase, but what that increase was, Dr. Jirran does not know. In 1850, before the Civil War, half of the value of exports from the United States came from cotton. Economic matters were proceeding nicely.³⁷

The following commentary about the Caribbean Island of Saint Domingue offers a sense of how the September 6, 1992 rendition of Topic 5 Russia historians present the significance of trade:

Some 40 percent of France's foreign trade, its 7,000- or so plantations were absorbing by the 1790s also 10-15 percent of United States exports and had important commercial links with the British and Spanish West Indies as well. On the coastal plains of this colony little larger than Wales was grown about two-fifths of the world's sugar, while from its mountainous interior came over half of the world's coffee.³⁸

Moral trouble was afoot, nonetheless. The troublesome judge was William Murray, later Lord Mansfield. He was responsible for forming much of the commercial law of England during the Eighteenth Century. The plaintiff was James Sommersett who in 1771 was challenging the right of his master to deport him to Jamaica for sale. Such a sale would have been illegal in England. The judge sided with the plaintiff. Within sixty-five years, such sales would be illegal throughout the British Empire.³⁹

J. From Napoleon (1795) to British Emancipation (1833)

While the Napoleonic wars disrupted the market, all economic factors favored a later reinstatement of the British slave trade. By 1815, the wars were over, yet policy makers never contemplated such a reinstatement. The public communicated an effective refusal. The rationale behind this forceful public opinion, however, was not economic. Historians commit a major error when they present slavery as only an economic matter, which it was not; and not also as a moral matter, which it was.

The abolitionist attack on the slave trade from 1788 to 1808 came when the slave trade was at the peak of its profitability and promise. Abolition, as a humanitarian-political movement, does seem to have caused the end of slavery. More research is required for this 1788-1808 period as well as between the time of the 1807 Abolition Act, designed to end the slave trade, and the British 1833 Emancipation Act, designed to end slavery itself. As one scholar put it:

If the slave trade had not been abolished, the impact of overseas trade would have been larger in the nineteenth century, since the slave trade was historically the most dynamic element in Africa's trade

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relations with the Western world. Without abolition in 1807, rising European needs for raw materials from plantations would have prompted an expansion of the traffic that might well have dwarfed the nineteenth-century migration from Europe. Apart from the demographic results, such an expansion could have led to severe economic dislocation and restructuring for Africa. Nineteenth-century Western economic development would have affected Africa in much the same way that it affected the rest of the less developed world. Thanks to the abolition of the traffic, the key to understanding African economic history remains either developments internal to Africa or external factors whose effects are so subtle as to go far beyond what is suggested by the mere values of African Atlantic trade.⁴⁰

Not to get carried away with Northern U. S. A. self-righteousness, students need to observe that in 1821 New Yorkers altered their state suffrage requirements by abolishing property qualifications for Whites and increasing them for Blacks. In the final analysis, Black suffrage came to New York--as it came to half of the Northern states--not by state action but by the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S.A. Constitution in 1870.⁴¹

K. The Sugar Duties of 1846

An overview of the nature of international trade will help place the sugar trade in further perspective. In 1790, only four percent of the gross national product in Europe crossed national boundaries. The United States was more dependent upon foreign trade in the Nineteenth than in the Twentieth Century. More historical work on the interrelation with finance, shipping, foreign capital imports, and immigration is in order.⁴²

The argument that the abolitionists succumbed to the constraints of economic logic in the matter of the 1846 Sugar Duties taxes, which permitted all sugar to come in at the same rate, has been disproved. In other words, the abolitionists did not try to obtain cheaper sugar for themselves at the expense of slaves. No tax on slave-labor sugar meant driving paid-labor sugar from the market. The old sugar tax had penalized slavery. Now the penalty was gone. Despite this, the abolitionists did not sell their ideological heritage for slave-labor sugar. The actual reasons why not are too complex to set forth in this short a lecture.

British liberals found it difficult to accept the proposition that slaves produced cotton, sugar, and coffee more efficiently than paid labor. Although the cost of freeing the British slaves did not much endanger British prosperity, there was a cost involved for navy squadrons, diplomacy, and lost trade with the British West Indies, Brazil, and Cuba. Slavery kept on going, however, because of British-centered Atlantic demand for plantation goods.⁴³

The Sugar Duties of 1846 have provided a cynical red herring for historians bent on treating not only slavery, but also the abolitionists, as driven by economic, rather than moral, matters. A red herring is something that distracts attention from real issues.

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At face value, morality drove abolitionists, while economics drove liberals. That is the reason for the above paragraph on liberalism. While slavery did not make good moral sense, it did not make much economic sense either. There was, however, more economic, than moral, justification for slavery.

L. *British Significance for Capitalism*

The significance of the British position in all of this comes from the fact that, without British neutrality, the Confederacy probably would have won the War. What happened was that British workers prevented the English business interests from launching ships designed to break the Northern blockade of the Confederacy. Black abolitionists worked hard to ensure this neutrality.⁴⁴ Had the South won the War, worldwide emancipation of people everywhere could have been more difficult.

While the U. S. slave trade became illegal in 1808, pirates continued to trade in slaves with the U. S. right up to 1860. The Civil War lasted from 1860 to 1865. While the British emancipated their slaves in 1833, the U. S. Emancipation Act only occurred in 1863. While it is true that two years earlier, in 1861, Russia freed her serfs; one must also remember that Brazilian emancipation of 700,000 slaves only occurred in 1888.⁴⁵

M. *Historiography*

Historians are moving away from the structures that forced and focused slavery in Western civilization toward the human experiences involved. This view is so fresh that it seems inappropriate for the lecture proper. The structures approach means that no matter what people do, their choices have little effect upon history. People did make choices, however, and those choices are the stuff out of which historians now examine slavery. How that change in viewpoint will affect the traditional viewpoint remains to be seen.⁴⁶

N. *Conclusion*

By reading about Global Implications; the Caribbean; From Utrecht (1714) to the French and Indian War (1763); From the French and Indian War (1763) to Napoleon (1795); From Napoleon (1795) to British Emancipation (1833); British Significance for Capitalism; and Historiography, the student has expanded the ability to evaluate the economic dimension of Western civilization according to the persons, places, and circumstances involved and according to that degree of certitude merited by the evidence.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 643-655

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

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Page	Column	Paragraph Line	
0644	1	1 16	"...mercantilist..." The professor prefers mercantile to mercantilist as the adjectival form.
0645	2	chart	HIS 101-35 Exploration refers to this chart.
0645	1-2		"...isolation from European society, which made slavery possible..." Chambers must mean the combination of climate and isolation, because, as these lectures document, Europeans have a long history of enslaving themselves.
0645	2	1 7-9	"...they could not raise an adequate supply of food..." The professor wonders what this means; he thinks it means that the West Indies could not raise an adequate supply of food in addition to the other exploitation taking place.
0647	1	2 9-10	"...`factories,' on the West African coast..." The professor drew attention to Chambers' use of factories in Topic 06 Culture on page 628, with "...the rise of the factory system in the late eighteenth century." Also, see below at page 652 and 654.
0648	1	1 4	"...`middle passage'..." The professor prefers to capitalize Middle Passage, though the term does not appear in <i>Merriam-Webster's Collegiate (r) Dictionary Tenth Edition</i> (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 1993). <i>Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged Second Edition Based Upon ;the Broad Foundations Laid Down by Noah Webster ...</i> (New York: Simon and Schuster, a Division of Gulf & Western Corporation, 1979), page 1139 does include middle passage, without either italicization or capitalization.
0648	1	1 11	"...as many captives as possible..." Here Chambers is unclear. What Chambers means is as many as possible under the circumstances. The professor looks forward to comparative history in this matter.

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0648 1 1 18-21 "...mortality rate...10 percent or more on average..."

On page 476 Chambers mentions "...that in some decades of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fewer than two-thirds of those who left Europe actually reached their destination." If the upper limit of half the Africans died, as Chambers indicates, then there may be only a seventeen percent differential between the mortality rates of Whites and Blacks in the Middle Passage. This would make the issue more one of class than race. On page 477 Chambers offers that "...it was often less than half..." who survived the crossing.

0648 2 2 5 "...string of forts... (see map 18.2)..."

"Map 18.2 Anglo-French Rivalry in North America and the Caribbean as of 1756" lacks an adequate key. That map shows only one fort on the Great Lakes, Fort Niagara. Contrary to the text on page 648 Louisbourg does not appear as a fort on the map on page 649. Fort Duquesne is not on the Great Lakes, but is near or at the present-day Pittsburgh.

0650 1 1 6 "A new string of forts..."

Fort Vincennes is the only fort shown on the map for this southern string.

0650 2 2 6-7 "...Minorca..."

Though Minorca does not appear on "Map 20.2 Conflicts in Revolutionary France" on page 713 or on "Map 21.1 France and Its Sister Republics, 1798" on page 732, Minorca does appear on the frontispiece map, "Physiography of Europe" west of Sardinia, east of Spain.

0651 1 1 5 "...Brest and Toulon..."

While Toulon does appear on "Map 20.2 Conflicts in Revolutionary France" on page 713, Brest does not. Brest is at 48.24 N, 4.29 W, east of Paris.

0652 1 3 9 "...`factories' in India..."

See above at page 647.

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0653 1 1 2-3 "...American War of Independence..."

To a Black historian, American War of Independence, as distinct from the American Revolutionary War, has special significance. As far as Blacks were concerned, the war was not so revolutionary, as a distancing from England.

0654 The text, especially the last line.

This conclusion heralds "the dawn of the modern era" in economic rather than moral assumptions. The professor prefers grounding history in morality, rather than economics or politics. The professor wonders about viewing the dawn of the modern era as truth having its own way, despite either church or state politics. "The Wealth of Nations" is the title for this Chapter Eighteen. That wealth derived from slavery. In time, both church and state would give way and recognize slavery as immoral and in the meantime, truth struggled to be both heard and abided.

0654 1 last "...the new factory system."

Endnotes

¹ For a current reflection over this view, see Stephen Wermiel, "Reagan-Picked Judges Put the Federal Courts on Conservative Path," The Wall Street Journal, December 18, 1984, page 1 column 6 and page 22 columns 3 and 4.

² Peter Kolchin, review of Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800*, e-mail dated Thursday, March 20, 1997, 00:58:05 -0600 from Valencia King Nelson <vknelson@webex.com> to afrigeneas@msstate.edu, subject: The Making of New World Slavery (book review) at <http://www.mssate.edu/listarchives/afrigeneas/199703/msg00453.html> March 2, 2000, 10:47 a.m., page 1/4.

³ Joseph C. Miller, review of Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern 1492-1800* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 5 (December 1999), page 1635.

⁴ Roderick A. McDonald, review of British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams (ed. by Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman in The Journal of American History, 75 (March 1989): 1297.

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⁵ Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "AHR Forum: The Emancipation of America," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 1 (February 2000), pages 138-139.

⁶ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pages 410-411.

⁷ This section is generally drawn from Stanley J. Stein, review of Sidney W. Mintz, Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History, *The American Historical Review*, 91 (April 1986): 363.

⁸ Roderick A. McDonald, review of British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams (ed. by Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman in The Journal of American History, 75 (March 1989): 1298.

⁹ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), page 45.

¹⁰ The Poor Man's Guardian as cited in Seymour Drescher, Capitalism and Antislavery: ; British mobilization in Comparative Perspective, pp. 149-150 as further cited in Thomas L. Haskell, "AHR Forum: Convention and Hegemonic Interest in the Debate over Antislavery: A Reply to Davis and Ashworth," *The American Historical Review*, 92 (October 1987): 840-841.

¹¹ Pacific Ocean, Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico, Atlantic Ocean, the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, Fort Duquesne, Detroit, Quebec, and Hudson Bay are on "Map 18.3 Anglo-French Rivalry in North America and the Caribbean: 1754-1763," on page 734 in the sixth edition; Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico, Atlantic Ocean, Mississippi River, Ohio River Valley, Fort Duquesne, Quebec, and Hudson Bay are on "Map 18.2 Anglo-French Rivalry in North America and the Caribbean as of 1756," on page 649 in the seventh edition;

¹² Richard Hellie, review of Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 2 (April 1984), pages 411-412. The February 27, 2000 rendition of Topic 5 Russia cites Hellie in footnotes 5 and 12.

¹³ Robin D. G. Kelley, "But a Local Phase of a World Problem": Black History's Global Vision, 1883-1950," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (December 1999), pages 1045-1077. Also see Janet J. Ewald, "Crossers of the Sea: Slaves, Freedmen, and Other Migrants in the Northwestern Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1914," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 1 (February 2000), pages 69-91. Both articles indicate a movement to correct misimpression in mainstream history.

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¹⁴ Steven Hahn, "Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective" The American Historical Review, Vol. 95, No. 1 (February 1990), page 89.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), page 402.

¹⁶ William H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), page 227.

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