

Original Paper

How America Became an Economic Powerhouse on the Backs of African-American Slaves and Native Americans

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to make the case that the United States became an economic super-power in the nineteenth century on the backs of African-American slaves and Native Americans.

It was in 1619, when Jamestown colonists bought 20-30 slaves from English pirates. The paper starts with 'The 1619 Project' whose objective is to place the consequences of slavery--and the contributions of black Americans--at the very center of the story we tell ourselves about who we are as a nation.

Slavery was common in all thirteen colonies, and at-least twelve Presidents owned slaves. The enslaved people were not recognized as human beings, but as property: once a slave always a slave.

The U.S. Constitution, adopted in 1788, never mentions slavery, yet slavery is at the very heart of the constitution.

The U.S. government used the Declaration of Independence as a license to commit genocide on the Native Americans, and to seize their land.

Racist ideas have persisted throughout American history, based on the myth that blacks are intellectually inferior compared to whites. However, in a 2012 article in the Scientific American, the authors reported that 85.5% of genetic variation is within the so-called races, not between them. So, the consensus among Western researchers today is that human races do not represent a scientific theory, but are sociocultural constructs.

After end of the Civil War, the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolished slavery in America, and the 15th Amendment protected the voting rights of African Americans.

However, in the Confederate South, Jim Crow laws legalized racial segregation between 1870-1968. In 1965, thanks to the Civil Rights movement, the Voting Rights Act was passed to overcome barriers created by Jim Crow laws to the legal rights of African Americans under the 15th Amendment.

British and American innovations in cotton technology sparked the Industrial Revolution during the

latter part of the eighteenth century. The British cotton manufacturing exploded in the 1780s. Eighty years later in 1860, Manchester, England stood at the center of a world-spanning empire—the empire of cotton.

There were three pillars of the Industrial Revolution. One was the centuries-earlier conquest by Europeans of a colossal expanse of lands in the New World. It was the control of huge territories in America, that made monoculture farming of cotton possible. Second was that the Europeans drastically—and unilaterally—altered the global competitive landscape of cotton. They did it by using their military might, and the willingness to use it—often violently—to their advantage.

The third—and the most important—was slavery: without which there would be no Industrial Revolution.

America was tremendously suited for cotton production. The climate and soil of a large part of American South met the conditions under which the cotton plant thrived.

More importantly, the plantation owners in America commanded unlimited supplies of the three crucial ingredients that went into the production of cotton: labor, land, and credit. And this was topped by their unbelievable political power.

In 1793 Eli Whitney's revolutionary cotton gin increased ginning productivity fifty times, and thus removed the bottleneck of removing seeds from cotton.

Because of relying on monoculture farming, the problem the cotton planters were facing was soil exhaustion. So, they wanted the U.S. government to acquire more land. Surprisingly, in 1803 America was able to strike an unbelievable deal with the French—the Louisiana Purchase—which doubled the territory of the United States. In 1819 America acquired Florida from Spain, and in 1845 annexed Texas from Mexico.

Between 1803 and 1838, under President Andrew Jackson, America fought a multi-front war against the Native Americans in the Deep South, and expropriated vast tracts of their land, that culminated in the ethnic cleansing of the Deep South.

With an unlimited supply of land—and slave labor—even soil exhaustion did not slow down the cotton barons; they just moved further west and farther south. New cotton fields now sprang up in the sediment-rich lands along the banks of Mississippi. So swift was this move westward that, by the end of the 1830s, Mississippi was producing more cotton than any other southern state. By 1860, there were more millionaires per capita in Mississippi Valley than anywhere else in America.

The New Orleans slave market was the largest in America—where 100,000 men, women, and children were packaged, priced, and sold.

The entry of the United States in the cotton market quickly began to reshape the global cotton market. By 1802 America was the single-most supplier of cotton to Britain.

For eighty years—from the 1780s to 1865—almost a million people were herded down the road from the upper South to the lower South and the West, to toil on cotton plantations. The thirty-odd men walked in coffles, the double line hurrying in lock-step. Each hauled twenty pounds of iron, chains that draped from

neck-to-neck, and wrist-to-wrist, binding them all together. They walked for miles, days, and weeks, and many covered over 700 miles.

The plantation owners devised a cruel system of controlling their slaves that the enslaved called “the pushing system.” This system constantly increased the number of acres each slave was expected to cultivate. In 1805 each “hand” could tend to five acres of a cotton field. Fifty years later that target had been doubled to ten acres.

Overseers closely monitored enslaved workers. Each slave was assigned a daily quota of number of pounds of cotton to pick. If the worker failed to meet it, he received as many lashes on his back as the deficit. However, if he overshot his quota, the master might “reward” him by raising his quota the next day.

One of the most brutal weapons the planters used against the slaves, was the whip: ten feet of plaited cowhide. When facing the specter of an overseer’s whip, slaves were so terrified that they could not speak in sentences. They danced, trembled, babbled, and lost control of their bodies.

When seeking a loan, the planters used slaves as a collateral. With extraordinarily high returns from their businesses, the planters began to expand their loan portfolio: sometimes using the same slave worker as collateral for multiple mortgages. The American South produced too much cotton. However, consumer demand could not keep up with the excessive supply, that then led to a precipitous fall in prices, which, in turn, set off the Panic of 1837. And that touched off a major depression.

The slaveholders were using advanced management and accounting practices long before the techniques that are still in use today.

The manufacture of sugar from sugarcane began in Louisiana Territory in 1795. In sugar mills, children, alongside with adults, toiled like factory workers with assembly-like precision and discipline under the constant threat of boiling hot kettles, open furnaces, and grinding rollers.

To attain the highest efficiency, sugar factories worked day and night where there is no distinction as to the days of the week. Fatigue might mean losing an arm to the grinding rollers, or being flayed for not being able to keep up. Resistance was often met with sadistic cruelty.

The expansion of slavery in the first eight decades after American independence, drove the evolution and modernization of the United States. In the course of a single life time, the South grew from a narrow coastal strip of worn-out tobacco plantations, to a continental cotton empire. As a result, the United States became a modern, industrial, and capitalistic economy. This is the period in which America rose from being a minor European trading partner, to becoming the world’s leading economy.

Finally, we hope that we have successfully been able to make the argument that America became an economic powerhouse in the nineteenth century not only on the backs of African-American slaves, but also on the genocide of Native Americans, and their stolen lands.

Keywords

The 1619 Project, White Racism, Slavery, Native Americans, U.S. Constitution, Industrial Revolution, European Imperialism

1. Introduction

This is a long essay, so we have divided in *six* sections as follow:

Section I—From 1619 to American Independence

Section II—History of Slavery and Racist Ideas

Section III—The Civil War to the Voting Rights Act, 1965

Section IV— The Empire of Cotton

Section V—The Sugar Plantations of Louisiana

Section VI—This Half has Not been Told

Section I starts with ‘The 1619 Project,’ whose objective is to recognize the *consequences* of slavery and the *contributions* of black Americans at the *center* of the story we tell ourselves who we are as a nation.

Slavery was common in all thirteen colonies in 1776, and the enslaved were not regarded as human beings, but as property.

In 1975 the American Revolutionary War started when *some* of the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain to *protect* slavery. On September 3, 1783, Great Britain formally recognized the independence of the United States.

In framing the *Declaration of Independence* in 1776, this is what Thomas Jefferson wrote:

- “The laws of nature and nature’s God” are the foundations from which reason and conscience reveal “self-evident” truth, namely, that “all men are created equal” in their possession of “certain unalienable rights.”

Jefferson chose those rights to be: “life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.”

However, Jefferson did *not* truly believe in what he wrote, because some people were *more* equal than others. The natural rights manifesto did *not* include *women*, and *neither* were *slaves* nor *Native Americans*.

In 1788, the U.S. government adopted the *Constitution* of the United States. The Constitution *never* mentions slavery; the word does *not* appear in it. And yet, slavery is *all over* the document.

The American government used the *Declaration of Independence* as a *license* to commit *genocide* of Native Americans and to *seize* their land.

Section II covers in *depth* the *persistence* of ideas of *racism* in the Western culture and America, starting from as early as the *fifteenth* century virtually to this day.

Section III covers the Civil War in the United States that *started* in 1861, when eleven southern states declared to *secede* from the Union, and form the *Confederate States of America*. The war *ended* in Confederate surrender in 1865. The conflict was the *costliest* and *deadliest* war ever fought on American soil.

The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolished slavery in America, and the 15th Amendment was passed to protect the voting rights of African Americans.

The Jim Crow laws in the South *legalized* racial segregation for almost hundred years from 1870 to

1968. Following the Civil War movement, the Voting Rights Act was passed in 1965, to overcome the legal barriers of Jim-Crow laws.

Section IV is titled the *Empire of Cotton*. The British—and American—innovations in cotton technology sparked the Industrial Revolution during the latter part of the eighteenth century. The British cotton manufacturing *exploded* in the 1780s. Eighty years later in 1860, Manchester, England stood at the center of a *world-spanning empire*—the empire of *cotton*.

To cater to their *unsatiable* appetite for more land, the plantation owners approached the U.S. government for acquiring more land. Surprisingly, in 1803 America was able to strike an *unbelievable* deal with the French--the *Louisiana Purchase*. This *vast* expanse *doubled* the territory of the United States. In 1819 America acquired Florida from Spain, and in 1845 *annexed* Texas from Mexico.

Between 1803 and 1838, under President Andrew Jackson, America fought a multi-front war with the *Native Americans* in the Deep South. By the end of the 1830s, all Native Americans were *removed* to lands *west* of the Mississippi.

Under Andrew Jackson's 1819 treaty with the Choctaw nation, the U.S. acquired five million acres of extremely *fertile* land in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta, in exchange for vastly *inferior* lands in Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Between 1835 and 1842, the U.S. *expropriated* the extremely *fertile* cotton fields from the Seminoles in Florida.

With an unlimited supply of land—and slave labor—even soil exhaustion did not slow down the cotton barons; they just moved further *west* and farther *south*. *New* cotton fields now sprang up in the *sediment-rich* lands along the banks of Mississippi. So swift was this move westward that, by the end of the 1830s, Mississippi was producing *more* cotton than any other southern state. By 1860, there were more *millionaires* per capita in Mississippi Valley than anywhere else in America.

The entry of the United States in the cotton market quickly began to *reshape* the global cotton market. By 1802 America was the *single-most* supplier of cotton to Britain.

The *leading* sector of the emerging *global* economy during the *first* half of the nineteenth century was *cotton*. So, between 1820 and 1860, as many as a *million* African-American slaves were *sold*. This massive *relocation* and geographic *redistribution* of the enslaved population caused profound *suffering* among the slaves for *two* reasons: (1) The *breakup* of 50% of slave *families*, and (2) *Loss* of the *social* network that every slave family was an *intimate* part of.

New Orleans slave market was the *largest* in the nation, where 100,000 men, women, and children were *packaged, priced* and *sold*.

For most of the history of political economy of *slavery* in the Mississippi Valley, there was a growing *tension* between “the South” as a region of the *global* economy, and “the South” as a region of the *United States*.

The South believed that the U.S. was *stripping* them of their *birthright*: as slaveholders, as *Americans*, as *whites*, as men.

To satisfy their voracious *greed* for new territory--for which they would need more *slaves*—the Southern planters began a *rearguard* action for *reopening* the slave trade that the Congress had *abolished* in 1807. This move was based on the belief that the people in the South were governed by the laws of *supply* and *demand*: an idea that would *supplant* the norms of national sovereignty. So, they argued that a planter should *not* be compelled to go to Virginia to buy slaves for \$1,500 each, when he could get them in Cuba for \$600 each.

A *majority* of the *credit* powering the American *slave* economy came from the *London* money market. Britain--and much of Europe--were *bankrolling* slavery in America. To raise capital, *state*-chartered banks *pooled* debt generated by the *slave* mortgages, and *repackaged* it as *bonds* promising investors annual interest. The underlying *rationale* for Britain's *abolishment* of slave trade was the need to "*scrub* the *blood* of enslaved workers *off* American *dollars*, British *pounds*, and French *francs*. This was an *ingenious* ploy to *profit* from slavery *without* getting your hands dirty.

When seeking a *loan*, planters used *slaves* as a *collateral*—sometimes using the *same* slave for multiple mortgages-- which they securitized as *mortgage-backed securities*.

The American South produced *too much* cotton. However, consumer *demand* could *not* keep up with the *excessive* supply, and that caused a precipitous *fall* in the price of cotton. When the price of cotton *tumbled*, it pulled *down* the value of enslaved workers—and land, which then led to a *precipitous* fall in prices, which, in turn, set off the *Panic* of 1837. And that touched off a major *depression*.

For eighty years--from the 1780s to 1865--almost a *million* people were *herded* down the road from the upper South to the lower South and the West, to *toil* on cotton plantations. The thirty-odd men walked in *coffles*, the *double* line hurrying in lock-step. Each hauled *twenty* pounds of iron, *chains* that draped from neck-to-neck, and wrist-to-wrist, binding them all together.

They walked for miles, days, and weeks, and many covered over 700 miles. *Stumbling* with fatigue, *staggering* with whiskey...many covered over 700 miles before stepping off the road...After weeks of *wading* rivers, *crossing* state lines, and *climbing* mountain roads...they had moved their bodies *across* the frontier between the *old* slavery and the *new*.

The ruthless "pushing" system of controlling the slaves constantly *increased* the quota of cotton to pick that doubled over 50 years. If the worker *failed* to meet it, he received as many *lashes* on his back as the deficit. However, if he *overshot* his quota, the master might "reward" him by *raising* his quota the next day.

One of the most *brutal* weapons the planters employed against the slaves, was the *whip*: *ten* feet of plaited *cowhide*. When facing the *specter* of an overseer's whip, slaves were so *terrified*, that they could *not* speak in sentences. They *danced*, *trembled*, *babbled*, and *lost* control of their bodies.

The slaveholders were using *advanced* management and accounting practices long before the techniques that are still in use today.

Section V says that the manufacture of *sugar* from sugarcane began in Louisiana Territory in 1795. In sugar mills, children, alongside with adults, toiled like factory workers with assembly-like precision and discipline under the constant threat of boiling hot kettles, open furnaces and grinding rollers.

To attain the highest efficiency, sugar factories worked day and night where there is no distinction as to the days of the week. *Fatigue* might mean losing an arm to the grinding rollers, or being *flayed* for not being able to keep up. Resistance was often met with sadistic *cruelty*.

In *Section VI*, we point out that the expansion of *slavery* in the first eight decades after American independence, drove the evolution and *modernization* of the United States. In the course of a *single* life time, the South grew from a narrow coastal strip of worn-out tobacco plantations to a *continental* cotton *empire*. As a result, the United States became a modern, industrial, and capitalistic economy. This is the period in which America rose from being a minor European trading partner, to becoming the world's *leading* economy.

Finally, we hope that we have successfully been able to make the argument that America became an economic powerhouse in the nineteenth century not only on the backs of African-American slaves, but also on *genocide* of Native Americans and their *stolen* lands.

Section I—From 1619 to American Independence

2. 'The 619 Project' and Slavery in America

According to Jake Silverstein (2019), editor-in-chief of *The New York Times Magazine*, 'The 1619 Project' is the *brain-child* of Nikole Hannah-Jones, a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist, whose article dated Aug. 14, 2019 was the first in the series. It was then exactly *four* hundred years ago when Jamestown colonists in the British colony of Virginia bought 20-30 *enslaved* Africans from English pirates. Their arrival began a *barbaric* system of chattel *slavery* that lasted for the next 250 years in America. Sometimes it is referred to as the country's original sin, but it is much *more* than that: "It is the country's very *origin*" (*ibid, italics added*).

These slaves were among 1.5 million Africans who were *kidnapped* from their homes and brought in *chains* across the Atlantic Ocean in the "largest *forced* migration in human history until the Second World War." Almost two million did not survive the journey known as the Middle Passage (Hannah-Jones, 2019, *italics added*).

As Silverstein (2019) describes, the effect slavery had in America was so *devastating* —and so *profound*—that it can only be described as *unbelievable*:

- "Out of slavery—and the *anti-black* racism it required—grew nearly *everything* that has truly made America *exceptional*: its economic might, its industrial power, its electoral system, its diet and popular music, the inequities of its public health and education, its' astonishing penchant for violence, its income inequality, the example it sets for the world as a land of freedom and

equality, its slang, its legal system and the endemic *racial fears* and hatreds that continue to plague it to this day” (Silverstein, *italics added*).

- “The *seeds* of all that were planted *long* before our official birth date, in 1776, when the men known as our founders, formally declared independence from Britain” (*italics added*).

2.1 ‘The 1619 Project’s’ Aim

The goal of ‘The 1619 Project’ is (Silverstein, 2019):

- “To “*reframe* American history by considering what it would mean to regard *1619* as our nation’s *birth* year. Doing so requires us to place the *consequences* of slavery and the *contributions* of black Americans at the very *center* of the story we tell ourselves about *who* we are as a country.”

The New York Times Magazine has initially published *twelve* articles as a part of the 1619 project (*ibid*).

2.2 Hannah-Jones Rejects Offer of a Tenured Position at her Alma Mater: UNCCCH

Hannah-Jones is an alumna of University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNCCCH) from where she received her Masters’ degree in 2003. Exhausted by the attacks on her work, Hannah-Jones agreed in Feb. 2021--partly in order to *avoid* a fight with her alma mater—to take an *untended* position at UNCHH as a Knight’s chair in ‘race and investigative journalism.’ But this was *contrary* to the precedent at the university where *all* three previous Knight chairs—*all white*—had been granted *tenure* (Stripling, 2021). However, in May, *NC Policy Watch*, a political website, reported that the Board of Trustees had *not* voted for her tenure because of *political* opposition to her work. So, Hannah-Jones decided she would *not* join UNCCCH on July 1st without tenure (*ibid*).

Finally, on June 30th the UNCCCH board, on a split vote, granted her *tenure*. However, “it was too little too late.” Hannah-Jones “*flipped* the script on Chapel Hill” and “*walked away*” from this belated offer (Stripling, 2021, *italics added*).

Later Hannah-Jones announced she had decided to join Howard University with a *tenured* position as the inaugural *Knight chair* in “race and journalism,” where she planned to found the Center for Journalism and Democracy, backed by a \$20-million grant from the university (*ibid*).

2.3 Ibram Kendi’s Book “*Stamped from the Beginning*”

Ibram Kendi, now a professor at Boston University, published his book *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* for which he won the 2016 *National Book Award* (Ruane, 2019).

3. Slavery Common in All Thirteen Colonies in 1776

As reported above, the institution of slavery, that began in 1619, was protected by *law*, and had been a part of American society for more than 150 years (Maloy, 2021).

In the American colonies, for the first *fifty* years, most of the laborers were *European* indentured servants, toiling on tobacco plantations in *wretched* conditions. Due to the *treacherous* nature of the journey across the Atlantic, *not* many Europeans were willing to make that trip. As a result, the plantation owners faced a labor *shortage*. And so, they turned to the transatlantic *slave trade*, and over time, *replaced* Europeans

with African *slaves* (PBS, 2021).

The plantation owners found what they considered an endless supply of labor. Also, if the slaves ran away, they could easily be identified. So, while they could run (away), but they could *not* hide: because of their black color (*ibid*).

The black slaves brought with them some valuable expertise. They taught their masters to grow *tobacco* and *rice* (*ibid*).

In 1776 slavery existed in *all* 13 colonies. In 1780 Pennsylvania was the *first* state to abolish slavery. Massachusetts was the first to abolish slavery *outright*. The remaining New England states—New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island—adopted *gradual* emancipation schemes, similar to Pennsylvania’s statute, in the mid-1780s. The Congress abolished slavery in the *future*-states *north* of Ohio River in 1787 (Hylton, 2012).

Gradual emancipation came to New Jersey in 1804 and to New York in 1817 (*ibid*).

3.1 Twelve Presidents were Slaveowners

At-least 12 Presidents—nearly a *quarter* of all—enslaved people during their lifetime. Of these *eight* had slaves while in office. The chief among them were George Washington who kept 300 bondsmen at his Mount Vernon plantation, and Thomas Jefferson who owned at-least 175 at one time. In addition, James Madison, James Monroe, and Andrew Jackson each kept several dozen slaves (Andrews, 2019).

3.2 Once a Slave always a Slave

At this time blacks constituted *one-fifth* of the total population in the 13 colonies. They lived under conditions so *brutal* the likes of which had not been seen anywhere before. The chief characteristics of this chattel slavery were (Hannah-Jones, 2019):

- *Chattel* is an item of property *other* than real estate.
- Chattel slavery was *not* conditional but *racial*.
- It was *heritable* and *permanent*.
- “Enslaved people were *not* recognized as human beings, but as *property* that could be mortgaged, traded, bought, sold, used as collateral, given as a gift,” or disposed of violently.
- Enslaved people could *not* legally marry.
- They were *barred* from learning to read.
- They were *not* allowed to meet privately in groups.
- They had *no* claim to their own children, who could be bought, sold, and traded away from them on auction blocks.
- Enslaved people could own *nothing*, will *nothing*, and inherit *nothing*.
- They were legally *tortured*—including those working for Jefferson.
- They could be worked to *death*—and often were—to produce the *maximum* output for their white masters.

Jefferson’s fellow white colonists clearly *understood* that black people were *human* beings. Yet, they created a *network* of laws and customs—amazing for both their *precision* and *cruelty*—that ensured that

the enslaved people would *never* be treated as such. William Goodell, an abolitionist—one who wanted to *abolish* slavery-- wrote in 1853: “If anything founded on *falsehood* might be called a science,” the system of American slavery would surely be a part of it (Hannah-Jones, 2019, *italics* added).

4. Slavery in Colonial British North America Before Independence

Before independence in 1776 America had *thirteen* mainland colonies (Note 1):

- New England: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.
- Middle: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware
- Southern: Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia

As mentioned earlier, the first black people were kidnapped from Africa and forced into *slavery* in Virginia in 1619. Throughout the 17th century European settlers in North America *resorted* to enslaved Africans as a *cheaper* and more *plentiful* source of labor than indentured servants who were mostly *poor* Europeans (Note 2).

Slave labor was *not* a significant part of the labor force in North America *until* the *last quarter* of the 17th century. But, thereafter, the slave population grew *exponentially*. By 1776 it encompassed 20% of the total population of the thirteen mainland colonies (Zagarri, 2021).

While it is not possible to come up with accurate figures, some historians have estimated that between 6 to 7 million enslaved Africans were brought to North America during the 18th century alone, thus *depriving* the African continent of some of its *best* men and women (Note 2).

If one were to look at the *global* slave-trading network, North America was relatively a *minor* destination. *Less* than 4% of all enslaved Africans were sent to mainland North America. On the other hand, the *vast* majority of African slaves were directed to the *sugar*-producing regions of *Brazil* and the *West Indies* (Zagarri, 2021).

By 1776, the slave population of South Carolina and Virginia was 60% and 40%, respectively. Whereas most enslaved Africans in Virginia toiled on *small* farms, many in South Carolina labored on *large* plantations (*ibid*).

The biggest percentage of the enslaved, by far, were in the South. In contrast, New England’s share was just 2-3%. However, big cities--such as, Boston, Newport, Philadelphia, and New York--supported *significant* enslaved populations (Zagarri, 2021).

In these urban areas the enslaved were employed in *many* capacities, e.g., artisans, craftsmen, sailors, dock workers, laundresses, and coachmen. In urban areas, in particular, owners often *hired out* their skilled enslaved workers and *kept* their wages to *themselves*. Many were employed as *domestic servants* because this conveyed a symbol of *high status* for the owners (*ibid*).

4.1 Tobacco the Main Cash Crop of the Colonies before the American Revolution

With an *ideal* climate, easy availability of *land*, and an army of *enslaved* Africans, land owners in the Southern colonies began to grow *cash* crops like *tobacco*, *rice*, and *indigo* during the 17th and 18th centuries. These cash crops were highly *labor intensive*—but also very *profitable*. These plantations were

located on the southern *coast* from Chesapeake colonies of Maryland and Virginia south to Georgia (Timmons, 2020; Note 2; Zagari, 2021).

The *main* cash crop of the colonies was *tobacco*. Always a *fickle* commodity for growers, tobacco suffered from two major problems: (1) *Price* fluctuations, and (2) *Vulnerability* to weather changes (Timmons, 2020).

More *importantly*, the land used to grow tobacco was mostly *exhausted* of its nutrients in the late 18th century. So, tobacco planters were switching to *wheat* (Timmons, 2020; Note 2; Johnson, 2013b).

At the end of the 18th century, slavery in the United States was an institution that was in *decline*. Wage labor was increasingly *replacing* slave labor in both the urban and the rural areas of the upper South (Johnson, 2013b).

“And then came cotton” (*ibid*).

5. The American Revolutionary War of Independence: 1775

By 1765 a sizeable group in the British Parliament wanted to *resolve* the question of the colonists’ *identity*. Lord Mansfield, the chief justice of the Court of King’s Bench--and a member of the House of Lords—made the case most *clearly*. He said that colonists were just as *subject* to the laws of Parliament as everyone else in England (Waldstreicher, 2009, p. 34).

5.1 The Mansfieldian Moment

James Somerset, a *slave* of Charles Stuart--a colonial official in Virginia--took the opportunity on a London voyage to run away. Stuart tried to have him seized, and said he planned to take him to West Indies to be sold. In 1772 Lord Mansfield ruled the case in *favor* of Somerset’s personal rights under the British Constitution. Mansfield ruled that Somerset could *not* be kidnapped and sent abroad in the *absence* of a positive law of slavery passed by the *British Parliament* (Waldstreicher, 2009, p. 39).

Thus, British *constitution* became a *threat* to colonial *slave* owners. So, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin levied a *serious* charge on the British: that the British *refusal* to let the colonies free *themselves* from slavery, was yet another proof of the administration’s tendency to *enslave* the colonists (*ibid*, p. 42). For this “duplicity” the colonists faced serious *criticism* both at home and abroad. The most *stinging* censure came from the *British* author, Dr. Samuel Johnson, who rhetorically asked: “How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of *negroes*?” (Hannah-Jones, 2019; Maloy, 2021).

Rhode Island pastor Samuel Hopkins, an antislavery Puritan, in a letter to Congress said that the “so-called” enslavement of the colonists by the British was “*lighter than a feather*” compared to the African enslavement by the Americans (Kendi, 2016, p. 107; *italics* added).

As mentioned above, Franklin and Jefferson’s complaint that the British took *away* the power from the *colonists* to free themselves from slavery, was just a clever *ploy* because when colonists *really* became independent, they forgot all about abolishing slavery.

In November 1775 Lord Dunmore, the British governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation promising *freedom* to slaves--held by the revolutionaries--in exchange for joining the British army. Virginians and

other southerners feared that it would cause widespread slave revolt. Edward Rutledge, who later became the governor of South Carolina, declared that Dunmore's proclamation would do more than anything else to bring about *permanent* separation between Britain and the colonies. And George Washington went a step further. He called Dunmore "that arch-traitor to the rights of humanity" (Ostler, 2020).

In April 1775 skirmishes between the British troops and colonial militiamen in Lexington and Concord kicked off the armed conflict that signified the *start* of the Revolutionary War (Note 3).

5.2 Some Colonists Declared Independence to Protect Slavery

Hannah-Jones (2019) points out that *some* of the colonists decided to declare their independence from Britain is, because they wanted to *protect* slavery. In London there were growing calls to *end* the slave trade. But this would have *upset* the economies of both the Northern and Southern states. She then goes on to say:

- "It is the "*wealth and prominence* that allowed Jefferson, at just 33, and the *other* founding fathers to *believe* they could *successfully* break off from one of the *mightiest* empires in the world." This belief "came from the *dizzying* profits generated by chattel slavery. In other words, we (the founders) may *never* have revolted against Britain if some of (them) had not understood that slavery *empowered* them to do so; nor if they had not believed that *independence* was *required* in order to ensure that slavery would *continue*" (*italics added*).

Finally, on September 3, 1783, Great Britain formally recognized the independence of the United States (Note 3).

6. The Framing and Declaration of American Independence

The *Enlightenment* philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) was one of the leading figures in the development of *liberal* Anglo-American political thought (Richardson, 2011). His ideas about what he called "*natural* rights of mankind" had a profound effect in the *drafting* of the Declaration of Independence. His definition of these rights included: "Life, Liberty, Health, Limb, or Goods." He characterized "Goods" as "Property or Possessions" (Nash, 1989, p. 14, *italics added*; Richardson, 2011). Locke believed that "a person had a *right* to that which he labored to produce" (Nash, *ibid*, *italics added*). Thomas Jefferson was a lawyer by profession. Upon his admission to the Virginia bar in 1767, he emerged as perhaps the nation's *best-read* lawyer (Onuf, 2021).

When the revolutionary Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia in 1776, Jefferson was appointed with four other delegates to write a declaration of independence. The other four committee members were: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. They decided to *defer* to Jefferson to draft the document because of his powerful writing style, and because he represented the interests of Virginia, the *most* influential southern colony (Onuf, 2021).

Locke's inclusion of *property* in the natural rights of men proved quite *troublesome* for Jefferson when *slaves* were included. So, he cleverly *avoided* the difficulty in his 1776 formulation by the substitution of "pursuit of happiness" for "property" (Nash, 1989, p. 14).

The Declaration of Independence of 1776 represented the fullest *blossoming* of Locke's natural-rights philosophy. Jefferson's manifesto was not really original thought, but rather a *compilation* of ideals that had been dispensed *widely* in England, France, and North America for at least a century. This is what Jefferson wrote (Nash, 1989, p. 15):

- “The laws of nature and nature's God” are the foundations from which reason and conscience reveal “self-evident” truth, namely, that “all men are created equal” in their possession of “certain unalienable rights.” Jefferson chose those rights to be: “life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.”
- But Jefferson did *not* truly believe in what he wrote, because some people were *more* equal than others. The natural rights manifesto did *not* include *women*, and *neither* were *slaves* nor *Native Americans* (Nash, *ibid*).

6.1 Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1976

The Second Continental Congress approved the Declaration of Independence document. Its *opening* words are quite powerful and inspiring” (Ostler, 2020).

- “We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

6.2 Thomas Jefferson a Slave-owning Racist

Late Stephen Ambrose (2002), Professor of History at the University of New Orleans, has written an article published by the *Smithsonian Magazine*, that is highly critical of Jefferson:

- “Jefferson *owned* slaves. He did *not* believe that all were created equal. He was a *racist*, incapable of rising above the thought of his time and place, and willing to *profit* from slave labor” (*italics added*).
- He had a slave mistress and *lied* about it.
- “Jefferson surely knew that slavery was *wrong*, but did *not* have the courage to lead the way to emancipation” (*italics added*).
- “Jefferson, the *genius* of politics, could see *no* way for African Americans to live in society as *free* people. He embraced the *worst* forms of racism to justify slavery” (*italics added*).

Slaves at Jefferson's Monticello plantation were physically *beaten*, a practice that was common in plantations. However, most slaveholders considered such a physical task *beneath* their dignity, and therefore hired *overseers* to do their *dirty* work. But then Thomas Jefferson did *order* physical punishment of slaves (Note 4).

Jefferson had a Black mistress, Sally Hemings, who was a slave. She gave birth to at least *five*—and possibly as many as seven— Jefferson's children, a paternity confirmed by *DNA* tests--and *documents* that proved the two were together *nine* months *before* the birth of each child (Kendi, 2006, p. 118; Malloy, 2021; *Britannica*) (Note 5).

Jefferson kept his promise to Sally Hemings and *freed* their children when they became adults (Kendi,

ibid).

According to Ambrose (2002), *civic duty* was very important to Jefferson. He read deeply and widely—*more* than perhaps except Theodore Roosevelt. His range of knowledge was *amazing*. In his official correspondence, Jefferson maintained a level of eloquence that has *not* since been matched.

6.3 Jefferson's Legacy: Words not Deeds

Ambrose (2002) believes that in spite of all these qualities, Jefferson was *not* a hero. His achievements were *words* as the author of Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." Those words, according to historian Samuel Morrison, are more *revolutionary* than anything written by French Robespierre, or Marx and Lenin of Russia.

Ambrose (2002) suggests that those words will be a continuous *challenge* to us all, and an *inspiration* to all the oppressed of the world.

7. The U.S. Constitution, 1788: The Constitution of Slavery

David Waldstreicher's book (2009, back page; Note 6) is the *first* one that recognizes slavery at the *heart* of the U.S. Constitution. This is what he has to say:

- "The Constitution *never* mentions slavery. The word does *not* appear. And yet, slavery is *all over* the document. Of its eighty-four clauses, *six* are directly concerned with *slaves* and their *owners*. *Five* other clauses had *implications* for slavery that were considered and debated by the *delegates* of the 1787 Constitutional Convention and the *citizens* of the states during ratification" (*italics added*).
- "This 'peculiar institution' was *not* a moral blind spot for America's otherwise enlightened framers, *nor* was it the expression of *mere* economic interest. Slavery was as *important* to the making of the Constitution as the Constitution was to the *survival* of slavery" (*italics added*).
- "All *but* one of these clauses protects slavery; only *one* points towards a possible *future* power by which the institution might be ended" (p. 3, *italics added*).
- "In growing their government, the framers and their constituents created *fundamental* laws that *sustained* human *bondage*" (p. 3, *italics added*).

7.1 The three-fifth Clause: More Power for the Slaveholders

The U. S. Congress would consist of *two* chambers: the *House of Representatives* whose members would be elected by the people every *two* years, and the *Senate* to be elected by the state legislatures. However, the former's number would be *determined* by the amount of *direct taxes* the national government could collect from each state (Waldstreicher, p. 4).

The number of representatives will be determined by *excluding* Indians not taxed, and *adding* to "*free* Persons" "*three-fifth* of all *other* Persons." And that: meant *slaves*. This did *not* mean, however, that each slave had three-fifth (60%) of a vote--because they had *none*—but, rather, an *additional* three-fifth of a vote for his/her *master* (Waldstreicher, p. 4).

The *three-fifth* clause...gave slaveholders that much *more* power to *regulate*—or even *eliminate*--60%

more taxes they would have to pay (*ibid*, p. 5).

Thus, under the U.S. Constitution, “*taxation with representation and slavery were joined at the hip*” (*ibid*).

The Constitution allowed the Congress to mobilize “the Militia”—the state-based citizen armed forces—to *suppress* slave insurrections. From now on any slave rebellion would be a *federal* rather a state or local concern. The Constitution *prohibited* the federal government to *end* the importation of enslaved Africans for a term of 20 years (Waldstreicher, p. 6).

The Constitution *forced* states that had outlawed slavery to *turn over* slaves who had run away seeking refuge. The states that did *not* hold slaves had to *recognize* the others that did so, did so legally. If a human being was a property in one state, *no* other state could free him/her (Waldstreicher, p. 8).

7.2 Waldstreicher’s Concluding Remarks on the Constitution

Finally, commenting on how the U.S. Constitution was fashioned, Waldstreicher (2009, p. 19) points out that like most politicians, the *founders* wanted to have it *both* ways. They cherished the *wealth* and *power* that slavery had brought *without* the moral responsibility that came with it. Thus, “*silence, compromise, and artful design characterized their solutions*” (Waldstreicher, p. 19, *italics added*).

7.3 Our Democracy’s founding Ideals were False when they were written

Based on the above discussion, it is clear that in “framing the U. S. Constitution, the framers *carefully* constructed a document that *preserved* and *protected* slavery *without* ever using the word. In the texts in which they were making the case for *freedom* to the world, they did *not* want to explicitly enshrine their *hypocrisy*, so they sought to *hide* it” (Hannah-Jones, 2019, *italics added*).

Hannah-Jones (2019) declares that “our democracy’s founding ideals were *false* when they were written,” and that “*Black Americans have fought to make them true.*” The American Declaration of Independence, approved on July 4, 1776, proclaims that:

- “All men are created equal,” and “empowered by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.”
- The above proclamation is “founded on *both* an ideal *and* a lie.” This is because, the *white* men who drafted those words did *not* believe them to be true for black people. “Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness” did *not* apply to fully *one-fifth* of the country (Hannah-Jones, *ibid*, *italics added*).

8. Why America has been Reluctant to admit Slavery was at the Heart of America’s Foundation?

In an article published by *Time*, Prof. Robert Parkinson (2021, Note 7) reports that: “*Slavery* and arguments about *race* were not only at the *heart* of the American founding; it was what *united* the states in the first place. Americans have been “*reluctant* to admit just how *thoroughly* the Founding Fathers *thought* about, *talked* about, and *wrote* about *race* at the moment of American Independence” (*ibid*, *italics added*).

8.1 John Adams’s Recollection of How America Declared Independence

One reason why we haven’t fully realized this is because of John Adams, the second President, and one of the founding fathers. More than forty years after 1776, an 83-year-old John Adams wanted Americans

to know just how *amazing* it was that America declared independence. Adams reminisced that getting all *thirteen* colonies to reach the same, historic decision, was “certainly a very *difficult* enterprise” and “perhaps a *singular* example in the history of mankind.” He said colonists really didn’t know or particularly liked one another. They fought with each other all the time. But something *extraordinary* happened in 1776. “*Thirteen clocks were made to strike together—a perfection of mechanism which no artist had ever before effected*” (Parkinson, *italics added*).

Adams was, of course, bragging, *subtly* suggesting that the work he, Jefferson, Franklin, and the Continental Congress did was quite a miracle. This magical way of thinking is quite *captivating*. It created an *attractive*, story for the United States’ *exceptional* origin. However, it *disguised* the work that Adams and his colleagues undertook at that time. That work was about *publicizing* stories to make Americans *fearful* of British-sponsored *slave* “insurrections” and “massacres” of whites by native Americans (Parkinson, *ibid*).

Thus, he was *hiding* just how important *race* was to the founding of America (*ibid*).

Recently, a controversy over “critical race theory” has kindled public debate about the centrality of *race* to American history. As a part of that debate, which has been ongoing since the publication of the *1619 Project*, the nation’s founding has come under great scrutiny. The question is: How much did 1776 have to do with *race* and *slavery* (Parkinson, *ibid*)?

The answer is *yes*. You “*can’t* tell the story *without* it.” We have given the founding fathers *passes* when it comes to *race* (*ibid, italics added*):

- “Although we have sometimes condemned an individual founder like Jefferson as a hypocrite, we have *explained* it away, either by citing the language in the *opening* paragraphs of the Declaration, or the emancipation efforts of some northern states, or by saying, well, it *was* the eighteenth century, what can you expect? Yet you only have to look at the very moment of Revolution to see how *deeply race* was *embedded* in the patriot cause” (Parkinson, *ibid, italics added*).

8.2 Founding Fathers’ Relentless False Campaign: The British were Inciting a Slave Rebellion

As mentioned earlier, in November 1775, Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore issued an emancipation proclamation promising freedom to slaves who fought for the British. In response, the founding fathers—Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington and others—launched a *propaganda* war spreading the news that the British agents were trying to *incite* slave rebellions all over the South, and that *royal* officials were *plotting* with slaves to put down the rebellion. They *alerted* as many colonists as possible about such British “treachery” (Parkinson, 2021).

The patriots’ endeavors to get stories about “instigated insurrections” into the “mouths of American children” eventually *led* to the Declaration of Independence (Parkinson, 2021).

The founding leaders figured out *one* thing that all *white* colonists shared: *racism*. The founders *embraced* colonial prejudices against African Americans, and *exploited* those fears to mobilize colonists, and to unite them in one “common cause.” Thus, the *racial* fear was an *important* factor in the march

toward independence (*ibid*).

Finally, Parkinson (2021) says that for too long we have taken an *elderly* John Adams at his account of what brought the thirteen colonies together. He then goes on to say (*italics added*):

- “He (John Adams) had *forgotten*—purposefully—how *four* decades earlier he had mobilized American *prejudices* about Black people...to get the colonists to come together as one union. That effort made America independent, but it also *buried race deep in the cornerstone* of the American republic that was born on July 4, 1976.”

9. Declaration of Independence: License to Seize Native American Land

Jeffrey Ostler (2020), Beekman Professor of History at the University of Oregon, makes an important point: That while the *opening* words of Declaration of Independence are *well* known, the *closing* words are *not*. They include a list of 27 grievances against King George III. The *last* of that list reads as follows:

- “He has *excited* domestic *insurrections* amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the *merciless Indian savages* whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished *destruction* of all ages, sexes, and conditions” (*italics added*).

The 27th grievance raises *two* issues. The first is the British incitement of *slave* revolts, a subject we have already discussed (*ibid*).

The *second* bitter truth exposed by the 27th grievance--the *racist* depiction of *Native Americans* as “merciless Indian savages”—has received much *less* public scrutiny (Ostler, 2020).

The indictment of King George for *unleashing* Indians on the “inhabitants of our frontiers,” the Declaration was *not* pointing out a specific event, but rather to the recent increase in violence, which was caused by the colonists *invading* Native lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. In responding to this dire threat, a confederation of Natives--Senecas, Shawnees, Delawares, Ottawas, Cherokees, and other Native nations--exercised their right of *self-defense* and *attacked* new colonial settlements (Ostler, 2020).

Although the Native nations had British support, they were acting on their *own*, and *not* at the instigation of the British. Nevertheless, Jefferson hoped that by *fanning* the flames of settlers’ *Indian racism*—and implicating King George III—he could *ignite* a general rebellion against the British in the West (Ostler, 2020).

A decade earlier, the Proclamation of 1763 by King George had *recognized* Native ownership of lands *west* of the Appalachian mountain’s crest, and *prohibited* colonists from settling there. The *strongest* opponents of this British policy were land *speculators*--like Jefferson--who had *invested* in companies with claims to lands *west* of the boundary set by the proclamation. So, land companies could *not* gain secure titles to their claims *unless* those Native lands could be *legally* settled. Investors would thus be left with *debts* they had incurred in a *bet* on getting rich (Ostler, 2020).

In 1767, George Washington, one of the era’s major land *speculators*, made a prediction that the King’s

proclamation “must fall...in a few years.” In 1774 the British passed the Quebec Act which not only granted legal *protection* to Catholicism—which Protestants *hated*—but also *extended* Quebec’s boundary *south* to Ohio River and *blocked* settlements in the Ohio Valley (Ostler, 2020).

Jefferson’s *vilification* of the “merciless Indian savages” was a *signal* that the war for independence from Britain would also be a *brutal* war to *seize* indigenous lands. *From 1776 to 1783*, U. S. *troops* and colonial militias *devastated* more than 70 Cherokee towns, 50 Haudenosaunee towns, and at least 10 multi-ethnic towns in the Ohio Valley, *killing* several hundred people (including civilians) and exposing refugees to *starvation, disease, and death*. In the *decades* to come, U. S. presidents, Washington and Jefferson included, would call for the *extermination* of Native Americans who fought to *protect* their land. Several U. S. armies would try to do just that (Ostler, 2020).

Finally, Ostler (2020) believes that ‘The 1619 Project’ has made a vast contribution to public understanding of slavery, often referred to as America’s “original sin.” However, he goes on to make the following argument that is quite *compelling*:

- “The 27th grievance reveals that the *original sin* at America’s founding was *twofold*. America was built by the labor of *enslaved* people. It was also built on *stolen lands* and the *genocide* of indigenous people. To understand where this country is now and to imagine a truly *just* future, America needs to *reckon* with *both* of these hard truths” (*italics added*).

Section II—History of Slavery and Racist Ideas

10. History of Slavery in Ancient Times

10.1 Aristotle’s defense of slavery

The history of slavery goes back to the ancient times. Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BC) believed that a society *may* practice slavery if there are some people who are *naturally* suitable to be slaves. He argued that a fully developed human being has the capacity to *reason*. But those individual who *lack* the ability for rational deliberation, would inherently be *unable* to direct their own lives. Thus, if left to their *own* devices, they would choose *badly* (Lowe. 2021).

So, Aristotle goes on to say that such individuals need the *direction* of someone—a *master*--who can deliberate *rationally*. And, thus slavery is *good* even for the slaves themselves (*ibid*).

Aristotle *failed* to realize that the enslaved people were *forbidden* to get education, and were condemned to *forced* labor. That is why they could *not* develop the intellectual capacities of the Greek citizens who were *free*. As such, their lack of intellectual ability was *not* the result of a natural order, but a direct result of the institution of *slavery* itself (Lowe, 2021).

10.2 St. Paul on Slavery

In the first century, St. Paul testified in *1 Corinthians* that God had ordained a *three*-tiered hierarchy of humans: heavenly master (top), earthly master (middle), and enslaved (bottom). However, in an important *caveat* in *Galatians* 3:28, St. Paul *equalized* the *souls* of masters and slaves as “all *one* in

Jesus Christ” (Kendi, 2016, p. 17; *italics added*).

Simmons (2018) says that in *Ephesians* 6:5-9, St. Paul delivers *two* important sermons. One is how a *Spirit-filled* life gives new challenges to *both* slaves *and* masters. Second, for *slaves* “the Spirit gives new *meaning and motivation* to work: that it is all about serving *Christ*.” For the *masters*, “the Spirit challenges them to treat slaves as fellow *brothers and sisters* in *Christ* to know the same *Lord*” (*italics added*).

Simmons (2018) believes both of these “exhortations are *revolutionary* for their *time* giving unmatched *dignity* to slaves and a new paradigm for *stewarding* power for masters” (*italics added*).

While the practice of slavery was widespread in the Roman Empire, it was vastly *different* in nature from the way it was practiced in the New World (America). The major characteristics of the *Roman-era* slavery were as follows (Simmons, 2018):

- *Contrary* to the *race-based* slavery in America, racial factors played *no* role in the Roman Empire.
- Many slaves had a reasonable expectation to be *free* during their lifetime.
- Many slaves worked in *responsible* positions, such as doctors, teachers, writers, accountants, etc. African slaves in America, by contrast, were *rarely* entrusted with responsible positions *nor* did they have the necessary training to perform such jobs.
- Many slaves received *education and training* in specialized skills.
- *Freed* slaves often became Roman *citizens*.

Although it is clear that the lives of slaves in the Roman era were much *better* those in the Antebellum South of the United States, nevertheless slavery is *immoral* because it involves the *coercive* ownership of one human by another.

10.3 Why St. Paul Did Not Condemn Slavery?

The point is that while St. Paul did not condemn slavery, he did *not* condone it either (Simmons, 2018).

John Stott (2014) offers the following reasons why St. Paul could not condemn slavery (Simmons, 2018):

- Christians had *no* power to overthrow slavery.
- Slavery was an unfortunate, but an *integral* part of Roman society.
- Most slaves were eventually *released* after a relatively short period.
- The Roman world had already begun to *reform* slavery.

When we read St. Paul’s letters, we discover that he *never* gave a theological basis for slavery. He accepted the *reality* of its existence in society, and tried to help believers to realize what it means to live as a Christian *within* this socio-economic institution (Simmons, 2018).

11. History of Racist Ideas in the 15th Century

Portuguese were the *first* Europeans to sail along the *Atlantic* beyond the Western Sahara’s Cape Bojador to bring *enslaved* Africans to Europe. It was in 1444 that six caravels (Note 8) carrying 240

African slaves arrived in Lagos, Portugal (Kendi, 2016, p. 23)

11.1 Racist Ideas from Gomes Eanes de Zurara of Portugal (1410-1474)

The history of racist ideas in America goes back to 1452 when King Alfonso of Portugal commissioned Gomes Eanes de Zurara to write a biography of the life and work of his uncle, Prince Henry. In 1453, Zurara finished his book (Note 9). This was the *first* European book on *Africans* at that time. The book begins with *anti-Black* racist ideas in *defense* of African slave-trading by Prince Henry (Kendi, 2016, pp. 22-23, 499-500).

Despite the *differences* in their skin color and ethnicities, Zurara viewed them as “one *inferior* people” (*ibid*, p. 24; *italics* added).

In an effort to build Prince Henry’s *evangelical* justification for enslaving Africans, Zurara *lowered* their status to that of *barbarians* who desperately needed not only *religious* but also *civil* salvation. He wrote: “They lived like *beasts*, without any custom of reasonable beings”.... and “they had *no* understanding of good, but only knew how to live in *bestial sloth* (Kendi, p. 24; *italics* added; Ruane, 2019).

Zurara *died* in 1474 in Lisbon, but his ideas about slavery *endured* as the slave trade expanded (Kendi, p. 25).

12. The European Movement of Enlightenment and Racist Ideas

The fundamental idea that emerged from the Scientific Revolution was the *abandonment* of the two-thousand years old Aristotelian *holistic* philosophy that *nature* was a *living* organism. Instead, it was *replaced* by the notion that the world was a *machine* to be conquered and reordered (Capra, 1996, chap. 2; Datta, 1998).

Enlightenment was a *European* intellectual movement of the 17th and 18th centuries, that built on the foundation of the Scientific Revolution. In this movement ideas about God, reason, nature, and humanity were synthesized into a *worldview* that gained widespread support throughout Europe. One result of this endeavor was the *birth* of an idea of society as a *social* construct: a concept that *differed* sharply from societies in the real world (Duignan, 2021; also, Kendi, 2016, p. 80).

Prominent *luminaries* who were behind this movement were: John Locke and Jeremy Bentham in England; Montesquieu, Voltaire, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Denis Diderot, and Condorcet in France; and Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson in colonial America (Duignan, 2021).

12.1 The Myth of Mankind’s Multiple Races

Theresa Richardson (2011) reports that in their research Horkheimer and Adorno (1990) note that “every effort to *rationalize* the foundations of civil society also embedded those foundations in *ideology* and *mythology*” (*italics* added). Richardson then argues that the endeavor to ground *human progress* in *reason* (rationality)--following the Scientific Revolution--produced the *fiction* of *multiple* races of mankind (Richardson, *ibid*).”

While this idea was common in Anglo-European thought, by the 19th century, it became *important* in

America, even when it directly *contradicted* the ideology of *equality* in the founding documents (Richardson, 2011).

12.2 *Light is White is Right*

The Royal Society was founded in 1660. One of its early leaders, Robert Boyle —father of English Chemistry—argued that “The Seat” of human *pigmentation* “seems to be but the thin *Epidermis*, or outward Skin”. Yet, he maintained that *Black* skin was an “ugly” *deformity* of normal *Whiteness* (Kendi, 2016, pp. 44-45).

Isaac Newton, too, agreed with Boyle that the *white* color is the normal or the standard color (*ibid*, p. 45).

John Locke went a step further. He declared all unblemished *minds* to be White (*ibid*, p. 60).

Earlier, Michelangelo had painted the original Adam and God as *White* (Kendi, p. 60).

For *Enlightenment* intellectuals, the metaphor of “light” had a *dual* meaning. Europeans believed that they had rediscovered *learning* after one thousand years in religious darkness. They thought that their bright beacon of *vision* existed in the midst of a “dark” world that had *not* yet been touched by light (Kendi, 2016, p. 80).

So, *light* became a metaphor for *Europeans* and their *Whiteness*. This is an idea Benjamin Franklin eagerly *embraced*. He said “I am partial to the complexion of my Country, for such kind of partiality is natural to Mankind (Kendi, p. 80).

These Enlightenment notions lent *legitimacy* to the long-held *racist* views of the link between *lightness*, *Whiteness*, and *reason* on the one hand, and the connection between *darkness*, *Blackness*, and *ignorance* on the other (Kendi, pp. 80-81).

13. History of Racist Ideas after Enlightenment

13.1 John Locke (1632-1704)

As stated earlier, John Locke’s ideas about what he called “*natural* rights of mankind” that included “Life, Liberty, Health, Limb, or Goods (Property or Possessions)” had a *profound* effect in the *drafting* of the Declaration of Independence.

Although Locke supported the rise of *democratic* governments and the basic principle of *universal* rights, he was also a *strong* advocate of *colonialism*, and early versions of *capitalism*, including the formation of a colony based on *slave* labor (Richardson, 2011).

At the direction of Anthony Cooper (Lord Shaftesbury) Locke drafted a constitution for the colony of Carolina (Kendi, 2016, p. 49). So, *not* surprisingly, Locke *enthusiastically* supported the *Fundamental Constitution of Carolina* (“Constitution”) that was legally adopted by the *eight* reigning proprietors of the colony in 1669. According to this constitution, there would be “no freemen” who did *not* “acknowledge a God,” as represented by the Church of England. As a result, all Native Americans, Africans, Catholics, and Jews were *excluded* from the “free, semi-free, or wage workforce” (Richardson, 2011).

Most importantly, the “Constitution” consigned the *hereditary chattel slavery* of Africans to the *bottom*

of the heap (*ibid*).

13.2 Cotton Mather (1663-1728)

During the first century *after* America's independence, racist *theological* ideas were *critical* in gaining the *acceptance* of slavery by Christian churches (Kendi, 2016, p. 6).

In 1706, Rev. Cotton Mather, New England's *leading* Puritan theologian, a slave owner himself, published his treatise, *The Negro Christianized*, addressed to his fellow New England slave owners. In that document he wrote that the possession of *slaves* was a direct result of *God's* wisdom, and that *ownership* of African slaves was a concrete expression of *God's* will (Gonzalez, 2021; Kendi, 2016, pp. 6-7).

Christian slavery is *central* to Mather's understanding of slavery and his conviction that slavery *enables* slave owners to perform, what he believed, "the greatest *kindness* that can be done to any," "the *noblest* Work, that ever was undertaken among the *Children* of men." In other words, *white* masters must *oversee* the *conversion* of enslaved Africans to Christianity for the *salvation* of their souls (Gonzalez, 2021, *italics* added).

13.3 Adam Smith (1723-1790)

In his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, economist Adam Smith said that the *wealth* of nations comes from a nation's *productive capacity* which the African nations *lacked*. He believed that all inland parts of Africa have been in the "same *barbarous* and *uncivilized* state in which we find them at present" (Kendi, 2016, p. 106, *italics* added).

14. History of Racist Ideas after Independence

14.1 Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

In Jefferson's (1984) "*Notes on the State of Virginia*" ("Notes"), he describes the institution of slavery as forcing *tyranny* and *depravity* on master *and* slave alike. To be a slaveholder meant that the *worst* white man was *better* than the *best* black man. If you did *not* believe in these ideas, you could *not* justify yourself *to* yourself. So, Jefferson could "condemn slavery in *words*, but *not* in deeds" (Ambrose, 2002, *italics* added).

In the Declaration of Independence, he *criminalized* run-away slaves (Kendi, 2016, p. 106).

Like all slaveholders—and many others in American society--Jefferson considered Negroes as *inferior*, *childlike*, *untrustworthy*, and as *property* (Ambrose, 2002).

According to Ambrose (2002), Jefferson did not acknowledge that at "his magnificent estate, Monticello, he had *slaves* who were *superb* artisans, shoemakers, masons, carpenters, cooks" (*italics* added).

Kendi (2016, pp. 109-110) says Jefferson *failed* to acknowledge that "innumerable enslaved *Africans*...learned to be highly *intelligent* blacksmiths, shoemakers, bricklayers, cooper, carpenters, engineers, manufacturers, artisans, musicians, farmers, midwives, physicians, overseers, house managers, cooks, and bi-and tri-lingual translators." These are all the workers who had made Jefferson's plantation—and many others—almost totally *self-sufficient* (*italics* added).

Ironically, Jefferson was forced to overlook his own advertisements—and those from other planters—for the *return* of their valued skilled slaves who were “*remarkably smart and sensible*,” and “*very ingenious at work*” (*italics added*).

So, Kendi (*ibid*, p. 110) wonders *why* Jefferson believed that Black people were “smart in slavery” *but* “stupid in freedom?”

It is important to realize that Jefferson was a *lawyer* by profession who *equated* intelligence with *reason and intellectual* skill. And that is how Jefferson achieved his preeminence in life: as a smart *thinker*—but *not* as a *doer*. As such, he did *not seem to* appreciate the value of the *practical skill*—and *intelligence*—that *all* professionals need to do their jobs well.

Thus, we would like to submit that this is the reason *why* Jefferson believed in the *intellectual* inferiority of Blacks.

14.2 Jefferson Believed Ending Slavery was Unthinkable

According to *Britannica*, Jefferson offered the following *justification* in his book, “*Notes*,” that ending slavery was *unthinkable* (Note 10):

- That the Black Africans were biologically *inferior* to Whites and, so could *never* live side-by-side with Whites in peace and harmony. As such, *after* emancipation, they would have to be *transported* elsewhere, back to Africa or perhaps the Caribbean. However, because such a massive deportation was logically and economically *impossible*, the *only* conclusion one could reach was that, though slavery was *wrong*, ending it, at least at present, was *unthinkable*.

14.3 Thomas Jefferson’s Pseudoscientific Ideas about Black Racial Inferiority

Michael Ruane (2019) reports that Thomas Jefferson played an early, and extremely *influential*, role in the establishment of pseudoscientific notions about Black racial *inferiority*.

Kendi (2016, p. 109) says after the publication of his book “*Notes*,” Jefferson had become the *preeminent* American authority on Black intellectual *inferiority*: a clearly *false* narrative that would *persist* over the next *fifty* years.

Jefferson wrote that “In general, their [Blacks] existence appears to participate more of *sensation* than reflection.” “In imagination they are *dull* [and] *tasteless*...The unfortunate difference of *colour*, and perhaps of *faculty*, is a powerful *obstacle* to the emancipation of these people” (Kendi, 2016, pp. 108-109; Ruane, 2009; *italics added*).

Jefferson also wrote that Whites were more *beautiful*. However, Kendi (2016, p. 109) points out that it is *ironic* that such a view came from the *pen* of a White man who had a *Black* mistress--and who--as mentioned earlier, gave birth to several of his children (Kendi, 2016, p. 109).

He said that “Deep-rooted *prejudices*...the real distinctions which *nature* has made...and many other circumstances will probably *never* end but in the *extermination* of one or the other race” (*ibid*, *italics added*).

Kendi (2016) has argued that it was perhaps the “most *damaging* and *enduring* instance of *scientific racism* in America” (Ruane, *ibid*, *italics added*).

14.4 Jefferson Davis (1808-1869)

Jefferson Davis, who became president of the *Confederate States* in 1861, considered Black people as *biologically* distinct and inferior to White people. He thought of “Black skin as an *ugly* stamp on the beautiful White canvas of *normal* human beings—and this Black stamp as a *signifier* of the Negro’s *everlasting* inferiority” (Kendi, 2016, p. 3, *italics* added).

He asserted that “This Government was *not* founded by negroes *nor* for negroes, but “*by* white men for white men” (*ibid*, *italics* added).

14.5 Dr. Samuel Cartwright’s Phony Science: 1851

In a *Washington-Post* report, Michael Ruane (2019, *italics* added) says that in 1849 Dr. Samuel Cartwright was engaged by a Louisiana *medical* committee (“Committee”) to investigate “the *diseases* and physical *peculiarities* of our *negro* population:” a job for which he seemed well qualified. He began his report by reviewing “the *anatomical* and *physiological* differences between the negro and the white man.” Obviously skin *color* was a clear difference. But then he wrote that the differences were *far* more serious (Ruane, *ibid*):

- “There are other differences more *deep*, *durable*, and *indelible*.” “The membranes, the muscles, the tendons...even the negro’s brain and nerves...are tintured with a shade of pervading *darkness*.”
- He said that the real cause of the negro’s “*debasement* of mind” is the “defective hematosiis, or atmosherization of the *blood*, conjoined with deficiency of *cerebral* matter in the cranium...[that] has rendered the people of Africa *unable* to take care of themselves.”

Cartwright further added (Ruane, 2019):

- That Negroes withstood the rays of the sun *better* because of an eye feature found in *apes*.
- The black man’s neck was *shorter* than that of a white man, his “bile” was a *deeper* color, his blood *blackier*, his feet *flatter*, his skull *different*.
- The black man had *keener* eyesight, he had other *animal*-like senses: *smelling* better and *hearing* better than the white man.
- “Like *children* [Negroes] they need government in *everything*...or they will run into *excesses*.” Therefore, he said slavery was *good* for the good of the *slaves* themselves.

Dr. Cartwright, wrote that *healthy* Black slaves labored productively and *loved* enslavement. He said that whenever they offered resistance, they were *suffering* from, in his words, *dysesthesia*. He added that “nearly all” *free* Blacks were *suffering* from this disease because they did *not* have “some *white* person” to take care of them (Kendi, 2016, p. 185; *italics* added).

Dr. Cartwright wrote that when *enslaved* blacks *ran away*, they were suffering from *insanity*. He said he had *identified* the sickness as, what he called, *Drapetomania*, by combining *two* Greek words: *Drapetes*, a runaway, and *mania*, madness (Kendi, *ibid*; Ruane, 2019).

He also declared that it was fully *curable* (*ibid*, *italics* added).

Dr. Cartwright told his fellow doctors the following (Ruane, 2019):

- “Negroes with their smaller *brains* and blood vessels, and their tendency toward *indolence* and *barbarism*...had only to be kept benevolently in the state of *submission, awe* and *reverence* that *God* had ordained” (*italics added*).
- “The Negro is [then] *spellbound* and *cannot run away*” (*italics added*).
- They “have to be treated like *children*...to *prevent* and *cure* them of their desire to *run away* (Kendi, 2016, p. 185, *italics added*).

14.6 Invoking “Science” to Justify Slavery

According to Khalil Mohammed, professor at the Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, that Cartwright’s ideas were part of a long *racist* tradition. However, by the time he made them public, they had acquired a new sense of urgency (Ruane, 2019).

He said that the rise of the movement to *abolish* slavery “created a crisis of knowledge about...who people of *African* descent were in the *hierarchy* of man, and what precisely they were capable of” (*ibid, italics added*).

Prof. Mohammad adds that, until then, in spite of pronouncements like that of Jefferson, science *wasn’t* necessary to justify slavery. But, now under the threat of the *abolitionist* movement, the 250-year-old institution sorely needed a “*scientific*” rationale in defense of slavery (Ruane, *ibid*).

Dr. Samuel Cartwright’s portrayal of *black* slaves, elicited the following comments from Ruane (2019, *italics added*):

- “[It]was part of the long, *insidious* practice of what historians call *scientific racism* that involved spreading *bogus* theories of *supposed* black inferiority, in an effort “to *rationalize* slavery and *centuries* of social and economic *domination* and *plunder*.” In Dr. Cartwright’s mind, the slaves were even *beneath* the human desire for freedom, and so he branded them as *diseased*.
- “Such thought exists *today* with *pernicious* assumptions about the *current* nature of black life and black people, still featuring age-old racist references to blacks as *animals*. It *persists* despite the advent of modern DNA science, which has shown *race* to be fundamentally a *social construct*. Humans, as it turns out, share about 99.9 percent of their DNA with each other, and outward physical characteristics such as *hair texture* and *skin color*, about which racists have long obsessed, occupy just a *tiny* portion of the human genome.”

14.7 Doctrine of Black Inferiority an Integral Part of White Psychology in 1800s

Legal historians, Ware, Cottrol, and Diamond (2003) report that as early as the *early* 1800s, White Americans, whether they owned slaves or not, “had a considerable psychological as well economic *investment* in the doctrine of black *inferiority*.” Whereas *liberty* was the inalienable right of *Whites*, *slavery* and *subjugation* became the *natural* fate of those who had any discernible drop of *Black* blood (Hannah-Jones, 2019; *italics added*).

14.8 The U.S. Supreme Court, 1857

The U.S. Supreme Court *enshrined* the above thinking into *law* in its 1857 *Dred Scott* decision, with a ruling that *black* people--whether enslaved or free--came from a “slave” *race*. As such, this made them

inferior to white people, and therefore, *incompatible* with American democracy. The court ruled that Democracy was for *citizens*, and the “Negro race was a *separate* class of persons,” which the founders had “*not* regarded as a portion of the people or citizens of the Government,” and so, had “*no* rights which a white man was bound to respect” (Hannah-Jones, 2019, *italics* added; Kendi, 2016, pp. 203-205).

This is how Hannah-Jones (2019) has *reacted* to the above Supreme-Court decision:

- “This belief, that black people were *not* merely enslaved but were a slave *race*, became the *root* of the *endemic* racism that we still *cannot* purge from this nation to this day” (*italics* added).

14.9 Gunnar Myrdal, 1944

In his landmark study of race relations, Swedish economist and Nobel Laureate, Gunnar Myrdal, wrote in his book *An American Dilemma* (Note11) that “in practically in all its divergence, American Negro culture is...a *distorted* development, or a *pathological* condition, of the general American culture (Kendi, 2016, p. 3; *italics* added).

15. The Birth of Eugenics

In the early 1900s, the *scientifically*-backed enterprise of *eugenics* became extremely *popular* among its advocates on *both* sides of the Atlantic (Skibba, 2019). It was based on the notion that a “race” could and *should* be *purified* by selective *breeding*--and the elimination of *flawed* people. In 1916, a New York lawyer, *Madison Grant*, wrote a book: *The Passing of the Great Race*. Grant believed in a racial-ethnic ladder—*hierarchy*--with *Nordics* (Anglo Saxons) at the *top*, Jews, Italians, the Irish, and Russians in the *middle*, and *blacks* at the *bottom* (Kendi, 2016, pp. 310-311; Ruane, 2019; also, Skibba, *ibid*).

Grant wrote that “Negroes have demonstrated throughout recorded time that they are a *stationary* species and that they do *not* possess the potentiality of progress or initiative from within” (Ruane, 2019; Kendi, 2016, *ibid*).

One admirer of Grant’s work was no other than *Adolph Hitler* who, however, believed in the *extermination* of a *different* “race”: the *Jews* (Ruane, *ibid*).

In 1936, African-American sprinter, Jesse Owens, made history and *smashed* the ideas of Hitler and Grant when he *won four* gold medals at the Berlin Olympics (Kendi, 2016, pp. 340-341; Ruane, 2019). Owens arrived back home in America to a ticker tape parade. Ironically, Owens’s *own* track coach *belittled* Owen’s success: “It was not long ago that his ability to sprint and jump was a life-and-death matter to him in the *jungle*” (Kendi, Ruane, *ibid*, *italics* added).

Owens hoped he had managed to change American’s racist ideas. Yet, that was the *one* race he could *not* win. Soon after, Owens was running against *horses* and *dogs* to stay out of *poverty*. He felt that the *Nazis* had treated him *better* than the Americans (Kendi, *ibid*).

16. The Disturbing Resilience of Scientific Racism

The British journalist, Angela Saini (2020) in her book, *Superior: The Return of Race Science*, reveals

that the African-American sociologist, W. E. B. Du Bois, wrote at one time: “The problem of the *twentieth century* is the problem of the *color line*.” His ideas were *borne* out partly by “science,” the *scientifically-backed* endeavor of *eugenics*, as mentioned above (Skibba, 2019).

During *Holocaust*, Hitler’s Nazis committed a *genocide* of 6 million Jews. Thus, it took such a *horrific* event as *Holocaust*, to show the world that advocating *eugenics* was like playing with *fire*; and that how *devastating* and *deadly* the consequences of such a *race-based* ideology could be (Saini, 2020)).

Saini (2020) says that *right-wing fringe* manages to find ways to *cloak* their racist rhetoric in a palatable language. As such, the “*problem of the color line*” still *persists* today in the 21st century.

Saini (2020) notes that “*mainstream* scientists, geneticists and medical researchers still invoke *race* and use these categories in their work we have been told for 70 years that they have *no* biological meaning, that they have only *social* meaning” (*italics added*; Skibba, 2019; Ruane, 2019).

Saini notes that after the *horror* of *Holocaust*, mainstream scientists turned their backs on *eugenics* and the study of *racial* difference. However, a *worldwide* network of stubborn *eugenicists* quietly *founded* journals, and *funded* research that was *shoddy*, but was eventually *cited* in reputable publications (Skibba, 2019).

16.1 “The Bell Curve”

One example where such “shoddy studies” were *cited* is the famous book, *The Bell Curve* (1996), which was authored by Charles Murray, political scientist, and late experimental psychologist, Richard Herrnstein (Skibba, 2019).

The book claims that *intelligence* is a *genetically-associated* characteristic of *race*. A panel of scholars and testing experts claim that the book is *scientifically flawed* (*L. A. Times*, 1994).

In a Howard-University symposium, scholars pointed out that the book *fails* to present a *scientifically-balanced* view, and then employs *faulty* conclusions to justify changes in political *policy* about *how* society *should* deal with the *poor* (*ibid*).

In the words of Nancy Cole, the then president of Educational Testing Service, the book “uses the data *selectively* and then *ignores* any data that contradicts its point of view (*L. A. Times*, 1994).

The book concludes that *intelligence* is primarily controlled by *inheritance*; that the *blacks* score about 15 points *lower* than whites on IQ *tests*; that this gap *controls* destiny and *cannot* be changed through the entire life. As such, the book *recommends*, that efforts to *improve* the lives of the *poor* through social programs are doomed to *failure* “because the poor are too *dumb* to climb out of poverty” (*L. A. Times*, 1994, *ibid*, *italics added*).

The late Stephen Jay Gould of Harvard University was an American paleontologist, evolutionary biologist, and historian of science. He was one of the *most* influential and widely-read authors of popular science of his generation (Note 12).

Gould said that all the arguments mentioned above are *wrong* (*L. A. Times*, 1994). He points out that the statistical analysis in the book used a technique that *failed* to account for *individual* differences *within* a group, which could “*contort* the conclusions” (*L. A. Times*, *ibid*, *italics added*).

Continuing, Gould said the book was *wrong* in assuming that intelligence could be *accurately* measured by *tests*; that people can be correctly rated by such tests; and that IQ remains unchanged through life, or through circumstances of culture, training, or experience (*ibid*).

Finally, Gould concluded that this “is a *one*-dimensional study based on a *single* data set” that has “bamboozled everybody” (*L. A. Times, ibid, italics added*).

In an article in *Scientific American*, Eric Siegel (2017) reports that the efforts to discredit Charles Murray’s famous book have *failed* for more than two decades. Recent college protests have propelled him into the news again, and the jump in his book sales show that such negative publicity is *not* all that bad for him.

In their attempts “to take the book down,” most critics go after the *reasoning* of the book or its *sources*. However, such criticism signifies a “*secondary* position within the attempt of a thorough rebuke” (Siegel, 2017, *ibid, italics added*).

Siegel (2017) suggests that a *more* effective approach is to *criticize* the “Bell Curve” by focusing on what it does *not* say. He says the book does *not* address the *central* question of *why* it uses IQ to investigate racial differences in the first place? The book *never* spells out the *reason* for reporting on these differences. This implies that the authors are “transmitting an *unspoken* yet *unequivocal* conclusion” that is totally *unwarranted* (*ibid, italics added*).

In a blog for *Vox*, Mathew Yglesius (2018) says that “*The Bell Curve*” is *wrong* because it is all about *policy* (Note 13). However, in order to understand what is *behind* Murray’s policy recommendations, we need to know where he is coming from. “He’s *ensconced* at the *center* of the *conservative* policy establishment as an emeritus scholar at the American Enterprise Institute (*italics added*).

So, it is not surprising that Yglesias (2018) finds that *the Bell Curve* is *not* a work of scientific research, but rather a *political* endeavor, written by one of the *most* well-known *conservative* writers in America (*ibid*).

Yglesias (2018) further adds that “Murray’s ideas are plain *wrong*.” *Diversity* is demonstrably *good* for society--and the economy, *not* the other way around. Social programs *can*--and do--*improve* the lives of people (*ibid*).

Finally, he says “Charles Murray is an incredibly *successful*—and *pernicious*—policy entrepreneur.” And his ideas have *damaged* the interests of millions (*ibid, italics added*).

17. Current Ideas about Racism among American Public

In the words of Kendi (2016) what “black *inferiority* meant has *changed* in every generation...but ultimately Americans have been making the *same* case (Ruane, 2019, *italics added*).

According to Kendi (Ruane, *ibid, italics added*), many Americans are *blind* to the origin of *racist* ideas, and “think that there’s such a thing as “*black* blood and *black* diseases,” and that “black people are, by nature, *predisposed* to dancing and athletics.” Take the recent example of comedian *Roseann Barr*, who used an *ape* analogy in a tweet about Valerie Jarrett, an African American advisor to President Obama,

which then led to the cancellation of Barr's ABC TV show (Ruane, *ibid*).

Mass murderer Dylann Roof wrote in a crude manifesto, that he posted on the Internet in 2015, said (Ruane, *ibid, italics added*):

- “Anyone who thinks that White and black people look as different as we do on the outside, but are somehow magically the same on the inside, is *delusional*,” “Negroes have *lower* Iqs, *lower* impulse control, and *higher* testosterone levels in general. These three things alone are a recipe for *violent* behavior.”

On June 17, 2015, Roof went into an African American church in Charleston, S.C., and shot *nine* black worshipers to death. He was convicted of murder and sentenced to death (Ruane, *ibid*).

18. *The American Scientist: The Idea of Race is Dead*

Prof. Jan Sapp (2012, Note 14) has published an article in the *American Scientist* with a *dramatic* title: “*Race Finished*.” He reports that few ideas are as *emotionally* charged as that of *race*. “The word *conjures* up a mixture of associations—culture, ethnicity, genetics, subjugation, exclusion and persecution.” So, he asks *whether* the sad history of efforts to define groups of people by *race* really: 1) A matter of the “*misuse* of science,” (2) The “*abuse* of a valid biological concept,”? (3) Is race a “*fundamental reality* of human nature,”? Or, (4) Is “the notion of human “*rac*es” in fact a folkloric myth” (Sapp, 202, *ibid, italics added*)?

Many biologists and cultural anthropologists have *long* believed that human *rac*es—*genetically* distinct populations *within* the same *species*—have a *true* existence in nature (*ibid*).

Today, however, *many* social scientists and geneticists maintain that there is simply *no* valid biological basis for the concept (Sapp, *ibid*).

A turning point in this debate occurred in 1972, when Harvard geneticist, Richard Lewontin (1972), published a paper “*The Apportionment of Human Diversity*.” What he discovered was quite *clear*. He found that 85.5% of genetic variation was *within* the so-called races: *not* between them. The difference between *local* populations accounted for 8.5% of the variation, and difference between *regions* accounted for 6.3% (Sapp, *ibid*).

Two books published recently, also attempt to answer the questions about race posed by Jan Sapp. One is *Debunking a Scientific Myth* (2011) by Ian Tattersall and Rob DeSalle. The other is *Race and the Genetic Revolution*, edited by Sheldon Krimsky, and Kathleen Sloan (2011).

18.1 *Human Races are Sociocultural Constructs not a Scientific Theory*

The *central* message of the above two books is that the consensus among Western researchers today is that *human* races are *not* part of a scientific theory, *but sociocultural* constructs. *Nevertheless*, the concept of human race as an objective, biological reality *persists* in science *and* in society. Therefore, it is *high* time that policy makers, educators and those in the medical-industrial complex *rid* themselves of the *fallacy* of race as type *or* as genetic population (Sapp, *ibid*).

Section III—The Civil War to the Voting Rights Act, 1965

19. Abraham Lincoln and the American Civil War

The Civil War in the United States *started* in 1861. The *election* of the Republican President Abraham Lincoln in 1860 triggered *seven* southern states to *secede* from the Union and form the *Confederate States of America*; *four* more states soon followed suit (Note 15).

The *War Between the States*--as the Civil War was also known--*ended* in Confederate surrender in 1865. The conflict was the *costliest* and *deadliest* war ever fought on American soil, with some 620,000 of 2.4 million soldiers *killed*, millions more *injured*, and much of the South left in *ruins* (Note 15).

19.1 Causes of the Civil War

In the mid-nineteenth century, the United States was experiencing *tremendous* economic growth. However, a *vital* difference existed between the country's north and south (Note 15).

In the North, manufacturing and industry were *well* established, and agriculture was generally limited to *small-scale* farms. On the other hand, the South's economy was based on *large-scale* farming that depended on *enslaved Blacks* to grow crops mainly of *cotton* and *tobacco* (Note 15).

After the 1830s the *abolitionist* (Note 16) movement began to *gain* strength in the North. For decades *tensions* were simmering between northern and southern states over three things: *slavery*, *states' rights*, and North's *opposition* to extension of slavery into the new western territories and westward expansion (Note 16).

This led many southerners to fear that *slavery*—the *backbone* of their economy—was in *jeopardy* (*ibid*). And that is how the Civil War began in 1861.

19.2 Abraham Lincoln was Not an Abolitionist

Lincoln believed that slavery was morally *wrong*. However, as he saw it, there was one big *problem*: and that was that it was sanctioned by the *highest* law in the land: *The U.S. Constitution*. Although Lincoln pictured himself working with abolitionists for the anti-slavery cause, he did *not* consider himself one of them. Only with *emancipation*—and his support for the 13th Amendment that abolished slavery—that he was finally able to *win* over the most loyal abolitionists (Note 17).

19.3 Lincoln Against Equal Rights for Blacks and Whites

In 1858 Lincoln said that “I am *not*, nor I have ever been, in favor of bringing about...the social and political equality of White and Black races.” He said he *opposed* Black people having the right to vote, to serve on juries, and to intermarry with white (Note 17).

However, *like* his views on emancipation, Lincoln's position on social and political equality *evolved* over the course of his presidency. In his *last* speech of his life on April 11, 1865, he argued in *favor* limited Black suffrage, saying that any Black man who had *served* the Union during the Civil War should have the *right* to vote (Note 17).

19.4 Lincoln: Colonization the Solution to the Problem of Slavery

For most of his career, Lincoln subscribed to the idea of *colonization*. He believed that a *majority* of the African-American population should *leave* the United States and *settle down* in Africa or Central America. This is because he thought this was the *best* way to *confront* the problem of slavery (Note 17). Lincoln's *heroes*, Henry Clay and Thomas Jefferson—*both* slave owners—too, *avored* colonization (*ibid*).

At that time Lincoln was considering a *proclamation* that would *emancipate* all enslaved persons in the states that had seceded from the Union, if the states did *not* end the rebellion. In addition, the proclamation would *allow* the previously enslaved to join the Union army to fight *against* their former “masters” (Note 17).

However, Lincoln worried about what the *consequences* of this radical step would be (*ibid*).

So, on Aug, 14, 1882 Lincoln called a delegation of *five* esteemed free *black* men to the White House for a meeting. He told the guests that he had gotten Congress to *appropriate* funds to *ship back* black people, once freed, to *another* country. Explaining his rationale for the proposal he said (Hannah-Jones, 2019):

- “You and we are *different* races... [The members] of your race *suffer* very greatly...by living *among* us, while ours *suffer* from your *presence*. In a word, we suffer on *each* side” (*italics* added).

Continuing, Lincoln said (*ibid*):

- “Without the institution of *slavery* and the *colored* race as a basis, the war could *not* have an existence. It is better for us *both*, therefore, to be *separated*” (*italics* added).

To say that Lincoln's above statement must have come as a *rude shock* to those black men would be an *understatement*. This is how Hannah-Jones (*ibid*) has captured that *dramatic* moment:

- “You can imagine the heavy *silence* in the room, as the weight of what the president said momentarily stole the *breath* of these five black men. It was 243 years to the month since the *first* of their ancestors had arrived on these shores, *before* Lincoln's family...long *before* most of the white insisting that this was not their country” (*italics* added).

This writer submits that, *ironically*, Lincoln's above statement is like *blaming* the *victims* for the *sins* of the perpetrators! The Black Africans did *not* come to America of their own volition, but were *kidnapped* from their homes, and brought to America in *chains*, where they were *not* treated as human beings, but as *chattel slaves*.

Lincoln's support of colonization triggered great *anger* among Black leaders *and* abolitionists, who pointed out that African Americans were *as much* natives of the country as white people, and therefore deserved the *same* rights (Note 17).

However, *after* he issued his preliminary *Emancipation*, Lincoln *never* again publicly mentioned colonization (*ibid*).

At an earlier convention of black leaders in New York *against* colonization, this is what they said (Hannah-Jones, 2019):

- “This is *our* home, and this is *our* country. Beneath its sod lie the *bones* of our fathers...Here we were *born*, and here we will *die*” (*italics added*).

20. Lincoln’s Preliminary Emancipation Declaration: A Military Policy

The Civil War was essentially a conflict over *slavery*. In Lincoln’s view that when emancipation became a reality, it would have to be *gradual*. He believed that the *most* important task was to *prevent* the Southern rebellion from *severing* the Union *permanently* in *two* (Note 17).

The Civil War was *not* going well for Lincoln as the war entered its *second* summer in 1862. Britain was thinking whether to intervene on behalf of the Confederacy. Moreover, Lincoln was *unable* to recruit enough new white volunteers for the Union. As a result, Lincoln was *forced* to reevaluate his opposition to allowing Black Americans to fight for their *own* liberation (Hannah-Jones, 2019).

Finally, on September 22, 1862 Lincoln publicly *announced* his *preliminary* emancipation proclamation. Since the *Emancipation Proclamation* was part of a *war* policy, it did *not* cover *border* slave states--Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri--because they were *loyal* to the Union (Note 17). Lincoln had finally come to realize that *Emancipation* would further *weaken* the Confederacy, while at the same time providing the Union with a *fresh* source of *manpower* to put down the rebellion (Note 17). Its limitations notwithstanding, Lincoln’s proclamation marked a decisive *turning* point in the evolution of Lincoln’s *ideas* about slavery. It also was a *turning* point in the Civil War itself (*ibid*).

20.1 Black Americans’ Crucial Contribution in Defeating Confederacy

In 1862 Congress *annulled* the fugitive slave laws, *prohibited* slavery in the U.S. territories, and authorized Lincoln to *employ* the former slaves in the army (Note 18).

By war’s *end* some 200,000 African American men had served the Union Army and Navy, striking a *lethal* blow to the institution of *slavery*, which eventually led to its *abolition* by the *13th* Amendment (Notes 18).

This is how Edward Baptist (2014, p. xvii) has described their contribution:

- Those “African American soldiers would make the *difference* between *victory* and *defeat* for the North, which by late 1863 was *exhausted* and *uncertain*” (*italics added*).

Even “though the Union had *not* entered the war to end slavery--*but* rather, to keep the South from secession—yet, *black* men had signed up to *fight*. Enslaved people were *fleeing* their...plantations, trying to join the effort, serving as *spies*, *sabotaging* confederates, taking up *arms* for this cause as well as their own” (Hannah-Jones, 2019).

“And Lincoln was blaming *them* for the war” (*ibid, italics added*).

21. The 13th Amendment Abolishes Slavery in America

After its ratification by the requisite *three-quarters* of the states, the 13th Amendment was formally *adopted* on December 18, 1865 into *the U.S. Constitution*, ensuring that “*neither* slavery *nor* involuntary servitude...shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction” (Note 18, *italics*

added).

The Emancipation Proclamation transformed the Civil War from “a war against secession into “a war for a new birth of freedom,” as Lincoln declared in his *Gettysburg Address* in 1863. This ideological change discouraged the intervention of France or England on behalf of the Confederates (Note 18, italics added).

22. The 14th Amendment, 1868

The *14th Amendment* to the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1868, granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States—including former slaves—and guaranteed all citizens “equal protection of the laws.” This was one of three amendments passed during the Reconstruction era to abolish slavery and establish civil and legal rights for Black Americans, and over the years it became the basis for many landmark Supreme Court decisions (Note 19).

23. The 15th Amendment, 1870

The *15th Amendment* to the U.S. Constitution was finally ratified in 1870. Its objective was to protect the voting rights of African Americans. Nevertheless, despite this amendment, discriminatory practices were commonly used to prevent Black citizens from exercising their right to vote, particularly in the South (Note 20).

24. Jim Crow Laws Legalize Racial Segregation: 1870-1968

24.1 Support of Northern Whites for Emancipation Skin Deep

A few years after the end of the Civil War in 1865, many northerners celebrated abolishment of slavery as one of their collective triumphs. Nevertheless, Baptist (2016, p. xvii) points out that the belief of whites in the emancipation of blacks was rather skin deep. Many northerners supported Abraham Lincoln’s actions against slavery because they hated the arrogance of slaveholders like Charles Mallory.

So, after 1876, northern allies abandoned black voters (Baptist, *ibid*).

Within a period of forty years the children of white Union and Confederate soldiers united against the political and civil equality of African-Americans. This partnership of white supremacy enabled southern whites to impose Jim Crow segregation laws on public places, disenfranchise African-American citizens by excluding them from the polls, and use lynch-mob noose to enforce black compliance (Baptist, *ibid*, p. xviii). Jim Crow laws were a collection of state and local statutes that legalized racial segregation. Named after a Black minstrel show character, the laws—which existed for about 100 years--were intended to marginalize African Americans by denying them the right to vote, hold jobs, get an education or other opportunities. Those who attempted to defy Jim Crow laws often faced arrest, fines, jail sentences, violence, and even death (Note 21).

24.2 Most Whites Believed They Were a Superior Race

The idea of white supremacy was not just limited to the South. In non-confederate states, many restaurants would not serve black customers. Even stores and factories refused to hire black Americans

(Baptist, 2014, p. xviii).

Hundreds of midwestern communities forcibly *evicted* African American residents and became “sundown towns”—that is *all-white* towns (*ibid*).

Baptist (2014, *ibid*) describes how *most* whites sported a sense of *superiority* about their race:

- “Most *whites*...believed that *science* proved that there were biologically *distinct* human races, and that *Europeans* were members of the *superior* one. *Anglo-Americans* even believed that they were distinct from and *superior* to the Jews from Russia, Italians, Greeks, Slavs, and others who flooded Ellis Island and changed the *culture* of northern urban centers” (*italics* added).

25. The Voting Rights Act of 1965

It took about *hundred* years after the 15th Amendment before the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was signed into law by the Democratic President Lyndon Johnson. This law was the *culmination* of the powerful *Civil Rights* movement that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. started in 1955. The objective of the law was to overcome *legal* barriers at the state and local levels that *denied* African Americans their right to *vote* under the 15th Amendment (Note 22).

Section IV— The Empire of Cotton

26. Early History of Cotton

For hundreds of years, people in countries spanning *three* continents—Gujrat in India, Sulawesi in Indonesia, Upper Volta in West Africa, Rio Grande and plains of Yucatan in Mexico, valleys of Nubia in Egypt--people had *grown* cotton in their fields. And then they *manufactured* cotton textiles in the *houses* next door, just as their ancestors had done for generations before (Beckert, 2014, p. 4).

Cotton plant is quite *resilient*, and is able to survive without much help from farmers--given the right *climate*. For thousands of years many people who grew cotton were *unaware* that their efforts were being *replicated* by other people around the *globe* (Beckert, 2014, p. 4).

To reconstruct the history of *clothing* is a rather difficult task, because most cloth has *not* survived the ravages of time. However, about *five* thousand years ago, people on the *Indian* subcontinent first discovered the possibility of making thread out of cotton fibers. In Hindu scriptures cotton appears often and prominently (Beckert, 2014, p. 6).

26.1 India the World's Leading High-Quality Cotton Manufacturer

Farmers in the Indus valley were the *first* to spin and weave cotton. In 1929, archeologists found *fragments* of cotton textiles at Mohenjo-Daro, now part of Pakistan. The Vedic scriptures, composed between 1500 and 1200 BCE, also refer to cotton spinning and weaving (Beckert, 2014, p. 7).

Greek historian *Herodotus* (484-425 BCE) was familiar with India's fine cotton clothing. In 445 BCE, he said that in the sub-continent “wild trees bear fleeces for their fruit *surpassing* those of the sheep in *beauty* and *excellence*, and the natives clothe themselves in cloths made therefrom” (Beckert, p. 7, *italics* added).

The quality of the *top tier* of Indian fabrics was fabulous: In the thirteenth century, the European traveler, *Marco Polo elaborated* on Herodotus's observation, made more than seventeen hundred years earlier, noting that it is on the coast of Coromandel that "the *finest* and most *beautiful* cottons are to be found in any part of the world" (Beckert, 2014, p. 8).

Six hundred years later, Edward Baines, a newspaper proprietor and cotton *expert* from Leeds, England, had this to say about the best Indian cotton cloth:

- That the best Indian cloth was of "almost incredible perfection ... Some of their muslins might be thought the work of *fairies*, of *insects* rather than men." They were, in effect, "webs of woven *wind*" (Beckert, 2014, p. 8, *italics added*).

From several millennia *until* well into the *nineteenth* century, the people of the Indian sub-continent were the *leading* cotton manufacturers in the world. Peasants in what are now India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh cultivated *small* quantities of cotton together with their food crops. Then, they *spun* and *wove* cotton not only for their *own* use, but also for sale in *local* and *regional* markets (Beckert, 2014, p. 7).

27. British—and American--Innovations in Cotton Technology Spark the Industrial Revolution

Since labor costs were a *major* component in the production of cotton textiles in England, *everyone* connected with the industry began to seriously focus on the ways to increase the *productivity* of its *high-cost* labor (Beckert, 2013, p. 65).

The first major innovation was James Hargrave's invention of the *spinning jenny* in 1764. This was followed in 1769 by Richard Arkwright's invention: *water frame*. The water frame is a *spinning* machine that is powered by a *water-wheel*. Although this is the first-time water-wheel technology was used in Britain, such a technology has existed since ancient Egyptian times (Note 23).

Ten years later, Samuel Crompton introduced his invention, *mule* in 1779. This was the *capstone* of the earlier inventions: it *combined* the elements of the *jenny* with those of the *water frame*. The *mule* was *first* powered by water, but *later* mostly by a *steam* engine after James Watt patented its technology in 1769 (Beckert, 2014, p. 66).

While the *jenny* was mostly employed in people's *homes*, the *water frame* required lots of *energy* and *space* that could only be employed in a *factory* (Beckert, 2014, p. 66).

In 1793 American Eli Whitney built the *first* working model of a new kind of cotton gin that was *rapidly* able to remove the seeds of the *upland* cotton. This machine was so good that it *increased* ginning productivity by *fifty* times.

It was the *concerted* pursuit of the process of increasing labor productivity, as mentioned above, that finally resulted in the "most *momentous* technological change in the *history* of cotton" :a change that *launched* the Industrial Revolution (Beckert, 2013, p. 65; *italics added*).

The British cotton manufacturing *exploded* in the 1780s. Eighty years later in 1860, Manchester, England "stood at the center of a *world-spanning empire*—the empire of *cotton*" (Beckert, pp. 98, x, *italics added*).

28. Europeans Conquer the New World following Columbus's Landing in the Americas

The *West* has been a *leader* in science and technology since *medieval* times. By the end of the 15th century, the technological superiority of Europe was such that even the *weakest* of the European nations, Portugal, could go around the rest of world conquering, looting, and colonizing (White (1967)).

Christopher Columbus's landing in 1492 in the Americas represented the first *historic* event in the structuring of the global relationships. The journey set off the world's greatest *land grab* when the Spanish Conquistador, Hernan Cortes attacked the Aztec Empire in 1518, that brought *large* portions of, what is now mainland *Mexico*, under Spanish control (Beckert, 2014, p. 31).

By the mid-sixteenth century, *Portugal*, following the example of Spain, occupied what is now called Brazil (*ibid*).

In 1605 France acquired Quebec; and parts of the present-day mid-western and southern United States, which were combined into a French administrative unit, called Louisiana; and a number of Caribbean islands, including in 1695, Saint-Domingue, later called Haiti (Beckert, 2014, p.31).

England founded its first successful American settlement in Jamestown, which in 1607 became a part of the colony of Virginia, that was soon followed by more colonies in North America and the West Indies (*ibid*).

Following the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson used it as a *license* to commit *genocide* of native Americans and to *seize* their land (see section 8).

Between 1803 and 1842, the U.S. *expropriated* a vast expanse of the *Native-American* lands in the Deep South, and moved them to areas west of the Mississippi (see section 32).

28.1 Deindustrialization of India

Vasco da Gama's discovery of India in 1497--five years after Christopher Columbus's landing in the Americas in 1492-- was the second *momentous* event that established a *direct oceanic* route from Europe to India. Now for the first time, Europeans could have *direct* access to the products of the world's *largest* cotton producers: the Indian weavers (Beckert, 2014, p. 33).

Beckert (2014, p. xv) points out that far from being a liberal state, Britain was an *imperial* country, characterized by *immense* military expenditure, in a state of constant *war*, and a powerful, *interventionist business-friendly* government. So, it is in pursuit of this *militaristic* ideology when the British East India Co. established its foothold in India in 1600 (*ibid*, p. 31).

Beckert (2014, p. 44), reports that due to the intrusion of the British *power* in India, the Indian weavers *lost* their ability to *set prices* for their cloth, *or* to sell to any *customer* of their choice. The weavers had to accept part of their payment in *cotton yarn*. They were subject to *strict* supervision of the manufacturing process by the company employees. Moreover, the company increasingly resorted to *violence*, including corporal punishment (*ibid*, p. 45).

Shashi Tharoor (2016, p. 2, *italics* added), a long-time Indian diplomat, says that taking advantage of the collapse of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth-century India, the company was successful in *subjugating* a vast land through the power of their *artillery*. However, the country that the company

“conquered was *no* primitive or barren land, but a glittering *jewel* of the medieval world.”

At the *beginning* of the eighteenth century, India’s share of the world economy was 23%. However, by the time the British left India, it had dropped to just 3%. “The reason for this was simple: India was governed for the *benefit* of Britain. Britain’s *rise* for 200 years was financed by its *depredation* in India” (Tharoor, 2016, p. 3, *italics* added).

Tharoor (*ibid*, p. 5) argues that Britain’s Industrial Revolution was built on the *destruction* of India’s thriving manufacturing sector: in particular, the *textile* industry. The British *systematically* set about destroying India’s textile manufacturing and exports, and substituted them with British textiles made in England.

Tharoor (2016, p. 5) points out that, *ironically*, the company used *Indian* raw material, and exported the *finished* product *back* to India and the rest of the world: “the industrial equivalent of *adding insult to injury*” (*italics* added).

Since Indian textiles were remarkably *cheap*, the British textile manufacturers were unable to compete with them. So, they wanted the Indian imports eliminated. Consequently, the soldiers of the company systematically *smashed* the looms of some Bengali weavers, and according to a widespread account (though unverified) *broke* the weavers’ *thumbs* so they could *not* practice their craft (Tharoor, 2016, p. 6).

29. Europe’s War Capitalism: The Empire of Cotton

In the essentially *accurate* words of British cotton merchant, John Benjamin Smith, the *manufacture* of cotton *yarn* and *cloth* had grown into “the *greatest* industry that ever had or could by possibility have ever existed in any age or country” (Beckert, p. 242, *italics* added).

The *center* of this industry was Manchester which in 1860--just before the Civil War--had become the *most* industrialized city in the world: home to *two-thirds* of the world’s cotton *spindles* (Beckert, p. ix).

The question is *what* are the *underlying* factors that made this miracle possible? This is what we intend to explore in this section.

The history of an era is often defined by a particular commodity. While the 18th century belonged to *sugar*--and the 20th century to *oil*--the 19th century was definitely the century of *cotton* (Hochschild, 2014).

In a “major work of scholarship” --an award-winning book--Sven Beckert (2014) explores the history of cotton that was the *launching pad* for the Industrial Revolution (Hochschild, *ibid*).

Until the nineteenth century, cotton was *marginal* to European textile production and consumption (Beckert, 2014, p. xiii). However, over the next two hundred years all that was going to *change* (*ibid*, p. 29).

So, Beckert poses the question: *why* it was that the part of the world that had the *least* to do with cotton—*Europe*—*created* the empire of cotton, and then went on to *dominate* it? (Beckert, 2014, pp. xiii, xiv).

In 1600, world production of cotton was still dominated by *Indian* weavers. Unlike Indian or Chinese

producers, Europeans depended on the *import* of raw cotton from *distant* regions of the world over which they had *little* control. However, over the next 200 years all that was going to change (Beckert, 2014, p. 29).

The ultimate result was a *radical* reorganization of the world's *leading* manufacturing industry. This involved "an *explosion* in *how* and *where* cotton was grown and manufactured, and a *shocking* vision of how the crop could *yoke* the world together" (Beckert, 2014, p. 30, *italics* added).

European capitalists and rulers *unilaterally*—and drastically--*altered* the global competitive landscape of cotton: *not* because of new inventions or superior technologies, but because of their *military might*, and the *willingness* to use it—often *violently*--to their advantage (Beckert, 2014, pp. 30-31).

The Europeans *transformed* global networks through a variety of means (Beckert, p. 30, *italics* added):

- "The muscle of *armed* trade enabled the creation of a complex, *Eurocentric* maritime trade web."
- "The forging of a *military-fiscal* state allowed for the projection of *power* into the *far-flung* corners of the world."
- "The invention of *financial* instruments—from *maritime insurance* to *bills of lading*—allowed for the *transfer* of capital and goods over *long* distances."
- "The development of a *legal* system that gave a modicum of *security* in global investments."
- "The construction of *alliances* with *distant* capitalists and rulers provided *access* to local weavers and cotton growers."
- "The *expropriation* of land and the *deportation* of *Africans* [slaves] created flourishing plantations."

30. Three Pillars of the Industrial Revolution

To summarize the previous discussion, there were three *pillars* of the Industrial Revolution. One was the *conquest* by the Europeans of a *colossal* expanse of lands in the New World.

Second was that the Europeans drastically—and unilaterally--*altered* the global competitive landscape of cotton. They did it by using their *military might*, and the *willingness* to use it—often *violently*--to their advantage.

One major *casualty* of this ruthless mind-set was the *deindustrialization* of India, which was the world's *leading* manufacturer of *high-quality* cotton textiles. The British *systematically* destroyed India's textile industry. *Ironically*, the British used *Indian* cotton, and exported the *finished* product *back* to India, thus *adding insult to injury*.

The third—and the *most* important--was *slavery*: without which there would be *no* Industrial Revolution.

31. America Joins the Empire of Cotton

As mentioned in section 27, the British cotton manufacturing *exploded* in the 1780s. In 1785 an American ship sailed into the Liverpool harbor. In its hold were a number of bags of cotton that were the

product of America, imported by Peel, Yates & Co. They were told by the British customs officials that it cannot be a product of America. Most Europeans believed that cotton was a product of the West Indies, Brazil, Ottoman Empire, and India. The British officials thought that while America grew a lot of tobacco, rice, indigo and even sugar, it did *not* grow much cotton (Beckert, 2014, p. 100).

Beckert (2014, p. 100) says that this was a “*spectacular misjudgment*.” He points out that America was *tremendously* suited for cotton production. The *climate and soil* of a large part of American South *met* the conditions under which the cotton plant *thrived*. That means the right amount of *rain*, the right *patterns* of rainfall, and the right number of days *without* frost.

More importantly, in United States—*more* than any other country—the plantation owners commanded nearly *unlimited* supplies of the *three* crucial ingredients that went into the production of cotton: *labor*, *land*, and *credit*. And this was topped by their unbelievable *political* power (Beckert, 2014, p. 105).

In 1786, planters began to grow the first long-staple ‘Sea Island’ cotton on islands just off the coast of Georgia with seeds brought from the Bahamas. Unlike the local cotton, this cotton had a long, silky fiber, which made it very well suited for *finer* yarns and cloths that were in great demand. Soon, the planting of Sea Island cotton spread up and down the *coast* of South Carolina and Georgia (Beckert, 2014, p. 102).

However, when planters attempted to grow “Sea Island” *inland* the crop *failed*. But it was here that a *different* strain of cotton—the *upland* cotton—was thriving. This variety of cotton was *shorter* in staple length, but it had one major *flaw*: the fiber was *tightly* attached to its seed, removing which was both *cumbersome* and *labor-intensive* (Beckert, *ibid*, p.102).

Thanks to Eli Whitney’s revolutionary technology, cotton-growing spread *rapidly* into the *interior* of South Carolina and Georgia. And as the cotton production kept going up, so did the number of African *slaves* where cotton was grown

One problem that plantation owners were now facing was *soil exhaustion*. The same patch of land could *not* be used for more than a few years without planting legumes, or applying the fertilizer *guano* that was quite expensive. So, lands that once produced *one thousand* pounds per acre, were now producing merely *four hundred* pounds (Beckert, 2014, p. 103).

32. Expropriation of Native-American Land

After the first European colonists landed on the shores of America, they began to push *inland*. The Native Americans had to reckon with two things: first *germs*—disease--and then raw *military* power. Native Americans controlled *extensive* territories a few hundred miles *inland* from the coastal states. However, they were *unable* to stop the white colonists’ steady *encroachments* into their lands (Beckert, p. 105).

Between 1803 and 1838, under President Andrew Jackson, America fought a multi-front war with the *Native Americans* in the Deep South. By the end of the 1830s, the Seminole, the Creek, the Chickasaw, the Choctaw, and the Cherokees had all been “removed” to lands west of the Mississippi (Johnson, 2013b).

After the colonists *conquered* the Native-American land, they declared it as *legally* “empty.” This was a

land whose *social* structures had been catastrophically *destroyed*: and a land *without* most of its people (Beckert, 2014, p. 105).

In terms of *unencumbered* land, the *South* had *no* equal in the cotton-growing world (*ibid*).

Under Andrew Jackson's 1819 treaty with the Choctaw nation, the U.S. acquired 5 million acres of extremely *fertile* land in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta, in exchange for vastly *inferior* lands in Oklahoma and Arkansas (Beckert, 2014, p. 109).

Between 1835 and 1842 the U.S. *expropriated* the extremely *fertile* cotton fields from the Seminoles in Florida (Beckert, pp. 107-108).

In the 1830s, hundreds of millions of acres of *conquered* land were *surveyed*, and put up for *sale* by the United States government. Johnson (2013b) reports that this vast *privatization* of the public domain triggered one of the *greatest* economic *booms* in in the history of the *world* up to that time.

Investment capital from Britain, the European Continent, and the Northern states in America *poured* into the land market, and under this stimulating environment, prices rose like "*smoke*." As mentioned in the next section, these were the "flush times" (Johnson, 2013b).

32.1 U.S. Government on a Land-Acquisition Spree

To cater to the *unsatiable* appetite for more land by the plantation owners, *southern* politicians approached the U.S. government for acquiring more land. Surprisingly, in 1803 America was able to strike an *unbelievable* deal with the French--the *Louisiana Purchase*--for a mere \$15 million: at three *cents* per acre. This *vast* expanse *doubled* the territory of the United States, and eventually, that would become all or part of *fifteen* states (Baptist, 2014, p. 47; Beckert, 2014, p. 105).

In 1819 America acquired Florida from Spain, and in 1845 *annexed* Texas from Mexico. All these lands were *very-well* suited for growing *cotton* (Beckert, 2014, p. 105).

33. The Empire of Cotton in the Mississippi Valley

With an *unlimited* supply of land—and *slave* labor--even *soil exhaustion* did *not* slow down the cotton barons; they just moved further *west* and farther *south*. *New* cotton fields now sprang up in the *sediment-rich* lands along the *banks* of Mississippi, the upcountry of Alabama, and the black prairie of Arkansas. So, *swift* was this move westward that, by the end of the 1830s, Mississippi was producing *more* cotton than any other southern state (Beckert, 2014, p. 104).

In 1811 *one-sixteenth* of all cotton grown in America came from states and territories *west* of South Carolina and Georgia. By 1820 that share had reached *one-third*, and in 1860 had climbed to *three-fourths* (Beckert, p. 104).

The *entry* of the United States in the cotton market quickly began to *reshape* the global cotton market. In 1790 America produced 1.5 million pounds of cotton. In 1820 that number rose sharply to 167.5 million pounds (Beckert, 2014, p. 104).

Exports to Great Britain increased by a factor of *ninety-three* between 1791 and 1800; and went up another *seven* times by 1820. By 1802 America was already the *single*-most supplier of cotton to Britain,

and by 1857 it produced as much cotton as *China* (Beckert, 2014, p. 104).

The territorial *expansion* mentioned above, in the words of John Weaver (2003), the “*great land rush*,” was closely *tied* to the territorial *ambitions* of cotton growers, manufacturers, and bankers. Cotton *planters* constantly sought *fresh* lands to grow cotton. The new lands they migrated to were characterized by the virtual *absence* of government (Beckert, 2014, p. 106).

In his Prize-winning book, *River of Dark Dreams*, Walter Johnson (2013a) writes about the cotton plantations in the Mississippi Valley during the period between Independence and the Civil War.

As mentioned in the previous section, these were the “flush times:” a period of *rapid* development and *speculation*, that *reshaped* the Mississippi Valley in the 1830s. It involved simultaneous *booms* in the land market, the cotton market, and the slave market (Johnson, 2013a, p. 5).

For *millennia*, the mighty Mississippi had unloaded its rich *sediments* in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta—an area approximately *seven* thousand square miles—thus making it the seedbed of the world’s *most* productive cotton land: making it the *Saudi Arabia* of cotton in the *early nineteenth* century (Beckert, 2014, p. 113).

The *leading* sector of the emerging *global* economy during the first half of the nineteenth century was *cotton*. So, between 1820 and 1860, as many as a *million* African slaves were *sold* “down the river” (Mississippi), by *coast* from Norfolk to New Orleans, and *overland* from Fayetteville, North Carolina to Florence, Alabama (Johnson 2013a, *ibid*, p. 5).

Johnson (2013a, p. 14) reports that this massive *relocation* and geographic *redistribution* of the enslaved population caused profound *suffering* among the slaves for *two* reasons: (1) The *breakup* of 50% of slave *families*, and (2) *Loss* of the *social* network that every slave family was an *intimate* part of.

Johnson (2013a, p. 9) eloquently describes the *heart-wrenching* psychological and emotional *trauma* these slave families must have gone through:

- “When slaves went into the field, they took with them *social* connections and affective ties...Slaves worked alongside people they *knew*, people they had *raised*, and people they would *bury*. They talked, they sang, they laughed, they suffered, they remembered their *ancestors* and their *God*, the *rhythms* of their lives working through and over those of their work. We *cannot* any more separate slaves’ labor from their *humanity* than we can separate the ability of a *human hand* to pick cotton from its ability to *caress* the cheek of a crying child, the *aching* of a stooped back in the field from the arc of a body bent in *supplication*” (Johnson, 2013a, p. 9, *italics* added).

The *relocation* and *reassignment* of these slaves for the cultivation of cotton gave a *new* lease of *life* to slavery in the United States. An institution that had been on the *decline* throughout the eighteenth century in the Upper South, was *rejuvenated* in the Lower South. By the end of the 1830s, Mississippi was producing *more* cotton than any other southern state (Beckert, p. 104). By 1860, there were more *millionaires* per capita in Mississippi Valley than anywhere else in America. In 1810, the population of *New Orleans* was around 17,000. But, by 1860, it had ballooned to *ten* times that number (Johnson, 2013a, p. 5, p. 7).

The cotton grown and picked by the *enslaved* workers was America's *most* valuable export. The combined value of enslaved people was *higher* than that of all the railroads and factories in the country. New Orleans had a *denser* concentration of *banking* capital than New York City (Desmond, 2019).

As the Mississippi Valley expanded, thousands of investors rushed to launch their *boats* on the Mississippi river. Leaving aside land and slaves, *steamboats* were the *leading* investments in the Mississippi Valley economy after the 1820s (Johnson, 2013a, pp. 5-6).

The practice of mono-culture and *lack* of biodiversity *stripped* the land of vegetation, *leached* out its fertilizers, and rendered one of the richest agricultural regions in the world *dependent* on *upriver* trade for *food* (Johnson, 2013a, p. 8).

34. Quest for Mississippi Valley's Alignment with the Caribbean and South America

For most of the history of political economy of slavery in the Mississippi Valley, there was a growing *tension* between "the South" as a region of the *global* economy, and "the South" as a region of the *United States*: "the tension between the promiscuity (*mobility*) of capital and the *limits* prescribed by the territorial *sovereignty* of the United States" (Johnson, 2013a, p. 11, *italics* added).

The laws of the United States were meant to *channel* and *limit* capitalism in a manner that many in the Mississippi Valley did *not* agree with. They believed that the U.S. was *stripping* them of their *birthright*: "as slaveholders, as Americans, as whites, as men" (Johnson, 2013a, p. 11).

34.1 Mississippi Valley's Effort to Reopen Slave Trade

In 1807 Congress had *abolished* the African slave trade that prohibited the *importation* of slaves in the United States from any foreign kingdom, place or country (Note 24).

However, the supporters of the *pro-slavery* imperialism had an insatiable *greed* for new territory for which they would need more *slaves*. So, they began a *rearguard* action for *reopening* the slave trade. The objective of this move was to make sure that the *new* territory would be *transformed* in the *image* of the Southern plantations' social *ethos*: "*staple-crop* (e. g, cotton) agriculture for the *global* market; the equivalence of *white* manhood and *mastery*; and household *patriarchy*" (Johnson, 2013a; p. 395, *italics* added).

This move was based on the philosophy that, in relation to the *global* economy, the people in the South were governed by the laws of *supply* and *demand*: an idea that was *supplanting* the norms of national sovereignty. The argument from the proponents of the new Southern philosophy was that: "If it is right to buy slaves in Virginia and carry them to New Orleans, why is it not right to buy them in Cuba, Brazil, or Africa and carry them there?" (Johnson, 2013a, pp. 400-401).

In practical terms that a planter should "not be compelled to go to Virginia to buy slaves for \$1,500 each," when he could "get them in Cuba for \$600 each" (*ibid*, p. 401).

As mentioned above, slavery was not merely *strong* on the eve of the Civil War, it was *expanding*. So, W. E. B. Du Bois (1869-1963), an African-American intellectual, had this to say about this history:

- “The slave barons looked behind them and saw to their *dismay* that there could be *no* backward step. The slavery of the new Cotton Kingdom in the nineteenth century must *either* die *or* conquer a nation—it could *not* hesitate or pause” (Johnson, 2013a, p. 1, *italics* added).

35. The British and European Banks Financed Slavery in America

One of the 12 articles published under the 1619 Project is Mathew Desmond’s (2019) essay about the *cotton* plantations during the antebellum period.

The *British* banking company, House of *Baring*, was *intimately* involved in the expansion of the empire of cotton. It *financed* the Louisiana Purchase, negotiated and sold the *bonds* that sealed the deal with the French government (Beckert, p. 106; Desmond, 2019).

A *majority* of the credit powering the American *slave* economy came from the *London* money market. Long after abolishing the African slave trade in 1807, Britain--and much of Europe--were *bankrolling* slavery in America. To raise capital, *state*-chartered banks *pooled* debt generated by the *slave* mortgages, and *repackaged* it as *bonds* promising investors annual interest (Desmond, 2019).

However, the underlying *rationale* for Britain’s abolishment of slave trade was the need to “*scrub* the *blood* of enslaved workers *off* American *dollars*, British *pounds*, and French *francs*. And this was an *ingenious* ploy “to *profit* from slavery *without* getting your hands dirty” (Desmond, 2019, *italics* added). When seeking a *loan*, planters used *slaves* as a *collateral*. In the first decade of the 19th century, they could *leverage* their enslaved workers at 8% interest, on which they could earn a return *three* times that (Desmond, *ibid*).

With such *hefty* returns, the planters began to *expand* their loan portfolio: sometimes using the *same* slave worker as collateral for *multiple* mortgages. And the banks were more than happy to oblige. By 1883, Mississippi banks had issued 20 times as much *paper* money, as they had *gold* in their reserves. In several Southern counties, *slave* mortgages injected so much capital in the economy, that it was *higher* than the *sales* from the crops harvested by the enslaved workers (Desmond, 2019).

Wall Street’s financial instrument C.D.O.s—collateralized debt obligations—were the “ticking bombs backed by *inflated* home prices in the 2000s. C.D.O.s were the “*grand children*” of *mortgage-backed securities* based on the *inflated* value of *enslaved* people sold in the 1820s and 1830s. Each product generated *massive* fortunes for the *few* before *blowing up* the economy (Desmond, 2019).

Enslavers were *not* the first to *securitize* assets and debts in America. However, they made the use of *securities* to such an extent that it *compromised* the global economy (*ibid*).

The American South produced *too much* cotton: thanks to an *abundance* of cheap land, cheap labor, and credit. However, consumer demand could *not* keep up with the *excessive* supply, that then led to a precipitous *fall* in prices (Desmond, 2019).

As early as 1834, the price of cotton began to *drop* before “plunging like a bird winged in mid-flight,” which then set off the *Panic of 1837*. When the price of cotton tumbled, it pulled *down* the value of enslaved workers—and land. Slaves bought for \$2,000 were now selling for a mere \$60 (Desmond, *ibid*).

As a result, investors and creditors *called in* their debts. However, because the planters could *not* liquidate their assets, they were *unable* to repay their loans (*ibid*).

The states decided *not* to foreclose on the *defaulting* plantation owners. But when they tried, the planters *absconded* to Texas—an independent republic then—with their money and the enslaved workers (Desmond, 2019).

Drawing *parallels* between the Panic of 1837 and the financial crisis of 2008 (Note 25), Desmond (2019) paints a picture that is quite *devastating*:

- “All the ingredients are there: *mystifying* financial instruments that *hide* risk while connecting bankers, investors and families around the *globe*; *fantastic* profits amassed *overnight*; the normalization of *speculation* and breathless *risk taking*; stacks of *paper* money printed on the *myth* that some institution (cotton, housing) is *unshakable*; considered and intentional *exploitation* of black people; and *impunity* for the profiteers when it all falls apart—the *borrowers* were bailed out after 1837, *banks* after 2008” (*italics added*).

According to historian Joshua Rothman (2014), during slavery, “Americans built a culture of *speculation* unique in its *abandon*”—a *boom* or *bust* mentality. That culture drove *up* cotton production up to the Civil War, and “it has been a *defining* characteristic of American capitalism *ever since*. It is a culture of acquiring wealth *without* work, *growing* at all costs and *abusing* the powerless” (Desmond, 2019, *italics added*).

36. New Orleans: Home of the Largest Slave Market in America

In his insightful book, *Soul by Soul*, Walter Johnson (1999) tells the story of slavery in *antebellum* America (Note 26). By moving *away* from the cotton plantations to the *heart* of the domestic *slave trade*, he takes us *inside* the New Orleans slave market—the *largest* in the nation—where 100,000 men, women, and children were *packaged*, *priced* and *sold* (back of the front cover).

Johnson “transforms the statistics of these *chilling* transactions into the *human* drama of *traders*, *buyers*, and *slaves*, negotiating sales that would *alter* the life of *each*. What emerges is not only the *brutal* economics of *trading* but the vast and surprising *interdependence* among the actors involved” (Johnson, 1999, back of the front cover, *italics added*).

The traders *packaged* their slaves by “feeding them up,” dressing them well,” and oiling their bodies. But they ultimately relied on the *slaves* themselves to play their role as *valuable* commodities (*ibid*).

Slave-buyers *stripped* the slaves, and questioned them about their past, trying to *elicit* more honest answers than they could from the traders (*ibid*).

These examinations provided enough information to the *slaves* that they could take advantage of, and try to shape the sale to their advantage (Johnson, 1999, back of the front page).

Throughout the antebellum period, New Orleans was *unique* in one respect. Not far from the levee was North America’s *largest* slave market. The slave market consisted of *clusters* of competing firms: each of which maintained its *own* yard for keeping slaves—“slave pens” (Johnson, 1999, p. 2).

The walls surrounding the *pens* were very *high*—fifteen or twenty feet—to *prevent* them from being seen from the street (*ibid*, p. 24).

36.1 Forced Relocation Breaks-up Many Slave Families

The U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1789, contained a provision that imposed a *ban* on the *importation* of African slaves after 1808: a provision that was supported *both* by opponents of slavery as well as most *Virginians*, who were afraid that continued importation of slaves would *dilute* their economic and political power.

The implication of this *ban* on *importation* of slaves into America was, that any *expansion* of slavery into farther South and further West would *require forcible relocation* of *American-born* slaves. As a result, between 1820 and 1860—as mentioned in section 33—as many as a *million* African slaves were *sold* in America (Johnson, 1999, pp. 4-5).

Of the two-thirds of a million inter-state sales made in the decades before the Civil War, *twenty-five* percent involved the *dissolution* of the first marriage, and *fifty* percent *destroyed* a nuclear family (*ibid*, p. 19).

At the *end* of the eighteenth century, *thousands* of slaves from all over the South passed *through* New Orleans slave pens *every* year in the antebellum period (Johnson, 1999, pp. 5, 7).

36.2 Slaves in Constant Fear of Being Sold

The slaves “*felt no security whatever for their family ties*” (Johnson, 1999, p. 22, *italics* in the original). Under the *chattel* principle, every attempt by slaves to exercise normal *human* behavior—to be *closer* to, or *rely* upon the members of their family, a lover, or friends—carried with it the constant *fear* of being taken away from them. The slaveholders often used the *threat* of selling to a slave trader to *scare* the slaves when they had *violated* some rule (*ibid*, pp. 22-23).

In addition to “threatening *social* death—the *permanent* disappearance of a person as a playmate, parent, child, friend, or lover—the *slave trade* was understood by slaves as threatening *literal* death” (Johnson, 1999, p. 23, *italics* added).

37. Slaves Driven in Coffles over 700 Miles for 80 Years

In his Prize-winning book, *The Half Has Never Been Told*, Edward Baptist (2014) reports that over the course of eighty years from the 1780s to 1865, almost a *million* people were *herded* down the road in slave *coffles* from the upper South to the lower South and the West to toil on *cotton* plantations. Baptist describes their *gruesome* tale in the following words (pp. 1-2, *italics* added):

- “Not long after they heard the first clink of iron, the boys and girls...saw the *double line* (coffle) coming around the bend. Hurrying in lock-step, the thirty-odd men came down the dirt road like a *giant* machine. Each hauled *twenty* pounds of iron, *chains* that draped from *neck-to-neck*, and *wrist-to-wrist*, binding them all together...As they moved, some looked down like *catatonics*. Others *stared* at something a thousand yards ahead.”

- “For *eighty* years, enslaved migrants *walked* for *miles, days, and weeks*. Driven south, and west over flatlands and mountains, step after step, they went *farther* from home. *Stumbling* with fatigue, *stagging* with whiskey...many covered over *700 miles* before stepping off the road...After weeks of *wading* rivers, *crossing* state lines, and *climbing* mountain roads...they had moved their bodies *across* the frontier between the *old* slavery and the *new*.”

38. The Cruel “Pushing” System of Controlling Slaves

The plantation owners devised a *complex* system of controlling their slaves that the enslaved people called “the *pushing* system.” This system constantly *increased* the number of acres each captive “hand” was expected to cultivate. In 1805 each “hand” (meaning a *right-handed* slave) could tend to-- and keep free of weeds--*five* acres of a cotton field. *Fifty* years later that target had been *doubled* to *ten* acres (Baptist, pp. 116-117).

Overseers *closely* monitored enslaved workers. Each individual was assigned a *quota* of number of pounds of cotton to pick. If the worker *failed* to meet it, he received as many *lashes* on his back as the deficit. However, if he *overshot* his quota, the master might “reward” him by *raising* his quota the next day (Desmond, 2019)!

38.1 The Barbaric Use of a Whip to Punish Slaves

One of the most *brutal* weapons the planters employed against the slaves, was the *whip*: *ten* feet of plaited *cowhide*. When facing the *specter* of an overseer’s whip, slaves were so *terrified* that they could *not* speak in sentences. They “danced,” *trembled, babbled, and lost* control of their bodies. The enslavers’ *rationale* for use of the whip was: (1) To assert their *dominance* over the slaves, and (2) To *terrify* them so much that they would *abandon* any thought of successfully *resisting* the overwhelming demands of the “pushing system” (Baptist, 2014, p. 121).

To extract *maximum* output of cotton from the enslaved, the modus operandi of the slave-holders was “to *extort* it by the *lash*.” Thus, in the “pushing system,” the *whip* was just as *important* in growing cotton, as sunshine and rain (Baptist, 2014, p. 121).

Between 1790 and 1860, there was a vast *increase* in the amount of cotton grown in America. However, this impressive result was achieved at a tremendous *human* cost. This human cost included: (1) Many slaves who caught *malaria* in a disease-prone environment, (2) Those who died *young* due to *lack* of enough food—and back-breaking *labor*, (3) *High infant* mortality, and (4) A *decrease* in the *life expectancy* of all African Americans (Baptist, 2014, p. 122).

In the words of a planter, enslaved workers were to be “followed up from *day-break* until *dark*.” The slaves were lined up in *rows* sometimes *longer* than five football fields. This set-up allowed overseers to *spot* anyone lagging behind. The uniform layout had a rationale: and that was to *dominate*. Faster workers were placed at the *head* of the line, which encouraged those who followed to *keep up* with the captain’s pace (Desmond, 2019).

Charles Ball, a migrant slave, paints a vivid picture of how the slaves worked on the cotton fields. He

says they picked in long rows, *bent* bodies shuffling through cotton fields that were white when in bloom. Men, women, and children picked, using *both* hands to *hurry* the work. Their haul would be *weighed* after sunlight. If it came up *short*, the slaves would often be *whipped* (Desmond, 2019).

After the Civil War, many cotton planters would pay pickers by the *pound*. However, *free* labor motivated by a wage did *not* produce the same amount of cotton per hour as slave labor had (Baptist, 2014, pp. 129-130).

39. Plantation Management Practices and the Theory of Scientific Management

In a highly-acclaimed book, *Accounting for Slavery*, Caitlin Rosenthal (2018) *successfully* challenges Alfred Chandler's (1977, p. 64) assertion that slave plantations employed such an "ancient" form of organization that modern historians can *disregard* their practices (Rhode, 2020).

The essence of *Accounting for Slavery* is the study of *productivity* analysis conducted by the antebellum cotton planters. Rosenthal specially focuses on the use of *printed* account books, such as the cotton books by Thomas Affleck after 1847. Plantation managers used these formalized records to determine the *maximum* output that workers could *sustainably* produce. This *yardstick* was then used several ways: (1) To establish work *expectations*, (2) Impose *punishments*, and (3) *Plan* future production (Rhode, 2020). Rosenthal argues that these methods were *similar* to what Frederick Taylor and the scientific movement later tried to do (Rhode, 2020).

The slave owners used the *double-entry* book-keeping system. They kept *dual* records, with corresponding and opposite entries (Jewell, 2019). Rosenthal also documents the efforts of southern planters to *commodify* their slave properties. This was based on *standardized* labor units: full, half, and quarter "hand." They kept detailed inventories that reflected their *human* property at *market* values (Rhode, Jewell, *ibid*).

One of the major *advances* of the era was the use of *depreciation* for the value of a slave: a practice that was widely regarded as a *landmark* in advancing management practices. The enslaved became well aware of how a person could be *devalued*: anything from illness to running away (Jewell, 2019).

Such valuations of individual slaves became the basis for slave *mortgages* and *insurance* policies (*ibid*).

Section V—The Sugar Plantations of Louisiana

40. The Sugar Plantations of Louisiana

Khalil Muhammad (2019), has authored an article on sugar plantations in the South: one of the 12 published for 'The 1619 Project.' For thousands of years sugarcane was a *heavy* and *unwieldy* crop that was very *labor-intensive*. It was the introduction of *slavery* that changed everything. "The true Age of Sugar had begun—and it was doing more to *reshape* the world than any ruler, empire, or war had ever done." Over the four centuries following the arrival of Columbus in the New World, innumerable lives were *destroyed* and around 11 million Africans were *enslaved*" (*italics added*; also, Datta, 2020).

The *manufacture* of sugar from sugarcane began in Louisiana Territory in 1795. Within decades, Louisiana planters were producing as much as a *quarter* of the world's cane-sugar output. However, this impressive achievement was the fruit of a *bitter* harvest grown on the backs of *enslaved* labor. In sugar mills, children, alongside adults, “toiled like factory workers with assembly-like *precision* and *discipline* under the constant *threat* of boiling hot kettles, open furnaces and grinding rollers” (Muhammad, 2019; Datta, 2020).

To attain the *highest* efficiency—like the *round-the-clock* Domino refinery *today*--sugar factories worked *day and night*. where there is *no* distinction as to the days of the week. *Fatigue* might mean losing an *arm* to the grinding rollers, or being *flayed* for not being able to keep up. Resistance was often met with *sadistic* cruelty (Muhammad, 2019, *italics* added; Datta, 2020).

Louisiana led America in *destroying* the lives of black people: all in the name of *efficiency*. Life expectancy on a sugar plantation was *less* like that on a cotton plantation, but *more* that on a Jamaican cane field, where the “most overworked and abused could drop *dead* after just *seven* years” (Muhammad, 2019, *italics* added; Datta, 2020).

Section VI—This Half Has Never Been Told

41. This Half Has Never Been Told

In an award-winning book, *The Half Has Never Been Told* (2014), Edward Baptist opens his book with a 1937-interview of a former slave, Lorenzo Ivy, in which he was asked the question: “Have you been happier in slavery or free?” His answer was: “Truly, son, the half has never been told” (p. xxiii).

Baptist (2014) argues that Americans tend to regard slavery as a *pre-modern* institution: that is isolated in *time* and *divorced* from America's later *success*. However, to do so *robs* the millions of slaves--who *suffered* in bondage--of their full *legacy* (*ibid*, back cover).

The expansion of slavery in the first *eight* decades after American independence, drove the evolution and *modernization* of the United States. In the course of a *single* life time, the South grew from “a *narrow* coastal strip of *worn-out* tobacco plantations to a *continental cotton empire*.” As a result, the United States became a *modern*, industrial, and capitalistic economy (Baptist, 2014, back cover).

Baptist (*ibid*) argues that the fundamental *assumptions* about the history of slavery, and that of America, remain essentially *unchanged*.

The *first* major assumption is that as an economic system American *slavery* was fundamentally *different* from the rest of the modern economy. Stories about industrialization highlight *white* immigrants and *clever* inventors, but they *omit* altogether *cotton fields* and *slave labor*. This view *implies* that *slavery*--and *enslaved* African Americans--had *little* long-term effect on the *rise* of the United States during the nineteenth century. This is the period in which America *rose* from being a *minor* European trading partner, to becoming the world's *leading* economy (Baptist, p. xx).

The *second* assumption is that slavery was part of an *ongoing* political process, and sooner or later, it will

be resolved in favor of the *liberal* North (Baptist, 2014, p. xx).

The *third* assumption is that the *worst* thing about slavery was the *denial* of *liberal* rights (e.g., voting) of modern citizens. But slavery also *killed* a large number of slaves. And from those who *survived*, it *stole* everything. A *million* slaves were *ripped* off from their homes, were *brutally* driven to new, *disease-ridden* places, and were made to live in *terror* and *hunger* as they continually built and rebuilt the *cotton* empire (Baptist, 2014, pp. xx-xxi).

The stories about slavery are told in ways that *reinforce* all the above assumptions. *Text* books segregate 250 years of slavery into just *one* chapter (Baptist, 2014, p. xxi).

During the Civil War, the *African-American* soldiers made the *difference* between victory and defeat for the North: which by late 1863 was *exhausted* and uncertain (Baptist, *ibid*, p. xvii).

“The idea that the *commodification* and *suffering* and *forced* labor of African Americans is what made the United States *powerful* and *rich* is *not* an idea that people necessarily are happy to hear. Yet, it is the *truth*” (Baptist, 2014, p. xxiv, *italics* added).

In the end, Baptist argues that *if* we accept the *truth*, it can set us *free* (Baptist, p. xxii).

Finally, as we have shown in section 9, America became an economic powerhouse in the nineteenth century, not only on the *backs* of African-American slaves, it was *also* because of the *genocide* of Native Americans, and their *stolen lands*.

42. Conclusion

We hope we have been successful in being able to make our main thesis: that America became an economic *super-power* in the nineteenth century, *not* only on the *backs* of African-American slaves, but *also* due to the *genocide* of Native Americans, and the lands America *stole* from them.

Mathew Desmond (2019) makes an intriguing revelation about slavery that is *devastating* in its implications. For *white* workers, slavery did *complement* with what, W.E.B. Du Bois has called, a “public and psychological wage.” This made it possible for them to roam *freely* and feel a sense of *entitlement*. Slavery pulled *down* wages of *all* workers. Both in the cities and countryside, employers had access to a *large* and *flexible* labor pool made up of enslaved *and* free people. Just like today’s *gig* economy, *day* laborers during the slavery’s reign often lived under conditions of *scarcity* and *uncertainty*, and jobs meant to be worked for a *few* months, became jobs for a *lifetime*. Labor had very *little* power, when the managers could *choose* between “buying people, renting them, contracting indentured servants, taking on apprentices, or hiring children and prisoners.”

Desmond (2019) further goes on, and says this not only created a blatantly *uneven* playing field--*dividing* workers from themselves--it also made “all *non-slavery* appear as *freedom*,” as the economic historian Stanley Engerman (2000), has written. Witnessing the *horrors* of slavery drilled into poor *white* workers: that things could be *worse*. So, they generally *accepted* their lot. Thus, American *freedom* became broadly defined as the *opposite* of bondage. It was a freedom that stood for what it was *against*, but *not*

what it was for: “a *malnourished* and *mean* kind of freedom that kept you *out* of chains, but did *not* provide bread or shelter” (Desmond, *ibid*, *italics* added).

Desmond (2019), quoting W. E. B. Dubois, points out that plantation owners thought of themselves as *invincible*. The mere fact that a man could *legally* be the master of the mind and body of a *human* being, had to have *devastating* effects. It tended to *inflate* the *ego* of most planters, which made them “*arrogant, strutting, quarrelsome* kinglets” (*italics* added).

We have found *four* major *themes* in this paper:

- (1) America’s independence was based on the foundation of *slavery*, (2) The *persistence* of ideas of *racism* in the Western and American culture, (3) The Industrial Revolution, and (4) The unimaginable *barbarism* and *cruelty* that the Southern plantation owners inflicted on the African-American slaves for hundreds of years.

The *first* theme is that while America’s independence was based on the foundation of *slavery*, America’s rulers and elites tried to *hide* behind *lofty* ideals, *sugar-coat* it, or to *pretend* that slavery was actually *good* for the slaves.

Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin levied a *serious* charge that the British *refusal* to let the colonies free *themselves* from slavery was yet another proof of the administration’s tendency to *enslave* the colonists. The most *stinging* rebuke of this charge came from the *British* author, Dr. Samuel Johnson, who rhetorically asked: How is it that we hear the *loudest* yelps for liberty among the drivers of *negroes*? The *Enlightenment* philosopher, John Locke’s was one of the leading figures in the development of *liberal* Anglo-American political thought. His ideas about what he called “*natural* rights of mankind” had a *profound* effect in the *drafting* of the Declaration of Independence. His definition of these rights included: “Life, Liberty, Health, Limb, or Goods.” He characterized “Goods” as “Property or Possessions.”

Thomas Jefferson was assigned the job of *drafting* a statement of the *Declaration of Independence*. Locke’s inclusion of *property* in the natural rights of men proved quite *troublesome* for Jefferson when *slaves* were included in “goods” or “property.” However, he cleverly *avoided* the difficulty in his 1776 formulation by the substitution of “the pursuit of happiness” for “property.”

Thus, the Second Continental Congress *approved* the Declaration of Independence document whose *opening* words are quite *lofty, powerful* and *inspiring*:

- “We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

So, Nicole-Hannah Jones is quite right that American democracy’s founding ideals were *false* when they were written, and that *Black* Americans have fought to make them true.

Abraham Lincoln, for *most* of his career, subscribed to the idea of *colonization*. He believed that a *majority* of the African-American population should *leave* the United States and *settle down* in Africa or Central America. This is because he thought this was the *best* way to *confront* the problem of slavery.

During the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln called a delegation of five free African Americans, and told them that without the institution of *slavery* and the *colored* race as a basis, there would be *no* Civil War. Therefore, it is better for us to be *separated*.

Ironically, Lincoln's above statement is like *blaming the victims* for the *sins* of the perpetrators!

The *second* theme is the persistence of ideas of *racism* in the Western culture--and in America--starting from as early as the *fifteenth* century virtually to this day.

- Zurara of Portugal wrote in 1453 about Africans that: "They lived like *beasts*, *without* any custom of reasonable beings"... and "they had *no* understanding of good, but only knew how to live in *bestial sloth*."
- The Enlightenment movement gave *birth* to the idea of *society* as a *social* construct. It is during this period that the notion of "*light is white is right*" gained *wide* acceptance that included Isaac Newton and John Locke.
- In 1706, Rev. Cotton Mather, New England's *leading* Puritan theologian--a slave owner himself—wrote that *ownership* of African slaves was a concrete expression of *God's* will.
- In his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, economist Adam Smith said that the wealth of nations comes from a nation's *productive* capacity which the African nations *lacked*.
- Like all slaveholders—and many others in American society—Thomas Jefferson considered Negroes as *inferior*, *childlike*, *untrustworthy*, and as *property*. After the publication of his book "*Notes*," Jefferson became the *preeminent* American authority on Black intellectual *inferiority*.
- Jefferson Davis, who became president of the Confederate States in 1861, considered Black people as biologically *distinct* and *inferior* to White people.
- In 1849 Dr. Samuel Cartwright was engaged to investigate "the *diseases* and physical *peculiarities*" of the *negro* population. Under the threat of the *abolitionist* movement, the 250-year-old institution of slavery sorely needed a "*scientific*" rationale in defense of slavery. This was part of the long, *insidious effort* of what historians call *scientific racism*. This involved spreading *bogus* theories of *supposed* black inferiority, in an effort "to *rationalize* slavery, and *centuries* of social and economic *domination* and *plunder*."
- In Dr. Cartwright's mind the slaves were even *beneath* the human desire for freedom, and so he branded them as *diseased*.
- As early as the *early* 1800s, White Americans, had a considerable psychological as well as economic *investment* in the doctrine of black *inferiority*. Whereas *liberty* was the inalienable right of *Whites*, *slavery* and *subjugation* became the natural fate of those who had any discernible *drop* of *Black*.
- The U.S. Supreme Court *enshrined* the above thinking into *law* in its 1857 *Dred Scott* decision, with a ruling that *black* people came from a "*slave*" *race*. As such, this made them *inferior* to white people, and therefore, *incompatible* with American democracy.

- In his 1944 landmark study of race relations, Swedish economist and Nobel Laureate, Gunnar Myrdal, wrote that American Negro culture is...a *distorted* development, or a *pathological* condition, of the general American culture.”
- In the early 1900s the *scientifically*-backed enterprise of *eugenics* became extremely *popular* among its advocates. It was based on the notion that a “race” could--and *should*--be *purified* by *selective* breeding--and the *elimination* of flawed people.
- During *Holocaust* Hitler’s Nazis committed a *genocide* of 6 million Jews. Thus, it took such a *horrific* event as *Holocaust*, to show the world that advocating *eugenics* was like playing with *fire*; and that how *devastating* and *deadly* the consequences of such a *race*-based ideology could be.
- *Mainstream* scientists, geneticists and medical researchers still invoke *race*, and use these categories in their work that we have been told for 70 years that they have *no* biological meaning: only a *social* meaning. Yet, a *worldwide* network of stubborn *eugenicists* quietly *founded* journals, and funded *shoddy* research that was eventually *cited* in reputable publications.
- One example where such “shoddy studies” were *cited* is the famous book, *The Bell Curve*. The book claims that *intelligence* is a *genetically*-associated characteristic of *race*. A panel of scholars and testing experts claim that the book is *scientifically flawed*.
- What black *inferiority* means has *changed* in every generation...but ultimately Americans have been making the *same* case. Many Americans are *blind* to the origin of *racist* ideas, and think that there’s such a thing as “*black* blood and *black* diseases,” and that “black people are by nature *predisposed* to dancing and athletics.”
- Finally, in a 2012 article in the *Scientific American*, the authors reported that 85.5% of genetic variation is *within* the so-called races, *not* between them. So, the consensus among Western researchers *today* is that human races are *not* part of a scientific theory, but are *sociocultural* constructs.

So, based on the *massive* evidence presented above, it seems quite appropriate to quote Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, that American *slavery* is necessarily imprinted on the *DNA* of American capitalism (Desmond, 2019).

Theme *three* is the *Industrial Revolution* that was founded on *three* pillars. *One* was the centuries-earlier *conquest* by the Europeans of a *colossal* expanse of lands in the New World. The *second* pillar was that the Europeans drastically—and unilaterally--*altered* the global competitive landscape of *cotton*. They did it by using their *military might*, and the *willingness* to use it—often *violently*--to their advantage.

One major *casualty* of this *ruthless* mind-set was the *deindustrialization* of India, which was the world’s *leading* manufacturer of *high-quality* cotton fabrics. The British systematically *destroyed* India’s textile industry. *Ironically*, the British used *Indian* cotton, and exported the *finished* product *back* to India, thus *adding insult to injury*.

The third—and the *most* important pillar--was *slavery*: without which there would be *no* Industrial Revolution.

Theme *four* is the unimaginable *barbarism* and *cruelty* that the Southern plantation owners *inflicted* on the African slaves for hundreds of years:

- For eighty years--from the 1780s to 1865--almost a *million* people were *herded* down the road from the upper South to the lower South and the West, to *toil* on cotton plantations. The thirty-odd men walked in *coffles*, the *double* line hurrying in lock-step. Each hauled *twenty* pounds of iron, *chains* that draped from neck-to-neck, and wrist-to-wrist, binding them all together.
- They walked for miles, days, and weeks, and many covered over 700 miles. *Stumbling* with fatigue, *staggering* with whiskey...many covered over 700 miles before stepping off the road...After weeks of *wading* rivers, *crossing* state lines, and *climbing* mountain roads...they had moved their bodies *across* the frontier between the *old* slavery and the *new*.
- When slaves went into the field, they took with them *social* connections and affective ties. Slaves worked alongside people they *knew*, people they had *raised*, and people they would *bury*. They talked, they sang, they laughed, they suffered, they remembered their *ancestors* and their *God*, the *rhythms* of their lives working through and over those of their work. We *cannot* any more separate slaves' labor from their *humanity* than we can separate the ability of a *human hand* to pick cotton from its ability to *caress* the cheek of a crying child, the *aching* of a stooped back in the field from the arc of a body bent in *supplication*.
- Finally, one of the most *brutal* weapons the planters employed against the slaves, was the *whip*: ten feet of plaited *cowhide*. When facing the *specter* of an overseer's whip, slaves were so *terrified* that they could *not* speak in sentences. They *danced*, *trembled*, *babbled*, and *lost* control of their bodies.

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- Jeffrey Ostler for his article: "The shameful final grievance of the Declaration of Independence."

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Notes

Note 1. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thirteen_Colonies

Note 2. <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/slavery>

Note 3. <https://www.history.com/topics/american-revolution/american-revolution-history>

Note 4. <https://www.monticello.org/slavery/slavery-faqs/property/>

Note 5. See Note 12.

Note 6. David Waldstreicher is Professor of History at Temple University.

Note 7. Robert Parkinson is an Associate Professor of History at Binghamton University. He is the author of *Thirteen Clocks: How Race United the Colonies and Made the Declaration of Independence* (2021). His *Time* article is based on that book.

Note 8. A caravel is a small fast Spanish or Portuguese sailing ship of the 15-17th centuries.

Note 9. The book's title was: *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*.

Note 10. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Jefferson/Slavery-and-racism>

Note 11. Gunnar Myrdal (1996). *An American Dilemma, vol. 2. The Negro problem and modern democracy* (pp. 828-829). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Note 12. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stephen_Jay_Gould

Note 13. <https://www.vox.com/2018/4/10/17182692/bell-curve-charles-murray-policy-wrong>

Note 14. Jan Anthony Sapp is a professor of Biology at York University, Canada.

Note 15. <https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war/american-civil-war-history>

Note 16. The movement to end slavery.

Note 17. <https://history.com/news/5-things-you-may-not-know-about-lincoln-slavery-and-emancipation>

Note 18. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/slavery-abolished-in-america>

Note 19. <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/fourteenth-amendmen>

Note 20. <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/fifteenth-amendment>

Note 21. <https://www.history.com/topics/early-20th-century-us/jim-crow-laws>

Note 22. <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/voting-rights-act>

Note 23. https://www.google.com/search?q=water+wheel+ancient+egypt&ei=KEp_Yc3sOaeCwbkPyqiY2As&oq=water+wheel+and+egypt&gs_lcp=Cgnd3Mtd2l6EAEYATIGCAAQFhAeMgYIABAWEB46BwgAEecQsAM6BQgAEJECogUIABCABDoLCC4QxwEQrweQkQI6CwguEIAEEMcBEK8BOg4ILhCABBBDHARCvARCTAkoECEEYAFCsflj2tAFg68oBaARwAngAgAF_iAHHDZIBBDcuMTCYAQCgAQHIAQjAAQE&sclient=gws-wiz

Note 24. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/congress-abolishes-the-african-slave-trade>

Note 25. For an understanding of the 2008 financial crisis, see Datta (2010).

Note 26. Antebellum represents the period after 1812 and before the Civil War.