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Cotton Industry and the rise of Slavery in America

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Abstract
Four years after the Declaration of American Independence, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts had emancipated their slaves; and, eight years thereafter, Connecticut and Rhode Island followed their example. Three years after this, an abolition society was organized by the citizens of the State of New York, with John Jay at its head. Two years subsequently, the Pennsylvanians did the same thing, electing Benjamin Franklin to the presidency of their association. The same year, too, slavery was forever excluded, by act of Congress, from the Northwest Territory. This year is also memorable as having witnessed the erection of the first cotton mill in the United States, at Beverley, Massachusetts. Simultaneously the cotton gin was invented, and an unparalleled impulse given to the cultivation of cotton. Then started a new race for cotton production and the subsequent slave importation from Africa. The cotton empire was created in America with its unscrupulous slave trade that even the Emancipation Proclamation could not stop.
The main objective of this paper is to draw the parallel between cotton cultivation in America and the rise of slave importation from Africa. The use of quantitative method has helped to make the link between the volume of the cotton produced and the number of slaves in the same period.
Keywords: America, cotton mill, Africa, slaves, Southern States.

Résumé
Quatre ans après la déclaration de l'indépendance américaine, la Pennsylvanie et le Massachusetts avaient émancipé leurs esclaves; huit ans plus tard, le Connecticut et le Rhode Island suivaient l'exemple des premiers. Trois ans plus tard, une société d'abolition était crée par les citoyens de l'État de New York, avec à sa tête John Jay. Deux ans plus tard, les Pennsylvaniens ont fait la même chose en élisant Benjamin Franklin à la présidence de leur association. La même année aussi, l'esclavage a été exclu à jamais, par acte du Congrès, du Territoire du Nord-Ouest. Cette année est également mémorable car elle a enregistré la première usine de coton aux États-Unis à Beverley, Massachusetts. Simultanément, la machine à égrener le coton a été inventée et une impulsion sans précédent a été donnée à la culture du coton. Alors a commencé une nouvelle course pour la production du coton et l'importation subséquente d'esclaves de l'Afrique. L'empire du coton a été créé en Amérique avec son commerce sans scrupules d'esclaves, tel que même la proclamation d'émancipation ne pouvait arrêter.
L'objectif principal de cet article est d'établir un parallèle entre la culture du coton en Amérique et la montée de l'importation d'esclaves en provenance d'Afrique. L'utilisation de la méthode quantitative a permis d'établir le lien entre le volume de coton produit et la croissance du nombre d'esclaves trafiqués au cours de la même période.
Mots-clés : Amérique, usine de coton, Afrique, esclaves, Etats du Sud

Introduction

Of The Many Post-Neolithic Slave Societies, those of the European-dominated Americas appear to have had the most obvious economic foundations. According to Blackburn (1988:7) in a widely read survey, "The Slaves of the New World were economic property, and the main motive for slaveholding was economic exploitation." Historians are careful to distance themselves from purely economic theories of human behavior, but on this issue the distance is usually rather short. The often bitter debates on the nature and meaning of New World slavery have produced few since Adam Smith who questioned the basic motivation of the early

plantation owners. Simply put, people from one continent forced those from a second continent to produce a narrow range of consumer goods in a third- having first found the third's native population inadequate to their purpose. Even those who have wrestled with the relationship between racism and slavery have seen the racial basis of American slavery primarily as an economic phenomenon. Slaves from Africa were used to grow cotton, sugar and other plantation crops, it has been argued, because they comprised the least-cost option. Even Frederickson (1988:194), the historian who has perhaps looked furthest beyond class and economics for the sources of racism, has written that if white slavery had appeared profitable, it would have been introduced.Indeed, Americans used the cheapest option possible in order to make more profits especially for cotton production among other cash crops.The relationship between cotton and the African American experience has been central to the history of the republic. Cotton was arguably the single most important determinant of American history in the nineteenth Century. It prolonged slavery and slave-produced cotton caused the American Civil War, the bloodiest conflict which came close to destroying the nation.

In this quantitative study, I have undertaken to explain how cotton contributed to the upsurge of slavery in the Americas and the drawbacks African-Americans.

Definition and evolution of cotton

Cotton has a very long and interesting history in the world and is one of the oldest known fibers. The word cotton comes from an arabic word ‘qutun’ or ‘kutun’ used to describe any fine textile and some of the earliest fabric relics found in excavations of ancient civilizations were cotton.Archaeologists found cotton fabric 5,000 years old at Mohenjo Daro, an ancient town in the Indus River Valley of West Pakistan, and similarly aged examples have been found in Egypt and Mexico. Although the cotton plant is thought to have initially grown wild in East Africa, it was first cultivated in the country now known as Pakistan where its early uses were as a textile for clothing, bindings for sandals and harnesses for elephants. The Greek historian, Herodotus (484 – 425 BC) wrote about a tree in Asia that bore cotton ‘exceeding in goodness and beauty the wool of any sheep.’ Cotton was widely used in the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Indian sub-continent. Early Mediterranean traders, the Ionians and Phoenicians introduced cotton materials to Europe.

Over the next 2,000 years, cotton, wool and silk became the preferred fibers for fine fabrics acrossthe developed world. In less developed and warmer countries where cotton farming,

home spinning and village industry were interlocked – cotton was dominant, and still is, 2,000 years later. In more developed countries the surge in cotton consumption was triggered by the Industrial Revolution of the late 18th Century. Spinning mills sprang up in places like Manchester which led to ports like Liverpool becoming major cotton shipping centers. With access to slave labor and new Upland types of cotton, the American colonies, soon to become the USA, provided much of the raw cotton. With lower production costs, cotton became more affordable and its popularity soared. During this period, specialty cotton including Egyptian, Sea Island (Caribbean and South East USA) and Tanguis (Peru) became highly prized for use in very soft and fine fabrics.

However, the American Civil War changed things; European nations were forced to look for other sources of supply and the British looked to their then colonies, including Australia.

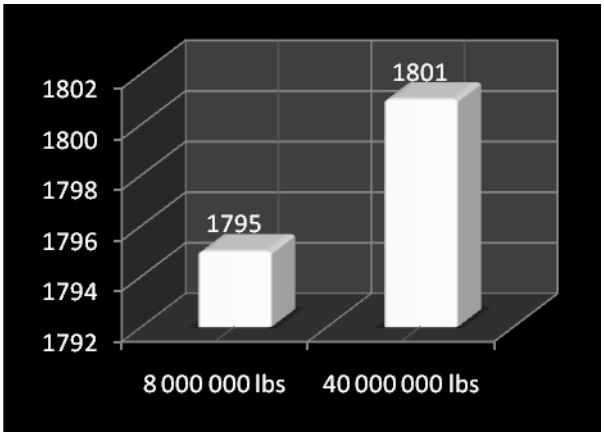
The first culture of cotton in the United States for the purpose of raising a material to be worked up into a fabric was pursued on the peninsula between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays as early as 1736, it having been before that time chiefly regarded as an ornamental plant, and reared only in gardens on the eastern shore of Mary land, the lower counties of Delaware, and occasional localities in the Middle States. Previously to this date—about 1733—its culture seems to have been experimentally undertaken in South Carolina, where it was to be met with in gardens. An exportation of seven bags from Charleston, in 1747-8, is recorded; but doubt is thrown upon its growth in the colony. A few years later it was a recognized production of the Carolinas, in a very small way, as also of French Louisiana. But cotton was not to any appreciable extent a production of the Southern States anterior to the Revolutionary War, and its use as a material to be spun and woven, with its relative value as an article of national wealth, was hardly thought of in comparison with hemp and flax. Whatever was raised was consumed at home, and in 1770 the total entries of American cotton at Liverpool amounted to three bales from New York, four from Virginia and Maryland, and three barrels from North Carolina.

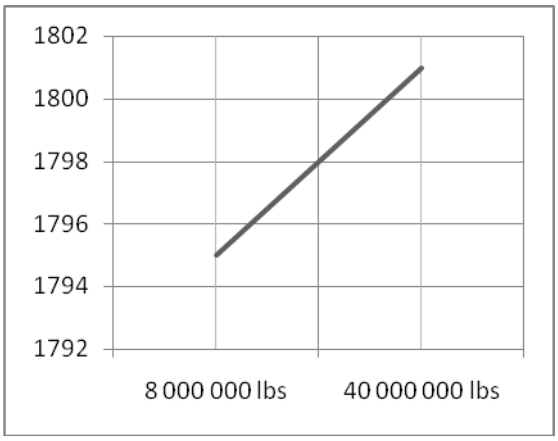
In 1784 an importation of eight bags of cotton at Liverpool was seized, on the assumption that so large a quantity could not have been of American production. The next year, however, the exportation from Charleston regularlycommenced, one hag being shipped to England from that city. During the same twelvemonth twelve bags were entered at Liverpool from Philadelphia, and one from New York. The increase thenceforward was marked. The bag averaged 150 lbs., and from 1786 to 1790 the following quantities were exported: 1786, 6

bags; 1787, 109 bags; 1788, 389 bags; 1789, 842 bags; 1790, 81 bags—aggregating 1441 bags, or 216,150 lbs.

In 1786 the culture of cotton had become so successful that Mr. Madison, in a convention at Annapolis, Md ., called to consider the depressed condition of the country, remarked, in his address, that "there was no reason todoubt the United States would one day become a great cotton-growing country."

The invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 gave an impulse to the culture of the plant. From his invention,the labor of one man could clean for market a thousand pounds of cotton instead of the five or six pounds by the usual hand process. In 1795 South Carolina exported $1,109,653 in value of production, and the growth of the whole country reached 8,000,000 lbs., of which three quarters were shipped abroad. In 18o1 the product aggregated 40,000,000 lbs., of which half was exported, South Carolina alone yielding 8,000,000 lbs. The following graph is an illustration.





The history of cotton manufacture in the United States commences with the organization of a factory at Beverly, Mass, in 1787. Previously whatever cotton had been made into cloth had been spun on the ordinary spinning - wheel, which was a property of nearly every household, and woven on the hand-loom. The first spinning jenny seen in America was exhibited in Philadelphia, in 1 775, constructed by a Mr. Christopher Tully after the plan of Hargreaves. This machine, spinning twenty-four threads, was secured by an association of persons desirous to establish domestic enterprise, who formed themselves into a company, termed "The United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures." This Company, besides operating Tully's machine, employed four hundred women in hand-spinning and weaving. The Company was speedily a success, the stock rising from its par value of £10 to 17 6s. 6d. in two years. The business, however, was not long carried on by the

Company, but in a few years was controlled by one of the directors, Samuel Wetherill, who during the Revolution had contracts for woolen fabrics for the army.

Samuel Slater, a native of Derbyshire, born in 1768 , when fourteen years of age was apprenticed to Jedediah Strutt, at Milford, a cotton manufacturer and partner with Sir Richard Arkwright in the spinning business . He served Mr. Strutt the full time of his engagement (six years and a half), and continued still longer with him superintending the construction of new works, his design in so doing being to perfect his knowledge of the business in every department. On the 17th of November, 1789, he landed at New York. In 1798 Slater, associating himself with Oziel and William Wilkinson and Timothy Green, under the firm name of Samuel Slater & Co., started a new factory in Pawtucket. In 1806, in connection with his brother John, who came from England bringing a knowledge of the most recent improvements and processes, he organized a new establishment in Smithfield, R. I., which developed into the present large village of Salyersville.

David Anthony, one of the founders of cotton manufacturing in Fall River, who died in 1867, from 1808 to 1812 was in the employ of Samuel Slater, and of the brothers Wilkinson. For the former he entertained a most exalted esteem, often speaking of him as "the father of the cotton manufacturing business in this country." "He was not only a manufacturer of cotton and the first in the business, as machinist and mathematician, but he was a rare business man. He was always attired in his business suit of velvets" (the dress worn in the cotton mills of the period), "and looked like an overseer so far as outward appearance indicated his position. His pay for taking the agency of two mills was $1.50 per day from each. He was, of course, by no means an educated man, but he was a constant worker, saying of himself that sixteen hours' labor a day, Sundays excepted, for twenty years, had been no more than fair exercise."

The introduction of the Arkwright "perpetual spinning" system by Samuel Slater gave an almost immediate impulse to cotton manufacturing throughout the country. Several persons, learning the processes under him, left his employment and started individual enterprises. The celebrated “New York Mills" at Utica originated in a small factory put up in 1807-8, by B. S. Wolcott, Jr., who worked in Pawtucket. The first factory in New Hampshire was put in operation in 1804, by one Robbins, another of Slater's graduates. At Cumberland, R. I., a mill was started in 1801; and at Rehoboth, Mass., opposite to Pawtucket, R I ., a second factory (the first being Slater's "White Mill ") was erected in 1805 .

The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gallatin, in his report on domestic industry, April 17, 1810, made the following statement:“During the three succeeding years, ten mills were

erected or commenced in Rhode Island, and one in Connecticut, making altogether fifteen mills erected before the year 18o8, working at that time 8000 spindles. Returns have been received of 87 mills, which were erected at the end of the year 1809, 62 of which were in operation, and worked 31,000 spindles, and the other 25 will be in operation in the course of the year 1810."

According to Benedict's History of Rhode Island, in 1809 "there were17 cotton mills in operation within the town of Providence and its vicinity, working 14,296 spindles; and in 1812 there were said to be, within thirty miles of Providence, in the State of Rhode Island, 33 factories, of 30,660spindles; and in Massachusetts 20 factories, of 17,370 spindles, making 53factories, running 48,030 spindles.

Cotton factories were started at Watertown, Mass., in 1807; at Fitchburgin 1807; at Dedham in 1808; in Dorchester in 1811, and in Walthamin 1813. In 1808 the companies at Peterborough and Exeter, N. H., were

organized ; in 1809, one at Chesterfield ; in 1810, one at Milford, Swanzey, Cornish, and Amoskeag Falls ; in 1811, one at Walpole, Hillsborough, and Meredith ; there being at the commencement of the second war probably fifteen cotton mills in New Hampshire, operating from six to seven thousands pindles.

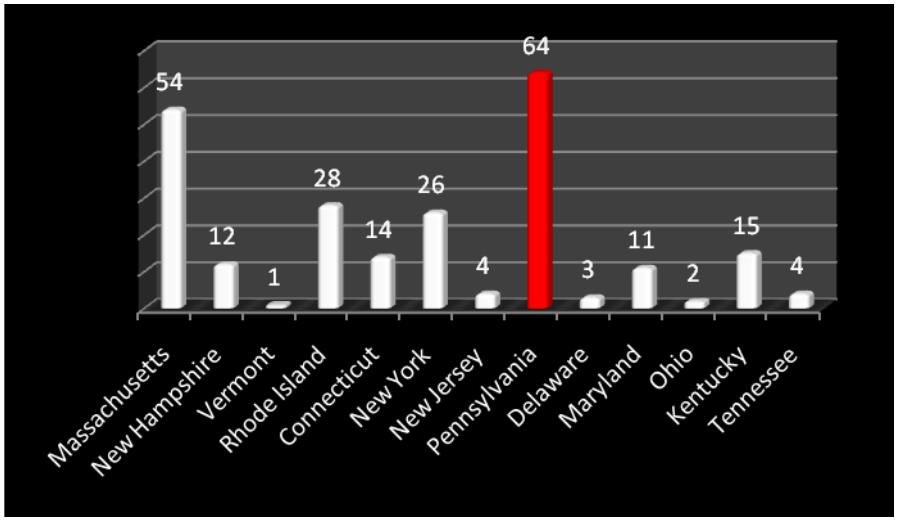
The first cotton factory in Maine, then a district of Massachusetts, wasbuilt at Brunswick in 1809.

The Census of 1810 furnishes the following classification of the industry by States:

N°	States	Number of cotton industries
1	Massachusetts	54
2	New Hampshire	12
3	Vermont	1
4	Rhode Island	28
5	Connecticut	14
6	New York	26

N°	States	Number of cotton industries
7	New Jersey	4
8	Pennsylvania	64
9	Delaware	3
10	Maryland	11
11	Ohio	2
12	Kentucky	15
13	Tennessee	4

The following graphs based on the Census of 1810 that furnishes the following classification of the cotton industry by States can make more visible the very dominance of Pennsylvania and the performance of Massachusetts:



The war of 1812, of necessity raising the price of cloth extraordinarily (articles, previously imported from England, and sold at 17 to 20 cents per yard, bringing 75 cents by the package), stimulated the infant industry in such a degree, that at its close there were reported, within a short radius of Providence, 96 mills, aggregating 65,264 spindles . The average number of spindles in mills of the period was 500; the largest in the country, that of Almy, Brown & Slater, ran 5170.

In 1815 was compiled for a committee of manufacturers a statement of the number of mills and spindles. This statement, made for the purpose of providing a just basis for assessment to pay the expenses of an agent to represent the manufacturing interest before Congress, furnishes the subjoined items:

N°	STATES	MILLS	Spindles
1	Rhode Island	99	68,14 2
2	Massachusetts	52	39,468
3	Connecticut	14	11,700
	Total	165	119,310

The Committee on Manufactures of the United States House of Representatives the same year, in a report to Congress, tabulated the condition of the cotton-manufacturing industry, as follows:

Capital $40, 000,000

Males employed, of the age of 17.....10,000

Males employed, of the age under 17.....24,000

Females, including children..... 66,000

Wages of 100,000, averaging $1 .50 per week (sic)..... 15,000,000

Cotton manufactured, 90,000 bales..... 27,000,000

Number of yards 81,000,000

Cost, averaging 30 cents per yard 24,300,000

Succeeding the close of the war of 1812, and prior to the effective operation of the tariff of 1816, a severe and general depression fell upon the industry, many companies suspending, and the strongest struggling on with difficulty.

From 1815 to 1820, a second revolution in the business, hardly less important in its results than the introduction of the water spinning-frames had been, was to be experienced in the addition of the power-loom to the series of mill processes. Previously to this application of power, the work of manufacture in the factory had been limited to the carding, drawing, and spinning stages. The product of yarn was sent out to be woven into cloth on hand-looms, and, as will be seen in subsequent pages, more than half the drudgery and detail of the mill agent was to conduct the manifold and complex system of outside production. The mills in the neighborhood of Providence kept wagons running constantly into the rural districts, invading both Massachusetts and Connecticut, bearing out yarn to be woven and returning with the product of the hand-looms, worked by the farmers' wives and daughters of the country side. In the period anterior to the introduction of jennies and water-frames, and the assembling of the different stages of preparation under organized systems of factory labor, all the details of cloth-making had been the legitimate pursuits of the domestic circle. Thomas Jefferson—who was himself a household manufacturer of this early type, having two spinning-wheels, a carding-machine, and a loom in his dwelling, by which his home folk made more than two thousand yards of cloth annually—though finally an advocate and even a partisan of organized factory industry, was in 1786 an eloquent writer in behalf of the time-honored custom of production in the family. It was not, indeed, without at least a show of resistance, that the old style gave way to the new, the former subsidizing the same art of invention to its support, through which the latter has won its eventual triumph. In 1812, when the water-frame with its seventy-two or more spindles was building up the industry in constantly increasing mills, portable spinning-frames capable of spinning from six to twenty-four threads, made expressly for family use, were sold about the country, meeting particular welcome in districts remote from the manufacturing centers. The construction of these domestic Jennies and Billies -as they were termed- was pursued on quite a large scale. The twelves-pindlebilly sold for $48 ; the carding-machine, suitable for a large house -hold, $60 ; the spinning-machine, for cotton, of twelve spindles, $2 5 ; and the loom, with flying shuttle, weaving twenty yards a day, $65 . At the great Industrial Exhibition of this first Centennial of the Nation, in the

American department, were to be seen instances not only of the old foot-worked spinning-wheel, but likewise of these later more pretentious devices, by which the lingering spirit of old time housewifery sought to assert itself against the progressive future.

The power-loom, though invented by Cartwright and put in operation at Doncaster, in 1785, was not recognized as a success, or even as a practicable suggestion, when Samuel Slater left the old country. Improved by various succeeding inventors, and finally made practical through the warp-dressing appliance of Radcliffe and Ross, and the modifications of its working details by Horrocks in 1813, it had by that year become an object of favorable consideration with the English manufacturers, and, despite the riotous antagonism of the hand weavers, two thousand four hundred were in use in Great Britain. Some years prior to this, rumors of the invention had reached the United States, and (though as in the case of the water-frames the impossibility of securing models or drawings of the invention was well enough known) stimulated the leaders of domestic cotton manufacture to efforts in the same direction. As early as 1806, according to Mr. Samuel Batchelder, whose brief record of the cotton manufacture in the United States has revealed that T. M. Mussey, at Exeter, produced a loom capable of weaving, but possessing no claim as a labor-saving machine. About the same time a vertical loom was made at Dorchester, and Mr. Batchelder saw another in operation at Dedham, weaving about twenty yards of coarse cloth per day. Neither of these was, however, superior to the hand-loom in economical results.

The following memoranda of various attempts to weave by power in Rhode Island during the years of the war, when cotton manufacturing was making its first extraordinary advance in that State, have been furnished for this work by the Hon. Zachariah Allen, of Providence:"In March, 1812, John Thorpe, of Providence, obtained a patent for a vertical power-loom, and put it in operation in the mill of Henry Franklin at Johnston. About the same time Samuel Blydenburgh made and put in operation at the Lyman Mill, in North Providence, twelve power-looms for weaving cotton cloth.

Thomas R. Williams soon after (1813) followed, putting in operation several looms. Mr. Elijah Ormsbee constructed several power-looms near Providence in 1814.Mr. Silas Shepherd, of Taunton, states that he constructed an experimental power-loom in 1811, and, in the winter of 1812, commenced making them for sale in connection with John Thorpe.

But all of these looms failed of successful operation on account of the imperfect system of dressing and beaming the warps, and also for want of a device to prevent the smashing the warp when the shuttle failed to go through the web to its place in the box .

Mr. Francis C. Lowell introduced power-looms into the Waltham Mill, operated by a cam and weight to act on the lay to beat in the filling. This pattern of loom was copied from the work on weaving by John Duncan, Plate XIV. These looms were put in operation in 1814, and all the operations of making the yarn, dressing it, and weaving were performed in superior manner, taking precedence.

The first cotton mill in which all parts of the manufacture were accomplished to delivery of the finished cloth, in Rhode Island, was in Olneyville, belonging to Henry Franklin and John Waterman. The first wide looms for weaving woollen broadcloth were put in operation in Allendale, North Providence, in the year 1826.

The increase of Slave importation

A slave is merelya "chattel" in a human form; a thing to be bought and sold, and treated worse than a brute; a being without rights, privileges, or duties. The words slave and servant are perfectly synonymous, and differ only in being derived from different languages. The one idea of servitude, or of obedience to the will of another, is accurately expressed by all these terms. In most countries of the world, especially in former times, the persons of the slaves were the absolute property of the master, and might be used or abused, as caprice or passion might dictate. Under the Jewish law, a slave might be beaten to death by his master, and yet the master goes entirely unpunished, unless the slave died outright under his hand. Under the Roman law, slaves had no rights whatever, and were scarcely recognized as human beings; indeed, they were sometimes drowned in fish-ponds, to feed the eels. So many aspects can be raised in terms of definitions and conditions of slaves. However these considerations can lead me far away from my objective which is to investigate the subsequent rise of enslaved Africans in the period of cotton boom.

As a matter of fact, the transatlantic slave trade produced one of the largest forced migrations in history. From the early 16th century to the mid-19th century, between 10 and 11 million Africans were torn from their homes, herded onto ships where they were sometimes so tightly packed that they could barely move, and deposited in a strange new land. The largest importers of slaves were Brazil and the Caribbean sugar colonies which received over three-quarters of all Africans brought to the New World. About six percent of the total came to the United States for cotton production and other servitudes. By the eve of the American Revolution, slaves constituted about 40 percent of the population of the southern mainland colonies, with the highest concentration in South Carolina, where well over half the

population were slaves. The South's most important agricultural product, following Eli Whitney's 1793 invention of the cotton gin(short for "engine"), which permitted commercial use of American short-staple cotton; closely bound up with slavery in the United States and with late 19th-century sharecropping (an agriculturally based economic system in which farmers exchange crops for use of land).

Cotton was also the foundation of the Industrial Revolution and thus transformed the economic world. Its significance was not lost upon the twenty-two-year-old political economist Karl Marx, who wrote in 1846 that "without cotton you have no modern industry." For Marx, the relationship between cotton and slavery was similarly unambiguous: "Without slavery, you have no cotton." Cotton brought wealth, power, and prosperity to both America and Europe. Affordable textile garments woven from American cotton improved the quality of life for people throughout the world.

Cotton has become a fact of world-wide notoriety. *Blackwood's Magazine,* January, 1853,in referring to the cultivation of cotton on page eleven, by the United States, says :

"With its increased growth has sprung up that mercantilenavy, which now waves its stripes and stars over every sea, andthat foreign influence, which has placed the internal peace - we may say the subsistence of millions in every manufacturingcountry in Europe- within the power of an oligarchy ofplanters."

In reference to the same subject, cotton production, David Christy, in 1855, wrote *Cotton is King*, a book on political economy in which he quoted the *London Economist* as follows:

> Let any great social or physical convulsion visit the United States, and England would feel the shock from Land's End toJohn O'Groats. The lives of nearly two millions of our countrymenare dependent upon the cotton crops of America; theirdestiny may be said, without any kind of hyperbole, to hang upona thread. Should any dire calamity befall the land of cotton, athousand of our merchant ships would rot idly in dock ; ten thousandmills must stop their busy looms ; two thousand thousandmouths would starve, for lack of food to feed them.(D. Chisty, 1855:3)

Still on page 3 David Christy reports James Henry Hammond, Senator from the South Carolina, declared on 4 March 1858 before the United States Senate, upon the admission of Kansas. He declared: "What would happen if no cotton furnished for three years? I will not stop to depict what every one can imagine, but this is certain: England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No, you dare not make war upon cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is king".

Cotton is king and as such it influenced the whole world. No civilization could resist its power. It generated material progress. But this material progress came with a human cost, for cotton production played the leading role in a tragedy of epic racial proportions. Cotton production influenced the volume of slave importation from African coasts. Table 1 can illustrate the drama of human traffic through the following data provided by David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, et al. The volume of the traffic peaked from 1776 to 1800 due to the cotton gin invention in 1793.

TABLE I
VOLUME OF THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE FROM AFRICA BY NATIONALITY OF CARRIER (IN THOUSANDS).

	Britain	*France*	*Netherlands*	*Spain*	*United States and British Caribbean*	*Denmark**	*Portugal*	*All Nations*
1519–1600	2.0						264.1	266.1
1601–1650	23.0		41.0				439.5	503.5
1651–1675	115.2	5.9	64.8			0.2	53.7	239.8
1676–1700	243.3	34.1	56.1			15.4	161.1	510.0
1701–1725	380.9	106.3	65.5		11.0	16.7	378.3	958.6
1726–1750	490.5	253.9	109.2		44.5	7.6	405.6	1,311.3
1751–1775	859.1	321.5	148.0	1.0	89.1	13.4	472.9	1,905.2
1776–1800	741.3	419.5	40.8	8.6	54.3	30.4	626.2	1,921.1
1801–1825	257.0	217.9**	2.3	204.8**	81.1	10.5	871.6**	1,645.1
1826–1850		94.1**		279.2**			1,247.7**	1,621.0
1851–1867		3.2**		23.4**			154.2**	180.8
All Years	3,112.3	1,456.4	527.7	517.0	280.0	94.2	5,074.9	11,062.0
Share of Trade	28.1%	13.2%	4.8%	4.7%	2.5%	0.9%	45.9%	100.0%

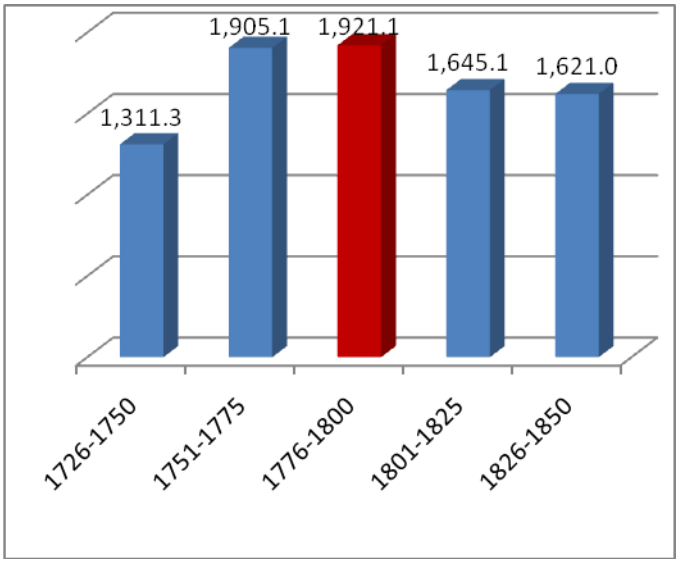
Source: David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, 1999), adjusted according to text.

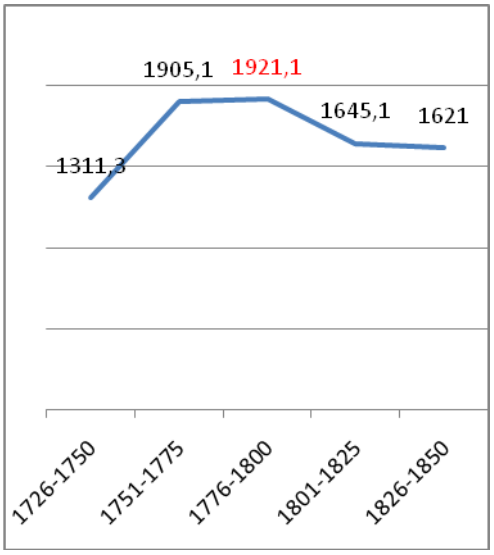
* Denmark includes vessels from a few other Scandinavian and German nations.

**For the 1810–1867 period, shares of slave vessels sailing under Portuguese, French, and Spanish flags are calculated from the dataset and applied to the estimates of slave departures and arrivals (2.7 million departures, 2.4 million arrivals) in Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987), 250–54. The amounts are: French ships, 301,300 departures from Africa, 262,200 arrivals in the Americas; Portuguese ships, 1,944,600 departures, 1,692,500 arrivals; and Spanish ships, 493,000 departures, 429,100 arrivals.

French engagés taken during the 1850s and 1860s are not in the present estimates.

Totals have been rounded; for exact numbers, see <http://www.wm.edu/oieahc>.





I can notice that the period just after the peak (1776-1800), the traffic lowered simply because of the Slave Trade Act enacted March 2, 1807. In fact, it was an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom prohibiting the slave trade in the British Empire. Although it did not abolish the practice of slavery, it did encourage British action to press other nations to abolish their own slave trades. The volume of slaves was more and more decreasing because of a new abolition Act of 1833. The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 abolished slavery throughout the British Empire. This Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom expanded the jurisdiction of the Slave Trade Act 1807, making the purchase or ownership of slaves illegal within the British Empire.

TABLE II
VOLUME OF TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE DEPARTURES BY REGION (IN THOUSANDS).

	Senegambia	*Sierra Leone*	*Windward Coast*	*Gold Coast*	*Bight of Benin*	*Bight of Biafra*	*West Central Africa*	*Southeast Africa*	*All Regions*
1519–1600	10.7	2.0		10.7	10.7	10.7	221.2		266.0
1601–1650	6.4			5.2	2.4	25.5	461.9	2.0	503.5
1651–1675	17.7	0.4	0.1	35.4	21.9	58.6	104.3	1.2	239.8
1676–1700	36.5	3.5	0.7	50.3	223.5	51.5	132.6	10.9	509.5
1701–1725	39.9	7.1	4.2	181.7	408.3	45.8	257.2	14.4	958.6
1726–1750	69.9	10.5	14.3	186.3	306.1	166.0	552.8	5.4	1,311.3
1751–1775	130.4	96.9	105.1	263.9	250.5	340.1	714.9	3.3	1,905.2
1776–1800	72.4	106.0	19.5	240.7	264.6	360.4	816.2	41.2	1,921.1
1801–1825	91.7	69.7	24.0	69.0	263.3	260.3	700.9	131.8	1,610.6
1826–1850	22.8	100.4	14.4		257.3	191.5	770.6	247.5	1,604.5
1851–1867		16.1	0.6		25.9	7.3	155.0	26.8	231.7
All Years	498.5	412.7	183.0	1,043.2	2,034.6	1,517.9	4,887.5	484.5	11,062.0
Share of Trade	4.5%	3.7%	1.7%	9.4%	18.4%	13.7%	44.2%	4.4%	100.0%

Source: Eltis et al., eds., *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database,* and Table I. The distribution of slaves carried by each nation shown in Table I is first broken into five-year intervals (before 1675, intervals of a quarter century or longer), then distributed by African region. The results of this distribution are then summed by quarter century for each African region. Five-year breakdowns are readily available, and only space constraints prevent their display here.

Source: Eltis et al., eds., *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database,* and Table I. The distribution of slaves carried by each nation shown in Table I is first broken into five-year intervals (before 1675, intervals of a quarter century or longer), then distributed by African region. The results of this distribution are then summed by quarter century for each African region. Five-year breakdowns are readily available, and only space constraints prevent their display here.

The above mentioned development is not convincing enough to corroborate the correlation between cotton production and raise of slavery. The following table displays the volume of slaves from the coasts of Africa in the same periods.

The graphs here concern all the different regions put together; they do not focus on the volume related to each region.

Beginning in 1800, slaves cultivated cotton for sixty years; but free blacks were cotton laborers for nearly a hundred years after emancipation. Only the African-American migration to Northern cities where they were restricted to ghettos during World War I and the mid-twentieth-century technological revolution in cotton production ultimately separated cotton from race.

In short, from 1790 to 1860, cotton production rose greatly. So did the number of enslaved black people in the South. Using slave labor, the South raised millions of bales of cotton each year for the textile mills of England and the American Northeast. In 1820, the South earned $22 million from cotton exports. By the late 1830s, earnings from cotton exports were nearly ten times greater, close to $200 million.

As cotton earnings rose, so did the price of slaves. A male field hand sold for $300 in the 1790s. By the late 1830s, the price had jumped to $1,000. After 1808, when it became illegal to import Africans for use as slaves, the trading of slaves already in the country increased. The expansion of slavery had a major positive impact on the South's economy. But its effect on the people living there was even greater. Enslaved African Americans formed aboutone-third of the South's population in 1840. About half of them worked on large plantations with white overseers. Africa was depopulated at the same rate and Europeans more active than ever across the Atlantic Ocean for transportation and trade.

Conclusion

The number of slaves in 1790, fourteen years after the Declaration of Independence, was about 700,000. Of these, Virginia owned 293,000, and Maryland and North Carolina together, 200,000 more; and in these states, as well as in Delaware, emancipation was desired alike by statesmen and by people. Only South Carolina, which owned 107,000, and Georgia, with her 29,000, of all the states manifested a desire to prolong and maintain the odious condition of things. But there occurred a change in opinions and desires among the American people because of cotton production. Before any serious steps were taken to abolish slavery, the culture of cotton was introduced into the southern states, and secured its almost indefinite

extension and continuance. In the year 1789, only one million pounds of cotton were grown in the United States; in 1853 the produce amounted to about 1,500,000,000 of pounds. This has proved to be a great stimulus to the employment of slave labors, by which it is raised, and to the rapid multiplication of the slaves themselves. The influential circumstances were the discovery of the cotton- gin by Whitney, (in 1793), the spinning-roller by Arkwright, (in 1769) and of the power-loom by Cartwright, (in 1785.). Each of these machines removed obstacles which stood in the way of the increased consumption of cotton, and gave a new impulse to a species of cultivation, by which it is intended that slaves should meanwhile be multiplied, and slavery itself extended over new dominions. So millions and millions of Africans were herded across the Atlantic to satisfy the bulimic appetite over the production of the most influential cash crop in the United States and the rest of the world.

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