

# Signs of the Raging Storm: Slave Trade Ban and Missouri Compromise Reconsidered

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**How did the Missouri Compromise and the ending of the transatlantic  
slave trade in 1808 affect slavery economically and politically?**

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“We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal,”<sup>1</sup> wrote Thomas Jefferson in describing a society where equality and democracy would be practiced in 1776. Unfortunately, here “all men” did not include African Americans. In fact, the operation of his own plantation in Virginia directly depended on a vast amount of slave labor.<sup>2</sup> As the North and the South diverged in the industries they concentrate on, they began to disagree over the problem of slavery, so the slavery problem points the country to two directions: union or division. Under the leadership of President Jefferson, the Congress passed the Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves on March 2nd, 1807, just a week after the British Parliament passed the Slave Trade Act on February 25.<sup>3</sup> In the decades following the passage of the act, enslavement became an invisible line that divided the twenty three states,<sup>4</sup> and the situation was aggravated when the Missouri Compromise was reached on March 3, 1820. Economically, the Missouri Compromise and the ban of transatlantic slave trade differed significantly; while the Missouri Compromise deepened the southern states’ reliance on slaves for labor and led to uneven development of Missouri economy, the ban of transatlantic slave trade signaled a turning point in the slavery history because it brought about the internal slave trade and the rise of the massive cotton production in the south which heavily relied on slave labor. In terms of their political impacts, both legal acts led to similar results—they contributed to the rift between northern and southern states in the heated debate over slavery and eventually led to the Civil War.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Declaration of Independence*, July 4, 1776.

<https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript#:~:text=We%20hold%20these%20truths%20to,their%20just%20powers%20from%20the>.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Wiencek, “The Dark Side of Thomas Jefferson,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, October, 2012.

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-dark-side-of-thomas-jefferson-35976004/>.

<sup>3</sup> For the Act passed by the U.S. Congress, see The US Congress, *The Act Prohibiting the Importation of Slaves*, March 3, 1807. <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/slave-trade.html>. For the act passed by the British Parliament see The British Parliament, *The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act*, March 25th, 1807.

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/abolition.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> The U.S. Congress, *Transcript of Missouri Compromise 1820, An Act of March 2, 1807, 9th Congress, 2nd Session, 2 STAT 426, to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves; 3/2/1807; Folder 9, Leaf 87, Public Law, 9th Cong., 2nd Sess.* <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=22&page=transcript>.

As the Louisiana territory applied for statehood, a majority of its people expected to maintain their self-claimed right to own slaves. The Compromise reached with the federal government eventually granted them the legal ownership of slaves below the 36° 30' parallel. Henry Clay, the leading congressman, tried to serve as the intermediary between the territory and the Congress. The balance of power before Missouri joined the United States was stable; there were eleven anti-slavery states and eleven pro-slavery state. However, since Maine, which would later become the twenty-third slave, was openly anti-slavery, the South and slavery supporters worried that they would be outnumbered by anti-slavery states. At the same time, the North strove to win Missouri's support as a new state, so a historic vote and compromise were created. After weeks of heated debate in both houses, the compromise was finally passed in the House (90-87) and the Senate (24-20).<sup>5</sup> Most of the policy makers knew that it was far from being a perfect solution to the crisis, as Thomas Jefferson observed: "This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror."<sup>6</sup> Jefferson's apocalyptic tone revealed his deep fear that the unsolved problem of slavery will tear the young nation apart. His premonition also exposed enslavement as a major obstacle to the unity between the northern and southern states.

More specifically, the division dictated by the Missouri Compromise also led to the uneven distribution of slave labor and the gap in economic development between the two divisions. According to the map prepared by August Peterman, the slave population is heavily concentrated in the Southern tip and along the dividing line. The highest slave population density along the dividing line reached 35 percent of the overall population in the area. However, the

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<sup>5</sup> The Library of Congress, "Missouri Compromise: Primary Documents in American History." <https://guides.loc.gov/missouri-compromise/digital-collections>. Accessed March 14, 2021.

<sup>6</sup> The Independence Hall Association in Philadelphia, "23c. The Missouri Compromise." <https://www.ushistory.org/us/23c.asp>. Accessed March 14, 2021.

density of the slave population in the Southern tip was higher, reaching up to an average of 41 percent of the overall population.<sup>7</sup> In the census conducted in 1821, the federal government reported the state of Missouri demonstrated a remarkable disparity among the two kinds of colored population. For instance, the age groups of enslaved males and females under fourteen consist of 2,491 and 2,281 respectively. In contrast, the free colored males and females under 14 consist of 93 and 62 respectively.<sup>8</sup> The arbitrary division of the state not only forced a majority of the states's colored population to continue in slavery but also allowed the southern part to continue developing agriculture requiring massive slave labor, such as growing cash crops and raising livestock. The artificial division of the state disregarded the demographic structure of the state and pushed its southern part further back to the camp supporting slavery.

The compromise further impairs the states' overall industrial development. As the southern part continued its dependence on slaves, its staples remained primary commodities such as fur, hemp, corn, and tobacco. As the other northern states began expanding their manufacturing capacity by investing in machinery and technological improvements, Missouri's industrial growth mostly stayed stagnant. The study by Dr. Purdy indicates that the area along the Missouri River obviously lagged behind the Mississippi and Illinois river regions in terms of the commodity production. For instance, in the categories of beans, corn, cooperage, flower, and weed, the Missouri region yields greatly lower production in comparison with the other two river regions.<sup>9</sup> Another problem in the slavery system of Missouri is that most of its slave ownership is comparatively small in scale; the average scale fails to reach 10, so the small scale of slave labor

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<sup>7</sup> August Peterman, "Map of Slavery in the U.S., Based on the Census of 1850." 1855.  
<http://www.mappingthenation.com/index.php/viewer/index/4/2>. Accessed March 14, 2021.

<sup>8</sup> United States Census Bureau, "Missouri Compromise - Free VS Slave State."  
[https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/sis/activities/history/mh-1\\_student.pdf](https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/sis/activities/history/mh-1_student.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Harry L. Purdy, *An Historical Analysis of The Economic Growth of St Louis, 1840-1945*. 30.  
[https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/files/docs/publications/books/econgrowthstl\\_purdy\\_1945.pdf](https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/files/docs/publications/books/econgrowthstl_purdy_1945.pdf).

limits its overall agricultural production.<sup>10</sup> So as slavery continued as a legal practice in Missouri, most slave owners will find little motivation in weaning themselves from their reliance on slave labor in maintaining the small-scale farming production, which made Missouri fall behind its neighboring states in economic output and introduced industrializing processes at a slower pace.

Contrary to its intended purpose, the ban on slave trade stimulated the slave trade in the U.S. Initially, the US Constitution legalized slave trade. The Slave Trade Clause, Article 1, Section 9, Clause 1, in the US Constitution stated, “The Migration or Importation of *such Persons* as any of the State . . . shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight.” In fact, “such person” refers to slaves, as most legal experts agree.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the clause specifically dictated that it could not be altered until 1808. As a result, despite some Americans’ attempts to terminate slave trade, they had to wait for the right timing. At the beginning of the 19th century, as the British government pressured the young nation to address its slavery problem and the abolitionists in the US made urgent calls to action, the US Congress, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, finally passed the act to prohibit the importation of slaves on March 2, 1807.<sup>12</sup> The act was championed as a milestone in the abolitionist movement by the abolitionists in the country. However, their optimism proved to be illusory in the following decades of the rapid development of the domestic slave trade. While the Congress banned the slave trade due to humanitarian concerns, the ban in fact triggered the

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<sup>10</sup> Diane Mutti Burke, “Slavery on the Western Border: Missouri’s Slave System and its Collapse during the Civil War.” The Kansas City Public Library. <https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/essay/slavery-western-border-missouri%E2%80%99s-slave-system-and-its-collapse-during-civil-war>. Accessed March 18, 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Finkleman, “The American Suppression of the African Slave Trade: Lessons on Legal Change, Social Policy, and Legislation,” *Akron Law Review* 42, no. 4 (June, 2015): 451. <https://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1181&context=akronlawreview>. Accessed March 19, 2021.

<sup>12</sup> U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc. *An act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eight ... March 2, Approved*. Washington, 1810. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.22800200/>. Accessed March 19, 2021.

internal slave trade and laid the foundation for the cotton kingdom in the south. In contrast to the importation of slaves, domestic slave trade, the sale and purchase of slaves within the U.S., started even before the Revolution. While the ban was passed without engendering much debate, its supporters were not unified in their motivation. The abolitionists supported the act out of religious and ideological considerations whereas some slave traders favored the legal change due to the decreased value of slaves caused by oversupply.<sup>13</sup> However, as the ban took effect on January 1 in 1808, the supply of slaves soon shrank at the rate beyond slave traders and owners' expectations. So, the demand for slaves over the next decade quickly grew, and the slave owners and traders had to rely on the local supply of slaves. Some states in the South, Virginia for example, developed and harvested the domestic slave trade as its plantations owned a surplus of slaves.<sup>14</sup> In the meantime, shortage of slaves also spurred the smuggling of slaves from Africa and the Caribbean. Since only the importation was banned, once the slaves were secretly imported, they would be eligible for sale in public. In another word, the ban indirectly led to the rise in trafficking of black slaves. As the ban failed to bring about the overall structural change to the slavery system in the U.S. with the domestic trade exempt from regulation, it incurred more illegal importation of slaves. The internal slave trade then caused the rapid expansion of the American slave population. Aside from the geographical factors such as the climate and medical resources, as Eric Foner pointed out, the population growth stemmed from the slave owners' increased need for slave labor.<sup>15</sup> The slave owners tended to encourage their slaves to start a family and "produce" black descendants. In some cases, the black adult males were resold to

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<sup>13</sup>Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (New York: Oxford UP, 2005) 17-8, 23.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 25-7.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Martin, "End of Slave Trade Meant New Normal for America," *Tell Me More*. NPR News. January 10, 2008. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=17988106>.

another owner after he produced offspring, so his reproductive ability could be utilized anew.<sup>16</sup>

According to an accurate estimate based on census data, the slave population grew 3.3 times over half a century following the ban on the importation of slaves from 1.19 million in 1810 to 3.95 million in 1860.<sup>17</sup> The birth rate of the black slaves has a positive correlation with their population explosion. The average birth rate from 1810 to 1860 all surpassed 50 percent. In 1850, the birth rate declined a little to 54 percent but the new births arrived at a new high point at 1.53 million.<sup>18</sup> The ban on the slave importation gave rise to not only the domestic slave trade and the resulting growth in slave population but also the rise of “cotton kingdom” in the South of the country.

Since cotton farming is a highly labor intensive economic activity, it grew to rely on low-cost slave labor.<sup>19</sup> The planting, growing, and harvesting all required manual labor, so the low-cost slave labor served as the pillar of this cash crop farming. In 1833, the cotton production in states such as Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi started off at 559,210 bales in production, and by 1840, it nearly tripled and arrived at 1.53 million bales. In 1860, it soared to 5.38 million bales.<sup>20</sup> These plantations in the South often owned and managed thousands of black slaves; for example, in the Delta Country of Mississippi, a production unit was composed of a hundred black slaves. Adult females, even pregnant ones, and children would join the adult male on the fields.<sup>21</sup> The slave population surpassed white population in the South by 1860. Even the

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<sup>16</sup> Jonathan B. Pritchett, “Quantitative Estimates of the United States Interregional Slave Trade, 1820-1860,” *The Journal of Economic History* 61, no. 2 (Jun., 2001): 473.

<sup>17</sup> John J. McCusker, “Population,” *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present, Volume 5: Part E, Governance and International Relations*, eds. Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Series Eg 41, 653.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 653.

<sup>19</sup> Delmar Hayter, “Expanding the Cotton Kingdom.” *Agricultural History* 62, no. 2 (Spring, 1998): 228.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 229.

<sup>21</sup> David Brion Davis and David Brion Davis. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2006) 195, 199. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sinciatw/detail.action?docID=5746871>.



urban areas experienced a surge in black population. For example, in 1810, there were only 17,000 people in New Orleans, with a majority of them being white. In 1842, almost half of New Orleans' population was black, reaching 40,000.<sup>22</sup> The increased black slaves were essential to the growth and maintenance of the major economic activity in the South: cotton farming. The Act to ban slave trade ironically deepened the southern states' reliance on and exploitation of enslaved laborers.

Even though the Missouri Compromise and the ban of transatlantic slave trade took place in different years throughout the US history, they both intensified the conflict between the free states and slave states, which eventually led to the civil war. Sectionalism, an overabundant devotion to the interests of a region over those of a country as a whole, predates the two historical events as the U.S. gradually expanded its territory. Denser population, better-established education institutes, and easier access to imported technology allowed the North to develop manufacturing and service industries earlier than its southern counterpart.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the North and South grew divergent in their attitude towards slavery.

As the ban on slave trade stimulated the demand for slave labor, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 further deepened the rift between the free state and slave state. During and following the debate over the admission of Missouri, the Northern Americans who opposed slavery began adopting moral principles and religious concepts to justify the abolitionist movement; on the other hand, the slaveholders in the South resorted to radical rhetoric to defend slavery. The admission of Missouri as a slave state had led to the widespread opposition among

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<sup>22</sup> Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams* (New York: Harvard University Press, 2013) 7.

<sup>23</sup> Peter A. Coclanis, "Tracking the Economic Divergence of the North and the South," *Southern Cultures* 6, no. 4, (Winter, 2000) 86-8.

the Northerners and Northwesterners.<sup>24</sup> In a public meeting in Philadelphia, the crowd declared, "It [slavery] is acknowledged to be wholly repugnant to the law and spirit of Christianity."<sup>25</sup>

According to the Boston Yankee, the supporters of slavery violated the teaching of Christ: "[W]e address those who call themselves Christians . . . ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO EVEN SO TO THEM."<sup>26</sup> As the abolitionists embellished their critique with moral and Christian principles, the slavery supporters decided to rationalize slavery based on extreme essentialism. The mainstream line of argument treated the colored people as inherently inferior to the caucasians. In 1820, the *North American Review* published an article in which the anonymous author bluntly described the black slaves as a race inferior in intellectual and mental backgrounds than the master race: "Is he [as a slave] not utterly incapable of raising his mind to the source of intelligence, his heart to the fountain of good . . . ?"<sup>27</sup> As the language adopted by both sides radicalized, the room for negotiation and mutual understanding continued to shrink.

Both the slave trade ban and the Missouri Compromise also led to a more organized effort in abolishing slavery. John Rankin, known as "the father of American abolitionist movement," inspired by the slave trade ban toured Kentucky and neighboring states to promote anti-slavery agenda. Rankin then published a collection of letters with an intention to raise public awareness of the inhumane treatments suffered by black slaves. In describing how a slave couple was forced to be separated from their children by their master, Rankin exclaimed: "Slavery is often clothed with such scenes of cruelty and blood, and often sports with everything that is dear

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<sup>24</sup> Joshua Michael Zeitz, "The Missouri Compromise Reconsidered: Antislavery Rhetoric and the Emergence of the Free Labor Synthesis," *Journal of Early Republic* 20, no. 3 (Autumn, 2000): 452.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 453.

<sup>26</sup> Reprinted in Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, Dec. 21, cited by Joshua Michael Zeitz.

<sup>27</sup> *North American Review* 10 (Jan. 1820), 142-3, cited by Joshua Michael Zeitz.

to man!”<sup>28</sup> Rankin personified slavery as a typical slave master, who wounds his slaves at will and even tortures them for morbid pleasure. Elsewhere in the same letter, when countering the common thesis that black slaves are an inferior race and deficient in human emotions and intellectual capacity, Rankins expressly defended black slaves’ ability to feel and think as their white masters.<sup>29</sup> By addressing slavery supporters directly with the imperative “Tell me not,” Rankin expressed his firm belief in the equality for black slaves. As the Missouri Compromise disappointed opponents to slavery in the free states, some abolitionists, under the leadership of William Lloyd Garrison, decided to unify their efforts and founded the American Anti-Slavery Society to promote the “entire abolition of Slavery in the United States.”<sup>30</sup> Garrison alluded to the Hebrews held in captivity by Egyptians when he estimated “nearly one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage.”<sup>31</sup> He examined the disadvantage of slavery in various perspectives, including legal, political, religious, and economic ones, arguing that “Slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice . . . and is destructive of the prosperity of the country.”<sup>32</sup> Aside from their economic repercussions, both events added fuel to the abolitionist movements already emerging in the late eighteenth century.

Eventually, the escalated tension between the free and slave states since the passage of the slave trade ban and the Missouri Compromise split the U.S. into two warring sides, the Union that supported the abolition and the Confederacy that upheld slavery. A majority of historians of the Civil War, including David Brion Davis, agreed that the slavery dispute between

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<sup>28</sup> John Rankin, *Letters on American Slavery* (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838) 17. <https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=us0SAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=letters+on+american+slavery&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiNngpCMzeTvAhXxy4sBHTWICXgQ6AEwAHoECAEQAg#v=onepage&q=letters%20on%20american%20slavery&f=false>. Accessed April 4, 2021.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 17. Emphasis mine.

<sup>30</sup> William Lloyd Garrison, “Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society” (Philadelphia December 1833) Article II. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/constitution-of-the-american-anti-slavery-society/>. Accessed April 14, 2021.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface.

the free and slave state is the primary cause of the Civil War, and the two events discussed above intensified the conflict over the slavery problem.<sup>33</sup> The Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves in 1807 spawned the interstate slave trade and pushed up the demand for slave labor within the country. Likewise, the Missouri Compromise sacrificed the black slaves in the newly established state, thus stimulating the abolitionist movement. The rift between two sides eventually became irreparable and split the country into two.

As the Missouri Compromise intensified the southern states' dependence on slavery and contributed to the uneven economic development in Missouri, the ban on the transatlantic slave trade marked a pivotal moment in the history of slavery since it prompted the US to establish its domestic slave trade and deepened the reliance on slave labor in the South. The two seemingly dissimilar legal acts both ultimately resulted in the division between the North and South over the issue of slave holding. Even though the Missouri Compromise and the ban of transatlantic slave trade are divided by a distance of 17 years, my research proves the connection between the two events in their political influences. Both events play crucial parts in Americans' efforts to end slavery and promote equality among Americans of all colors for centuries. The current American society also finds itself plagued by great division in political ideology and ethnic issues, which reminds us of the American society before the civil war. The rebirth of the U.S. society after the civil war was no miracle but the fruit of the effort of visionary political leaders and the public's willingness to bridge the gulf of unfairness, which sets an example for the current American society if it wishes to close the gaps of inequality and contention.

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<sup>33</sup> For their investigation of the connection between slavery and the civil war, see David Brion Davis and David Brion Davis, *In Human Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford UP, 2006).

Annotated Bibliography

**PRIMARY SOURCES**

Garrison, William Lloyd. "Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society." Philadelphia: December 1833.

<https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/constitution-of-the-american-anti-slavery-society/>.

William Lloyd Garrison was a prominent American abolitionist, journalist, suffragist, and social reformer, who founded the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. The document presents the objectives and expectations for its members. This particular source is relevant to my research as it represents how the abolitionists in the U.S. began to organize their effort to abolish slavery and attempted to clarify their goals in the 19th century.

Peterman, August. "Map of Slavery in the U.S., Based on the Census of 1850." 1855.

<http://www.mappingthenation.com/index.php/viewer/index/4/2>. Accessed March 14, 2021.

August Peterman pursued his career as a geographer and cartographer after moving to London in 1847 and was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1860. The map is one of the few maps demonstrating the distribution of slave population based on accurate demographic data. This particular source is relevant to my research because it enables me to analyse the distribution patterns of the slave population in Missouri State after the Compromise.

The Library of Congress, "Missouri Compromise: Primary Documents in American History."

<https://guides.loc.gov/missouri-compromise/digital-collections>. Accessed March 14, 2021.

The Library of Congress is the research library that officially serves the United States Congress and is the de facto national library of the United States. This collection of documents and the act recorded all the necessary details about the result of the debates in the Congress and the terms of agreement. This particular source is relevant to my research since it reveals the points of debate between the slave states and free states and offers details about the voting process in the Congress.

The U.S. Congress, Transcript of Missouri Compromise 1820, *An Act of March 2, 1807, 9th Congress, 2nd Session, 2 STAT 426, to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves; 3/2/1807; Folder 9, Leaf 87, Public Law, 9th Cong., 2nd Sess.*

<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=22&page=transcript>.

The U.S. Congress is the bicameral legislature of the federal government of the United States and consists of the House of Representatives and the Senate. This document recorded all the eight sections of the compromise and clearly stated which partition shall still legalize slavery. This particular source is relevant to my

research as it offers the complete text of the Act and enables me to point out the arbitrary division of the Missouri State according to the prevalence of slavery.

*Thomas Jefferson, et al, July 4, Copy of Declaration of Independence. -07-04, 1776.*

Manuscript/Mixed Material. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mtjbib000159/>.

Thomas Jefferson was an American statesman, diplomat, lawyer, architect, philosopher, and Founding Father who served as the third president of the United States from 1801 to 1809 and had previously served as the second vice president of the United States under John Adams between 1797 and 1801. The document justified the colonial people's fight to preserve their natural rights. This particular document is relevant to my research because I wish to point out that when Jefferson mentioned "all men," he did not consider the black slaves.

U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc. *An act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eight ... March 2, . Approved.*

Washington, 1810. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.22800200/>.

The U.S. Congress is the bicameral legislature of the federal government of the United States and consists of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The act explicitly defined slaves and the act of importation and specified the penalty for the violation. This particular source is relevant to my research because it provides the complete text of the act prohibiting the delivery of slaves from foreign countries but leaves a loophole—it does not ban transporting and selling and purchasing slaves within the U.S.

## **SECONDARY SOURCES**

Burke, Diane Mutti. "Slavery on the Western Border: Missouri's Slave System and Its Collapse during the Civil War." The Kansas City Public Library.

<https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/essay/slavery-western-border-missouri%E2%80%99s-slave-system-and-its-collapse-during-civil-war>.

Diane Mutti Burke is a Professor of History and a member of the Associate Faculty of the Women's and Gender Studies Program at the University of Missouri Kansas City. She has written several award winning books, including *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865* (2010). In addition, she has also written a number of articles on slavery, women, and the Civil War in Missouri as well as co-edited three collections of scholarly articles. In this particular source, she engages Civil War buffs, scholars, students, and local residents in research and discussion on the Missouri-Kansas Border War that shook the region from 1854 to 1865 and provides free access to selected primary source materials. This particular source is relevant to my paper as it depicts the typical slavery ownerships in the western states including Missouri and the common problems faced by the slave owners, which helps me explain why the southern part of Missouri still supported slavery in the early 19th century.

Coclainis, Peter A. "Tracking the Economic Divergence of the North and the South." *Southern Cultures* 6, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 82-103.

Professor Peter A. Coclainis is an economic historian whose academic interest lies in the economic development in various parts of the world since the 17th century. He received his Ph.D. in history at Columbia University and has published widely in the U.S. economic history and the economic aspects of slavery. In this journal article, Professor Coclainis argued that a specific entrepreneurial strategy adopted by the white inhabitant in the South is responsible for its own weak institutional development and impaired economic growth. This particular source is relevant to my paper as it further proves that the reliance on slave and cheap labor has contributed to the lesser economic development and reluctance to introduce new technology for production in the slave states.

Davis, David Brion and David Brion Davis. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2006. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sinciatw/detail.action?docID=5746871>.

David Brion Davis was an American intellectual and cultural historian and a leading authority on slavery in the Western world. Having taught at Oxford University and Cornell University, Davis is also an author of 17 books and a Pulitzer prize winner, and he has devoted his writing career to promotion of ethnic understanding. The book traces the development of slavery built by the western civilization and the relevant social and cultural contexts. The book is relevant to my research as Davis depicted the miserable living condition of black slaves in the U.S. and termed slavery as the major cause of the civil war.

Deyle, Steven. *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life*. New York: Oxford UP, 2005. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30043550?seq=1>.

Professor Steven Deyle is a historian specializing in 19th century US Social and Political History, with a particular interest in slavery and the old South. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University and is the author of *Carry Me Back* (2005) as well as a consultant of the academy award winning film *Twelve Years a Slave* (2013). In *Carry me Back*, professor Deyle looked into the fundamentals of the domestic slave trade and how it impacted American society. This particular source is relevant to my paper as it explores the rise and development of the domestic slave trade network in the 19th century American South.

Finkleman, Paul. "The American Suppression of the African Slave Trade: Lessons on Legal Change, Social Policy, and Legislation." *Akron Law Review* 42, no. 4 (June, 2015): 432-65.

<https://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1181&context=akronlawreview>. Accessed March 19, 2021.

Paul Finkleman is a specialist in American legal history, constitutional law, and race and the law. He has written over 150 scholarly articles and 30 books and is an expert in constitutional history and constitutional law, freedom of religion, the law of slavery, civil liberties and the American Civil War, and legal issues surrounding baseball. In this source, it discusses how regulations about trading were being

amended to treat black slaves equally , and the article is relevant to my paper as I will refer to the author's discussion of the discrimination against black slaves in the early U.S. legal system.

Hayter, Delmar. "Expanding the Cotton Kingdom." *Agricultural History* 62, no. 2 (Spring, 1998): 225-33. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3743295?seq=1>.

Delmar Hayter is a local historian who specializes in the history of Texas and the history of slavery. After receiving his Ph.D. from Texas Tech University, he had been teaching at his alma mater until his retirement. He is the author of several journal articles on the history of American South and one of the contributors to *The Handbook of Texas*. This particular source is relevant to my paper because Hayter clearly explained black slaves were an inevitable source of labor to the growing agriculture in the South. He used a wide range of historical documents and statistical data to prove the importance of slave labor to the farming of cotton and tobacco.

Johnson, Walter. *River of Dark Dreams*. New York: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Professor Walter Johnson is an expert on slavery and 19th century American society. He received his Ph.D. in American History at Princeton University and authored two prize winning books: *Soul by Soul: Life inside of the Antebellum Slave Market* (2013) and *River of Dark Dreams* (2013). This book places the cotton kingdom at the center of the global webs of exchange and exploitation that extended across oceans and included new lands. This particular source is relevant to my paper as it traces the movement of black slaves among the states and between the urban and rural areas, which helps me to explain the great value of black slaves in the rapid growth of cotton farming.

McCusker, John J. "Population." *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present, Volume 5: Part E, Governance and International Relations*. Eds. Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. <https://hsus.cambridge.org/HSUSWeb/toc/showPart.do?id=A>.

John J. McCusker is a professor of American history and economics at Trinity University, Texas. He has written several books on the economic interconnections between the U.S. and Europe. In the source he translated the census data into detailed tables to present the characteristics of the slave population during the 19th century. These tables are relevant to my research as they offer comparison of slave population in categories of age, gender, and geographical locations.

Michael, Martin. "End of Slave Trade Meant New Normal for America." *Tell Me More*. NPR News. January 10, 2008.

<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=17988106>.

In this particular source, Martin Michael, the show host, interviews Professor Eric Foner on the importance of slave trade for America. Eric Foner is currently the DeWitt Clinton Professor Emeritus of History at Columbia University, and he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his book on slavery, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham*



*Lincoln and American Slavery* (2011). In this interview Professor Foner explained how and why the slave population thrived in the U.S. This interview is relevant to my paper as it examined the geographical and social background to the growth of the slave population.

Purdy, Harry L. *An Historical Analysis of The Economic Growth of St Louis, 1840-1945*.  
[https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/files/docs/publications/books/econgrowthstl\\_purdy\\_1945.pdf](https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/files/docs/publications/books/econgrowthstl_purdy_1945.pdf).

Dr. Harry L. Purdy is a former scholar and policy advisor on economic policy and transportation development. This particular source was commissioned by the Missouri State to analyze the water transportation of St Louis and its impacts on its economy. It is relevant to my research paper as I can use the data about agricultural development in Missouri collected by Dr. Purdy.

Pritchett, Jonathan B. "Quantitative Estimates of the United States Interregional Slave Trade, 1820-1860." *The Journal of Economic History* 61, no. 2 (Jun., 2001): 467-75.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2698028?seq=1>. Accessed March 20, 2021.

Professor Jonathan Pritchett is a historian of economy and slavery, with a special interest in the US inter-regional slave trade. He completed his dissertation in economics at University of Chicago. He is the author of several journal articles on the history and economic impacts of slavery. In this journal article, Professor Pritchett provided alternative estimates of the share of sales in the inter-regional movement of slaves. This particular source is relevant to my paper as it corrected the previous estimated number of slaves and provided more accurate demographic information about the slave population and slave sale.

Rankin, John. *Letters on American Slavery*. Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838.

<https://books.google.com.tw/books?id=us0SAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=letters+on+american+slavery&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiNgpCMzeTvAhXxy4sBHTWICXgQ6AEwAHoECAEQAg#v=onepage&q=letters%20on%20american%20slavery&f=false>. Accessed April 4, 2021.

John Rankin is an American Presbyterian minister and abolitionist. He was also known as "the Conductor" in managing the Underground Railroad aiding the runaway slaves. As a pioneer in the abolitionist movement, he has inspired famous activists such as William Lloyd Garrison and Harriet Beecher Stowe. In the collection of letters, he justified his anti-slavery rhetorics with appeals to universal human dignity and Christian virtues. The source is highly relevant to my research as it represents the classic abolitionist critique of the unfairness and inhumanity in slavery system.

The Independence Hall Association in Philadelphia. "23c. The Missouri Compromise."

<https://www.ushistory.org/us/23c.asp>. Accessed March 14, 2021.

The Independence Hall Association in Philadelphia is a non-profit organization devoted to promoting the education in the history of American independence. The association established its website [ushistory.org](http://ushistory.org) to offer education materials for public, private, and homeschools in the U.S. and abroad. This particular source is relevant to my paper as it objectively and clearly introduces the background of the

Missouri Compromise and describes how historical figures such as Thomas Jefferson reacted to this event.

United States Census Bureau. "Missouri Compromise - Free VS Slave State."

[https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/sis/activities/history/mh-1\\_student.pdf](https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/sis/activities/history/mh-1_student.pdf).

The United States Census Bureau is a principal agency of the U.S. Federal Statistical System and is responsible for producing data about the American people and the economy. This particular source is a teaching material designed for students to understand the statistical significance regarding the Missouri Compromise. It is relevant to my research paper because it offers the accurate statistics of the uneven distribution of slave labor in Missouri during the 19th century.

Wienczek, Henry. "The Dark Side of Thomas Jefferson." *Smithsonian Magazine* (October, 2012).

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-dark-side-of-thomas-jefferson-35976004/>.

Henry Wienczek, an American journalist and historian, is the author of *The Hairstons: An American Family in Black and White* (1999). He won the National Book Critics Circle Award for biography. In this magazine article, Wienczek uncovered Thomas Jefferson's employment of a large army of black slaves despite his public image as a spokesperson of the anti-slavery movement. This particular source is relevant to my research paper as it proves how prevalent slavery had become when the U.S. was founded and when slavery began causing conflict in the new nation.

Zeitz, Joshua Michael. "The Missouri Compromise Reconsidered: Antislavery Rhetoric and the Emergence of the Free Labor Synthesis." *Journal of Early Republic* 20, no. 3 (Autumn, 2000): 447-85.

Joshua Michael Zeitz is an American historian and independent scholar. After receiving his Ph.D. in American History from Brown University, Zeitz has published five books on American History and has written for some leading newspapers including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*. In this journal article, Zeitz reconsidered the antebellum history and explored the transformation of anti-slavery rhetoric as a response to the dynamic social contexts. This particular source is relevant to my research paper as it illuminates the rising tension between the abolitionist and slavey supporters during the early 19th century America through the analysis of the rhetoric used by the opponents to slavery.