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CAPITALISM & SLAVERY AND CARIBBEAN HISTORIOGRAPHY: AN EVALUATION

by Selwyn H. H. Carrington*

Few works have undergone such detailed historical analysis as Eric Williams' *Capitalism & Slavery*, published almost sixty years ago.[1] This book has elicited both acclaim and criticism, especially over the last three and a half decades. However, despite its somewhat dated methodological framework, and its absence of modern statistical tools for historical analysis, no historian or economic analyst has been able to undermine its basic theses. Whenever historians have tried to challenge the work's findings, an academic physician emerges to breathe new life into its aging veins.

Eric Williams made a major contribution to Caribbean history, politics, and society. Prior to the publication of *Capitalism & Slavery*, Caribbean history was written from the "Eurocentric" perspective associated with the British imperial school of historical writing. The objective was to highlight European "achievements" in the Caribbean. Consequently, Eurocentric historians have concluded, without strong evidence, that the development of the Caribbean colonies resulted from the riches of Europe. They paid little attention to the contributions of the colonies, of the slave trade, or slavery, and the sugar industry to the development of the industrial economies of Europe, and downplayed the contribution of the Caribbean commodities to the formation and growth of modern capitalism.

First produced as a doctoral thesis, entitled "The Economic Aspect of the Abolition of the West Indian Slave Trade," for Oxford University in 1938, and expanded and rewritten while Williams taught at Howard University, *Slavery & Capitalism* attempted to make this connection. In so doing, Williams redefined the traditional orthodoxy, and argued that the wealth of Europe was derived from the exploitation of African labor through the slave trade and Caribbean slavery. Williams thus argued that British West Indian production was pivotal to the formation of capital in Britain and laid the foundations for the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The study therefore placed the Caribbean at the center of the Atlantic economic system. The even more revolutionary assertion was that the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves occurred less due to the role of the abolitionists and other humanitarians than to the overall decline of the British West Indian sugar economy at the end of the 18th century. With the separation of the United States at the end of the First British Empire, and the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), there emerged the enlightened belief that slave labor was inefficient, unprofitable, and an impediment to economic growth. Initially after the end of the American Revolution, British producers and manufacturers still controlled the American markets. However by

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the 1790s, colonies were considered burdens and the sugar planters, who were economically dependent, were a principal contributor to the decline of the Caribbean economy.

At the same time, *Capitalism & Slavery* is much more than an economic study highlighting the contribution of the sugar industry to capital formation in the Caribbean, Britain, and Europe, demonstrating the contribution of the slave trade, slavery, and the sugar industry to the fueling of the growth of modern capitalism. It is a political document in which Eric Williams used his research on the economic contribution of the colonies to European economic growth to challenge colonialism itself and the continued control of the Caribbean by the imperial powers. It was an argument urging contemporary African Americans to take pride in their ancestors' period of servitude because they had contributed significantly to the greatness of the British Empire, despite their extreme exploitation and subjugation.

That Williams was interested in making political statements with his scholarly publications can be seen in *The Negro in the Caribbean*, published in 1942 before *Capitalism & Slavery*. In that earlier work Williams made it clear that he did not want Europeans and Americans to forget the significant contributions made by enslaved African workers and their descendants to their advancement.

> The Western world is in danger of forgetting today what the Negro has contributed to Western Civilization. The American continent would have had to pay a high price for the luxury of remaining a white man's country. No sugar, no Negroes; but equally true, no Negroes, no sugar. Someone had to pick cotton. That was not why "darkies" were born; but it was certainly to cultivate the sugar cane and later pick cotton that they were transported from Africa.[2]

Historian Colin Palmer in his introduction to the 50th anniversary edition of *Capitalism & Slavery* pointed out that Williams adopted an independent line consistently in his studies, which would have concerned his advisors R. Trevor Davies and Vincent Harlow, historians of the imperialist school. Thus from the beginning, Williams had to overcome the many objections to his pursuing an interpretation discrediting British philanthropy as the dominant force in the overthrow of its slave system. But, this was only a minor issue. Williams also sought to document how the colonies, peopled by enslaved Africans, sparked the economic development of Britain and provided the financial capital for the Industrial Revolution. And he developed the complementary argument that it was the economic downturn of the West Indian sugar economy that explains British decisions to abolish the slave trade and then slavery. The abolitionists were only the initiators of the political action. His thesis tested the waters; would it sink or float?

Getting his doctoral thesis accepted was Williams' first major hurdle. The doctoral degree would be an important weapon in his professional armory. For this reason Williams conducted research in libraries, archives, and repositories in Britain, the Caribbean, and Europe. Williams' reinterpretation was indeed "radical stuff," and could be feared by British administrators since it was coming from a bright colonial intellectual who could have a significant influence on his people. Williams' acceptance in 1939 of a teaching position as Assistant Professor of Social and Political Science at Howard University,

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Washington, DC, allowed him to expand his research, discuss his ideas with many of his American colleagues, test his theses through the review process in scholarly journals, and come into contact with two of the leading authorities in pre-emancipation West Indian history, Professor Lowell Joseph Ragatz at George Washington University in Washington, DC, and Frank Pitman at Pomona College in California.[3]

Colin Palmer traced the publication history of *Capitalism & Slavery*, and described Williams' negotiations with University of North Carolina Press, his insistence on the title, his vigorous efforts to have the book sold at reduced rates to students in the Caribbean and the U.S., and his speaking and book tours publicizing the work.[4] While the initial success of *Capitalism & Slavery* is open to question, the burning question is—why has this work remained as relevant today as it was fifty years ago?

The study contains several theses and numerous sub-theses, which are of as immense importance in this modern era, with the development and expansion of the research on slavery and the slave trade as well as African Diaspora studies, as they were when he wrote them. The first major thesis was "that Caribbean slavery was established for economic reasons." Captured and enslaved Africans were transported across the Atlantic Ocean to the Caribbean islands and to North and South America to grow sugar cane, cotton, rice, and coffee, and to mine gold and silver. The other two major theses were that African slavery was profitable and contributed to the Industrial Revolution in Britain, and that the rise of mature capitalism and free trade advocates served to undermine slavery and the slave trade, as did the decline in economic productivity and profitability of the British Caribbean sugar plantations. Lowell Ragatz in *The Fall of the Planter Class in the Caribbean, 1763–1833*, published in 1928, documented the economic decline in the plantation economies. Williams and Ragatz upheld the view first put forward in 1869 in Hall Pringle's *The Fall of the Sugar Planters of Jamaica*, that the economy of Jamaica and the West Indies was in decline at the end of the 18th century. "If not regular and continuous," he wrote, it "recurred repeatedly and at short intervals." Indeed, as early as 1689, planters and merchants in Barbados spoke of the decline of that island. After 1775, the economic distress for Caribbean sugar planters "was increasing rapidly and alarmingly."[5]

Several highly respected scholars have supported the Williams decline thesis, including William Darity, Jr., David H. Makinson, Richard B. Sheridan, and Barbara L. Solow. Historian David Brion Davis is one of the leading historians who emphasized the role of the British humanitarians and abolitionists in the overthrow of the slave trade and slavery in the British territories.[6] In a recent essay titled "Reflections on Abolitionism and Ideological Hegemony," Davis emphasized that the "opposition to slavery cannot be divorced from the vast economic changes" that were taking place at the time. He notes that by the end of the 18th century, the sugar colonies were overvalued, and were only of importance to Britain, because "sugar was a symbol of national power." Consequently, "West Indian decline appeared all the more dramatic. Sugar and slaves were not a source of opulence, one discovered, but of debt, wasted soil, decayed properties and social depravity."[7]

Roger Anstey in his study of *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810*, published in 1975, was inconclusive as to the relationship between West Indian decline and the abolition of the slave trade, but believed Williams' thesis was nevertheless persuasive. Anstey argued that the radical change in the economic conditions in the West

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Indies influenced British attitudes toward the slave trade and slavery. He noted the rapid increase of sugar imports from Brazil, Cuba, and Mauritius at the same time that the islands were perceived as less important as markets for British goods.[8]

The authors of three articles published in the early 1970s denied the decline of the West Indian sugar industry, arguing for continued profitability of the sugar colonies in the late 18th century.[9] However, the broadside attack on *Capitalism & Slavery* came in 1977 with the publication of Seymour Drescher's *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition*. Challenging the claims of decline made by Ragatz and Williams, Drescher argued that the sugar islands had not lost their relative position in British trade and their importance to the imperial power. He believed that the slave trade was expanding and that Britain had stood to make exorbitant profits just at the time that the Parliament outlawed British participation in the slave trade.[10] However, Drescher's argument that it was the abolitionist movement that led to decline in the Caribbean slave trade and slavery and not vice versa, was rejected by Hall Pringle, who wrote in 1869 that abolition was "not needed to ruin the Jamaica sugar-planters and . . . the system was doomed to destruction from inherent causes." He called the critics of British abolition "apologists of slavery," stressing that they were "careless of the dishonour thus sought to be brought on this country, who are bold enough to assert that though England was the first to suppress [N]egro slavery, the nation has now discovered its mistake."[11]

David Eltis in *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (1987) admitted that the Caribbean islands had provided wealth to Britain, but in quantities too small to spark the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Eltis expressed regret at the ending of the slave trade, and he concluded that if Britain had retained the trade, its colonial production would have increased by about 25 percent.[12] However, many antislavery advocates and opponents in the 18th century, including Bryan Edwards, Edward Long, Abbe Raynal, and Adam Smith, acknowledged the contribution of Caribbean slavery and the slave trade to the development of wealth in European and American societies, and historians continue to carry out in-depth research that supports Eric Williams' findings.[13] For example, Kenneth Morgan in *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1600–1800* examines the impact of the Atlantic slave trade on the economic development of Britain and paid particular attention to the issues raised in *Capitalism & Slavery*. After examining the records for the profits on the slave trade and slavery in capital accumulation, British industrial development, exports and transatlantic markets, the role of business institutions, and the contribution of trade to the growth of British ports, Morgan concluded that slavery and the sugar industry not only contributed to the industrial growth, but also the emergence and growth of long-term credit organizations, banks, and insurance companies, stimulated by the long-distance trade.[14]

Capitalism & Slavery has also sparked seriously critical studies. Joel Mokyr, in his introduction to a volume published in 1993 on the British Industrial Revolution, argued that Eric Williams' argument was incorrect and Britain would have developed an Industrial Revolution without the slave trade and slavery. According to Mokyr, the profits from the sugar industry went back into the development of the Caribbean plantation system and the local economy.[15] However, recent research has shown that English landowners in Jamaica did not have the capital to develop their lands initially, while local merchants in Port Royal with access to Spanish trade could invest in sugar production prior to the 1691

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earthquake.[16] The prosperity of Jamaica did not flow from the riches of Britain because in the 18th century Spanish silver financed much of the plantation agriculture in a lucrative Caribbean trade based on plunder and contraband, and centered in Port Royal prior to its destruction.[17]

David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman in a recent article on "The Importance of Slavery and the Slave Trade to Industrializing Britain" drew on evidence from the 1788 Parliamentary hearings on British slavery and the slave trade and concluded that without them, "Britain would not have been able to industrialize." However, Eltis and Engerman called attention to the emergence of an "ideology of freedom" in Britain with the rise of the antislavery campaigns and suggested that this may have helped to fuel opposition to slavery. However, on the issue of the contribution of the slave trade and slavery to the British economy, they conclude that "it is hard to believe that the Industrial Revolution would not have occurred anyway."[18]

A wealth of literature has emerged around the three main theses in *Capitalism & Slavery* over the last forty years, especially since the 1960s. During the same period there have been numerous studies expanding on the various sub-themes found in *Capitalism & Slavery*, including Williams' ideas on dependency theory, revolution and change (Haiti), labor exploitation, credit and debt crises, and the role of the Caribbean in world affairs. However, the most significant growth area in the historical research on West Indian slavery has been on slave resistance and rebellion. In *Testing the Chains: Resistance in Slavery in the British West Indies*, Michael Craton documented the role slaves themselves played in their own emancipation.[19] While Craton provided little theoretical basis for his analysis, the book contains detailed information on the numerous slave revolts and insurrections throughout the British Caribbean. Historian Hilary Beckles, who has studied the military aspects of slave resistance throughout the Caribbean during slavery, concluded that the frequency of the revolutionary activity in the Caribbean between 1638 and 1838 must be understood as a "200 Years War—one protracted struggle launched by Africans and their Afro-West Indian progeny."[20]

In his two-volume study of *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery*, Richard Hart traced the origins of the resistance strategies employed by West Indian slaves to their African cultural beliefs and practices. Using Jamaican plantation records, Hart has contended that enslaved Africans in Jamaica were instrumental in the struggle for their own liberation, and in changing the working conditions on the plantations.[21] And John F. Campbell argued that "resistance did not always mean running away or revolt. Resistance, for the greater mass of the enslaved people, meant carving out 'free' spaces with or without the master's consent."[22]

Several essays included in the recent volume *Capitalism and Slavery: Fifty Years Later*, edited by Heather Cateau and Selwyn Carrington, provide expansive analyses of Eric Williams' emphasis on documenting the enslaved Africans' efforts at "emancipation from below." Claudius Fergus in his brilliant essay "War, Revolution, and Abolitionism, 1793–1806" argued that the slave revolt in St. Domingue was only one example of the contest for supremacy and control of "freedom" between Africans, their descendants, and the white plantation management. These slave insurrections occurred during the ongoing rivalry between France and Britain for colonial superiority in the Caribbean in the 18th century. At various points in time, these imperial powers adopted slave emancipation as a military strategy. In the 1790s the enslaved Africans on the French-controlled islands of Martinique

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and Guadeloupe fought gallantly to thwart the British invasion when promised their freedom by the Jacobins who dominated the French government during the revolution. Similarly, the British also recruited the enslaved population for military service in North America and the Caribbean, and eventually organized the West India Regiment made up completely of black troops.[23]

David Ryden in his essay "Planters, Slaves, and Decline" not only supports Eric Williams' view of decline in the Caribbean sugar industry in the late 18th century, he shows that this reality led to important changes in plantation management that sought to reduce the rising costs for plantation supplies and the low commodity prices on the international market. As a result, the sugar plantation owners and managers were forced to accede to enslaved Africans' demands for improved conditions if they wished to increase productivity and profitability. The significant concessions made to the enslaved population allowed for the formation of more independent economic activities and brought changes in their relationships with the plantation managers, overseers, and the white lower class.[24]

Ibrahim Sundiata and Andrew O'Shaughnessy took differing positions on the importance of Eric Williams' findings on the relationships between capitalism, slavery, and the slave trade and the economic development and industrialization of Britain. Sundiata in "Capitalism and Slavery: 'The Commercial Part of the Nation'" argued that the profitability of the slave trade brought significantly more economic benefits to Britain than previously suggested, but also argued that its abolition may have been beneficial to British economic interests. With regard to Williams' *Capitalism & Slavery*, Sundiata believed it was informed by "a palpable moral indignation," and concluded that Williams' moral vision is therefore "*Capitalism & Slavery*'s greatest achievement."[25] On the other hand, Andrew O'Shaughnessy, in "Williams as Historian," suggested that Williams' reliance on literary rather than quantitative sources gave him a view of the past as contemporaries viewed it. O'Shaughnessy believed that Williams read the primary sources too closely and did not have access to the quantitative or statistical data that would have demonstrated the viability of slavery and the slave trade, and the need for the humanitarian movement to end them.[26]

In an article first presented at a conference on *Capitalism & Slavery* held in Trinidad in September 1996, and later published in a Special Issue of the important magazine *Callaloo*, Gerald R. Bosch, Jr., examined "Eric Williams and the Moral Rhetoric of Dependency Theory." Bosch traced the influence of *Capitalism & Slavery* on the works produced by Immanuel Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank, Walter Rodney, and other theorists associated with the "dependency school." In the 18th century the Caribbean sugar islands were located on the periphery and were as *dependent* in their economic relations on the European centers as the developing countries were on the G-7 and other developed nations in the 20th century; and the dependency theorists understood that this center-periphery relationship was first described in *Capitalism & Slavery*. Specifically with regard to Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* and Andre Gunder Frank's *World Accumulation, 1492–1789*, Bosch pointed out that,

> Both Rodney and Frank are connected to Williams in a number of ways. The progression from Eric Williams' scholarship to that of the dependency school has been documented by both Hilary MCD Beckles and Richard Sheridan. The bridge between

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Williams and the dependency theorists can be found in the "Plantation School" economists. This school was developed in the West Indies during the 1960s and 1970s.[27]

Bosch noted that Lloyd Best, one of the most prominent of the Plantation School economists, in a seminal essay on the theory of plantation economy, "undertook an economic translation of the Williams thesis," and like Rodney and Frank, sought to demonstrate the importance of class relations and capital accumulation in laying the foundation for the emergence and growth of the British Industrial Revolution. However, Bosch concluded that in the case of Williams, Rodney, and Frank, these three men "shared a quest for social justice and concern over poverty in the Third World." These scholars used history to interpret contemporary conditions, and thus when confronted by "injustice and inequity," they viewed their studies as "moral condemnation of evident evils."[28]

In many ways the "old mercantilist" relationship that existed between colony and mother country in the 17th and 18th centuries was similar to the connections between the developing countries and international corporate capitalism in the 20th century. In her essay on "Globalization: Reality or Ideology?" Kari Levitt applies Williams' ideas to contemporary issues and examines the economic paradigm of the "new mercantilism" with its neocolonial and neo-imperialist approaches to the control of Caribbean economies. The terminology has changed, but the objectives remained the same—the acceptance of globalization, corporate capitalism, and privatization by peoples in the developing nations.[29]

The symposium on "Eric Williams and His Work," held in New York City at the Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture in 2002, was the third conference on the life and scholarship of Eric Williams in less than two decades. A symposium organized by Barbara Solow and Stanley Engerman was held in Bellagio, Italy, in 1984. Out of this meeting came the first edited volume devoted to *Capitalism & Slavery*.[30] The second was held in Trinidad in September 1996 and this conference led to the publication of articles on Eric Williams' works in several scholarly journals.[31] And already mentioned was the volume published in 2000, *Capitalism and Slavery: Fifty Years After*. In my recent study, I also examine Williams' claim that the decline in sugar production promoted campaigns for the abolition of the slave trade in Britain. *The Sugar Industry and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1775–1810*, published in 2002, provides a detailed analysis of the British Caribbean economy from the end of the 18th century to the first decade of the 19th, and using a wide array of primary and secondary material in libraries and repositories on both sides of the Atlantic, firmly supports the Ragatz-Williams thesis of the decline of the West Indian economy after 1763.[32] My current research on the "Statistics for the Study of Caribbean History of the 18th and 19th Century," based on plantation records, Colonial Office Papers, Custom House Records, Parliamentary Papers, newspapers, and manuscript collections, provides information on the slave trade, commodity production, shipping, marketing, and consumption of Caribbean, American, Canadian, Irish and British goods in Britain. These two works support Eric Williams' arguments about the decline of the British West Indian economy in the late 18th century, but they go further to provide a detailed assessment of overall economic activities in the Caribbean.

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Eric Williams' *Capitalism & Slavery* has made an indelible mark on 20th- and 21st-century scholarship on the Caribbean, and on the economic aspects of slavery and the slave trade. The continual re-publication of this historical "classic," and the publication of books, symposia, and articles as well as the holding of scholarly conferences will ensure that it will be available to 21st-century students and scholars of slave trade and slavery, "dependency theory," colonialism and economic exploitation, and the world created by the British plantation system in the New World.

NOTES

[1]Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1944).

[2]Idem, *The Negro in the Caribbean* (Washington, DC, 1942), 13.

[3]Lowell J. Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the Caribbean, 1763–1833: A Study in Social and Economic History* (New York, 1928); and Frank W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1863* (New Haven, CT, 1917).

[4]Colin Palmer, "Introduction to 50th Anniversary Edition," Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994), xi.

[5]See Hall Pringle, *The Fall of Sugar Planters of Jamaica* (London: Trübner, 1869), 17.

[6]David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, NY, 1975); and *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (New York, 1976).

[7]Idem, "Reflections on Abolitionism and Ideological Hegemony," *American Historical Review* 92, no. 4 (1987): 806.

[8]Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (London, Eng., 1975), 403.

[9]W. A. Green, "The Planter Class and British West Indian Sugar Production Before and After Emancipation," *Economic History Review* 26 (1973): 448–63; R. K. Aufhauser, "Profitability of Slavery in the British Caribbean," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 5 (Summer 1974): 45–67; J. R. Ward, "The Profitability of Sugar Planting in the British West Indies, 1650–1834," *Economic History Review* 31, no. 2 (1978): 197–213.

[10]Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1977).

[11]Pringle, *The Fall of Sugar Planters,* 16.

[12]David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987).

[13]See, for example, Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (Philadelphia, PA, 1806).

[14]Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade, and the British Economy, 1660–1800* (Cambridge, MA, 2000).

[15]Joel Mokyr, "Introduction: The New Economic History and the Industrial Revolution," in *The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Perspective,* ed. J. Mokyr (Boulder, CO, 1993), 76–77.

[16]Richard B. Sheridan, "The Wealth of Jamaica in the Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review,* 2nd ser., 21 (1968): 292–311.

[17]See N. Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Pt. Royal," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., 43 (1986): 570–93; see also "Trade, Plunder and Economic Development in Early English Jamaica, 1655–89," *Economic History Review* 39, (1986): 205–22.

[18]David Eltis and Stanley Engerman, "The Importance of Slavery and the Slave Trade to Industrializing Britain," *The Journal of Economic History* 60 (March 2000): 141.

[19]See Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance in Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, NY, 1982).

[20]Hilary Beckles, "Caribbean Anti-Slavery: The Self-Liberation Ethos of Enslaved Blacks," *Journal of Caribbean History* 22 (1988): 1.

[21]Richard Hart, *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery,* Volume 1, *Blacks in Bondage* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1980); Volume II, *Blacks in Rebellion* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1985).

[22]John F. Campbell, "'Always Free': West African Continuities and the Limits to Enslavement on 18th Century Atlantic World Sugar Plantations" (M.Phil. Thesis: Cambridge University, 1947).

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[23]Claudius Fergus, "War, Revolution and Abolitionism, 1793–1806," in *Capitalism and Slavery—Fifty Years Later: Eric Eustace Williams—A Reassessment of the Man and His Work*, ed. Heather Cateau and Selwyn Carrington (Tallahassee, FL, 2000), 173–91.

[24]David Ryden, "Planters, Slaves, and Decline," in Cateau and Carrington, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 155–69.

[25]Ibrahim Sundiata, "Capitalism and Slavery: The Commercial Part of the Nation," in Cateau and Carrington, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 121–36.

[26]Andrew O'Shaughnessy, "Williams as Historian," in Cateau and Carrington, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 99–117.

[27]Gerald R. Bosch, Jr., "Eric Williams and the Moral Rhetoric of Dependency Theory," *Callaloo* 20, no. 4 (1998): 822.

[28]Ibid., 825.

[29]Kari Levitt, "Globalization: Reality and Ideology," in Cateau and Carrington, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 197–233.

[30]Barbara Solow and Stanley Engerman, eds., *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (New York, 1987).

[31]Sandra Pouchet Pacquet, ed., "Eric Williams and the Postcolonial Caribbean," *Callaloo* 20, no. 2 (1998). Then, the School of Continuing Studies, an arm of the University of the West Indies, put out two volumes: Rita Pemberton and Brinsley Samaroo, eds., Eric Williams: Images of Life/1 in *Caribbean Issues*: Vol. 8, no. 1 (1998) and Eric Williams: Images of His Life/11: Vol. 8, no. 2 (1999).

[32]Selwyn Carrington, *The Sugar Industry and the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (Tallahassee, FL, 2002).

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