### Was Racial Slavery Illegal Under English Law?

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Larry Kenneth Alexander, Founder and President Ida B. Wells Center on American Exceptionalism and Restorative Justice





2025 ASALH Annual Conference

# An Academic Lecture on English Law, Colonial America, and the Founding Paradox

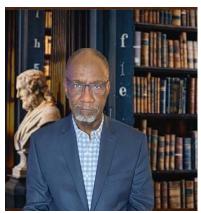
Dr. Walter D. Greason, Dewitt Wallace Professor of History Macalester College, St. Paul, MN

Dr. Walter Greason is the founding scholar and historian of Afrofuturist Design. He is an author, editor, and contributor to more than twenty books, mostly notably the award-winning books Suburban Erasure, Illmatic Consequences, The Black Reparations Project, and The Graphic History of Hip Hop. His work on the Timothy Thomas Fortune Cultural Center has garnered international acclaim for the innovative use of digital technology, leading to multiple urban revitalization projects in Minnesota, Florida, New Jersey, and Louisiana. He appeared on dozens of mass media outlets in the United States and around the world.

#### Larry Kenneth Alexander, Founder and President Ida B. Wells Center on American Exceptionalism and Restorative Justice

Larry Kenneth Alexander is a St. Paul, Minnesota-based author whose work focuses on cultural theory, history, and justice, particularly concerning the roots of racial inequality in America. He is a proponent of Afrofuturism, offering a "speculative and justice-driven reimagining of Black futures". His research explores how the enslavement of Black colonists after the Treaty of Paris formed a crucial part of the American economy and history, a concept he discusses in his books and presentations. He is an advocate against cultural amnesia and anti-intellectual elitism within America's social and political fabric. He founded the Ida B. Wells Center on American Exceptionalism and Restorative Justice, an organization dedicated to exploring and addressing systemic issues related to race and justice.





## Introduction: America's Founding Paradox



Orthodox narrative: racial slavery was lawfully inherited from British rule



Founders admitted racial slavery was abolished by the American Colonies Act (1766)



Parliament had sovereignty over slave laws in the Kingdom



Slavery continued due to colonial government graft and corruption

#### **Constitutional Foundations**

Magna Carta (1215): due process protections Case of Proclamations
(1611): only
Parliament could
legislate in the
Kingdom

First 19 Africans in 1619 were indentured servants, not slaves because of English law







#### **Colonial Charters**





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Charters provided for a bicameral legislature; required imperial government approval

Colonial assemblies could only propose ordinances; required assent

Virginia law: partus sequitur ventrem did not change English law

No royal or Parliament approval meant that racial slavery was extralegal

### Bacon's Rebellion (1675–1676)



#### Causes:

Land disputes, class tensions, grievances against elites



Multiracial coalition of poor whites, Africans, servants



Rebellion revealed potential for class solidarity; armed uprising, Jamestown, VA burned



Suppression hardened racial categories; created the white race



Racial slavery entrenched politically, not legally

### English Bill of Rights (1689)



Reaffirms Parliament's supreme legislative authority



Codified habeas corpus protections into constitutional law



No subject could be deprived of liberty without lawful cause



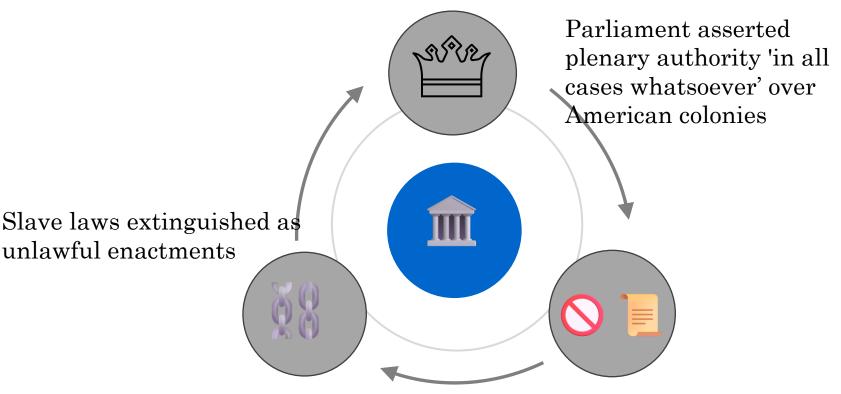
Extra-legal slave laws became constitutionally foul



No statute authorized racial slavery bondage legally indefensible

### American Colonies Act (1766)

[aka Declaratory Act]



Colonial laws repugnant to English Bill of Rights null and void

### Somerset v. Stewart (1772)





Lord Mansfield: 'slavery so odious, can only exist by positive law' enacted by Parliament



No Parliamentary enacted slavery statute existed



Judicial confirmation: slavery was not approved and authorized in the Kingdom —— Somerset discharged

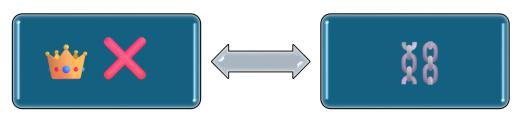
## Declaration of Independence (1776)



Preamble:

'all men are created equal'
echoed rights of Englishmen
in the American colonies





Grievance:

King 'abolished our most valuable laws'
nullifed slave laws

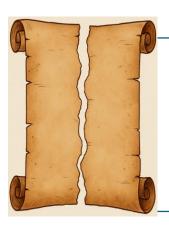
Paradox:

liberty proclaimed, bondage defended

### **Key Grievances**



"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:"

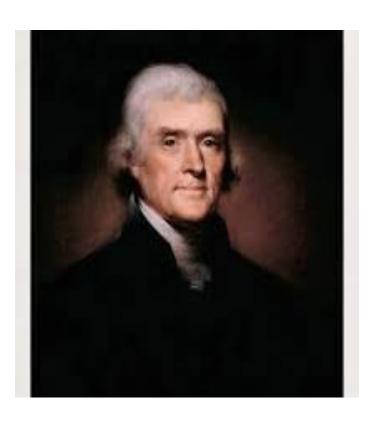


"For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments."

## Linking Magna Carta to Declaration of Independence

Magna Carta Guarantee	Colonial American Application	Revolutionary Complaint (1776)
No free man shall be seized or imprisoned except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land.	Foundation of due process. Cited in colonial courts to resist arbitrary imprisonment and property seizure.	"For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury." "For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences."
To no one will we sell, to no one deny or delay, right or justice.	Colonists claimed equal access to courts and justice as Englishmen.	"For obstructing the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers."
Consent to taxation through common counsel.	No taxation without representation. Assemblies saw themselves as lawful parliaments.	"For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent."
Protection of property rights.	Charters guaranteed secure property rights under English law.	"For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments."
Rule of law above the King.	Colonists cited Coke: even the monarch must govern by law.	"He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good." "He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone"

#### Jefferson's Contradictions





Summary View (1774): denounced Parliamentary sovereignty





Knew colonial assemblies lacked authority for slavery



Ignorance of English law is no excuse



Congress 'mangled' his Declaration

## Phillipsburg Proclamation (1779)

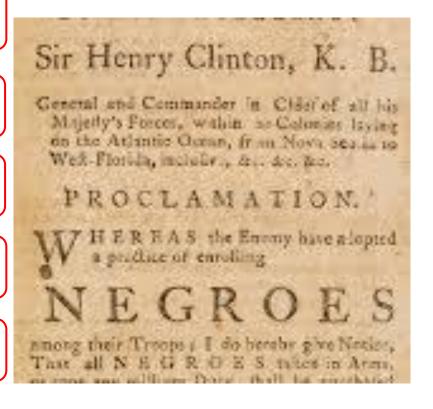
Issued under imperial authority by Sir Henry Clinton

Direct exercise of plenary authority emancipated Afro-Englishmen

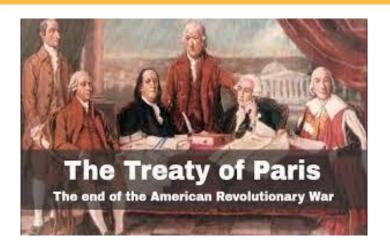
Freed all enslaved colonials

Congress later conceded British authority in Treaty of Paris (1783)

Confirmed legitimacy of imperial emancipation under English law



#### Treaty of Paris (1783)



Ratified British plenary authority during the Revolution Secured rights of British subjects, including Black Loyalists United States refused to give due process to 500,000 Afro-Englishmen; ignored the Book of Negroes

Betrayed the rule of law and international norms

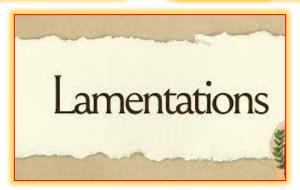
#### Jefferson's Later Reflections



Notes on the State of Virginia (1785): slavery's corrupting influence



Feared cycle of racial tyranny passed to future generations





Debased both enslaved and enslavers



Trembled for America under God's justice

### Epilogue: Law, Memory, Reckoning

Chain of law

Magna Carta Bill of Rights

American Colonies Act

Somerset

- Slavery extra-legal, not approved by Parliament  $\rightarrow$  stayed unlawful
- U.S. slavery founded on legal fiction of British inheritance
- Memory institutions (NMAAHC and ASALH) preserve true history
- Douglass: the Fourth of July a day of mourning for the excluded
- · Reckoning with the past necessary for democracy's survival

### Questions??



### Ida B. Wells Center on American Exceptionalism and Restorative Justice



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