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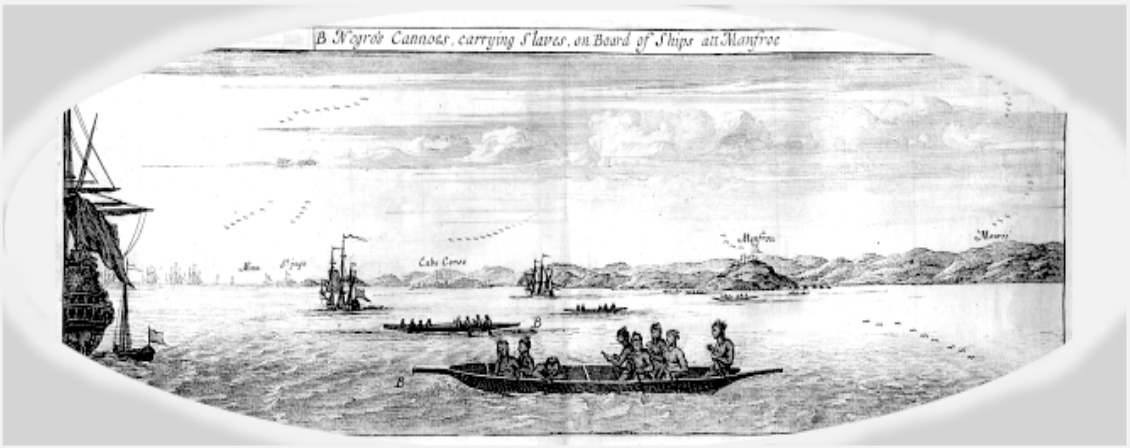
The Atlantic Slave Trade

A Unit of Study for Grades 7–12

Jeremy Ball



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Jeremy Ball developed this unit during the course of his Ph.D. studies in African History at the University of California, Los Angeles. He earned a teaching credential through the Yale Teacher Preparation Program in 1998 and taught at High School in the Community in New Haven, Connecticut and The Buckley School in Sherman Oaks, California.

Both Ross Dunn, Director of World History Projects for the National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS), and David Vigilante, Associate Director, served as developmental editors of the unit. Gary B. Nash, Director of NCHS, offered suggestions and corrections. Marian McKenna Olivas served as the layout and photo editor and created the maps.

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INTRODUCTION

I. APPROACH AND RATIONALE

The Atlantic Slave Trade is one of over sixty teaching units published by the National Center for History in the Schools that are the fruits of collaborations between history professors and experienced teachers of both United States and World History. The units represent specific issues and dramatic episodes in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of these selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative. By studying crucial turning points in history, the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected issues and dramatic moments that best bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history in an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow's history.

Our teaching units are based on primary sources, taken from government documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers, magazines, literature, contemporary photographs, paintings, and other art from the period under study. What we hope to achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to remove the distance that students feel from historical events and to connect them more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to recreate for your students a sense of "being there," a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian's craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

II. CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

Within this unit, you will find: Teaching Background Materials, including Unit Overview, Unit Context, Correlation to the National Standards for History, Unit Objectives, and Introduction to *The Atlantic Slave Trade*; A Dramatic Moment; and Lesson Plans with Student Resources. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. Although these lessons are recommended for use by grades 7–12, they can be adapted for other grade levels.

The Teacher Background section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the **Dramatic Moment** to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The Lesson Plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. The resources consist of primary source documents, handouts and student background materials, and a bibliography.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.

Teacher Background

I. Unit Overview

The Atlantic Slave Trade is divided into five lessons: **Lesson One** explores the origins of the Atlantic slave trade, **Lessons Two** and **Three** focus on the process of enslavement in West Africa and the Middle Passage, The fourth lesson deals with the arrival in the Americas, and **Lesson Five** delves into early attempts to end the slave trade. Students, using primary source materials, examine the differences and similarities between slavery as practiced in the Americas and Africa. The purposes of this unit are to explore the complexity and geographic breadth of the institution of slavery, to examine the experiences of actual participants in the Atlantic slave trade, to evaluate the role of Europe and Africa traders, and to appraise arguments for and against the abolition of the trade.

Lessons in the unit also afford students the opportunity to read and analyze documents written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The unit also challenges students to develop the skills needed to analyze the reliability of these primary source documents. Students are encouraged to identify the source of the document, the perspective of the individual writing the document, and the recognition of clues that signal the author's purpose.

II. Unit Context

This unit may be used in world history courses for a study of slavery and the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In addition it may be used as part of a study of the Age of Exploration in either world or United States history. The unit may be employed in either a chronological approach or as a thematic study of slavery and the slave trade.

III. Correlation to National History Standards

The Atlantic Slave Trade correlates with the *National Standards for History, Basic Edition* (National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA, 1996), **Era 6** of World History, "Global Expansion and Encounter, 1450–1770." Specific standards addressed by the lessons include **Standard 1A** dealing with the origins and consequences of European overseas expansion, **1B** on encounters between Europeans and the people of Africa and the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires in the Americas, **4B** on the origins and consequences of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and **4C** dealing with patterns of change in Africa in the era of the slave trade. The unit may also be used to help achieve several United States History standards. In **Era 1**, "Three Worlds Meet," **Standard 1C** students are to

analyze the varieties of slavery in Western Africa and explore the varying responses of African states to early European trading and raiding on the Atlantic African coast. **Era 2**, "Colonization and Settlement," **Standard 1A** deals with the arrival of Africans in the European colonies in the 17th century and the rapid increase of slave importation in the 18th century and **3C** focuses on African life under slavery.

IV. Objectives

1. To understand the complexity and geographical breadth of the institution of slavery.

2. To identify the major geographical sources and destinations of slaves traded across the Atlantic between Africa and the Americas.

3. To analyze primary sources written by participants in the Atlantic Slave Trade in order to understand the process of enslavement.

4. To explore early attempts to end the slave trade.

V. Lesson Plans

1. Slavery: Definition, Extent, and Justifications (Duration: 2 days)
2. Enslavement (Duration: 2 days)
3. Middle Passage (Duration: 2 days)
4. Arrival in the Americas (Duration: 1 day)
5. Ending the Slave Trade (Duration: 1–2 days)

VI. Introduction to *The Atlantic Slave Trade*

The movement of Africans to the Americas from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries may be accounted as mankind's second-largest transoceanic migration. This migration, along with the concurrent African migration to the Middle East and North Africa, was distinct from other major modern migrations in its involuntary nature, and in the high rates of mortality and social dislocation caused by the methods of capture and transportation. A related migratory pattern, the capture and settling of millions of slaves within Africa, grew up in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Africa as a consequence of the two patterns of overseas slave trade.

The American Perspective

David Eltis posed, in a 1983 article, a striking contrast in the population history of the Americas. By 1820, there had been about 8.4 million African immigrants to the Americas, and 2.4 million European immigrants. But by that date the Euro-American population of some 12 million exceeded the Afro-American population of about 11 million. The rates of survival and reproduction of African immigrants were, apparently, dramatically lower than those of European immigrants. Eltis's contrast drew attention to the demographic comparisons necessary to make sense of this puzzle: the rates of fertility and mortality, the timing and location of immigration, the sex ratios and the social identification of persons.

The migratory history of African slaves, once they landed in the Americas, continued through several further stages. The initial period of seasoning can be considered as migration through a change in status. Further, slaves were physically transshipped, often over considerable distances. Slaves brought by the Dutch to Curaçao and by the English to Jamaica were transshipped to Cartagena, Portobelo, and on to various Spanish colonies. From Cartagena, some slaves were settled in Colombia. A larger number of slaves went to Portobelo in Panama, walked overland, and then went by sea to Lima. Most remained there, but some went into the highlands. Slaves landed in the Rio de La Plata went overland for 900 kilometers to Tucuman and then on for another 600 kilometers to the silver mines at Potosi. In Brazil, with the gold rush in Minas Gerais at the turn of the eighteenth century, slaves were sent overland to the mining areas, 300 kilometers from Rio and a much longer distance overland from Bahia. Slaves entering the Chesapeake and South Carolina came, in significant proportion, after stopping in Barbados. A final stage in the migration of some slaves was their liberation—either by emancipation, self-purchase, or escape.

One reason for emphasizing the number of distinct stages in the migration of Africans is to draw attention to the distinct rates of mortality at each stage. The mortality which is best known is that of the Atlantic crossing. The point here is that slaves who survived the crossing had then to undergo various other types of high mortality: that of further travel within the Americas, that of seasoning in the locale where they were settled, and that of daily existence in slave status, where mortality was generally higher than for equivalent persons of free status. To this list must be added the fact that most slaves were settled in low-lying tropical areas where the general level of mortality was greater than in higher, temperate regions.

Most of the work of slaves could be categorized into the occupations of mining, plantation work, artisanal work, transport, and domestic service. In Spanish America, slaves were concentrated most visibly in mining and artisanal work until the late eighteenth century, when sugar and tobacco plantation work began to dominate Cuba while slavery declined elsewhere. In Brazil, sugar plantation work dominated the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while mining work expanded greatly in the eighteenth century. The English and French Caribbean focused on sugar production, though coffee and livestock occupied significant numbers of slaves. Tobacco production occupied large numbers of slaves in Bahia and North America; cotton production expanded from the 1760s in Maranhao, and later in the American South.

The rise to profitability of this succession of industries seems to have provided the main "pull" factor driving the movement of slaves to the Americas from Africa. The demand for sugar workers in sixteenth-century Brazil, the seventeenth-century Caribbean, and nineteenth-century Cuba brought a supply response from Africa. That is, African slave sellers made efforts to met the demand. Similarly, the demand for mine workers in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais and New Granada brought an African response. Overall, the African and African-descended population of the Americas grew steadily through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though it went into decline for as much as several decades whenever and wherever the import of additional slaves came to a halt.

The African Perspective

From the standpoint of the African continent, the slave trade to the Americas interacted with other migratory movements, including slave trading within Africa. Before the seventeenth century, sub-Saharan African societies lacked the powerful states and the lucrative trade routes necessary to support an extensive system of slavery, so that slavery in Africa was almost everywhere a marginal institution. The exceptions were the large states of the Saharan fringe, notably

the Songhai empire. The trade in slaves to Saharan oases, to North Africa, and to West Asia took an estimated ten thousand persons per year in the sixteenth century. The oceanic slave trade from Africa in the sixteenth century was dominated by the movement of slaves to Europe and to such Atlantic islands as the Canaries and São Tomé.

By the mid-seventeenth century the carrying of slaves to Europe and the Atlantic islands had declined sharply, and the trans-Atlantic trade had expanded to the point where it exceeded the volume of the Saharan trade. The expansion of the Occidental trade brought, as a by-product, the development of an Africa trade: growth in slave exports led to the creation of expanded networks of slave supply, and these permitted wealthy Africans to buy slaves in unprecedented numbers.

The movement of so many slaves to the African coast for export entailed large-scale capture and migration. Distances for the movement of slaves to the coast could be small (an average of less than 100 kilometers for the large number of slaves from the Bight of Benin in the early eighteenth century), or they could be immense (some 600 kilometers for the Bambara slaves from West Africa who formed the nucleus of the Louisiana slave population; similar distances for slaves of the Lunda who passed through Angola on their way to the Argentine). These distances, traveled slowly and over long periods, brought high mortality with them.

This grim tale of slave mortality is not the whole of the story, of course, in that the purpose of the slave trade was to deliver live workers to the purchasers. We should therefore mention, at least, the economic network developed for supply of the trade in Africa. Considerable labor and investment were required to provide transport, finance, food, clothing, lodging, guards, and medicine for the slaves. These systems of slave delivery, though they differed from region to region, became a significant element in the African economic landscape.

The most obvious "push" factors sending African slaves across the Atlantic were war and famine. The savanna areas of marginal rainfall—Angola and the grasslands extending from Senegambia east to Cameroon—underwent periodic drought and famine, and in these times desperate families sold both children and adults. The relation between warfare and enslavement is obvious, but on the other hand there have been two centuries of debate over whether the African wars broke out for purely domestic reasons, or whether the European demand for slaves stimulated additional wars.

Overall, the export of slaves from Africa halted and then reversed growth of the continent's population. During the seventeenth century, such population decline took place in restricted areas of coastal Senegambia, Upper Guinea, and

Angola. After about 1730, the decline became general for the coast from Senegal to Angola, and continued to about 1850. The decline was slow rather than precipitous. Even though the number of slaves exported averaged little more than three per thousand of the African regional population, and even though the trade took more males than females, the combination of the mortality of capture and transportation with the concentration of captures on young adults meant that Africa lost enough young women to reverse a growth rate of five per thousand. The same processes transformed the structure of the population, causing the adult sex ratio to decline to an average of 80 men per 100 women.

A Global Perspective

Despite the immigration of Europeans and Africans, the total population of the Americas declined in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While estimates of the pre-Columbian populations must remain speculative, the population of the Americas fell from perhaps 80 million to as little as five million persons during the seventeenth century. The chief reason for this massive mortality was the introduction of new infectious diseases from Eurasia and Africa.

The threatened void of population in the Americas encouraged the transformation of African slavery from a marginal institution to a central element in a global system of population and labor. The global market for slaves encompassed the Americas, Africa, the Indian Ocean and Western Asia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; it interacted more broadly with the systems of population and labor in the Americas, Europe, and Western Asia. When slave prices rose sharply (as they did at the turn of the eighteenth century) or fell significantly (as they did in the eastern hemisphere in the early nineteenth century), slave laborers were moved in new directions in response to economic incentives. Similarly, free workers on every continent moved in response to these changes in the value of labor.

Before 1600, African migration to the Americas, while it may have exceeded European migration, was small in magnitude. During the time when the Indian population was declining but still large, Africans in the Americas, while usually in slave status, were nonetheless often persons of relatively high value, serving in the military and in artisanal tasks. In Brazil, large-scale enslavement of Indians for work on sugar plantations characterized the late sixteenth century. African laborers, concentrated at first in the skilled occupations on the plantations, gradually displaced the disappearing Indians at all levels of work.

In the seventeenth century, the scarcity of Indian laborers made Africans appear, by comparison, more plentiful. Still, for much if not all of the century,

the addition of African and European immigrants and their progeny was insufficient to offset the decline in Indian population.

By the eighteenth century, all the major population groups—those of Indian, European, African, and mestizo or mulatto ancestry—were growing, though from a very sparse base. However, in this period the large-scale removal of Africans from their homes to serve as slaves in the Americas, with all its attendant carnage, brought population decline for region after region in Africa, and finally for the western African coast as a whole. Consequently, the African addition to the population of the Americas (both by immigration and by natural reproduction) was insufficient to make up for the loss of population in Africa. The centrality of African labor was costly to the slaves, and was costly in the longer run to their societies of origin. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the populations of Europe, the Americas, and Asia grew at unprecedented rates, apparently as a result of certain social changes and perhaps improved public health conditions. In the nineteenth century these rapidly growing populations spun off millions of migrants, who searched near and far for the means to make a better living. For Africa, in contrast, the population remained stagnant or in decline, and labor migration mostly took place, even within the continent, by the forcible means which interfered with population growth.

The transatlantic migration of slaves brought a rich African contribution to the culture of the Americas—in religion, cuisine, pharmacopia, agricultural techniques, dress, language and philosophy. In language the African impact can be seen in two ways. First is in the development of the Creole languages, such as Haitian Creole, Jamaican Patois, Papiamento of the Dutch West Indies, and Gullah of South Carolina. In these languages the vocabulary is both European and African, and the grammar is mostly African. Haitian Kreyol is now a written official language of the country, and the similar Creole of the French Antilles is becoming the leading language of a new wave of multicultural music. Second is the impact of African speech on English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese as spoken in the Americas. The single biggest reason for the differences in these languages on the two sides of the Atlantic is the contribution of African expressions in the Americas.

These and other cultural patterns of the migration can be looked at in two ways. The first is in terms of survivals: that is, the continuity of West African religion in the vodou of Haiti, or of West African cuisine in the gumbo or hot barbecue sauce of the American South. But we can also set African contributions to New World culture in patterns of change and innovation. Here the obvious example is in jazz music, which by definition is always in change, but where the rules for musical innovation can be traced back to Africa.

In addition to the heritage from Africa, the heritage of slavery created distinct patterns of community for Africans in the Americas. Other immigrants, arriving as free persons, had the opportunity to establish their own communities, in which people of similar linguistic and cultural background built up strong local units, usually maintaining some contact with the homeland. These ranged from Swiss farming towns in the American Midwest to Cantonese merchant communities to rural Japanese communities in Brazil. African communities in the Americas were largely prevented from recreating their home societies in this way because they were not free to move, and people of varying ethnic groups were often mixed purposely by their owners to reduce solidarity. As a result, inhabitants of African settlements in the Americas tended to refer back to Africa in general rather than to particular African regions. They thought of a romanticized African past rather than of the latest news because they were cut off from home. Hence, they constructed a new, creolized culture out of the traditions available to them rather than maintain the traditions of a particular Old World region. Quite logically, therefore, the idea of the unity of Africa grew up in the Americas.

Most of the slaves died early and without progeny. In the Americas, much of their produce was exported, consumed, and soon forgotten. Still, ample evidence remains of how slaves constructed cities and cleared farms. Particular emphasis should be given to the value of the work done by African slaves—in the Americas, in Africa, and in the Orient—because the racist ideology in the last 150 years has denied their importance in constructing the world we live in, as well as denying the underdevelopment of Africa that resulted in part from their forced migration. The very term "Western Civilization," which is used to describe the continents of Europe, North and sometimes South America, reflects this denial of Africa's role in the modern world. The term carries with it the implication that the wealth and the achievement of these continents springs solely from the heritage of Europe. The migration discussed above is one of many ways to demonstrate that there is more to the modern world than the expansion of Europe.

Adapted from Patrick Manning, "Migrations of Africans to the Americas: The Impact of Africans, Africa, and the new World," *The History Teacher* 26 (May 1993): 279–296.
A reprint of the full text of this essay also appears in Ross E. Dunn and David Vigilante, eds., *Bring History Alive: A Sourcebook for Teaching World History* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA, 1996), pp. 273–283.

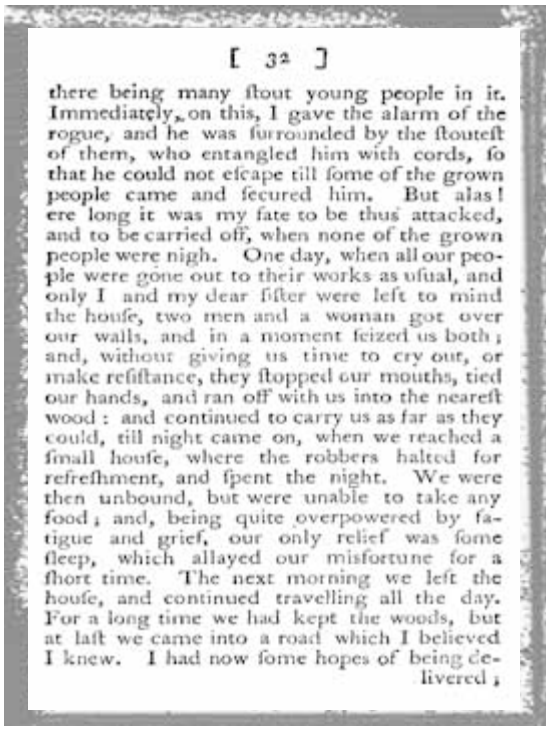
Dramatic Moment

One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as usual, and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment seized us both, and, without giving us time to cry out, or make resistance, they stopped our mouths, and ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands, and continued to carry us as far as they could, till night came on, when we reached a small house, where the robbers halted for refreshment, and spent the night. We were then unbound, but were unable to take any food; and, being quite overpowered by fatigue and grief, our only relief was some sleep, which allayed out misfortune for a short time. The next morning we left the house, and continued travelling all the day. For a long time we had kept the woods, but at last we came into a road which I believed I knew. I had now some hopes of being delivered; for we had advanced but a little way before I discovered some people at a distance, on which I began to cry out for their assistance: but my cries had no other effect than to make them tie me faster and stop my mouth, and then they put me into a large sack. They also stopped my sister's mouth, and tied her hands; and in this manner we proceeded till we were out of the sight of these people. When we went to rest the following night they offered us some victuals; but we refused it; and the only comfort we had was in being in one another's arms all that night, and bathing each other with our tears. But alas! we were soon deprived of even the small comfort of weeping together. The next day proved a day of greater sorrow than I had yet experienced; for my sister and I were then separated, while we lay clasped in each other's arms. It was in vain that we besought them not to part us; she was torn from me, and immediately carried away, while I was left in a state of distraction not to be described. I cried and grieved continually; and for several days I did not eat any thing but what they forced into my mouth. At length, after many days travelling, during which I had often changed masters, I got into the hands of a chieftain, in a very pleasant country. . . .

I was again sold and carried through a number of places, till, after travelling a considerable time, I came to a town called Timneh, in the most beautiful country I had yet seen in Africa. It was extremely rich, and there were many rivulets which flowed through it, and supplied a large pond in the centre of the town, where the people washed. Here I first saw and tasted cocoa nuts, which I thought superior to any nuts I had ever tasted before; and the trees, which were loaded, were also interspersed among the houses, which had commodious shades adjoining and were in the same manner as ours, the insides being neatly plastered and whitewashed. Here I also saw and tasted for the first time sugar-cane. Their money consisted of little white shells the size of a finger nail. I was sold here for one hundred seventy-two of them by a merchant who lived and brought me there. . . .

At last I came to the banks of a large river, which was covered with canoes in which the people appeared to live with their household utensils and provisions of all kinds. I was beyond measure astonished at this, as I had never before seen any water larger than a pond or a rivulet; and my surprise was mingled with no small fear when I was put into one of those canoes, and we began to paddle and move along the river. We continued going on thus till night; and when we came to land, and made fires on the banks. . . . Thus I continued to travel, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, through several different countries, and various nations, till, at the end of six months after I had been kidnapped, I arrived at the sea coast. . . .

Source: Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavas Vassa, the African* (Leeds: James Nichols, 1814), pp. 21–22, 27, 30–31.



[32]

there being many ſtout young people in it. Immediately, on this, I gave the alarm of the rogue, and he was ſurrounded by the ſtouteſt of them, who entangled him with cords, ſo that he could not eſcape till ſome of the grown people came and ſecured him. But alas! ere long it was my fate to be thus attacked, and to be carried off, when none of the grown people were nigh. One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as uſual, and only I and my dear ſiſter were left to mind the houſe, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment ſeized us both; and, without giving us time to cry out, or make reſiſtance, they ſtopped our mouths, tied our hands, and ran off with us into the neareſt wood: and continued to carry us as far as they could, till night came on, when we reached a ſmall houſe, where the robbers halted for refreſhment, and ſpent the night. We were then unbound, but were unable to take any food; and, being quite overpowered by fatigue and grief, our only relief was ſome ſleep, which allayed our misfortune for a ſhort time. The next morning we left the houſe, and continued travelling all the day. For a long time we had kept the woods, but at laſt we came into a road which I believed I knew. I had now ſome hopes of being delivered;

Page print from Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (Norwich: The Author, 1794).
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Unit Map

Map 1

Lesson One
Slavery: Definition, Extent, and Justifications

A. Objectives

- To define the term 'slavery'.
- To identify the characteristics of slavery in Africa, the Middle East, and the Americas.
- To map origins and destinations of African slaves.
- To explain the legal and illegal means of enslavement.

B. Historical Background

Historians have had a continuing debate about the extent and nature of slavery among sub-Saharan African societies before the advent of the demand for slaves from outside. Exactly when this external demand began is not known. Slaves from sub-Saharan Africa were being traded across the Sahara Desert and throughout the Indian Ocean Basin as far back as at least the seventh century C.E. (The Saharan slave trade is discussed in **Student Handout 1**). The trade in slaves to Europe and European colonies in the Americas began in the mid-fifteenth century with Portuguese explorations along the west coast of Africa. In 1445 the Portuguese built a fort on Arguin Island, off the coast of Mauritania, for the purpose of buying gold and slaves. During the next fifty years, Portuguese sailors made their way down the coast. From 1500, the Portuguese established sugar plantations on the island of São Tomé, off the coast of modern Gabon. They used slaves obtained from the Kongo Kingdom of west-central Africa, just south of the Congo River. During the sixteenth century, the immensely profitable sugar plantations of São Tomé were copied in Brazil and the Caribbean, creating a voracious demand for slave labor. The Atlantic slave trade reached its zenith in the eighteenth century when over 6 million Africans arrived in the Americas. Europeans also carried slaves to their colonies in South Africa and the Mascarene Islands (Mauritius and Reunion) in the Indian Ocean.

Slavery existed in Africa before the arrival of European traders on the coast. In most sub-Saharan African societies wealth was measured in persons. A wealthy lineage or state had large numbers of dependent people. In exchange for a share of their production and protection in times of famine or war, dependents provided labor. In addition to dependents,

lineages and states usually controlled the labor of slaves captured in war or enslaved as a penalty for a crime. Slaves did not share in the rights and privileges accorded to free members of the lineage or state.

In the initial years of Atlantic trade—before the creation of sugar plantations—Europeans were more interested in gold than slaves. As the demand for labor grew, however, Europeans increasingly sought slaves. African traders and political leaders agreed to trade slaves in exchange for prestigious European goods such as cloth and alcohol. With these prestige goods the Africans attracted greater numbers of dependents. Ironically, as power came increasingly to depend on access to European goods, and as it became more difficult to capture slaves from neighboring peoples, many African traders sacrificed the dependents that brought them prestige. West Africans were increasingly caught up in a violent cycle of slave raiding in order that elites might attain prestigious European goods to maintain their power.

The slave trade increased the number of locally held slaves, as societies kept some of them for domestic labor. Most of the slaves that remained in Africa were women, as men made up two-thirds of slaves traded across the Atlantic. The demographic impact of the slave trade is difficult to assess. In the areas where slaving was most intense, populations declined in real terms; in most other areas, population growth was slowed but overall numbers of people did not decrease.

Calculating the exact number of slaves traded in the Atlantic region is difficult owing to its breadth across time and space. The first comprehensive estimate of the trade was Phillip Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*, published in 1969. Curtin used actual port and shipping records to estimate the number of Africans landed (alive) on American shores as approximately 9.5 million. Curtin's path breaking research stimulated further work. In 1982 Paul Lovejoy, using Curtin's figures as a starting place, estimated a larger figure. Today Lovejoy's estimate is generally accepted as the best estimate available. The estimates by century of both historians are on the following page.

The statistics point to two important trends. First, the eighteenth century saw the height of the Atlantic slave trade. Second, the trade obviously continued even after the British abolished it in 1807. Even with naval patrols off the African coasts the British could not stop the trade as long as slavery continued in the Americas. The slave trade did not finally end until the abolition of slavery in the Americas, beginning with the British colonies in 1834; the French colonies in 1848; the United States in 1865; and in Brazil in and Cuba by 1888.

Curtin's Estmates (1969)		Lovejoy's Estimates (1982)	
Period	**Volume**	**Period**	**Volume**
1451–1600	274,000	1451–1600	367,000
1601–1700	1,341,000	1601–1700	1,868,000
1701–1810	6,051,700	1701–1800	6,133,000
1811–1870	1,898,400	1801–1900	3,330,000
TOTAL	**9,566,100**	TOTAL	**11,698,000**

Sources: Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade A Census* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 268; and Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis" in *Journal of African History* 23 (1982), pp. 494–500.

C. Lesson Activities

1. Ask students to define slavery. Write their explanations on the board. Have students read **Student Handout 1**. Ask students again to define slavery. Write their explanations on the board next to their earlier explanations. On the board create two columns; under one ask students to write characteristics of the slave trade to the Middle East; and under the second ask for characteristics of the slave trade to the Americas. Discuss in what ways slavery as practiced in Africa and the Middle East differed from slavery in the Americas and in what ways it was similar.

2. Ask students to fill in slave origins and destinations on the blank map, **Map 2**. Discuss the origins and destinations of slaves. Using **Graph 2** point out to students the distribution of slave imports to the Americas.

3. Break students into five groups and ask each one to calculate an average yearly number of slave imports to the Americas based on the numbers given in Graph 2. Assign Group 1 to calculate the years 1450–1600; Group 2 to calculate 1601–1700; Group 3 to calculate 1701–1800; Group 4 to calculate 1801–1900; and Group 5 to calculate the entire average 1450–1900.

4. Have students read **Student Handout 2**. Ask them what the author means by "legitimate" or "just" means of enslavement. Ask students what the author means by "illegitimate" or "unjust" means of enslavement.

Discussion Questions:

a. Why—if at all—were distinctions between "legal" and "illegal" means of enslavement were important during the four centuries of the Atlantic Slave Trade?

b. What impact did the growing demand for labor in the Americas have on justifications for slavery?

Slavery Defined

To begin our discussion it is necessary to define slavery. Coming from a Western and particularly North American perspective, we usually think of plantation-style racial slavery common in the Americas. To equate the slavery that existed in most African and Muslim societies with American slavery distorts some significant differences. Of course, slavery differed in practice from one society to the other; even within the United States slaves experienced different work regimes depending upon a number of variables including the attitudes of their master, the kind of work they performed, and where they lived. Whatever the differences, it is possible to agree on a definition to apply to slavery in all of its forms:

> Slavery was one form of exploitation. Its special characteristics included the idea that slaves were property; that they were outsiders who were alien by origin or who had been denied their heritage through judicial or other sanctions; that coercion could be used at will; that their labor power was at the complete disposal of a master; that they did not have the right to their own sexuality and, by extension, to their own reproductive capacities; and that the slave status was inherited unless provision was made to ameliorate that status.
>
> Source: Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983), p. 1.

Slavery—in its various forms—is ancient. It goes back thousands of years; it existed in ancient Greece, Rome, and Egypt. Slaves have come from various places at different times in history. One source of slaves was sub-Saharan Africa. The export of slaves from sub-Saharan Africa was linked to the expansion of the Muslim Arab empire across North Africa in the centuries after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 C.E. Muslims used their religion (Islam) to justify the enslavement of nonbelieving (i.e., non-Muslim) Africans. Most of these African slaves crossed the Sahara Desert in caravans, or came via the Red Sea and East African coast in boats. They ended up in the countries of North Africa or in the Middle East.

The majority of African slaves were destined for domestic service. Women and children were wanted in greater numbers than men. They were likely to be incorporated into Muslim society. Boys were trained for military or domestic service. Females became domestics, and the prettiest were placed in harems. Slavery in the Middle East was not a self-perpetuating institution, and those born into slavery formed a relatively small proportion of the slave population.

Most children of slaves were assimilated into Muslim society. This explains the absence today of an easily recognizable, socially distinct black population in the Middle East.

On the African side a number of conditions produced slaves for export: warfare, criminal convictions, kidnaping, debt, and drought. African merchants gathered slaves for shipment by boat and caravan to the markets of the north. The export trade was relatively modest for many centuries before the fifteenth century C.E and indeed did not really expand considerably until the nineteenth century. Exports amounted to a few thousand slaves per year at most times, and because the affected areas were often very extensive, the impact was usually minimized.

The slave trade that is by far the best documented is the Atlantic slave trade. One reason is that this trade transported a large number of people—approximately 11 million arrived alive in the Americas—between the mid-fifteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. Second, the Atlantic slave trade and the type of slavery practiced in the Americas created a large population of African descent. The peak of the trade occurred in the eighteenth century (see **Graph 1**) during which approximately 6 million slaves arrived alive in the Americas.

The Atlantic slave trade differed in some important respects from the trade to the Middle East. First, about two-thirds of slaves traded to the Americas were men. Second, the slavery practiced in America differed from slavery in the Middle East and Africa. The major difference between slavery in Africa and the Americas had to do with the way slaves were used. In European societies, and in the colonies they controlled, slaves were employed in work for which no hired laborer or tenant could be found or at least willing to undertake under conditions that the landowner wished. Consequently, slaves typically had difficult, demanding, and degrading work, and they were often mistreated by exploitative masters who were anxious to maximize profits. With the nearly insatiable demand for labor that grew with European conquest of the Americas and the development of staple agricultural crops, sugar for example, Europeans turned to Africa to provide large numbers of slaves. Europeans wanted to make money out of their American colonies, and they used slaves like machines. Slavery became a permanent, racially exclusive caste. Slave status was passed on to the next generation. Slaves had very few rights and were generally at the mercy of their owners. Perhaps no statistic explains the brutality of American slavery better than the demography of slave immigrants as compared to European immigrants. "By 1820, some 10 million Africans had migrated to the New World as compared to some 2 million Europeans. But in 1820, the New World white population of some 12 million was roughly twice as great as the black." (Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 37.)

This kind of chattel slavery in the Americas differed from what some historians call social or lineage slavery that existed in Africa prior to outside demand for slaves. In the preexisting African forms of slavery, slaves shared with their American counterparts an absence of freedom. African slavery differed from American slavery, however, in two important respects. First, slave status was not permanent. A gradual process of incorporation eventually resulted in the elimination of slave status, so that I might be a slave, but my children, and especially my grandchildren, would not share that status. Second, society was not arranged primarily around the creation of commercial wealth based on mass export of commodities like sugar to distant markets. Slaves might perform tasks disdained by free persons, but they were not worked to death on plantations geared around maximizing profit. Given the nature of African slavery (at least up until the nineteenth-century), some historians question the applicability of the term *slave*. Perhaps the eighteenth-century slave trader turned abolitionist John Newton best explained the distinction between African and American slavery:

> The state of slavery, among these wild barbarous people, as we esteem them, is much milder than in our colonies. For as, on the other hand, they have no land in high cultivation, like our West India plantations, and therefore no call for that excessive, unintermitted labour, which exhausts our slaves; so, on the other hand, no man is permitted to draw blood even from a slave. If he does, he is liable to a strict inquisition. . . . A man may sell his slave, if he pleases; but he may not wantonly abuse him. The laws, likewise, punish some species of theft with slavery; and in cases of adultery, which are very common, as polygamy is the custom of the country, both the woman, and the man who offends with her, are liable to be sold for slaves, unless they can satisfy the husband, or unless they are redeemed by their friends.
>
> Source: John Newton, *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (London, 1788), p. 106.

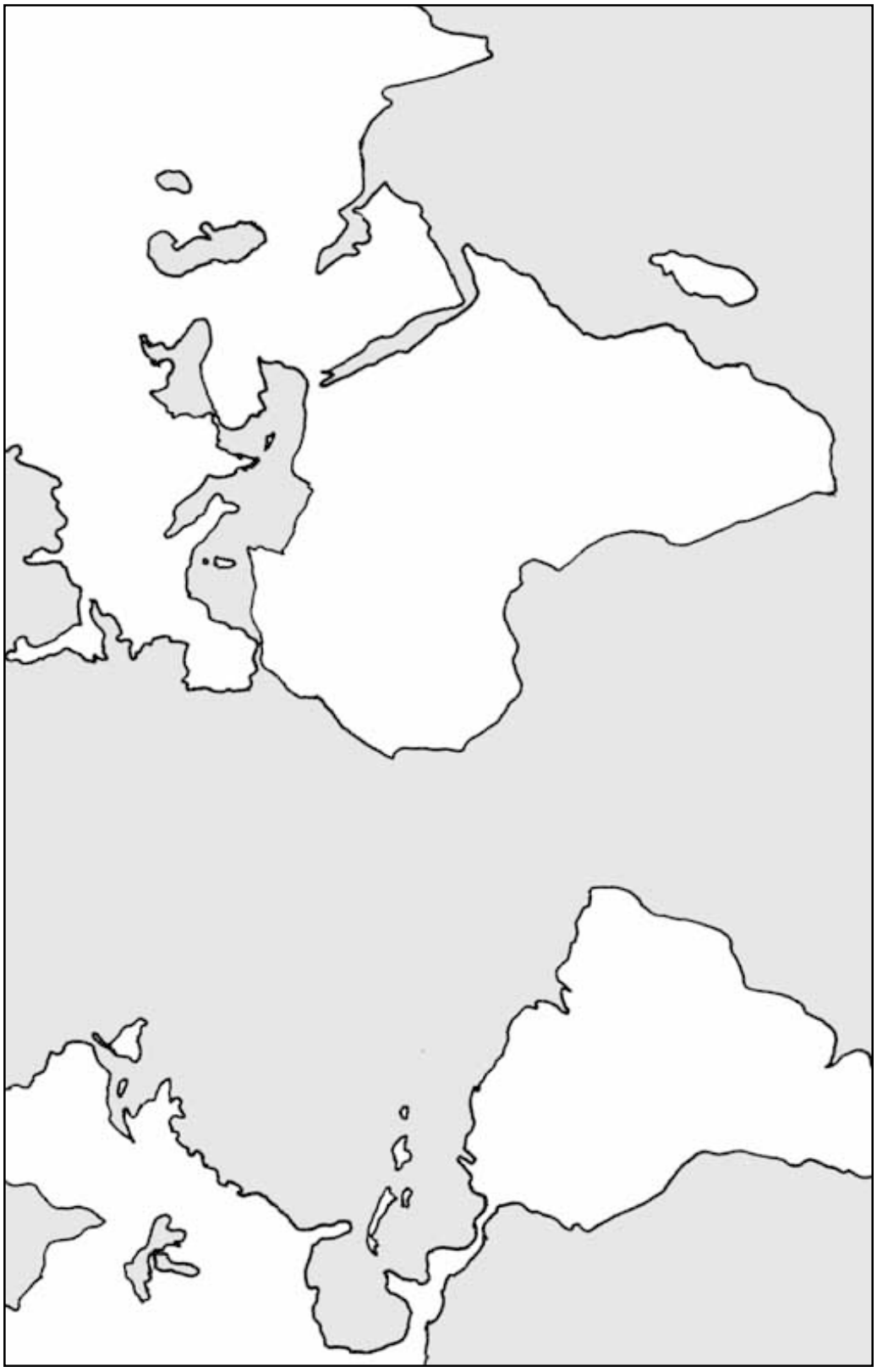
There is no such thing as "good" slavery and "bad" slavery. As our definition makes clear, slavery was a form of exploitation that varied in its conditions. Over the course of the Atlantic slave trade plantation-style production was introduced to parts of Africa. As in the Americas, these African-owned plantations produced for mass export, and slaves faced conditions very much akin to those in the Americas.

The figures below are for slaves landed alive in the Americas. These figures are estimates based on extensive research in shipping and port records. An exact figure for numbers of Africans involved in the Atlantic slave trade is impossible due to the sheer enormity of the trade across time and space, mortality at sea and

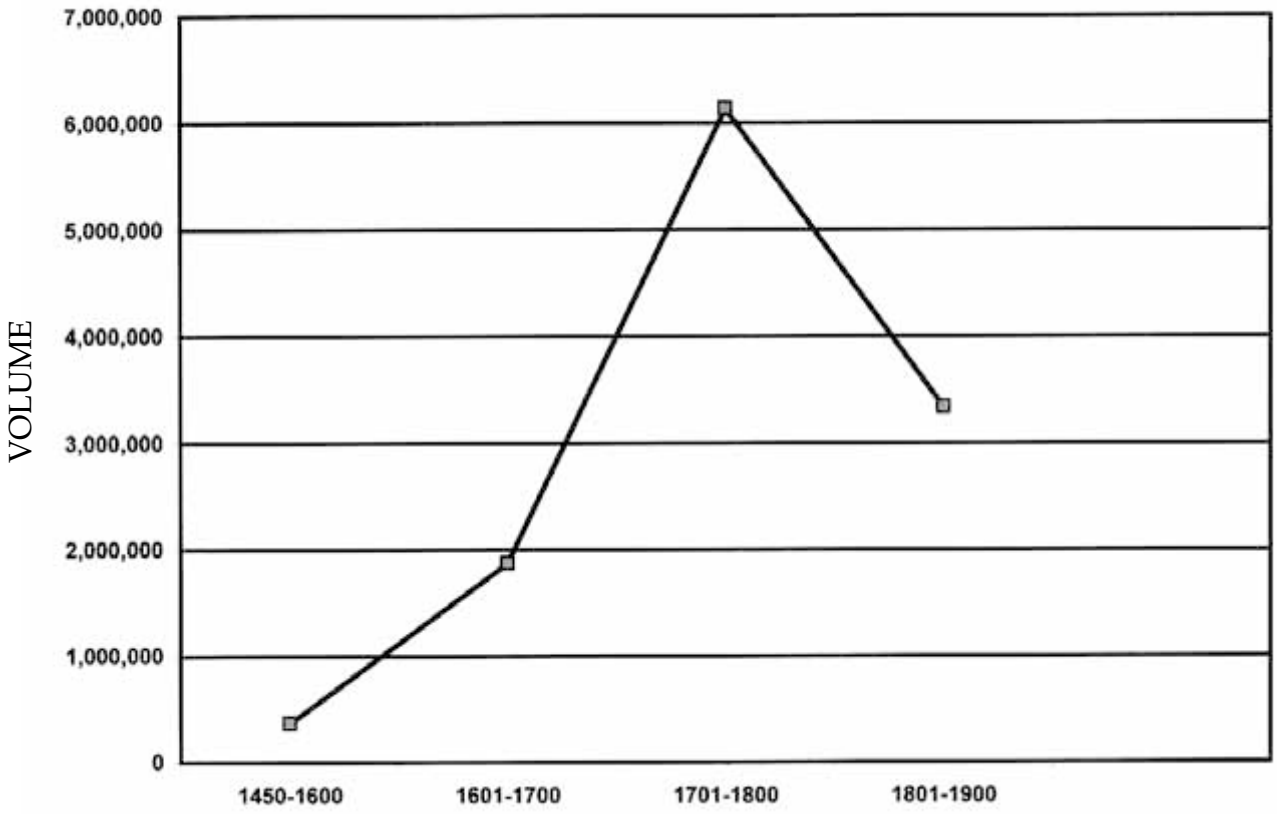
en route to the coast, and a lack of comprehensive records. Over the length of the trade—from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries—the average mortality rate on the Middle Passage (the journey across the Atlantic Ocean from the port of embarkation in Africa to port of debarkation in the Americas) was about 20%. The mortality between the point of capture in Africa and embarkation for the Americas was another 20%. Thus, the total figure for Africans captured into slavery was probably closer to 15 million.

Slaves came primarily from West and West-Central Africa including these regions: Senegambia, Upper Guinea, Gold Coast, Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra, Loango, and Angola. In the nineteenth century significant numbers of slaves came all the way from Mozambique in South-East Africa (See **Map 1**, p. 13). The two major destinations for slaves transported across the Atlantic were Brazil (about 40%) and the Caribbean (about 35%). The North American mainland received only about 5%. Spanish America received about 15% and Europe and islands off the coast of Africa including São Tomé and Cabo Verde received about 2% (see **Graph 1**).

Slave Origins and Destinations

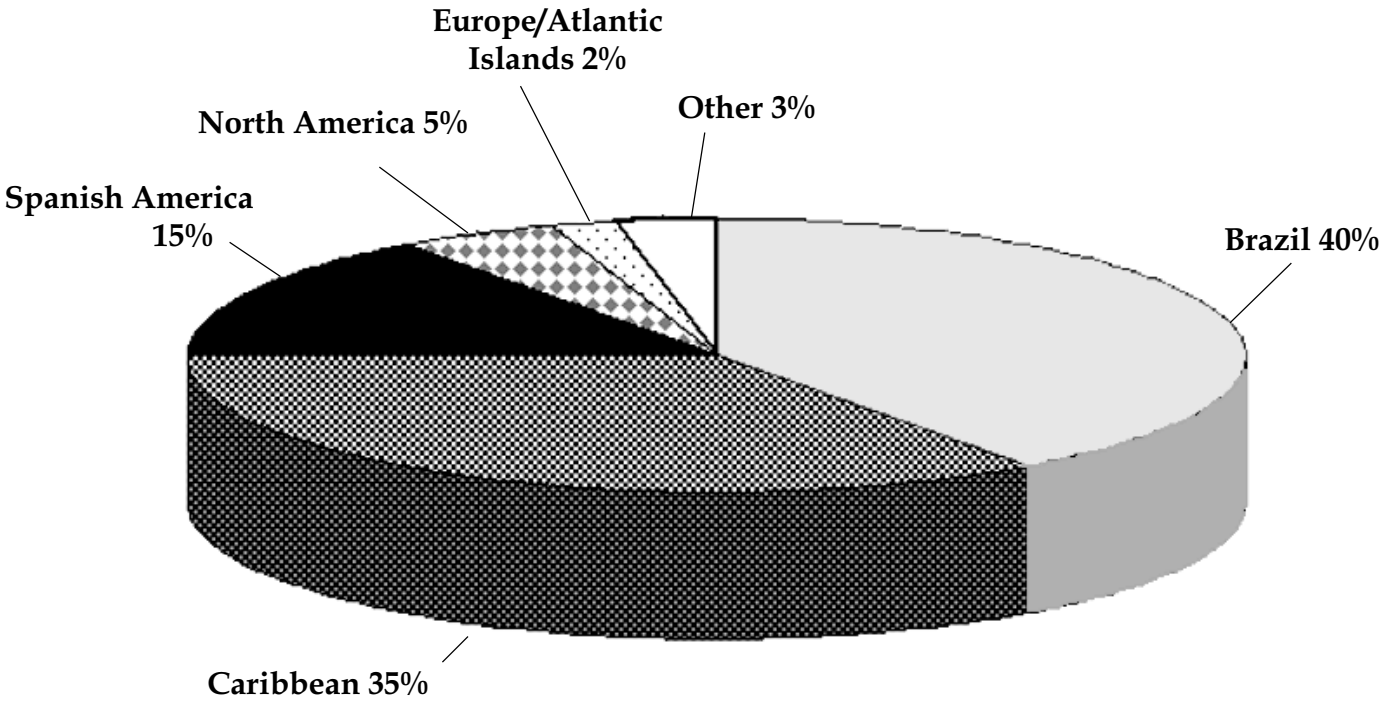


The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade



Based on statistics from Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis" in *Journal of African History* 23 (1982), pp. 494–500.

Destinations of Slaves Brought to the Americas



"Proposal to Your Majesty about Slavery in Lands Conquered by Portugal"

Anonymous, 1612
(Primary Source)

The following selection comes from a letter to King Philip III of Spain (Philip II of Portugal), in about 1612. The letter argues that the legal grounds on which the seventeenth-century Iberian kingdoms (Spain and Portugal) had based their enslavement of Africans were being abused. These legal grounds included: the concept of a "just war" in which "infidels" might be enslaved, the right of a local ruler to enslave his delinquent subjects, the individual's right to sell himself into slavery, and a needy father's privilege of selling his own children. Given the growing demand for labor in the Americas, new justifications for slavery had been invented, including kidnaping. The letter may have come from a priest because the writer expresses concern about the injustice of the enslavement process and the stultifying effect it has on the spread of Christianity.

Modern theologians in published books commonly report on, and condemn as Unjust, the acts of enslavement which take place in the Provinces of this Royal Empire, employing for this purpose the same principles by which the ancient theologians, doctors of canon law, and jurists have regulated legitimate and just acts of enslavement. According to these principles, only infidels who are captured in just wars, or who because of serious crimes have been condemned by their Rulers may be held as legitimate slaves, or if they sell themselves, or if they are sold by their own fathers who have legitimate need. And because, by the use of these four principles, great injustices are committed in the buying and selling of slaves in our Empire, as will late be seen, it is also certain that most of the slaves of this Empire are made so upon other pretexts, of which some are notoriously unjust, and others with great likelihood may be presumed to be so as well. Because on the entire Guinea Coast and at Cape Verde those persons called *tangosmãos* and other dealers in this merchandise, men of loose morals with no concern other than their own interests, commonly carry out their raiding expeditions up the rivers and in the remote interior far from these areas that are frequented by the Portuguese, by His Majesty's officials, and by the priests of those regions. They collect as many pieces (peça; or in other words persons) as they can, sometimes through deception, at other times through

violence, capturing them in ambushes when our ships arrive the natives themselves go out to hunt each other, as if they were stags, with the intention of selling them to us.

At other times our own people enslave many free persons as substitutes for the slaves who flee from them, merely because they are brothers or relatives of the runaways. And this wickedness is carried to the point that even the authorities seize the children and relatives of those who give them reasons to do so.

Also the blacks themselves falsely assert that the persons whom they bring to be sold are captured in a just war, or they say that they will butcher and eat them if they are not purchased. So that, of every thousand slaves who are captured, scarcely one-tenth will be justly enslaved, which is a notorious fact confirmed by all God-fearing men who reside or have resided in those places.

Not even the merchants themselves deny that they collect these slaves in the ways described, but they defend themselves saying that they transport them so that they may become Christians, and so that they may wear clothes and have more to eat, failing to recognize that none of this is sufficient to justify so much theft and tyranny, because as St. Paul says, those who perform evil acts in order to bring about some good are justly condemned before God. How much more is this true in a matter as serious as the freedom of human beings.

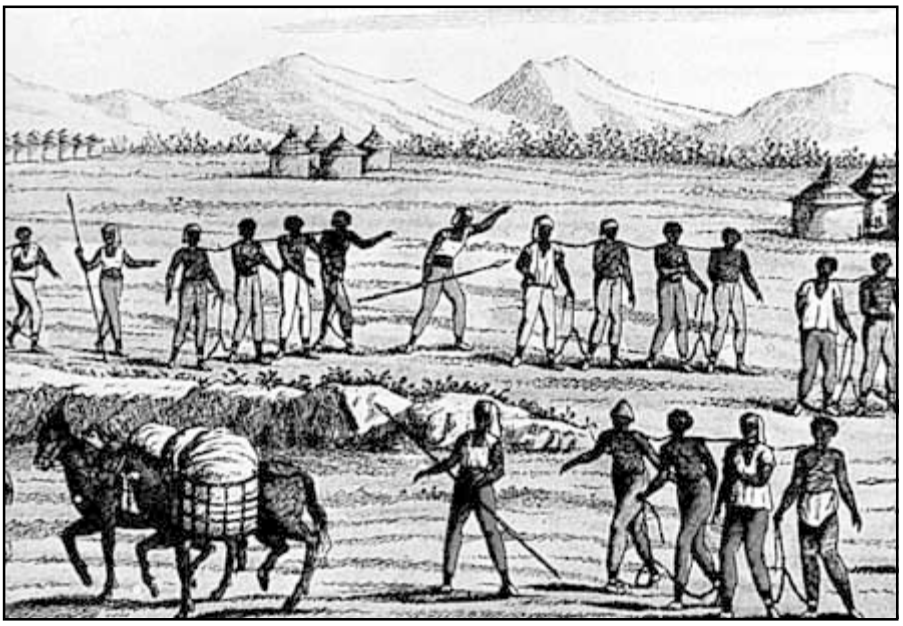
Finally, all these methods of enslavement are notoriously unjust, as are any others that are not those referred to above. And in those places even these may be commonly presumed to be unjust in the following ways:

> Concerning the principle of just war, it is known that, since they are infidels and barbarians, the Kings and private Lords of the entire Conquest [Portuguese colonial conquests in Africa, Asia, and America] are not normally motivated by reason when they make war, but rather by passion, nor do they examine or consult others about their right to do so. Therefore most of their wars are unjust wars carried on merely for greed, ambition, and other unjust causes. Often the same may be presumed about the wars carried on by individual Portuguese captains, because, greedy as they are to capture slaves and other prizes, they often do so without any concern for their consciences.
>
> The principle of condemning persons to perpetual slavery must be looked upon as a very questionable principle in the same places, and especially in Guinea and the land of the Kaffirs [southern and eastern Africa], because of an infinite number of persons are unjustly condemned to servitude for very trifling reasons, or because of some passion of their masters. Because, just as when among us someone displeases a King he is cast out of Court or loses his favored status, among them, his freedom is

attacked, and he and his whole family are enslaved, and all too often with a thousand tricks and much false testimony. . . .

Concerning the other two principles: the need to sell oneself to seek release from an unjust death or some other great misery; or being sold by one's father who is in dire need—these are the causes of many unjust acts of enslavement in those places. Because in some places, as has been said, some persons make a pretense of wanting to eat others, or of wishing to slaughter them, so that they can be sold. Many fathers sell their sons for almost nothing, without being in dire need which might justify such a sale, which is invalid and without any force in law, because the power is not given to a father to sell his minor son, except in dire need, according to common scholarly doctrine. And also in place of their children they sell other relatives who are close at hand, and other strangers using tricks which they invent for the purpose, saying, or making them say, that they are their sons . . . this ill-treatment and enslavement is scandalous to everybody, and especially to those same heathens, because they abandon our religion, seeing that those who are supposed to convert them are the same persons who enslave them in such unjust ways, as is witnessed every day.

Source: "Proposta a Sua Magestade sobre a escravaria das terras da Conquista de Portugal," [A Proposal to Your Majesty about slavery in the Portuguese Dominions], Document 7, 3, 1, No. 8, Seção de Manuscritos, Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, comes from Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God's Fire A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 11–15.



Caravans of slaves in Africa being taken to the coast.

Mungo Park, *Viagens, séc. XVIII.* In João Medina, *A Rota dos Escravos: Angola e a Rede do Comércio Negreiro* (Lisboa: Cegia, 1996), p. 154.

Lesson Two:
Enslavement

A. Objectives

- To examine the experiences of actual participants in enslavement, one a slave, the other a slaver.
- To understand the physical and psychological effects of enslavement.
- To analyze the reliability of primary sources.

B. Historical Background

Portugal was the first European nation to explore the west coast of Africa beginning in the mid-fifteenth century. The reason that Mediterranean peoples had not sailed south previously had to do with the winds. The winds and currents flow in a southwesterly direction from Portugal down the coast of Africa. Sailors who sailed south had a difficult time tacking back and forth against the wind on the return journey. Therefore, sailors did not venture beyond the Canary Islands off the west coast of North Africa. During the early fifteenth century, however, Portuguese mariners discovered that by sailing northwest from the Canaries they could catch winds going northeast and thus return to Portugal. In other words, these sailors discovered the wind system of the northern Atlantic.

Once the Portuguese figured out how to return from the West African coast they established trading forts, the earliest in 1445 at Arguin off the coast of Mauritania. These forts were tolerated by African kings, who exacted a tribute or tax from the Europeans for the privilege of trading. Over time the Portuguese (later joined by numerous nations including the Dutch, British, and French) built up a profitable trade, first in commodities. Gold was the most important, as is clear from the name Gold Coast, which refers to that stretch of coast now in the modern country of Ghana. The Portuguese traded iron, cloth, horses, and slaves along the West African coast from one African kingdom to another. The Akan peoples of present-day Ghana, for example, exchanged gold for slaves imported by the Portuguese from areas further west along the coast. By the sixteenth century the Portuguese were trading and carrying slaves to Portugal, and then to their islands in the Atlantic such as São

Tomé. With the growth of agricultural plantations and labor needs in the Americas in the sixteenth century, the limited trade between Guinea and Portugal expanded to draw on slaves from nearly the entire stretch of West African coast from Senegal in the north to Angola in the south. Traders from various European and American nations joined the trade as carriers. Africans also took part in the trade in exchange for an array of trade goods including cloth, European guns and gunpowder, rum, and iron. The slave trade created a new source of wealth for these traders—European and African.

Slaves were captured in various ways. These include (in rough order of their significance) warfare, in which the slaves resulted as prisoners of war and booty; raids; kidnapping on an individual level; court proceedings in which persons were enslaved for violating the rules of society; witchcraft accusations in which persons were enslaved for carrying on illicit supernatural activities; exactions of tribute; or self-enslavement or sale of one's kin in the wake of famine or epidemic.

Slavers seldom purchased Africans under 14 years old. The average age was between 14 and 35.

C. Lesson Activities

1. Use the **Historical Background** above to lead students in a discussion about why Portugal was the first European nation to sail down the coast of Africa. Give students **Student Handout 3**, "Trade Currents." Discuss the influence of geography on trade.

2. Read **Student Handout 4** aloud. Have students label and trace (on **Map 3**) Equiano's journey from the eastern side of the Niger River, down to the coast, and then to Barbados and Virginia. Ask students whether Equiano's enslavement fits the description of "just" enslavement discussed by the author of **Student Handout 2**, **Lesson 1**.

3. Read **Student Handout 5** aloud. Ask students: How reliable is Hawkins as a source? Would he have any reason to not tell the truth? Discuss Olaudah Equiano (**Student Handout 4**) as a source. Is Equiano's account trustworthy? What reasons might he have had to falsify or exaggerate? Does the fact that Equiano was a slave detract from this document as a source for history? Who is more trustworthy as a historical source, Hawkins or Equiano?

4. Discuss **Student Handout 6**. Have students mark out a space 17 meters square (the size of a barracoon). Visualize and think about what it would mean to have 150–200 people living in such a space, outdoors unprotected from the elements.

5. Discuss the morality of the slave trade. Ask students how they think those who traded in slaves—Africans and Europeans—justified themselves? Was it all about money? Did the fact that African merchants and political leaders agree to sell slaves exonerate European participation? Is it even fair to judge the morality of the slave trade from a twenty-first century perspective?

Trade Currents

The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African

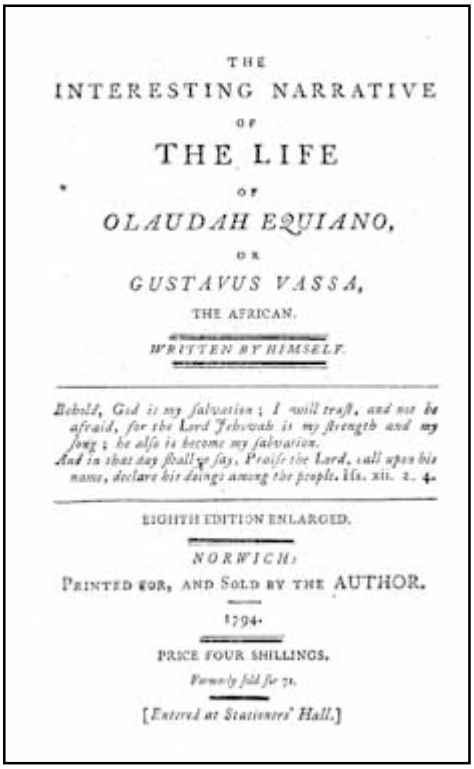
Olaudah Equiano was born around 1745 in the interior of what is today Nigeria. He was captured about 1756 in eastern Nigeria and traded south to the coast where he was bought and traded to European slavers. The slave traders brought him to the Caribbean island of Barbados, and from there he was shipped to the North American colony of Virginia where an English naval officer bought him.

One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as usual, and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment seized us both, and, without giving us time to cry out, or make resistance, they stopped our mouths, and ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands, and continued to carry us as far as they could, till night came on, when we reached a small house, where the robbers halted for refreshment, and spent the night. We were then unbound, but were unable to take any food; and, being quite overpowered by fatigue and grief, our only relief was some sleep, which allayed our misfortune for a short time. The next morning we left the house, and continued travelling all the day. For a long time we had kept to the woods, but at last we came into a road which I believed I knew. I had now some hopes of being delivered; for we had advanced but a little way before I discovered some people at a distance, on which I began to cry out for their assistance: but my cries had no other effect than to make them tie me faster and stop my mouth, and then they put me into a large sack. They also stopped my sister's mouth, and tied her hands; and in this manner we proceeded till we were out of the sight of these people. When we went to rest the following night they offered us some victuals; but we refused it; and the only comfort we had was in being in one another's arms all that night, and bathing each other with our tears. But alas! we were soon deprived of even the small comfort of weeping together. The next day proved a day of greater sorrow than I had yet experienced; for my sister and I were then separated, while we lay clasped in each other's arms. It was in vain that we besought them not to part us; she was torn from me, and immediately carried away, while I was left in a state of distraction not to be described. I cried and grieved continually; and for several days I did not eat any thing but what they forced into my mouth. At length, after many days travelling, during which I had often changed masters, I got into the hands of a chieftain, in a very pleasant country.

I was again sold and carried through a number of places, till, after travelling a considerable time, I came to a town called Timneh, in the most beautiful country I had yet seen in Africa. It was extremely rich, and there were many rivulets which flowed through it, and supplied a large pond in the centre of the town, where the people washed. Here I first saw and tasted cocoa nuts, which I thought superior to any nuts I had ever tasted before; and the trees, which were loaded, were also interspersed among the houses, which had commodious shades adjoining and were in the same manner as ours, the insides being neatly plastered and whitewashed. Here I also saw and tasted for the first time sugar-cane. Their money consisted of little white shells the size of a finger nail. I was sold here for one hundred seventy-two of them by a merchant who lived and brought me there.

At last I came to the banks of a large river [probably the Niger River], which was covered with canoes in which the people appeared to live with their household utensils and provisions of all kinds. I was beyond measure astonished at this, as I had never before seen any water larger than a pond or a rivulet; and my surprise was mingled with no small fear when I was put into one of those canoes, and we began to paddle and move along the river. We continued going on thus till night; and when we came to land, and made fires on the banks. . . . Thus I continued to travel, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, through several different countries, and various nations, till, at the end of six months after I had been kidnapped, I arrived at the sea coast.

Source: Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavas Vassa, the African* (Leeds: James Nichols, 1814), pp. 21–22, 27, 30–31.



THE
INTERESTING NARRATIVE
OF
THE LIFE
OF
OLAUDAH EQUIANO,
OR
GUSTAVUS VASSA,
THE AFRICAN.
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

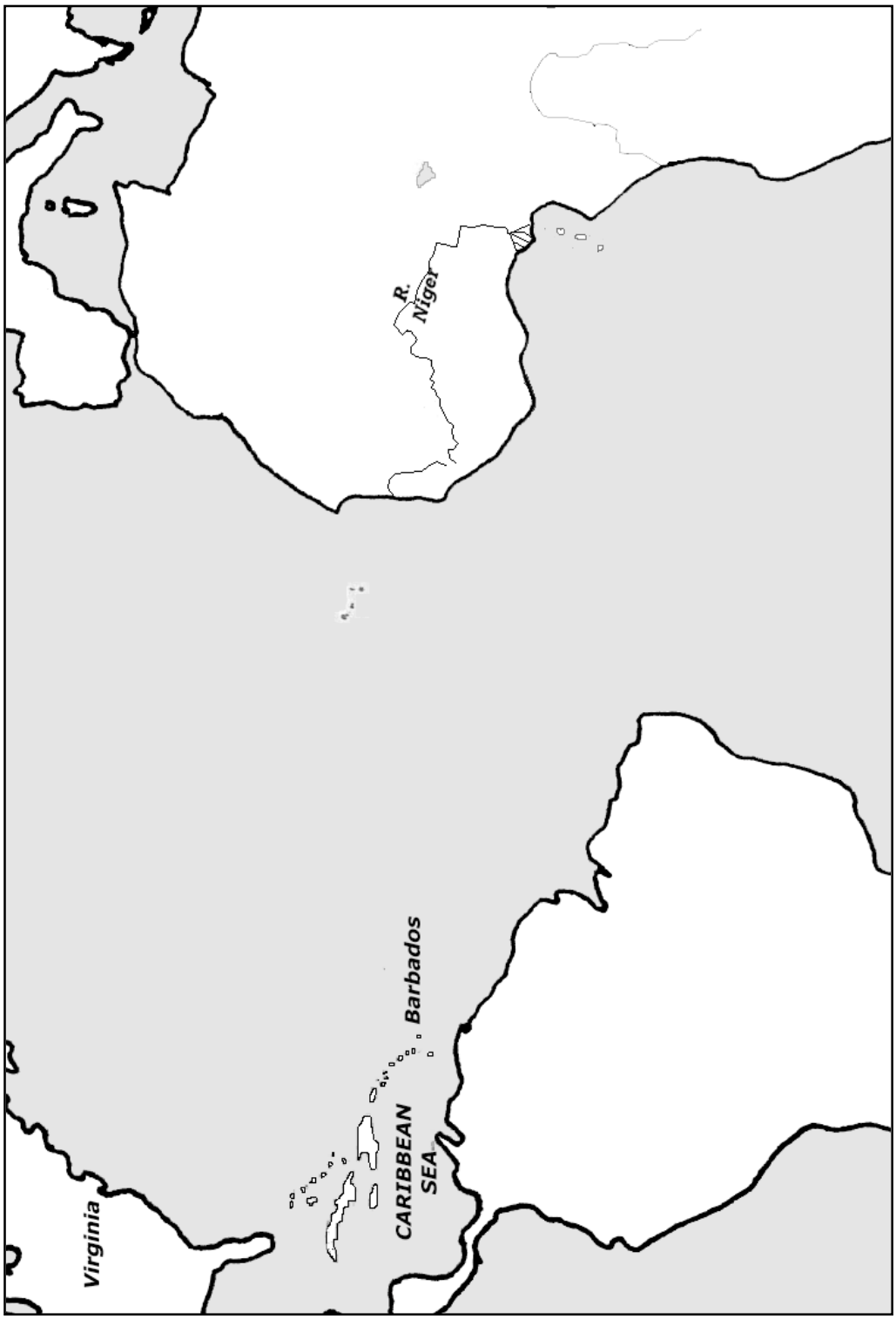
Behold, God is my salvation; I will trust, and not be afraid, for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation.
And in that day shall ye say, Praise the Lord, call upon his name, declare his doings among the people. Is. xii. 2. 4.

EIGHTH EDITION ENLARGED.
NORWICH:
PRINTED FOR, AND SOLD BY THE AUTHOR.
1794.
PRICE FOUR SHILLINGS.
Formerly sold for 7s.
[*Entered at Stationers' Hall.*]

Frontispiece from
The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African

(Norwich: The Author, 1794).
Library of Congress Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-54026 (2-1)

Equiano's Journey



Raiding for Slaves

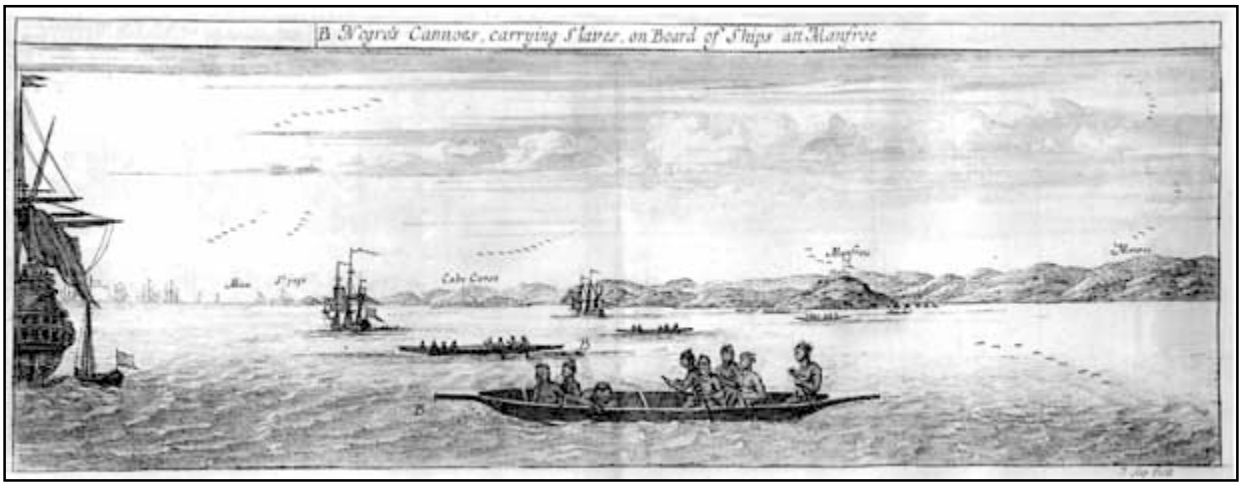
John Hawkins traded slaves between the West African Coast ("Guinea" was used interchangeably with "West Africa" during the sixteenth century) and the Caribbean. Below is a description of one of his voyages in the years 1567 and 1568.

Sir John Hawkins
Dictionary of American Portraits
Dover, 1967

The ships departed from Plymouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567 and . . . arrived at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of November: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtain some Negroes, where we got but few, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their envenomed arrows: and although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouths shut some ten days before they died, and after their wounds were whole, where I myself had one of the greatest wounds, yet thanks be to God, escaped. From thence we passed the time upon the coast of Guinea, unto Sierra Leone, till the twelfth of January, in which time we had not gotten together a hundred and fifty Negroes: yet notwithstanding the sickness of our men, and the late time of the year commanded us away; and thus having nothing wherewith to seek the coast of the West Indies, I was with the rest the company in consultation to go to the coast of the Mine ["the Gold Coast" named by Portuguese traders for its supply of gold], hoping there to have obtained some gold for our wares, and thereby to have defrayed our charge. But even in that present instant, there came to us a Negro, sent from a king, oppressed by other kings, his neighbors, desiring our aid, with promise that as many Negroes as by these wars might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure; whereupon we concluded to give aid, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15 of January, assaulted a town of the Negroes of our ally's adversaries, which had in it 8,000 inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was so well defended, that our men sent forthwith to me for more help: whereupon considering the good success of this enterprise might highly further the commodity of our voyage, I went myself, and with the help of the king of our side, assaulted the town, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being covered with dry palm leaves)

obtained the town, put the inhabitants to flight, where we took 250 persons, men, women, & children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners. . . .

Source: John Hawkins "The Third troublesome voyage . . . to the parts of Guinea, and the West Indies, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. John Hawkins," in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (New York: Richard Hakluyt Society, 1928), pp. 53–55.



Illustrated London News, 14 April 1849, p. 237

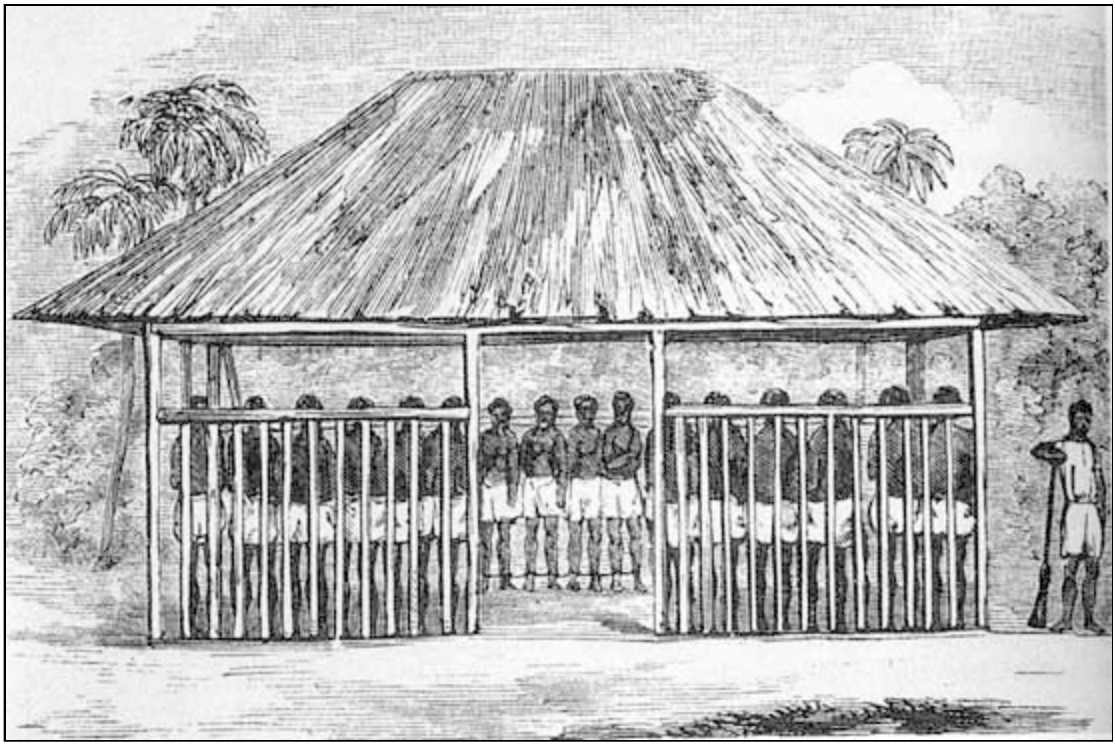
After being kidnapped or sold into slavery, Africans were transported from barracoons to vessels such as the one pictured here.

The Barracoons of Luanda and Benguela

Historian Joseph C. Miller describes the *barracoons*, warehouses for slaves, along the West African coast.

All the slaves trembled in terror at meeting the white cannibals [it was rumored among slaves that whites practiced cannibalism] of the cities, the first Europeans many of the slaves would have seen. They feared the whites' intention of converting Africans' brains into cheese or rendering the fat of African bodies into cooking oil, as well as burning their bones into gunpowder. They clearly regarded the towns as places of certain death, as indeed they became for many, if not for the reasons slaves feared.

The great majority of the slaves went directly to the slave pens of the city's large expatriate [foreign] merchants. These barracoons—known as *quintais* (singular *quintal*), a word also applied to farmyards for keeping animals—were usually barren enclosures located immediately behind the large two-story residences in the lower town, but traders also constructed them around the edges of the city and on the beach. Large numbers of slaves accumulated within these pens living



Illustrated London News, 14 April 1849, p. 237

Slave Barracoon in Lomboko on the Gallinas River

for days and weeks surrounded by walls too high for a person to scale, squatting helplessly, naked, on the dirt and entirely exposed to the skies except for a few adjoining cells where they could be locked at night. They lived . . . and slept in their own excrement, without even a bonfire for warmth.

At Benguela the slave pens were about 17 meters square, with walls 3 meters or more in height, and they sometimes contained as many as 150 to 200 slaves, intermixed with pigs and goats also kept in them. That left about two square meters per individual, or barely enough to lie down and to move about a bit. . . . The slaves' wait in the barracoons, filthy and unhealthful as it was, leaves the impression of food and water adequate to begin the long process of recuperation from the great hardships of enslavement and the westward trail. Daily visits to the bay to bathe afforded some slaves an opportunity for limited personal hygiene even amidst the squalor of the slave pens, though they received little that would require cash expenditures by their managers: no clothing, and food barely adequate to sustain them until they would be sold or handed on to the care of the ships' captains waiting to transport them to Brazil.

A general estimate on the order of 10 to 15 percent ought not be far out of line for mid- to late-eighteenth-century mortality among the slaves held at Angolan ports.

Source: Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), pp. 389–401.

Lesson Three
The Middle Passage

A. Objectives

- To understand the physical depravations of the Middle Passage.
- To assess the causes of mortality on the Middle Passage.
- To analyze the likelihood of slave revolt during the Middle Passage.

B. Historical Background

The Middle Passage, or Atlantic sea voyage, was the most infamous leg of a slave's journey from Africa to the Americas. Slaves' journeys did not begin when they reached the ships. It started with capture, often far from the coast and continued with their imprisonment in *barracoons*. The journey reached its most horrific stage during incarceration on board ship. The typical transatlantic voyage between the West Coast of Africa and the Caribbean took eight to twelve weeks. Slaves were usually loaded in small groups, a process that might take months to fill a full slave cargo of 500.

> . . . a slave who had been brought aboard and shackled in the hold at an early stage in the venture might well have been imprisoned for a total of seven or eight months by the time he or she was delivered to the plantations.
>
> The *Daniel and Henry* provides a case in point. She is recorded as loading her first slave on 11 April 1700, but does not arrive in Jamaica until 17 November. Accounting for a few days in which entry port procedures had to be completed, the earliest a slave could be expected to set foot on dry land would have been 21 November. Had the man loaded on 11 April still been alive, he would have spent thirty-two weeks chained in the hold. No wonder slave merchants in the plantations complained incessantly about the quality of the dazed men and women who stumbled uncomprehendingly on to the docksides, blinded by the unaccustomed sunlight, crippled by months of enforced inaction, and weakened by disease and poor diet.
>
> Source: Nigel Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1991), p. 142.

Many slaves tried to starve themselves or attempted to jump overboard. Attempted starvation was common enough that slave trade captains carried an instrument called a "speculum oris". This device [see **Student Handout 9**] was shaped like a pair of scissors. The outside blades were serrated. When closed the blades were forced between the teeth of any slave refusing to eat. Instead of holes for finger and thumb, this instrument was controlled by a thumbscrew, which was turned to force the blades--and the jaws--apart.

Of the 452 slaves loaded on the *Daniel and Henry* in Africa, 246 survived the Middle Passage to be landed alive in Jamaica. That means 206 slaves died in transit. That is a loss of 45.5 percent. The death rate on the *Daniel and Henry* was exceptionally high. The average death rate during the Middle Passage was about 20 percent. Of the forty-four crew members, ten died from disease during the Middle Passage, for a death rate of 15 percent.

The *Daniel and Henry* arrived in West Africa with a mixed cargo of cloth, gunpowder, weapons, alcohol, glasses, brass and pewter ware, and basins and tallow (used to make candles)—all used to trade for slaves. When the ship arrived off the Upper Guinea Coast in 1700, Europeans controlled small trading forts, for which they paid tribute to local rulers. When the ship arrived at the coast, it generally anchored off shore and sent boats ashore to begin bargaining with local slave dealers. Often gifts would have to be given to the local king in exchange for the privilege of trading. Then the bargaining would begin. A wide array of goods were exchanged for slaves. According to Captain Thomas Philips:

> The best goods to purchase slaves here are cowries [a shell from the Maldive Islands in the Indian Ocean used as a unit of currency throughout West Africa], the smaller the more esteemed; for they pay them all by tale, the smallest being as valuable as the biggest, but take them from us by measure or weight, of which about 100 pounds for a good man-slave. The next in demand are brass neptunes [large thin brass pans], very large, thin, and flat; for after they have bought them they cut them in pieces to make . . . bracelets . . . for their arms, legs and necks. The other preferable goods are blue paper sletias, cambricks or lawns [fine linen], . . . coral, large, smooth, and of a deep red, rangoes [beads imported from Bombay, India] large and red, iron bars, powder and brandy.

> With the above goods a ship cannot want slaves here, and may purchase them for about three pounds fifteen shillings a head, but near half the cargo value must be cowries and brass basons, to set off the other goods that we buy cheaper, as coral, rangoes, iron, &c. else they will not take them. . . .
>
> Source: Captain Thomas Phillips in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VI, London, 1746, reprinted in George Francis Dow, *Slave Ships and Slaving*, p. 63.

The traders of the *Daniel and Henry* purchased their first slaves on April 11, 1700. Four months later they had filled its hull with a total of 452 slaves, most of whom came from the Gold Coast. En route to the Americas, the ship stopped at the island of São Tomé in the Bight of Biafra off the coast of Africa to buy provisions, and then set out for the Jamaica on September 6, 1700. On November 18, 1700, the *Daniel and Henry* arrived in Jamaica. The ship had been at sea for 10 weeks and lost 206 slaves.

C. Lesson Activities

1. Share the **Historical Background** with students either by reading it aloud or reproducing it as a handout. Using the blank map (**Map 4**) trace the voyage of the *Daniel and Henry* from the Grain Coast, to the Gold Coast, to the island of São Tomé, to Jamaica.

2. On the board draw a ship, label it the *Daniel and Henry* and write out its statistics as listed in the **Historical Background**. Include: (a) the amount of time the *Daniel and Henry* spent at sea; (b) the number of slaves on board; (c) and the losses of slaves en route to Jamaica. Ask students to hypothesize possible causes of death. Calculate with the students the daily mortality rate for the entire journey.

3. Examine "Slavery Instruments," **Student Handout 7**. Why do you think slave captains forced slaves to eat? Do you think the "speculum oris" convinced slaves to eat? For what other activities do you think crew members might have used torture devices to punish slaves? Slave trader John Newton describes the use of "thumb screws" in **Student Handout 10**.

4. Distribute **Student Handout 8**, a diagram of sections of slave ships. Ask students to examine the illustration and to think about the conditions in the hold of the ship. Assign half the class to read **Student Handout 9 and** the other half to read **Student Handout 10**.

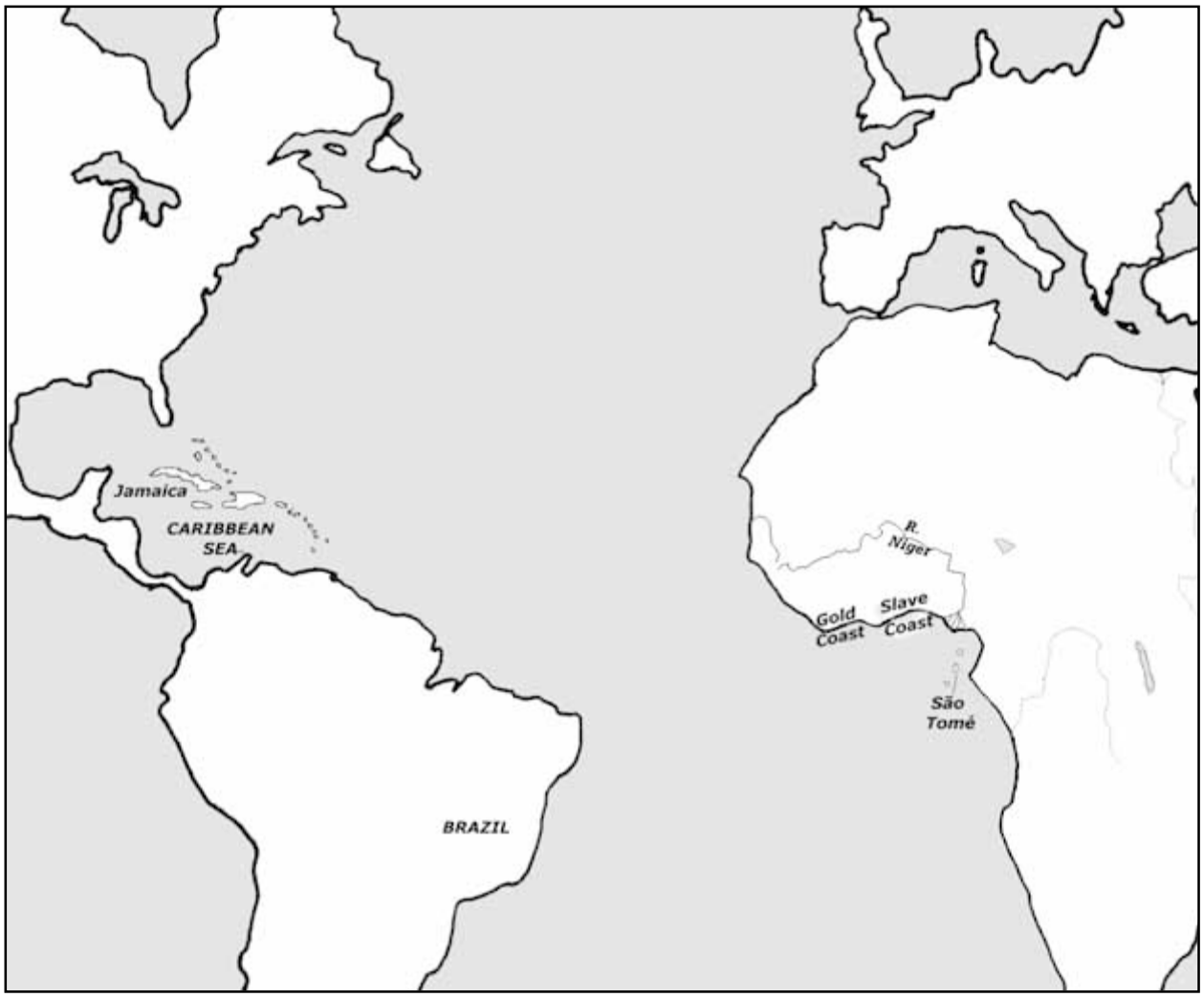
Discuss the readings as a class. Ask a student from each group to explain who wrote the source and when he wrote it. Discuss the conditions on board ship as described by the two participants.

5. Assign students to write an editorial for an eighteenth-century newspaper that describes conditions on board a slave ship. The argument of the editorial is up to the student. For example, an editorial might call for stricter regulations of the slave trade, or advocate abolishing the trade, or argue for transporting as many slaves as possible to maximize cargo space on ship. Require students to quote from **Student Handouts 9** and/or **10**.

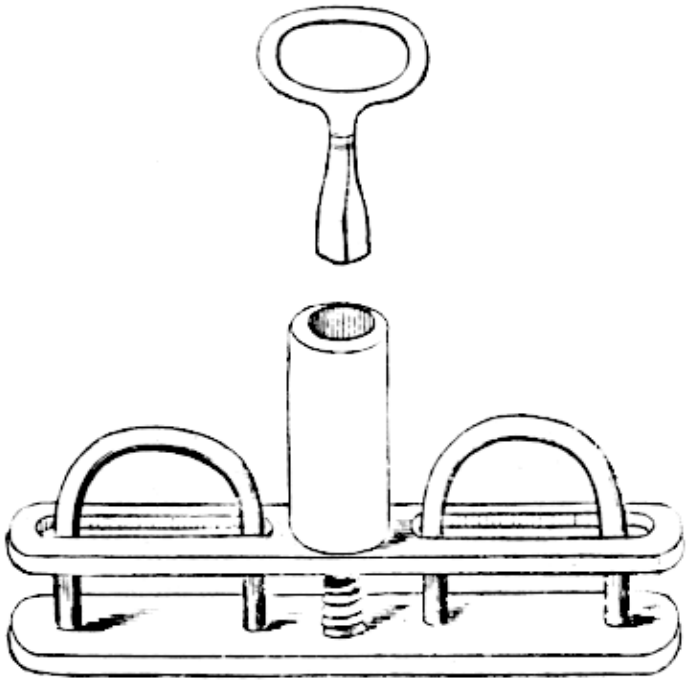
6. Read **Student Handout 11**. Ask students to explain how William Snelgrave guarded against slave revolt? Role-play a strategy session among slaves plotting a mutiny.

   Discuss the obstacles to success and consequences should you fail. Assign students to write a journal entry from one of several perspectives (e.g., the perspective of leaders of the mutiny; slaves not directly involved in the mutiny; a crew member; or William Snelgrave).

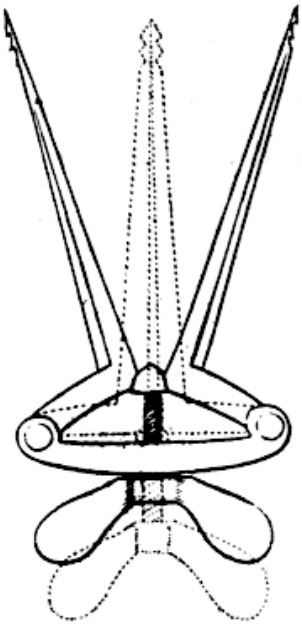
Voyage of the *Daniel and Henry*



Slavery Instruments



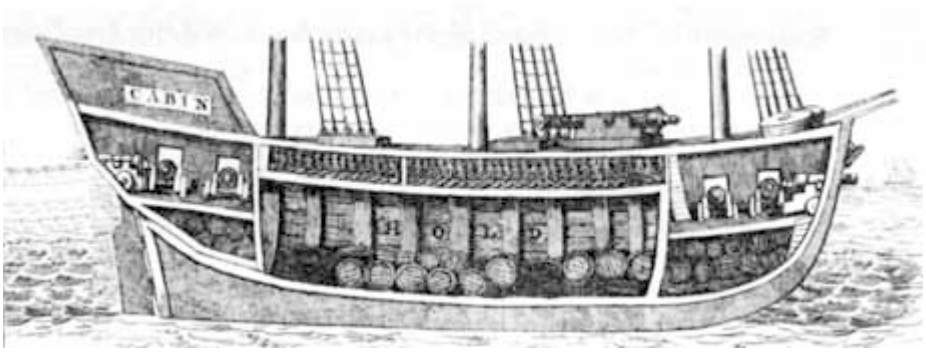
Thumb Screws

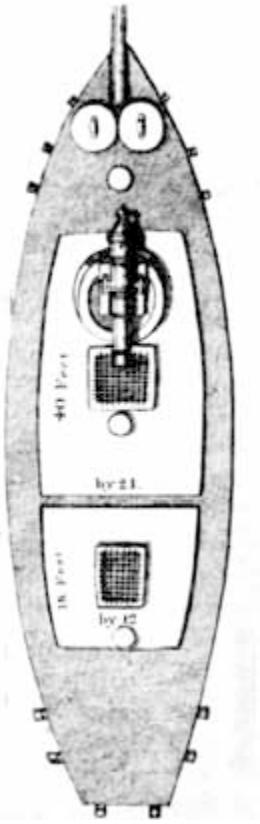


Speculum Oris
Used to force open closed jaws

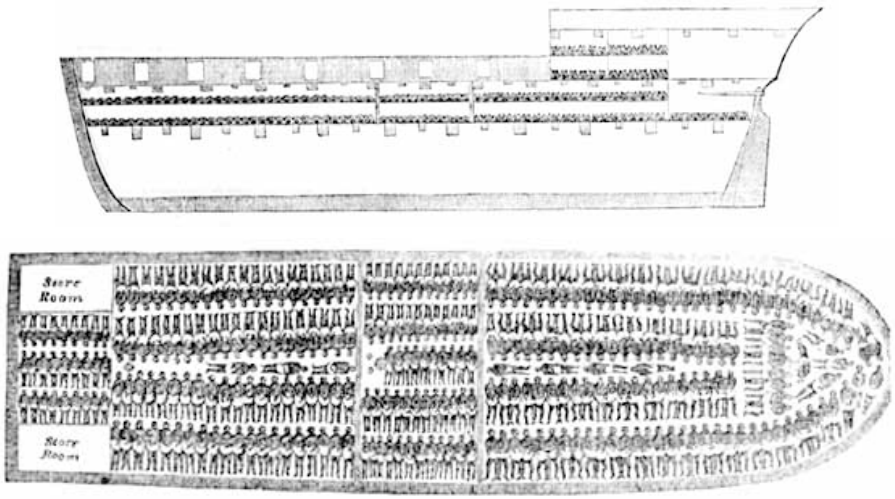
Source: Clarkson, Thomas *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-trade by the British Parliament* (Longman, Hurst, Reeves, and Orme: London, 1808)

Diagrams of Slave Ships





"Sections of a Slave Ship"
From Robert Walsh, *Notices of Brazil 1828 and 1829* (London, 1830)



Section Showing Method of Stowing Slave, in 1786, on the Ship "Brooke" of Liverpool

Clarkson, Thomas *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-trade by the British Parliament* (Longman, Hurst, Reeves, and Orme: London, 1808)

The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African

The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror, which I am yet at a loss to describe nor the then feelings of my mind. When I was carried on board I was immediately handled, and tossed up, to see if I were sound by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had got into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, which was very different from any I had ever heard, united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed, such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave in my own country. When I looked

Portrait of Olaudah Equiano

The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African (Norwich: The Author, 1794).
Library of Congress Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-54026 (2-1)

around the ship too, and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little, I found some black people about me, who, I believed were some of those who brought me on board, and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and long hair? They told me I was not; and one of the crew brought me a small portion of spirituous liquor in a wine glass; but, being afraid of him, I would not take it out of his hand. One of the blacks therefore took it from him, and gave it to me, and I took a little down my palate, which, instead of reviving me, as they thought it would, threw me into the greatest consternation at the strange feeling it produced, having never tasted any such liquor before. Soon after this, the blacks who brought me on board went off, and left me abandoned to despair. I now saw myself deprived of any chance of returning to my native country, or even the least glimpse of hope of gaining the shore, which I now considered as friendly; and I even wished for my former slavery, in preference to my present situation, which was filled with horrors of every kind, still heightened by my ignorance of what I was to undergo. I was not long suffered to indulge my grief; I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life; so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend, Death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across, I think, the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely. I had never experienced any thing of this kind before; and, although not used to the water, I naturally feared that element the first time I saw it, yet, nevertheless, could I have got over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side, but I could not; and, besides, the crew used to watch us very closely who were not chained down to the decks, lest we should leap into the water: and I have seen some of these poor African prisoners severely cut for attempting to do so, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself. In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind. I inquired of them what was to be done with us? They gave me to understand we were to be carried to these white people's country to work for them. I was then a little revived, and though if it were no worse than working, my situation was not so desperate: but still I feared I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so savage a manner; for I had never seen among any people such instances of brutal cruelty; and this not only shewn toward us blacks, but also to some of the whites themselves. One white man in particular I saw, when we

were permitted to be on deck, flogged so unmercifully that he died in consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done to a brute. This made me fear these people the more; and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the same manner. . . .

The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome, that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, so that the air became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness amongst the slaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myself I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters. In this situation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought on deck at the point of death, which I began to hope would soon put an end to my miseries. Often did I think many of the inhabitants of the deep much more happy than myself; I envied them the freedom they enjoyed, and as often wished I could change my condition for theirs. Every circumstance I met with served only to render my state more painful, and heightened my apprehensions and my opinion of the cruelty of the whites. One day they had taken a number of fishes, and when they had killed and satisfied themselves with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on the deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat, as we expected, they tossed the remaining fish into the sea again, although we begged and prayed for some as well as we could, but in vain; some of my countrymen, being possessed by hunger, took an opportunity, when they brought no one saw them of trying to get a little privately, but they were discovered, and the attempt procured them some very severe floggings.

One day, when we had a smooth sea, and moderate wind, two of my wearied countrymen, who were chained together (I was near them at the time), preferring death to such a life of misery, somehow made through the nettings, and jumped into the sea; immediately another quite dejected fellow, who, on account of his illness was suffered to be out of irons, also followed their example;

and I believe many more would very soon have done the same, if they had not been prevented by the ship's crew who were instantly alarmed. Those of us that were the most active were in a minute put down under the deck; and there was such a noise and confusion amongst the people of the ship as I have never heard before, to stop her, and get the boat out to go after the slaves. However, two of the wretches were drowned, but they got the other, and afterwards flogged him unmercifully, for thus attempting to prefer death to slavery. In this manner we continued to undergo more hardships than I can now relate; hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade. Many a time we were near suffocation from the want of fresh air, which we were often without for whole days together. This, and stench of the necessary tubs, carried off many.

Source: *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (Leeds: James Nichols, 1814), pp. 31–34, 35–37.

Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade

John Newton worked as a slave trader in the years 1745–1754. He returned to England, became a minister, and eventually wrote the Christian hymn "Amazing Grace". Newton became an active abolitionist and in 1788 published his anti-slavery treatise *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*.

Portrait of John Newton
From the engraving (1808) by Joseph Collyer after John Russell

The experience and observation of nine years, would qualify me for being a competent witness upon this subject. . . . For the sake of method, I could wish to consider the African trade, -first, with regard to the effect it has upon our own people; and secondly, as it concerns the blacks, or, as they are more contemptuously styled, the negro slaves, whom we purchase upon the coast. But these two topics are so interwoven together, that it will not be easy to keep them exactly separate.

The first point I shall mention is surely of political importance, if the lives of our fellow-subjects be so; and if a rapid loss of seamen deserves the attention of a maritime people. This loss, in the African trade, is truly alarming . . . at least one-fifth part of those who go from England to the coast of Africa, in ships which trade for slaves, never return from thence. I dare not depend too much upon my memory, as to the number of ships and men employed in the slave trade more than thirty years ago; nor do I know what has been the state of the trade since; therefore I shall not attempt to make calculations. But, as I cannot but form some opinion upon the subject, I judge it probable, that the collective sum of seamen, who go from all our ports to Africa within the course of a year (taking Guinea into the extensive sense, from Goree or Gambia, and including the coast of Angola), cannot be less than eight thousand; and if, upon an average of ships and seasons, a fifth part of these die, the annual loss is fifteen hundred. I believe those who have taken pains to make more exact inquiries, will deem my supposition to be very moderate. . . .

Usually, about two-thirds of a cargo of slaves are males. When a hundred a fifty or two hundred stout men, torn from their native land, many of whom never saw the sea, much less a ship, till a short space before they had embarked; who have, probably, the same natural prejudice against a white man, as we have against a

black; and who often bring with them an apprehension they are bought to be eaten: I say, when thus circumscribed, it is not to be expected that they will tamely resign themselves to their situation. It is always taken for granted, that they will attempt to gain their liberty if possible. Accordingly, as we dare not trust them, we receive them on board, from the first as enemies; and, before their number exceeds, perhaps, ten or fifteen, they are all put in irons; in most ships, two and two together. And frequently, they are not thus confined, as they might most conveniently stand or move, the right hand and foot of one to the left of the other, but across; that is, the hand and foot of each on the same side, whether right or left, are fettered together: so that they cannot move either hand or foot, but with great caution, and with perfect consent. Thus they must sit, walk, and lie, for many months (sometimes for nine or ten), without any mitigation or relief, unless they are sick.

In the night, they are confined below; in the daytime (if the weather be fine) they are upon deck; and as they are brought by pairs, a chain is put through a ring upon their irons, and this likewise locked down to the ringbolts, which are fastened, at certain intervals, upon the deck. These, and other precautions, are no more than necessary; especially, as while the number of slaves increases, that of the people who are to guard them, is diminished, by sickness, or death, or by being absent in the boats: so that, sometimes, not ten men can be mustered, to watch, night and day, over two hundred, besides having all the other business of the ship to attend.

That these precautions are so often effectual, is much more to be wondered at, than that they sometimes fail. One unguarded hour, or minute, is sufficient to give the slaves the opportunity they are always waiting for. An attempt to rise upon the ship's company, brings on instantaneous and horrid war: for, when they are once in motion, they are desperate; and where they do not conquer, they are seldom quelled without much mischief and bloodshed on both sides.

Sometimes, when the slaves are ripe for an insurrection, one of them will impeach the affair; and then necessity, and the state policy, of these small but most absolute governments, enforce maxims directly contrary to the nature of things. The traitor to the cause of liberty is caressed, rewarded, and deemed an honest fellow. The patriots, who formed and animated the plan, if they can be found out, must be treated as villains, and punished, to intimidate the rest. These punishments, in their nature and degree, depend upon the sovereign will of the captain. Some are content with inflicting such moderate punishment as may suffice for an example. But unlimited power, instigated by revenge, and where the heart, by a long familiarity with the sufferings of slaves, is become callous, and insensible to the pleadings of humanity, is terrible!

I have seen them sentenced to unmerciful whippings, continued till the poor creatures have not had power to groan under their misery, and hardly a sign of

life has remained. I have seen them agonizing for hours, I believe for days together, under the torture of the thumbscrews; a dreadful engine, which, if the screw be turned by an unrelenting hand, can give intolerable anguish [see **Student Handout 7**]. There have been instances in which cruelty has proceeded still further; but, as I hope they are few, and I can mention but one from my own knowledge, I shall but mention it.

I have often heard a captain, who has been long since been [sic] dead, boast of his conduct in a former voyage, when his slaves attempted to rise upon him. After he had suppressed the insurrection, he sat in judgement upon the insurgents; and not only, in cold blood, adjudged several of them, I know not how many, to die, but studied, with no small attention, how to make death as excruciating as possible. For my reader's sake, I suppress the recital of particulars.

Surely, it must be allowed, that they who are long conversant with such scenes as these, are liable to imbibe a spirit of ferociousness, and savage insensibility, of which human nature, depraved as it is, is not, ordinarily, capable. If these things be true, the reader will admit the possibility of a fact that was in current report when I was upon the coast, and the truth of which, though I cannot now authenticate it, I have no reason to doubt.

A mate of a ship in a long-boat, purchased a young woman, with a fine child, of about a year old, in her arms. In the night, the child cried much, and disturbed his sleep. He rose up in great anger, and swore, that if the child did not cease making such a noise, he would presently silence it. The child continued to cry. At length he rose up a second time, tore the child from the mother, and threw it into the sea. The child was soon silenced indeed, but it was not so easy to pacify the woman: she was too valuable to be thrown overboard, and he was obliged to bear the sound of her lamentations, till he could put her on board the ship.

I am persuaded that every tender mother, who feasts her eyes and her mind when she contemplates the infant in her arms, will commiserate [with] the poor Africans. But why do I speak of one child, when we have heard and read a melancholy story, too notoriously true to admit of contradiction, of more than a hundred grown slaves, thrown into the sea, at one time, from on board a ship, when fresh water was scarce; to fix the loss upon the underwriters, which otherwise, had they died on board, must have fallen upon the owners of the vessel. These instances are specimens of the spirit produced, by the African trade, in men, who, once, were no more destitute of the milk of human kindness than ourselves.

Hitherto, I have considered the condition of the men slaves only. From the women, there is not danger of insurrection, and they are carefully kept from

the men; I mean from the black men. But in what I have to offer, on this head, I am far from including every ship. I speak not of what is universally, but of what is too commonly, and I am afraid, too generally, prevalent.

I have already observed, that the captain of an African ship, while upon the coast, is absolute in his command; and if he be humane, vigilant, and determined, he has it in his power to protect the miserable; for scarcely any thing can be done on board the ship, without his permission or connivance. But this power is too seldom exerted in favor of the poor women slaves.

When we hear of a town taken by storm, and given up to the ravages of an enraged and licentious army, of wild and unprincipled Cossacks [mounted cavalry during czarist times in Russia], perhaps no part of the distress affects a feeling mind more, than the treatment to which the women are exposed. But the enormities frequently committed in an African ship, though equally flagrant, are little known here, and are considered there, only as matters of course. When the women and girls are taken on board a ship, naked, trembling, terrified, perhaps almost exhausted with cold, fatigue, and hunger, they are often exposed to the wanton rudeness of white savages. The poor creatures cannot understand the language they hear, but the looks and manner of the speakers are sufficiently intelligible. In imagination, the prey is divided, upon the spot, and only reserved till the opportunity offers. Where resistance or refusal would be utterly in vain, even the solicitation of consent is seldom thought of. But I forbear. This is not a subject for declamation. Facts like these, so certain and so numerous, speak for themselves. Surely, if the advocates for the Slave Trade attempt to plead for it, before the wives and daughters of our happy land, or before those who have wives or daughters of their own, they must lose their cause.

Source: John Newton, *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (London, 1788), pp. 98-105.

A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea, and the Slave-Trade

William Snelgrave traded slaves and ivory for many years on the West African coast. In 1734 he published his *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave-Trade*. Captain Snelgrave was not a critic of the trade and dedicated his book to the European merchants trading in West Africa.

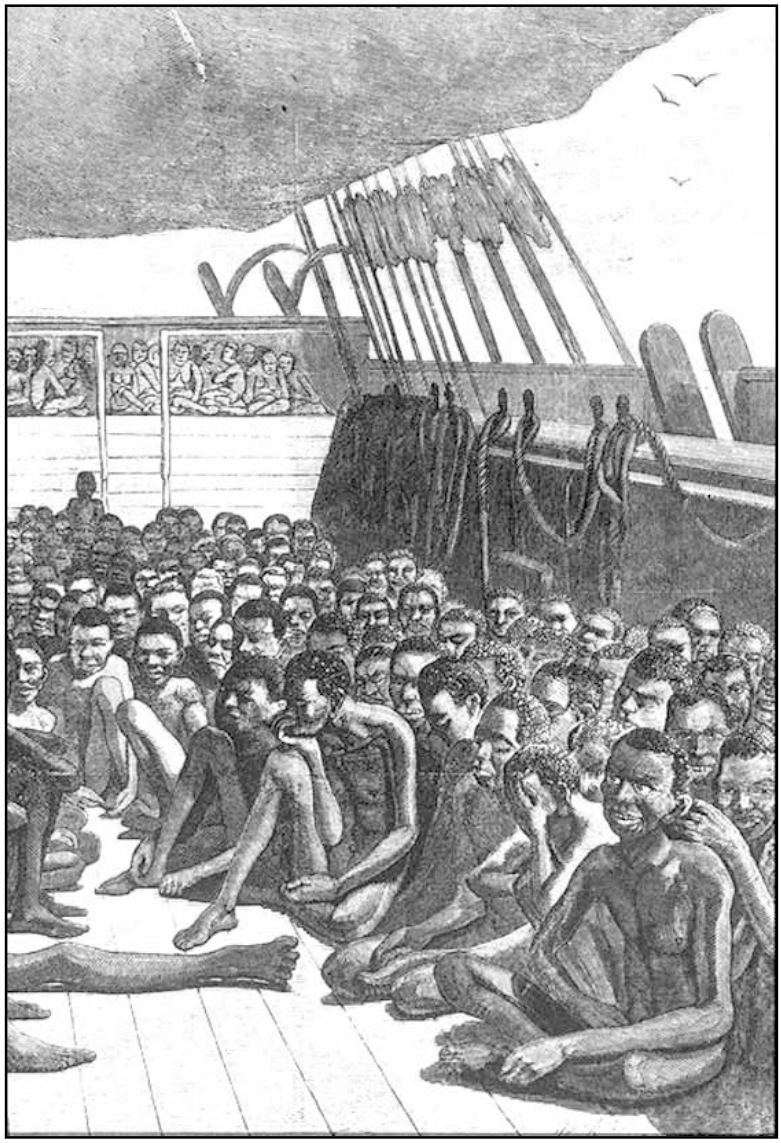
And whereas it may seem strange to those that are unacquainted with the method of managing them, how we can carry so many hundreds together in a small Ship, and keep them in order; I shall just mention what is generally practised. When we purchase grown People, I acquaint them by the Interpreter, 'That , now they are become my Property, I think fit to let them know what they are bought for, that they may be easy in their Minds:' (For these poor People are generally under the terrible Apprehensions upon their being bought by white Men, many being afraid that we design to eat them; which, I have been told, is a story much credited by the inland Negroes;) 'So after informing them, That they are bought to till the Ground in our Country, with several other Matters; I then acquaint them, how they are to behave themselves on board, towards the white Men; that if any one abuses them, they are to complain to the Linguist, who is to inform me of it, and I will do them Justice: But if they make a Disturbance, or offer to strike a White Man, they must expect to be severely punished.'

When we purchase the Negroes, we couple the sturdy Men together with Irons; but we suffer the Women and Children to go freely about: And soon after have sail'd from the Coast, we undo all the Mens Irons.

They are fed twice a day, and are allowed in fair Weather to come on Deck at seven a clock in the Morning, and to remain there, if they think properly, till Sun setting. Every Monday Morning they are served with Pipes and Tobacco, which they are very fond of. The Men Negroes lodge separate from the Women and Children; and the places where all lye are cleaned every day, some white Men being appointed to see them do it. . . .

"The first Mutiny I saw among the Negroes, happened during my first Voyage in the Year 1704. It was on board the *Eagle Galley* of London, commanded by my Father, with whom I was Purser. We had bought our Negroes in the River of Old Callabar in the Bay of Guinea. At the time of their mutinying, we were in that River, having four hundred of them on board, and not above ten white Men who were able to do Service: For several of Ship's Company were dead and many more sick; besides, two of Boats were just then gone with twelve People on Shore

to fetch Wood, which lay in sight of the Ship. All these Circumstances put the Negroes on consulting how to mutiny, which they did at four a clock in the Afternoon, just as they went to Supper. But as we had always carefully examined the Mens Irons, both Morning and Evening, none had got them off, which in a great measure contributed to our Preservation. Three white Men stood on the Watch with Cutlaces in their Hands. One of them who was on the Forecastle, a stout fellow, seeing some of the Men Negroes take hold of the chief Mate, in order to throw him over board, he laid on them so heartily with the flat side of his Cutlace, that they soon quitted the Mate, who escaped from them, and



Africans on Board the Slave Bark *Wildfire*, April 30, 1860

Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.
Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-19607 (1-20)

run on the Quarter Deck to get Arms. I was then sick with an Ague—and lying on a Couch in the great Cabbin, the Fit being just come on. However, I no sooner heard the Outcry, That the Slaves were mutinying, but I took two Pistols, and run on the Deck with them; where meeting with my Father and the chief Mate, I delivered a Pistol to each of them. Whereupon they went forward on the Booms, calling to the Negroe Men that were on the Forecastle; but they did not regard their Threats, being busy with the Centry (who had disengaged the chief Mate), and they would have certainly killed him with his own Cutlace, could they have got it from him; but they could not break the Line wherewith the Handle was fastened to his Wrist. And so, tho' they had seized him, yet they could not make use of his Cutlace. Being thus disappointed, they endeavoured to throw him overboard, but he held so fast by one of them that they could not do it. My father seeing this stout Man in so much Danger, ventured amongst the Negroes, to save him; and fired his Pistol over their Heads, thinking to frighten them. But a lusty Slave struck him with a Billet [short, thick piece of wood] so hard, that he was almost stunned. The Slave was going to repeat the Blow, by which his Arm-bone was fractured. At the same instant the Mate fired his Pistol, and shot the Negroe that had struck my Father. At the sight of this the Mutiny ceased, and all the Men-negroes on the Forecastle threw themselves flat on their Faces, crying out for Mercy.

Upon examining into the matter, we found, there were not above twenty Men Slaves concerned in this Mutiny; and the two Ring-leaders were missing, having, it seems, jumped overboard as soon as they found their Project defeated, and were drowned. This was all the Loss we suffered on this occasion. For the Negroe that was shot by the Mate, the Surgeon, beyond all Expectation, cured.

Source: Captain William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Guinea, and the Slave-Trade*, in George Francis Dow, *Slave Ships and Slaving* (Salem, Mass.: Marine Research Society, 1927), pp. 118–121.

Lesson Four:
Arrival in the Americas

A. Objectives

- To understand the process of selling slaves on arrival in the Americas.
- To get a sense of what a slave experienced upon arrival in the Americas.

B. Historical Background

After several weeks at sea African slaves arrived in the Americas. The process for disembarkation was similar in colonial ports. Usually the ship waited in the harbor for a medical doctor to inspect slaves for contagious diseases, such as smallpox. Once cleared, slaves were rowed ashore in small boats and taken to the customs house to be checked and counted. Slave importers paid a tax on all slaves more than 3 years old. Traders then brought the Africans to a warehouse or holding area where they were housed until sold. These holding areas resembled the barracoons of the African coast [Student Handout 6]. In spite of the crowded conditions, slaves were probably better treated at this point in their long journey than at any other time. They were usually allowed to bathe, provided some form of clothing, and fed. The intent was to prepare them for sale. Still, slaves died while waiting to be sold, most of them arriving emaciated or sick. Conditions on shore might have been an improvement over the hull of the ship, but they were far from healthy.

Methods for selling slaves varied depending on arrangements made by the traders. One of the most common methods was for the merchant to post advertisements in local newspapers announcing the arrival of a ship with x number of slaves for sale by public auction. On the day of the auction Africans were divided by age and sex. Buyers had the opportunity to inspect the slaves, usually subjecting them to a physical examination. For example, a buyer would ask to examine a particular slave. The merchant then ordered that individual to come forward and stand in a line for close inspection. To show that they were in good health, slaves were required to turn around, walk, jump, and raise and lower their arms while the merchant described their good qualities and quoted prices. Buyers also checked teeth and looked for physical deformities. Imbert's *Manual do Fazendeiro*, a Brazilian "guide for the plantation owner," advised the buyer to make sure a slave's penis was not underdeveloped or deformed and, therefore, bad for procreation.

Slaves were sold to both individual buyers and merchants. The merchants resold slaves for a profit, often several hundred miles inland. Buyers also paid a tax to the government. The name of the new owner was often branded on the skin of the slave as a proof of purchase. Full payment upon delivery of the slave was rare. Payments were often made in commodities that had value in Europe, such as sugar, rice, and cotton. Most slaves were bought on credit from slave merchants. Buyers put up property, including slaves and future crops, as collateral.

C. Lesson Activities

1. Locate Rio de Janeiro on **Map 1**. Read aloud the description of the Valongo Slave Market in Rio written by Robert Walsh **Student Handout 12**. Ask students to compare the conditions in the Valongo Slave Market to the barracoons described in **Student Handout 6**, **Lesson 2**.

2. Locate Bridge Town, Barbados on **Map 1**. Read aloud Olaudah Equiano's experiences on arrival in Barbados **Student Handout 13**.

   Discussion Questions:

   a. What does Equiano write about his first impressions of Barbados?

   b. How does he see the people? The slave market?

Impressions of the Valongo Slave Market in Rio de Janeiro

British clergyman Robert Walsh traveled widely in Brazil in 1828 and 1829. In the following selection Walsh describes the conditions in the Valongo slave market in Rio de Janeiro.

The place where the great slave mart is held, is a long winding street called the Vallongo, which runs from the sea, at the northern extremity of the city. Almost every house in this place is a large ware-room, where the slaves are deposited, and customers go to purchase. These ware-rooms stand at each side of the street, and the poor creatures are exposed for sale like any other commodity. When a customer comes in, they are turned up before him; such as he wishes are handled by the purchaser in different parts, exactly as I have seen butchers feeling a calf; and the whole examination is the mere animal capability, without the remotest inquiry as the moral quality, which a man no more thinks of, than if he was buying a dog or mule. I have frequently seen Brazilian ladies at these sales. They go dressed, sit down, handle and examine their purchases, and bring them away with the most perfect indifference. I sometimes saw groups of well-dressed females here, shopping for slaves, exactly as I have seen English ladies amusing themselves at our bazaars.

There was no circumstance which struck me with more melancholy reflections than this market, which I felt a kind of morbid curiosity in seeing, as a man looks at objects which excite his strongest interests, while they shock his best feelings. The ware-rooms are spacious apartments, where sometimes three or four hundred slaves, of all ages and both sexes, are exhibited together. Round the room are benches on which the elder generally sit, and the middle is occupied by the younger, particularly females, who squat on the ground stowed close together, with their hands and chins resting on their knees. Their only covering is a small girdle of cross-barred cotton, tied around the waist.

The first time I passed through this street, I stood at the bars of the window looking through, when a cigano [gypsy] came and pressed me to enter. I was particularly attracted by a group of children, one of whom, a young girl, had something very pensive and engaging in her countenance. The cigano observing me look at her, whipped her up with a long rod, and bade her with a rough voice to come forward. It was quite affecting to see the poor timid shrinking child standing before me, in a state the most helpless and forlorn, that ever a being, endowed, like myself, with a reasonable mind and an immortal soul, could be reduced to. Some of these girls have remarkably sweet and engaging countenances. Notwithstanding their dusky hue, they look so modest,

gentle and sensible, that you could not for a moment hesitate to acknowledge, that they are endowed with a like feeling a common nature with your own daughters.

Source: Robert Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, Vol. II. (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1830), II, pp. 323–28.

A Slave Market in Recife, Brazil

Marian Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence There During Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823* (London: Longman, 1824).

Arrival and Sale in Bridge Town, Barbados

At last we came in sight of the island of Barbados, at which the whites on board gave a great shout, and made many signs of joy to us. We did not know what to think of this; but as the vessel drew nearer we plainly saw the harbor, and other ships of different kinds and sizes; and we soon anchored amongst them off Bridge Town. Many merchants and planters now came on board, though it was in the evening. They put us in separate parcels, and examined us attentively. They also made us jump, and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there. We thought by this we should be eaten by these ugly men, as they appeared to us; and, when soon after we were all put down under the deck again, there was much dread and trembling among us, and nothing but bitter cries to be heard all the night from these apprehensions, insomuch that at last the white people got some old slaves from the land to pacify us. They told us we were not to be eaten, but to work, and were soon to go on land, where we should see many of our country people. This report eased us much; and sure enough, soon after we were landed, there came to us Africans of all languages. We were conducted immediately to the merchant's yard, where we were pent up together like so many sheep in a fold, without regard to sex or age. As every object was new to me every thing I saw filled me with surprise. What struck me first was that the houses were built with stories, and in every other respect different from those in Africa: but I was still more astonished on seeing people on horseback. I did not know what this could mean; and indeed I thought these people were full of nothing but magical arts. While I was in this astonishment one of my fellow prisoners spoke to a countryman of his about the horses, who said they were the same kind they had in their country. I understood them, though they were from a distant part of Africa, and I thought it odd I had not seen many horses there. We were not many days in the merchant's custody before we were sold after their usual manner, which is this:-- On a signal given, (as the beat of a drum) the buyers rush at once into the yard where the slaves are confined, and make a choice of that parcel they like best. The noise and clamor with which this is attended, and the eagerness visible in the countenances of the buyers, serve not a little to increase the apprehensions of the terrified Africans, who may well be supposed to consider them as the ministers of that destruction to which they think themselves devoted. In this manner, without scruple, are relations and friends separated, most of them never to see each other again. I remember in the vessel in which I was brought over, in the men's apartment, there were several brothers, who, in the sale, were sold in different lots; and it was very moving on this occasion to see and hear their cries at parting. O, ye nominal Christians! Might not an African ask you, learned you this from your God, who says unto you, Do unto all men as you would men should do unto you? It is not enough that we are torn from our country and friends to toil for your luxury and lust of gain? Must every tender feeling be likewise sacrificed to your avarice?

I stayed in this island for a few days; I believe it could not be above a fortnight; when I and some few more slaves, that were not saleable amongst the rest, from very much fretting, were shipped off in a sloop for North America. On the passage we were better treated than when were coming from Africa, and we had plenty of rice and fat pork. We were landed up a river a good way from the sea, about Virginia county, where we saw few or none of our native Africans, and not one soul who could talk to me.

Source: Olaudah Equiano *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavas Vassa, the African* (Leeds: James Nichols, 1814), pp. 37-40.

Brazilian Slave Trade

Johan Georg Heck, *The Complete Encyclopedia of Illustration* (New York: R. Garrigue, 1851), Plate 258.

Lesson Five
Ending the Atlantic Slave Trade

A. Objectives

- To identify the influences that resulted in the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade.
- To assess arguments against and in support of the Atlantic slave trade.

B. Historical Background

The factors behind the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade were complex. There was no single reason for the abolition of the trade. One factor was the abolition movement led by Christians and humanitarians in Europe and North America. Abolitionists, including Olaudah Equiano and John Newton, waged an aggressive campaign over many years first to abolish the slave trade and eventually to abolish slavery. Abolitionists wrote anti-slavery books and articles and lobbied governments. Another important influence on abolition was the changing economy in Europe and North America. The Industrial Revolution shifted resources from agriculture to industry, and many began to see slavery as obsolete. It is worth noting that the two countries where the slave trade and slavery continued the longest—Cuba and Brazil—were not industrializing. In Great Britain, the nation that led the abolition movement, the Industrial Revolution was transforming society.

A third factor was an increasing aversion to the slave trade and slavery as a result of the Enlightenment and its emphasis on individual liberty. A fourth factor was the historic opposition to the slave trade and slavery from Africans and slaves. Some African leaders expressed concern over the destructive forces of the trade. Slaves made their opposition known in revolts and particularly in the successful insurrection that drove the French from St. Domingue (modern Haiti) and created a black republic in the Americas. The slave revolt in St. Domingue (1791–1804) frightened whites throughout the Americas and contributed to the movement to end the trade.

Great Britain was the first major slaving country to outlaw the trade from Africa beginning in January 1807. The British ban applied to British ships,

but the only way to stop the trade of foreigners was to station naval vessels off the west coast of Africa to intercept slave ships. During the nineteenth century, the British Royal Navy intercepted 1,635 slave ships and freed just over 160,000 slaves. Many of the slaves captured by the British were freed at Freetown, Sierra Leone, a West African coastal colony founded in 1787. The United States abolished the importation of slaves in 1808. (According to Article 1, Section 9 of the Constitution, Congress could not enact any law prohibiting the importation of any persons "as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit" until 1808. This was a political compromise between delegates who wanted to ban slave imports in 1787 and delegates who supported slave imports.) In spite of Britain's naval patrols along the coast of Africa, the slave trade continued until late in the nineteenth century. It did not really end until the abolition of slavery throughout the Americas. The British outlawed slavery in their colonies in 1834; the French abolished slavery in French colonies in 1848; the United States ended slavery following the Civil War with the enactment of the 13th Amendment in 1865. Brazil and Cuba maintained slavery until 1888.

C. Lesson Activities

1. Discuss the **Historical Background** with students. Discuss influences that ended the Atlantic slave trade.

2. Read aloud **Student Handouts 14** and **15**. Discuss the arguments made against and in favor of the slave trade. Assign half the class to write a response to the King of Kongo, Afonso I, (**Student Handout 14**), explaining why the Government of Portugal will not work to end the slave trade. Assign the other half of the class to write a response to the letter writer in **Student Handout 15** arguing why the Atlantic slave trade should end. Read the two letters aloud in class.

3. Read **Student Handout 16**. Debate the British act to abolish the slave trade. Encourage students to use arguments made in the readings. Ask students why they think the slave trade finally ended.

King Afonso I of Kongo to King João III of Portugal

King Afonso I traded slaves to Portuguese merchants in exchange for cloth, weapons, manufactured goods, and the services of Portuguese missionaries and teachers. In the following letter dated July 6, 1526, Afonso asks for the King of Portugal's help to control the slave trade.

In our Kingdoms there is another great inconvenience which is of little service to God, and this is that many of our people, keenly desirous as they are of the wares and things of your Kingdom, which are brought here by your people, and in order to satisfy their voracious appetite, seize many of our people, freed and exempt men; and very often it happens that they kidnap even noblemen and the sons of noblemen, and our relatives, and take them to be sold to the white men who are in our Kingdoms. . . .

And as soon as they are taken by the white men they are immediately ironed and branded with fire, and when they are carried to be embarked, if they are caught by our guards' men the whites allege that they have bought them but they cannot say from whom . . . and so great, Sir, is the corruption . . . that our country is being completely depopulated . . . That is why we beg Your Highness to help and assist us in this matter . . . because it is our will that in these Kingdoms there should not be any trade of slaves nor outlet for them.

Source: John Reader, *Africa: a Biography of the Continent* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

"Captives in African village being sent into slavery"

The slave trade continued for more than 300 years after King Afonso's letter as evidenced by this wood engraving depicting a scene in Congo described by 19th-century explorer Henry M. Stanley.

"A Defense of the African Slave Trade, 1740"

In 1740 *London Magazine* published a letter defending the Atlantic slave trade. The letter responded to a letter published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* that argued against the slave trade and slavery.

Sir, The Guinea Trade, by the Mistake of some, or Misrepresentation of others, hath been charged with Inhumanity, and a Contradiction to good Morals. Such a Charge at a Time when private and publick Morals are laugh'd at, as the highest Folly, by a powerful Faction; and Self-interest set up as the only Criterion of true Wisdom, is certainly very uncourtly: But yet as I have a profound Regard for those superannuated Virtues; you will give me Leave to justify the African Trade, upon those Stale Principles . . . and shew him that there are People in some boasted Regions of Liberty, under a more wretched Slavery, than the Africans transplanted to our American Colonies.

The Inhabitants of Guinea are indeed in a most deplorable State of Slavery, under the arbitrary Powers of their Princes both as to Life and Property. In the several Subordinations to them, every great man is absolute lord of his immediate Dependents. And lower still; every Master of a Family is Proprietor of his Wives, Children, and Servants; and may at his Pleasure consign them to Death, or a better Market. No doubt such a State is contrary to Nature and Reason, since every human Creature hath an absolute Right to Liberty. But are not all arbitrary Governments, as well in Europe, as Africa, equally repugnant to that great Law of Nature? And yet it is not in our Power to cure the universal Evil, and set all the Kingdoms of the Earth free from the Domination of Tyrants, whose long Possession, supported by standing Armies, and flagitious Ministers, renders the Thraldom without Remedy, while the People under it are by Custom satisfied with, or at least quiet under Bondage.

All that can be done in such a Case is, to communicate as much Liberty, and Happiness, as such circumstances will admit, and the People will consent to: And this is certainly by the Guinea Trade. For, by purchasing, or rather ransoming the Negroes from their national Tyrants, and transplanting them under the benign Influences of the Law, and Gospel, they are advanced to much greater Degrees of Felicity, tho' not to absolute Liberty.

That this is truly the Case cannot be doubted by any one acquainted with the Constitution of our Colonies, where the Negroes are governed by Laws, and suffer much less Punishment in Proportion to the Arts of Wickedness; and where Capital Punishment is inflicted only by the Civil Magistrates. . . .

Perhaps my Antagonist calls the Negroes Allowance of a Pint of Corn and an Herring, penurious, in Comparison of the full Meals of Gluttony: But if not let

him compare that Allowance, to what the poor Labourer can purchase for Tenpence per Day to subsist himself and Family, and he will easily determine the American's Advantage. . . .

Source: Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America,* Vol. II (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institute, 1931), pp. 469-70.

Johan Georg Heck, *The Complete Encyclopedia of Illustration* (New York: R. Garrigue, 1851), Plate 258.

Legal Abolition of the Slave Trade

In 1807 Great Britain enacted legislation to abolish the slave trade from Africa. Below is an extract from the British Act for the abolition of the slave trade.

Whereas the Two Houses of Parliament did, by their Resolutions of the Tenth and Twenty-fourth Days of June One thousand eight hundred and six, severally resolve, upon certain Grounds therein mentioned, that they would, with all practicable Expedition, take effectual Measures for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, in such Manner, and at such Period as might be deemed adviseable: And Whereas it is fit upon all and each of the Grounds mentioned in the said Resolutions, that the same should be forthwith abolished and prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and the with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the First Day of May One thousand eight hundred and seven, the African Slave Trade, and all manner of dealing and trading in the Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer of Slaves, or of Persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as Slaves, practised and carried on, in, at, to or from any Part of the Coast or Countries of Africa, shall be, and the same is hereby utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and also that all and all manner of dealing, either by way of Purchase, Sale, Barter, or Transfer, or by means of any other Contract or Agreement whatever, relating to any Slaves, or to any Persons being removed and transported either immediately or by Transhipment at Sea or otherwise, directly or indirectly from Africa, or from any Island, Country, Territory, or Place whatever, in the West Indies, or in any other Part of America, not being in the Dominion, Possession, or Occupation of His Majesty, to any other Island, Country, Territory or Place whatever, is hereby in like Manner utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful; and if any of His Majesty's Subjects, or any Person or Persons resident within this United Kingdom, or any of the Islands, Colonies, Dominions, or Territories thereto belonging, or in His Majesty's Occupation or Possession, shall from and after the Day aforesaid, by him or themselves, or by his or their Factors or Agents or otherwise howsoever, deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, or transfer, or contract or agree for the dealing or trading in, purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring of any Slave or Slaves, or any Person or Persons intended to be sold, transferred, used, or dealt with as a Slave or Slaves contrary to the Prohibitions of this Act, he or they so offending shall forfeit and pay for every such Offence the Sum of One hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain for each and every Slave so purchased, sold, bartered, or transferred, or contracted or agreed for as aforesaid. . .

Source: Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute, 1930), pp. 659–69.

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