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Ancient History of the Slave Trade



The violent uprooting and transplanting of the Negro race from its native Africa to the American continent forms one of the most sinister and tragic episodes in western history.

The New World needed labor... adventurers landed on the shores of Guinea and captured whole families or made arrangements with local rulers who supplied slaves in exchange for cloth, shoddy goods, and alcohol. They were herded together in worse conditions than cattle, chained up in the holds of small ships, badly treated by cruel crews—for these captives the voyage across the ocean was martyrdom.

Upon arrival in the New World, auctions of human flesh sundered families already decimated by the grim tortures of the voyage—and the exchange of coin or produce vested the right of life itself in another's hands. And life in the New World was itself, at best, a matter of chattel management...

In addition to these facts it is interesting to know something of the people who carried on

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**A Pictorial History
of the Slave Trade**



TO BE SOLD
BY PUBLIC AUCTION
On MONDAY the 18th of MAY.

FOR SALE
THE THREE FOLLOWING
SLAVES

MALE AND FEMALE
SLAVES.

BLUCHER.

A Pi
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ctorial History of lave Trade

Texts by **Isabelle Aguet**

Translated by Bonnie Christen

Minerva

Contents

1. — In Africa	16
2. — Crossing the Ocean	52
3. — The Slave Markets	78
4. — Slavery	102
5. — The Slave Traders	121
6. — Abolition of the Slave Trade .	132

As practiced in ancient times and through the centuries, slavery was an institution which, alas, resulted naturally from the social conditions of the peoples in the areas where it first appeared; it played an important role in the evolution of these peoples and, as it transformed itself, died out. This is not the case with Negro slavery which was an institution based solely on a misuse of force; it created from nothing by a barbarous policy and maintained by violence. It had a more odious character than any other form of slavery; it was the exploitation of man by man, without pretext or excuse, in the name of might makes right.

The historic origin is to be found in the customs of the Spaniards and the Portuguese of several centuries ago. As a result of their contacts with the «Barbaresques» of North Africa, these practices were maintained. The Portuguese combined this traffic with others that they practiced along the African coast. The famous Prince Henry of Portugal sponsored a company formed in Lisbon for the sale of Negroes; the latter were kidnapped on

the African coast and sold at the market in Lisbon.

The discovery of America opened an unexpected outlet for this trade. From 1503, some black slaves were brought to Hispaniola; it was observed that they were much more vigorous than the Indians, especially for work in the mines. Bishop Las Casas, protector of the Indians, proposed to Ximenes, cardinal and regent of Spain, that a systematic importation of blacks be organized for work in the mines; the Cardinal refused, but Charles V was less scrupulous. In 1517, he granted a patent to a Flemish gentleman allowing him to import 4,000 black slaves annually to the islands of Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, Cuba and Jamaica. The organization of the slave trade goes back to this concession.

2

The *asientos*, treaties or contracts of the Spanish government with different individuals or foreign governments to furnish black slaves to its overseas possessions, were very numerous during the 16th century. Since this traffic was covered by many guaran-

tees, and the possibility of smuggling many other articles of trade was added to the monopoly of the sale of Negroes, the governments of Europe tried by all imaginable means to secure this privilege for their subjects.

The Flemish derived such profits and multiplied to such an extent in America that, in 1522, they came to blows with the Spanish in Santo Domingo, killed the governor of this island and besieged the fort. From then on the government resolved to limit considerably the *asientos*. They were stopped in 1530; but the needs of the treasury, the necessity to reimburse the enormous sums lent by the Genoese for the expedition of the *Invincible Armada*, made Philip II once again bestow the privilege of the *asiento*. From 1595 to 1600, an *asiento* was granted to Gomez Reinal. For nine years thereafter, it was the Portuguese Jean Rodriguez Continho, governor of Angola, who undertook to furnish 4,250 slaves annually to the colonies and to pay a revenue of 162,000 ducats to the king. After the death of Jean Rodriguez in 1603, the contract passed to his brother, Gonzales-Vaez Continho.

On September 26, 1615, a new concession was given to another

Portuguese, Antonio-Fernandez Delvas, for eight years. He bound himself to introduce 3,500 slaves and to pay 115,000 ducats a year. Another Portuguese, Manuel-Rodriguez Lamego, negotiated for eight more years in 1623 and contracted to furnish 3,500 slaves and to pay 120,000 ducats; 2,500 slaves and 95,000 ducats were the conditions stipulated in 1631 for eight new years with the Portuguese Cristobal-Mendez de Sossa and Melchior Gomez Anjel. The war between France and Spain plus other unknown motives interrupted the *asientos* until 1662.

Then Domingo Fullo and Ambrosio Lomelin enjoyed these rights for nine years during which time they had to furnish 24,500 Negroes and pay 2,100,000 piasters to the king. In 1674, the privilege passed to Antonio Garcia and Don Sebastian de Silcas for five years, on condition that 4,000 slaves and 450,000 piasters be delivered. The contract was cancelled because it wasn't carried out and another one concluded in 1676, for five years, with the consulate of Seville offering to pay 1,125,000 piasters and a bonus of 1,200,000. Then, on January 27, 1682, another

contract was made with Don Juan Barrozzo del Paso and Don Nicolas Porcio of Cadiz for 1,125,000 piasters.

The *asiento* was transferred after that to the Dutchman, Don Balthazar Coimans, and in 1692, for five years, it went to Don Berbarido-Francisco Marin de Guzman, resident of Venezuela, in return for 2,125,000 silver crowns. Finally it passed to the Portuguese company of Guinea from 1696 to 1701. This contract, under which the company bound itself, in so many words, to furnish 10,000 tons of Negroes (*diz mil toneladas de negros*), gave rise to such scandals and difficulties that a transaction to cancel it was concluded in Lisbon on July 18, 1701 between the kings of Spain and Portugal, Philip V and Don Pedro II, who negotiated, as usual, in the name of the Holy Trinity (*el nombre del santisima Trinidad*). A treaty with France followed the one with Portugal.

On August 27, 1701, the Very-Catholic king and the Very-Christian king stipulated that for ten years (1702-1712), the monopoly for the transportation of Negroes to the colonies of America belonged to the Royal Company of Guinea, represented by Mr. du Cass, a major and governor

of Santo Domingo. This company took over the *asiento*, in other words the introduction of black slaves to the West Indies of America belonging to His Catholic Majesty, in order, by this means, to procure a "praiseworthy, pure, mutual and reciprocal advantage" for Their Majesties and their subjects. In ten years, the company was to supply 48,000 "pieces" of both sexes and all ages, taken from any part of Africa except Minas and Cape Verde because the blacks of these countries were not suited to the Indies, thus making 4,800 Negroes per year (art. 1). For each black the company was to pay 33 silver crowns, each crown being worth three pounds tournois (art. 2). Because of the urgent needs of the Spanish crown, the company was to advance 600,000 pounds tournois (art. 3), of the 4,755,000 that it owed and in return it was to retain the rights over 800 Negroes per annum.

The ships had to be French or Spanish but the crews could come from any nation even though they had to be exclusively Catholic (art. 8). The ships could dock in any port where there were officers of Spain. On the Windward Islands, St. Martha, Cumana and Maracaibo the blacks could

not be sold for more than 300 piasters, but anywhere else the company could take as much as it could get (art. 9). His Catholic Majesty placed the treaty and the operations of the company under the protection of all the functionaries of the Spanish possessions. He pledged "his faith and his royal word to the aforesaid company, looking upon the treaty as his own property and reserving to himself alone the knowledge of all the cases which could arise in the carrying out of the treaty."

When this treaty came to an end, the monopoly was granted to England for 30 years (1713-1744). It was the object of an agreement known under the name of the treaty of the *Asiento* (March 26, 1713). Queen Anne of England promised to bring 144,000 *pieces* of both sexes and any age to Spanish America, thus making 4,800 per annum, for 33 piasters escudos and 1/3 piaster per head (art. 1 & 2). The conditions were approximately the same as those of the treaty with France including the same "obligation to advance, because of the Crown's needs, 200,000 piasters escudos (art. 3), on condition that there be an annual deduction of the cost of 800 Negroes (art. 4). They retained

the same privilege of importing slaves to all the ports of the North, and Buenos Aires (art. 7); but the shrewder English obtained greater commercial advantages. They could bring in more than 4,800 slaves per annum during the first 25 years, paying only 16 2/3 piasters for this supplement (art. 6).

They received land on which to establish their trading posts at the places of embarkation and unloading (art. 4).

They had the death penalty for smuggling changed to punishment and a fine (art. 22); they managed to obtain 15 days of grace before having to pay for Negroes who were ill when they disembarked, and were exempted from paying if the Negro died during this delay (art. 24). The two sovereigns had 1/2 interest in the trade—1/4 for each—and the king of Spain was exempted from paying his share of the capital, on condition that he pay an interest of eight per cent, as in the preceding treaty (art. 28). Finally, in an additional article, to prove to Her Britannic Majesty "the desire that he has to please her," His Catholic Majesty granted the option to send, each year, a ship of 500 tons burden to trade with America. This could be done provided that the merchandise

was sold only at the time that fairs were taking place and not before the arrival of the flotillas and galleons. His Majesty, moreover, even in this operation reserved 1/4 of the profits and five per cent on the other 3/4 (art. 43). All these stipulations were once again confirmed in the preliminary peace treaty, signed in Madrid on March 27, 1713 (art. 9), and by article 12 of the treaty of Utrecht (July 13, 1713), the same treaty that fixed the succession of Spain and surrendered possession of Gibraltar and Minorca to England. In 1743, England nearly rekindled the war in Europe because Spain refused to renew this treaty.

For its part, Holland—another naval power of importance—had early been interested in the slave trade. In Africa it was along the Guinea coast that its captains chose to operate.

A company created at the beginning of the 17th century, whose purpose had been to take care of problems arising from a war with Spain, soon devoted its entire activity to the shipping of blacks to the island of Curaçao. From there, they were brought to the American continent. Moreover, the Dutch occupied the north of Brazil

under the leadership of Jean-Maurice de Nassau, and this territory needed many slaves. "One can do nothing without slaves" declared Nassau. "Perhaps certain people will judge that it is evil to employ men in this way, but such scruples are misplaced." If he spoke in such terms, it is because several of his compatriots had expressed doubts as to the justice of using slaves, which did not prevent the Dutch from behaving in the same way as other nations did towards the blacks.

3

For more than two centuries, in order to exploit Africa, Europe was caught up in that feverish activity that made Spain rush headlong to America in the wake of Columbus. If England always had the advantage in this frenzied race; if she imported in a single year (1786) up to 38,000 slaves, France was always in second place and, in a way, restored the equilibrium by remaining in the race longer. On July 2, 1789, a general order was issued by the Council of State which upheld the immunities in favor of the slave trade. Besides, these immunities were

ended only by a decree of July 27, 1793, which, while abolishing them, respected the odious traffic itself. Following is the text of this document, to be found only in the collection called *du Louvre* : "The National Convention decrees that all the subsidies accorded until now for the slave trade are discontinued." Slavery itself was abolished by a decree of February 4, 1794. The remark of Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, is well-known; when he took power, he asked under what system the colonies had prospered most; he was told that it was under the regime in force at the time the Revolution broke out: "Then, apply it to them again and as quickly as possible," he answered. The edict which re-established slavery and the law of May 30, 1802 which set the commerce of the *slave trade* going again with all the procedures, immunities and premiums in use in 1789, were the consequences of this wish so decisively expressed. The last record which appears on this matter in the code of the colonies is dated November 9, 1805. It is a proclamation of the English governor of St. Lucia, which was a possession recently taken from France, that authorized the importation of Negroes, in ships

sailing under any flag, in order to rebuild the colony, which the war had depopulated.

Such was the legal basis of the slave trade until the day it passed into the domain of international politics. From that moment on, its career is recorded in the acts of European chancelleries. While Bonaparte, the Emperor, was at peace with England, the importation of Negroes to Martinique rose to 3,558, but the exportation was 1,766 thus reducing the net number to 1,792. In the year 1804, war interrupted this commerce; however, in the year 1805, 730 slaves were again introduced by a slave ship coming from the African coast. The slave trade was almost nonexistent in the colonies except for the island of Bourbon; but it acquired a great extension to Cuba and Brazil. Authentic documents, collected by Mr. de Humboldt, establish that in the ten years from 1811 to 1820, Cuba received more than 116,000 slaves. Just the entry of Negroes to Brazil via the port of Rio de Janeiro rose to:

20,852 slaves in 1821
17,003 slaves in 1822
20,610 slaves in 1823

This traffic in men lasted not less than 320 years. If, during the last

half of this long existence, it took from Africa only as many slaves as in 1786, one can believe, without exaggeration, that it took away 12,000,000 to populate and cultivate the inter-tropical, sugar-producing colonies alone. It is undoubtedly the largest scale emigration that has ever taken place across the seas. Assuming that there were 150 Negroes in each load, it took no less than 80,000 ships or expeditions for this immense population to cross the Atlantic.

4

Honor for the abolition of the slave trade unquestionably belongs to Wilberforce, Clarkson, Grenville, Sharp and Buxton. "Seven times," says an historian, "they proposed the bill of abolition and seven times it failed." When they finally succeeded, they had to fight against the most powerful individuals in their country: Lord Eldon, who still asserted in Parliament in 1807 that "the slave trade had been sanctioned by parliaments with the wisest legal experts, the most enlightened theologians, the most emi-

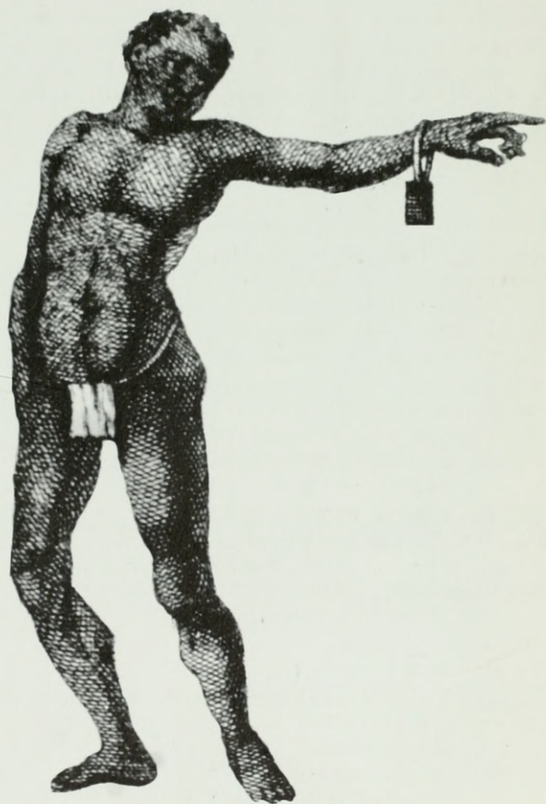
nent statesmen;" Lord Hawkesbury, later to become Count Liverpool, who proposed to remove from the preamble of the law the words "incompatible with the principles of justice and humanity;" Count Westmoreland, who declared that, "Even were he to see all the Presbyterians and prelates, the Methodists and preachers, the Jacobins and the assassins united in favor of the abolition of the slave trade, he would nonetheless raise his voice in Parliament against this measure."

England was accused of acting in self-interest; it was even claimed that her goal was to ruin all the colonies that had African workers, including her own, in order to assure the agricultural and commercial monopoly of her immense possessions in India. It has been claimed that England wanted to accomplish, under the pretext of humaneness, the supervision of all the navies in the world, the open policing of the seas. The efforts, the expenses, the difficulties to which this exposed England, the language of her statesmen place her complete disinterestedness beyond doubt. It is possible that she found her interest in her duty, and that among her statesmen some have been more swayed by expediency, others by humaneness.

On February 8, 1815, a declaration against the slave trade was signed in the name of England, Austria, France, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain and Sweden. Already England had obtained from France, in the treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814, an article whose purpose was to condemn this odious traffic. In 1818, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and in 1822 at the Congress of Verona, the great powers repeated these same declarations. England, without respite, employed all the efforts of her diplomacy from 1814 on to obtain special treaties from the different powers. It took her 27 years to persuade Portugal. By an agreement made on January 21, 1815, England promised to cancel an old debt and to give 300,000 pounds sterling to compensate the owners of the Portuguese ships captured before this time by English cruisers, and Portugal forbade the slave trade under Portuguese flag, except to supply its own possessions. By another convention on July 18, 1817, the two nations agreed upon "the reciprocal right of pursuit, imprisonment of slave traders and of judgment by mixed commissions. Portugal promised to inflict a special penalty upon Portuguese subjects who indulged in the

slave trade. In spite of these agreements, almost 60,000 slaves were transported to Brazil in 1822, the year in which this country separated from Portugal. Notes, menaces, protests remained without effect until December, 1836.

Continued page 143



1. — In Africa

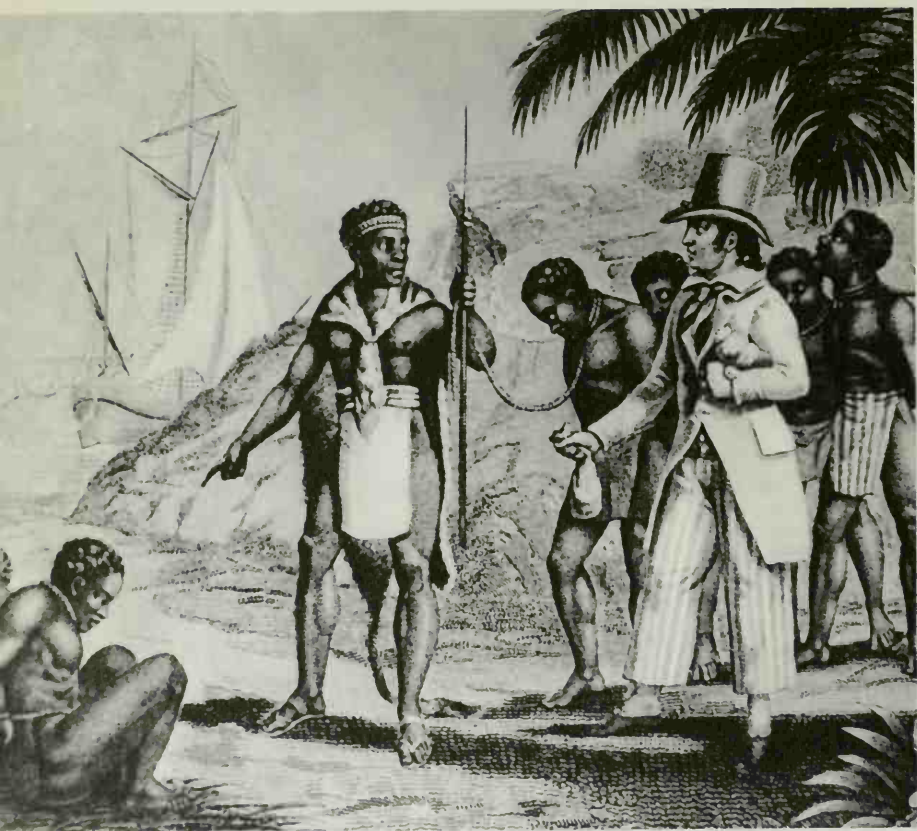
1. The Negro slave trade, whether Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English or French, was practiced for centuries along the coast of Guinea in Western Africa. The region then called Guinea extends from Senegal to the Equator.





2. The African countryside has hardly changed since the time of the first slave traders, and this beach at Abidjan, on the Ivory Coast, recalls vividly the atmosphere

in which the slavetraders operated: the oppressiveness of a disease infested climate, the constant humidity and the blinding whiteness of the beach bordered by palm and coconut trees.



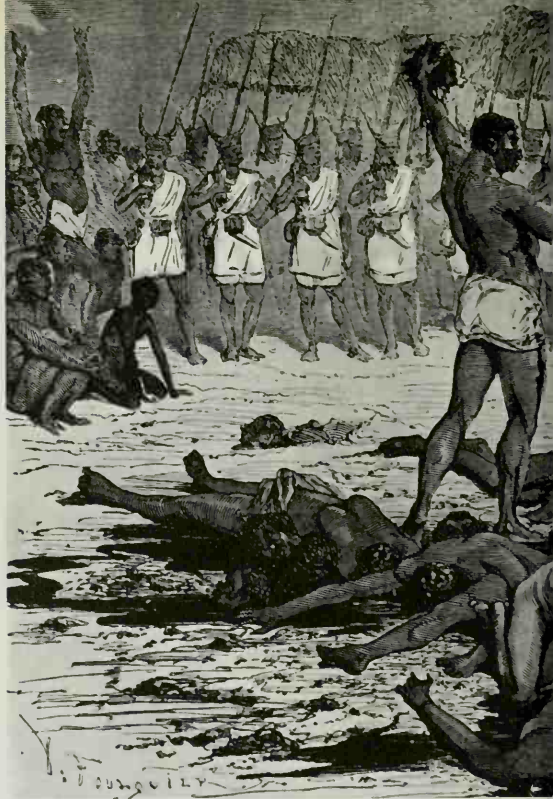
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3. The defenders of the slave trade argued that African kings themselves were only too willing to sell their Negro subjects to white men. However, without buyers, there would have been no sellers.

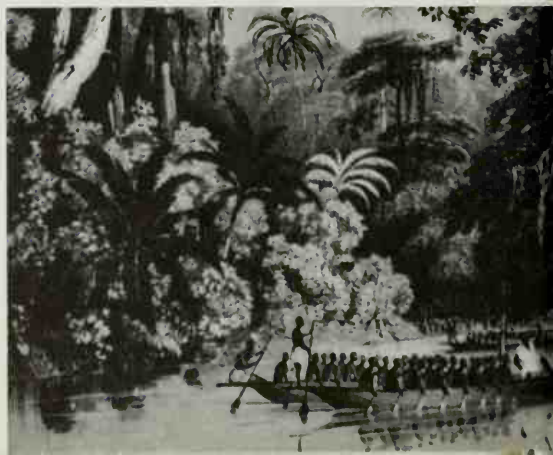
4. The first slaves were taken captive at random along the Coast. It later became necessary to trade through market places, kings and governors.

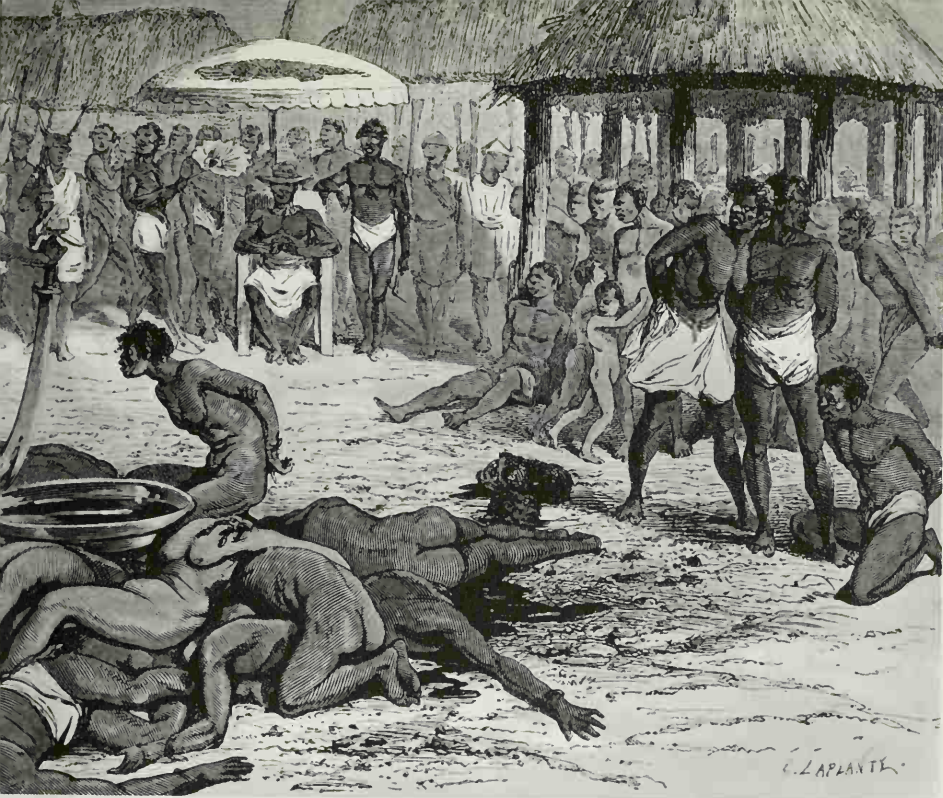


5. The black sovereigns used funerals as an excuse for human sacrifice, as pictured in the scene at Dahomey. The whites who witnessed these events added them to their arguments in favor of slavery. These sacrifices, however, were rare and until the arrival of the Europeans, the slaves in Africa were considered precious enough to be worthy of protection by kings and noblemen.



6. Procession of the Ibo tribe on the Niger delta. The Ibos had the reputation of being tall and robust and were very sought after by the slave traders. They lived on the Niger delta, as far east as Old Calabar.







7. A toast to friendship!

During the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, there were only a few dealers spread the length of the coast.

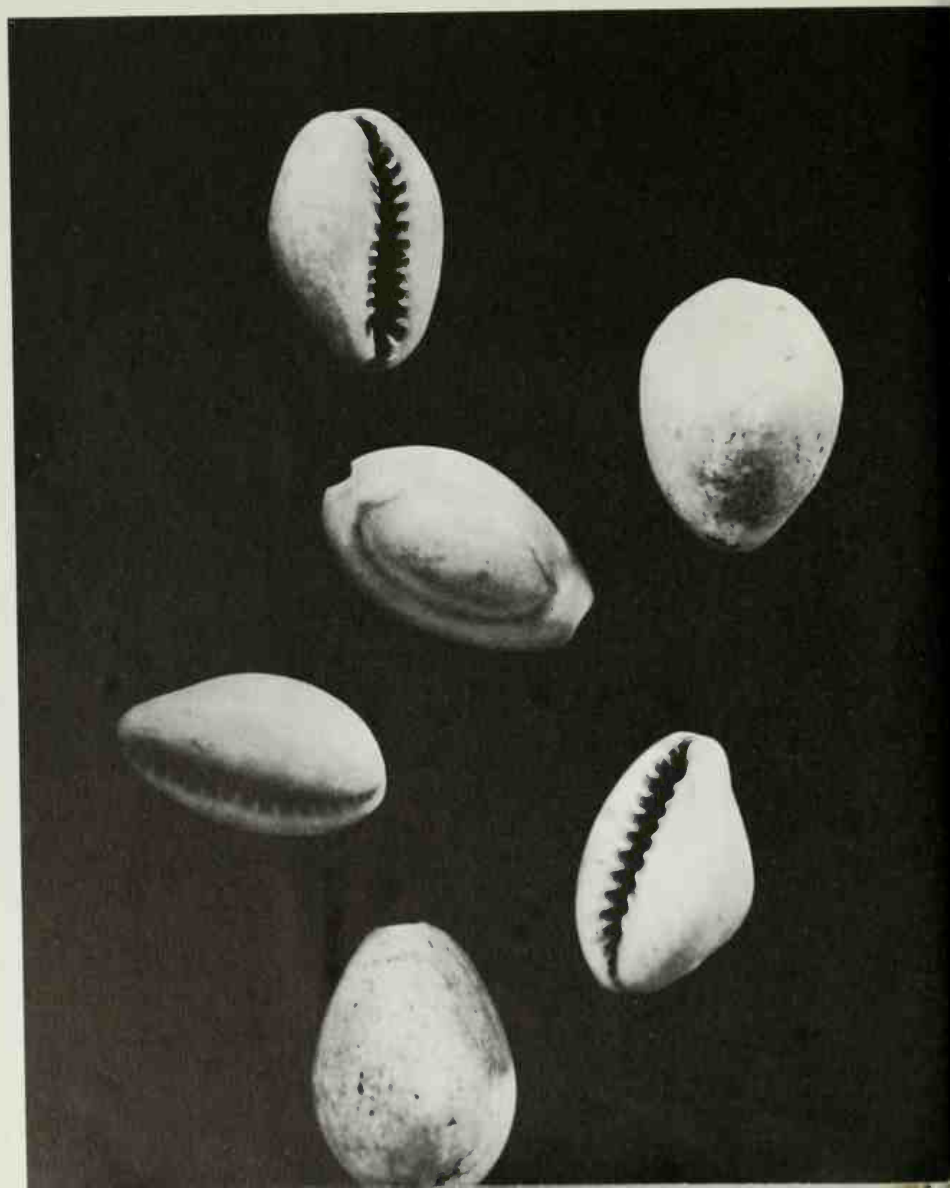
8. Little by little, slavery spread throughout the Black Continent. Even East Africa had its slave markets, those of Zanzibar being especially prosperous during the last century.



9. The fugitive Negroes, hidden in the brush, were quickly captured by the white men. The captain of the "Greyhound" mentions in his log that on the 12th of May 1724, several Negroes surprised a group of fugitives, "stripped them of their clothes and left them on the sand in this condition, at the mercy of God and the weather". Even if they escaped this fate, it was not long before they died of hunger and exhaustion.







10. The slave trade was a barter trade. The slaves were not exchanged for money but for goods or cowries, empty sea shells which were highly valued by the Africans. These shells, also called "bouges", came from the Maldive Islands. They were found in all sizes but the smaller the size, the higher the value. The natives used them also as ornaments. To them, these shells were more valuable than gold dust. The rank and importance of a man were determined by the number of cowries and slaves in his possession.

11. Necklaces, bracelets and earrings were used also for trade. Pictured here is a necklace of European beads and hard stones. Arab coins have been added to it.



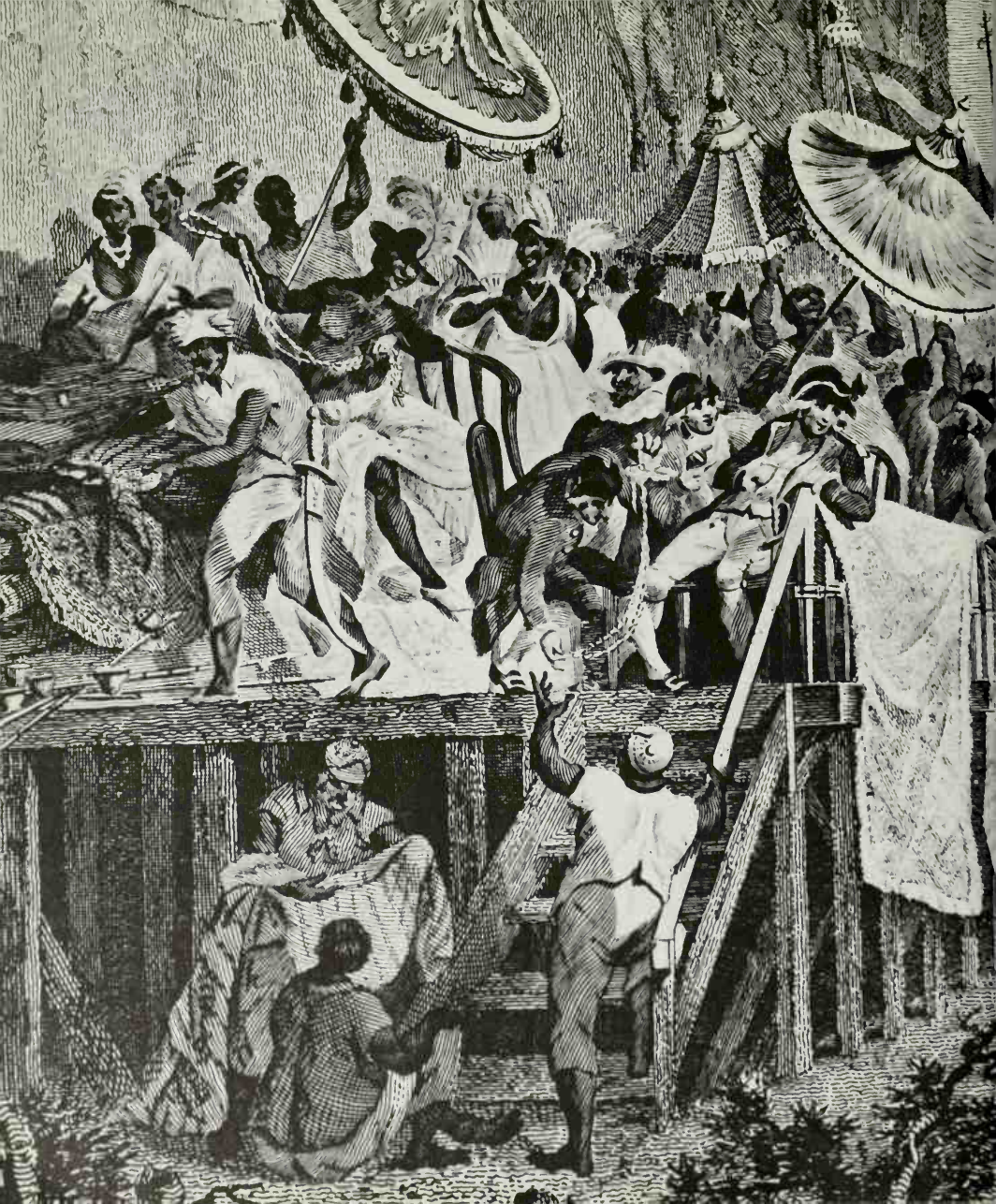


12. Apart from the beads and to replace slowly the cowries, which finally were completely abandoned, the Negroes proposed to their partners various goods imported from Europe: fabrics, bracelets, earrings, copper pans, iron bars, barrels of powder, brandy and rum.

13. The Dahomians, it has been remarked, were among the strongest kings of the coast of Guinea. André Ducasse, a French historian of the slave trade, relates the following: If one arrives in January (and that is the good season), it is possible to attend the festival of Abomey in honor of their ancestors. The King Dada presides on a platform covered in red cloth. The distinguished guests grab for the gifts and cowries which have been prepared in advance. The presents appropriated. "a dozen slaves, confined in wicker baskets are brought in, and thrown down before the executioners who chop off their heads with sabre cuts." Various liquors, pipes and, to keep him company, a beheaded grave digger and "two dozen women with their legs cut off" were placed in the tomb of the deceased King. The Dahomians are a sturdy race.

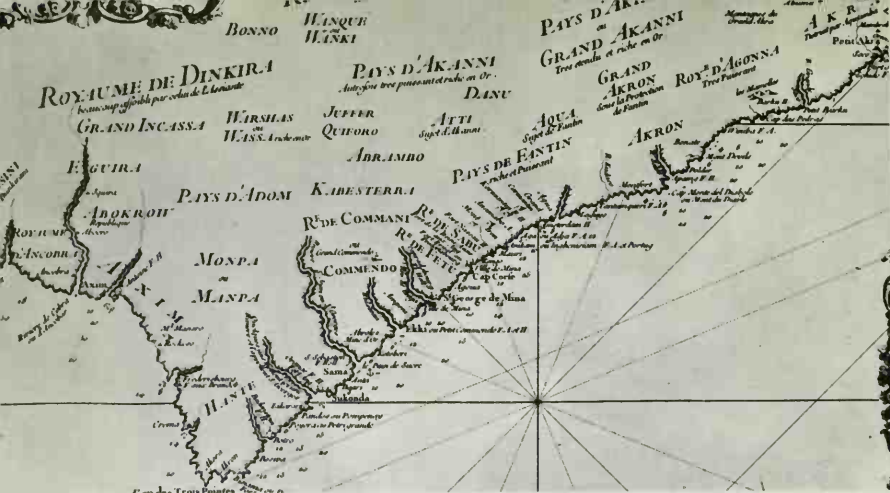






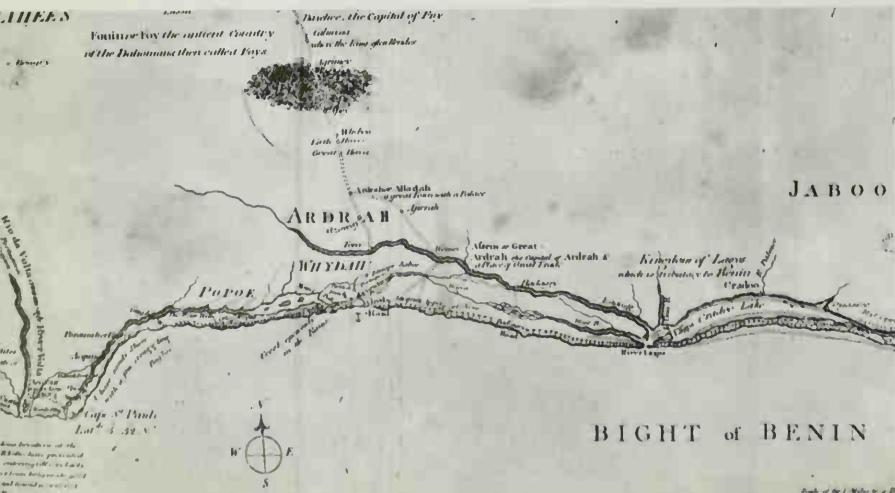


14. In his book, *The Era of the Slave Traders*, Professor Gaston-Martin comments that "those whom the slave traders call kings are tyrannical and barbaric tribal chiefs... who set about hunting the captives as soon as this trade brought them weapons, fabrics and finery as well as cheap liquor. They usually sell natives of neighboring clans but they will even sell their own subjects so as not to miss a deal... Soon obsequious and eager, they offer the hospitality of their huts to the captains, even feeding and lodging them; soon again they will prove themselves as cruel as they were friendly."



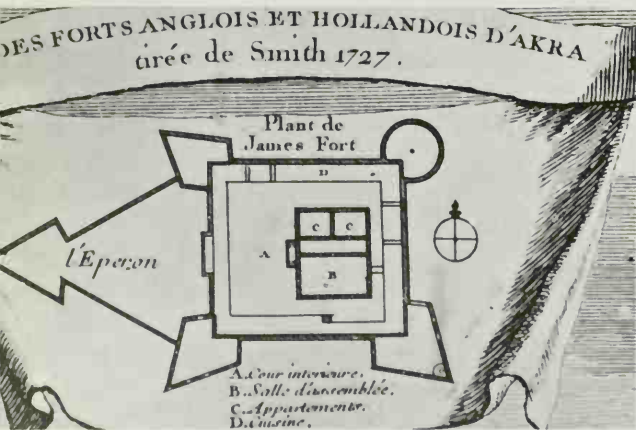
15. The cartographer of this map of the Coast of Guinea, from Cape Appolonia to the Volta River, the area known as the Gold Coast, wrote: "I have not indicated any boundaries of the different kingdoms or provinces, having not been able to find a source precise enough to do it accurately, the course of the rivers of the interior of the country being unknown to the Europeans."

16. The slave trade, as all industries, knew its years of feast as well as those of famine. At times, the ships were fully loaded and at others, they spent months off the coast of Benin. An English songwriter of the 17th century described the situation in these terms: "Beware and take care of the Bight of Benin. Few come out though many go in."



17. In the Kingdom of Benin, and further yet in Kalabar, the Negroes were less expensive than elsewhere and the "customs" less elaborate. In addition, the region was known for its miserable climate in which fever and dysentery ran rampant.

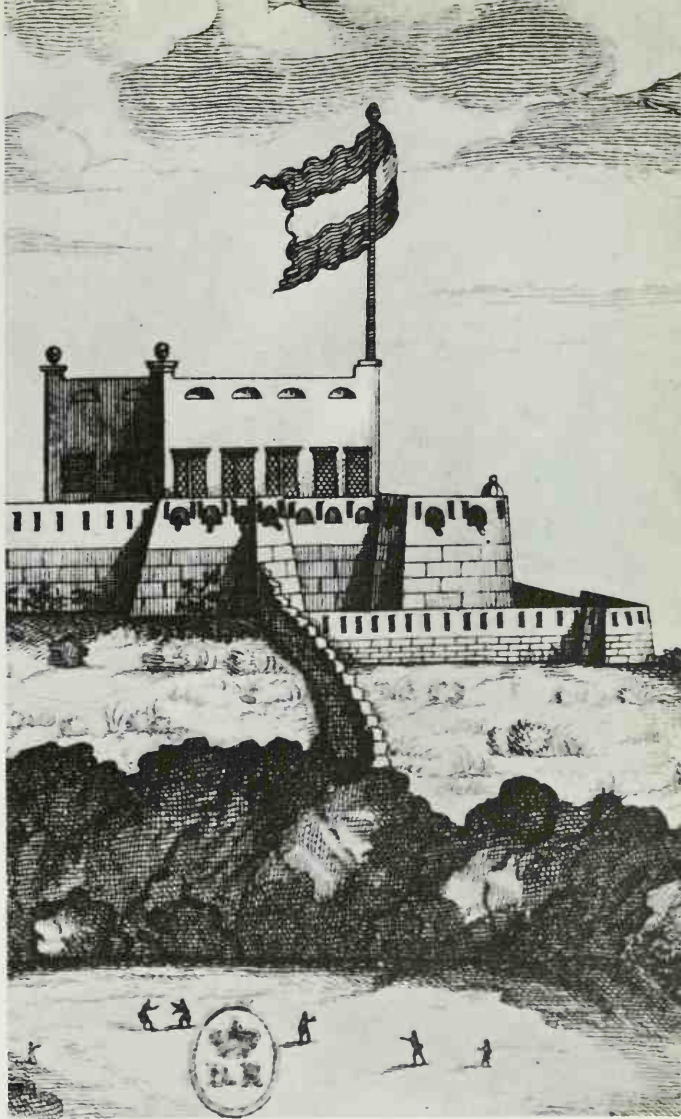


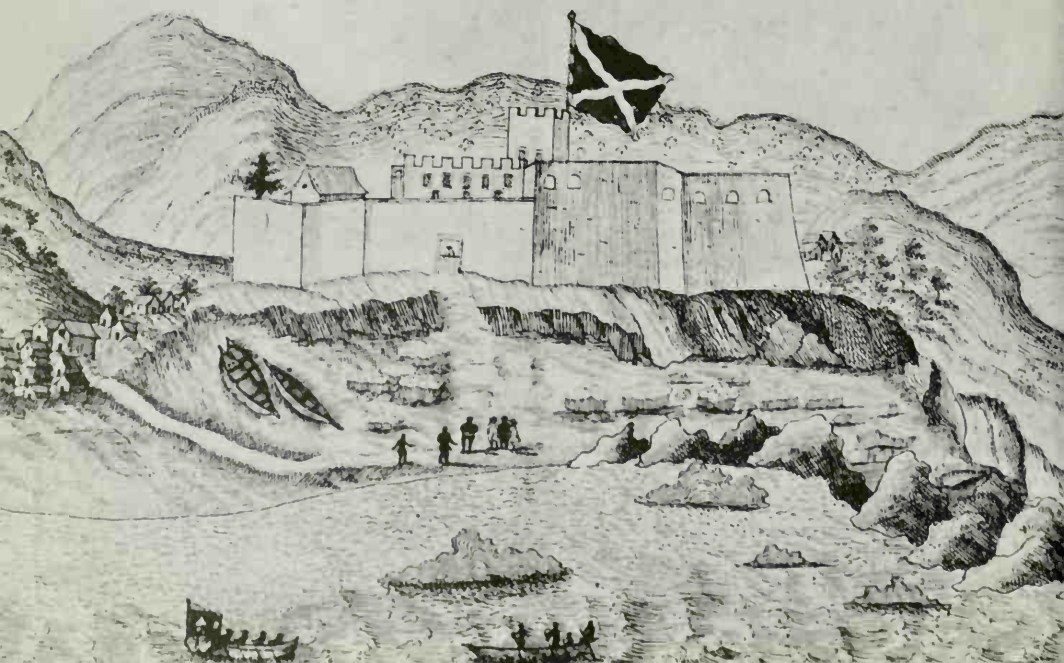
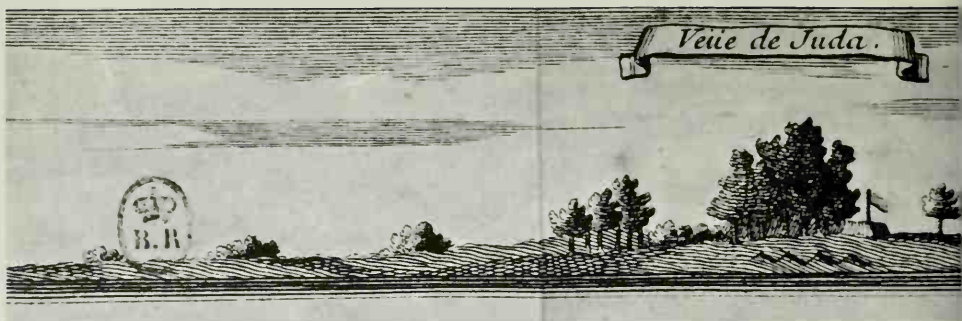


18. The Dutch, English, French and Portuguese set up forts along the length of the Coast of Guinea which led to the complete industrialization of the slave trade. Here the traders felt more or less sheltered from surprise attacks. Pictured here are the Forts of Crevecoeur (left) and James Fort at Akra.



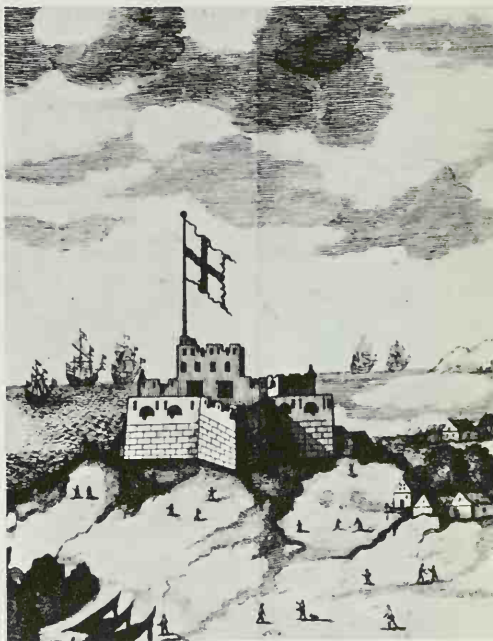
19. Crevecoeur ("heart-break"), well named... the Europeans were proud of these fortresses scattered the length of the slave coast.





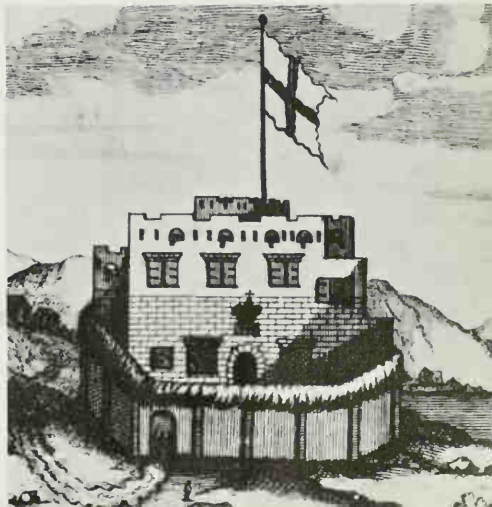


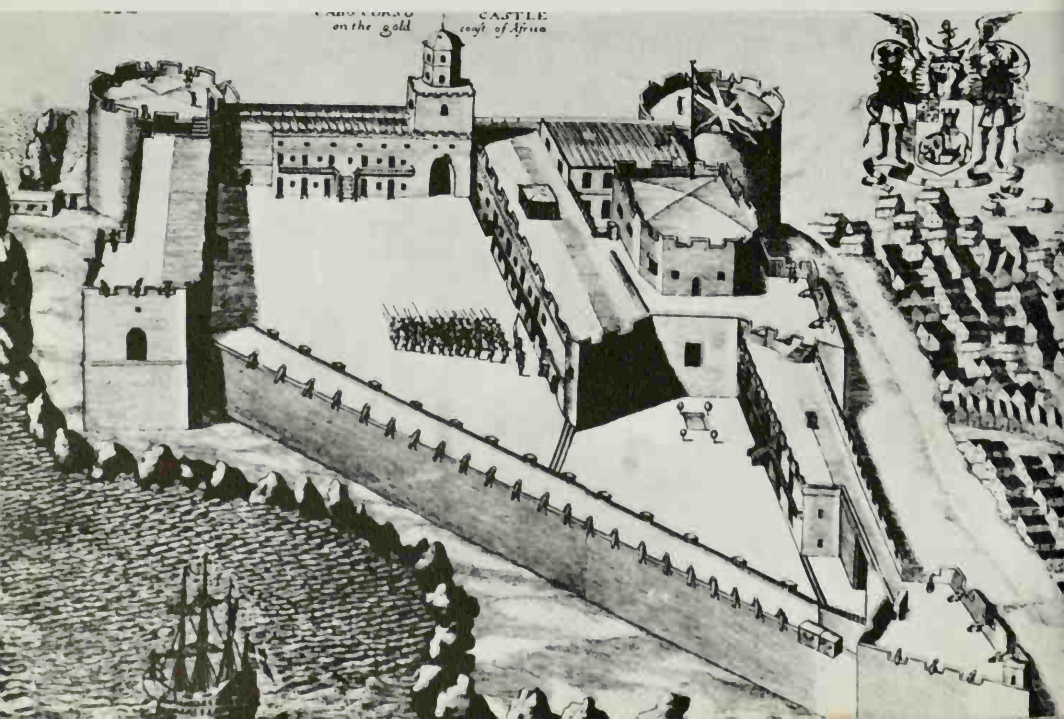
20. It was the French who founded the Fort of Judah, or Ouidah, which was finally destroyed in 1726 by the army of the King of Dahomey.



21. The British fort of Anamabou, on the Gold Coast, remains standing today. "On a rock ledge, at about 1640 feet from the hills which form the border of this part of the coast, with its red brick walls under a whitewashed facing, its elegant spiral staircase and its cool arcades ..." (Pope-Hennessy)

22. The French merchants from Nantes and La Rochelle complained bitterly that the English drove them out of Anamabou where business was prosperous.





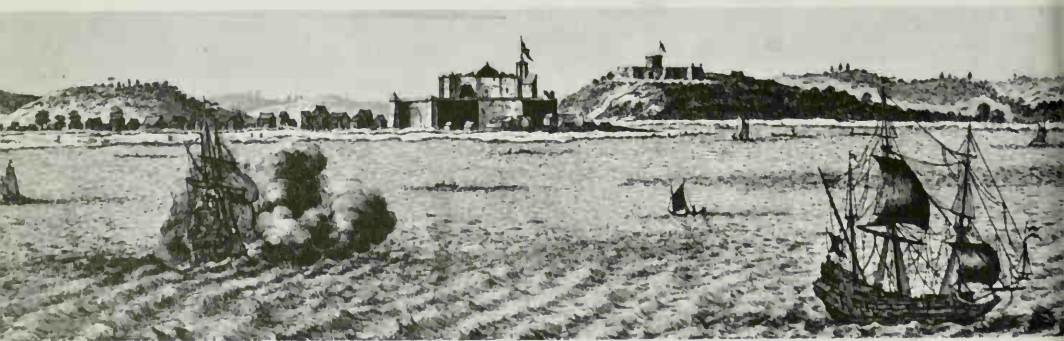


23. The town of Kong was, for a long time, the most important commercial center in the Niger loop on the Ivory Coast.

24. Cape Coast Castle, on the Ivory Coast, belonged to the Royal African Company. The Gold Coast proved worthy of its name as it was the paradise of the slave traders: 25 European forts and approximately 30 markets.

25. The most important fortress of the Gold Coast: The Mine or "El Mina". Impregnable from the sea, more accessible by land, El Mina, also called St. George's Fort, was upheld by four bastions. In the bay, to the East, the boats came to anchor.









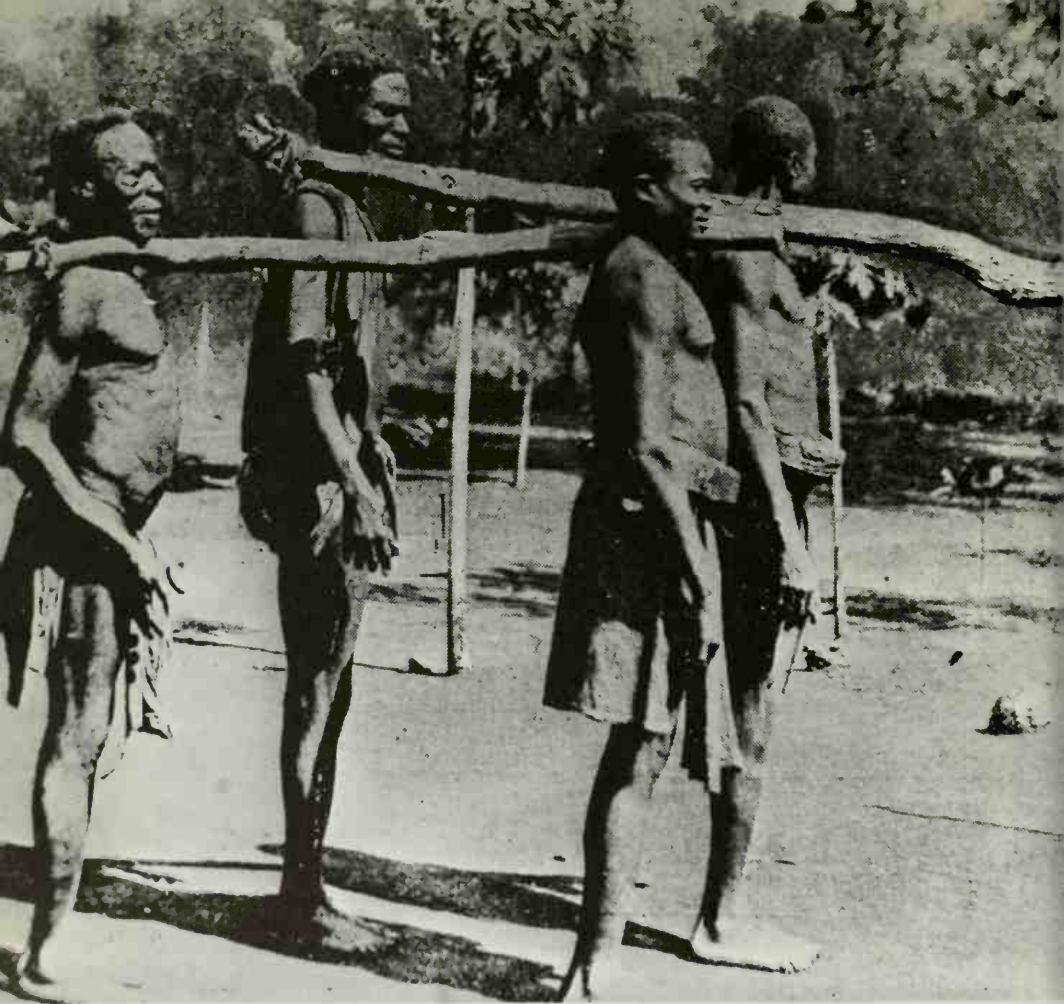
28, 29. It is appalling to realize that, towards 1830, approximately four centuries later, the slaves were treated in the same cruel and inhuman manner.



30. It must be said that the French slave traders believe or pretend to believe that the inhabitants of Africa do not really belong to the human race—and, therefore, have no soul. The Portuguese will not have

the guile to come up with such a firm belief—but that will, in no way, prevent them from practicing the slave trade on a large scale, with a little less cruelty however, than other people.





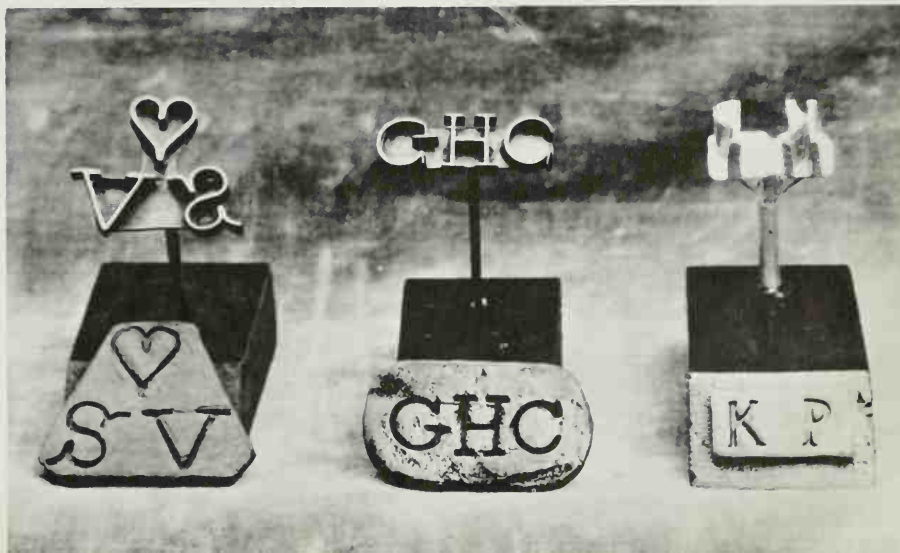
31. Once taken prisoner, the black slaves were led to forts where they waited to embark, their hands and feet bound together. This is still the custom in certain countries.



32. This bludgeon was one of the many instruments of torture which was used by the Europeans and the torturers of runaway Negro slaves.

country had its particular region for branding: the cheek, the arm, the stomach. According to several sources, one brand used was "a pipe on the left breast." "One uses a heated blade of thin metal," wrote Father Labat, an Antillian monk, "and the area to be branded is rubbed with tallow and covered with a piece of oiled paper. The brand is applied, the skin becomes swollen and the letters appear in relief, never to disappear."

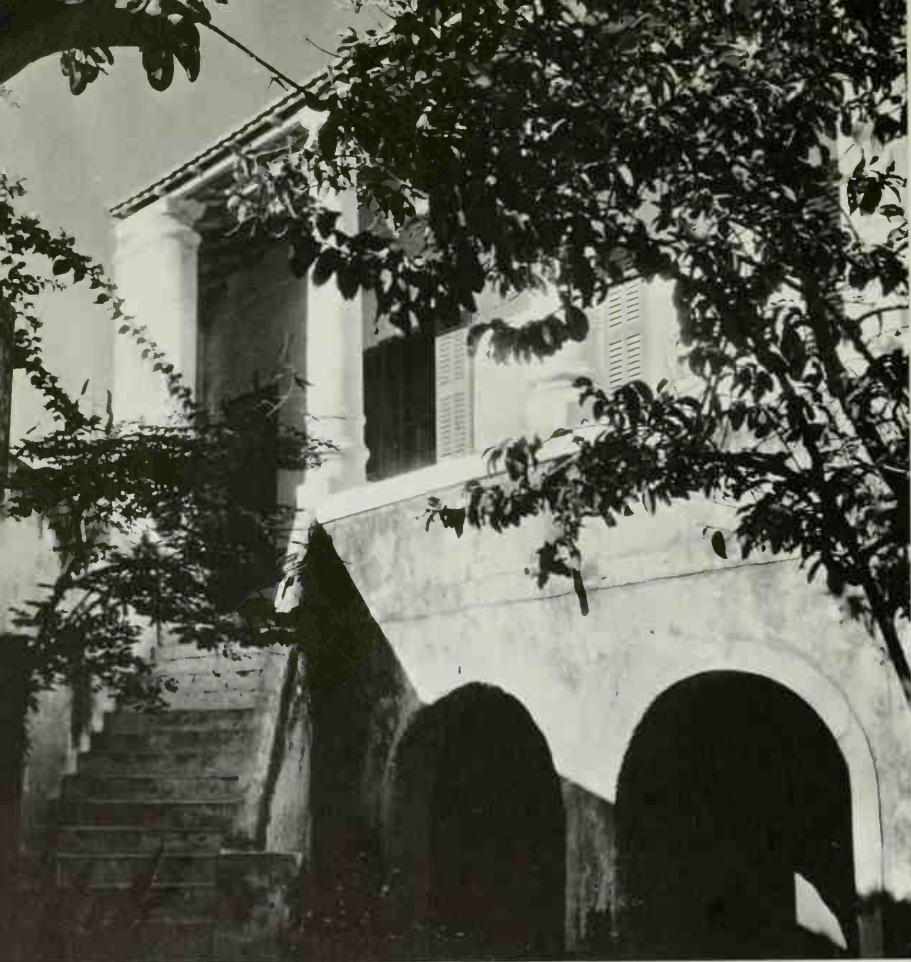
33. The branding irons which were used to mark the slaves. Each prisoner was marked with a special brand to facilitate the identification of runaway slaves. Each



34. Tor-
ture in
front of
the Negro
leaders.







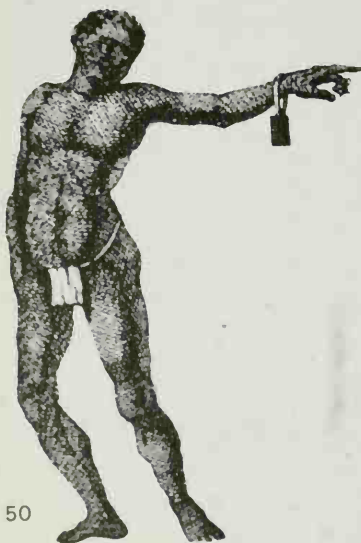
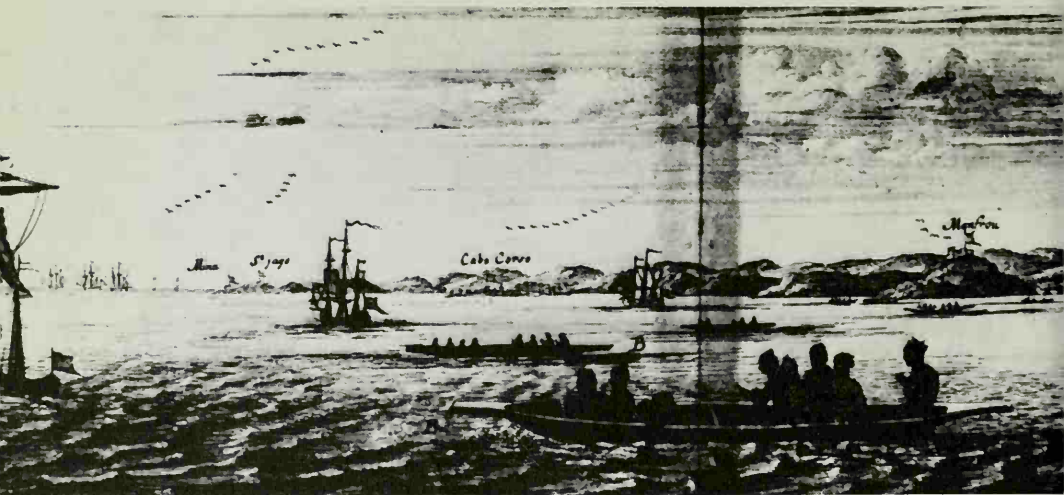
35. This comely dwelling on the Island of Gorée in Senegal, belonged to a slave trader. Below were the dungeons for the slaves and, above, the spacious living quarters of the traders.



36. On the side away from the street, carefully hidden from view, was the door through which the slaves embarked.

37. Two old cannon guard the main entrance of this house in Senegal, in which many sad events took place.





38. Taken in launches to the slave ships, those of the Negroes who had not already committed suicide were embarked, trembling with fear.

Many Negroes believe that they are going to be eaten. Some of them do not hesitate to commit suicide, sometimes in an atrocious way like swallowing their tongues or eating earth.

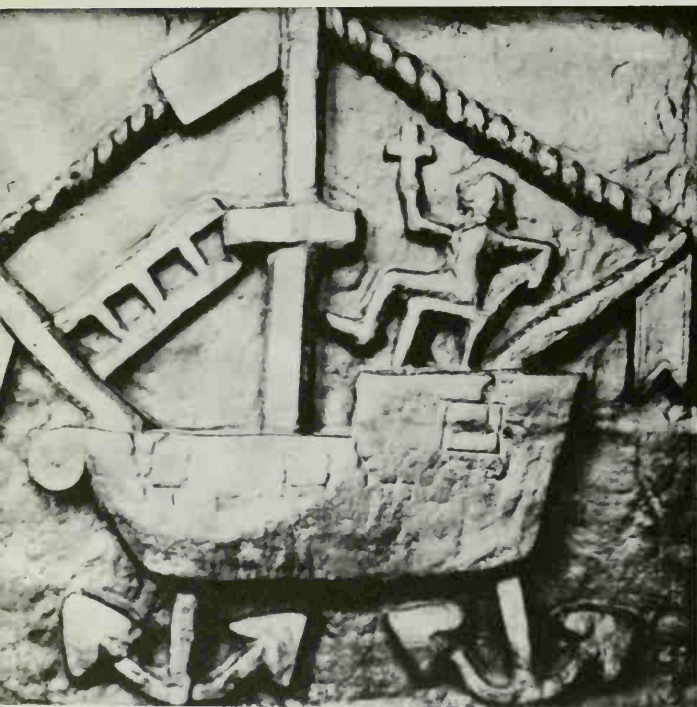


39. As the ships set sail, heart-breaking farewells were said. Those who had tried to free the captives wept at the sight of their black brothers and sisters being taken away.

40. As the long white African beaches and the coconut trees became hazy in the distance, the second part of the famous "triangular voyage" began for the slave ship and its crew, sailing with its miserable cargo towards the West Indies.



2. — Crossing the Ocean



41, 42. This low-relief from the King of Abomey's palace shows, in its traditional simplicity, a slave ship. On board, the crew calms revolts and scenes of violence. It was of these scenes that Gericault did a series of sketches.

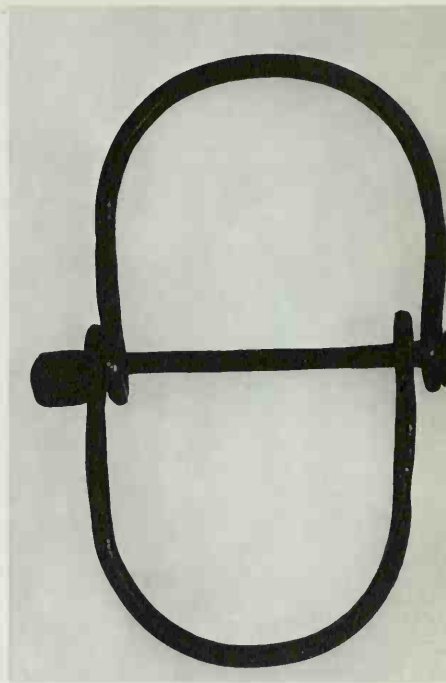




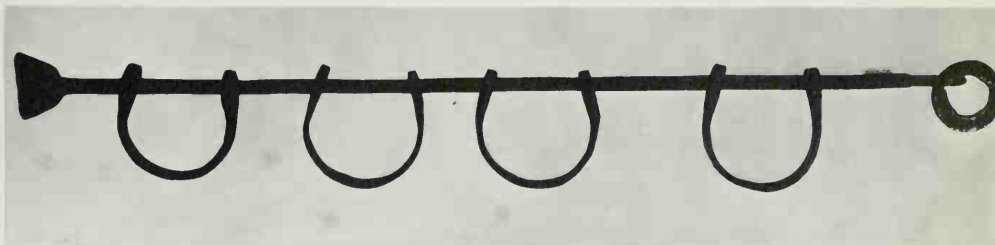


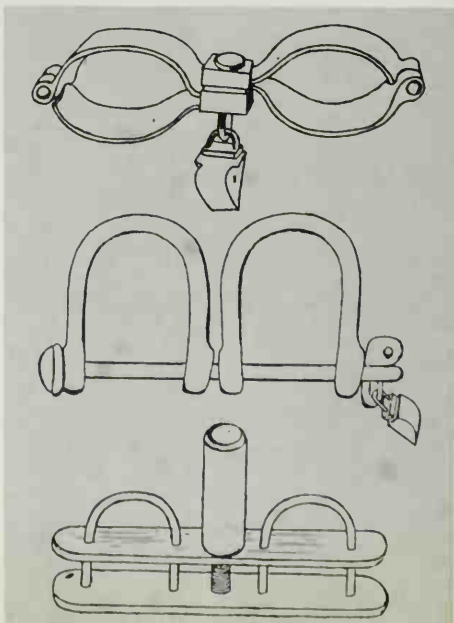
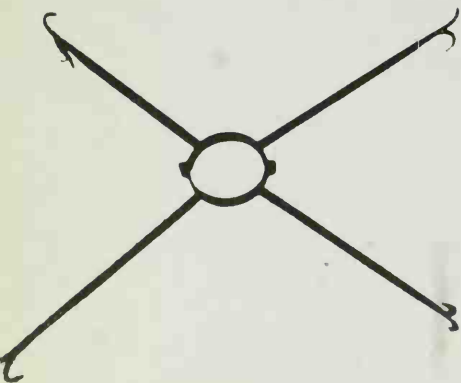
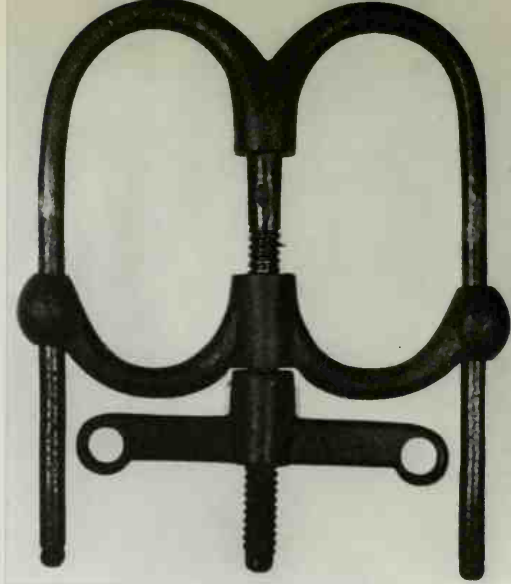


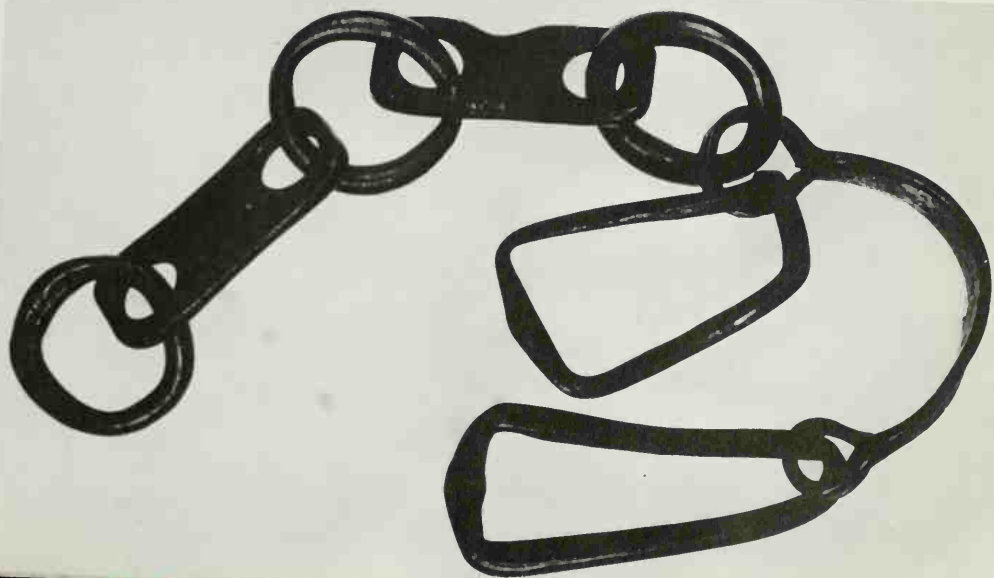
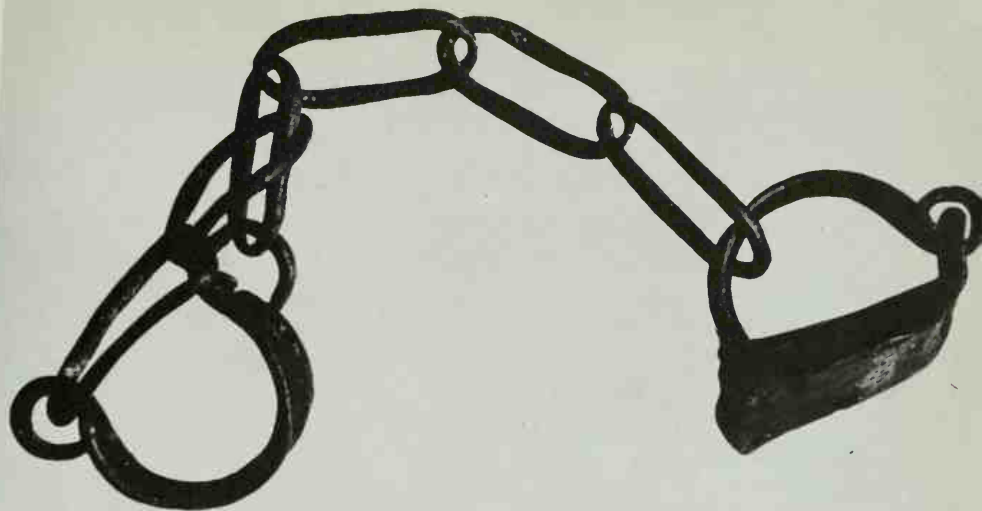
43. The slaves were delivered to the captains hand-cuffed and tied together. They were kept in this manner on board where other means of torture awaited them should they try to rebel.



44-51. Different chains (of the era) with which the unfortunate Negroes were bound together by arms, legs and necks, either separately or in groups.





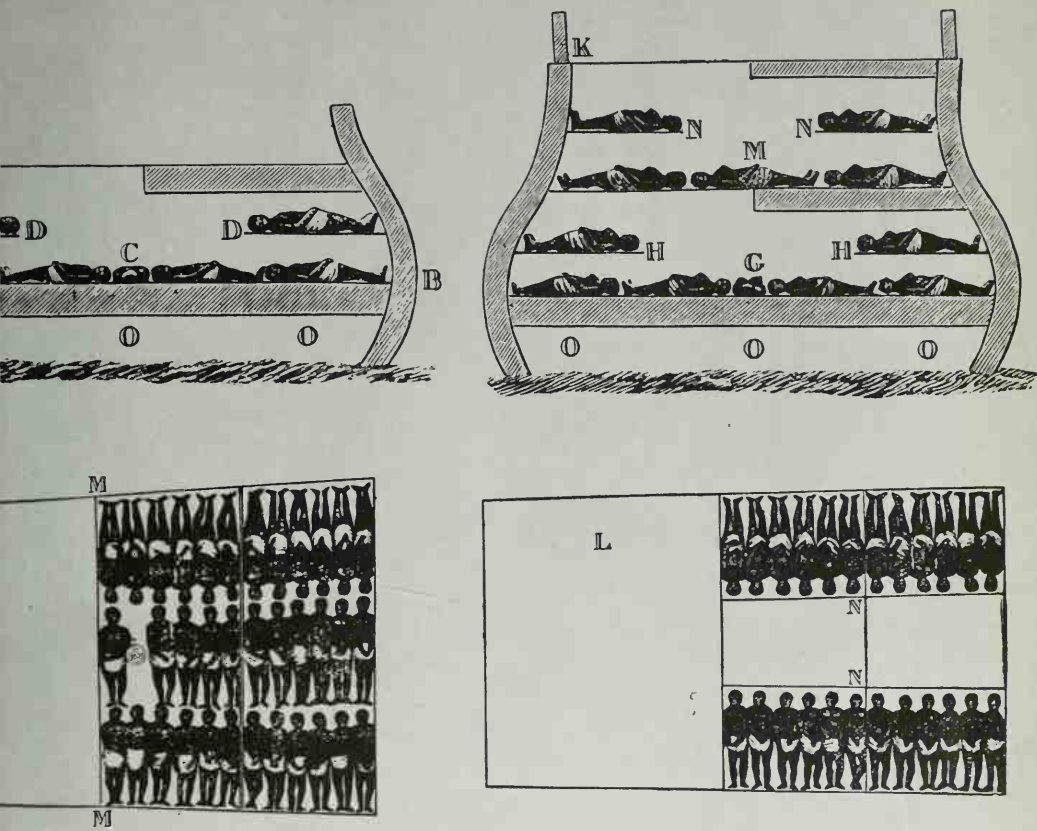




52. The officers, here a Dutch captain, headed the bow toward a lost corner on the other side of the Atlantic: Barbados or Martinique. Even aboard the tidiest ships run by the most humane of captains, sickness and death ran rampant among the slaves.

53. The crew aboard the slave ships was made up of thirty to forty sailors. During war time, the number was increased to fifty or even one hundred men. The staff was usually composed of a second captain, two lieutenants and one or two ensigns.





54. A cross-section sketch of the English slave ship, *Brooke*; the captives were stowed between the hold and the forward deck in the two between-decks of which

the height on this ship was only 5 feet 9 inches! There were so many Negroes packed in the between-decks that when they lay down, there was not one inch of space between them.

55. The blacks were stretched out face to face in two lines. In the space between their feet were others lying down. The ship was packed to the brim. The carpenters belonging to the crew strengthened the slaves' cages, the hatchways were shut with padlocks and iron bars and the portholes were blocked. The men were separated from the women by a nail-covered wall. As regards the boatswain, he had long ago brought out his set of chains, hand-cuffs and neck irons.

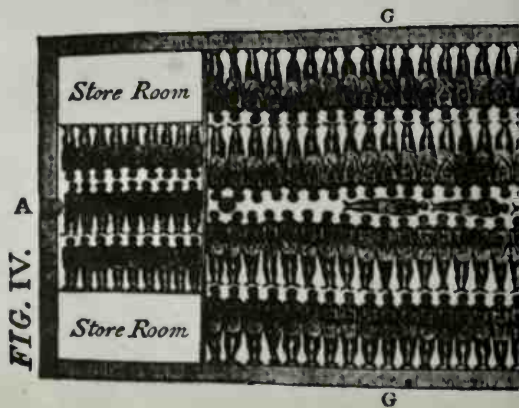
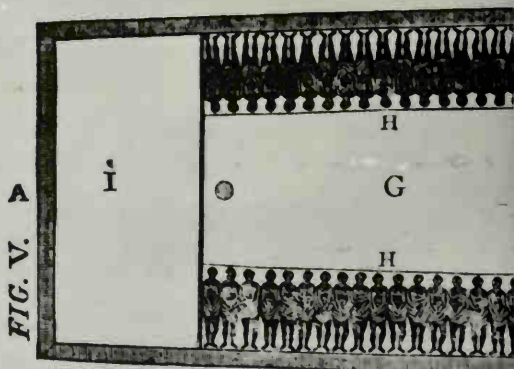
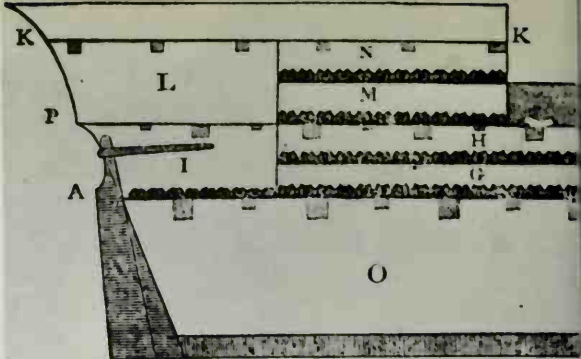
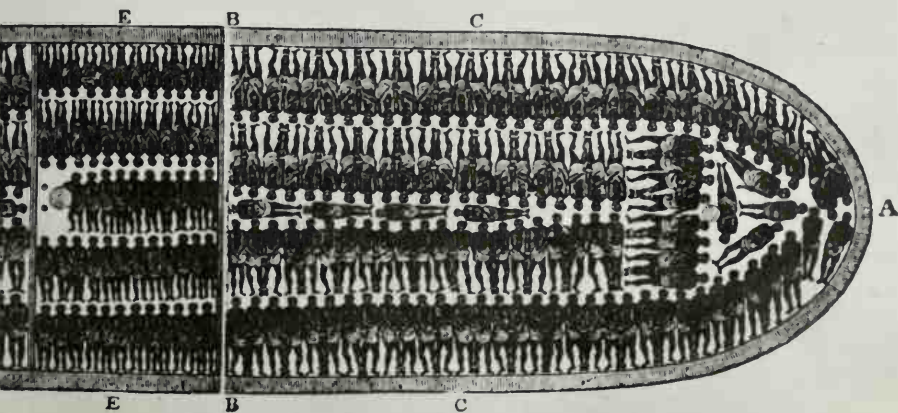
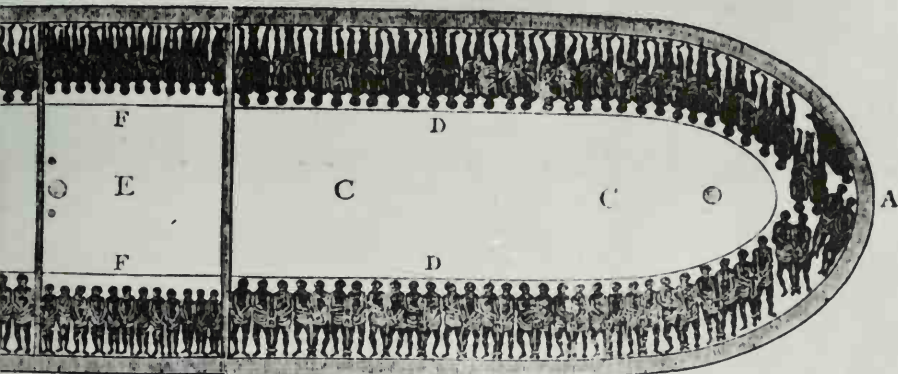
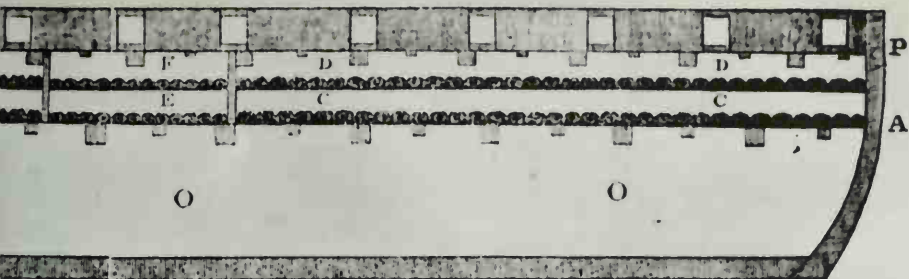
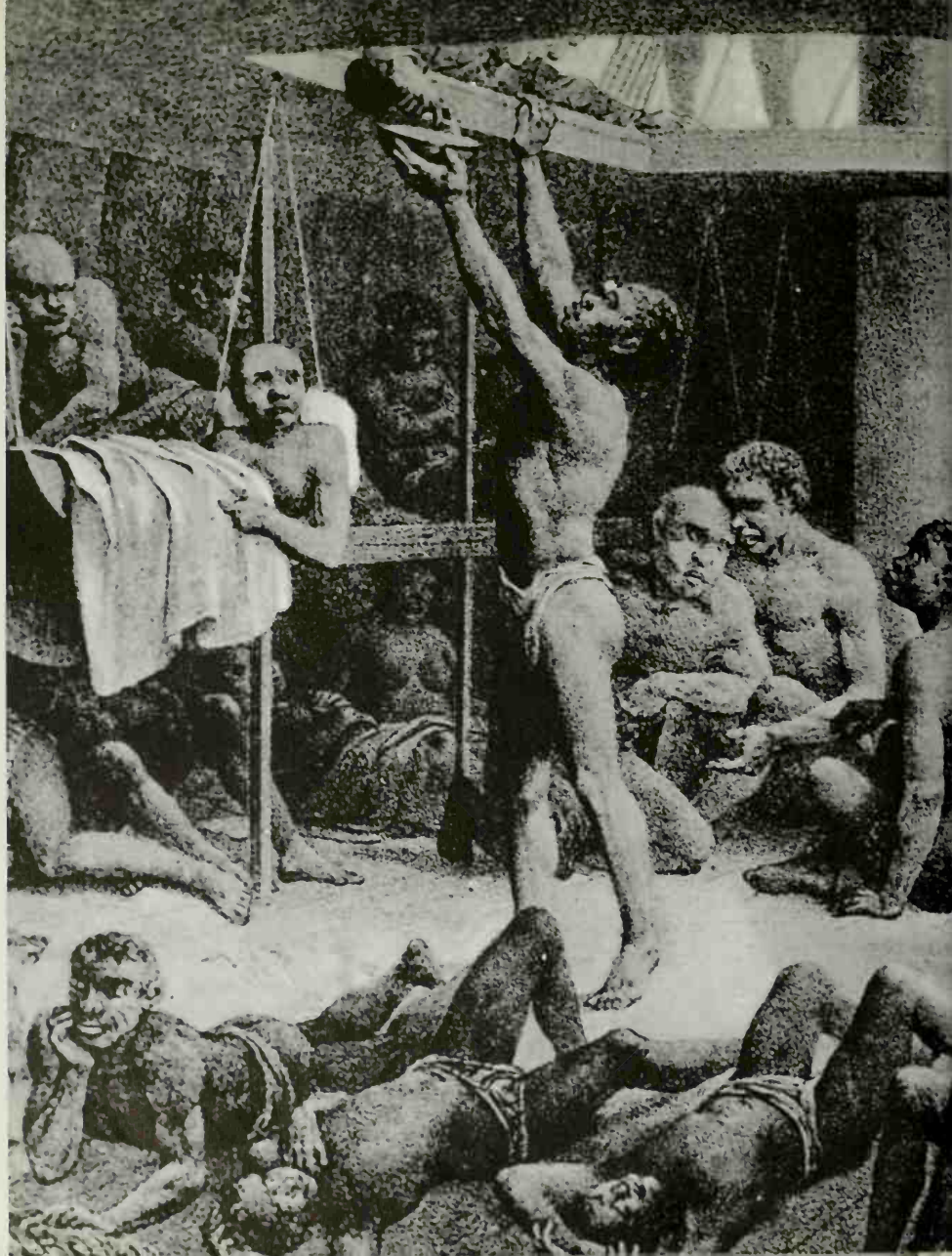


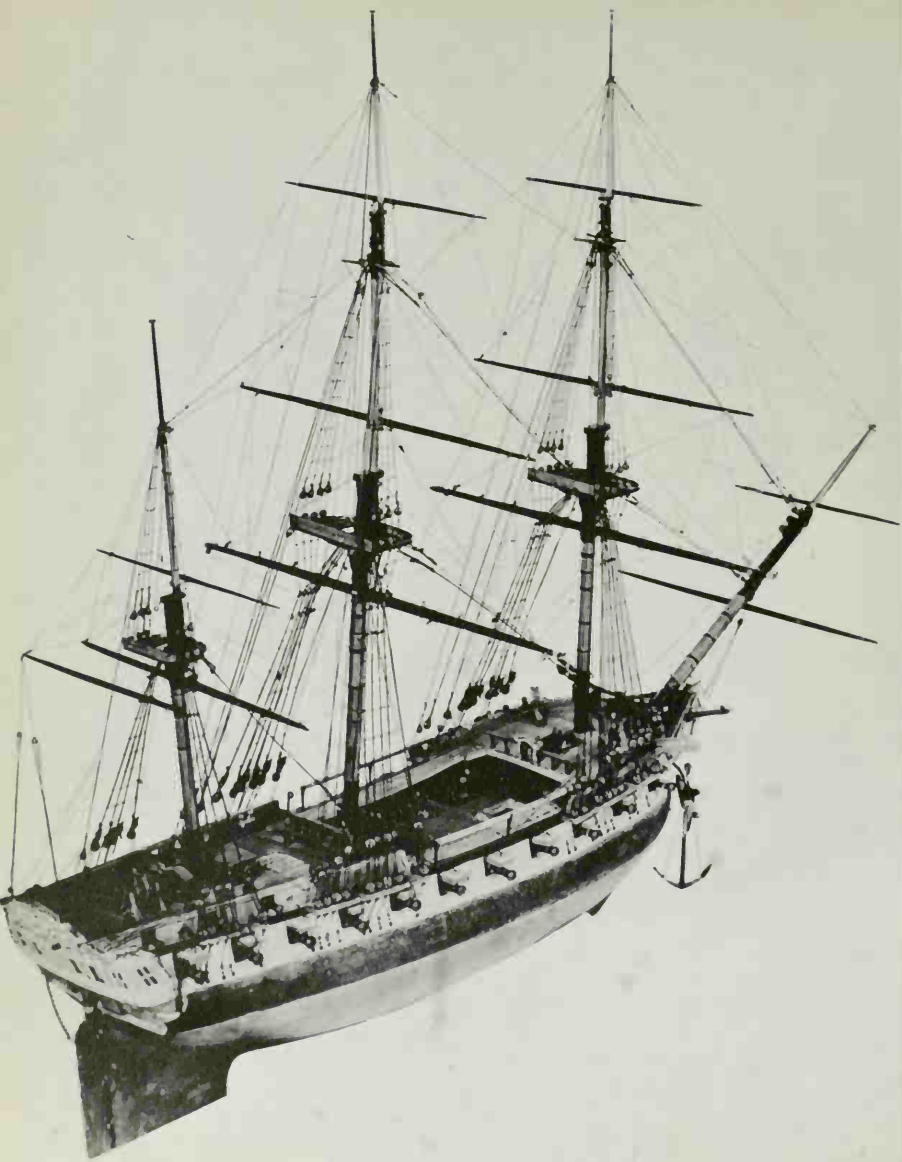
FIG. I.

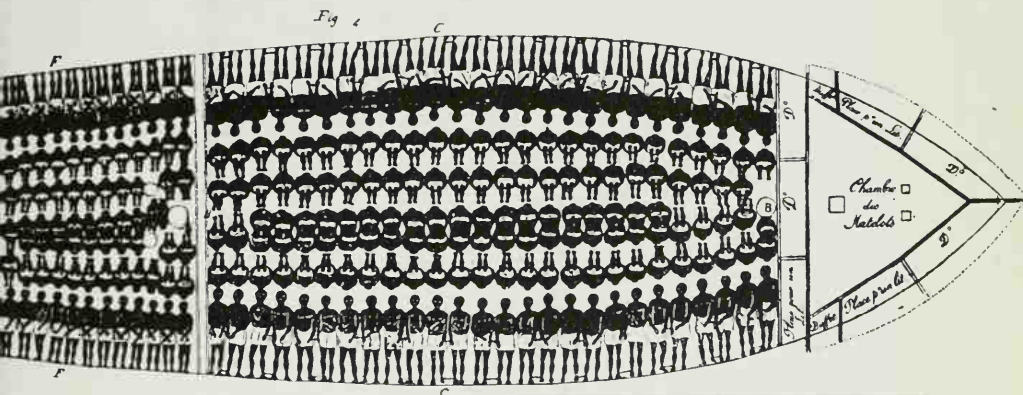
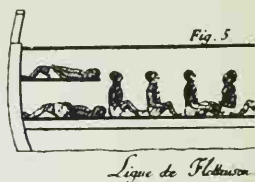
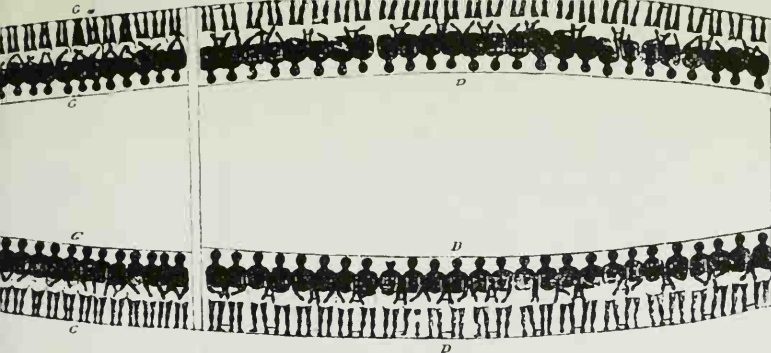






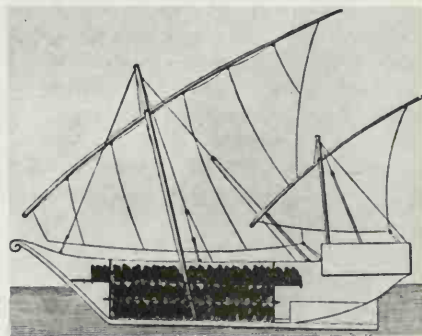
56. A slave ship headed toward Brazil. When the ship was fully loaded, the slaves received air only from the portholes of the between-decks. They were allowed one short walk a day in order to "empty the pails" and avoid asphyxiation.





57, 58. Models of slave ships. On the *Vigilante*, the between-decks were only four and one-half feet high.

59. This cross-section shows the condition of the slaves' quarters on board.



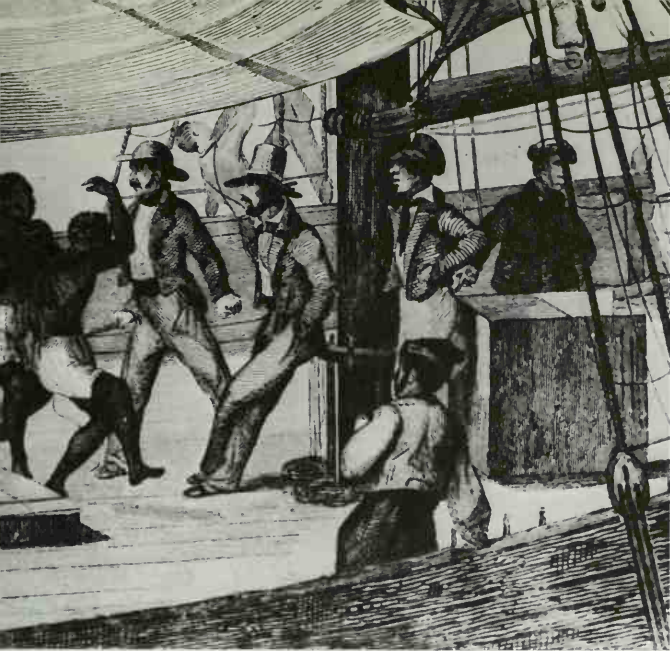
60. On board, the most frequent sicknesses were scurvy, dysentery, and the "pian", a skin disease. The high mortality rate led to a large number of suicides, mostly among the women. Falconbridge, a doctor aboard an English slave ship, reported that the floors of the compartments were covered with so much blood and mucous from the dysentery cases that it looked like a slaughter house.

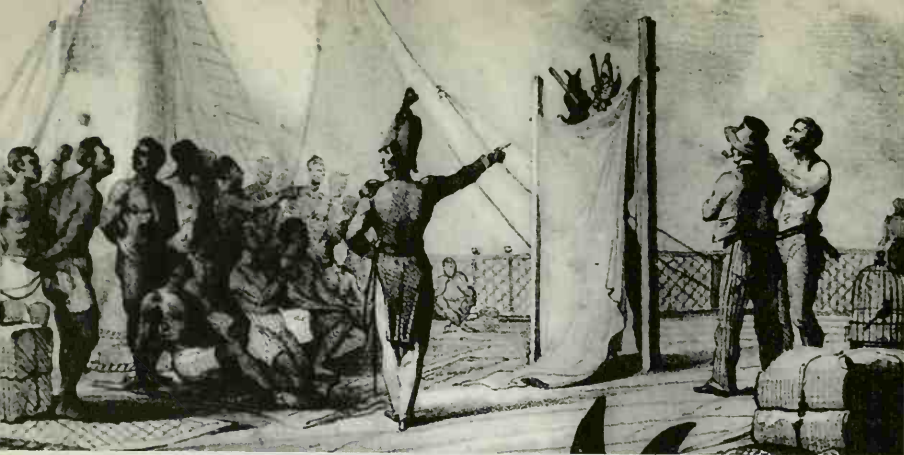


"Experience proves," wrote Ducasse, "that religion and music are a great aid to those suffering from melancholy." Even though the Negroes had no belief in God, they were forced to pray three times a day. They were also made to dance, under the threat of a whipping with the famous cat-o'-nine tails, to a hurdy-gurdy or a violin, to keep them "gay and cheery."

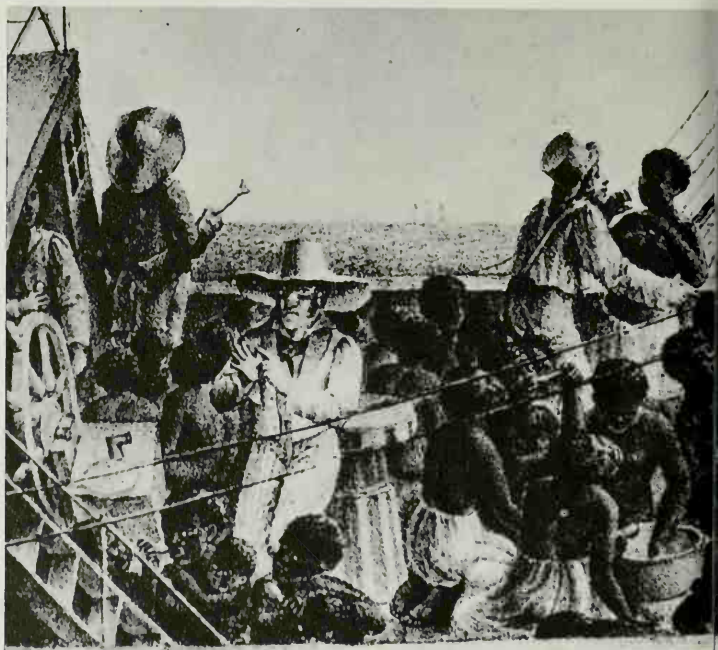
61. Unlike the men, the women were not chained up for the crossing. During the periods of aeration, they encountered their husbands or brothers. However, most of them were used for the pleasure of the seamen during their free time.



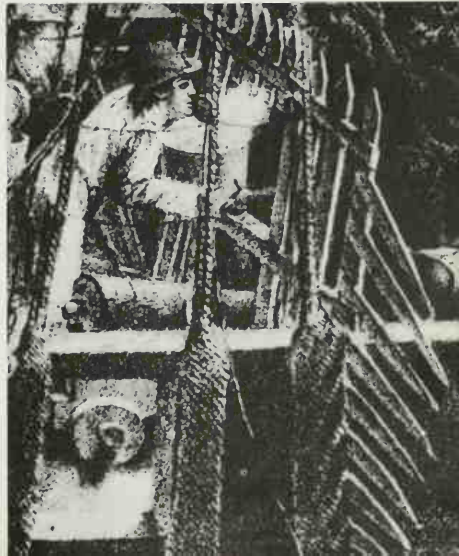


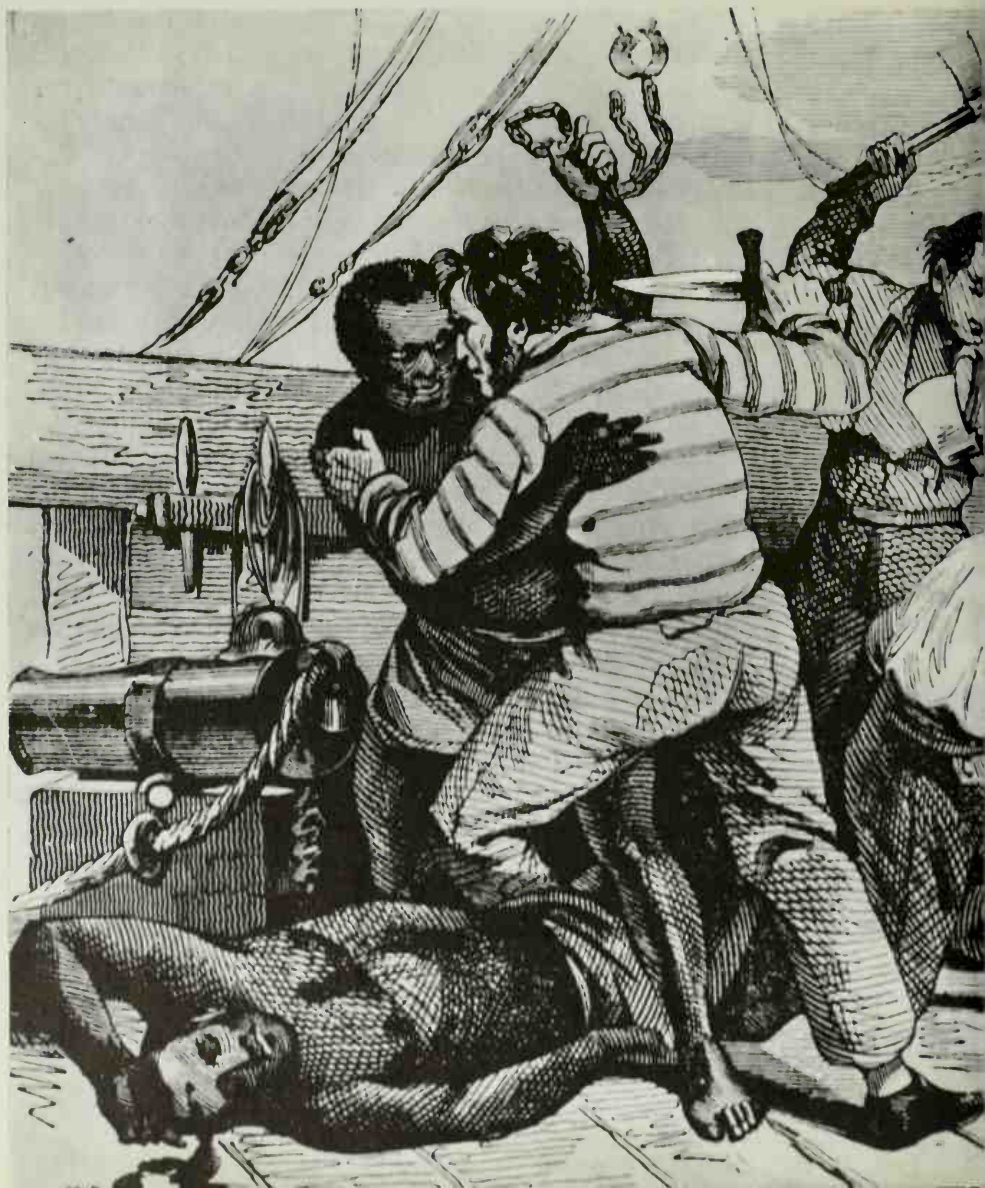


62. The distractions offered by the slave traders to their captives did not originate in any way out of a feeling of humanity or good-will, as it is known, but from the same reason that their food was inspected by the surgeon on board. Their food, in quality as well as quantity, could not be inferior to that of the crew.



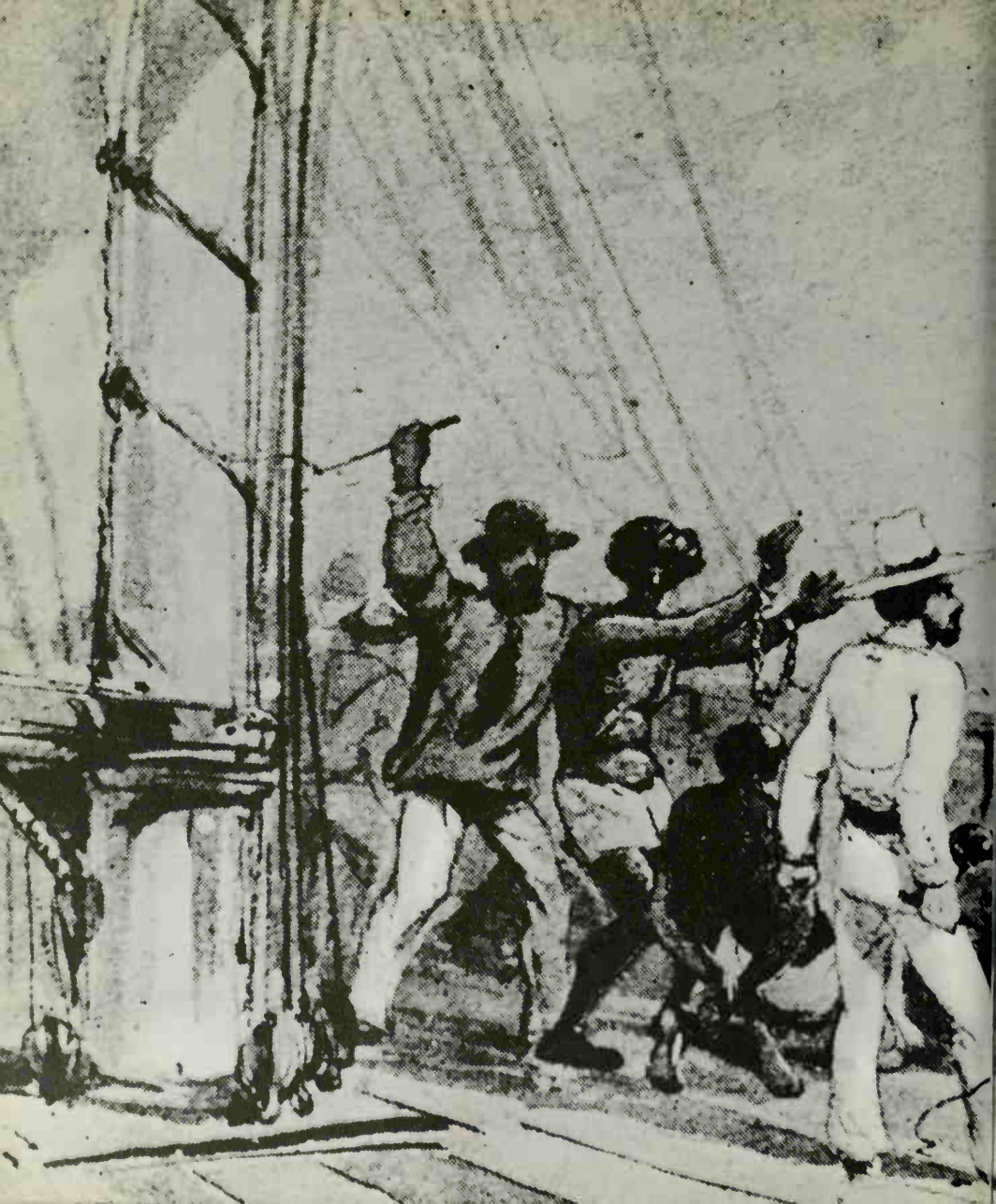
63. Although the slave trade was a lucrative commerce, which enriched the shipowners and crews, it was necessary to survive the hazards. The revolts on board and pirate ships made the slave trade one of the most dangerous businesses that existed.

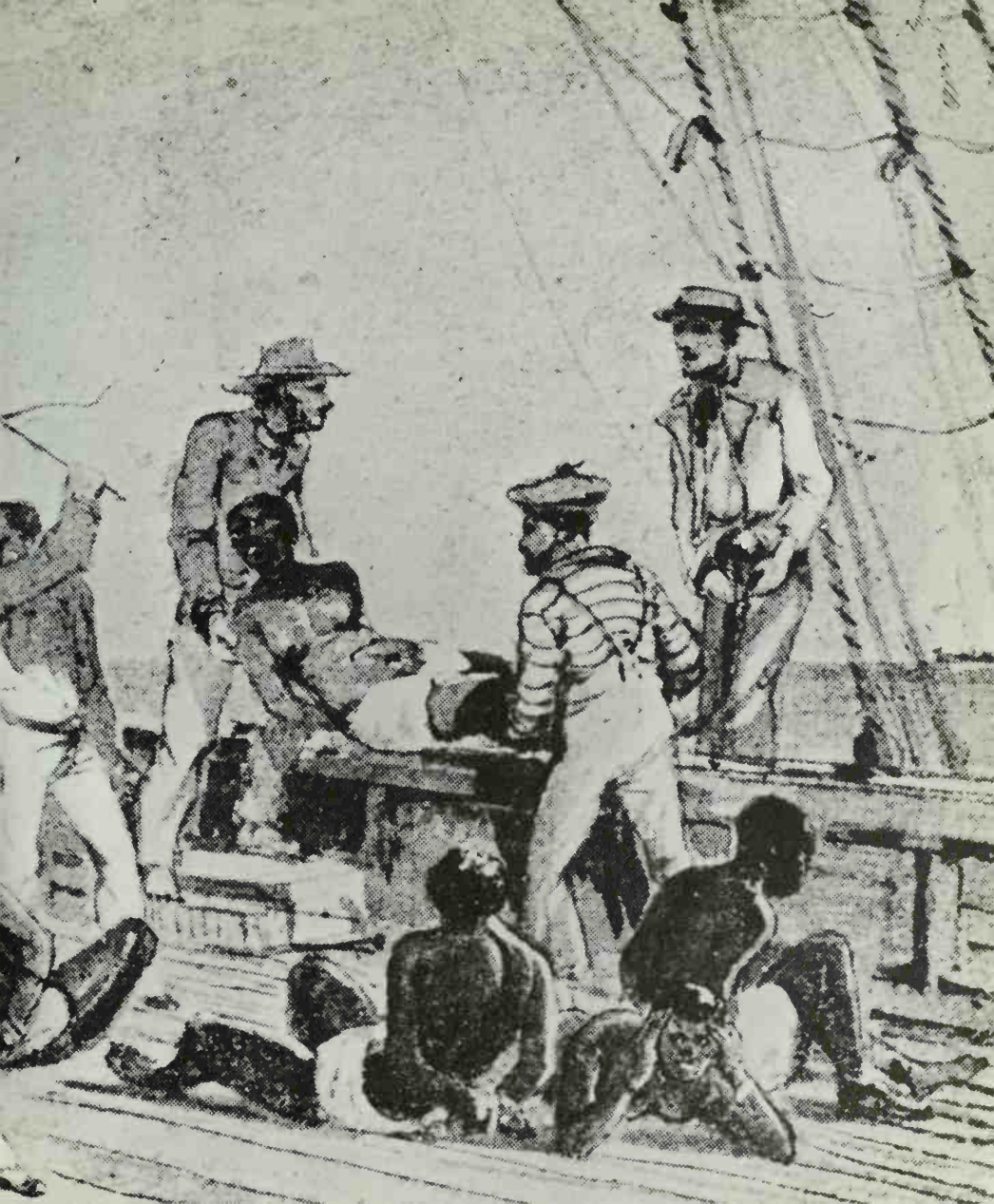






64, 65. The slave revolts during the crossing revealed a savagery of which the ships' logs related all the horrors. In general, the revolts were not successful but did result in several deaths. It was not unusual that men, still alive, were thrown into the sea. A French officer wrote in his log that: "Yesterday, at 0800 hours, we made fast the most offensive slaves ... by four limbs and lying on their stomachs on deck, and had them whipped. Furthermore, we left deep cuts in their buttocks to remind them of their faults. When they were bleeding, we rubbed gun powder, lemon juice, pickling brine and red pepper, all ground together, on their wounds ... to prevent gangrene from setting in but, most of all, to burn them We put the chief in irons and hand-cuffed him, to let him die as slowly as possible."





Men. 97
 Women 39
 Boys. 64
 Girls. 25

 205

Dead. 3
 Shipped 208 Slaves



SHIPPED, by the grace of GOD, in good order and well-condition
 in and upon the good ship, called The *Byam*
 voyage, *George Martin* and now riding
 and by GOD's grace, bound for *West Indies*

Two hundred and Eight

being marked and numbered as in the margin; and are to be delivered
 aforesaid port of *West Indies* (the danger of the
 or their assigns, ~~and~~

Freight for the said Slaves,
to the Owners

with primage and average accustomed. — In witness whereof the master
 bills of lading, all of this tenor and date; one of which bills being
 GOD send the good ship to her desired port in safety. Amen. —

by *Young & Fraser*
— whereof is master, under GOD, for this present
at anchor in the *Reepongo* ...
To Say; — — — — —

Slaves — — — — —

in the like good order and well-conditioned, at the
only excepted) into
the *Order* ...
the *Order* ...

and *Order* belonging

and purser of the said ship hath affirmed to *Have*
published, the other *Two* to stand void; and so
dated in *Russington* 14th May 1800

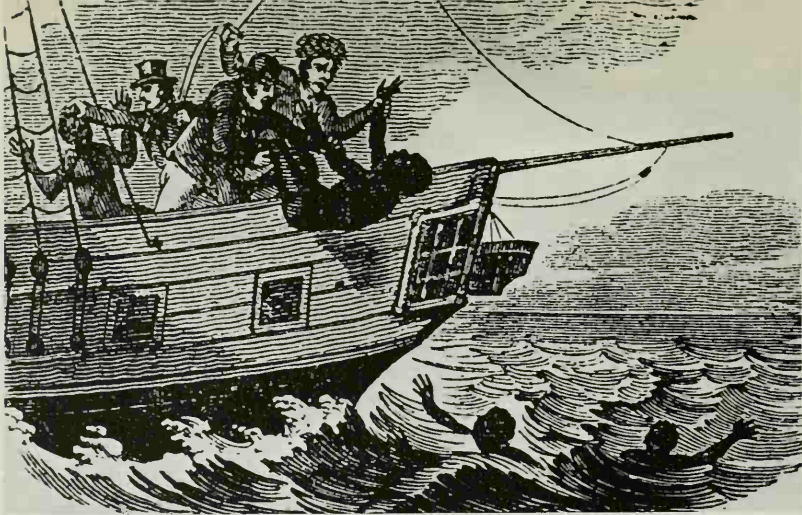
Geo. Martin

JOURNAL
DE
NAVIGATION
POUR

SERVIR POUR LE
VOYAGE DE LA
COSTE DOR EN

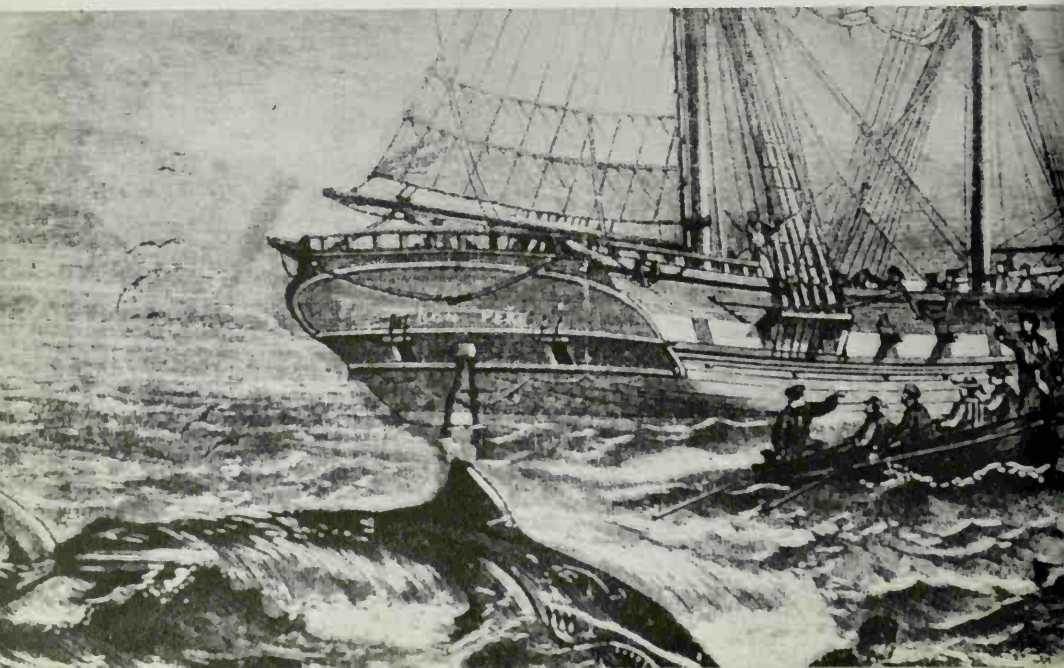
GVINÉE
1750

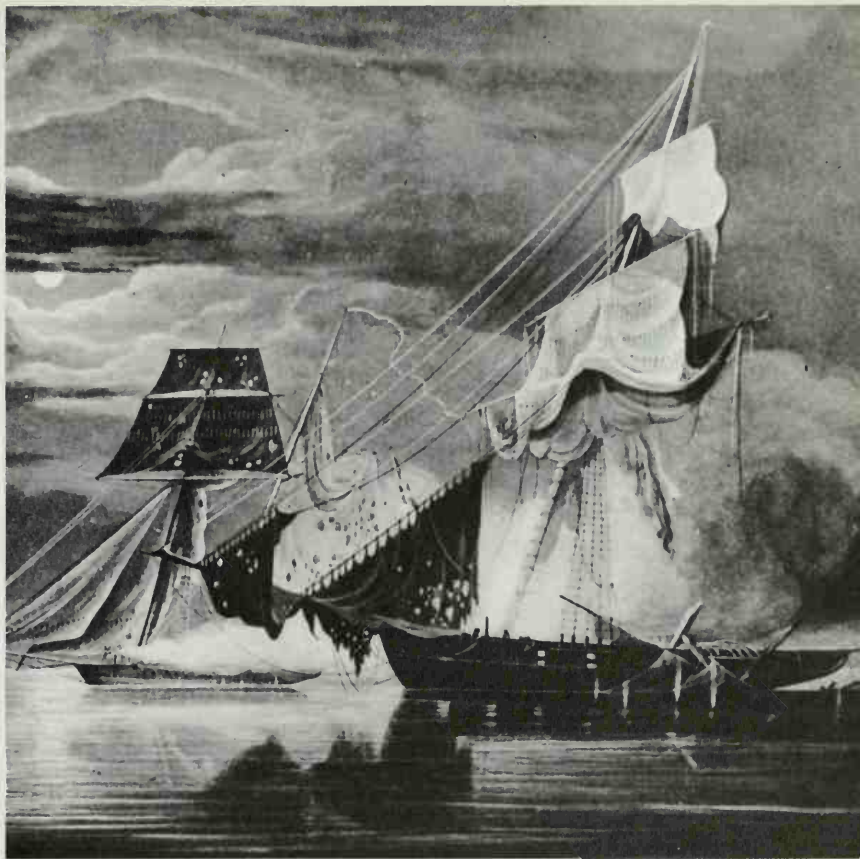
66. 67. The Negroes were not killed for pleasure: each one represented 1000 silver pounds from the American Islands or 600 pounds of sugar.



68, 69. When the slave ships were pursued, the captains sometimes had to throw their

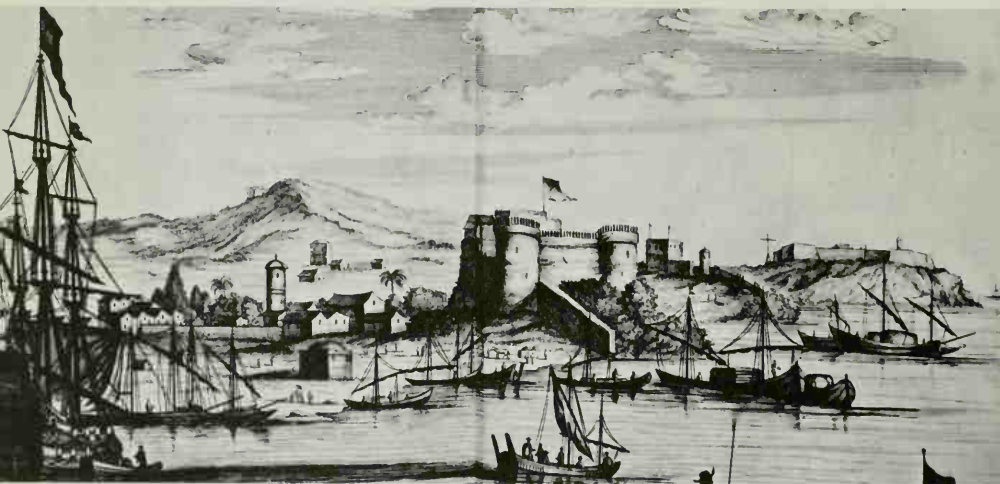
miserable cargo into the sea where they were quickly devoured by the sharks.





70. In addition to the attacks of pirates and revolts on board, other dangers, such as storms, awaited the slave ships

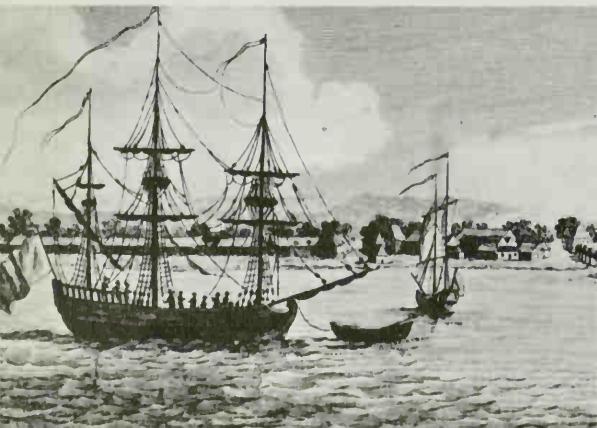
3. — The Slave Markets



71. When, at last, the slave ship reached the American continent, numerous formalities awaited them: health check-ups, arrival taxes, the overhauling of the "cargo."

72. "The Islands," for the English, were first of all Jamaica and then Barbados; for the French, Martinique and Fort St. Pierre, Puerto Rico and St. Domingue.

73. The port of Cayes St. Louis, on the island of St. Domingue, with its taverns and grass huts, is ready to receive the slave ships coming from Africa.

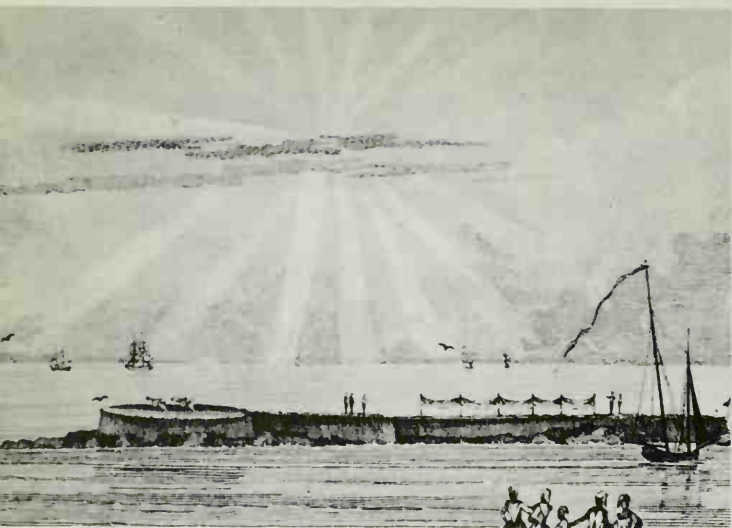




74. The little island of Dominique, an English possession, and its port, Roseau, were equally sought after by the slave ships.

75. St. Christopher, or St. Kitts, an island in the Lesser Antilles, is a place equally

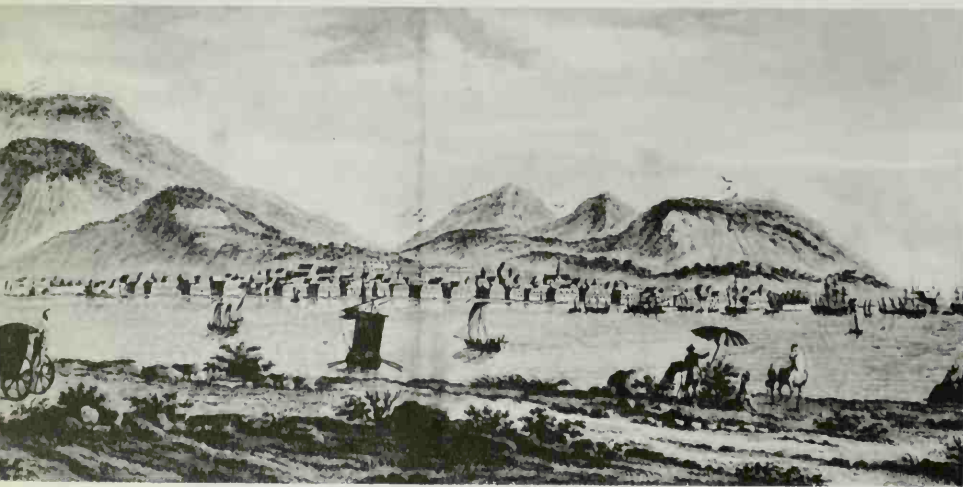
important in the history of the slave trade. Discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493, colonized by the English in 1623, divided between them and the French in 1625, the island became completely English afterward.



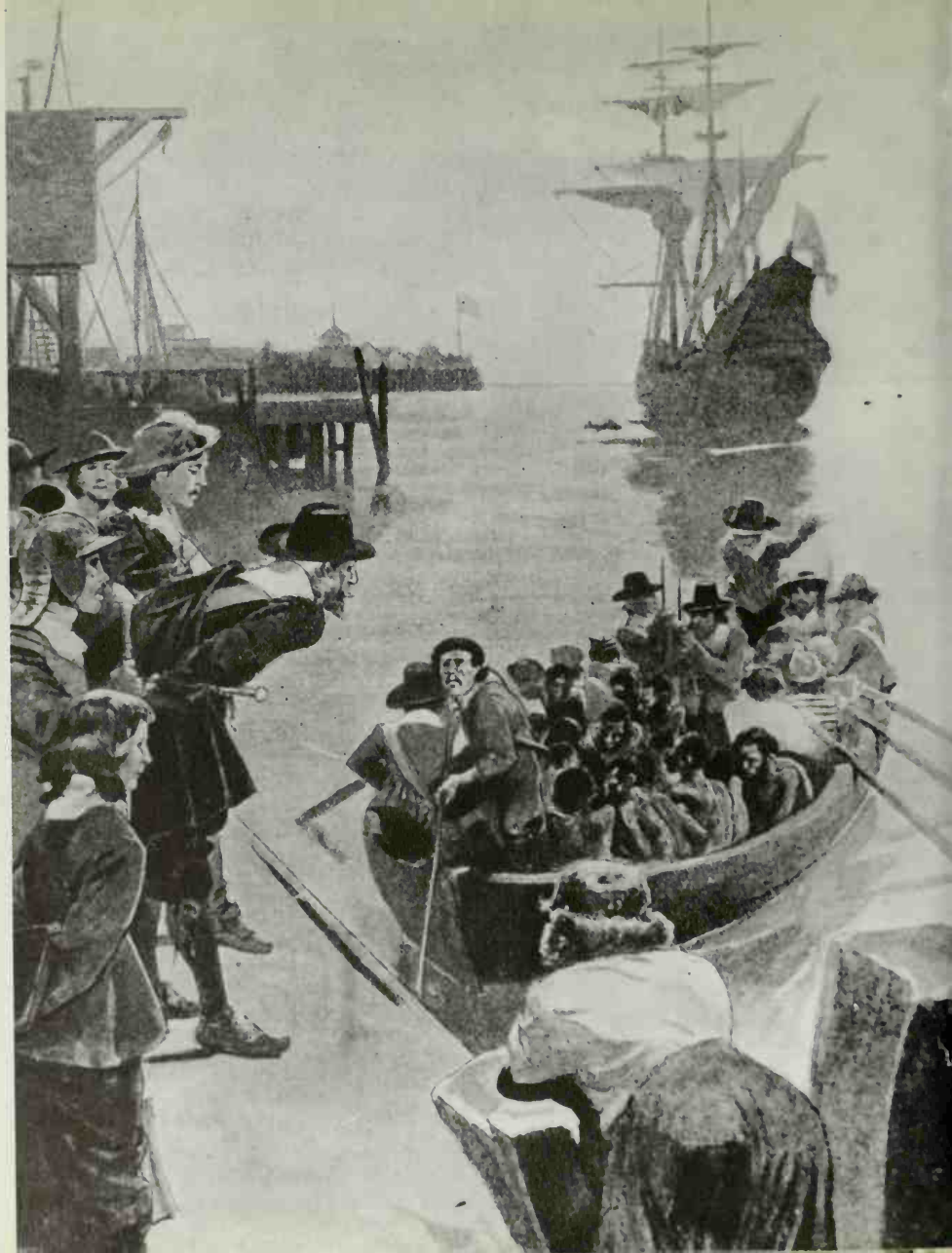
76. The sugar refineries ran all night at the port of Nippe (St-Domingue); their fires served as a signal for ships at sea.

77. A view of Cape Francis, again on St. Domingue, with its fort, hospital and watch-tower and luxurious vegetation: pistachio, jujube and banana trees, orchids, sugar cane.

78. The slave ship laid-up ...







79, 80. The formalities completed, the cargo was disembarked. A physical rehabilitation, similar to those of the "refreshing" ports, is indispensable before the auction. For, if the landowners are considered tricky, the slave traders certainly cannot be called choir boys. They will

"dope" the captives by feeding them more frequently, give them a gentle purging (preferably with grape juice), make them take a bath and rubbing their sores with balm. Touched up, the merchandise is ready. A gunshot announces the auction.



SLAVES AT SALE, WITHOUT RESERVE. BY BEARD, CALHOUN & CO.

J. A. BEARD, Auctioneer.

WILL BE SOLD AT AUCTION ON
Tuesday, Jan. 16th,

AT 12 O'CLOCK, AT BANKS' ARCADE, THE FOLLOWING DESCRIBED NEGROES:

1. **HOSIN**, 13 years of age a griffe, good house-boy, free temper, fully guaranteed and speaks German and English.
2. **JORDAN**, 23 years of age, a likely negro, house servant and trusty waiter, fully guaranteed.
3. **JANE**, aged 24 years, a very superior washer, ironer, good American cook, and house woman, fully guaranteed.
4. **MARY**, aged 24 years and child 1 year old, a trusty woman, good washer, ironer and American cook, fully guaranteed.
5. **EDWIN**, aged 27 years, a griffe man, an excellent waiter, steward, and trusty servant, fully guaranteed.
6. **ESTHER**, aged 40 years, a smart intelligent and cleanly cook, washer and ironer, title only guaranteed.
7. **ANNE**, aged 24 years, an excellent house servant, washer, ironer, and good cook, with her three children, one aged 8, another 5 and the last 1 year; they are fully guaranteed, but will be sold to go into the country, by her owner's instructions.

8. **SAM**, aged 28 years a field hand; title only guaranteed.
9. **AGNES**, aged 24 years, a good cook, washer and ironer, fully guaranteed.
10. **HENRY**, aged about 26 years, a field hand, and a stout man sold as having run away from the plantation.
11. **JOHN**, aged 15 years, a smart washing boy, fully guaranteed.
12. **JANE**, aged 17 years, a fine house girl and field hand, fully guaranteed.
13. **MARY**, aged 35 years, a superior nurse and house woman, fully guaranteed.

ALSO:

14. **PATRICK**, aged 28 years, a likely man, good barber, body and house servant. Sold under a good character, and fully guaranteed against the virus and maledice prescribed by law.

TERMS CASH. Acts of sale before J. R. BEARD, Notary Public at the expense of the purchasers.

ALSO,

The following described Slaves sold for account of Mr. Henry Deacon, who failed to comply with the terms of sale made for the succession of C. H. L. EDWIN, deceased in will.
The Negress **MATILDA**, aged about 20 years and her son **PAUL**, 7 years—a good washer,

81, 82, 83. The sale is organized with care and announced with much publicity. Posters are put up close to the church or the cabarets. Letters are sent to the largest land-owners and to the slave merchants.

TO BE SOLD on board the
Ship *Bance-Yland*, on tuesday the 6th
of May next, at *Afbley-Ferry*; a choice
cargo of about 250 fine healthy

NÉGROES,



just arrived from the
Windward & Rice Coast.
—The utmost care has
already been taken, and
shall be continued, to keep them free from
the least danger of being infected with the
SMALL-POX, no boat having been on
board, and all other communication with
people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.

A. B. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the
SMALL-POX in their own Country.

HEWLETT & BRIGHT.

SALE OF

VALUABLE SLAVES,

(On account of departure)

The Owner of the following named and valuable Slaves being on the eve of departure for Europe, will cause the same to be offered for sale, at the NEW EXCHANGE corner of St. Louis and Chartres streets, on *Saturday* May 16, at Twelve o'Clock, *viz.*

1. SARAH, a mulatress, aged 45 years, a good cook and accustomed to house work in general, is an excellent and faithful nurse for sick persons, and in every respect a first rate character.

2. DENNIS, her son, a mulatto, aged 24 years, a first rate cook and steward for a vessel, having been in that capacity for many years on board one of the Mobile packets; is strictly honest, temperate and a first rate subject.

3. CHOLE, a mulatress, aged 36 years, she is, without exception, one of the most competent servants in the country, a first rate washer and ironer, does up lace, a good cook, and for a bachelor who wishes a house-keeper she would be invaluable; she is also a good ladies' maid, having travelled to the North in that capacity.

4. FANNY, her daughter, a mulatress, aged 16 years, speaks French and English, is a superior hair-dresser, (pupil of Guillac,) a good seamstress and ladies' maid, is smart, intelligent, and a first rate character.

5. DANDRIDGE, a mulatto, aged 26 years, a first rate dining-room servant, a good painter and rough carpenter, and has but few equals for honesty and sobriety.

6. NANCY, his wife, aged about 24 years, a confidential house servant, good seamstress, mantuamaker and tailoress, a good cook, washer and ironer, etc.

7. MARY ANN, her child, a creole, aged 7 years, speaks French and English, is smart, active and intelligent.

8. FANNY or FRANCES, a mulatress, aged 22 years, is a first rate washer and ironer, good cook and house servant, and has an excellent character.

9. EMMA, an orphan, aged 10 or 11 years, speaks French and English, has been in the country 7 years, has been accustomed to waiting on table, sewing etc.; is intelligent and active.

10. FRANK, a mulatto, aged about 32 years speaks French and English, is a first rate hostler and coachman, understands perfectly well the management of horses, and is, in every respect, a first rate character, with the exception that he will occasionally drink, though not an habitual drunkard.

All the above named Slaves are acclimated and excellent subjects; they were purchased by their present vendor many years ago, and will, therefore, be severally warranted against all vices and maladies prescribed by law, save and except FRANK, who is fully guaranteed in every other respect but the one above mentioned.

TO BE SOLD & LET

BY PUBLIC AUCTION,

On **MONDAY** the 18th of **MAY**. 1829,

UNDER THE TREES.

FOR SALE,

THE THREE FOLLOWING

SLAVES,

VIZ.

HANNIBAL, about 30 Years old, an excellent House Servant, of Good Character.

WILLIAM, about 35 Years old, a Labourer.

NANCY, an excellent House Servant and Nurse.

The MEN belonging to "LEECH'S" Estate, and the WOMAN to Mrs D. SMITH

TO BE LET,

on the usual conditions of the Market finding them in Food, Clothing and Medical Attendance,

84, 85, 86. The deals take place sometimes on board, sometimes on the pier and sometimes in the "savannah" where the "cattle" rest.







\$1200
TO
1250 DOLLARS!
FOR NEGROES!!

THE undersigned wishes to purchase a large lot of NEGROES for the New Orleans market. I will pay \$1200 to \$1250 for No. 1 young men, and \$850 to \$1000 for No. 1 young women. In fact I will pay more for likely

NEGROES.

Than any other trader in Kentucky. My office is adjoining the Broadway Hotel, on Broadway, Lexington, Ky., where for my Agent can always be found.

Devenport Ellis.

Lewis Livingston.

ELLIS & LIVINGSTON,

AUCTION AND COMMISSION DEPOT,

FOR THE SALE OF

NEGROES.

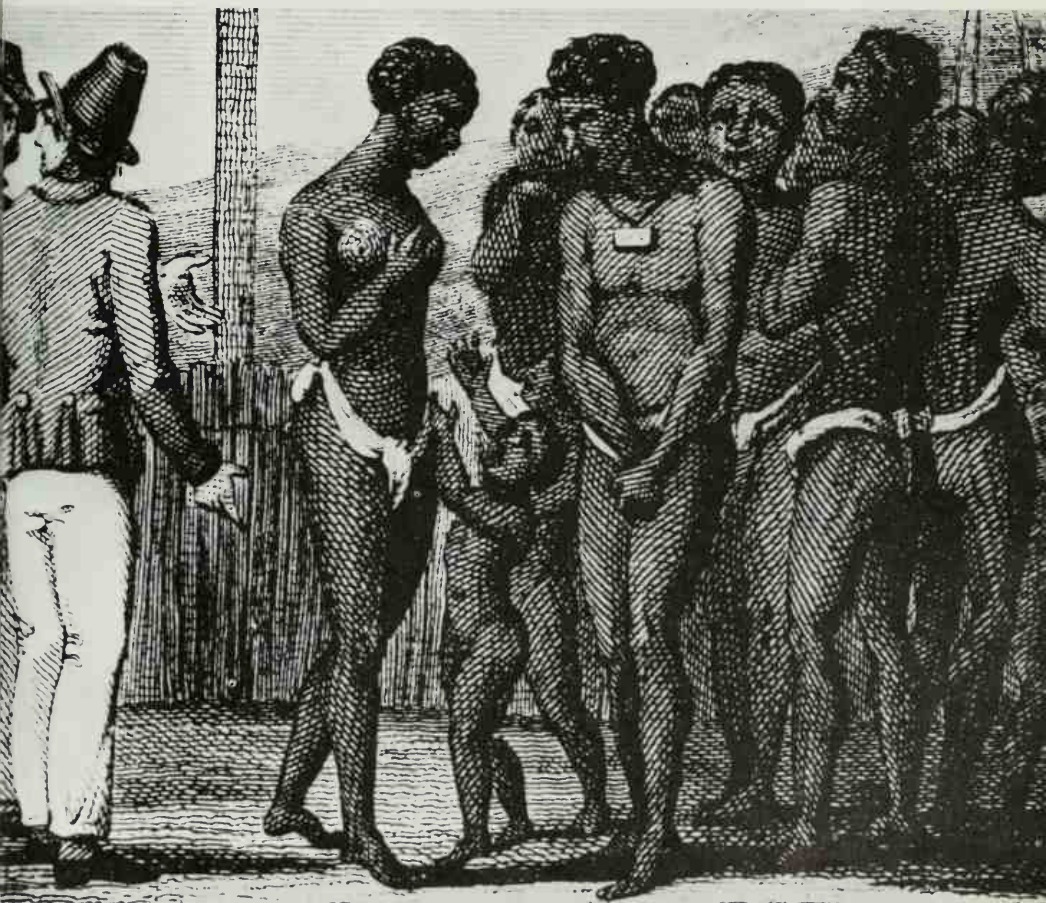
COLUMBUS,-----GEORGIA.

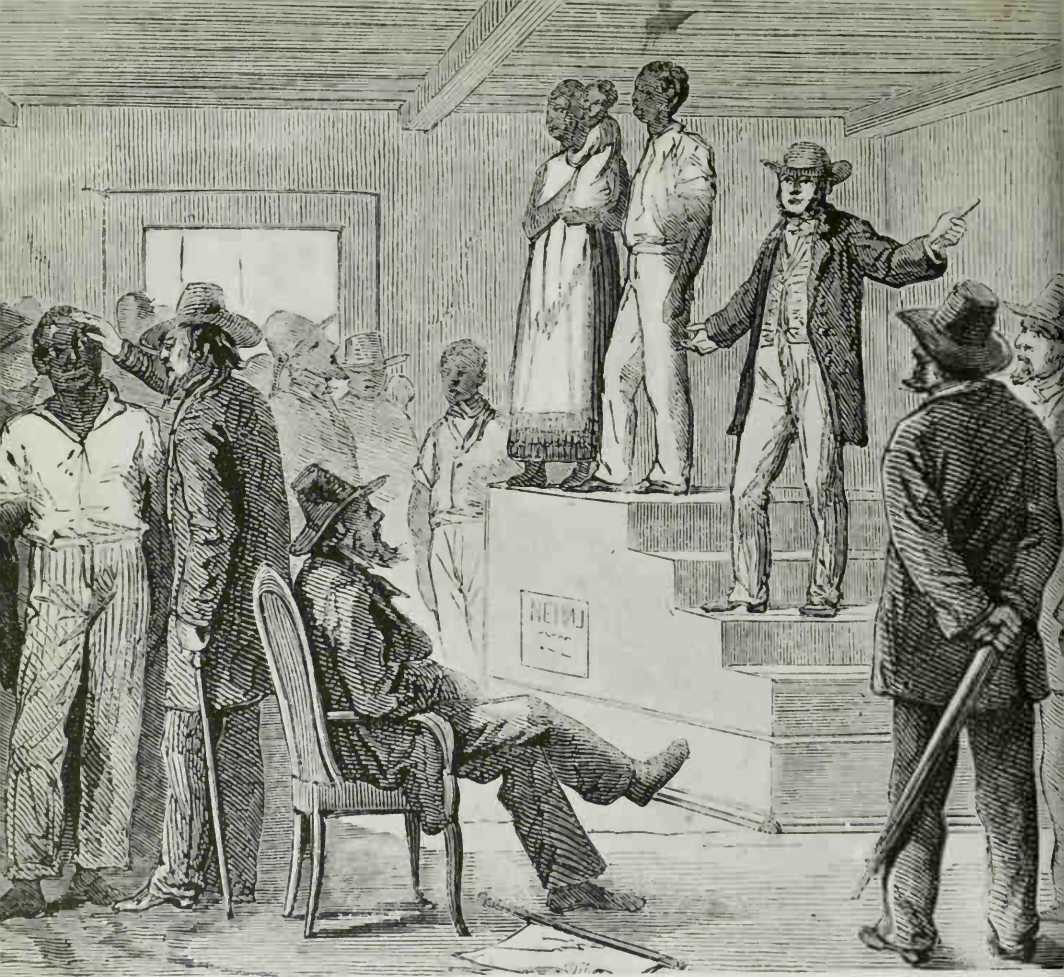
We neither buy nor sell NEGROES on our own account.



87, 88, 89. The clients are admitted to view the merchandise two or three days before the auction. The Negroes are divided into different "purchase groups".

A. K. AYER,
Negro Broker, and
AUCTIONEER,
GIRARD, ALA.





90. In selling them to the settlers, very often families, lovers, and friends are separated, as well as those who were companions on board.

91. Numerous sales of slaves took place in the Southern part of the United States, in Charleston, South Carolina, in Louisiana at New Orleans. Also in Newport, Rhode Island. This painting of 1852 and located now at Yale University, shows that the slave auctions were still being held at that time, hardly one hundred years ago.



92. Lincoln, during his first visit to New Orleans, attended a slave auction and was so disgusted that he resolved immediately

to fight slavery in the United States.
93. If the Negroes represent for the colonists a necessary labor force without which they



"HE STOOD IN THE AUCTION-ROOM WHERE THEY WERE SOLD."



could not have prosperous plantations, the slave market constitutes, in addition, a genuine fun fair of a particularly curious type, where white families, women and children included, get together with pleasure and the ladies try to surpass each other in elegance.



Ordonnance de la Vente de 364 Esclaves
 Consignation par L'Esclave La. Madame de Nantes Capitaine
 de Mozambique armée par Monsieur A. (De Laville) Négociant au
 Vingt cinq février mil Sept. cent. quatre Vingt Sept.

Location faite le 26. fév. 1787.

Hommes.....	177
Femmes.....	99
Négillons.....	72
Négilles.....	16

364 Esclaves

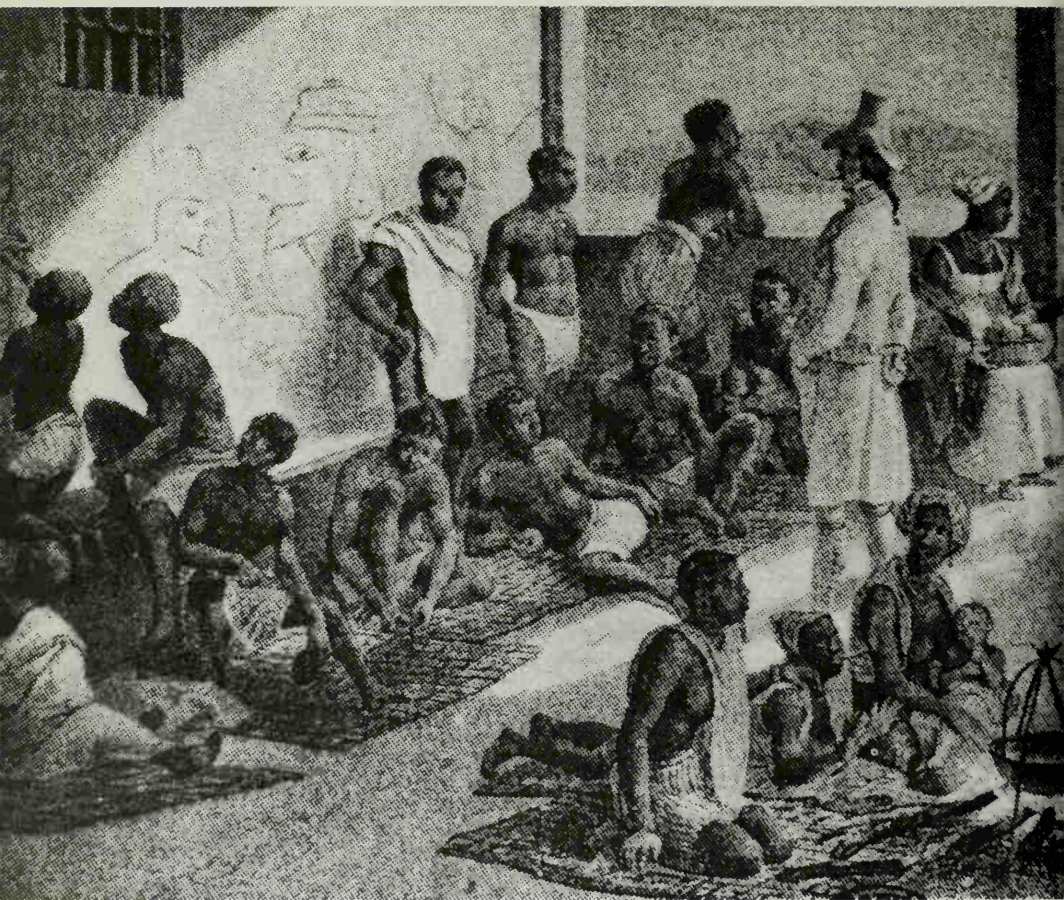
Savoir

Maison de M. de Nantes Les Débiturs.	Observations pour Les Conditions des paiements.	Qualité des noirs				1787. Lebeances				
		hommes	femmes	Négillons	Négilles	Valeurs des noirs	Comptant	May	Juin	Sept.
M. de Nantes	1/2 comptant 1/2 à 12 mois	1	1			1	5000			
M. de Nantes	1/2 comptant 1/2 à 12 mois	1	1			1	1500			
M. de Nantes	1/2 comptant 1/2 à 12 mois	1	1			1	6000			
M. de Nantes	1/2 comptant 1/2 à 12 mois	10	3			15	2696		7500	
M. de Nantes	1/2 comptant 1/2 à 12 mois	3	3			6				
M. de Nantes	1/2 comptant 1/2 à 12 mois	1	1			1	850			850
M. de Nantes	1/2 comptant 1/2 à 12 mois	2	1			3	2500			2500
M. de Nantes	1/2 comptant 1/2 à 12 mois	7	1			8	6000			6000

94, 95. The sale prices sometimes undergo considerable variations. What is more, there are often slaves that no one wants. A young and able-bodied man certainly always finds a buyer at a good price but it is evidently not the same for the weak and the aged. The sellers do not hesitate to dye the old people's hair completely, as well as the men's beards. Even so, the inevitable "leftovers" sometimes have to be sold for next to nothing.



Qualité des vins				
hommes	femmes	Negillons.	Negilles	Vin de Noir.
1.	1.			1.
1.	2.			3.
10.	2.			12.
2.	3.			6.
1.				1.
2.	1.			3.
7.	1.			8.
16.	9.			45.
7.				7.
2.	2.			6.
		1.		1.
1.			1.	1.
1.				1.
6.	2.			8.
2.				2.
2.				2.
3.	2.			2.
2.	2.			10.
1.				1.
2.				1.
2.	2.			8.
2.				2.
1.	1.			2.
1.				1.
1.				1.
	1.			1.
		1.		1.
	1.			1.
		1.		1.
12.	8.			20.
1.		2.		3.
2.				2.
7.	2.			12.
2.	7.	16.	2.	31.
2.		2.		2.
2.	2.	1.		7.
2.		1.		3.
6.	2.			10.
6.	10.	12.		30.
3.				3.
1.	1.	2.		7.
22.	12.	26.	8.	71.
11.	3.			12.



96. The slave markets reached as far as Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. The most brutal auction was the "Quarry" in which one seized as many slaves as possible and

bought them immediately. Sometimes these auctions provided occasions of reunion and rejoicing for the white men.



Eu abaixo assignado declaro que tenho vendido ao *Pai. Marco-*
Ant. Deróche ^{havia} *seravo*
de nome *Mansel* de nação *Congo*
com todos os vícios e achaques novos e velhos, tal e qual e sejam pela
quantia de *quatrocentos mil*
que recebi no favor desta em *sera* e de
semlavrado de penhoras e hypothecas, obrigando-me a fazer boa e inteira
a renda para sempre ficando d'isto *St. Comprador*
obrigado a pagar a *Stu* - - - - -

Stu de Janeiro N.º de *Julho* de 1740 - - -

Stu R 4000000

Antonio G. Fernandes

St. Comendador de S. Miguel
St. 1.º de Julho de 1740
St. Comendador

João Pinto de Alvarado

MS. A. 53. Negroes & Ship. There John Whittle
Master from 5 on account, Thomas Lickard
Capt. Liverpool, 10 Boston, 10 Jamaica
10

	Males	Females
Dec 13	12	15
Jan 13	12	15
Feb 13	12	15
Mar 13	12	15
Apr 13	12	15
May 13	12	15
Jun 13	12	15
Jul 13	12	15
Aug 13	12	15
Sep 13	12	15
Oct 13	12	15
Nov 13	12	15
Dec 13	12	15

Sammy, Young Bull Carpenter in his prime	£ 330
Harvey, Well to do man, Staff and Carpenter old	50
William, Good man, workman healthy and Young	150
Gay, Well to do, workman and Young	100
Billy, A good workman A Mason	115
Butler, A very fine, pleasant fellow with good legs	6
Charles, A good and intelligent Driver Carters see	150
Thomas, A good Driver, Well suited for	155
Richard, Well suited and Carters knowledge, knowing	100
Thomas, An Excellent Irish, well suited, old	25
Brown, Ditto and finer in prime of life	165
James, Ditto an intelligent, good fellow	165
James, An excellent Carters and knowing about Carters	125
Tom, Ditto young, Active, well suited	125
George, Ditto, A good field Driver	60
Thomas, Ditto	130
Will, Well to do	25

Wingston Jamaica R. Dec 1890
Boote 3 11 11

[illegible]

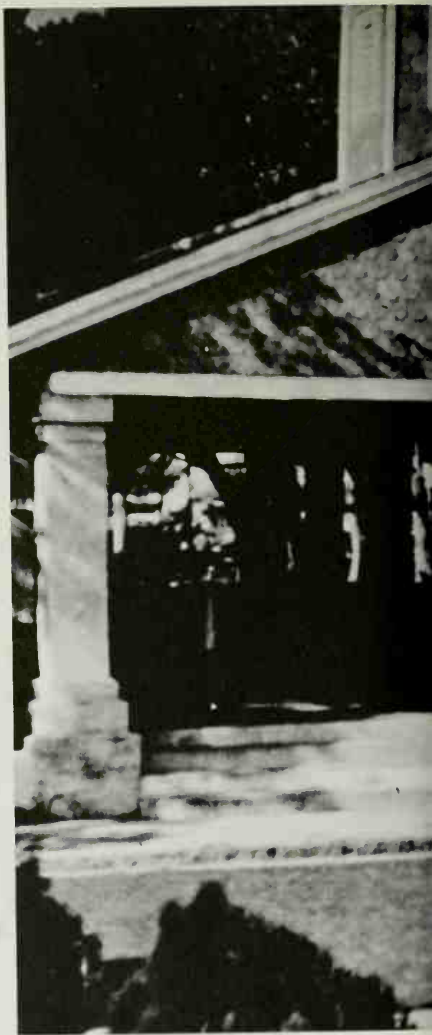
L 12780

BON pour la somme de Douze mille sept cent cinquante
livres _____ que je payerai en especes
sonnantes, Et non autrement, par convention expresse
entre nous; sçavoir,
un tiers de la dite somme dans six mois, un tiers
dans un an et l'autre tiers dans dix huit mois
le tout à compter de ce jour.

à l'ordre de M. J. J. J. J. Capitaine du Navire
La Victoire au domicile de M. Du Montreil K. L. J. J.
de cette Ville, chez lesquels j'ai élu le mien pour cette
affaire seulement, valeur reçue en ~~fiat~~ *fiat* de M. J. J. J.
de la cargaison du susdit Navire, de laquelle je
suis content & satisfait, les ayant vus & visités.
Port-au-Prince, le 14^{me} jour — 1790.

Negres. . .	Stampin L. V. Aubras gaudet
Negresses. . .	
Negrellons. . .	
Negrittes. . .	
Total. . .	Paul Dural J. J. J.
	Cide.

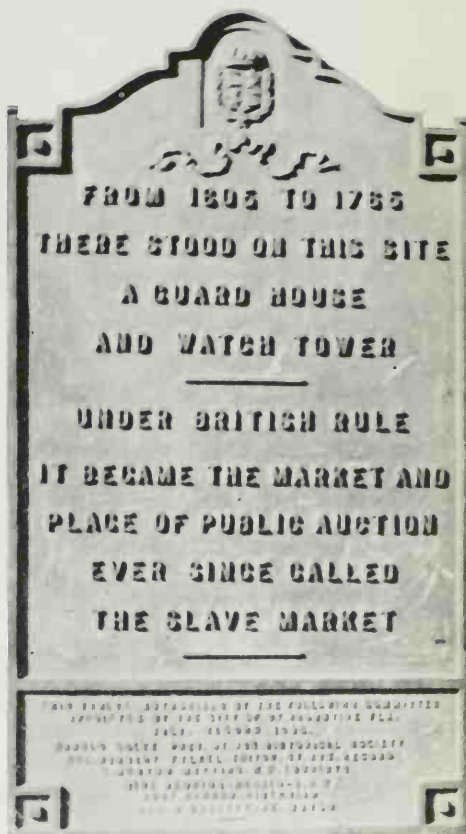
Elle . . . 12780
à . . . 1050



102. The payments were made in silver, promissory notes or in merchandise. But, in general, the accounts were settled with the produce of the islands: sugar, coffee, cotton, indigo.



103, 104. The slave markets of St. Augustine in Florida. The bronze plaque at the entrance of the building indicates that from 1605 to 1765, it served as a military guard post and a look-out tower. Under the English regime, auctions were held there and it became a "slave market."



4. — Slavery



105. After the auction, the majority of the men and a great number of women became plantation Negroes. They were employed in the cultivation of the sugar cane or other colonial produce.

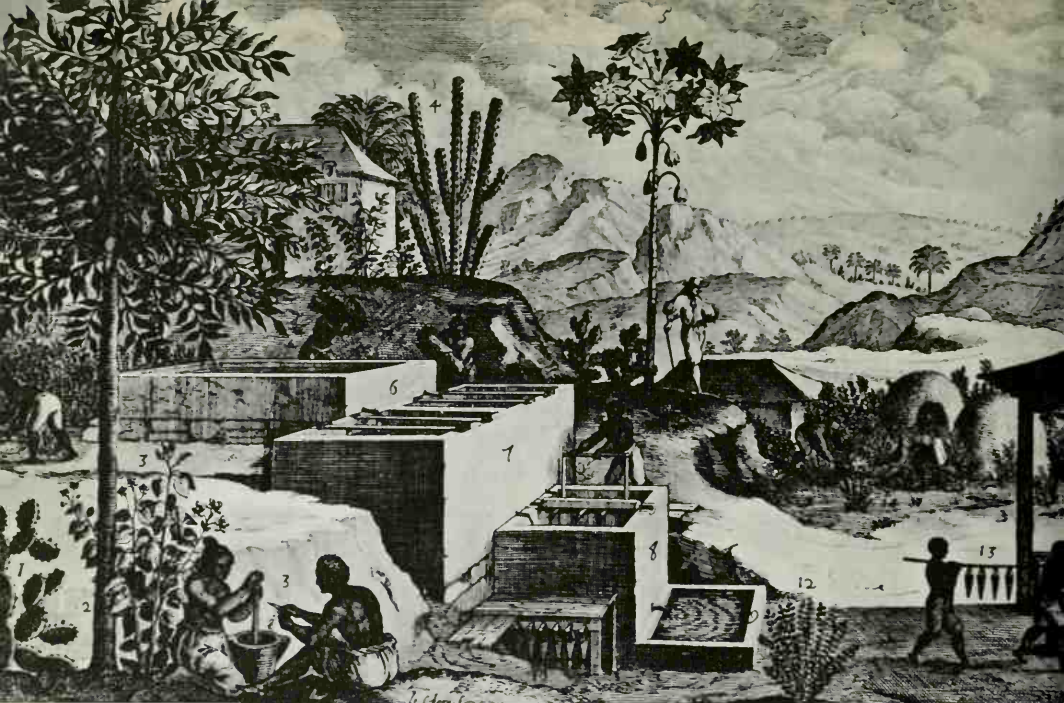
106. The conviction that Negroes were not capable of suffering as much as the whites from a total transplantation was wide-spread in Europe and America. To demonstrate that their nervous system was less delicate than that of the Europeans, the whites did not hesitate to make use of the form of their heads, their pigmentation, and their hair for grafting. An exception was sometimes made in the case of a Negro mistress, either free or captive, for they could not deny the great beauty of the women.





107. Most of the Negroes worked either naked or dressed in rags. According to an ancient chronicler, "a third of the Guinean Negroes died

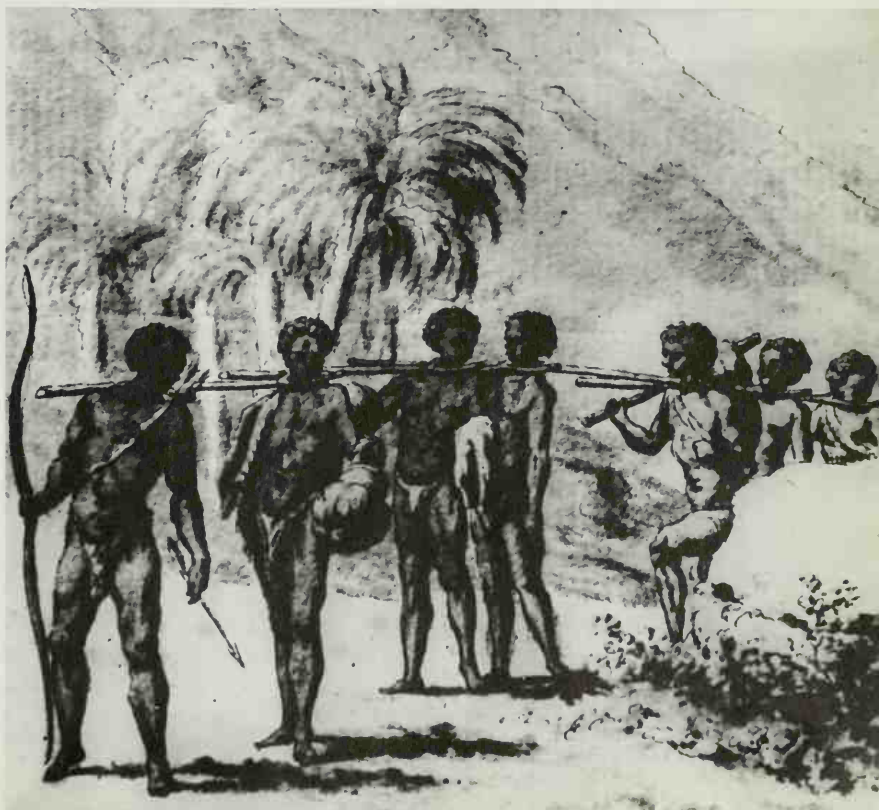
during the first three months in their new environment and the work-life of a Negro could not be evaluated at more than fifteen years."





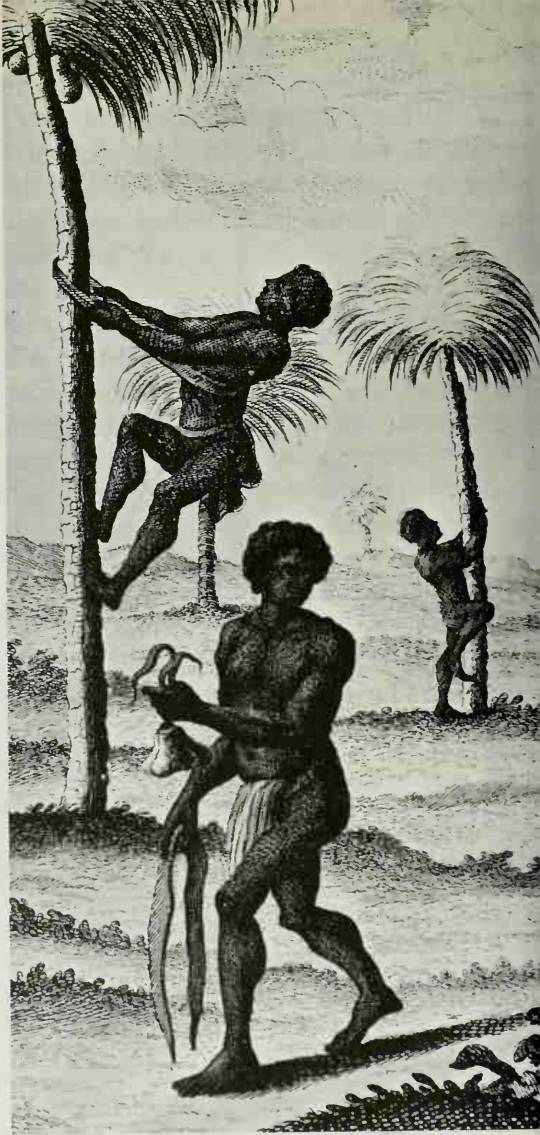
108, 109. An indigo and sugar refinery. The "com-mander" worked the Negroes until eleven o'clock at night during the harvest. He harrassed them incessantly, "even when the sun was beating down on their heads".

110. In spite of the famous *Black Code* issued in 1685 by Colbert and which, it was said, "obliged the masters to treat their slaves no longer as objects but as human beings," the plantation Negroes were, in fact, condemned to endless hard labor.





111. This "Little Negro Boy Guarding his Mistress," painted by Carvallo during the 18th century and located now in the Chateau of Villandry (Indre and Loire), recalls that the settlers in Martinique and Guadeloupe occasionally sent their favorite young Negroes, or those who showed promise, to Paris in order to improve their knowledge of the domestic arts. Their





destiny was obviously preferable to that of their brothers who had to remain on the Islands.

112. "There is nothing more miserable than the condition of these people," wrote Father Charlevoix. "Their food consists of plant roots; their houses resemble dens ... their furniture consists of several gourds ...

their work is almost continuous ... no salary; twenty lashes with the whip for the slightest mistake."

113. Living in miserable conditions, overwhelmed with work and often mistreated, the Blacks began to dream of escaping from their Hell.

\$150 REWARD



RANAWAY from the subscriber, on the night of the 2d instant, a negro man, who calls himself *Henry May*, about 22 years old, 5 feet 6 or 8 inches high, ordinary color, rather chunky built, bushy head, and has it divided mostly on one side, and keeps it very nicely combed; has been raised in the house, and is a first rate dining-room servant, and was in a tavern in Louisville for 18 months. I expect he is now in Louisville trying to

make his escape to a free state, (in all probability to Cincinnati, Ohio.) Perhaps he may try to get employment on a steamboat. He is a good cook, and is handy in any capacity as a house servant. Had on when he left, a dark cassinett coatce, and dark striped cassinett pantaloons, new—he had other clothing. I will give \$50 reward if taken in Louisville; 100 dollars if taken one hundred miles from Louisville in this State, and 150 dollars if taken out of this State, and delivered to me, or secured in any jail so that I can get him again.

WILLIAM BURKE.

Bardstoun, Ky., September 3d, 1838.



114. Certain slaves were successful in their attempts to escape, but the hunt was well organized. Proof of this can be found in this notice by which a certain William Burke offers a reward of \$100 to whom-ever finds and returns *Henry* to him, perfect valet and cook, whom he believes is in Louisville on his way to Ohio, an independant state, or just ready to embark

The runaway slaves, in flight to the mountains and valleys, went from hiding-place to hiding-place, surviving by means of theft and pillage.

115. If the fate of the domestic slaves, appeared, at first sight, to be easier, it should be remembered that they were subject to the whims of their masters and, above all, their mistresses, and, as soon as





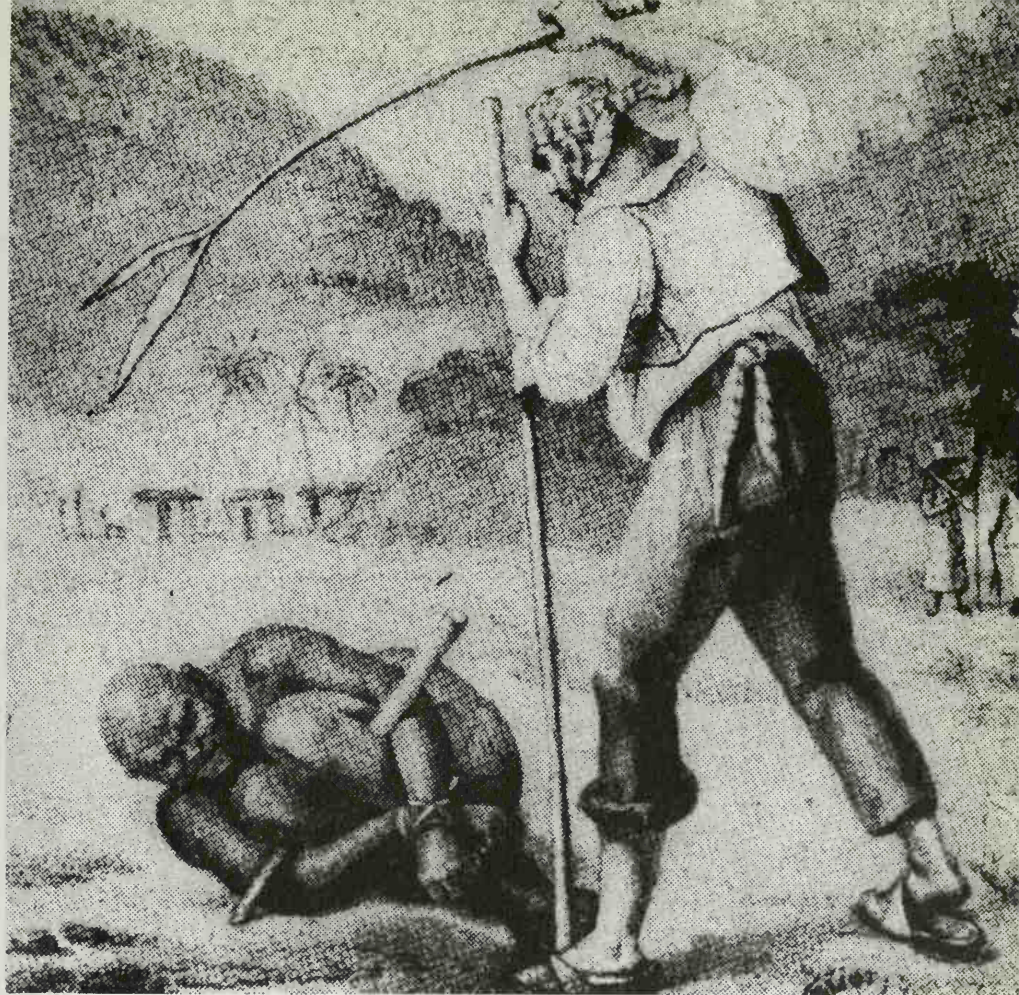
they became disgraced, they were sold.

116. The attempts at rebellion were brutally suppressed. The Negroes were accused of various acts of vengeance and terrorism for which it is difficult to blame them when the monstrosities of the Whites are taken into account. In 1788, for example, "Le Jeune" interrogated two Negresses, using fire as torture. They were put in neck irons and their feet, legs and then thighs were burned. The unfortunate did not survive. The torturers amused themselves also by using enormous spoons to pour boiling sugar cane or lard on the Negroes' heads. Tearing out teeth, castration, burying alive, and coating heads with sugar to attract flies were among the other atrocities practised on a nearly daily basis.

117. In order to catch fugitive slaves, the settlers set dogs on their trails. If they were not torn to death by the furious dogs,

the punishment that awaited them was even worse.





118. Whipped, buried alive, beaten to death under the eyes of their masters (which we see taking place in the foreground of this scene), the Negro "cargo"

deserves to have, one day, its revenge. And in the Antilles, a bloody awakening was being prepared.



119, 120. The upper engraving depicts the manner in which the Portuguese whipped fugitive slaves; the lower illustrates a more severe punishment invented by a Frenchman from Martinique: the two legs were tied together and the slave was forced to hop in order to move. Or, the leg was simply cut off at the thigh.





121, 122. It is not necessary to comment on these pictures. Sir Hans Sloane, an English scholar who was in the West Indies in 1686, relates that for certain misdemeanours, the Negroes were tied to the ground and crooked sticks were attached to their limbs. They were then slowly burned alive, first the hands and the feet and then gradually all of the body up to the head. Castration was the punishment for minor offenses, unless half of a foot was cut off with a hatchet. An attempt to escape was punished by chains around the ankles or the neck, heavy bracelets or iron collars, and by the forceful introduction of a spur into the mouth.





123. Here again, the monstrous punishment of having a Negro buried alive by his fellows. In the testimony of an Irish general who was in Barbados in 1780, it was written that: "I perceived a young Negro, about nineteen years old, entirely naked, wearing around his neck an iron collar reinforced on the outside by five long spikes. His body, in front and behind, was covered with wounds. His stomach and thighs were nearly in shreds, covered with oozing sores. It would have been possible to put a finger in some of the whip cuts. He could not sit down due to his wounds in this area, and it was impossible for him to lie down because of the spikes in his iron collar" (quoted by Pope-Hennessy).



124. Another punishment: a sort of crucifixion on the ground; as shown here, three pegs held the slave to the earth while he was being whipped. This scene takes place at Bertin Square in St. Pierre, Martinique.



125. As if the revolts against the whites and the resulting punishments did not suffice, the English and French Negroes came to blows and fought amongst themselves, as shown in this scene, which takes place on Dominique Island.



126. The sadism of the whites was practiced on the women as well. The law permitted that they, as the men, could be

given thirty-nine lashes of the whip. Not a fortieth. But it was not forbidden to begin the thirty-nine again, a little later.



127. A terrible Black rebellion took place on St. Domingue, in 1791, under the leadership of the Negro "King" Jacoquin. Numerous French perished, were beheaded, strangled and crucified. The excesses of the whites provoked reprisals from the Negroes as well as the practice of voodoo and witchcraft.



128. *The Miseries of Slavery*, the work of a certain S.M. Slander, appeared in London during the last century; various wood engravings, copied from the original designs, accurately reproduce the torture instruments used on the unfortunate Blacks: chains, iron collars, "boots" of iron, etc.



ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
THE MISERIES OF SLAVERY:
A Series of Engravings on Wood,

By S. M. SLADER,
FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS,
By W. HARVEY.

TAKEN FROM DOCUMENTS LAID BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.



'Tis liberty alone, that gives the flow'r
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it. All constraint,
Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil; hurts the faculties, impedes

Their progress in the road to science; blinds
The eyesight of Discovery; and begets
In those that suffer it a sordid mind
Bestial, a menage intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form.— *Cooper.*

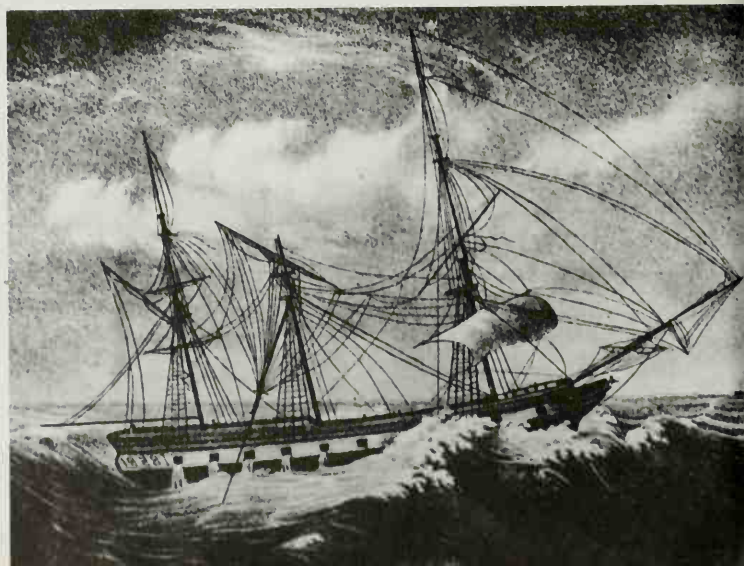
LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY S. M. SLADER, 17, WHITE CONDUIT TERRACE, ISLINGTON; AND SOLD BY
J. & A. ARCH, CORNHILL; AND W. PHILLIPS, GEORGE YARD, LOMBARD STREET.



129. The third and last leg of the triangular voyage brought the ships to their port of disembarkment; it was very rare that the entire voyage lasted less than a year.

130. Certain ships disappeared with all hands, some were victims of pirates, others were hailed by privateers, and still others sank due to storms. Here, the *Cérés*, a small English slave ship is shown fighting the elements on her return route from the Islands to Liverpool in 1804.





5. – The Slave Traders

131. As time passes, the slave trade becomes a trade which no longer dares to speak its name. It also becomes more insolent and ferocious. The slave traders do not hesitate to change the names of the ships, sometimes to the point of camouflaging the original nationality. It is in this way that a French boat becomes a so-called Spanish one, then a Portuguese one.

Nantes





Saint-Malo



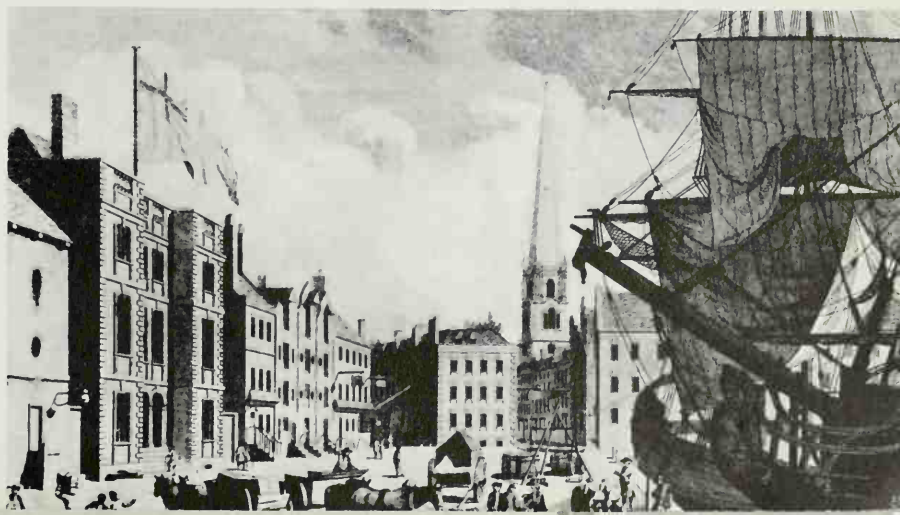
La Rochelle

132, 133, 134. Which are the ports that strived to regain the slave ships? In France, Nantes merited the name "city of the slave ships". Bordeaux, St. Malo, and La Rochelle prospered as well, thanks to the slave traders.

135. ...In the Netherlands, it is Amsterdam. The Dutch Company of the West Indies, founded in 1621 by Charle in this city, was concerned almost exclusively with the slave trade. This company transported the Negroes from West Africa to the Island of Curacao, to the Antilles from

where they were smuggled into the Spanish and Portugese colonies in the New World.

136. In England, the slave trade was concentrated mainly in three ports: London, Bristol and Liverpool. Here, the customs officer in Liverpool. "In 1792, when the slave trade was at its peak," wrote the historian R. Muir, "it was estimated that Liverpool benefited from five-eighths of the total English slave commerce and from three-sevenths of the slave trade of all the European nations."





137. As regards Bristol, it did not take long for it to snatch, though not without difficulty, the supremacy from London and reached its peak in 1739 when fifty-two

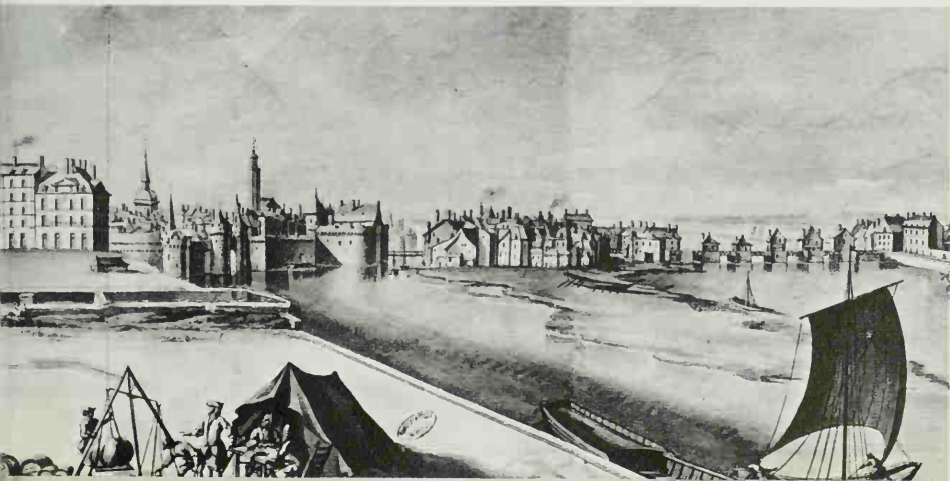
ships, equipped for the slave trade, were ready to sail from their port at the junction of the Frome and Avon Rivers.

138. The rise of Liverpool on the hazy banks of the Mersey, "of which one could say that its constructions were cemented together by Negro blood," must be attributed to the ruse of its merchants who were the first to realize the value of the smuggling of slaves, offering to the settlers of Jamaica and other islands, Negroes who cost them four or five pounds less by head than those sold by the traders from Bristol or London.





139. At Nantes, the slave ships carried mostly sugar, but also coffee, indigo and cotton. With the money from the "returns" came the great prosperity.



VENTE PUBLIQUE

DE PRISE A NANTES.

LE 2 Brumaire an six [23 Octobre 1797], à neuf heures du matin, il sera procédé dans une des salles du Sanitat, par le Juge-de-paix du sixieme arrondissement, en présence du contrôleur de la marine et du receveur des douanes, à la vente et adjudication du navire la *Catherine*, et de sa cargaison, prise du corsaire le *Duguai-Trouin*, capitaine *Dutache*, armateur *François Dessaulx*, de Nantes.

DROITS.

CARGAISON.

25 liv. du quintal net.	276 boucauts de tabac en feuilles.
3 sous par chaque 100 francs de valeur. }	7 quarts de salaisons.
idem.	2 barriques, & un quart biscuit.

CONDITIONS DE LA VENTE.

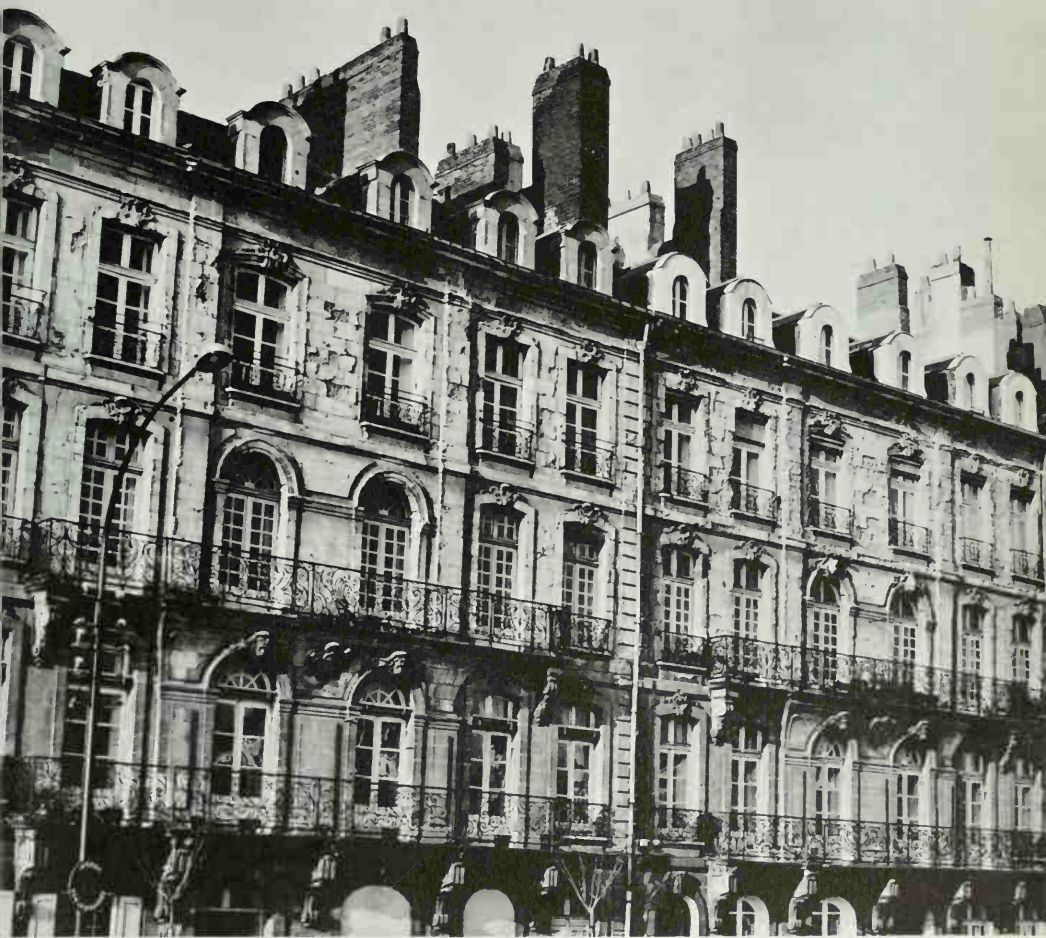
Les marchandises ci-dessus seront vendues en l'état où elles sont, et se vendront à la livraison, sans choix

pourroient être sur lefdites marchandises, même celui de l'enregistrement, ainsi qu'un pour mille sur le montant

ment sur Nantes ou Paris, à deux usances; ce terme datera de huit jours après celui de la vente & sera de

140. This notice of a public sale in Nantes in 1797 proves that the capture of a slave ship by a privateer could bring considerable sums of money into the till of the ship owners. In 1789, France received 185 million colonial products from the Islands, half of which she exported to Africa and the Antilles.

141. It was during the 1730's that the elegant mansions in Nantes, some of which still exist today, were constructed. The hotels on Feydan Island and the right bank, the houses in Trochon des Lorient and Perrée de Villeteux: "The fluvial facade has a noble and grand air," commented the slave traders themselves.





142. Turenne Alley, in Nantes: the oval courtyard of a building. An English explorer wrote in 1787: "The Opera district is magnificent; the streets are made of ashlar and meet at right angles..." The author is proud to be received in the home of Mr. Villeboisnet, the owner of a slave ship.



143, 144. Almost as well-known as the farmer-generals, the ship owners from Nantes, enriched by the slave trade were: Michel, Grou, Trochon, Montaudouin, Périssel, Bouteller. When they were successful, they were enobled: Sarrebourse of Hauteville, Espivent of Villeboisnet, of Launey, the Count of Wailsh, etc. They did not hesitate to use Negroes' heads as decoration in the magnificent mansions which they built.





CONGE N^o 895.

POUR LES VAISSEAUX QUI NAVIGENT AUX ISLES
& autres Colonies Françaises, ou qui reviennent en France.



LOUIS-JEAN-MARIE DE BOURBON,
DUC DE PENTHIEVRE, DE CHATEAU-VILAIN,
ET DE RAMBOUILLET, Amiral de France, Gou-
verneur & Lieutenant-Général pour le Roi en sa Pro-
vince de Bretagne. A TOUS ceux qui ces présentes

Lettres verront, SALUT. Sçavoir faisons, que Nous avons donné
Congé & Passéport à *Reignault*
Maître du Bâtimement François nommé *La Deuxième*
du port de 356 *tonneaux* ou environ, estant au Port &
Havre de *celle Isle St. Pierre* des'en aller dudit Port de
au Port & Havre de *Nantes*
chargé *de marchandises Colonnes*

après que vísitation dudit Navire aura esté bien & dûément faire,
& qu'il aura fait sa sôumission au Greffe de l'Amirauté, de n'aller
dans aucune Isle ou Coste étrangere, y faire aucun Commerce des
effets du crû desdites Isles, sur les peines portées par les Reglemens
des 12 Janvier & Avril 1717. En témoin de quoy, Nous avons
signé ces Présentes, & à icelles fait apposer le Sceau de nos Armes,
& contresigner par le Secrétaire Général de la Marine.

L. J. M. de Bourbon

PAR SON ALTESSE SERENISSIME,

Delivré à *Paris* le
à *Paris* le
mil sept cent *74*

Baronnet

sereny

GUILLA
Grand Cro
Marécha
Lieutena
sous le v
Milices

V U la
Navire
représenté
La S
l'Amirauté

CON
Lie. Qu
pour dette d



ant pour
et de l'Amirauté

D
P

(Fa)



ME-LÉONARD DE BELLECOMBE,
de l'Ordre Royal & Militaire de Saint-Louis,
des Camps & Armées du Roi, son Gouverneur-
Général des Isles Françaises de l'Amérique
& Inspecteur-Général des Troupes, Artillerie,
Fortifications desdites Isles.

acquiesce à Nous présentée par les Armateurs du
N° de Bourreau Capitaine Viant
de la Colonie par les Messieurs
par corps qu'ils ont obtenu au Siège de
la ville du Cap Le 10 Juin 1780

E
à l'effet de passer au Gros morne
à la cargaison dudit Navire

JE *Portier* demeurant à
commandant le Navire nommé *Le Français*
du port de *Nantes* Tonnage ou environ, étant du présent
à Nantes, pour du premier tems qu'il plaira à Dieu envoyer, aller en droite
route
connois & confesse avoir reçu & chargé dedans le bord de mondit Navire
sous le franc Tillac d'icelui de vous, M. PORTIER
pas que continuellement de
la Haye

le tout bien conditionné & marqué de la marque mise en marge, les-
quelles Marchandises je promets & m'oblige mener & conduire dedans mondit
Navire, sauf les périls & fortunes de la Mer, à
& la, les délivrer à *Messieurs D. de la Haye & de la Haye*
en payant le fret *cent quarante quatre francs*
de plus de la somme de quatre cent francs
avec les avaries aux Us & Coutumes de la Mer. Et pour ce tenir & accomplir,
je m'oblige corps & biens avec mondit Navire, frets & apparels d'icelui: En
témoign de vérité j'ai signé *A. Connoissemens d'une teneur, l'un accom-*
pli, les autres sont de nulle valeur. Fait à Nantes, le *11^e 1784.*
portier

145. The ship owner had to go through a series of formalities of which the *Congé*, a sort of declaration in the following terms, was one: "For the ships which sailed to the Islands and other French colonies, or which returned to France. Louis Jean-Marie de Bourbon, Duke of Penthièvre, of Chateau-Vilain and of Rambouillet, Admiral of France, governor and lieutenant-general to the King in the province of Brittany. Let it be known to all that we have given permission and a passport to ... Captain of the French ship ... from the port of ... tonnage, presently in the port of Havre to leave the aforesaid port and sail to the port of ... whose cargo shall be merchandise for the slave trade ...". It was this document which legalized the slave trade.

6. — Abolition of the Slave Trade



146. At Nantes, the Salorges Museum is a gold mine of souvenirs and documents concerning the slave trade, and at Kingston-upon-Hull in Yorkshire the Wilberforce House is now an elegant museum. The

famous parliamentarian and philanthropist, William Wilberforce, born in this house in 1759, was to become, with Thomas Clarkson, the liberator of the slaves (both men pictured above).

PENDANT ET APRES L'EMANCIPIATION.

hautes et graves leçons des philosophes,
d'après nature à la Somme par un tout petit blanc,
ne se peut pas plus que de la Croute des Noirs.



Argée poursuivi par un brick de guerre jetant ses esclaves à la mer



Les esclaves de l'Argée, même ceux qui ont été jetés à la mer, ne se balancent point se prélassent dans leur nef et se débarrassent de leur



L'union d'un des blancs grecs les autres sont noirs. L'émancipation de l'Argée et non d'un des autres.



Esclavage. Les esclaves de l'Argée, même ceux qui ont été jetés à la mer, ne se balancent point se prélassent dans leur nef et se débarrassent de leur



Emanicipation. Les esclaves de l'Argée, même ceux qui ont été jetés à la mer, ne se balancent point se prélassent dans leur nef et se débarrassent de leur



Symptômes de l'émancipation. Les esclaves de l'Argée, même ceux qui ont été jetés à la mer, ne se balancent point se prélassent dans leur nef et se débarrassent de leur

1835

147. In France, the slave trade was attacked for the first time when the German, Pufendorf, in his work *The Law of Nature and People*, maintained, in 1672, that slaves did not exist "by nature" and that

the majority of men considered slavery as "an evil to which death is preferable". The French Revolution dealt a blow to the traders which was enforced by the ferocious revolt on St. Domingue.



148. The legend of this illustration attributes the following remark to the Negro: "Oh! My master can die and who knows into whose hands I will fall ... No one will ever protect me. No, Sir, I prefer to be free." In New England, the Quakers placed, very early, a curse on the slave trade. In 1773, in particular, they profited from the experience of a new recruit, a certain Moise Brown, a former slave trader converted to the Quaker religion. He dedicated the rest of his life to fighting tooth and nail against the slave trade and to demanding—with full knowledge of the facts—the abolition of slavery.

149. William Wilberforce presented, one day, this cross-section of a slave ship to the House of Commons in order to illustrate the horrible overcrowding of the slaves in the ship's holds. This exhibit can be found in the Hull Museum in Great Britain.





150, 151. The abolition movement provoked a wave of opposition and cynicism of which the outcome was sometimes bloody. Many authentic caricatures can be found dedicated to the "Anglomaniacs"

and "Anglophobiacs."

These two caricatures represent: a) "The contrast of English names" b) an Englishman dyeing a white man black ... in order to sell him as a slave!



152. It was King Louis XVIII who, after the Revolution in France, achieved the prohibition of the slave trade. England, Denmark, Sweden, Chile and Holland had already accepted. It was twenty-seven

years for Portugal, forty-five for the Southern United States, and seventy-two years for Brazil before they abolished the slave trade.

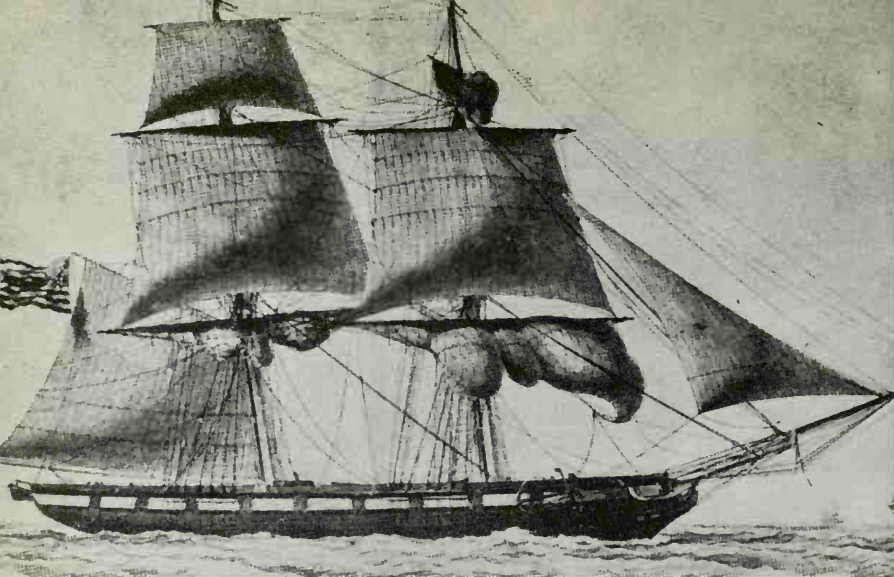


Philanthropie moderne

Published by Le Monde



153. More slaves on board the *Wildfire* which was captured by a United States steamer...



154. "The flag covers the merchandise." One had recourse to all the ruses: this brig of the last century is a slave ship—and sails under the American flag.

155. In 1806, the *Mary* from Liverpool, practises—illegally—the slave trade. She will be attacked, as we can see, by two British war ships.



States of America are torn in two. In chief of the thing was a long thereof, she herself put down our leaders their thoughts as heretofore, the new will be persecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional union. Between the countless states, one made of the states, and the people thereof, a terrible war, that is, a struggle for the supremacy or independence.

And it is my purpose, before the next meeting
of Congress to again recommend the amendment of
- purchase means of ending slavery, and
the free acceptance or rejection of all slave
states, so that the people of a state may determine
if it is rebellious against the Union, and
which states may then have voluntarily accept
ed, or thereafter may voluntarily accept, man
umitted or gradual abolition of slavery with
in their respective limits, and also the offer
to those powers of African descent, and the
creation of slave free sale or sentences.

[illegible]

that the executive aids, or the fear of offe-
ring offence, by prohibition, designate the
State, and part of State, if any, in whole the
people thereof acquiescing, share blame when we
believe against, the United States, and the fact
that any part, or the people thereof, do so,
or that any do, is your fault Representative of the
Congress of the United States, by members chosen
there, as electors, who are a majority of those

156. A reproduction of the Emancipation Proclamation, written on the 22nd of September, 1862 by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, who liberated the slaves of the Confederacy and brought about the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout all of the U.S.A.

grate from each of such state states have participated
tion, that, in the absence of strong corroborating
testimony, he does not conclude positively that
such state was the people thereof, or not then
in rebellion against the Union state.

His attention is first, called to a note of the
question: "What to make an additional
note of No. 1 appears that it is the same
when it is in the words and figure following:

[illegible]

to the ~~rest~~ ^{other} and small sections of
our nation. In fact to suppress insurrections
to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and
dispose property of rebels, and for other purposes."
approx. July 17, 1862, a similar decision was
in the words of your fellow

... and I am sure that the Government of the United States will be able to find a way to deal with this situation in a way that is fair to all concerned.

And I do heartily rejoice you are an American
person engaged in the military and naval ser-
vices of the United States to extend the
war upon nations whose repulsive species of
barbarism, the old man practices who neither
can do better without ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the}
than the countries are necessary that
will change of the United States, to show how
un-Americanly the United States the United
States shall (upon the celebration of the centen-
nial relations between the United States and
the European States, of 1800, we
shall have been independent or otherwise) to
compensation for all losses by acts of the United

Notes regarding the loss of plane
1) In winter of 1940
2) happened at my home
3) the east side of the lake
4) plane was on edge of property
5) the first 2 or 3 of the
6) the plane was on edge of
7) kind of a fire and had
8) one of the wings of the plane
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157. An ancient allegorical engraving depicting the English officers announcing to the Africans that the peace treaty of the Allied Powers had been signed on the 20th October, 1815, thus suppressing the Negro slave trade.

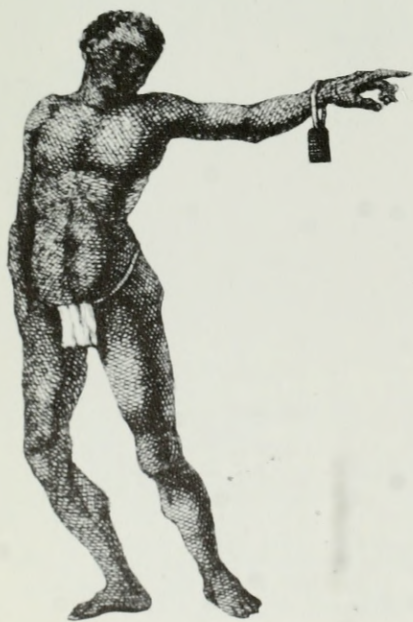




158. This engraving, also from the 19th century, at one and the same time naive and idyllic, reminds us that it was only three generations ago that the European traders ceased to treat the men, women, and children of Africa as merchandise.

Alas ... "The Negro trade; trade of white men Has one not seen in Europe, these

last years, slaves by the millions, forced labor, victims crowded in stinking prisons, death camps and loaded trucks? The race of the slave traders is eternal. They are sometimes so highly placed, enveloped in such prestige, such sophisms, that one does not recognize them and one admires them. There is a little of this race in every man." (Ducasse)



At that time a decree forbade Portuguese subjects to engage in the slave trade; but nowhere was it carried out and it was not even published in the district of Mozambique. The slave trade continued to be practiced under the Portuguese flag with the connivance of Portuguese functionaries, to the advantage of America and all the adventurers in the colonies belonging to Europe.

On August 24, 1839, the English Houses of Parliament passed a bill authorizing British cruisers to stop Portuguese slave traders and the courts of the vice-admiralties to judge them. This punished one violation of the rights of man by another. Portugal, thus defeated, granted, by a treaty made in July 1842, the right of inspection and pursuit, judgment by mixed commissions, the obligation to demolish or sell the condemned ships, the ranking of the slave trade with piracy, the application of the punishment just below the death penalty, and freedom for the apprehended slaves. It was necessary to deal with Brazil in the same way in 1845 even though the treaty of 1817 with Portugal had been followed by a new agreement on November 23, 1826. More than 50,000 slaves were still

imported in 1849. A law of July 17, 1850 finally checked this abominable traffic.

With Spain, the struggle lasted 21 years. The treaty of August 28, 1814, that of September 23, 1817, whereby England had promised 400,000 pounds sterling, the decree of December 19, 1819, the additional agreement of December 10, 1822 remained without effect. In Madrid, the government forbade the slave trade; in Havana, its agents encouraged the trade and profited by it; all the most energetic protests were useless until June 28, 1835. On that date, after the death of King Ferdinand, the constitutional government concluded an effective treaty with England, at least for the slave trade under Spanish flag.

5

Although the present United States was still only a British possession at the height of the slave trade, its inhabitants proved themselves to be big consumers of "ebony wood" and remained so after the Declaration of Independence.

The development of an area like that of Carolina depended entirely on black labor. Charleston almost considered itself honored to have 12 firms which specialized in the retail sale of Negroes. Moreover, the tax levied on the importation of these slaves was used to finance the construction of public buildings. Thus the governor of Virginia declared at the beginning of the 18th century: "If we import a sufficient number of Negroes, we can hope to raise enough money to build a beautiful residence for myself and construct a Capitol."

There was not the same need for slaves in New England. However, many influential people were pleased to count Negroes among their servants. Furthermore, the important port of Newport, in Rhode Island, rapidly became a veritable turntable for the slave trade which was mainly in the hands of Portuguese immigrants, the most famous of whom was Aaron Lopez.

These Rhode Island slave traders used small ships that were sent to Africa filled with casks of rum, a new commodity which soon found considerable success among the petty kings, who came to prefer it to the traditional cloths and small glassware.

Just like the Europeans, the men of Newport crammed Negroes into their ships, and since the latter were flimsy, the unfortunate blacks suffered even more.

Such practices, it should be noted, aroused the indignation of numerous people and in the last third of the 18th century, the Rhode Island Quakers rose with energy against them. When a certain Moses Brown, slave trader himself and brother of slave traders, became a Quaker, he disclosed everything that was happening and the campaign against the slave trade took a decisive turn.

The abolition of the slave trade is one of the articles of the Constitution of the United States; but this article only went into effect in 1807. Neither all the treaty proposals addressed to the government of Washington by England in 1819, 1820, 1823, 1824, 1831, 1834, 1839, 1841, nor the resolutions of Congress in 1821 and 1822 led to an agreement. The United States always objected to the right of search; however, by a treaty concluded on August 9, 1842, the two powers bound themselves to maintain separately a naval force of at least 80 cannons to patrol along the African coast (art. 8).

The implementation of the abolition of the slave trade would have been incomplete if influence had been brought to bear only on the buyers without exerting an influence on the sellers. Treaties with the small powers of Africa followed the treaties with the great powers of Europe or America. It could have been tempting to forcibly abuse these minor monarchs ruling with brutality over ill-defined territories and unhappy subjects; England believed it worthy of herself to treat them according to the law of nations. It was in the best established practice of the chancelleries that the British government signed agreements with Nama-Comba, chief of Cartabar in Gambia, with Obi-Osai, chief of the country of Abok on the shores of the Niger; with Eyamba, chief of Calebar or with Radama, king of Madagascar, in 1841; then, in 1847, with almost all the chiefs of the coasts of Bissagos, Sierra Leone, the Congo, Gabon, Loango. To give an idea of this kind of agreement, we shall quote the shortest one, concluded on March 7, 1841.

"William Simpson Blount, lieutenant, commander of Her Majesty's steamboat, *Pluton*, in the name of Her Majesty, Queen of England, and King

Bell of Bell Village in Cameroons, have agreed to the following articles and conditions:

Article 1. The two contracting parties decide that, from the date of this treaty, the sale and transport of slaves or other persons, no matter who they be, will completely cease on King Bell's territory and wherever his influence is felt, and that these persons cannot be transferred from one point of King Bell's territory to another region, island or possession of any prince or potentate. King Bell will issue a proclamation and a law forbidding his subjects or any persons subordinate to him, either to sell a slave to be transported away from the territory or to aid or encourage any sale of this kind, on pain of severe punishment.

Article 2. King Bell pledges his word to notify Her Britannic Majesty's cruisers of the arrival of all slave trading vessels which might enter the river.

Article 3. In consideration of this concession by King Bell, and to remedy the loss of revenues it causes, Lieutenant W. S. Blount, in the name of Her Majesty, undertakes to deliver each year, for five years, to the aforesaid King Bell, the following articles: 60 guns, 100 pieces of cloth,

two kegs of powder, two casks of rum, a scarlet coat with epaulets, one sword. The aforesaid gifts will be delivered in exchange for a certificate, signed by King Bell, stating that the above conditions have been carried out."

In other treaties, more serious conditions were introduced. Thus, in the treaty with the heads of Malimba (1847), it was agreed that no house or store whatever could be built for the slave trade; that the chiefs must destroy those which would be or are already constructed, and that, if they did not do it, the English could demolish them themselves as well as seize the boats, and in this serious way prove to the Malimba chiefs the Queen of England's displeasure.

It was also agreed that the Negroes already held to be exported would be turned over to the English, to be escorted to their colonies and freed. Finally, complete freedom of trade was granted to the English. Agreements were signed in 1822 and 1839, then renewed in 1845 with a more powerful king, the Imam of Masqat who ruled a large part of the eastern coast of Africa, from the Persian Gulf to the Portuguese possessions, including the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Monfia.

His states were the theater for the odious slave trade carried on by the Arabs. Negroes, loaded with produce, were led to the coast, then sold with their bundles into the bargain. From this trade, the imam made more than 20,000 pounds sterling a year. In 1844, according to the statement of Captain Hammerton, a child was sold for 30 to 80 francs; a man for 80 to 160 francs; a woman for up to 190 francs, with the right reserved of reselling her in the saddest of states on the coasts of Arabia or Persia for 150 to 300 francs. Dead slaves were thrown to the dogs.

The Iman Seïd-Saïd promised to give up the slave trade and to forbid it to his subjects. A consulate was set up in Zanzibar and English cruisers were authorized to seize ships and subjects of His Highness; but the slave trade, nevertheless, continued to be carried on there. A certain number of treaties were concluded with Arab sheiks on the western coast of the Persian Gulf. Since the 1845 agreement, France was associated with some of these treaties and concluded several others directly. A commission of inquiry, appointed in 1853 by the House of Commons, stated that there were, at this time,

between Great Britain and other civilized powers, 26 treaties in force for the suppression of the slave trade and 65 treaties concluded with African chiefs.

6

In 1824, a slave ship had just kidnapped from the coast of Africa 14 Negroes who were to be transported to the West Indies when an English cruiser gave chase to it. During this chase, whose outcome left no doubt considering the excellent state of the English ship, several large floating barrels passed by the side of the cruiser. Little attention was paid to this, the supposition being that the slave ship had gotten rid of tons of water which hampered its course. A short time later, the boarding took place and the English crew invaded the deck of the slave ship, *Young Estelle*. The surprise was great when not one slave was found. But suddenly, when groans started to come from a large barrel placed in a corner, it was opened and two almost dead Negroes, about 14 years old, were discovered. The abject traffickers in

men had not had time to destroy this last trace of their crime by sending the barrel to follow the path of the others which had been seen by the English cruiser's crew.

We find in the August 24, 1824 copy of *The Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser* a significant article which follows: "We bring to the attention of our readers a list of the *slave ships* accosted by the boats of His Majesty's vessel, *Maidstone*. It is sad to think that, during one cruise lasting only two months, these boats had the occasion to visit 19 vessels, all engaged in this shameful traffic, and that our sailors did not have permission to hinder them in this unworthy occupation. Ten of these ships were under French colors; they belonged to French ports, and we hope it will be a new proof, if such proofs are still necessary, apt to convince His Very Christian Majesty's government that the guilty trade we have so often denounced is always practiced under the protection of his authority, and even well beyond the means of any other power; all of that in spite of the opposition of the prohibitory laws of France. Here then is the most undeniable proof of the inefficacy of these laws; either they fail to

correspond to their aim or those who are charged with carrying them out corrupt them shamefully. All these ships had French papers and the object of their voyage was admitted in the most open way and, as it were, with pride by some of the skippers who explained to our officers, when they came aboard, how their victims were to be stowed, what part of the ship was destined for each, how many they proposed to take along and finally, all the horrible details of their venture. The facts here speak for themselves and if the French government does not intervene in a more determined way than it has done so far, the world will think what we believe, alas, is only too true, that this great nation is reluctant to abolish this heinous traffic."

If, during a two month's cruise, 19 slave ships were encountered, what must have been the proportion for a whole year?

A well-proven fact is that the slave traders became more ruthless the day that slave trading was prohibited. The acts of savagery related above are, in fact, subsequent to this prohibition. The slave traders, who never considered the Negroes crammed together in the hold as human creatures, in the event

of a contravention did not hesitate to try to escape punishment, even at the price of their captives' lives.

In the month of April, 1822, Lieutenant Wildenay was sent down the African coast with boats of the squadron commanded by Sir Robert Wends; it was not long before he discovered off the city of Bonny, two schooners and four brigs. There was: the *Yeanam*, a Spanish schooner from Havana, 306 tons burden, with 380 slaves aboard; the *Vinca*, another Spanish schooner from Havana, 180 tons burden, 325 slaves aboard; the *Little Betzy*, a French brig from Nantes, 184 tons burden, 318 slaves aboard; the *Ursula*, a French brigantine from Saint-Pierre-Martinique, 100 tons burden, 347 slaves aboard; the *Theodore*, a French brig which had not yet had time to load its cargo. After a dogged battle the slave ships fell into the hands of Lieutenant Wildenay's boats, but during the fight a great number of slaves had jumped into the sea and been devoured by sharks. Some had been shot.

The following is the most significant episode: the schooner *Vinca*, when it was taken, had on board a lighted match hanging to the powder magazine and placed in that spot by the

sailors of the ship's company before they threw themselves into the water and swam to land. Fortunately an English sailor saw the match and put it out. The *Vinca's* magazine contained an enormous quantity of powder, and one spark would have blown up 325 unfortunate slaves. After the event, the slave traders expressed keen regret at having seen their plan, worthy of ancient barbarism, thwarted. Let us add that the 325 slaves were found chained to each other not only by the arms and the legs but by the neck. More than 150 died during the crossing from Bonny to Sierra Leone despite the care they received.

A few last quotations will demonstrate conclusively the cruelty of the slave traders. At about the same period, the following were the laconic terms in which a Guadeloupe shipowner mentioned an act of cruelty worthy of the preceding ones: "The schooner *Louisa*, Captain Arnaud, arrived at the cove of the Barque, district of St. Anne-Guadeloupe, with a cargo of 200 Negroes remaining from a load of 275 that had been on board. The ship being unable to carry so many men, the surplus had been thrown alive into the sea by the captain."

The Sierra Leone newspaper says

elsewhere: "The *Louis*, commanded by a man named Oiseau, while making up its cargo of slaves in old Colebar, stowed all of these unfortunates between-decks and then closed the hatchways for the night. When day came, it was found that 50 of these victims had expired in that cramped and foul atmosphere. So the commanding officer coldly ordered that their bodies be thrown into the river and he went ashore to attend immediately to the task of completing his wretched cargo by new purchases of human creatures."

Sometimes the slave traders were more economical of the lives of their sad prisoners, but the way they found of fighting the impending suffocation joined to the effects of homesickness was again a refinement of cruelty. "Each day," says Mr. Alboize, "they bring a certain number of Negroes up to the deck; they take off their irons, surround them with sentinels who guard them, gun in hand, and order them to dance the favorite dance of their country. Upon refusal from the Negroes, whips resound; their bodies are tortured to force them to dance. The most timid begin; the sailors encourage them with lashes of the whip and soon the dance becomes

so alive and animated that it is difficult to make it stop. This spectacle is horrible to see. The Negro dancing in spite of himself, carried along in spite of himself by habit and pleasure, giving howls of horrible sensual delight which mix with the noise of the whips and the tom-tom, while men propped on the bulwarks are there to keep the blacks from throwing themselves into the sea; all that is hideous, all that is dreadful... Then the Negroes take up their chains again and sadly go back to their cesspool, cursing their frantic joy of a moment and crying with rage for having succumbed to it."

The shameful treatment inflicted by the slave traders on their cargoes of human flesh has, more than once, been the starting point for revolts aboard. We shall give one example. A slave ship loaded with 190 slaves, was at sea when the commanding officer thought he observed a plan for a mutiny that was not yet completely decided upon; he immediately had the one he supposed to be the ringleader seized and the unfortunate man was brought on deck, martyred by the crew and finally hurled into the sea.

But this example, far from producing the desired effect, exasperated the Negroes, and when night came, the

crew was attacked by the unhappy slaves who, although attached two by two, flung themselves upon the sailors. The latter had time only to entrench themselves firmly and to make ready for a regular set-to defence; the struggle did not last long. The Negroes, who only had pieces of wood as weapons, were soon drained of blood, exhausted and unable to fight. Once they were beaten, haste was made to pass them in review in order to see and to note precisely the loss suffered by the slave trader. Most were covered with wounds: those would be crippled, or would cost more in care than they could be sold for; they were gotten rid of like useless burdens by ordering them to jump into the sea. "The Negroes," says the narrator, "obeyed with a kind of joy. Those who had no relatives jumped into the sea then and there; those who still had parents took just enough time to embrace them and then disappeared in the waves. In all, there were only 90 slaves left. They were sold in the Barbados Islands."

The following is the last example to crown this martyrology. One day an English brig encountered a slave ship that had been taking water for

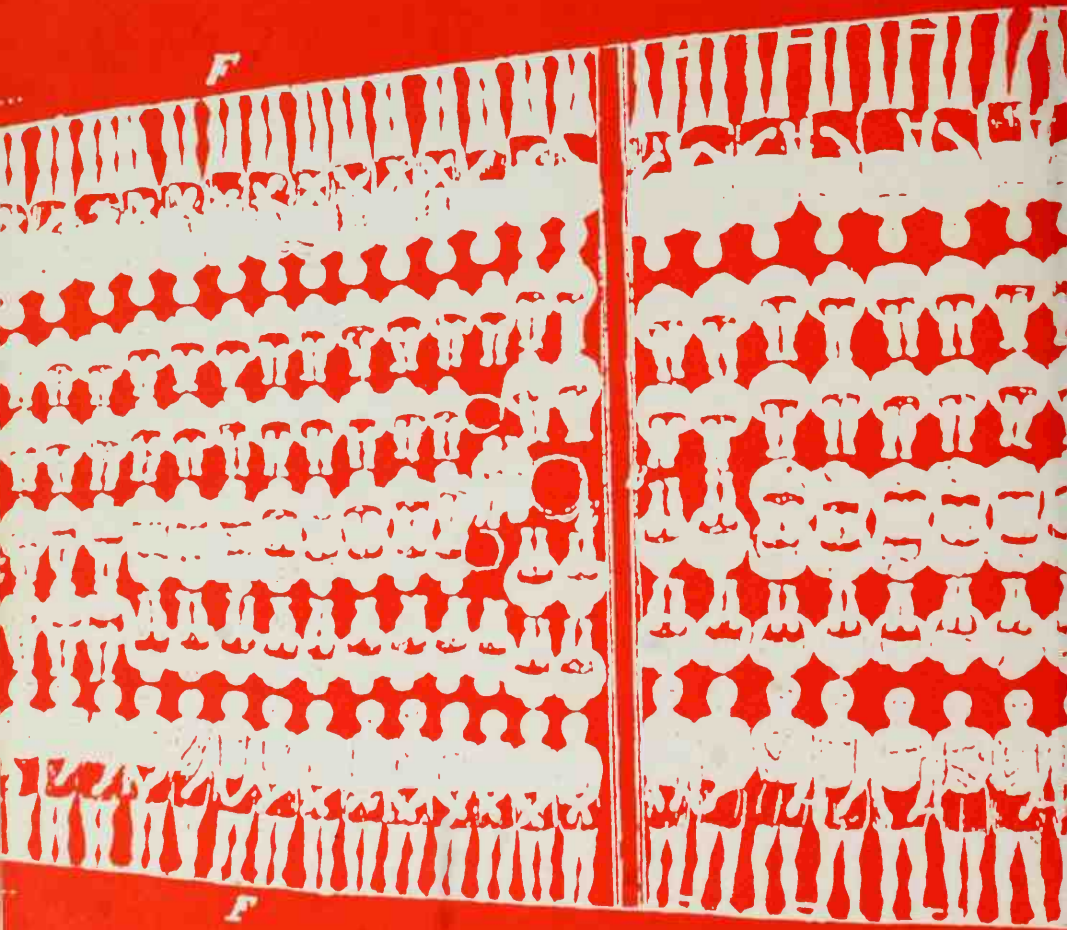
several days; the brig hastened to take on board not only the crew but also the Negroes; shortly thereafter, the slave ship was engulfed by the sea. Then contrary winds came along, delaying the crossing. Soon the men of the brig started muttering among themselves, calculating the amount of provisions that remained. The captain, fearing a mutiny, met with the group representing his sailors. Then and there, the sacrifice of the Negroes was decided.

But how to get rid of them? Drown them? Almost all would remain afloat and it would be too much trouble to finish them off. The Negroes were gathered together on the deck; two cannons, loaded with bullets, were pointed at them and a veritable slaughter ensued. And yet, the people who were guilty of such an act belonged to the nation which was the most dreaded antagonist, from the humanitarian point of view, of the slave trade and the slave traders.

Photos - Almasy 26 - Archives 21, 30, 35, 36, 43c, 50, 52, 59, 63, 68b, 69, 83, 85, 102, 114 - Archives Coloniales, Paris 66a, 68b, 93, 105, Bettman Archive, New York 42, 61, 81, 82, 87, 88, 137 - Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 71, 78a, b, 79, 80, 96, 103, 104a, b, 106b, 107, 109, 111, 112, 113, 118, 122, 124, 125a, 132, 133a, 135, 138 - Ciccione 22, 38a - Documentation Française 20, 90 - Giraudon 53, 106a, 120a, 121, 125b, 140 - Holzapfel/Documentation Française 50b, 51a - Hull Museums 3, 45b, 46, 77, 84, 86, 108, 117, 133b - INFO-Sénégal, Dakar 49a - Liverpool City Libraries 38b, 39, 54, 60, 72, 94b, 98, 99, 119, 120b, 123b - Madec 62, 126, 130 - Musée des Salorges, Nantes 27, 28, 32, 45a, 55a, b, c, 56, 57, 94a, 95, 100 - Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 19, 40a, b, 123a - San Viollet 127, 128a, b, 129 - UNESCO 18 - USIS 91, 92, 139 - Viollet 16, 17, 23, 24, 33, 43a, b, 44, 48, 49b, 51b, 66b, 70, 97, 101a, b, 110, 116, 136, 141.

pervert- to turn from
truth or proper purpose;
to corrupt; to misinterpret;
to misapply — one who
has been perverted
perversion- diverting from
the true intent or object;
misapplication







this trade—Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, Americans—and the fortunes they built up. The struggles which the abolition of these practices gave rise to, then the secret trade that followed as a result deserve to be mentioned.

Isabelle Aguet, a Swiss journalist, has been associated with the editorial staff of a leading Swiss magazine for many years. She has chosen to record the essential, as well as the most striking aspects of the History of the African Slave Trade after studying all the basic documents devoted to the subject. A unique aspect of this work is the extensive collection of period illustrations, gathered through intensive research, and with the help of the few specialized museums, in particular Wilberforce House in Kingston upon Hull and the Museum of Les Salorges at Nantes. The documentation and annotated, period illustrations together form a volume of unique scope and character.

1-2. Viollet. — 3. Hull Museums. —
4. Archives Cochin. Paris. — 5.
Viollet.



TO BE SOLD on board the
Ship *Bance-Vland*, on tuesday the 6th
of May next, at *Ashley-Ferry*; a choice
cargo of about 150 fine healthy



NEGROES,



just arrived from the
Windward & Rice Coast.
—The utmost care has
already been taken, and
shall be continued, to keep them free from
the least danger of being infected with the
SMALL-POX, no boat having been on
board, and all other communication with
people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

Minerva