

Revisiting the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

A Geographic & Demographic Analysis

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Introduction

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade between 1500 and 1867 represents an unprecedented mass migration of individuals. To fully understand the creation of “new world societies” in the Americas during the colonial period, a complete analysis of the slave trade that fueled economic expansion is necessary. In 1670, Louis XIV, king of France, is reported to have said “there is nothing which contributes more to the development of the colonies and the cultivation of their soul than the laborious toil of the Negroes.”¹ Barbara Solow, an economic historian, argues:

Before the reintroduction of slavery, the economy of the New World was in the doldrums; after the reintroduction of slavery, economic growth in the colonial period commenced, and the regions connected to the plantation economy had the highest income and wealth per white inhabitant. The regions of Europe connected with the slave economies were the sources of growth in these economies and the locus of increased industrial and manufacturing production.²

The basic premise in any history of the colonial era is that increased contact with Europeans by native aboriginal peoples within the Americas resulted in either death through warfare and military conquest, or by diseases such as smallpox which the Europeans brought dormant on their ships, natives succumbing because of no prior built up resistance.³ The land itself was void of any significant economic value without the input of labor to make use of it: there was an abundance of mineral deposits to be mined, and favorable soil and climate conditions for the production of crops. But the combination of the lack of a systematic agricultural tradition within the aboriginal cultures, and the rapid decline of populations in the period of 1500 to 1620 brought about the need for a new supply of laborers.

An additional factor fueling the new “Columbian Exchange” of goods is the rise of mercantilism and the transformation of economic society by rational-capitalism. New socio-economic classes were rising to explore and exploit resources and were doing so with the backing of others in a systematic, profit-motivated system. The newly discovered colonies represented both new and exceptionally fertile means of production as well new markets to sell European finished goods within.

Gold and Silver, livestock and flintlock, and a tremendous plethora of spices, fruits and vegetables flowed from Europe to Africa to the Americas and back again, leading the Trans-Atlantic trade to commonly be called the “Triangle Trade.”⁴

¹ Quoted at <http://www.mariner.org/captivepassage/arrival/arr006.html>.

² Solow, Barbara L. The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A New Census. *The William & Mary Quarterly*. Vol. 58, No. 1. January 2001. Excerpted from: <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/wm/58.1/solow.html>, April 12, 2003.

³ This paper does not attempt to analyze the question of epidemics in post-Columbian America. It should be noted that there is much disagreement over population figures of indigenous peoples: some estimates are as low as 8.4 million and as high as 100 million. Also, the extent to which diseases from Europe struck down the population is disputed: as low as 45% and as high as 95%. Recent epidemiological studies on remains unearthed in Ecuador may indicate a much higher prevalence of disease prior to the arrival of Europeans, and are more concerned with changes within meso-American society, especially the shift from Hunter-Gather economies to more sedentary, agricultural. The disruption of these peoples diets, and the increased contact with each other brought about by town-centers led to the further spread of disease. A notable example is syphilis, already rampant within the Americas, and contracted by colonial travelers and spread back to Europe. See: http://www.paho.org/English/DPI/Number7_article3.htm.

⁴ While the earliest forms may have proceeded along a triangularly shaped set of routes, later during the rise of uniquely American naval power, it should be noted that the faster, smaller U.S. commercial vessels were able to effectively take the European leg out of the Triangle and deal strictly with human cartage.

Slavery was largely increased in Africa during the seventh century through the spread of Islam, which allowed African rulers to justify enslavement of non-Muslim prisoners of war. "Between 650 and 1600, black as well as white Muslims transported as many as 4.8 million Africans—mostly prisoners of war and criminals—to the Muslim lands of southwest Asia. Once there, these enslaved Africans worked primarily as domestic servants."⁵ Furthermore, after 1600, the "enslavement and sale of African was done by Africans themselves."⁶

With the rising need to replace indigenous forced labor, Europeans began to look to Africa as the source of a solution to their problem.

As the major European powers--Portugal, Britain, France, and the Netherlands--looked for ways to exploit the fertile lands of the New World, they looked to Africa for a steady supply of labor. Soon enslaved Africans had become absolutely vital to the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, cotton, and other goods Europeans craved. Based as it was on unpaid labor, the plantation system produced huge fortunes for many nations, companies, and individuals. And the king of all commodities was sugar. As European demand for sugar began to surge in the 17th century, plantations sprang up throughout Brazil and the Caribbean. Sugar cultivation created an insatiable demand for slave labor from Africa. Many plantations produced additional crops such as indigo, rice, and coffee, and the owners used their wealth to diversify into banking, insurance, and other industries.⁷

Enhancing this solution was the fact that Africans seemed more resistant to disease due to longer continuous contact with the Europeans. Also, Africans had more familiarity with farming and could thus be taught plantation techniques more readily, and because they had little familiarity with the geography of the Americas, they were less likely to be successful in escape.⁸

Built into the use of high-school social studies textbooks are numerous statistical, demographic and geographic representations of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The McDougal-Littell text relates the following:

Between 1500 and 1600, nearly 300,000 Africans were transported to the Americas. During the next century, that number climbed to almost 1.5 million. By the time the African slave ended around 1870, Europeans had imported about 9.5 million Africans to the Americas.⁹

Relating to Portugal's rise in slaving, the McDougal-Littell text offers:

During the 17th Century, more than 40% of all Africans brought to the Americas went to Brazil. By the time the trade ended, Brazil had received more than 3.6

⁵ Beck, Roger B. et al. *Modern World History: Patterns of Interaction*. Evanston: McDougal-Littell. p. 115.

⁶ Boahen, Adu. *Topics in West African History*. Ghana: Longman, 1972. p. 110. Quoted at <http://www.amonhotep.com/2002/slavery2.html> (April 12, 2003). Boahen argues that there is adequate proof that several African societies such as the Ashanti of Ghana and the Yoruba of Nigeria were entirely dependant economically on the slave trade, and the Iimbangala of Angola and the Nyamwezi of Tanzania served as "middlemen or roving bands warring" with Africans for the purpose of trapping them on behalf of ships plying the various coastal ports which had sprung up to support the embarkation of slaves.

⁷ <http://www.mariner.org/captivepassage/arrival/arr006.html>

⁸ Beck, et al. p. 115.

⁹ Beck, et al. p. 116. The overall figure of 9.5 million is quoted in a dialogic text box on page 101. On page 117, the textbook depicts a geographical representation of the Triangle Trade system from 1451-1870 and gives the overall figure of 9.5 million the caption of "estimated" and the Source as "The Atlantic Slave Trade, A Census." While unnamed, it must be assumed that the source referred to is Phillip B. Curtin's 1969 work.

million Africans. That number was nearly 10 times the number of Africans who would arrive in North America.¹⁰

Finally the text-book imparts the following in relation to English participation within the slave trade, and the growth of American Colonial involvement:

As England's presence in the Americas grew, it came to dominate the Atlantic slave trade. From 1690 until the nation abolished the slave trade in 1807, England was the leading carrier of enslaved Africans. By the time the slave trade ended, the English has transported nearly 1.7 million Africans to their colonies *in the West Indies*. A much smaller number of enslaved Africans eventually arrived in what is now the United States. In all, nearly 400,000 Africans were imported to Britain's North American colonies. Once in North America, however, the slave population steadily grew. By 1830, roughly 2 million slaves toiled in the United States.¹¹

These representations beg the question of sourcing and accuracy, and lead to a fundamental problem relating to this time period: is it possible to accurately quantify the slave experience and describe its extent in terms of where slaves came from and where they were taken?

Solow has also sparked a set of questions regarding the trade, following basic economic schema:

We can learn a good deal from the undeniable success Europeans had in assimilating eleven million human beings to an item in the balance of international payments. Because the slave trade was not arbitrary and capricious but was conducted in a system of prices and markets, we can use the chapter on the theory of international trade in an elementary economics textbook for clues to putting the trade in a wide context. What were the determinants of the timing and pattern of the trade? What implications did this flow of Africans to the Western Hemisphere have for other flows in world trade? What factors—noneconomic and economic—determined the results of these flows? Looking at the slave trade as one element in the network of world trade leads us naturally into other questions. Why did the slave trade begin at a certain date? In certain places? What determined why it waxed and waned? What are the implications of the slave trade for other flows in the system?¹²

The purpose of this paper is to explore the current status of the debate over the number of Africans taken into enforced slavery. Considerable debate has been generated following publication of Phillip Curtin's 1969 study, *African Slave Trade: A Census*. While Curtin's work continues to enjoy the highest status among works cited say, in high-school level texts, several excellent studies have revised and extended Curtin's methodology, especially as relates to the origin of transported slaves along the coastal ports of departure and the lines of trade stretching into the interior of Africa. This paper argues that while the debate about the exact numbers may continue to rage for sometime in the future due to the difficulty of analyzing incomplete primary source records, the state of existing records and the systematic and mathematic analysis made possible by machine data-base tools allows us to make more exact generalizations about migration patterns in terms of where slaves came from and where they were taken.

Lastly, this paper will provide perspectives on helping to guide secondary students into an investigation of the slave trade patterns using technology based tools of analysis.

¹⁰ Beck, et al. p. 116.

¹¹ Beck, et al. p. 116.

¹² Solow, Barbara L. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A New Census*. The William & Mary Quarterly. Vol. 58, No. 1. January 2001.

Primary Source Materials

The best records of the slave trade are the actual logs of the ships employed in transporting Africans and records made within ports of disembarkation for the purposes of taxation and compensation of ships owners. Owing to the fact that the trade in slaves was approached as a rational, capitalistic enterprise, such records are voluminous, though they are by no means complete. Due to the very age of the records, many have been lost due to neglect, fire and flood, and natural decomposition of papers used at that time.

While ship's captains tended to keep meticulous records on behalf of their owners, not all did so in the same methodical way as the other, and increasingly towards the end of the slave trade, there was a growing tendency to evade governmental restrictions and taxation through falsification of records. One other additional factor contributed to the lack of accuracy of records: depending on how many slaves were lost during the voyage, there was a built-in incentive to falsify records to make the voyage appear to be more successful; altering the number of slaves embarked at African ports with how many were sold at destination ports to make the numbers closer together tended to buoy the efficiency rating of the ship's captain, and perhaps also make it possible for some under-the-table profits to be had. This seems to especially be the case concerning children transported, who were often taken on ship with less than official status.

Figures 1, 2 and 3 represent the type of shipping and tax records made during the slave trade, these three examples specifically relating to the London based slave ship *Henrietta Marie*, which made two successful trips from the Bight of Biafra to Barbados and Jamaica before being shipwrecked in 1699 on the return run to England.¹³

There have been considerable efforts over the past twenty years to extend the archival microfiling of slave manifests and tax documents to both image based digital archives and machine readable formats suitable for use with SQL (structured query language). Much of this data is beginning to migrate to the internet: one example is the Afrigeneas site's reporting of materials housed at the National Archives concerning the Collector of Customs at the Port of New Orleans.¹⁴ Much effort has proceeded in collecting and codification of such records, especially as it relates to the inland transport of slaves: both internal migration as well as domestic U.S. trade.

The domestic slave trade transplanted approximately 1 million slaves from what was called the Upper South (primarily Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, District of Columbia, North Carolina) to what was once called the Southwest (Alabama, Mississippi, Western Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas) between 1808, the year which the United States effectively abolished the importation of slaves and 1865, the year the Civil War ended.¹⁵

¹³ See <http://www.melfisher.org/henriettamarie/historicaldocuments.htm> for information regarding the recovery of the *Henrietta Marie* in 1972. Port information: Eltis, David, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behrendt, and Herbert S. Klein, eds. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM Set and Guidebook*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

¹⁴ Reported at: <http://www.afrigeneas.com/slavedata/>

¹⁵ <http://www.afrigeneas.com/slavedata/background.html>, April 12, 2003.

Barbadoes						
Year	Ship Name	Mast Name	Master Name	Tons	Value	Notes
1700	Swamp	North	W. Heister	220	39 35 1/2	4033
1700	Swamp	South	John - name	170	38 3 1/2	3182
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	137	13 5 1/2	1050
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	100	19 8 1/2	1944
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	112	19 10 1/2	2184
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	78	19 12 1/2	1530 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	120	21 10 1/2	2558
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	130	21 10 1/2	2790
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	170	21 15 1/2	3621
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	172	24 10 1/2	4188
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	188	19 1 1/2	3553 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	197	21 5 1/2	2765
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	208	19 15 1/2	2520 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	197	19 10 1/2	3881
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	171	22 10 1/2	3961 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	145	10 15 1/2	2290 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	271	16 1 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	185	20 10 1/2	3675
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	185	24 15 1/2	3420
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	185	25 2 1/2	3700 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	185	24 12 1/2	3670
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	185	20 17 1/2	3151
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	170	22 3 1/2	3833 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	196	21 18 1/2	4181 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	184	17 6 1/2	16203
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	180	26 9 1/2	4283 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	164	27 5 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	133	26 8 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	98	21 18 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	46	18 10 1/2	3758
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	148	20 10 1/2	3758
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	222	25 16 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	199	30 17 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	82	29 10 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	82	20 12 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	82	28 10 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	122	20 10 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	122	20 10 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	59	20 10 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	216	20 5 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	116	20 5 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	83	20 5 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	51	20 5 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	156	19 15 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	285	19 15 1/2	4363 1/2
1700	Swamp	North	John - name	218	2 159138	6 8

Figure 1- Port Record showing the Henrietta Marie - ca 1699

		London's Custom	
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0
..11	..40	17th June 1699 The Henrietta Marie Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200 Wm. & Wm. 1200	13-4-0

Figure 2- Tax Record showing the Henrietta Marie, ca. 1699

London 10 August 1699

37

John & Thomas True to the Duty Arising by Act of Parliament etc
 Entry 14 July
 In the Rainbow Richard Dumble for Guinea
 ..38 Richard Dumble 10⁰ Gunpowder 5/2:7 of Powder 100 Permitt 91:0:24
 ..39 Follow 2⁰ weight Bow & oaths made by Giles Heysham toly made
 £200:0:0 at 10/6 £ 23-0-0

John & Thomas True to the Duty Arising by Act of Parliament etc
 Entry 15 July
 In the Henrietta John Taylor for Guinea
 ..38 Thomas Starke 202⁰ great Dugles & oaths made by Ditto Starke
 ..39 toly made £10:15:4 at 10/6 £ 1-10-6

Ditto True to the Duty Arising by Act of Parliament etc
 Entry 19 July
 In the Abraham & Broes Benjamin Terry for Guinea
 ..38 Nathaniel Guillin 1⁰ wt. for 1/2⁰ mabocaten oaths made by Ditto
 ..39 Guillin toly made £13:0:0 at 10/6 £ 1-6-0

Ditto True to the Duty Arising by Act of Parliament etc
 Entry 19 July
 In the Dragon Bartho. Jones for Guinea
 ..38 Humphry South 1⁰ Bur amount 10⁰ oaths 10⁰ oaths made
 ..39 by the South toly made £30:0:0 at 10/6 £ 3-10-3

Ditto True to the Duty Arising by Act of Parliament etc
 Entry 21 July
 In the Abraham & Broes Benjamin Terry for Guinea
 ..40 Abraham Menor 170 Permitt 10 Daws 40⁰ weight oaths Act 10⁰
 ..39 Daws 6 Permitt 208⁰ Gunpowder 120⁰ Gunpowder 120⁰ Gunpowder
 125⁰ to 14⁰ Tobacco 1/2⁰ of 1/2⁰ of Yellow 10⁰ the hands oaths
 10⁰ as Gunpow 10⁰ on 1/2⁰ Daws 390⁰ Tobacco & oaths made by Ditto
 Menor toly made £760:0:0 at 10/6 £ 76-0-0

Ditto True to the Duty Arising by Act of Parliament etc
 Entry 21 July
 In the Dragon Bartho. Jones for Guinea
 ..40 Jos: Alford 10⁰ Gunpow 6⁰ Gunpow 10⁰ Gunpow 10⁰ Gunpow
 ..11 Conard's brass Lookingglass & oaths made by the Alford toly Yellow £21:0:3
 at 10/6 £ 21-3-3

Ditto True to the Duty Arising by Act of Parliament etc
 Entry 26 July
 In the Dragon Bartho. Jones for Guinea
 ..40 Daniel Alford 10⁰ Gunpow oaths made by Hen: Clement toly
 ..11 at 10/6 £ 1-12-12

Figure 3- Tax Record showing the Henrietta Marie, ca. 1699

With the facility of electronic document archival and search made possible and available by the internet, and the growth of interest in genealogy over the past fifteen years, no doubt that much new qualitative and quantitative information will be documented and gleaned from sources such as advertisements, birth records, court records, inventories, manumissions, pension records, slave sales/auctions, apprenticeships, census schedules, day-books/logs, legislative acts, marriage records, plantation records, tax records, Bibles, church records, death records, letters, military records, wills, bills of sale, and runaway slave advertisements, as pictured in Figures 4 and 5. Figures 6 and 7 represent advertisements for slave sales, which can be excellent sources of information about specific ships (arrival timing, number of slaves on board, composition of slaves by gender and age).

\$200 REWARD.—RAN AWAY FROM the subscriber, living near Upper Marlboro', Prince George's county Md, **NEGRO MAN LEN**, who calls himself **LEN HARROD**; he is a dark mulatto, about thirty one years of age, five feet seven inches high; he has a scar on the right knee caused by a cut; half of his head shaved, and very grum when spoken to.

I will give the above reward if caught out of the State of Maryland or District of Columbia, or one hundred dollars if caught in the State of Maryland or District of Columbia, and secured in jail or brought home so that I can get him again.

au 28-1f **Z. B. BEALL.**

Figure 4 - The Evening Star, Washington DC August 30, 1856

Ten Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber on Tuesday morning last, the 26th instant, an indented apprentice to the coach-making business, named John Lunsford, between 19 and 20 years of age, about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, and of slender and erect form, and light complexion. He had on a blue broad cloth coat, white hat with crape on it. He is from Surry county, Va., where his connections are living; he is in company with a young lad who has been seduced by the said Lunsford to accompany him to Alabama, where he has a brother living, and has lately received a letter from him, which letter he has now with him. It is expected he will stop at Lynchburg, which place he said would be his first stopping place. All persons are forbid trusting, harboring, or employing him in any way, as the law will in all cases be put in force. The above reward will be paid to any person who will apprehend him so that I can get him, and all reasonable expenses paid for his delivery to me in Richmond.

March 2. **N. TICHENOR.**
93-1f

Figure 5 - The Richmond Enquirer, May 16, 1826



Figure 6- Announcing the sale of the cargo of the ship *Countess of Sussex*, 1769



Figure 7- Advertisement for sale of slaves from *Bance Island*, ca 1760

While much of these records will shed light on the domestic slave population following initial transport, some of these documents will illustrate the economic and demographic process attendant to the trans-Atlantic trade itself. It is important to keep in view, especially regarding the U.S., that census information about persons of African descent of very limited use due to the political construction made by the 3/5th Compromise. There have been many recent studies attempting to track the population growth of slaves and come to rationalized explanations why slaves in America had a more rigorous existence when compared to Africans toiling in the tropics.

New material is being discovered constantly. Figure 8 is a photo of a cache of personal papers of the Liverpool merchant William Davenport, representing letters, invoices and receipts “highlighting the activity of Davenport and his Captains in the capture and selling of African slaves.”¹⁶

¹⁶ http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/localhistory/journey/american_connection/slavery/davenport.shtml, April 15, 2003.



Figure 8 - Papers of slave merchant William Davenport

Maps are an excellent source of information regarding the slave trade, and there many available to view on the internet.¹⁷ Beginning with the Dutch and Portuguese exploration of the coastal areas of West Africa in the 1400's, a detail of the rivers and harbors begins being mapped out that would facilitate extensive commercial exploitation through trading in guns, alcohol, precious metals and ultimately human slaves. Maps were widely produced after the 1560's for use by ships' captains, and the progression of detail is highly illustrative of the progression of European knowledge of African geography, climate, and the wholly strange African political landscape of tribal rituals, exchange and warfare. Additionally, many books attempting early analysis (and either positive or negative propaganda) of the slave trade have many of these common maps reproduced. Buxton's work of 1840 contains the maps depicted in Figure 9 and 10.¹⁸

¹⁷ See for instance <http://africanhistory.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fgropius.lib.virginia.edu%2FSlaveTrade%2Findex.html>, a site containing images of 30 different period maps made to help slavers exploit the coast. Also, see <http://diglib1.amnh.org/galleries/maps/index.html>, an American Museum site which shows geographical depictions of Africa from 1562 through the Chapin/Lang Congo exploration of 1909-1915. The maps on this site are delivered using a technology set that allows the viewer to zoom to a very high resolution of detail.

¹⁸ Buxton, Thomas F. *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*. London: John Murray. 1840.

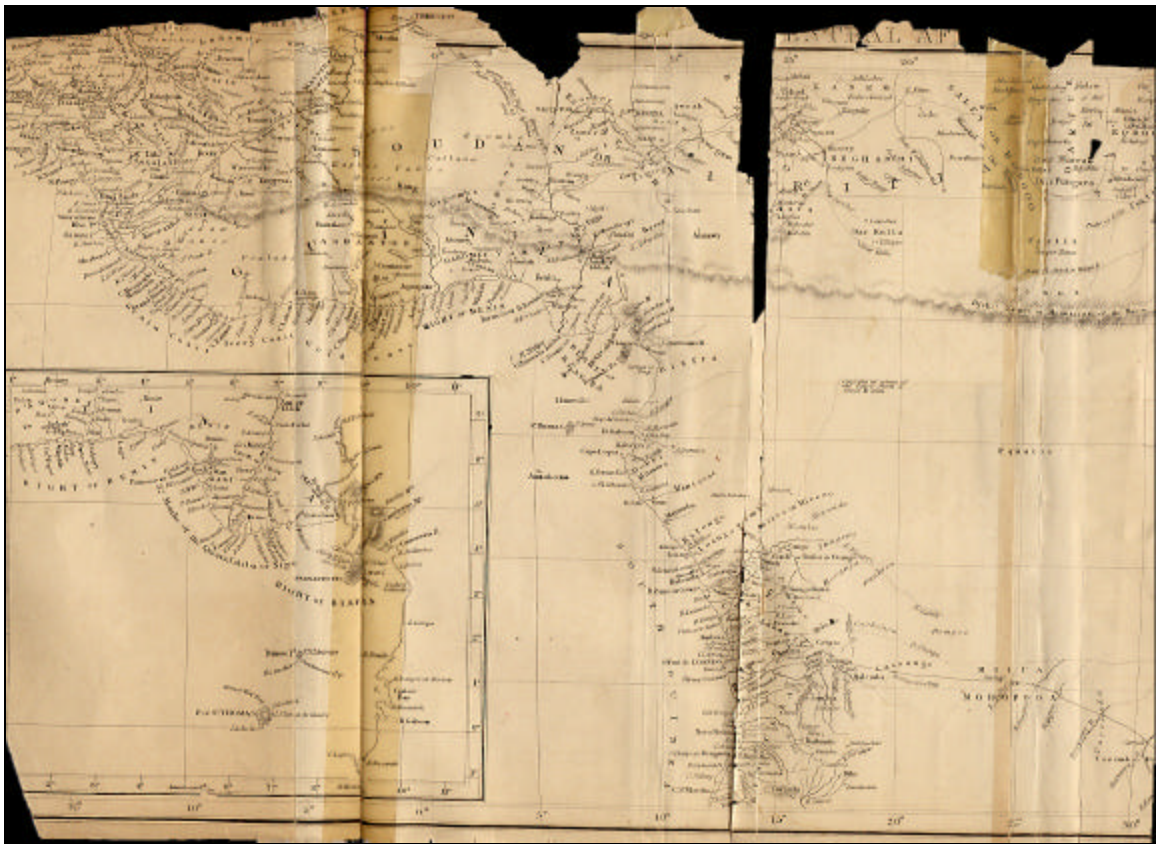


Figure 9 – Map of African Coastal Ports: Windward to West Central Coasts



Figure 10- Map of Africa's East Coast, showing Madagascar (inset)

Maps must be viewed with a certain degree of skepticism however: not only for their degree of accuracy, but also for the view points they leave out. Many ships' captains left out key details in reports to cartographers, in order to keep them out of the hands of other competitors.¹⁹

Alva Griffith, an African-American genealogical researcher, illustrates the idea that the most sound way to proceed in terms of researching the demographics of slavery is to always 'follow the money':

¹⁹ See also the appendix for this paper, which contains several other maps suitable for reproduction on classroom transparency, especially in terms of comparison and contrast activities.

The first and foremost thing to keep in mind is that Slaves Were Money! And people ALWAYS keep track of their money! If your people were slaves, they will be found, I said WILL BE FOUND, in the slave owner's family records, treated as PROPERTY, so you will need to look at their family's deeds, wills, mortgages, wedding gifts, court records about property, etc.²⁰

The Furor over Numbers

The most considerable arena of debate regarding the trans-Atlantic slave trade has been over the total number of Africans forced to board ships bound for the Americas, and how many survived the journey to disembark on the other side.

Just how many people left Africa and how many arrived in the New World is a subject of much controversy. Before 1969 most scholars estimated that between 14,000,000 and 15,000,000 Africans arrived in the Western Hemisphere as slaves.²¹ In 1969 Phillip D. Curtin suggested that the total number of imports was about 9,566,000.²² More recently J(oseph) E. Inikori²³ has argued that Curtin's figures are too low. Whatever the number, it is clear that the Atlantic slave trade was one of the most massive examples of forced migration in history.²⁴

Curtin's estimate has largely survived since 1969, though many scholars have continued to take Inikori's suggestions seriously. Some estimates as high as 28 million have been offered, though these also seem to factor in the approximately 5 million Africans transported into the Middle Eastern Muslim lands.

Criticisms of the work of Curtin and Inikori have been leveled based on methodology, specifically that they used a "combination of estimates of people who lived through the slave trade era, aggregated shipping data, and population projections of recipient regions in the Americas."²⁵

Difficulties lie primarily in aggregating estimates to account for records which have been lost or are yet to be catalogued. Especially difficult with regards to the geographical distribution of slaves are the "unspecified" cargo destinations and disembarkation points all along the Caribbean and into North America itself. It is clear that for what ships' captains lacked in record keeping ability, they made up for in ingenuity in disposing of their cargoes. If the place of intended destination was unavailable due to the ebb and flow of market demand, or due to unfavorable sailing weather, or perhaps made difficult by changing political situations in Europe or in the colonial possessions, they adapted their plans in order to accommodate the most rapid 'disposal' of their cargo.

In 1999, David Eltis and several other scholars published an Interactive CD-ROM²⁶ dataset compiling records of 27,233 voyages. This remarkable resource is largely complete, especially for voyages sponsored by the British and the French:

Coverage of the British trade is fullest (the authors estimate that 90 percent of all voyages are included) and the eighteenth-century French and Dutch trades are

²⁰ <http://www.afriogeneas.com/slavedata/response.html>, April 12, 2003. Emphasis is author's own.

²¹ Franklin, John Hope, and Moss, Alfred A. Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom* (6th ed., New York: A.A. Knopf, 1988) 37-39.

²² Curtin, Phillip D. *the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

²³ Inikori, J.E., "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade." *Journal of African History* 17 (1976).

²⁴ 100- p. xi.

²⁵ Eltis, David. The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58.1 (2001): <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/wm/58.1/eltis.html>. April 25, 2003.

²⁶ The CD-ROM format is presented in a proprietary software query screen, with the dataset in SPSS format. I have adapted the dataset to Microsoft Access and Excel in order to mine total figures later in the paper. However, the CD-ROM is an excellent resource for use within a Classroom.

also largely complete. Bigger gaps exist for the Portuguese, seventeenth-century French, and nineteenth-century Spanish, Danish, and North American trades. However the authors contend that the set "provides samples large enough to present the major trends over time."²⁷

Lorena Walsh comments in a review of the CD-ROM and its accompanying booklet:

Each entry in the database consists of a single slaving voyage, for which up to 226 pieces of information may be available. These include 162 data variables incorporating information collected from the sources such as dates at which the ship left from or arrived at various destinations during the voyage; ports of origin, slave purchase, and delivery; number of slaves embarked and disembarked, their demographic composition and mortality levels; details of ship construction, registration, armament, and crew size; names of captains and owners; the outcome of the voyage; and archival sources. An additional 64 imputed variables are calculated or imputed from the data to compensate for missing information and to facilitate analysis by consolidating or regrouping variables that have unwieldy numbers of individual codes. These include consolidation of geographic locations into regional and continental categories, and grouping of voyages into different temporal categories (year the voyage originated, year in which slaves were embarked, and year of disembarkation, and for the last also into periods of 5, 25, and 100 years). Outcomes of voyages (successful completion, wreck, capture, or insurrection somewhere en route, etc.) are reclassified in three ways from the perspective of slaves, captors, and owners. Other inferred variables group locations into major trading regions, estimate the numbers embarked or disembarked where full information is not available, and regroup data on age, sex, and mortality. How the estimations were made is clearly documented, so users can easily substitute different groupings or estimations.²⁸

Eltis followed up publication of the dataset with an article reassessing the total numbers in 2001. While queries of the dataset produce a total number of slaves transported among the 27,233 voyages at 7,933,033, Eltis presents an extension of this aggregating the gaps to 11,062,500 (see Table 1).

Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade										
Table 1 - Overview By Nationality (000)										
Years	Period	Portugal	Britain	France	Netherlands	Spain	United States	Canada Danish*	All Nations	Ave Annum
82	1519-1600	264.1	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	266.1	3,245
50	1601-1650	439.5	23.0	0.0	41.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	503.5	10,070
25	1651-1675	53.7	115.2	5.9	64.8	0.0	0.0	0.2	239.8	9,592
25	1676-1700	161.1	243.3	34.1	56.1	0.0	0.0	15.4	510.0	20,400
25	1701-1725	378.3	380.9	106.3	65.5	11.0	0.0	16.7	958.7	38,348
25	1726-1750	405.6	490.5	253.9	109.2	44.5	0.0	7.6	1311.3	52,452
25	1751-1775	472.9	859.1	321.5	148.0	1.0	89.1	13.4	1905.0	76,200
25	1776-1800	626.2	741.3	419.5	40.8	8.6	54.3	30.4	1921.1	76,844
25	1801-1825	871.6	257.0	217.9	2.3	204.8	81.1	10.5	1645.2	65,808

²⁷ Walsh, Lorena S. Department of Historical Research, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Book Review for Economic History Services. Cited at <http://www.eh.net/bookreviews/library/0306.shtml>, April 17, 2003.

²⁸ Ibid.

25	1826-1850	1247.7	0.0	94.1	0.0	279.2	0.0	0.0	1621.0	<i>64,840</i>
17	1851-1867	154.2	0.0	3.2	0.0	23.4	0.0	0.0	180.8	<i>10,635</i>
349	All years	5074.9	3112.3	1456.4	527.7	572.5	224.5	94.2	11062.5	31,698
	% of Trade	45.9%	28.1%	13.2%	4.8%	5.2%	2.0%	0.9%	100.0%	

Source: Adapted from David Eltis. "'The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment.'" *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., 58 (2001), 17-46. From: <http://www.wm.edu/oieahc/WMQ/Jan01/EltisTable7.html>, April 10, 2003.

Eltis' reassessment takes on four "cumulative steps in drawing broad outlines of the trade:"

First, it generates estimates of national participation. Second, it distributes these national groupings across African regions on the basis of large samples of known regions of slave purchases. These distributions are then summed to derive quarter-century totals for each African region. Third, it performs a similar exercise for regions of disembarkation in the Americas. Fourth, it outlines the African origins of slaves disembarking in a few American regions.²⁹

Walsh and others are hopeful that Eltis' work will extend our thinking beyond merely aggregating a total number for the trans-Atlantic trade, as if to expiate our collective guilt, and use this type of information to generate multi-dimensional lines of inquiry:

The usefulness of the database for refining conventional slave trade studies is obvious, but it is the broader applications that go well beyond core issues such as the volume and demographic structure of the trade, Middle Passage mortality, and shipping productivity -- indeed far beyond the slave trade itself -- that are the most exciting. On the African side, data on slave exports from specific coastal outlets afford insights into the slave and commodity trades of particular African subregions and even single ports, and into African agency through resistance to the trade as evidenced in ship insurrections, as well as broader economic and demographic results. The authors contend that "the large role of Africans in the Atlantic world" is "perhaps the single most important preliminary feature to emerge from these new data". As the largest data base on any transoceanic trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it facilitates research into European long-distance shipping activities, including investigations of changing shipping technologies and, from records of ports of origin, ship owners, and captains, connections between the slave and other colonial trades. For the Americas, new information on the numbers and demographic composition of forced migrants brought to particular destinations suggests a need to reassess current understanding of at least some local population histories. Even more importantly, the data set makes available more precise information on which parts of Africa supplied the different parts of the slaveholding Americas. Expanded evidence on the African origins of forced migrants will allow scholars to explore the impact of African heritage on New World societies, and to better assess patterns of cultural retention and adaptation. Most of the papers and articles initially derived from the data set deal with traditional slave trade topics. However David Eltis' *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge University Press, 2000) -- which builds on the database -- provides a striking example of how such quantitative measures can be utilized in combination with qualitative materials to address broader comparative economic and cultural issues including topics such as gender, ethnicity, and value systems.

²⁹ Eltis, David. The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58.1 (2001): <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/wm/58.1/eltis.html>. April 25, 2003.

Looking at the Trade from a Geographic standpoint

Using Eltis' dataset, the information in Table 2 has been generated. This yields a rough idea of the distribution of where slaves originated, and where they were taken. A further drill down into specific regions gives us more substantive information about which countries participated, where the ships originated, where they planned to go versus where they ended up going, and ports of call, etc.

Table 2 -Embarkation and Disembarkation by Region		1527-1867	
TOTAL SLAVES TAKEN		7,941,019	
TOTAL SLAVES DELIVERED		6,756,891	
Perished/Escaped "Middle Passage"		1,184,128	15%
EMBARKATION		7,941,019	% to Total
1 <i>Africa unspecified</i>		2,281,690	29%
2 West-central Africa		2,064,500	26%
3 Bight of Benin		1,131,284	14%
4 Bight of Biafra		941,463	12%
5 Gold Coast		617,674	8%
6 South-east Africa		291,060	4%
7 Senegambia		243,503	3%
8 Sierra Leone		208,316	3%
9 Windward Coast		161,529	2%
			% to Total (excl Unspec)
			-
			36%
			20%
			17%
			11%
			5%
			4%
			4%
			3%

Table 2 (continued)

DISEMBARKATION		6,756,891		
1	South-east Brazil	1,047,201	15%	18%
2	<i>Not specified</i>	<i>1,026,018</i>	15%	-
3	Jamaica	914,902	14%	16%
4	St. Domingue	686,601	10%	12%
5	Cuba	563,551	8%	10%
6	Barbados	359,178	5%	6%
7	Guianas	307,524	5%	5%
8	Bahia	223,699	3%	4%
9	Martinique	156,572	2%	3%
10	Carolinas	151,647	2%	3%
11	Grenada	124,621	2%	2%
12	St. Kitts	115,277	2%	2%
13	Antigua	105,703	2%	2%
14	Dominica	102,266	2%	2%
15	Spanish America (Main)	99,062	1%	2%
16	Sierra Leone	94,151	1%	2%
17	Virginia	84,247	1%	1%
18	Dutch Caribbean	74,726	1%	1%
19	Virgin Islands	73,109	1%	1%
20	Pernambuco	61,800	1%	1%
21	St. Vincent	54,799	1%	1%
22	Guadeloupe	54,162	1%	1%
23	Rio de la Plata	53,679	1%	1%
24	Nevis	26,632	-	-
25	Trinidad	24,833	-	-
26	Off-shore Atlantic	24,369	-	-
27	North-east Brazil	22,639	-	-
28	Georgia	13,782	-	-
29	Tobago	13,634	-	-
30	Bahamas	13,383	-	-
31	Maryland	12,210	-	-
32	Montserrat	11,985	-	-
33	Puerto Rico	10,060	-	-
34	Mississippi Delta	8,384	-	-
35	St. Lucia	8,365	-	-
36	Windward Coast (inc. Liberia)	6,631	-	-
37	San Domingo	6,032	-	-
38	South-east Africa (inc Cape of Good Hope)	4,847	-	-
39	New York	4,310	-	-
40	Non RI New England	2,204	-	-
41	Rhode Island	2,153	-	-
42	Florida	1,599	-	-
43	Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey	1,018	-	-
44	Senegambia	772	-	-
45	Portugal	760	-	-
46	Indian Ocean islands	741	-	-
47	Angola	458	-	-
48	Spain	367	-	-
49	Gold Coast	144	-	-
50	France	69	-	-
51	Britain	15	-	-

Slave Trade in the United States

Slave ship voyages from western Africa to the coastal ports of the British colonies in America began to escalate as did settlement of the colonial markets, and the demand for labor. Most colonies participated in the slave trade, with the notable exception of Massachusetts. Of the northeastern colonies, Rhode Island participated the most.

At first, slave trade was dominated by British merchants. Later, as colonial shipping became more robust, Americans themselves saw opportunity to exploit the trade and cut out some of the middle brokerage.

Most [slaves] came directly from Africa. Most slaves were sold in Virginia, South Carolina, Maryland, and French Louisiana. Before the 1720's the majority of slaves were brought over in English ships, most operating out of Liverpool and Bristol. However, by the mid-eighteenth century American ships were successfully competing with English vessels and traders. Most Anglo-American slaves ships were operated out of Rhode Island, although a few slavers were from New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. After 1808, when the trade became illegal, slavers were more likely to be from southern ports.³⁰

An interesting facet demonstrated in many articles and backed up by the Eltis dataset is that early on, slave voyages tended to attempt to carry as many slaves as possible, but later the number falls well below 200 slaves per voyage. This may be explained in several ways: first, when the trade was dominated by old-style European powers, ships were larger. Following 1750, ships began to be smaller and faster. Secondly, experience began to prove that ships too tightly packed tended to lead to the death of a higher percentage of Africans. Some voyages early on had greater than a 50% mortality rate during the so-called "Middle Passage."

"In addition to the millions of Africans who were enslaved in the New World, millions of others died along the way, either in Africa or at sea, during what was called the "middle passage." A mortality rate of fifty percent or even sixty percent was not unknown during the middle passage, especially in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Recent scholarship¹⁴ has suggested that a range of eight to twelve percent was more common for slaves brought to what became the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."³¹

Finkelman suggests that speed was everything. The smaller the cargo, the less the number of points of embarkation off Africa, the less time spent waiting off-shore to get a full load. This in turn led to quicker return trips and less time plying the American coastal market—again, the speed suggests a refinement of rationalistic, methodical capitalism:

Vast fortunes grew from the trade for some entrepreneurs, although on average profits were not spectacular. One study of the Liverpool trade shows an average return on investment of ten percent. However, this figure underestimates the huge profits for some careful, prudent and lucky traders. Profits for American traders may have been higher, because their route from America to Africa and back was more direct than one started and ended in England. Also, their smaller ships allowed for quicker return trips and shorter waiting time on the African coast with consequently lower mortality rates. Records of some Rhode Island

³⁰ Finkelman, Paul, ed. "Slave Trade and Migration: Domestic and Foreign," *Articles on American Slavery*. Vol. 2. New York: Garland Publishers, 1989. p xi.

³¹ *Ibid.* p xi.

traders reveal profits of twenty percent, thirty-seven percent, and even seventy percent³² on some voyages.³³

The trade in America was dominated by the Southern colonies, those most in need of agricultural laborers for large cotton, sugar and tobacco plantations, for which the Southern colonial economy was based. Largest slave importations were made into the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia respectively. As parts of the west became more settled toward the end of the eighteenth century, a massive need for new laborers sparked both new external slave markets in the Gulf Coast and especially the Mississippi delta, but also a larger pattern of internal migration of slaves, and in many cases owners with slaves who were looking for new opportunities provided to them by land.

Another way slaves came to America that has received little focus, perhaps because of the difficulty inherent to documenting it, is the migration into the colonies of owners from the Caribbean:

In the colonial period, some slaves came to the mainland by way of the Caribbean. This was especially true in early South Carolina, where many of the settlers migrated from the islands with their slaves.³⁴

That the Southern economic system was so dependant on slave labor is axiomatic, but one detail clearly supporting this is the record of the Constitutional Convention in 1789, in which South Carolina's Charles Pinckney "asserted that any ban on the trade would "produce serious objections to the Constitution..." The general opposition to the slave trade among southern delegates produced two major compromises, both the aforementioned 3/5th Compromise which provided for the partial accounting of slaves for the purpose of Representation (to increase Southern legislative power while allowing Congress to tax based on the number of slaves owned), and the Commerce Compromise which permanently banned Export Tarriffs while allowing that Congress could not attempt to ban the slave trade until 1808.

While the simultaneous ban in both the U.S. and Britain in 1808 largely diminished the trade, it did not completely stop it. Even so, Finkelman asserts that attitudes had become more opposed to direct importation of slaves:

By the time of the Revolution many southern masters distinguished between owning slaves, which they thought was acceptable, and the African trade, which they opposed. The trade was dangerous, brutal, and inhumane. Many people simply found it repugnant to Christian morality. The trade was also seen to undermine domestic security. Slaves from Africa were more likely to revolt than those born³⁵ in North America.³⁶

Table 3 outlines a comparison of the number of slaves brought into the U.S. with diennial census figures. The total figure usually estimated for U.S. slaves is under 500,000, and while Eltis' estimate in Table 1 is 224,500, there are gaps omitting slaves

³² Jones, Alison. "The Rhode Island Slave Trade: A Trading Advantage," *Slavery and Abolition* 2 (Dec., 1981) 227-44; Coughtry, Jay, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1770-1807*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981) 18-20, and *passim*.

³³ Finkelman, Paul. 1989. p xii.

³⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁵ African born slaves were also more likely than American-born slaves to take collective action such as running away in groups or joining rebellions. See Mullin, Gerald. *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). Additional evidence supporting this view is the actions taken by various colonial governments to curb the slave trade following the Stono Slave Rebellion in South Carolina in 1739. See Wood, Peter. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.

³⁶ Finkelman, Paul. 1989. p xiii.

from 1619 (the year usually given as when the first slaves were brought to the English colonies) and 1726.

The most striking fact is the relatively small proportion of the total slave trade which went to what became the U.S.—the lowest estimate is 4% while the highest estimate is 7%.

Table 3 - US Slave Distribution

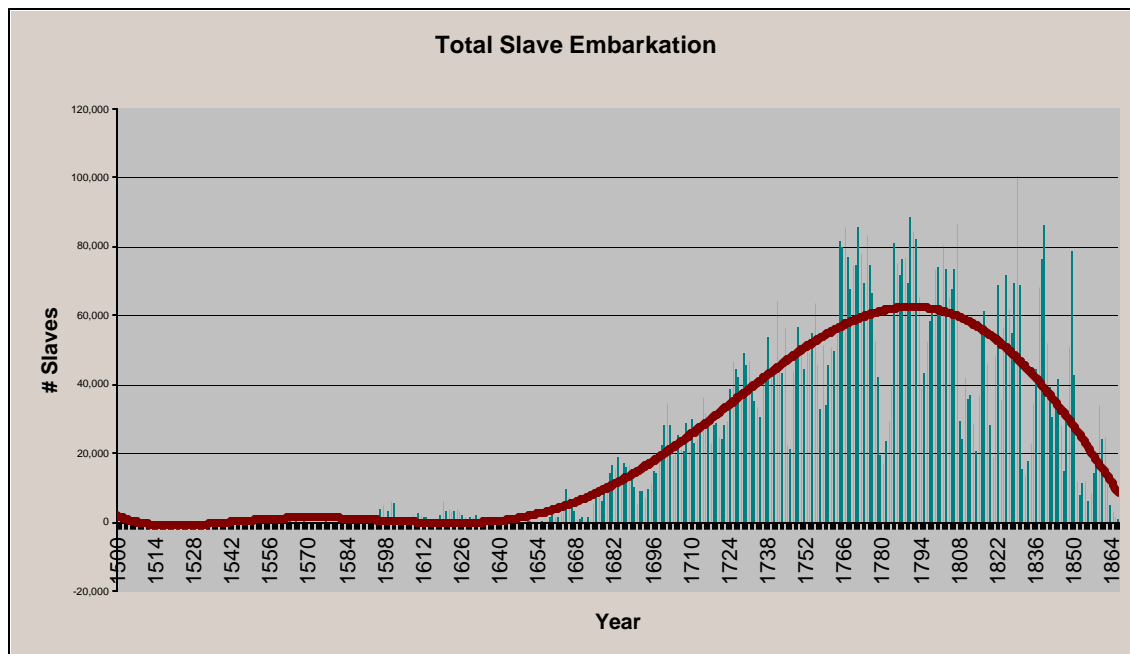
	Slave Ships ¹		1790 US Census ²			1810 US Census ²			20 Year Change	
	TOTAL	%	Total	# Free	% Free	Total	# Free	% Free	% Change Total	% Change Free
TOTAL Population	293,764		776,532	59,511	8%	1,376,000	183,181	13%	77%	208%
<u>Carolinas</u>	151,647	51.6%	214,442	6,776	3%	380,009	14,820	4%	77%	119%
North Carolina	-	-	105,547	4,975	5%	179,090	10,266	6%	70%	106%
South Carolina	-	-	108,895	1,801	2%	200,919	4,554	2%	85%	153%
<u>Georgia</u>	13,782	4.7%	29,662	398	1%	107,019	1,801	2%	261%	353%
<u>Virginia</u>	84,247	28.7%	305,493	12,866	4%	423,088	30,570	7%	38%	138%
<u>Maryland</u>	12,210	4.2%	111,079	8,043	7%	145,429	33,927	23%	31%	322%
District of Columbia	-	-	-	-	-	7,944	2,549	-	-	-
<u>Mississippi Delta</u>	8,384	2.9%	18,700	-	-	59,573	7,585	13%	219%	-
Mississippi	-	-	-	-	-	17,328	240	1%	-	-
Louisiana	-	-	18,700	-	-	42,245	7,585	18%	126%	-
West Florida	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Central</u>	0	0.0%	16,322	475	3%	131,737	3,637	3%	707%	666%
Kentucky	-	-	12,544	114	1%	82,274	1,713	2%	556%	1403%
Tennessee	-	-	3,778	361	10%	45,845	1,317	3%	1113%	265%
Missouri	-	-	-	-	-	3,618	607	-	-	-
<u>New York</u>	4,310	1.5%	25,978	4,654	18%	40,350	25,333	63%	55%	444%
<u>New England</u>	2,204	0.8%	12,632	9,694	77%	16,189	15,879	98%	28%	64%
New Hampshire			788	630	80%	970	970	100%	23%	54%
Vermont			271	255	94%	750	750	100%	177%	194%
Massachusetts			6,001	6,001	100%	7,706	7,706	100%	28%	28%
Connecticut			5,572	2,808	50%	6,763	6,453	95%	21%	130%
<u>Rhode Island</u>	2,153	0.7%	4,355	3,407	78%	3,717	3,609	97%	-15%	6%
<u>Florida</u>	1,599	0.5%							-	-
East Florida			574	-	-	1,651	-	-	188%	-
<u>Penn, Del, NJ</u>	1,018	0.3%	37,295	13,198	35%	59,294	43,471	73%	59%	229%
Delaware			12,786	3,899	30%	17,313	13,136	76%	35%	237%
Pennsylvania			10,324	6,537	63%	23,287	22,492	97%	126%	244%
New Jersey			14,185	2,762	19%	18,694	7,843	42%	32%	184%

Notes:

(1) Source: Trans-atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM. (2) Source: Berlin, Ira. Many Thousands Gone. Cambridge: Harvard Press. 1998

Chronological View

Using Eltis' dataset, it is possible to give a broad chronological outline to the slave trade, as seen in Table 4.



What is interesting are the gaps in the Trade, especially during the 1750's, the late 1770's, the period following 1810, and the 1820's. Most of the small fluctuations are explained by the "normal ebb and flow" of market conditions that Bollow mentions, though just what circumstances are behind these are points for further investigation. The larger gaps are probably the result of political upheavals within Europe itself, and between the colonial powers—for example, the trade is seen to diminish following the ban in 1808, but begin to peak again in 1816. There was some disruption due to the War between Britain and the US in 1812, and in fact, the colonies had agreed to an outright ban of the slave trade during the Revolutionary War:

During the Revolution all of the newly independent states banned the trade, as part of the effort to end economic relations with England. After the war most of the states did not reopen the trade.³⁷

A full accounting by year is detailed in the Appendix.

³⁷ Finkelman, Paul. 1989. p xiii.

Conclusion

While the “battle” over the numbers will no doubt continue to rage, there are specific sources that may be mined for information relating to the geographic and demographic distribution of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. While there are many gaps in the records of the trade relating to its antiquity, generalizations as to the total aggregate distribution may be made based on data from specific ship voyages, and given the high interest current within historical and economic scholarship, we will surely continue to fill in our understanding of the total scope of this period of human activity. Beyond arriving at a total number, there are many points of inquiry that may be made into the data giving us a fuller picture of various aspects of the post-Columbian settlement of the Americas, and given the promise of widespread systematic catalogueing of the data electronically, we can expect more developed perspectives emerging in the near future.

Slavery: A Bibliography

Note: not all of these sources have been used or consulted—rather, this Bibliography serves as a point of departure for further research into this voluminous topic.

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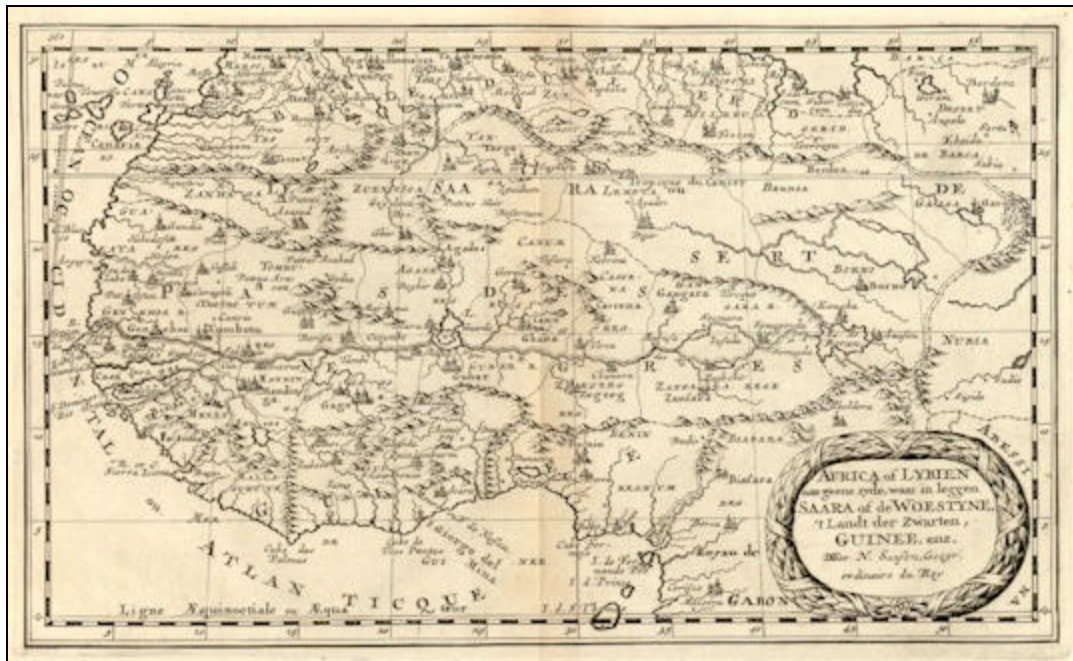
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Appendix 1- 1780's Map of the Senegalese Coast

Reduced: full size color original available at:
<http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade/collection/large/VILE-map.JPG>



Appendix 2- General Map of North Africa ca 1690

Original available at:

<http://www.tribalspiritinc.com/images/prods/maps/165.jpg>



Appendix 3- Gold Coast Ports, 1730

Original at:

<http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade/collection/large/CWF-2.JPG>



Appendix 4- 1562 Map of the African Continent

Reduced: full size color original available at:
<http://diglib1.amnh.org/cgi-bin/tpicmap?n=c0232-01.tjp>

Sale of Slaves and Stock.

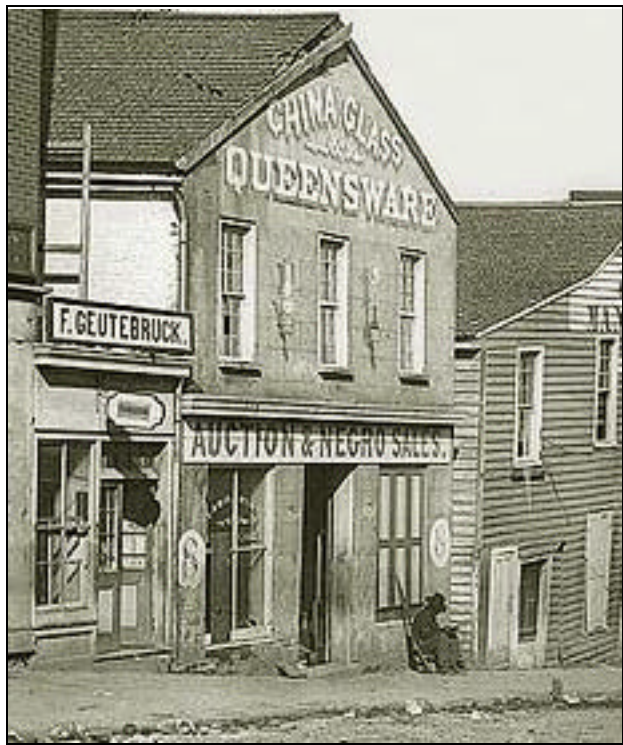
The Negroes and Stock listed below, are a Prime Lot, and belong to the ESTATE OF THE LATE LUTHER McCOWAN, and will be sold on Monday, Sept. 22nd, 1853, at the Fair Grounds, in Savannah, Georgia, at 1:00 P. M. The Negroes will be taken to the grounds ten days previous to the 22nd, so that they may be inspected by prospective buyers.

On account of the low prices listed below, they will be sold for cash only, and must be taken into custody within two hours after sale.

No.	Name	Age	Remarks	Price.
1	Louisa	27	Prime Rice Planter,	\$1,275.00
2	Violet	16	Housework and Nursemaid,	500.00
3	Lizzie	10	Rice, Unsound,	300.00
4	Minds	27	Cotton, Prime Woman,	1,200.00
5	Adam	28	Cotton, Prime Young Man,	1,000.00
6	Abel	41	Rice Hand, Excellent For,	675.00

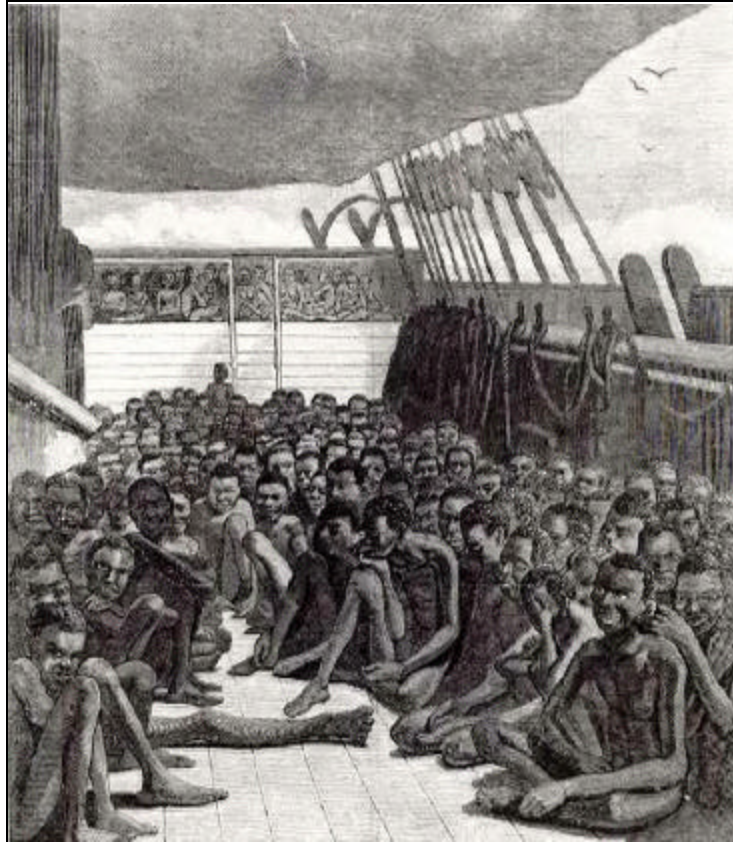
Appendix 5 - Advertisement

Original from: <http://www.dogonvillage.com/thebridge/masks/ichi2203.jpg>



Appendix 6 - Domestic Auction Site, Whitehall St, Atlanta ca 1860

Original from: Library of Congress - <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/underground/slvtrade.htm>



Appendix 7- Slaves on deck, source unknown

Original: <http://www.historyroom.com/They%20Came%20In%20Chains.htm>



Appendix 8- Illustation of a typical slave pack

Source: unknown?

Know all men by these presents that I, Laurence B. Whitaker, attorney for Cary Whitaker Senr. of the County of Halifax and State of North Carolina, for and in consideration of the sum of fifteen thousand dollars, paid ^{to me} by Frederick R. Cotten of the County of Leon and State of Florida have bargained and sold to said Frederick R. Cotten the following negroes: Old Penny, Wilkes, Enoch, Molly, Sarry, Sylvia, Albert, Nancy, Rosetta, Betsy, John, Franklin, Jacob Senr., young Penny, Jerry, Frederick, Penelope, Lucy, Jenny, Lydia, Jacob Junr., Guni Seaborn, Susan, Washington, Aga, George, Martha, Sarah Louisa Winna, Mourning, Scipio, Davy, Parthana, Margaret; and the title to said negroes, I warrant and defend against all claims ~~whatsoever~~ whatever. Given under my hand & seal this 29 day of August A.D. 1851

Witness
 L. B. Whitaker
 F. C. Whitaker
 Rich^d Whitaker

L. B. Whitaker

Appendix 9- Contract for Sale of Slaves, Elliot Family Papers 1851-1957³⁸

Original at: <http://www.floridamemory.com/FloridaHighlights/Slaves/>

Text:

Know all men by these presents that I, Laurence B. Whitaker attorney for Cary Whitaker Senr. of the County of Halifax and State of North Carolina, for and in consideration of the sum of fifteen thousand dollars to me paid by Frederick R. Cotten of the County of Leon and State of Florida have bargained and sold to said Frederick R. Cotten the following negroes: Old Penny, Wilkes, Enoch, Molly, Sarry, Sylvia, Albery, Nancy, Rosetta, Betsy, John, Franklin, Jacob Senr., young Penny, Jerry, Frederick, Penelope, Lucy, Jenny, Lydia, Jacob Junr., Guni [?], Seaborn, Susan, Washington, Aga [?], George, Martha, Sarah Louisa Winna, Mourning, Scipio, Davy, Parthana, Margaret; and the title to said negroes, I warrant and defend against all claims whatever. Given under my hand & seal this 29 day of August A.D. 1851

L. B. Whitaker

Witness

S.A. [?] Whitaker

³⁸ This letter from Cary Whitaker of North Carolina to Frederick Cotton of Leon County Florida transfers legal ownership of 35 slaves in 1851.

ESTATE SALE!
 A REASONABLE PRICE AND CHERISH CARE OF

85 NEGROES,

According to the Order of Exec and Provisors
 OF WILLIAMSON SERVICE

By P. J. PORCHER & BAYL.

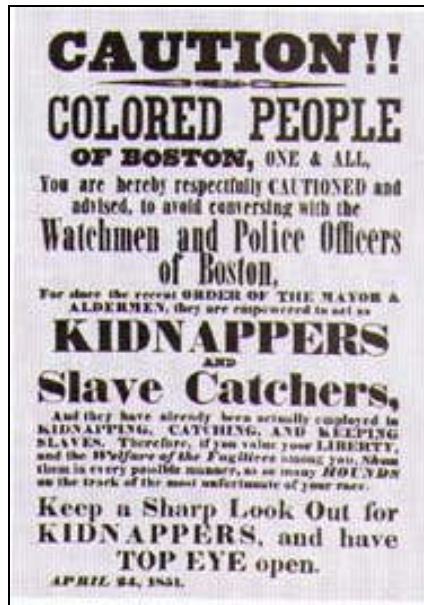
On **MONDAY** the 24th day of **January, 1859**
 at 11 O'CLOCK A.M. WILL BE SOLD AT
RYAN'S MARKET Charleston S.C.
 in the
 CITY OF CHARLES-TOWN,
 A TRULY LIBERATED PRIME AND MIDDLE AGED
EIGHTY-FIVE NEGROES
 according to the Order of Exec and Provisors of the said WILLIAMSON SERVICE
 according to the said WILLIAMSON SERVICE

COOKS, CARPENTERS, TINKERS AND HOUSE SERVANTS

The undersigned will sell the above described property for cash to the highest bidder, and will receive the proceeds of the sale for the use of the estate of the said WILLIAMSON SERVICE.

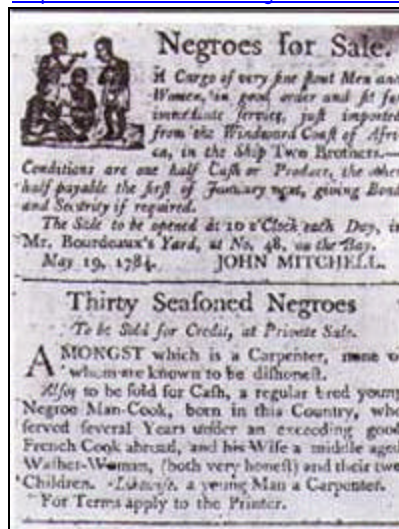
Appendix 10- Advertisement, 1859

Original: http://www.chicora.org/borders/slave_sale_1859.gif



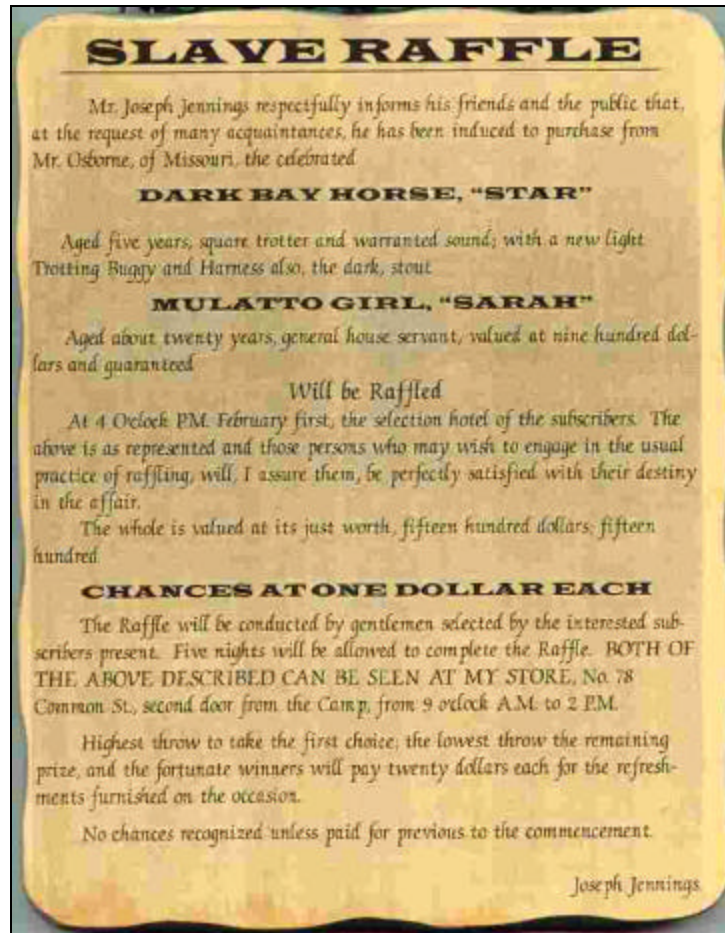
Appendix 11- Warning to free blacks in Boston, 1848

Original: <http://www.rosenbach.org/edison/slavery/2.html>



Appendix 12- Common everyday Advertisements, ca 1840

Original: <http://www.rosenbach.org/edison/slavery/2.html>



Appendix 13-Auction Notice

Original: <http://www.cushcity.com/images/colhpp0048.jpg>

**TO BE SOLD & LET
BY PUBLIC AUCTION**
On **MONDAY** the 18th of **MAY, 1829,**
UNDER THE TREES
FOR SALE,
THE THREE FOLLOWING

S L A V E S,

Viz.

HANNIBAL, about 36 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 "LESCHEE" Estate, and the WOMEN to Mrs. D. Seft

TO BE LET.
On the usual conditions of the Hire including them in Food, Clothing and Medical Attendance
THE FOLLOWING

**MALE and FEMALE
S L A V E S,**

OF GOOD CHARACTERS,

ROBERT BARTLEY, about 20 Years old, a good House servant.
WILLIAM BARTLEY, about 19 Years old, a Labourer.
JOHN AINSWORTH, about 18 Years old.
JACK ANTONIA, about 46 Years old, a Labourer.
PHILIP, an Excellent Fisherman.
HARRY, about 27 Years old, a good House Servant.
LUCY, a Young Woman of good Character, used to House Work and the Nursery.
ELIZA, an Excellent Washerwoman.
FANNY, about 14 Year old, House Servant.
SARAH, about 14 Years old, House Servant.

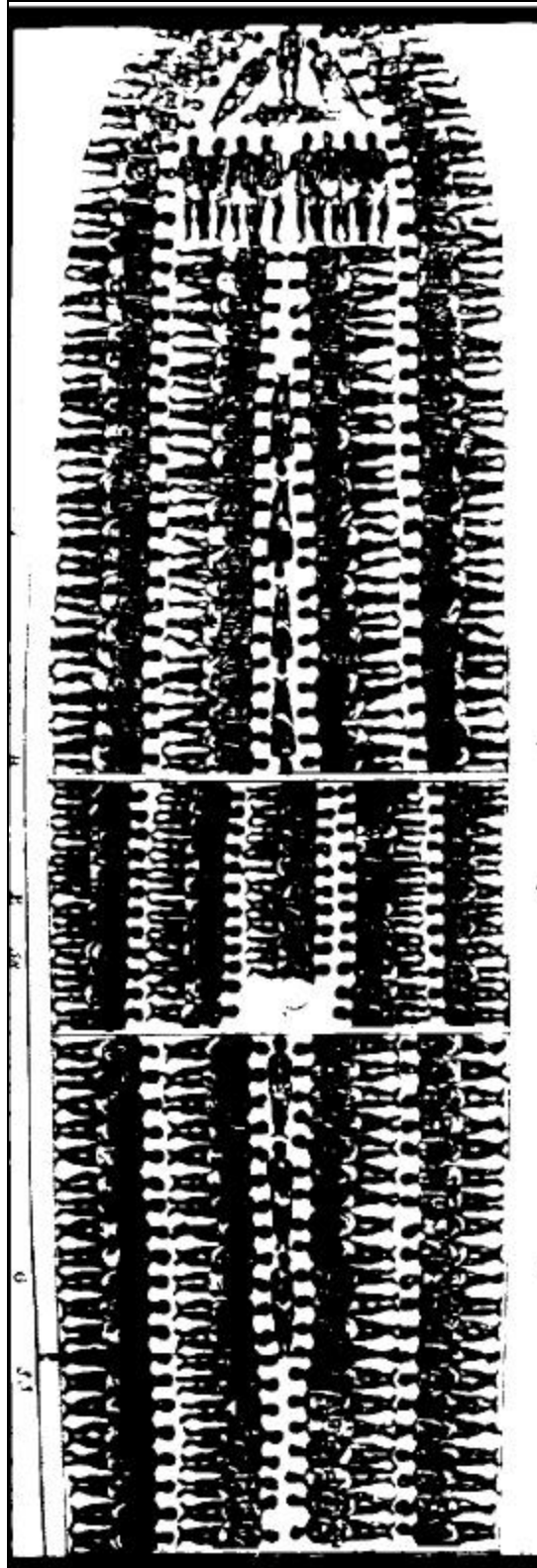
**Also for Sale, at Eleven o'Clock,
Fine Rice, Gram, Paddy, Books, Muslins,
Needles, Pins, Ribbons, &c, &c.**

AT ONE O'CLOCK, THAT CELEBRATED ENGLISH HORSE

BLUCHER

Appendix 14- Auction Notice

Original: <http://www.cushcity.com/images/colhpp0048.jpg>



Appendix 15 - Slave Ship Pack Diagram

Original: <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/msa/speccol/sc2200/sc2221/000019/000014/images/d011684a.gif>

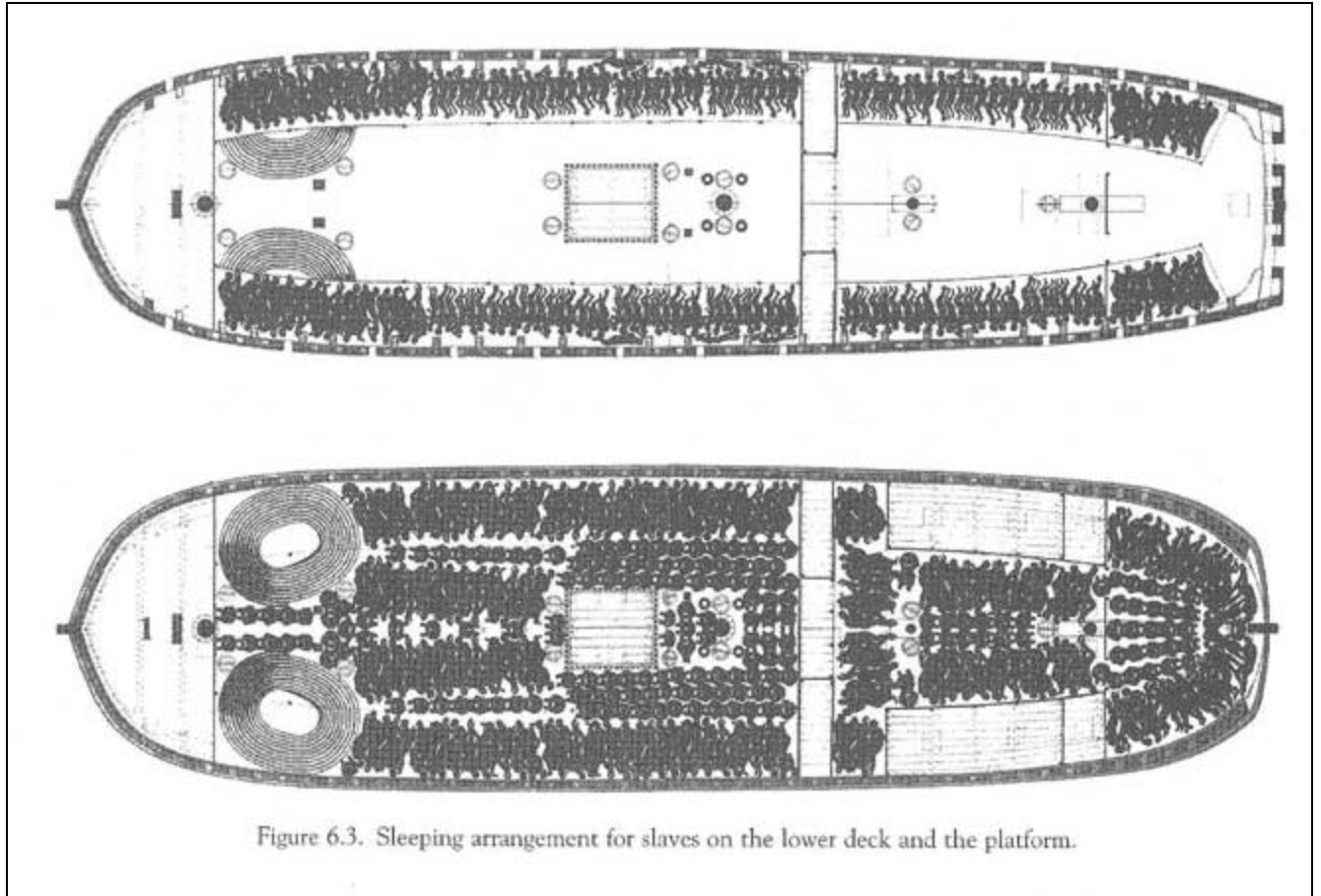
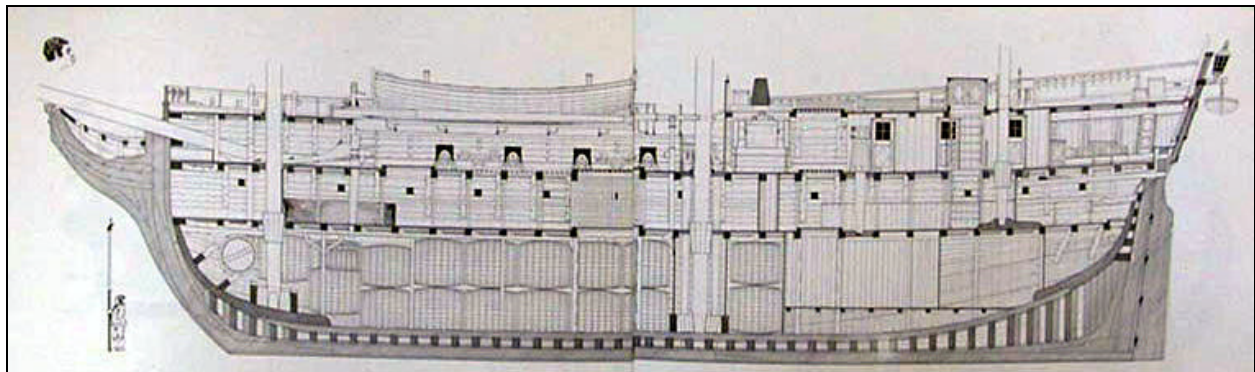


Figure 6.3. Sleeping arrangement for slaves on the lower deck and the platform.

Appendix 16- Slave Ship *Aurore* pack, ca. 1784

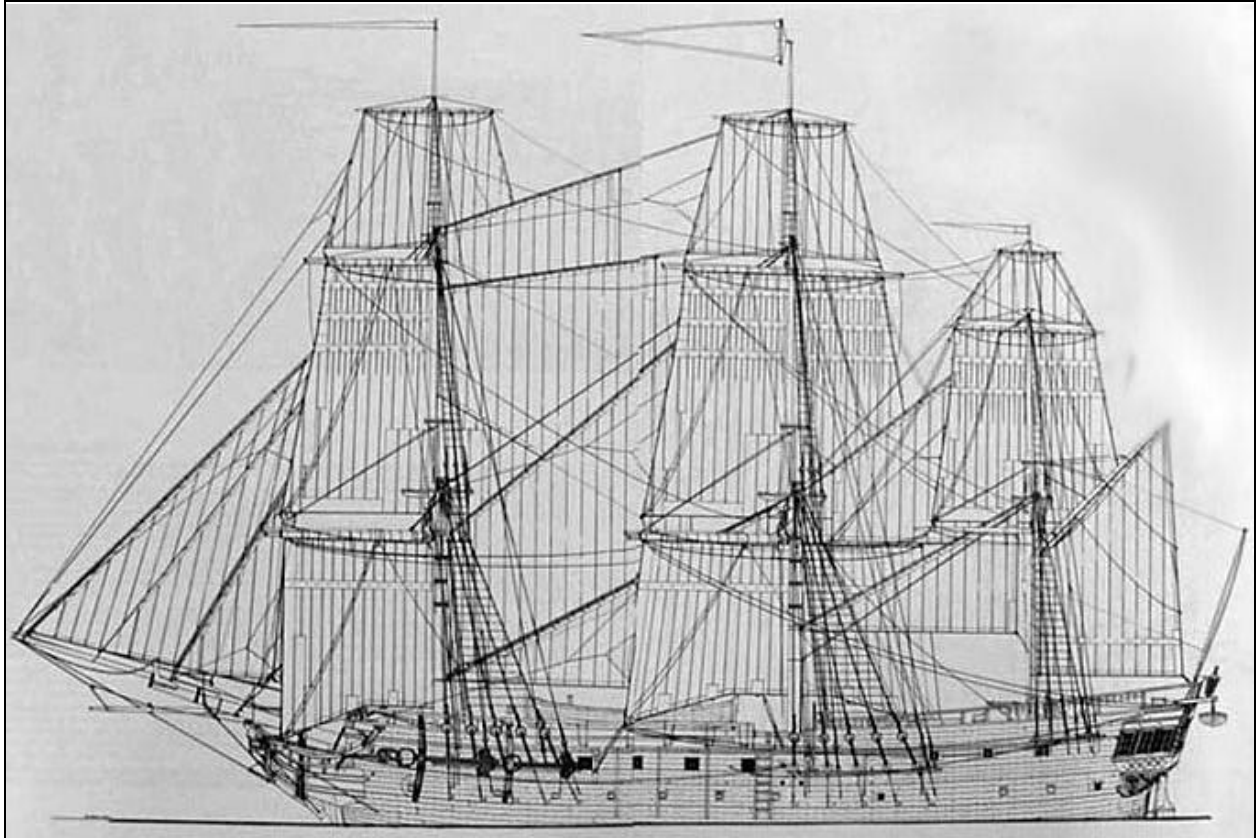
The *Aurore* held 500 slaves, with a crew of 50

Source: Eltis, et al. *TransAtlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM*.



Appendix 17- Slave Ship *Aurore* profile cutaway, ca. 1784

Source: Eltis, et al. *TransAtlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM*.



Appendix 18- Slave Ship *Aurore* at full sail, ca. 1784

The *Aurore* made only one voyage

Source: Eltis, et al. *TransAtlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM*.

Appendix 19: [Spreadsheet by year by origin region](#) (pdf)

Appendix 20: [PowerPoint Presentation for Special Topics Class](#)

Lesson Plan Sample: Applying Primary Research in the Classroom

Expansion of the Triangle Slave trade and the Cultural & Geographic Distribution of Slavery from 1500-1867.

Teacher: David M. Hildebrand
Subject: World History

File Name: LP!0501.doc
Date/Seq: TBD- Lesson Planned for a 2 Day Cycle within the midst of the Unit on European Expansion and Colonization
Grade Level: 11th 2-53 minute periods
Unit Title: The Columbian Era

Objectives:

- (1) Students will demonstrate understanding of the origins and growth of the Triangle Slave Trade through an analysis of the geographic distribution, economic consequences and human cultural drama of the time period between 1500 and 1867.
- (2) Students will analyze primary documents relating to the micro-business of the slave trade (ships logs, bill of sale, maps, census records) with a view towards generalizing to the impact of the Slave Trade on post-Columbian American society.
- (3) Students will generate questions and answers in the form of self-discovery of their emotional reaction to the “middle passage” and the experience of being ripped from “home” and sold into slavery through journal entries and the forming of an Extended Constructed Response essay.

Standards:

Maryland Content

1.1.12.3- assess the credibility of primary and secondary sources, assessing the accuracy and adequacy of the author’s details to support claims and noting instances of bias, propaganda and stereotyping, and draw sound conclusions

1.1.12.4- use case studies and geographic information from a variety of sources such as data bases, field interviews, media services, and questionnaires to identify contemporary geographic problems and issues and consider the advantages and disadvantages of various solutions

1.1.8.4- pose and answer questions about geographic distributions and patterns shown on maps, graphs, charts, models, and databases to explain historical migration of people, expansion and disintegration of empires, and growth of economic systems

2.3.5.4- examine the gradual institutionalization of slavery into America, including the various responses to slavery, and how slavery shaped the lives of colonists and Africans in the Americas

2.7.8.5- describe the origins and development of the institution of slavery

3.10.12.4- describe the origins of the transatlantic African slave trade and the consequences for Africa, America, and Europe, such as triangular trade and the Middle Passage

4.3.8.4- employ demographic and cultural characteristics to

NCSS Standards

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Culture
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Time, Continuity, Change
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	People, Places, Environment
	Individual Development & Identity
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Individuals, Groups and Institutions
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Power, Authority and Governance
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Production, Distribution and Consumption
	Science, Technology and Society
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Global Connections
	Civic Ideals and Practices

describe the distribution and structure of populations in places and regions

Materials / Resources:

Various Primary Source Documents (photographic exhibits), Eltis: *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM*.

Day 1: Normal Classroom

Drill (Day 1) [Students will answer the following questions in their notebook]

Warm Up:

(1) *Students are shown Transparency 1 detailing Africa ca 1562 (6 minutes).*

Answer questions related to five themes of geography. When? Where? Who Drew? What Purpose? (see transparency)

(2) Debrief student answers by calling on students (5 minutes) : draw out discussion of the purpose of the map—that it was used by slave traders to diagram strategic points for collecting slaves.

Transition:

(3) TW state: “today and tomorrow we will discuss the African Slave Trade system. In order to help guide us in our discussion, take the next 8 minutes to construct a KWL chart detailing what you know already about the Slave Trade, and what areas you’d like to fill in the gaps in your understanding.”

Use Transparency 2 to graphically frame KWL.

Anticipation Activity:

- (1) SW take their KWL charts and individually draw a map using what they know about the slave trade to show points of origin, points of destination. Students may use the general classroom map of the world to aid their graphical performance (shape, location, place name), but must not use any maps found in their textbooks. (17 minutes). SW may use discussion with partner to help construct their maps (and add to their KWL charts if needed).
 - (2) TW will monitor student work and scaffold activity by walking the room and checking student work and stimulating thinking by questioning.
 - (3) TW select 3-5 students to present their map and KWL to the whole class. TW draw out student presentations in terms of the “shape” of the world they’ve drawn *Relative size of the countries they’ve depicted, routes they’ve mapped out, origin and destination points, etc. (10 minutes)*
-

Extensions & Assessment:

- TW collect all KWL charts and maps at end of period for grade.
- Homework: Students will read a brief article containing information and react in their journals to ideas about the middle passage (Attached article, question guide).
- Tell students we will meet in Tech Lab tomorrow.

Day 2: Technology Lab

Drill (Day 2) [Students will answer the following questions in their notebook]

4 minutes student answer / 2 minute debrief

Warm Up:

1. What was the “Middle Passage”?
2. Why was it called the “Middle Passage”?
3. Why were slaves taken to the “New World”?

Use Question #3 as transition to direct instruction.

Instruction

Direct Instruction (5 minutes)

Purpose of Slavery

- ▶ Colonial Exploitation of Resources (Land, Agriculture, Mines)
- ▶ Native Population Decline (Disease, Warfare)

Process of Enslavement

- ▶ Countries holding “Colonial” possessions
 - ▶ Countries participating in the Slave Trade
 - ▶ Help from Africans? (Tribal connections, Muslim enslavement policy)
-

Research Activity

- (1) SW be divided into teams of 2-3 per computer station.
 - (2) SW be handed slips showing the time frame to investigate, the region of embarkation, the region of disembarkation. See attachment.
 - (3) Assignment: Using Eltis’ *TransAtlantic Slave Trade CD-ROM* answer the questions on your paper. Teacher will use Computer Screen projection to model how to use the program. Teacher will walk student groups to check for understanding of how to use the program, how to complete the assignment. *15 minutes*.
 - (4) TW debrief activity using “Data Summary” Transparency (or can use prepared Excel worksheet that sums columns). Students will be queried by Teacher as to the specific data they discovered and Teacher will fill in those amounts on the Summary Sheet for all students to see. *10 minutes*.
 - (5) Students will supply any observations about the data.
 - (6) Students will be given a blank Data Summary sheet to use as framework for note-taking.
 - (7) TW ask questions about the data (see below); for instance: why were some time periods lower than others? Why were there gaps in slave trading? Why are there so many in the Caribbean and fewer in the US? What problems might exist in the data? What countries participated in the Slave Trade early on, and what countries participation was greater in the later periods? *20 minutes*.
-

Assessment / Extension:

Homework:

- (1) Students will be given back Teacher Reviewed KWL charts and be assigned to complete the “Learn” section with information they gained as part of the lesson. Teacher will have reviewed KWL’s and made feedback notes on them. Teacher will also use Know and Want sections to structure questions for the Discussion period.
- (2) Students will be given back copies of their maps with feedback comments, and assigned another map making activity to demonstrate new understanding.

Lesson Cycle Questions:

- ▶ Why did slavery begin? What economic factors contributed to the *demand* for new sources of labor, making the slave trade such an appealing commercial activity?
- ▶ What percentage of slaves from Africa were taken to what is now the United States?
- ▶ What was the total number of slaves taken from Africa?
- ▶ Which European nations were most involved in the African Slave Trade?
- ▶ To what extent were British Colonists from America involved in the Slave Trade before the Revolutionary War? After?
- ▶ What were the peak years in the Slave Trade? Why?
- ▶ Which years were the lowest in the number of slaves carried? Why do you think the trade was low during that period of time?
- ▶ How many slaves died during the “Middle Passage”? Why did they die? What was the “Middle Passage” like for those that suffered it? What strategies did European slave traders use to increase the number of captured slaves which actually made it for sale in ports in the Americas?
- ▶ What type of ships were used to transport slaves? How big were they? What were the advantages/ disadvantages of various sized vessels? What was the typical slave voyage like (from beginning departure to the point when the ship collected slave cargo to the point when the ship sold the slaves to the point when it returned home)?
- ▶ What were dangers at sea (piracy, war, shipwreck, slave revolt, scurvy)?
- ▶ What other cargoes were taken back and forth between the old and new worlds? Why was the pattern of shipping and migration called “Triangle Slave Trade?”
- ▶ What were early colonial reactions to slavery? Was there a difference between northern and southern attitudes? How might some of the disagreements within the Constitutional Conventions be resolved without leading inevitably to subsequent generations’ Civil War?
- ▶ What factors contributed to the rise in population of slaves within the American colonies (versus the comparatively low rate for Caribbean/South American colonies)?

Drill:



Transparency 1

(1) Describe this map in terms of the following geographical themes:

- ▶ Location?
- ▶ Place?
- ▶ Human Environment/Interaction?
- ▶ Movement?
- ▶ Region?

(2) Who drew this map? When?

(3) Why was it drawn? What was the map's purpose?

Transparency 2

African Slave Trade KWL

KNOW	WANT	LEARN

Handout 1

Journal Activity

Directions: Read the following article and use the questions to react in your journals.

Nowhere in the annals of history has a people experienced such a long and traumatic ordeal as Africans during the Atlantic slave trade. Over the nearly four centuries of the slave - which continued until the end of the Civil War - millions of African men, women, and children were savagely torn from their homeland, herded onto ships, and dispersed all over the so-called New World. Although there is no way to compute exactly how many people perished, it has been estimated that between thirty and sixty million Africans were subjected to this horrendous triangular trade system and that only one third-if that-of those people survived...

The triangular trade system was so named because the ships embarked from European ports, stopped in Africa to gather the captives, after which they set out for the New World to deliver their human cargo, and then returned to the port of origin. The Middle Passage was that leg of the slave triangle that brought the human cargo from West Africa to North America, South America, and the Caribbean.

Despite the miserable conditions, inadequate space and food, deadly diseases, and the violence from crew members, millions of African captives survived, demonstrating their strength and implacable will. In humankind's shameful history of forced migrations, the journey of the Africans from their bountiful homeland to the slave markets of the New World is one of the most tragic. But, if this part of our history could be told in such a way that those chains of the past, those shackles that physically bound us together against our wills could, in the telling, become spiritual links that willingly bind us together now and into the future - then that painful Middle Passage could become, ironically, a positive connecting line to all of us whether living inside or outside the continent of Africa.

Excerpted from: <http://www.juneteenth.com/middlep.htm>

Questions:

- (1) Why was it called the "middle passage"?
- (2) What was the middle passage like for the Africans?
- (3) How did people survive?
- (4) What percentage do you think died along the way?
- (5) The author gives a figure of 30-60 million for slaves forced to migrate from the Africa to the "New World"—why is there such a wide variation between the low and high number? Is it possible to know how many people were transported? Where would we find the information to confirm whether it was 30 million (or higher, or lower).

Handout 2

Student Names: _____

Region Slaves Taken To:

	United States
	“Other Americas”
	Brazil
	Caribbean

Time Period:

	1501-1600
	1601-1700
	1701-1800
	1801-1867

Information You Need to Find Out:

Your Answer:

(1) How many Slave Voyages are recorded?	
(2) How many Slaves got on the ships (embarked)?	
(3) How many Slaves got off the ships (disembarked)?	
(4) Which two years were the <u>highest</u> in Slave Disembarkation?	
(5) Which two years were the <u>lowest</u> in Slave Disembarkation?	
(6) Which Geographical Areas took in the <u>most</u> slaves	
(7) What else did you notice about the data?	

Data Summary

Region		1501-1600	1601-1700	1701-1800	1801-1867
United States	# Voyages				
	# Slaves				
Other Americas	# Voyages				
	# Slaves				
Caribbean	# Voyages				
	# Slaves				
Brazil	# Voyages				
	# Slaves				
<i>Highest Years</i>					
<i>Lowest Years</i>					
<i>Areas</i>					
<i>Other</i>					

Transparency 3