The Language of Enslavement: Power of Words[1]

Art Credit: "Migration", by Edouard Duval-Carrié ; engraving on plexiglass, 2019

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by Lindsey Norward

There are many iterations and usages of the word 'slave' to denote people and their conditions around the globe. Stemming from esclave and also from 'Slav', the word was originally used to describe those who are "conquered". In the 1550s, the word was also defined as "one who has lost the power of resistance to some habit or vice." Slave-driver, slave-trader, and slave state also became popularized.

[1] Adapted from Lindsey Norward, "EXPLORATIONS I The Language of Enslavement: Power of Words," in Museum of Contemporary African Diasporian Arts, July 15, 2020.

1. Why do you think the word "slave" was used to "describe those who are 'conquered'"?

Yet the word itself has been most prominently used to describe people in captivity, enslaved African people in particular, who had little option in choosing their own collective label. From being grouped together as Africans to Negroes to Colored to Blacks—the last often uncapitalized—new forms of identification, including African-American and POC (and BIPOC), have long been contested. Nonetheless, Black people across the diaspora did not lose the power of resistance—instead, many Black people fought valiantly to define themselves.

2. (Infer) Why did enslaved African people have "little option in choosing their collective label"?

3. Why is it important to discuss the naming, and who has the power to name it?

This form of redefining the language referring to Black people also extended to individual names. From Malcolm X to Assata Shakur, some Black people have chosen to change their 'slave name' to challenge the dominant narrative. In countries like Nigeria, newspapers often have notices where people have changed their names from a colonial viewpoint to their own.

4. (Infer) What might "slave name" refer to? Why is it a slave name?

Though global teachings of enslavement typically re-victimize those involved by removing their agency, enslaved people remembered and cherished their lands, traditions, and names. In his life narrative, the formerly enslaved Olaudah Equiano, renamed Gustavus Vassa, redefined his name....

By recognizing the differences between 'enslave' and 'slave', one can also help redefine Black people's agency on their journeys to identify themselves. Dr. Yaba Blay, scholar-activist, professor, and producer, refers to 'enslavement' as a necessary way in language to decenter whiteness:

> "When you use the language of 'slave' or 'slavery', it just is—it's just a fact. When you say a slave, that is who the person is. When you say 'enslaved', you recognize that there was a process that took place. You recognize that something was done to them, which

means something was done to them by someone. It is a condition. It is a moment in time—it is temporary. Whereas slave—there's no end in sight. For me, it's about the temporality of the term to say 'enslaved' or 'enslavement', so that we understand that it was a moment and a condition that we could get free from."

5. According to Yaba Blay, how do we decenter whiteness?

6. What's the problem with using the word "slave" or "slavery" according to Blay?

7. What does using the term "enslavement" identify or do?

Educator Rann Miller described the significance of using language in teaching Black children about their history. "In the classroom, I tend to use the word enslaved. The words aren't interchangeable. Language matters, and the way we look at ourselves matters. We understand that we weren't slaves, our ancestors were enslaved—there was an injustice done. It's very important we represent people and represent conditions well, no matter what point we're trying to get across."

As the world currently reckons with the global violence against Black people, actively engaging with history is imperative to its progress. [Jamie] Thomas described this current moment of Black Lives Matter protests as one where the language of enslavement can have an unwavering impact.

Thomas continued, "One of the things that are repeatedly hard on Black people and survivors of racialized trauma and violence is that when we bear witness to our experiences and our pain or the legacies of that, there is a tremendous level of realness and honesty that plays into that. Often it's a soul-searching honesty about how that experience has made you as an individual feel."

8. What is the power of bearing witness according to Thomas?

"We find ourselves then surrounded often by the well-meaning articulations of other people who are not committed to seeing themselves as active participants in this system of problems. Often there's no deep introspection as to 'what is my role in the way I think about this thing'. When you begin patterning and re-patterning your language, you can't continue in a

denial-heavy environment. That's the moment we're in as a nation, where that conversation is being pushed on multiple platforms."

9. What impact does language have on our collective ownership of our society?

Last month, the AP changed its writing style guide, used by many journalists and mass communications agencies, to capitalize the "b" in Black when referring to people. According to John Daniszewski, AP's Vice President of standards, it denotes "an essential and shared sense of history, identity, and community among people who identify as Black, including those in the African diaspora and within Africa". It will also capitalize Indigenous. Though a marginal step in the fight for justice, it represents the importance of recognizing the landscape of colonized language and allowing oppressed people to tell their own stories.

10. Why does it matter that we capitalize the word "Black" when describing people in the African diaspora and within Africa?

Lindsey Norward is a Philadelphia-based journalist, researcher, and storyteller, who writes primarily about history and culture in America. Having recently completed her graduate studies in Global Journalism and Africana Studies at New York University, where she was a MacCracken Fellow, Lindsey joins MoCADA as the Social Media and Digital Editorial Associate. Her responsibilities include research, writing, and editing stories that connect the shared values within Black communities worldwide to expand and uplift the core narrative of the African diaspora.

Mansa Musa[2]

Central Historical Question:
Was Mansa Musa the richest person ever?

Directions: Read and annotate the following documents using highlighting and comments. You should have at least **ONE comment** per document and **three highlighted parts**. Once you have read the article, **answer the guiding questions in complete sentences**.

Document A: Blog Post

The following is an excerpt from a blog post that appeared in The Huffington Post on October 17, 2012. It describes a study on the wealthiest people in history by Brian Warner, the founder of Celebrity Net Worth. This online publication investigates the lifestyles of the rich and famous.

Mansa Musa of Mali Named World's Richest Man of All Time; Gates and Buffet Also Make List

You've probably never heard of him, but Mansa Musa is the richest person.

The 14th-century emperor from West Africa was worth a staggering $400 billion after adjusting for inflation, as calculated by Celebrity Net Worth. To put that number into perspective – if that's even possible – Net Worth's calculations mean Musa's fortune far outstrips that of the current world's richest man Carlos Slim Helú and his family. . . .

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, when Musa died sometime in the 1330s, he left behind an empire filled with palaces and mosques, some of which still stand today. But the emperor turned historic heads for the over-the-top extravagances of his 1324 pilgrimage to Mecca.

The trip he embarked on during the 17th year of the monarch's glittering reign was hosted by the leaders of both Mecca and Cairo and apparently was so brilliant it "almost put Africa's sun to shame."

[2] Adapted from the Stanford History Education Group lesson with similar title.

Musa's wealth was a result of his country's vast natural resources. The West African nation was responsible for more than half of the world's salt and gold supply, according to Net Worth. Of course, the entry also notes that the fortune was also fleeting. Just two generations later, his net worth was gone – wasted by invaders and infighting.

Source: *The Huffington Post*, October 17, 2012.

Vocabulary
outstrips: exceeds

1. (Sourcing) Who created this blog post? When was it created? Why do you think it was written?
It was written by The Huffington Post in 2012. It was written because they want to inform and entertain people; get people to read their stuff.

2. (Close Reading) What is the main point of the blog post? Identify two claims it makes.
   a) **Mansa Musa is the richest person in the world**
   b) **Mali had half of the world's gold and salt**

3. (Close Reading) What evidence does it use to support its claims?
a) Musa's wealth today is worth 400 billion
b) Palaces and mosques built from that time

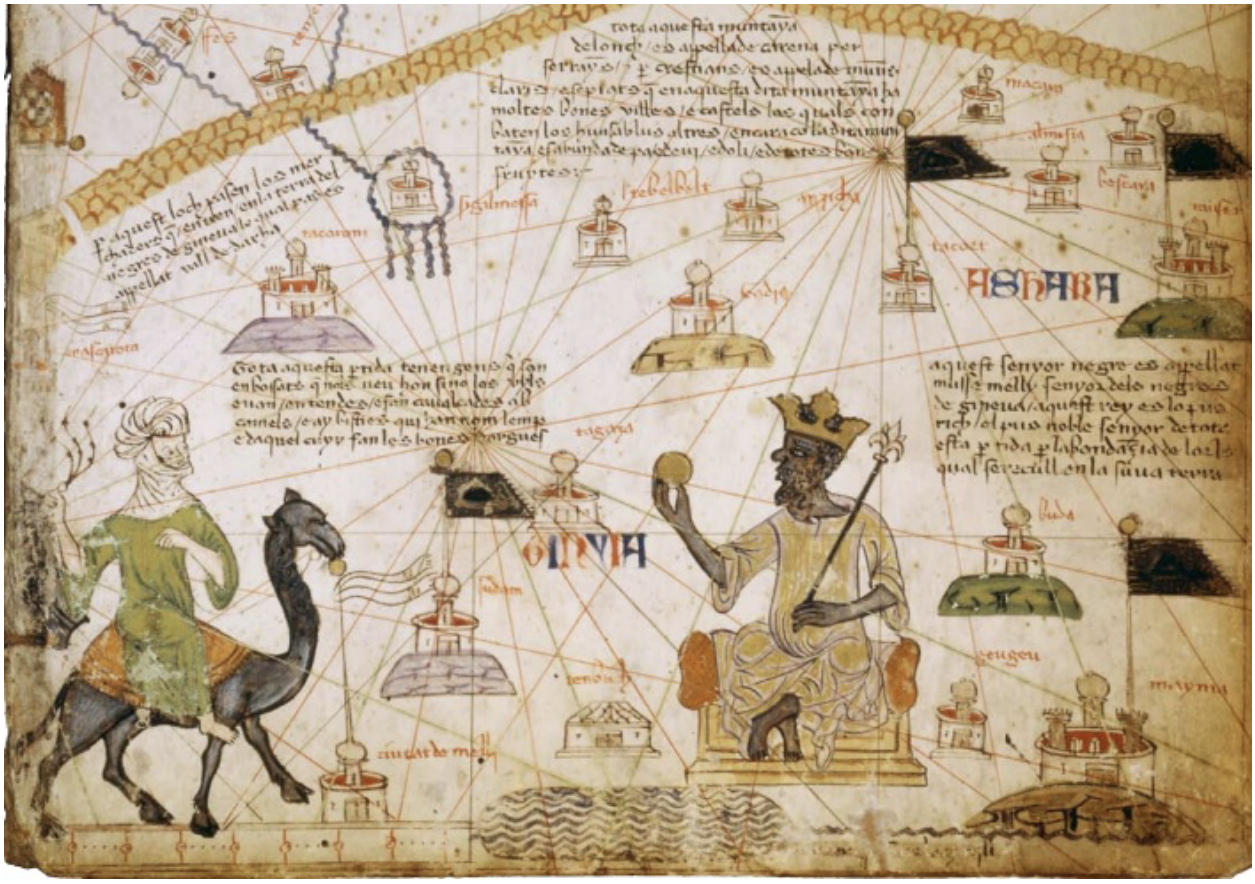
4. Do you think the information in this blog post is trustworthy? Why or why not?

Yes, it is trustworthy because... the amount of wealth Musa had is more than everyone else's.

No, it is not trustworthy because... how did they calculate his wealth– not mentioned.

Document B: Catalan Atlas

The Catalan Atlas is a medieval map from Spain drawn in 1375 by a mapmaker named Abraham Cresques. The atlas was commissioned by the King of France, Charles V. Cresques had never visited West Africa but relied on the accounts of travelers and traders to make his map. Find more information here.



"This Black lord is called Musa Mali, Lord of the Black people of Mali. So abundant is the gold found in his country that he is the richest and most noble king in all the land."—Catalan Atlas inscription

Source: Abraham Cresques, 1375.

1. (Sourcing) What kind of document is this? Who created it? When?

2. (Corroboration) How does the Catalan Atlas compare to The Huffington Post blog post regarding its depiction of Mansa Musa?
Similar:
Different:

3. Do you think this is an accurate depiction of Mansa Musa? Why or why not?
No:
Yes:

Document C: Al-Umari

Al-Umari was an Arab historian from Damascus, Syria. He visited the city of Cairo in Egypt several years after Mansa Musa passed through there on his pilgrimage in 1324 CE. He then wrote this account of Mansa Musa's visit, as told to him by the people of Cairo.

From the beginning of my coming to stay in Egypt, I heard talk of the arrival of this sultan Musa on his Pilgrimage and found the people of Cairo eager to tell what they had seen of the Africans' extravagant spending. I asked the emir Abu, and he told me of his sultan's opulence, manly virtues, and piety. Abu said, "When I went out to meet him, Musa did my extreme honor and treated me with the greatest courtesy. He addressed me, however, only through an interpreter despite his perfect ability to speak in the Arabic tongue. Then he sent the royal treasury loads of unworked native gold and other valuables. I tried to persuade him to go up to the Citadel to meet the sultan of Cairo, but he refused persistently, saying: 'I came for the Pilgrimage and nothing else. I do not wish to mix anything else with my Pilgrimage.'"

Mansa Musa flooded Cairo with his gifts. He left no emir or holder of a royal office without the gift of a load of gold. The people of Cairo made incalculable profits from him and his caravan in buying, selling, giving, and taking. They traded away gold until they depressed its value in Egypt and caused its price to fall. This has been the state of affairs for about twelve years until this day because of the large amount of gold that they brought into Egypt and spent there.

Source: Al-Umari, Pathways of Vision in the Realms of the Metropolises, 1337-1338.

Vocabulary
Al-Umari: Guiding Questions

1. (Sourcing) Who is Al-Umari? Do you think he is a reliable source of information on Mansa Musa's pilgrimage to Mecca? Why, or why not?

2) (Corroboration) How does this document compare to The Huffington Post blog post and the Catalan Atlas depiction of Mansa Musa?

3) (Close Reading) How does the emir Abu describe Mansa Musa to Al-Umari? According to the emir Abu, what traits does Mansa Musa possess?

4) Do you think Al-Umari's description of Mansa Musa is accurate? Why or why not?

Closing Reflection Questions

1. Based on all of this evidence, how would you describe Mansa Musa? What type of person was he? Who thinks he was the richest person ever?

2. How might we further investigate these questions?

3. Were the claims made in The Huffington Post about Mansa Musa accurate?

Side Note: Many websites create blog posts and articles about sensational topics based on little or no evidence or unreliable sources. Many users will go to the page because of the captivating headlines. More visitors to their website means they can sell more ads. Not all sources that have ads are unreliable (in fact, it's hard to find a newspaper without them), but webpages with sensational headlines that cite little evidence or unreliable sources require extra scrutiny.

4. What evidence from the documents suggests that Mansa Musa was the richest person ever? What are the limitations of each of these documents?

5. What further types of evidence would help you to continue investigating whether Mansa Musa was the richest person ever? What are some challenges in locating such evidence?

Egyptian Pyramids

Central Historical Question:

Did slaves build the Great Pyramid at Giza?

Document A: Herodotus

The following is an excerpt from The Histories written by the Greek historian Herodotus in 440 Before the Common Era (BCE). Herodotus spent much of his life traveling to collect information for his book. He based his history book on the stories that the people in the places he visited reported to him.

The Egyptians told me that Cheops became king over the Egyptians and brought about every kind of evil. He closed all the temples and forced all the Egyptians to work for him. Some were forced to mine stones, and he ordered others to move them after they had been carried over the river in boats. They worked in groups of a hundred thousand men at a time, and each group worked for three months continually. This was the making of the [Great] pyramid, which took twenty years.

Document B: Textbook

This is an excerpt from a high school history textbook, Our World Through the Ages, published in 1959.

At Giza stands the Great Pyramid. It has stood there for five thousand years. It covers thirteen acres and stands nearly five hundred feet high. It contains over two million blocks, most of which weigh about two tons. One hundred thousand lash-driven men poured out their sweat and blood for twenty years to complete this resting place which King Khufu considered fit for his royal remains.

Corroboration Questions

1) According to the textbook and Herodotus, who built the Great pyramid?

2) How long did it take?

3) How many people worked on the Great Pyramid?

Guiding Questions for Documents A & B

4) Did slaves build the pyramids?

5) What evidence does this source use to support its claim?

6) Do you find this evidence convincing? Why or why not?

Document C: News Article on Zahi Hawass

Dr. Zahi Hawass is an Egyptian archaeologist. He has spent decades excavating and analyzing areas around the pyramids. Below is an excerpt from an article that appeared in many newspapers and magazines around the world reporting some of Hawass's recent findings.

Egypt displayed on Monday newly discovered tombs more than 4,000 years old. It said they belonged to people who worked on the Great Pyramids of Giza, putting the discovery forth as more evidence that slaves did not build the ancient monuments.

The modest nine-foot-deep shafts held a dozen skeletons of pyramid builders, perfectly preserved by desert sand and jars that once contained beer and bread meant for the workers' afterlife.

Egypt's archaeology chief Zahi Hawass said that discovery and the latest finds last week show that the workers were paid laborers rather than the slaves of popular imagination.

Hawass said the builders came from poor Egyptian families from the north and the south and were respected for their work – so much so that those who died during construction were bestowed the honor of being buried in the tombs near the sacred pyramids of their pharaohs.

Hawass said their proximity to the pyramids and the manner of burial in preparation for the afterlife back this theory. "No way would they have been buried honorably if they were slaves," he said.

Source: Katarina Kratovac, "New Discovery Shows Slaves Didn't Build Pyramids, Egypt Says," Associated Press, January 11, 2010.

Vocabulary
modest: limited or small
bestow: to give as a gift or an honor

Guiding Questions for Document C: Awass

1. Did slaves build the pyramids?

2. What evidence does this source use to support its claim?

3. Do you find this evidence convincing? Why or why not?

Document D: Interview with Mark Lehrner

Dr. Mark Lehrner is another leading archaeologist who has worked with Zahi Hawass for several years. Below is an excerpt from an interview Lehrner gave in 1997 to the PBS show NOVA.

Question: You've referred to inscriptions at Giza that indicate who built the Pyramids. What do the inscriptions say?

Lehrner's answer: One of the most **compelling** pieces of evidence we have [of who built the pyramids] is graffiti on ancient stone monuments in places that they didn't mean to be shown. For example, above the King's chamber in the Great Pyramid and many monuments of the Old Kingdom—temples and other pyramids. The graffiti gives us a picture of an organization where a gang of workmen was organized into two crews, and the crews were subdivided into five phyles. Phyles is the Greek word for tribe.

The phyles are subdivided into divisions, and single hieroglyphs identify the divisions with names that mean things like endurance, perfection, strong. Okay, so how do we know this? You come to a block of stone above the King's chamber. First of all, you see this **cartouche** of a King and then some scrawls in red paint after it. That's the gang name. And in the Old Kingdom, in the time of the Pyramids of Giza, the gangs were named after kings. So, for example, we have a name . . . above the King's chamber in the Great Pyramid, "the Friends of Khufu Gang." This doesn't sound like slavery, does it?

Source: Mark Lehrner, "Who Built the Pyramids?" 1997.

Vocabulary
compelling: convincing
hieroglyphs: a writing system used by ancient Egyptians
cartouche: an oval hieroglyph used for names of Kings and Queens

Guiding Questions for Document D: Lerhner

1. Did slaves build the pyramids?

2. What evidence does this source use to support its claim?

3. Do you find this evidence convincing? Why or why not?

Document E: Mark Shiffman

Dr. Mark Shiffman is a professor of Classical Studies at Villanova University and teaches courses on the ancient world. The following excerpt is from an online comment about claims that slaves built the pyramids.

In other words, the workers (or at least some of them) were well fed and not worked to death and got respectable tombs. . . .

So a certain proportion (maybe 25%?) of the workers were Egyptians of high status, a large number of Egyptian peasants were ordered to come to do the hard labor, and we don't know how many slaves may have been employed in work. Given the prevalence of slavery in the powerful nations of the ancient world, it would be surprising if there were not a significant number, and none of the evidence ruled this out. On the other hand, there seems to be no direct archaeological evidence for the presence of slaves; but since they are not often honored with tombs, they can be hard to trace.

Two things are worth noting in assessing the "no slaves" claim and the evidence. One is that no one bothers to tell us in the broadcast sources how many tombs specifically belonging to workers have been found and what proportion of the workforce they might represent. One would have to ask that direct question of a knowledgeable scholar or consult the Egyptology technical literature.

Source: Comments of Professor Mark Shiffman, posted online on March 3, 2011.

Vocabulary
prevalence: common presence
proportion: part or portion
consult: ask

Guiding Questions for Document E: Shiffman

1. Did slaves build the pyramids?

2. What evidence does this source use to support its claim?

3. Do you find this evidence convincing? Why or why not?

Document F: Exodus

The Book of Exodus is the second book of the Torah and the Hebrew Bible (the Old Testament) immediately following Genesis. The book tells how the Israelites leave slavery in Egypt through the strength of Yahweh, the god who has chosen Israel as his people. Led by their prophet Moses they journey through the wilderness to Mount Sinai, where Yahweh promises them the land of Canaan (the "Promised Land") in return for their faithfulness.

11 So the Egyptians put slave drivers over the people of Israel. The slave drivers treated them badly and made them work hard. The Israelites built the cities of Pithom and Rameses so Pharaoh could store things there. 12 But the worse the slave drivers treated the Israelites, the more Israelites there were. So the Egyptians became afraid of them. 13 They made them work hard. They didn't show them any pity. 14 The people suffered because of their hard labor. The slave drivers forced them to work with bricks and mud. And they made them do all kinds of work in the fields. The Egyptians didn't show them any pity at all. They made them work very hard.

"Exodus" from *The New International Reader's Version*, 1996.

Guiding Questions for Document F: Exodus

1. Did slaves build the pyramids?

2. What evidence does this source use to support its claim?

3. Do you find this evidence convincing? Why or why not?

Short Response

Write a short response answering the Central Historical Question: Did slaves build the Great Pyramid at Giza? See Rubric for Short Responses here.

Breakdown of Short Response Paragraph

I. Claim - Slaves did (or did not) build the Great Pyramid at Giza because _____ (reason).
II. Evidence - Quote # 1 - from **Evidence** above
III. Analysis
IV. Evidence - Quote # 2 - from **Evidence** above
V. Analysis
VI. Conclusion

The Large Scale Slaves Systems by Orlando Patterson

Central Historical Question:
How can statistics give us insight into slavery in a global context?

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Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
EUROPE			
Greek states, especially Athens, Corinth, Aegina, and Chios	5th century B.C. to early Roman period	30–33	1
Roman Italy	225–200 B.C.	10	2
	100 B.C.–A.D. 300	30–35	
Roman Empire	A.D. 1–150	16–20	3
Sicily	150 B.C. to A.D. 150	>66	4
Visigothic Spain	A.D. 415–711	>25	5
Muslim Spain	A.D. 756–1492	>20	6
Mediterranean Spain	13th century	>20	7
Central Crete	1350–1500	>20	8
Southwestern Cyprus	1300–1500	>20	9
Majorca	14th–15th centuries	>18	10
Iceland	870–950	>20	11
Western England	9th century to 1080	>20	12
ATLANTIC ISLANDS			
Madeira	1450–1620	30–50	13
Canary Islands	1490–1600	>30	14
AFRICA			
Algiers	1500–1770	>25	15
Early states of western Sudan			
Pre-Islamic Ghana	4th century to 1076	?	—
Islamic Ghana	1076–1600	>30	16
Mali	1200–1500	>30	17
Segou	1720–1861	>40	18
Songhay	1464–1720	>40	19
States of central Sudan			
Darfur	1600–1874; 1898–1916	40	20
Wadai	19th century	50	21
Bagirmi	16th–19th centuries	50	22
Borno	1580–1890	40	23
Kanem	1600–1800	30	24
Hausa city-states	1600–1800	30	25

1. What are the categories of this table? Hint: look at the top line.

2. The names in all capital letters are what?

3. What is the oldest date you noticed on the left?

4. What is the most recent date you notice?

The Large-Scale Slave Systems 355

Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
Fulani Jihad states of western and central Sudan			
Tokolor			
Fouta-Jalon			
Kita			
Masina			
Liptako			
Sokoto caliphate (Hausaland)	1750–1900	30–>66	26
Banchi			
Adamawa			
Jakhanke diaspora communities			
Tuareg of Sahara and Sahel			
Adrar		14	
Ahaggar		16–33	
Air	1800–1965	33	27
Ioullemeden		50	
Gourma		75	
Wolof and Sereer states of Senegambia			
Period of Jolof dominance	1300–1630	>30	28
Post Jolof	1630–1900	33	29
Sherbro of coastal Sierra Leone	19th century	>40	30
Mende chiefdoms of Sierra Leone	Late 19th century	50	31
Vai Paramount chiefdoms	1826–1890	75	32
	1890–1920	50–60	33
Temme chiefdoms	19th and early 20th centuries	>50	34
Ashanti and Gyaman kingdoms	18th and 19th centuries	33	35
Dahomey	Late 18th and 19th centuries	>33	36
Yoruba Empire of Oyo and Yoruba city-states, especially Ife	1600–1836 18th and 19th centuries	33–>50	37
Yoruba state of Benin	1486–1897		

5. Which African states had more than 50% of their population as slaves?

6. Which African state had the highest number of slaves?

7. Based on the data on Africa what claims can we make?

The Large-Scale Slave Systems 357

Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
Portuguese settlements of Angola, including coastal towns from Cabinda to Mocamedes and inland agricultural areas, especially in and around Cazengo, Colunbo Alto, and Pungo Andongo	1830–1900	>75	54
Portuguese settlements in Mozambique, especially urban centers and Zambezia	1750–1910	50–>80	55
South Africa	1701	40	
	1750	53	56
	1773	53	
	1798	54	57
	1820	41	
Mascarene Islands			
Reunion	1713	55	58
	1735	88	59
	1779	76	
	1825	72	60
	1848	54	
Mauritius	1735	77	
	1767	80	
	1797	83	61
	1827	73	
	1835	75	
Seychelles	1789	82	62
ASIA AND OCEANIA			
Iraq (lower Mesopotamia, especially in the dead lands)	9th–10th century	>50	63
Atjehneses of Sumatra	17th century	?	64
Hukawng Valley and triangular areas of Burma	Late 19th–early 20th centuries	>30	65
Thailand	1600–1880	25–33	66
Norsus (Lolos) of Yunnan province (southwestern China)	Late 19th century to early 1940s	47	67

8. What do "European-dominated" slave trade systems mean?

9. Looking at the statistics for Portuguese settlements, what conclusions can we make about the Portuguese and the slave trade?

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Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
Korea			
Unified Silla period	A.D. 660–918	50?	68
Koryŏ dynasty	918–1392	>33	69
Early Yi dynasty	1400s	30–37	70
Northern section of Seoul	1663	75	71
Kumhwa County	1672	25	72
Coastal Ulsan	1729	50	73
	1810	17	
Toradja group in central Celebes (To Lage, Onda'e, Palande, and Pada)	1900	>50	74
Banda Islands	1621–1860	>80	75
SPANISH CARIBBEAN			
Española	1560–1570	90–92	76
Spanish Jamaica	1600–1655	37	77
Cuba	1500–1550	>90	78
	1550	37	79
	1600–1606	66	
	1650–1774	>25	80
	1792	31	81
	1804	36	
	1817	36	
	1827	41	
	1841	43	
	1861	29	
Trajin slave portage system of the Isthmus	1510–1620	90	82
Panama City	1607	66	83
Coastal and mining areas of Venezuela, especially pearl-fishing centers of Cubagua and La Margarita, and Buria mines of the interior	1510–1600	>90	84
Colombian Chocó	1763	30	85
	1778	39	
	1781	39	
	1808	20	

10. What is the oldest date on statistics in Asia?

11. Which place in Asia had the highest number of slaves?

12. Based on the data on Asia what claims can we make?

Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
European-dominated urban and rural areas of Mexico, non-Indian population	1570–1650	50	86
Mining areas	1590s	13.5	87
DUTCH SLAVE SYSTEMS OF THE CARIBBEAN AREA			
Surinam	1790	91	88
	1805	90	
	1831	86	
	1850	77	
	1862	29	
Curaçao	1700	30	89
	1789	65	90
	1816	47	91
	1833	39	
	1857	32	
	1862	29	
Saint Eustatius	1786	53	92
	1817	67	
	1829	71	
Saint Martin	1770	84	93
	1816	72	
Bonaire	1806	28	94
	1828	37	95
	1857	31	96
	1862	21	97
BRITISH CARIBBEAN			
Jamaica	1658	24	98
	1664	57	
	1673	53	
	1730	91	
	1758	89	
	1775	89	
	1800	88	
	1834	82	
Barbados	1643–1645	24–26	99

Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
	1673	61	100
	1710	77	
	1731	80	
	1768	80	
	1810	79	
	1833–1834	81	
Antigua	1678	48	101
	1720	84	
	1756	90	
	1775	94	
	1834	83	
Saint Kitts	1678	43	102
	1720	72	
	1756	89	
	1775	92	
	1834	91	
Nevis	1678	52	103
	1720	81	
	1756	89	
	1775	92	
	1834	81	
Montserrat	1678	27	104
	1720	69	
	1756	86	
	1775	88	
	1834	82	
Barbuda	1790	99.9	105
Anguilla	1790	83–87	106
British Virgin Islands	1756	84	107
Windward and Southern Islands			
Dominica	1763	77	108
	1773	83	
	1788	90	109
	1805	83	
	1832	80	
Saint Vincent	1763	83	110
	1787	89	
	1817	95	
	1834	95	

Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
Grenada	1777	96	111
	1817–1834	90	
Saint Lucia	1772	86	112
	1816–1818	92	
	1834	92	
Tobago	1770	93	113
	1775	95	
	1820	98	
Trinidad	1797	56	114
	1802	69	
	1810	67	
	1825	55	
	1834	50	
Cayman Islands	1802	58	115
British Honduras (Belize)	1745	71	116
	1779	86	
	1790	76	
	1816	72	
	1826	46	
	1832	42	
Guyana: Dutch period, 1700–1796; British period, 1796–1834			
Essequibo region	1701	92	117
	1767	90	
Berbice region	1762	87	118
British Guiana as a whole	1796–1800	86	119
	1816	93	120
	1832–1834	88	121
Bahamas	1671	40	122
	1783	49	123
	1786	67	124
	1820	68	125
	1831	57	126
Bermuda	1670	25	127
	1687	33	
	1699	38	
	1721	42	
	1731	43	
	1774	47	
	1822–1823	49	
	1833	43	

Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
FRENCH CARIBBEAN			
Martinique	1664	54	128
	1696	65	
	1727	77	
	1751	83	
	1784	86	
	1816	81	
	1831	67	
	1848	60	
Saint Dominigue (Haiti)	1681	35	129
	1739	89	
	1754	90	
	1775	86	
	1784	90	
	1789	89	
Guadeloupe	1700	62	130
	1788	84	
	1834	76–83	
French Guiana	1665	33	131
	1700	87	
	1765	70	
	1815	97	
	1820	94	
	1830	84	
DANISH WEST INDIES			
Saint Thomas	1686	53	132
	1691	59	
	1720	88	
	1754	94	
	1848	25	
Saint Croix	1742	92	
	1745	93	
	1755	87	
	1848	97	
Saint John	1728	85	
	1739	87	
	1787	92	

13. Looking at the Spanish Caribbean, what can we say about the Spanish participating in the slave trade?

14. Looking at the Dutch (the Netherlands) Caribbean, what can we say about the Dutch participating in the slave trade?

15. Looking at the British Caribbean, what can we say about the British participating in the slave trade?

16. Which European countries participated in the slave trade in the Caribbean?

17. Why do you think there were so many places in the Caribbean that had slavery?

18. Based on this data, what claims can we make about the Caribbean?

The Large-Scale Slave Systems 363

Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
BRAZIL			
Brazil as a whole	1530–1650	>66	133
	1798	48	134
	1817–1818	50.5	
	1850	31	
	1864	16	
	1872	15	
Major slaveholding areas			
Minas Gerais	1735	98	135
	1749	99	
	1823	33	
	1872	18	
Bahia	1702	>50	136
	1823	35	137
	1872	12	
Pernambuco	1580–1700	>66	138
	1823	59	
	1872	21	
Espirito Santo	1823	50	
	1872	27	
Rio de Janeiro	1823	33	
	1872	37	
U.S. SOUTH			
The South as a whole	1690	c15	139
	1700	c22	
	1720	c25	
	1730	c24	
	1740	c30	
	1750	c38	
	1760	c39	
	1770	c40	
	1780	c39	
	1790	33.5	140
	1800	33	
	1810	33.5	
	1820	34	
	1830	33	
	1840	35	
	1850	35	
	1860	34	

19. What years did Brazil have the highest number of slaves?

364 Appendix C

Name and location of large-scale slave society	*Approximate date span of society*[a]	*Estimated proportion of slaves (percent)*	*Reference note on sources*
Virginia	1715	24	141
	1756	41	
	1790	42	
	1810	45	
	1830	45	
	1860	40	
South Carolina	1708	57	
	1720	64	
	1740	50	
	1790	43	
	1810	47	
	1830	54	
	1860	57	
North Carolina	1790	26	
	1810	30	
	1830	33	
	1860	33	
Georgia	1760	33	
	1773	45	
	1790	35	
	1810	41	
	1830	42	
	1860	44	
Mississippi	1810	55	
	1830	48	
	1860	55	
Alabama	1830	38	
	1860	45	
Louisiana	1810	45	
	1830	51	
	1860	47	

a. In the great majority of cases the date span given refers to the entire period of large-scale slavery. In a few cases the dates are confined to those periods for which estimates are possible.

20. In what year did "The South as a whole" have the highest number of slaves? Why do you think it was so high, then?

21. Which state in the South had the highest number of slaves as a population?

22. Slavery also existed in the North. Why do you think Patterson just focuses on the South?

Roman Slavery[3]

Central Historical Question:
How did the Romans enslave people?

In imperial Rome, slaves were supplied from many sources. One of them was war. That does not mean that the Romans waged war for the sole purpose of capturing slaves. After all, there was never a guarantee that the Romans would win and would be able to enslave people. But some wars in which the Romans were victorious supplied many slaves. Not all captives were deprived of their freedom and taken to Rome. Some captives were ransomed by their

[3] Keith R. Bradley, Slavery and Society at Rome (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), passim; William V. Harris, "Child-Exposure in the Roman Empire," Journal of Roman Studies 84 (1994), passim; Walter Scheidel, "Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire," Journal of Roman Studies 87 (1997), passim. Map is from Timothy Lee, "40 maps that explain the Roman Empire" https://www.vox.com/world/2018/6/19/17469176/roman-empire-maps-history-explained.

families, exchanged for the other side's prisoners, or sold to slave dealers (*mangones* or *venalicii*), who frequently followed Roman armies.

Slaves were also obtained through the natural reproduction of the existing slave population, known as "slave-breeding." This source of new slaves was so important that the law allowed the buyer of a female slave to get a replacement or a refund from the seller in case the slave could not have children. Slaves were also obtained through infant exposure. Some parents were too poor to afford to raise another child. Others, who were well-off, did not want to have to divide the inheritance among too many children. There is evidence that more girls than boys became foundlings because girls were not valued as highly as boys. Besides children who were abandoned, others were simply sold by their parents. Desperate grown-ups even sold themselves into slavery.

Slaves could also be "imported," and there is evidence of extensive long-distance trade with communities beyond the frontiers. During the empire, slaves came from Britannia, Dacia (present-day Romania), Germania, and even from Arabia and the region of the Black Sea. But even within the empire, slaves could be sold and re-sold. Some places, like Delos, had permanent markets, others had periodic markets, and there were everyday, small-scale private transactions in which one or more slaves passed into the hands of a new master.

Within the frontiers, piracy and kidnapping also supplied numerous slaves. Although this practice was illegal, it still took place. Practically anyone could become a slave this way. When Julius Caesar was young, he was kidnapped by Cilician pirates. If his friends had not paid his ransom on time, the pirates could have sold him into slavery. And in the fifth century CE, Galatians (modern-day Turkey) was famous for descending upon North African villages and kidnapping its peoples.

Document A: The *Digest* (laws)

The Digest was a compilation of more than 700 years of Roman legislation enacted under Emperor Justinian in the early sixth century CE.

... Slavery is an institution of the *ius gentium* ("law of nations"), whereby someone is against nature and made subject to the ownership of another. Slaves (servi) are so-called because generals have a custom of selling their prisoners and preserving rather than killing them... When a place is captured by an enemy ... freemen become slaves ...

Source: The Digest of Justinian 1.5.4 and 11.7.36, Vol. I, trans. Alan Watson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 15 and 354.

Guiding Questions

1. According to this source, how are people made slaves?

2. What would have happened to them if they were not made slaves?

3. According to this source, what is the state of "nature"?

Source B: The Theodosian Code

The Theodosian Code was a compilation of fourth- and fifth-century Roman laws, published in 438 CE. This selection is from a law passed by Constantine in the early fourth century CE:

The August Emperor Constantine, to the Italians:

Per the decisions of earlier emperors, any person who lawfully obtains a new-born child in any manner and intends to bring it up shall have the right to hold it in a state of slavery; so that if after a series of years anyone asserts that it is free, or claims it as his slave, that person must provide another similar slave or pay an equivalent price.

Source: The Theodosian Code 5.10.1, qtd. in Thomas Wiedemann, ed., Greek and Roman Slavery (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1981), 118-9.

Guiding Questions

1. Who was the intended audience of this source?

2. What right does a person who obtains a newborn child have the right to do?

3. Can they free slaves?

Source C: Edict of Maximum Prices

In 301 CE, Emperor Diocletian published the Edict of Maximum Prices to control inflation. It imposed severe penalties on those who charged more than the maximum prices. But the law could not be enforced and was revoked shortly afterward:

Types of Slaves	Prices
[Male slave ...] Between the ages of 16 and 40	30,000 denarii
Female Between the ages of 16 and 40	25,000 denarii
Man between 40 and 60	25,000 denarii
Female between 40 and 60	20,000 denarii
Boy between 8 and 16; also a girl of age above-specified	20,000 denarii
Man over 60 or under 8	15,000 denarii
Female over 60 or under 8	10,000 denarii

Source: Diocletian's Edict of Maximum Prices, ZPE 34 (1979), 177, adapted from Thomas Wiedemann, ed., Greek and Roman Slavery (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1981), 105.

Note: It is difficult to give a modern dollar equivalent for the value of one denarius, especially considering that Diocletian published this edict during rapid inflation. But for comparison, it may be useful to remember that a free farm laborer earned 25 denarii a day, a painter of pictures 150 denarii, and a tailor between 40 and 60 denarii, depending on his skills.

Guiding Question

1. When was this document created?

2. Why would the emperor try to set the prices of slaves?

3. Which were the most expensive slaves? Why do you think that is?

4. Which were the least expensive slaves? Why do you think that is?

5. At what age were boys and girls equally priced?

Central Historical Question: How did the Romans take slaves?
Respond to the Central Historical Question using evidence ("quotes") from two different sources. Claim: "The Romans created slaves by _____ (reason)." Evidence - "quote" (select a sentence from Source A, B, or C) Analysis - explain the quote and tie it back to the claim Evidence - "quote" (select a ***different*** Source A, B, or C and pull a sentence) Analysis - explain the quote and tie it back to the claim Closing Sentence- restate your claim and evidence

The Mita System[4]

Central Question:
How did the Spanish Conquest change the way Andean people lived?

The Quipu was used to record amounts of goods and numbers of people. Computations were decimal (every ten), the highest knot standing for one, the next for 10, 100, 1000 and so on. Each ruler, governor, commander, and village chief had a *quipucamayoc*, the quipu-teller.

At about the time Christopher Columbus landed on a tiny island in the Caribbean Sea, Huayna Capac, a powerful emperor, and warrior, was battling to expand his empire thousands of miles to the south, in what is now Ecuador and Colombia. He and his father and grandfather fought to create an empire that extended over a vast area along the **Andes Mountains** of South America. Probably the largest nation in the world at that time, the **Inca Empire** was invaded by Spanish soldiers in 1532.

The Inca people originated in the **Cuzco** Valley of modern-day Peru in about AD 1000 and gradually conquered neighboring tribes. The **empire** expanded rapidly under three Inca

[4] The requirement that all male family heads work for a certain number of days for the Inca Empire. Duties included farming, serving in the army, textile weaving, building towns, terraces, irrigation systems, and roads, working in mines, and carrying messages. Women were required to weave textiles. Lesson adapted from Carol Merriman's *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*, on view at the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, from January 26 to May 4, 2003.

emperors between 1438 and 1527 until, at its height, it stretched from what is now the border between Colombia and Ecuador to central Chile—a distance of over 3,400 miles. At its height, the Inca people, who numbered only about 100,000, ruled from 10 to 12 million people from at least 86 ethnic groups with their languages, traditions, and religious beliefs.

The empire encompassed wildly contrasting geographic regions, ranging from towering snow-capped mountains to coastal deserts to Amazonian jungles. The heart of the empire, centered around Cusco, was located at such a high elevation that people unaccustomed to high altitudes suffered from altitude sickness, which included headaches, fatigue, dizziness, and an upset stomach.

The empire was often plagued with various natural disasters, including earthquakes, volcanoes, droughts, and devastating floods.

Inca Gold

The Spanish ***conquistadores***, or conquerors, came to what they called the New World in search of gold. Francisco Pizarro, who first came to the Americas in 1502, had heard rumors of a land filled with gold to the south of Mexico. He and a small band of Spanish soldiers landed on the shores of what is now Ecuador in 1531. They had arrived in **Tahuantinsuyu**, the "Land of the Four Quarters," known to us as the Inca Empire.

When Pizarro and his men arrived in the Inca capital of Cuzco, they saw a splendid city with palaces, halls, and temples made of huge stones carefully fit together without **mortar**. Most incredible were the temples decorated with gold, silver, and precious jewels. The most important temple was the **Coricancha**, or "House of the Sun," dedicated to the Inca sun god **Inti**. Its walls and doorways were covered with gold, both inside and out. One building within the complex contained a large statue of the sun, made of solid gold and embedded with precious stones. More fantastic still was the garden. A Spanish eyewitness, **Pedro de Cieza de León**, describes the sight as follows:

> They also had a garden, the **clods** of which were made of pieces of fine gold; and it was artificially sown with golden maize, the stalks, as well as the leaves and cobs, being of that metal... [T]hey had more than twenty golden sheep [**llamas**] with their lambs, and

the shepherds with their slings and crooks to watch them, all made of the same metal.[5]

Early Spanish observers described the Andean people as well-fed, healthy, and clean. When the Spanish arrived, the Inca emperor and his assistants supervised a highly organized government controlling an area of 135,000 square miles. The Spanish must have been surprised to learn that the Inca Empire ran very efficiently without three inventions considered essential by Europeans: writing, money, and the wheel.

How could the Inca Empire organize such a vast area and produce enough wealth to provide necessities to its people and support a lavish lifestyle for the Inca nobility and priests? The answers lie in the many ways the Incas devised to take advantage of their diverse environment.

Consider what you have just read, seen, or heard, and then ask yourself:

1. How are the ideas and information connected to what you already knew?
I had learned about the Incas that... / This is the first time that I learned about the Incas. I learned that...
2. What new ideas did you get that broadened your thinking or extended it in different directions?
One thing that broadened my thinking was...
3. What challenges or puzzles emerge for you?
One question I have is ...

Vocabulary

Andes Mountains: Mountain chain running along the western coast of South America.
clods: Lumps of dirt.
conquistadores: Spanish soldiers who conquered the Inca Empire and other Native American groups in North and South America.
Coricancha: The temple to Inti, the sun god, built by Pachacuti in Cuzco.
Cuzco: A city in present-day Peru, Cuzco was the capital of the Inca Empire.
empire: A government that controls a huge territory and millions of people, often

[5] Pedro de Cieza de León, Chronicles of Peru. Quoted in The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru by Michael Moseley, London: Thames and Hudson, 1992, p. 8.

encompassing many different ethnic groups. Control may be military, political or economic.
Inca Empire: Empire that governed between 10 and 12 million subjects in the Andes region of South America between about AD 1438 and 1532. The Inca Empire lasted less than 100 years.
Inti: The Inca sun god. He was the second most important god after Wiracocha.
llama: An animal native to South America, related to the camel. The llama is used in the Andes to carry heavy loads. Its wool is used to weave cloth, its hide to make leather, and its meat is eaten.
maize: Corn. Maize was a very important part of the Inca diet and was also used to make chicha, or corn beer.
mortar: A building material made from sand, water and lime, similar to cement, for holding stones together.
Pedro de Cieza de León: A Spanish soldier who wrote about the Inca Empire about 20 years after the Spanish Conquest.
Tahuantinsuya: The Quechua word for the Inca Empire

The Inca Territory

Source: https://www.freeman-pedia.com/incaempire

Using the map above, answer the following questions:

1. Where is Quito located today?

2. Where is Santiago today?

3. How far did the Incan empire stretch?

As we have seen, the Incas did not have money, and so the government could not collect taxes as we know them. Instead, Inca administrators required adult men to work for the state for a certain number of days per year. This system is called the mita system. As soon as a man married, he became the head of a household and was obligated to perform mita work. Each person was assigned a specific job according to his skills. For example, a skilled weaver would be assigned to make cloth, and a fast runner would be assigned to be a **chasqui**[6] runner. The

[6] A messenger who relayed official messages.

foot soldiers in the Inca army were farmers who were serving their mita labor obligation. Pachacuti rebuilt Cuzco by calling 30,000 men to contribute mita labor. Both women and men were required to weave a certain amount of cloth for the state each year. Other activities carried out with mita labor include farming, mining, road and bridge building, building temples and other public monuments, transportation of goods, building canals, terraces, and irrigation systems, and making pottery and metalwork. Some ethnic groups were considered to be especially skilled at certain tasks. For example, one group was thought to be especially good at carrying litters (a platform on railings used to carry important people). Others were gifted stonemasons, dancers, or warriors. Some groups were considered "good for nothing," but they were assigned mita work anyway. One group was required to gather reeds, and another to turn in a basket of live lice every four months!

Although every man was expected to contribute work each year for the empire, only a few men in a village would be called to work at one time so that other family members could take over their work at home. The length of time a person was expected to do mita work varied according to the task assigned but usually lasted no more than two to three months per year. The person assigned a specific task could get family members to help him to make the length of the mita service shorter, so it was beneficial to have a large family. Although mita work was required and probably resented by non-Inca ethnic groups who became incorporated into the empire, it was an extension of the Andean custom of each individual working for the group. Now each head of the household was performing labor for a certain period in the Inca state.

Workers and their families received something in return for the labor they contributed to the state. Both **curacas**[7] and the Inca emperor hosted festivals periodically, in which they gave food and drink to everyone in the community. These festivals were rewarded after workers completed plowing, planting, harvesting, and canal cleaning chores. The emperor also gave textiles and metal objects as an expression of generosity and to symbolize his gratitude for mita labor. For example, soldiers received blankets.

The Inca Empire also employed full-time skilled craftsmen to produce luxury textiles, elegant pottery, and exquisite objects of gold and silver. The emperor gave these luxury goods to leaders of conquered people, members of the Inca nobility, and Inca religious leaders. They were also placed in the graves of important people.

[7] An official who supervised from 100 to 10,000 households in the Inca Empire. He or she served under the provincial governor.

Consider what you have just read, seen, or heard, and then ask yourself:

1. How are the ideas and information connected to what you already knew?

One thing I learned is that...

2. What new ideas did you get that broadened your thinking or extended it in different directions?

One thing that expanded my thinking was...

3. What challenges or puzzles emerge for you?

One question that I have is ...

From Tribute to Taxes

Source A: Tribute owed by the Yacha and Chupaychu people to the Inca Emperor

The Yacha and Chupaychu tribute lists were transcribed from quipus, a device for recording numbers and probably events, developed in South America and used extensively by the Inca emperor to gather information on the empire. The quipu is a long horizontal string with shorter strings extending vertically along it. Knots on the strings stand for different numbers and units. Different colors probably stood for things being counted soon after the Spanish Conquest of the Inca Empire. The quipu below describes the tribute owed by two tribes to the Inca emperor before the Spanish Conquest in 1532.

In addition, they gave 400 Indians to plant the fields in Cuzco so that the people might eat and make their offerings to the church. [temple]
In addition [they gave] 50 Indians as servants for Guayna Cava [Huayna Capac][8], and in continuation.
In addition [they gave Indians] to guard the body of Topa Ynga [Inca] Yupanque.[9]
In addition [they gave] 20 Indians to guard the body of (H)uayna Capac after his death.
In addition [they gave] 20 Indians for making feathers.
In addition [they gave] 60 Indians to collect honey.

[8] Inca emperor who ruled from 1493 to 1527.
[9] Pachacuti's son and Huayna Capac's father.

In addition they gave 60 Indians in order to grow **coca**[10], which they delivered to Cuzco and to the storehouses of Guanuco and sometimes they delivered 200 sacks and at other times 40. In addition they gave 500 Indians to go to war with the person of the Inca and to carry the hammocks going to Quito and to other places.

Source: "From Knots to Narratives: Reconstructing the Art of Historical Record Keeping in the Andes from Spanish Transcriptions of Inka Khipus," by Gary Urton, in Ethnohistory 45:3 (Summer, 1998).

Guiding Questions

1. What were the Yacha and Chupaychu people providing to the Inca emperor?

2. Record the nouns (person, place, or thing) listed in the first line describing the tribute owed by the Yacha and Chupaychu people.

3. Are there any *verbs* (words that express an action or a state of being) in the sentence?

4. Is there any important information missing from the *quipu*?

Source B: Tribute given by the natives of Xauxa to their Spanish overlord in 1558

This is a list of payments made by another native group to their Spanish lord in 1558.

In addition we gave him in gold and silver in Caxamarca in gold 596 pesos [and] in silver we gave another sum of 596 pesos.
In addition we gave him 4 horse blankets.
In addition we gave him 40 sheep [llamas].
In addition we gave him 149 fanegas [about 1.5 bushels] of maize

[10] A plant native to South America containing a narcotic chemical. Andean people chew the leaves to dull hunger pangs, provide energy and supply nutrients. Coca is grown and processed to make cocaine, a powerful drug.

In addition we gave him [of] bowls and jugs 2983 vessels.

In addition we gave him 2386 pheasants [birds].

Source: "From Knots to Narratives: Reconstructing the Art of Historical Record Keeping in the Andes from Spanish Transcriptions of Inka Khipus," by Gary Urton, in Ethnohistory 45:3 (Summer, 1998).

Guiding Questions

1. What the Xauxa people were providing to the Spanish?

2. What does the information on the second quipu suggest about how the Indians' way of life changed after the Spanish Conquest?

3. Was the *quipucamayoc,* a person trained to read a quipu, reading the quipu inferring information rather than reading it?

4. Was the Spanish scribe, the person who recorded this account, misinterpreting what the quipucamayoc was saying? Hint: look at the last thing listed "gave him 2386 pheasants".

Parts, People, Interactions

The following questions relate to the Mita system:

1. What are the parts of the system?

2. Who are the people connected to the system?

3. How do the people in the system interact with each other and with the parts of the system?

4. How does a change in one element of the system affect the various parts and people connected to the system?

Transatlantic Slave Trade

Central Historical Question:
What does Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative* and prints tell us about the Middle Passage?

Olaudah Equiano (c. 1745–1796) was one of the most prominent Africans in the British movement to abolish the slave trade. Despite his enslavement as a young man, he purchased his freedom and worked as a seaman, merchant, and explorer in South America, the Caribbean, the Arctic, the American colonies, and the United Kingdom He published his autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789), which depicted the horrors of slavery. His autobiography helped British lawmakers abolish the slave trade through the Slave Trade Act of 1807.

The Transatlantic Slave Trade

As the numbers of Native Americans in the Americas declined, the Spanish and Portuguese turned to Africa for slaves. By the late 1500s, in the West Indies and the cities of Latin America, slaves surpassed the white population.

On much of the American continent dominated by Spain, slavery declined during the late seventeenth century. It continued to prosper, however, in Brazil and the Caribbean. Later, starting with the importation of slaves to Jamestown in 1619, slavery became a fundamental institution in British North America.

One of the forces that led to the spread of slavery in Brazil and the West indies was the cultivation of sugar. Only slave labor could provide enough workers for the sugar plantations. As the production of sugar expanded, so did the demand for slaves.

The social and economic influence of plantation slavery also touched West Africa, Europe, and New England. It persisted from the sixteenth century

through the second half of the nineteenth century. Every society in which it existed still contends with its effects.

The first stage of the Triangular Trade involved taking manufactured goods from Europe to Africa: cloth, spirit, tobacco, beads, cowrie shells, metal goods, and guns. The guns were used to help expand empires and obtain more slaves (until they were finally used against European colonizers). These goods were exchanged for African slaves.

The Africans were transported across the Atlantic Ocean and sold in the West Indies. Merchants then bought sugar, coffee, and tobacco in the West Indies and sailed back to Europe with these products.

Merchants carried rum and other goods from the New England colonies to Africa on another triangular route. There they exchanged their merchandise for Africans. The traders then transported the Africans to the West Indies and sold them for sugar and molasses. They then sold these goods to rum producers in New England.

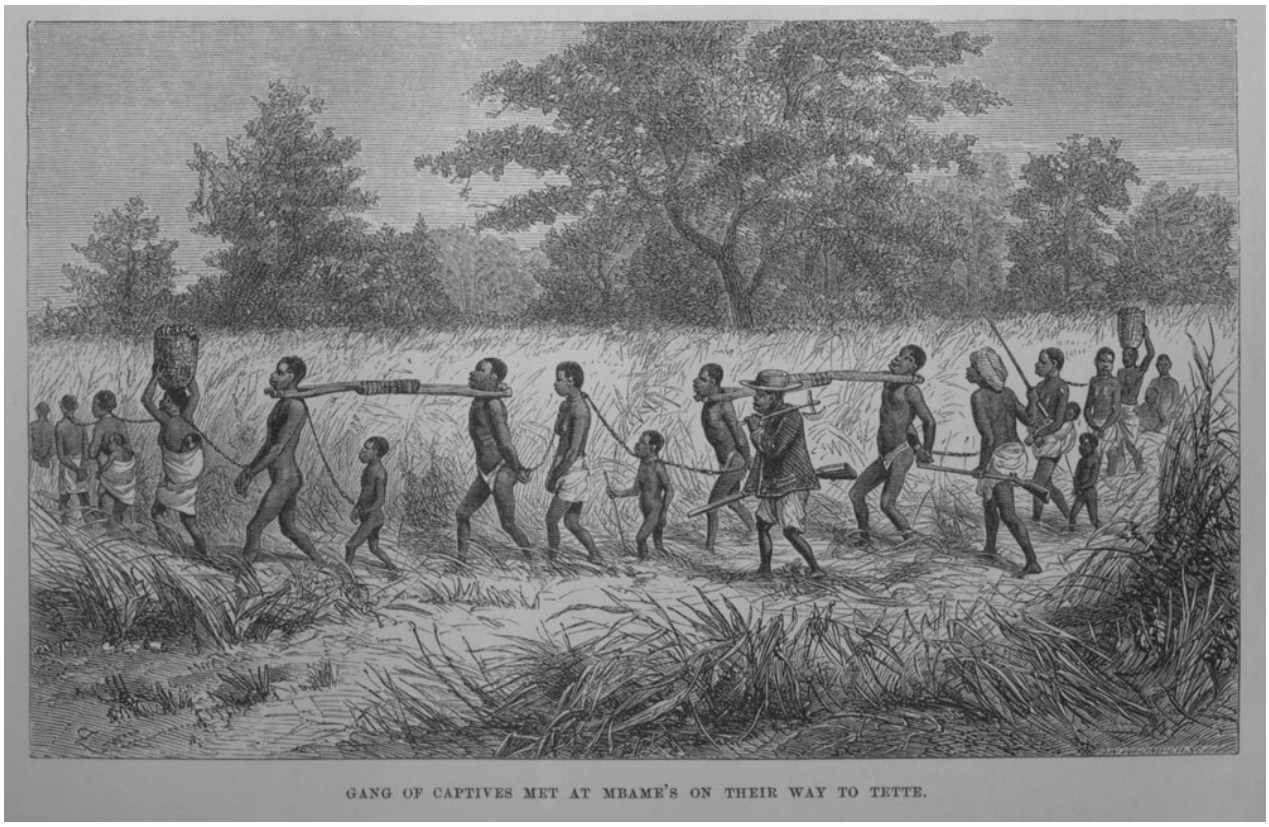
1. What goods were being traded in the triangle trade?

2. From where were people kidnapped?

Equiano's Capture in West Africa

One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as usual, and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment seized us both, and, without giving us time to cry out, or make resistance, they stopped our mouths. They ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands and continued to carry us as far as they could till night came on when we reached a small house, where the robbers halted for refreshment and spent the night. We were then unbound but were unable to take any food, and, being quite overpowered by fatigue and grief, our only relief was some sleep, which allayed our misfortune for a short time. The next morning we left the house and continued traveling all day. For a long time we had kept the woods ... At length, after many

days traveling, during which I had often changed masters ... Although it was a great many days journey from my father's house, these people spoke the same language as us.



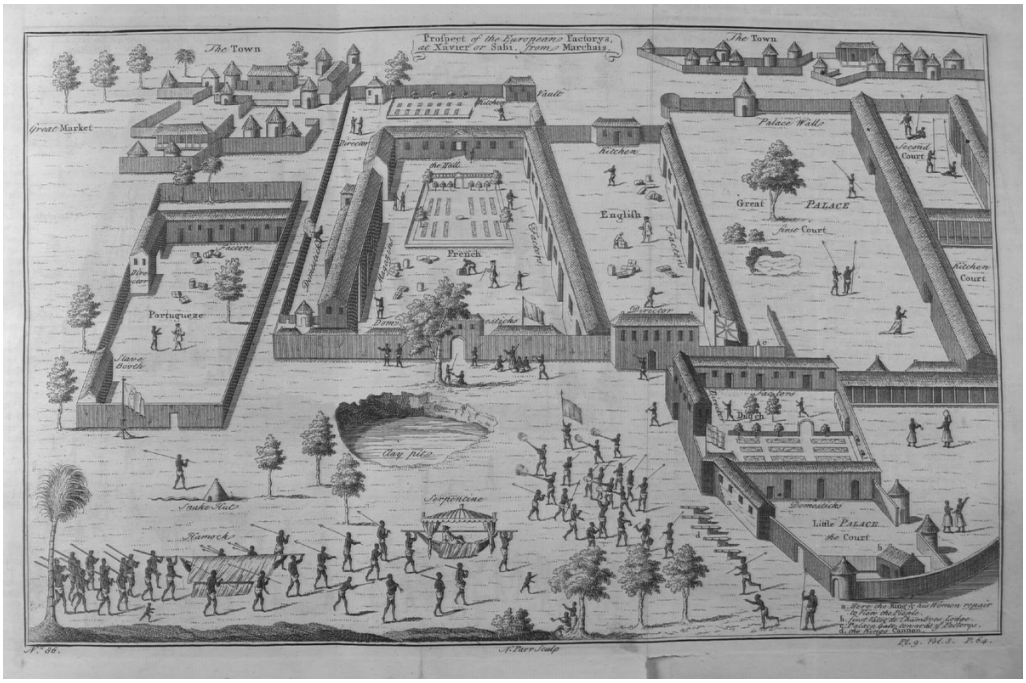
Men linked by forked logs, children and women attached by chains or ropes, with their African guards armed with guns. The caption reads: "Gang of Captives met at Mbame's on their way to Tette." The scene was witnessed in July 1861. Mbame was a village chief, friendly to Livingstone. Tette/Tete, a village (now a town) on the Zambezi River, located in present-day Western Mozambique, was the last Portuguese outpost on the Zambezi. This image was published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine (vol. 32 [Dec. 1865-May 1866], p. 719). Accessed from Slavery Images on October 5, 2018.

3. In the image above, who's kidnapping slaves and selling them to the Europeans? How can you tell?

Equiano arrives at the Sea Coast

The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave

ship, which was then riding at anchor and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror … their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke (which was very different from any I had ever heard) united to confirm me in this belief. When I looked around the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little, I found some black people about me, who I believed were some of those who brought me on board and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me to cheer me, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and loose hair. They told me I was not, and one of the crew brought me a small portion of spirituous liquor in a wine glass, but, being afraid of him, I would not take it out of his hand.



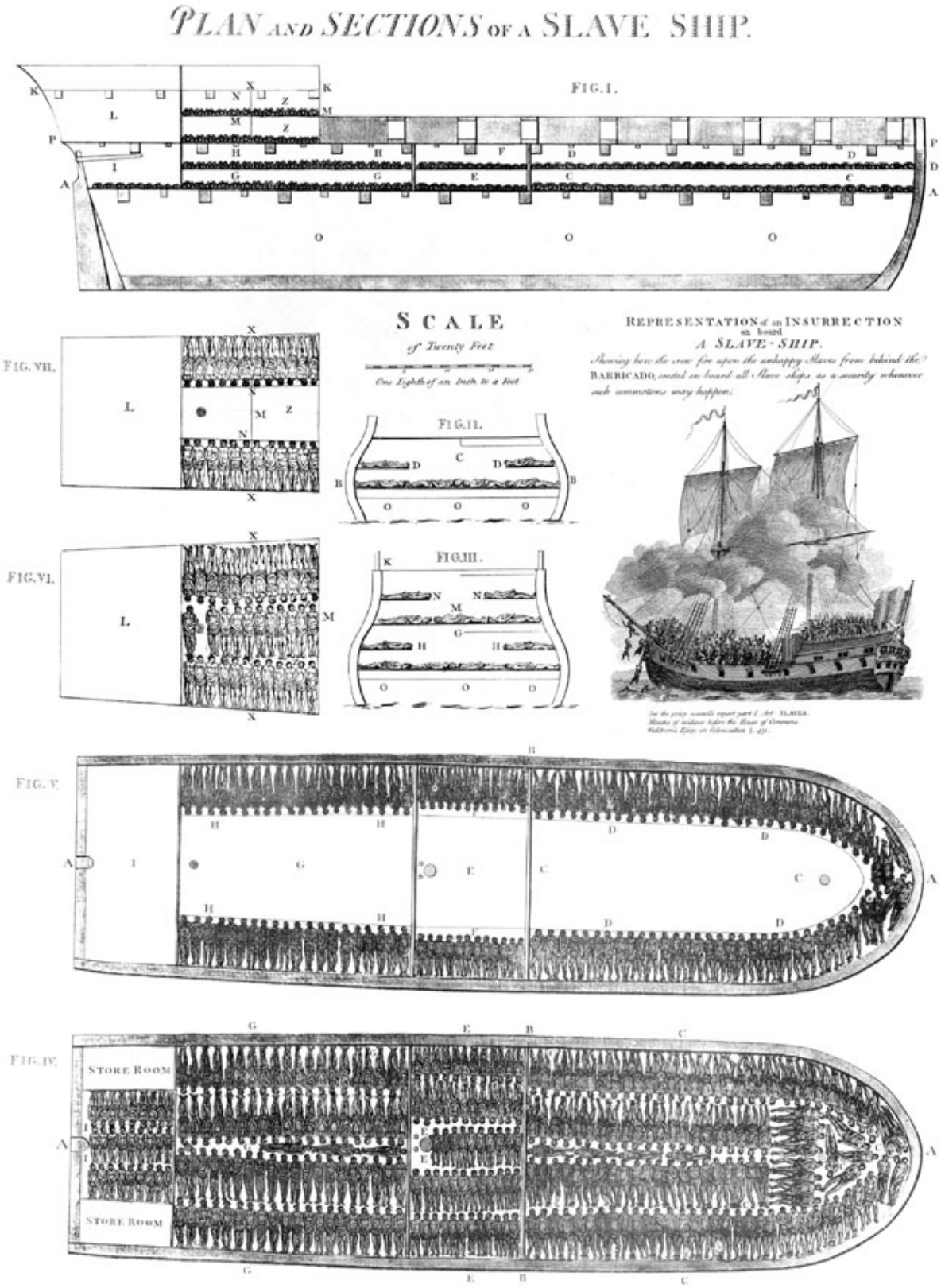
"The daily markets featured all sorts of European and African commodities. Near the European compounds was a square shaded by tall trees where the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese directors, merchants, and sea captains sat and transacted daily business, much like a European mercantile exchange" (Robert Harms, The Diligent [Basic Books, 2002], p. 156). Savi, the predecessor of the town of Whydah (Ouidah), was the capital of the Hueda Kingdom, c. 1670-1727. Accessed from Slavery Images on October 5, 2018.

4. What were Equiano's impressions of the Europeans? Why do you think he thought this about them?

Equiano's Journey across the Atlantic: The "Middle Passage"

The stench of the hold, while we were on the coast, was so intolerably loathsome that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo was confined together, it became pestilential. The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations so that the air soon became unfit for respiration from a variety of loathsome smells and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable, and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole scene of horror almost inconceivable. ... One day, they took many fishes. When they had killed and satisfied themselves with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on the deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat as we expected, they tossed the remaining fish into the sea again. However, in vain, we begged and prayed for some as well as we could. Being pressed by hunger, some of my countrymen took an opportunity to try to get a little when they thought no one saw them. Still, they were discovered, and the attempt procured some very severe floggings.

5. Explain the "middle passage", and write five adjectives (words or phrases) that describe the experience on the slave ships.


PLAN AND SECTIONS OF A SLAVE SHIP.
FIG. I.
FIG. VII.
FIG. VI.
SCALE
of Twenty Feet
One Eighth of an Inch to a Foot
FIG. II.
FIG. III.
REPRESENTATION of an INSURRECTION on board A SLAVE-SHIP.
BARRICADO, erected on board all Slave ships as a security whenever such commotions may happen.
FIG. V.
FIG. IV.
STORE ROOM
STORE ROOM

"Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship," this detailed and famous drawing shows cross-sections of the ship," and how Africans were stowed in the holds. The inset drawing depicts a revolt aboard a slave ship, showing the crew shooting insurrectionists. Wadstrom includes a very lengthy and detailed description of the Brookes. This was first published in 1789, the "proprieters [of the engraving] favoured him with the original plate." The Brookes carried 609 slaves (351 men, 127, women, 90 boys, and 41 girls) crammed into its decks. Accessed from Slavery Images on October 5, 2018.

On the left: "Marche d'esclaves" (slave market); engraving made from author's description. Scenes depicted (our translations), top,1) Negroes for sale in a public market; 2) Negro slaves examined before being purchased; 3) an Englishman licking a Negro's chin to ascertain his age and to determine from the taste of his sweat if he is sick; 4) Negro slave with the brand of slavery on his arm. Bottom: 5) slave ship lying in the harbor waiting for the trading to be completed; 6) chaloupe loaded with newly purchased slaves transporting them to the ship; 7) Negroes on shore wailing and crying at the sight of their loved ones and friends being sent away. Accessed from Slavery Images on October 5, 2018.

Equiano's Sale in Slave Auction in the Caribbean

At last, we came in sight of the island of Barbados, at which the whites on board gave a great shout and made many signs of joy to us. We did not know what to think of this, but as the vessel drew nearer, we plainly saw the harbor, and other ships of different kinds and sizes; and we soon anchored amongst them off Bridge Town. Many merchants and planters now came on board, though it was in the evening. They put us in separate parcels and examined us attentively. They also made us jump and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there. We thought that we should be eaten by these ugly men ... They told us we were not to be eaten, but to work, and were soon to go on land, where we should see many of our country's people.

We were not many days in the merchant's custody before we were sold after their usual manner, which is this:—On a signal given (as the beat of a drum), the buyers rush at once into the yard where the slaves are confined, and make a choice of that parcel they like best. The noise and clamor with which this is attended, and the eagerness visible in the countenances of the buyers, serve not a little to increase the apprehensions of the terrified Africans, who may well be supposed to consider them as the ministers of that destruction to which they think themselves devoted. In this manner, without scruple, are relations and friends separated, most of them never to see each other again ... Why are parents to lose their children, brothers, sisters, or husbands their wives? Surely this is a new refinement in cruelty, which, while it has no advantage to atone for it, thus aggravates distress and adds fresh horrors even to the wretchedness of slavery.

6. What happened to slaves when they arrived in the Caribbean?

7. What product did Europeans need slave labor to produce, look back at page one, "Background on the Transatlantic Slave Trade"? Why did they not use the native population for this labor?

Write a Short Response

What does Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative* and prints from the time period tell us about the Middle Passage?

Write a short response to the question above using at least two pieces of evidence ("quotes") from the sources above. Be sure to include a claim and analysis of the sources you decide to use.

Breakdown of Short Response Paragraph

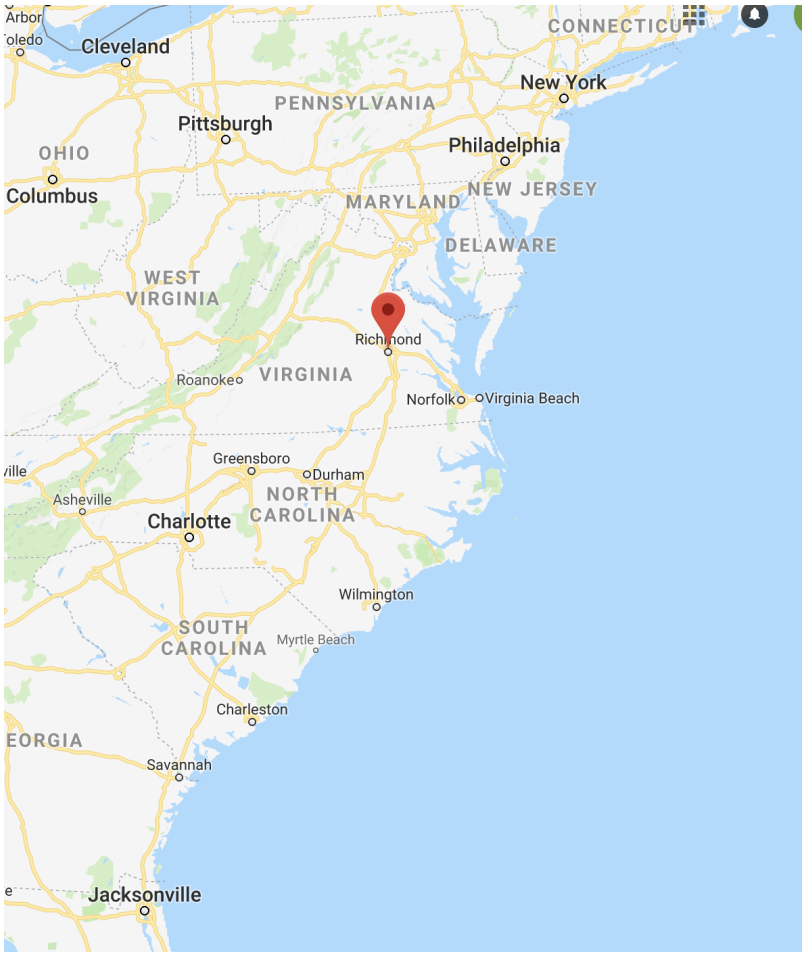
I. Claim - "Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative* and prints from the time period tell us _____ about the Middle Passage."
II. Evidence - Quote # 1:
III. Analysis
IV. Evidence - Quote # 2
V. Analysis
VI. Conclusion

How Slavery was Written into the Laws of Virginia[11]

Central Historical Question:
How did racial slavery become codified in the law?

The Development of a Legal Definition of Slavery

Virginia established a slave system incrementally and in an increasingly restrictive fashion. The institution of slavery was shaped and defined by the formal processes of the General Court and colonial legislature. The laws developed slowly from 1640 until 1705. As the supply of white indentured servants decreased and the need for labor increased, the colonial government needed to determine who would be enslaved and how they would be controlled.



Beginning in the early 1660s, statutes also assigned the legal status of children born in Virginia according to the mother's condition. In other words, children born to slave mothers were born into slavery, even if their fathers were free white men. The law became increasingly restrictive in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

By 1700, Virginia had become a slave society, although the slave laws were not formally codified until 1705. Slaves were denied legal marriage, freedom of movement, and the right to defend themselves against life-threatening physical abuse. Other laws responded to the growing fear of slave uprisings. Severe sentences could be handed out to slaves who stole white people's property, traveled without authorization, ran away, or resisted whippings and other punishments.

[11] Adapted from Mary Stutz, "Enslaved: "A Teacher's Guide with Historical Background and Lesson Plans," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1998.

Virginia rulers also sought to curb the growth of the free black population because the presence of free blacks challenged the legitimacy of the slave system. Legal grounds for manumission (granting freedom to slaves) were narrowly defined until after the Revolution. Free blacks increasingly discovered that they were denied many of the rights accorded to free whites. They were not allowed to own guns, hold indentured servants, intermarry with whites, bear witness against whites in court, or hold offices of any kind. At the same time, they were obliged to pay higher taxes than comparable white families.

The legal status of whites also had a profound effect on the lives of the slaves. The only effective restraint on an owner's total power over his or her human property was the master's self-interest. Courts never punished owners who maimed their slaves or arbitrarily revoked long-standing privileges, and they rarely punished owners who killed slaves in a fit of passion or intoxication. Masters could break up slave families anytime through gifts, sales, or hiring. Families were also at risk of being parceled out among the owner's heirs and creditors whenever an owner died or got into financial trouble. Slaves had no legal protection against being sold, and, as a result, they were forced to live precarious (uncertain) life.

Historical Background Questions

1. What does the reference to "the status" refer to? What year did children inherit the status of their mother?

2. What rights were slaves denied in Virginia?

3. What rights were Free Blacks denied?

4. What did courts not punish whites for doing to slaves?

Periodize the Slavery Timeline of Virginia

You will examine the laws that led to the institutionalization of slavery and trace the evolution of the slave system in Virginia. Periodization is the process of using themes to divide history into chunks of time with beginning and end dates.

Directions: 1) Highlight all important events that signaled change (shift in experience, sudden or gradual); **2)** Label **Turning Points** with the letters **"TP"** using the Comments. Recall that turning points are generally significant event because it signals a moment when the process of change shifts in direction or pace. They often signal the beginning and end of a "period."

1607 Jamestown is settled. It is the first permanent settlement in the colony of Virginia. The Virginia Company of London finances the settlement, expecting profits from harvesting Virginia's raw resources.

1612 John Rolfe plants Caribbean tobacco seeds in the rich Virginia soil. Tobacco became the exported product that made Virginia a wealthy colony.

1619 The first recorded Africans in the colony of Virginia arrived at Jamestown. Colonial Williamsburg historians believe these Africans were indentured servants.

1639 Blacks in Virginia are not required to bear arms although white settlers must.

1640 An African servant, John Punch, and two servants of European descent are captured while attempting to run away. The European servants are required to serve additional time as part of their punishment. John Punch is sentenced to lifetime servitude. This is the first recorded case of slavery prescribed by law in the colony of Virginia.

1642 Black women are counted as *tithables*—taxable property.

1661 Children born to enslaved mothers are considered slaves as well, regardless of their fathers' status. Children of enslaved fathers and free mothers are not considered slaves.

1667 By law, slaves baptized into the church are still considered to be slaves.

1669 Accidentally killing a slave during correction is not considered a crime.

1670 Blacks and Native Americans are not permitted to own servants of another race. All non-Christians arriving in the colony by water are hereafter considered slaves.

1671 Black slaves are considered property in real estate appraisals.

1672 Runaway slaves resisting capture may be killed.

1680 The ages of imported black children are to be determined and documented within three months of arrival in the colony. Blacks are forbidden to possess any type of weapon. Slaves must have permission before leaving their plantation of residence. Slaves are forbidden to raise a hand against any Christian. A law punishing slave insurrection is in use.

1682 All non-Christians coming into Virginia by any means are considered slaves, whether or not they convert to Christianity.

1692 A court of order and *terminer* (a Latin term meaning "hear and decide") is established to try all slaves accused of crimes. No jury hears the cases, and there is no right to appeal the court's decision. Blacks are required to give up ownership of cattle, horses, and sheep.

1705 "An Act Concerning Servants and Slaves" revises and strengthens most of the laws regarding slavery.

1710 Slaves who turn in other slaves planning insurrections or revolts are to be set free by law.

1732 Benefit of Clergy is extended in a limited fashion to blacks.

1769 Matthew Ashby, a free black living in Williamsburg, Virginia, obtains the freedom (via petition and purchase) of his wife, Ann, and his two children, John and Mary. Ashby may have been one of a group that successfully petitioned the court to eliminate the tax on free black women.

1772 In the Somerset Case, an English court rules in favor of a slave brought into England from a British colony who claimed he was a free man.

1775 Governor Dunmore of Virginia issued an emancipation proclamation that imposed martial law in Virginia and offered freedom to indentured servants and slaves willing to fight for the king. Slave insurrection occurs in the western part of Virginia.

1787 U. S. Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, providing territorial government and eventual statehood for the area north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River. Slavery is prohibited in any of these new territory.

1808 U. S. Congress passes a law to end the importation of African slaves.

1863 The Emancipation Proclamation, issued by President Lincoln, freed slaves in the seceding states.

1865 Congress passes the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, making slavery illegal and extending civil rights to former slaves.

Guiding Questions

1. Write two events you highlighted and explain why you thought they were important.

2. What were the Turning Points in the timeline?

3. What is the intention of the laws above?

Court Cases in Virginia

THE ELIZABETH KEY CASE

Elizabeth was the daughter of an unnamed slave woman and Thomas Key, a white person, who died in 1636. Elizabeth was sold by Humphrey Higginson, to whom she had been indentured. She became the property of John Mottrom I, who kept her as a slave. He died in 1655, and Elizabeth sued his executors for her freedom. With the aid of an attorney, Elizabeth argued that she should be freed on three points:

1. Her father was English.
2. She was a baptized Christian.
3. She had been sold for a definite term of years, which had long since passed.

She won her case, but the executors appealed the ruling, overturning it. Finally, the Northumberland County in Virginia justices freed her.

1. Why was Elizabeth a slave if her father was a white man?

2. Elizabeth and her attorneys argued that she should be free because...

3. What does this case tell us about slavery?

THE EMANUEL CASE

In 1640, Emanuel and six servants ran away with corn, powder, guns, and shot. They seized a small boat and were sailing down the Elizabeth River when they were caught. Most offenders were whipped, branded on the cheek with an R (a mark meaning Runaway), and required to serve additional years of indenture.

The sentences were: Christopher Miller (the "Principle agent in this business"): thirty lashes, branded on the cheek with "R," leg shackled for one year, and an additional seven years of servitude to the colony. Peter Wilcocke: thirty lashes, branded on the cheek with an "R," an additional three years servitude to Richard Cookson, and an additional 2.5 years servitude to the colony. Richard Hill: "To remain on good behavior until the next offense." Andrew Noxe: Thirty lashes. John Williams ("a Dutchman and a Chirugen" [surgeon]): An additional seven years to the colony. Emanuel: Thirty lashes, branded on the cheek with an "R," and leg shackled for one year. He was whipped and branded, but no additional time was added as punishment.

1. Who did Emanuel run away with?

2. What letter were they branded (marks in the form of letters or logo done with a blazing hot iron)? Why?

3. Who was given the lightest sentence?

4. What does this tell us about indentured servants?

THE JOHN PUNCH CASE

In 1640, the General Court pronounced sentence on three servants who had been captured after running away to Maryland. Two of them, both white, were ordered to serve their masters for one additional year and serve the colony for three more years. The third servant, "being a negro named John Punch shall serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural life here or elsewhere." This is the first definite indication of slavery by law in Virginia.

1. What did the three servants in the John Punch Case do?

2. What were the two white servants punished?

3. What was the black servant punished?

Claim/ Thesis

In the space below, write a one-sentence claim that addresses the question: How did racial slavery become the law? Make sure to discuss both sources to support your claim.

"Racial slavery was written into the law as shown above in the legal cases from the 1600s or the timeline (this is the how) because _____ (explanation or reason(s) why you believe this)."