

# **The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade A Database on CD-ROM**

Edited by David Eltis, David Richardson,  
Stephen D. Behrendt and Herbert S. Klein

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**Teacher's Manual**  
by Stephen D. Behrendt

Teachers' manual. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1527-1866: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), by Stephen D. Behrendt

This manual is designed to aid teachers in using *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1527-1866: A Database on CD-ROM* with their students. The manual is in three sections:

- 1) Using the CD-ROM database of slaving voyages, including specific examples of queries that can be run with the CD-ROM;
- 2) An overview of the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade;
- 3) Suggestions for further reading and research: an annotated bibliography.

1) Using the CD-ROM database of slaving voyages

a) Accessing the CD-ROM program

*The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1527-1866: A Database on CD-ROM* documents much of this massive forced migration over more than three centuries. Teachers can generate information, by any period of study, on cycles of slave exports and imports, links between specific ports or regions in Africa and the Americas, and mortality levels on trans-Atlantic slaving diasporas—to name several of the possible queries. The CD-ROM database is a file of 27,233 trans-Atlantic slaving voyages—that is, voyages that sailed from Africa to the Americas. It is essentially a spreadsheet consisting of 27,233 rows, or voyages, and 227 columns, or variables, of information about each voyage. These variables comprise such details as the names, rigs and tonnage of slaving vessels, the ports of trade in the Atlantic world, dates of departures and arrivals, numbers of enslaved Africans, numbers of crew, and the names of captains and shipowners. A complete listing of the variables may be accessed via the “Codebook” button on the slave-trade program or by double-clicking on any individual record. Included in the database are slaving voyages which sailed from all major Atlantic ports in Europe, Africa and the Americas. The authors estimate that the 27,233 ventures document more than two-thirds of all trans-Atlantic slaving voyages. Because most primary sources on trans-Atlantic slaving relate to individual voyages and the names of ships, this is a voyage-based file. Such a file is the essential first step in creating a foundation upon which to include additional information—including names of enslaved Africans on board specific ships, slave prices, or details about insurrections. This information may be added in future versions of the database.

Included on the CD-ROM disk is the entire database in SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences), located in the folder “SPSSDATA.” Users may want to download this file, regroup the variables and create their own customized data-sets.

The authors designed the CD-ROM program to quickly retrieve and summarize information contained in this large, complex database. They also wanted to make sure that teachers unfamiliar with the history of the slave trade would be able to use this program effectively with students. Via a home screen, users can query the database, access the detailed introduction to the project—which outlines the authors’ methodology—and display the full Codebook. There is also a help screen, structural information of, and images on three select slaving vessels: the British ship *Brooks*, and the French slavers *Aurore* and *Vigilante*. Information in this section builds upon the help screen.

Users retrieve slaving voyage information by clicking on “query” and searching the set via the query screen. From the query screen, search results may be analyzed, summarized, mapped, and graphed. Upon entering the query screen, the user is prompted to select :1) a time period; 2) the phase of the voyage and region of trade; and/or 3) filters to refine the search. These pre-set search options are provided as a convenience for users; identical searches can be made through the filter boxes. The authors designed the filters to access more specific information contained in the database. All 27,233 slaving voyages can be retrieved by selecting “Full time period,” and clicking “Perform Query.” The 9,947 slaving voyages, contained in the database, documented to have sailed from Britain are retrieved by selecting “Full time period” and “Where voyage begins” = “Britain.” Similarly, searching “Region of departure broadly defined” = “Europe” retrieves a sample of 14,889 voyages.

Each search quickly displays the sample of voyages in a familiar spreadsheet format. Users may change the size of this screen by moving the pointer to the top of the box—which turns it into a horizontal I-beam—and drag the box up or down. Each row represents a single voyage and cells are pieces of information—variables—about the voyage. Users may extend the width of the variable cells by changing the pointer into a vertical I-beam and dragging the handles (labelborders) on the top of the spreadsheet. Entire columns may be “blocked out” by overlapping these handles. Users who wish to display a select number of variables should “block out” the others. These redefined cell widths are maintained throughout subsequent searches, until the user quits the program. Double-clicking on any cell (variable) in the row (voyage) displays a voyage detail screen. The capitalized variable “codes”, or column labels, are spelled out in this display. Only the source citations have been summarized in the data-set. A complete listing may be found by clicking on the “Methodology” button, located at the top of the screen, and scrolling to Appendix A: Sources. To help identify the full citation, users should type all or part of the coded citation into the “Find” box within the Methodology document, and then click “Find.”

After retrieving a sample of voyages, users may analyze, summarize, map and graph selected voyage information. Clicking the analysis button prompts the program to calculate estimated numbers of slaves embarked and disembarked, ship tonnage, mortality losses of slaves on the Middle Passage, days on the Middle Passage, and percentages of enslaved African males and children. The authors decided that this information would be of most interest to users. Note that the sample number of voyages, used to calculate this varied information, changes. That is, fewer voyages have documented information on slave mortality than, for example, on the tonnage of the slaving vessel. Users should not calculate slave mortality as the difference between estimated slave exports and imports.

The Summary button calculates shares of the trade by eight African regional markets and then by fifty-three areas of disembarkation (mostly in the Americas, but also including some in Europe and Africa). For each, the database program sums the estimated numbers of enslaved Africans embarked and disembarked on board each voyage. Two percentages are calculated: regional percentages of arrivals and departures including unspecified areas, and regional percentages excluding the missing “Africa” and “Americas” regions.

The Graph button, when selected, presents bar graphs of the estimated number of enslaved Africans embarked and disembarked, per time period, for each query. Via a toggle switch located immediately to the right of the graph button, users may either graph embarkations or disembarkations. The years listed on the horizontal axis refer to the estimated years that the vessels slaved on the coast of Africa or arrived in the Americas with slaves. One can enlarge a graph region by left-clicking the mouse and dragging to create a box. The “Zoom out” button returns to the original graph display. Right-clicking the mouse enables the user to pan the screen. Bar labels (estimated numbers of slaves embarked or disembarked) are turned on and off via the white “Labels” box, located next to the Map button.

The Map button allows the user to visually depict the selected search criteria via path graphics. The map screen includes the principal ports, rivers, and broader slave-trading regions in Europe, Africa and the Americas. All ports frequented by at least ten slaving voyages are represented by a small red square. Users display these place-names by clicking the white “Ports” box, located to the right of the Graph button. (A complete listing of all ports is included in the Codebook, and in the “Ports and Regions” filter). In the data-set, ports are grouped into broader slave-trading countries, regions, or colonies. For example, Bristol, Chester, Colchester, Cowes, Dartmouth, Dover, Dublin, Exeter, Glasgow, Greenock, Hull, Lancaster, Leigh, Leith, Liverpool, London, Lyme, Montrose, Newcastle, Plymouth, Poole, Portsmouth, Poulton, Preston, Shoreham, Waterford and Whitehaven are grouped into the region Great Britain (a country). Similarly, Annotta Bay, Black River, Falmouth, Kingston, Lucea, Martha Brae, Montego Bay, Port Antonio,

Port Maria, Port Royal, Savanna la Mar and St. Ann's Bay are grouped together as Jamaica (a colony). African trading outlets are grouped into eight broad regions, following the terminology adopted by historians. From north to south they are: Senegambia; the Sierra Leone region; the Windward Coast; the Gold Coast; the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra; West-central Africa; and South-east Africa.

These slaving "frontiers" or hinterlands for these eight regions are illustrated on the maps by dark green shading. These areas are approximations, as historians do not have complete information on all slave-supply lines from the interior of Africa to coastal outlets, and because these slaving hinterlands varied over time. The size of each shaded area also approximates the relative volume of the regional slave trades. As depicted on the map, most enslaved Africans in the Atlantic trade lived in a large area termed "West-central Africa." "Ports" of trade, strictly speaking, are "places" of trade. Colonial documents usually refer to slaving ships arriving in Barbados—rather than Carlisle Bay, Bridgetown. The major ports of small West India islands are referred to only infrequently in the documentary evidence. The authors therefore included islands such as St. Croix, St. Thomas and Tortola as "places" of trade and then grouped these locations into the broader region "Virgin Islands." Everything listed on the maps—all the ports, rivers, places of trade, and broad regions—are place-names contained in the database.

Zoom buttons on the top of the screen allow the user to manipulate the map display. A "zoom in" button allows the user to view larger-scale maps (more details) of specific regions. The user selects regions by dragging the pointer from top-left to bottom-right, thus creating a box—the selected region. A "zoom out" button, when highlighted, allows the user to click the pointer on any geographical selection and reduce its scale. Right-clicking the mouse allows the user to "pan" the map in any direction.

Clicking the Map button, after completing a search, prompts the program to draw lines across the Atlantic Ocean, linking the major regions of arrival and departure. For example, mapping a Jamaica search would display the trans-Atlantic paths of all slaving voyages that disembarked Africans in Jamaica in a selected period. Lines radiate from Jamaica towards the eight broad regions of slave embarkation in Africa. Similarly, a search on the Bight of Biafra could then be mapped to illustrate the voyage pathways to the Americas where enslaved Africans, embarked at trading outlets in the Bight of Biafra, would be disembarked. Yellow lines indicate voyage pathways from Africa; pink lines, the voyages to the Americas. The relative volume of the slave trade, by region, is indicated by the size of the yellow or pink boxes, located at the beginning or end of each line/region. Mapping all slaving voyages contained in the set would display numerous lines across the Atlantic Ocean. This would indeed demonstrate the geographical expansiveness of Atlantic slaving, but would be perhaps be less useful for teaching purposes.

b) Using the CD-ROM database to teach the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade

The compilation of 27,233 slaving voyages on CD-ROM allows the teaching and discussion of various long-term trends in the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. As the editors state in their introduction, which can be accessed via the “Method” button on the CD-ROM program, it is important to remember that this large number of voyages represents a sample of the trade and that the sample size varies by time and national carrier. In general, therefore, one should be careful not to mislead students about the comprehensiveness of the database. The numbers of voyages, though large, are not actual or aggregate totals. Perhaps the largest “gaps” in the database are slaving voyages based in: Portugal (1518-1790); Brazil (pre-1750); England (1630s-1660); France (1630-1707); the Dutch Republic (1621-1660); colonial British North America and the United States (1644-1807, other than Rhode Island); and Cuba (1830s-1866). The eighteenth-century British, French, Dutch, Rhode Island and Danish slave trades are likely the best-represented in the set: there are documented records for perhaps more than ninety percent of these carriers’ voyages. Further, for these five trades combined documents report the names of almost all the captains, most of the shipowners, almost two-thirds of the locations of trade in Africa, and more than nine out of ten locations of trade in the Americas.

The British, French and Dutch—three of the four major carriers—dominated particular slaving markets in the Atlantic world. On the African coast, British merchants out-competed other European and Atlantic traders in slaving markets in the Gambia River, along the Windward Coast and at the trading outlets of Bonny, New Calabar, and the Cameroons River in the Bight of Biafra. French vessels embarked the vast majority of enslaved Africans who were transported down the Senegal River. For many years in the eighteenth century, French slavers also dominated markets near the Congo River. In the Americas, mercantilist laws restricted the African slave trade of most European colonial markets to ships from “metropolitan” ports. Planters in the British colony of Jamaica, for example, purchased almost all enslaved Africans from Liverpool, Bristol and London vessels that arrived from the African coast. Dutch planters in the Guianas purchased many enslaved Africans who were shipped from Dutch castles on the Gold Coast, such as the forts at Axim and Elmina. Slaves disembarked in St. Domingue, Martinique, or Guadeloupe arrived overwhelmingly on French vessels, many of which slaved near the Senegal River and along the coastlines of the Bight of Benin and Kongo-Angola. Therefore, because the slaving voyage information on the eighteenth-century British, French and Dutch trades are comprehensive, there are large samples of slaving voyages disembarking captives in markets such as Jamaica or St. Domingue or Surinam. Regarding the African-side of the trade, the authors believe that the database contains the majority of vessels that slaved in the Bight of Biafra (1750-1807), along the Gold Coast (1700-1807) and in the Senegal and Gambia Rivers(1700-1807). For certain markets, therefore, the sample of voyages is large enough to illustrate general patterns of

slave-trading. Teachers can then link these patterns with the important issues of the impact of the slave trade on societies in the Atlantic world, differences in voyage mortality over time and by regions of trade, and differences in the organization and commercial structure of many different Atlantic slave trades.

One of the greatest debates among historians is the impact of the slave trade on African societies. Did slave traders depopulate certain regions of Africa? Were there marked differences in the shipment of men, women and children which could have adversely affected African demographic history? Were many of the victims of the slave trade peoples captured specifically for the Atlantic markets, or were many prisoners of war—captured and enslaved in battle? The lack of historical documentation precludes historians from ever fully answering these daunting questions. We have little information, for example, on the structures of slave-trading in the interior regions of Africa, the so-called broad “catchment areas.” Indeed, the CD-ROM database distinguishes the “origins” of enslaved Africans by coastal trading outlets or regions. African slaves shipped through ports such as Elmina are documented as “Gold Coast” slaves, though they may have lived in villages on the Upper Niger or Gambia Rivers. Their neighbors could have been captured and shipped west along the Senegal River to the Atlantic coast—thus from “Senegambia.” Teachers should keep in mind that African historians have minimal quantitative data on the pathways from African interior to coastal trading sites; thus peoples from the same ethnic or linguistic group could be Gold Coast or Senegambian slaves. Nonetheless, a database query that combines searches on the periods of trade with the regions of African trade, can help address some of the questions about the trade’s impact.

Students can evaluate broad shifts in regional slave-trading by comparing data from different 100-year or 25-year time periods. There are large samples of voyages in the periods 1601-1700, 1701-1800, and 1801-1867. Selecting the 100-year time period 1601-1700 retrieves 1,727 voyages. The Analysis button calculates the information on slave embarkation, disembarkation, tonnage, mortality, voyage time, and age/sex ratios. The Summary button then calculates these data by regions of trade in Africa and the Americas. Examine the African regional percentage shares of the slave trade in the period 1601-1700. Why did more voyages slave in Senegambia than the Sierra Leone region? Why did more voyages embark enslaved Africans along the Bight of Benin (Slave Coast) than in the Bight of Biafra? Run similar queries over the 1701-1800 and 1801-1867 time periods. Were there large changes in the broad African regional distribution of slave exports? Teachers could ask students why they think that the trade moved progressively south, over time, towards the Bight of Biafra, West-central Africa, and then—in the period 1801-1867—towards South-east Africa (near modern-day Mozambique). Were areas to the north depopulated, thus forcing traders farther south? Were agents based in the chartered company forts of Senegambia and the Gold Coast unable to supply the numbers of enslaved Africans to

meet the increasing demands of planters and merchants in the eighteenth century? Did European merchants seek lower prices in markets such as the Bight of Biafra?

These changes are seen more subtly with queries on 25-year periods. Compare, for example, the African regional distribution of African slaves in the periods 1701-1725 and 1776-1800. Select the 25-year period button and scroll down to 1701-1725 (this also can be done via a “down arrow” key). Click “Perform Query.” When the program completes the search, click on the “Summary” button and print out the results. Now repeat the procedure for the period 1776-1800. Which African region became increasingly drawn into the trans-Atlantic slave trade over the course of the eighteenth century? Though the authors created 5, 25 and 100-year buttons as a convenience to users, all time periods can be searched in the database through filter boxes. To choose an alternate period of analysis, click on the “New” query button and move to the first filter box. Click in the filtered search box and move the pointer to “Dates,” then to “Africa,” and then to “Year departed Africa.” The second box on the first filter allows the user to choose “<,” “=,” “>.” Select “>” and then type in “1700” in the third box. To combine this criterion with either a second or third filter, click on the small box to the left of the second filter and select “AND.” Then select “Year departed Africa” < 1751. The filtered search now will retrieve all voyages for which “Year departed Africa” >1700 AND “Year departed Africa” < 1751, once the “Perform Query” button is clicked. This 1701-1750 search combines the 25-year searches 1701-1725 and 1726-1750.

The “Select region” scroll box allows users to examine the slave trades of large regions/colonies. Africa, Brazil, Caribbean, Europe, Other Americas and the United States are the regions of departure and disembarkation “broadly defined.” Selecting “Where voyage begins,” “Where slaves embarked” or “Where slaves disembarked” brings up lists that contain countries such as France, regions such as the “Bight of Biafra” as well as colonies in the Americas such as “Jamaica” or regions such as “North-east Brazil.” Ports of trade are not included as “regions” and thus are not listed here. The filters allow users to query data on ports of trade such as Bonny in Africa or Kingston in Jamaica or, indeed, voyages that embarked enslaved Africans in Bonny and then disembarked these captives in Kingston. For example, in the first filter box select “Ports” > “Americas” > “Principal port of slave disembarkation.” Then scroll down to Kingston, Jamaica (typing a “K” calls up the first “K” place-name in the scroll box, Kings Harbour).

Users should note that the filters for the names of ships, captains and owners are case-sensitive. One can retrieve the slaving voyages of a ship named *Queen Elizabeth* by creating the filtered search “Shipname” = Queen Elizabeth, or “Shipname” = Queen Eliz or “Shipname” = Queen—but not “Shipname” = Elizabeth. The first letters of every filtered query must be entered. Captain and Owners are searched by Last name, First name. The “Search” All box

searches the three captain variables (first captain, second captain, third captain) and all sixteen owner variables.

The Bight of Biafra slave trade of the eighteenth century, as mentioned, one of the best-documented African regional trades, presents some interesting teaching exercises to help students understand the impact of the slave trade on African societies. Select “Full-time period,” “Where slaves disembarked” and the region “Bight of Biafra.” Now filter this search by the period 1730-1770 (“Year departed Africa” > 1729 AND “Year departed Africa” < 1771). When the search is performed, illustrate the volume of the slave trade from the Bight of Biafra, 1730-1770, by clicking the “Graph” button, (toggle-switch = Embarkations). Because the sample of the trade in this region is quite large, the fluctuations in the trade during these forty years approximate accurately the cyclical pattern of exports. How can one account for the sharp rise in slave exports from the Bight of Biafra? One might suppose that this area of the coastal slave trade, which lagged behind the trades of the communities in the Bight of Benin, would have developed slowly. Is the relatively rapid increase in slaving suggestive of a well-organized commercial infrastructure in the hinterland of Biafra? This type of search could lead to a discussion of slave-trading networks throughout Africa. In this example, one could suggest that increased European demand for enslaved African labor prompted African merchants to increase the scale of their slaving purchases and redirect the flow of captives towards the Atlantic coast and the trading outlets Bonny, New Calabar, and Old Calabar.

Illustrating such cycles of slave-trading is an important feature of the CD-ROM database. Previous scholarship grouped trading patterns in Africa by decades or even broader periods. The compilation of large samples of voyages into one computerized file allows analysis by year or month of trade. Graph the slave trades from other African regions by selected periods of study. Are cycles of slave-supply typical? If so, what explains these cycles? Select and graph a period of study which bridges years of war in Europe, such as 1776-1800 (a 25-year period search). Is there an increase in the volume of the trade after the American war ends in 1783? Does trade decline with the outbreak of war in 1793? To factor out the influence of European war on the slave trade from Africa, select a period of peacetime trade such as 1764-1775 (filtered searches “Year of departure” > 1763 AND “Year of departure” < 1776). Select a port of trade in Africa, such as Bonny (“Ports and Regions” > “Africa” > “Principal port of slave purchase” = Bonny), by adding a third filtered search. Graphing this query will illustrate the estimated annual slave exports from Bonny for the period 1764-1775. Why would the numbers of enslaved Africans who were sold to Europeans fluctuate? Now examine the spreadsheet format. The eighth column, or variable, is the “Month of departure” (DATEDEPB). Scroll up and down this sample of voyages. Many of the voyages to Bonny sail during the months of May, June, and July. Why was this true? Does this have something to do with the summer yam harvest in Bonny? If so, why would slaving voyages sail to Bonny to arrive (after a 6-8 week voyage) during, or just after,

the yam harvest? Can one also detect monthly cycles of slave-trading in the Americas? Data for the British colonies of Virginia and Jamaica are well-represented in the CD-ROM database. Select samples of voyages for the period 1751-1775 (Virginia) and 1776-1800 (Jamaica). On the spreadsheets for each search, examine the month of ship arrival in these colonies (DATARR33). Which months appear most frequently in the Virginia search? In the Jamaica search? What explains these differences in the patterns of trade to these two British colonies?

A useful approach to these types of questions is to have students focus on the factors that influenced the supply of slaves in Africa and the demand for slaves in the Americas. Africans could be enslaved and sold—perhaps several times before reaching the Atlantic coast, as Olaudah Equiano relates in his eighteenth-century narrative—for many reasons. Some were prisoners of war captured in battles between African states. Mostly men, they may have resisted their enslavement and, as they were costly to keep alive or even restrain in captivity, were sold to African merchants for eventual sale on the coast to ship captains. Other Africans could be enslaved for criminal offenses and shipped overseas (like the British convicts who were transported to Australia). During periods of drought and famine, individuals who were non- or recently acquired kin members of African communities may have been sold to merchants for food. There is documented evidence of African wars and famines during the years of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Is there a direct link between such disasters, and increasing numbers of enslaved Africans sold into the trade? In the 1720s, for example, the Kingdom of Dahomey conquered Allada and Whydah, kingdoms that shipped slaves from the Bight of Benin. Did this warfare impact on the annual supply of slaves in this region of trade?

What factors influenced planter demand for slaves in the Americas? Pose this question to students and have them think of useful search criteria in the CD-ROM database. European warfare restricted the number of slaving vessels that could safely arrive on the African coast. Consequently, the supply of enslaved African laborers available to merchant-planters in the Americas declined during war-periods, such as 1739-1748, 1756-1763, 1776-1783, and 1794-1815. How did this impact on the prices of slaves, or the volume of the slave trade during periods of peace? Lead a discussion on the different plantation crops in the Americas. Have students compare the slave trades to Jamaica (largely a sugar colony), Virginia (mainly tobacco) and South Carolina (mostly rice). Were there different trading “diasporas” from Africa to these colonies? Focus on the 25-year period 1751-1775. Scroll down to Jamaica and Virginia in the “Select region” box. To separate the slave trade to South Carolina (from the Carolinas), create the following filtered search: “principal port of slave disembarkation” = Charleston OR “principal port of slave disembarkation” = South Carolina. Why did Jamaica planters purchase more enslaved Africans from the Bight of Biafra than planters in Virginia? Why did South Carolina planters purchase more slaves from Senegambia? Were they familiar with rice cultivation in this area of West Africa? For major Americas slave markets, such as Jamaica or St. Domingue, the

CD-ROM database allows further regional or port-based analysis. Compare the slave trades from north-west (Montego Bay region) and south-east (Kingston region) Jamaica. For a larger sample of voyages, select the 100-year period 1701-1800 and then filter this search by the major port of slave sales. First select “principal port of slave disembarkation” = Montego Bay, Jamaica and then select “principal port of slave disembarkation” = Kingston, Jamaica. Did these regional areas of Jamaica draw on different African slave-supply zones? What could explain these differences?

As the authors state in their introduction to the CD-ROM database (which can be accessed via the Methodology button), they included a variable for African resistance (INSURREC). A voyage had an “insurrection” when Africans escaped their imprisonment and injured or killed crew members. To retrieve all voyages with such documented ship-board resistance, create the filtered search “Outcome of Voyage” > “Slave revolt on board?” = “Insurrection.” The “Summary” button summarizes the regions of trade for this sample of voyages. Are there regional differences in African resistance? Does this summary represent an accurate measure of ship-board resistance? In other words, are some regions, which accounted for a small share of the total trans-Atlantic slave trade, seemingly over-represented in this table? Given the fact that the CD-ROM database includes a sample of voyages, ask students how they could evaluate more accurately the question of regional differences in resistance. Should all time periods be included?

Though there was resistance on all voyages, the probability that Africans could escape their imprisonment and injure or kill crew members may have increased under certain conditions. Would insurrections occur, for example, on voyages in which many crew had died of disease and there thus was diminished security? Or when more captives were adults or males? Such questions are complex, and can be addressed with more precision in the statistical (SPSS) program included with the CD-ROM package. One can, however, use the filters in the CD-ROM program to present some speculative conclusions. Select, for example, the 100-year period 1701-1800 and “Where slaves embarked” = “Senegambia.” In the first filter, select “Slave revolt on board?” = Insurrection and (AND) then in the second filter select “Slaves (by age and sex)” > “Child ratios” > .20. This query thus asks whether any insurrections on voyages embarking slaves in Senegambia occurred on vessels in which more than twenty percent of the captives were defined as “children.” Or, the second filter could evaluate the percentage of male captives via variables MALRAT1 and MALRAT3 (“Male ratios”). Perhaps more insurrections occurred on vessels slaving at Senegambia when more than two-thirds (“Male ratios” > .67) of the captives were male.

Students could also evaluate whether slave resistance in the Americas had an impact on the demand for enslaved African labor. Jamaican planters attributed insurrections in the 1760s, for example, to “rebellious” Akan and Coromantine slaves from the Gold Coast. Would they

therefore refuse to purchase “Gold Coast” slaves in the 1770s? Students could print the “summary” screen from a filtered search on the 1750s (such as “Year reached port of disembarkation” > 1739 AND “Year reached port of disembarkation” < 1751), and then comparing the African regional distribution of slave imports with a filtered search on the 1770s. Similarly, some scholars argue that planters purchased enslaved labor from various African locations to keep their workforce disunited: if a group of slaves spoke different languages it would be difficult to organize effective resistance. Though this first version of the CD-ROM database does not link individual Africans to specific plantations, teachers could have students evaluate the African origins of slaves by American regions. Perhaps insurrections occurred in colonies or territories in which one African region predominated.

Studying the trans-Atlantic connections between markets in Africa and the Americas will help to establish the fact that there were multiple “diasporas” in the Atlantic world of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Further, students will begin to examine localized regions of Africa and the contributions that peoples from these regions made towards the shaping of the Americas. As background to a discussion of various African-American cultures, teachers could have students query the CD-ROM database for information on the African origins of, for example, slaves disembarked in Virginia, the Carolinas, Jamaica, St. Domingue, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Barbados, Dominica, Antigua, Cuba, and South-east Brazil. Did these slaving markets draw upon different coastal African regions? Did some African cultures “carry over” to the New World? There is a distinct Yoruba cultural presence in Cuba today. Did a majority of the enslaved Africans who were disembarked in Cuba come from the Bights of Benin or Biafra, areas from where Yoruba-speakers may have been forced to migrate? Were there shifts in the African provenance zones to specific American regions over time?

The different trans-Atlantic “diasporas” also can be illustrated to students through analysis of vessel tonnage or slave mortality levels. For all searches in the database, mean (average) modified tonnage and mortality levels are calculated and displayed in the Analysis screen. As explained in the introduction, a modified tonnage value is used to standardize, as closely as possible, tonnage measured by different sets of criteria. British, French and Dutch officials most fully documented the tonnage of slaving vessels. Thus in examining the size of vessels—and thus the number of Africans confined on board ship—the largest samples will be retrieved for queries on markets frequented by these three national carriers. Teachers can ask students to identify African markets where the largest slavers traded. Select the 25-year period 1776-1800 and compare, for example, the size of vessels trading along the Windward Coast and in the Bight of Biafra. What explains the differences in tonnage? In the same time period, select the regions Martinique and St. Domingue. Did vessels of similar size disembark enslaved Africans in these two French colonies? In which trading “diaspora” did merchants employ the largest slaving vessels? Have students run several searches, combining markets in Africa, such as the Bight of

Biafra, with markets in the Americas, such as Jamaica. One can either select the region “Bight of Biafra,” and filter the search by “Imputed region in which greatest number of slaves disembarked” = Jamaica, or select the region “Jamaica” and filter the search by “Imputed region in which greatest number of slaves embarked” = Bight of Biafra. Both searches retrieve the largest samples of voyages, as these variables include the imputed or estimated areas of trade. Smaller samples would be returned by variables MAJSELRG (“Region in which greatest number of slaves disembarked”) and MAJBYREG (“Region in which greatest number of slaves embarked”), the documented locations of slave sales and purchases.

Slave mortality levels, displayed in each Analysis screen, refer to the percentage of enslaved Africans who died on the voyage to the Americas—the infamous Middle Passage. Students quickly can analyze mortality losses over time and by trading location. In consecutive searches, select the time periods 1501-1600, 1601-1700 and 1701-1800. Does the mortality loss value, displayed in the Analysis screen, change? Narrow the search to the well-documented eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Create the filtered search “Outcome of voyage” > “Fate of voyage from perspective of slaves” = “Slaves disembarked Americas.” Evaluate all 25-year periods from 1701 to 1867 and note each mortality level. Now restrict the search to the eighteenth century and select each of the major African regions of trade (Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra, Gold Coast, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, South-east Africa, West-central Africa and the Windward Coast). Does slave mortality loss vary by region of embarkation? Why would more Africans die on voyages sailing from the Bight of Biafra than from Senegambia or the Gold Coast? Have students discuss the length (and time taken to sail) the various Middle Passage voyages. If more Africans died on longer voyages from the Bight of Biafra, perhaps vessels were provisioned inadequately. Many medical authorities contend that pre-embarkation health conditions are a key factor in explaining the health of passengers (forced or free migrants) on board ship. If mortality losses on the Middle Passage vary by African region of embarkation, do dietary levels of enslaved Africans also differ by region? Compare mortality levels for voyages sailing in the 25-year periods 1776-1800 and 1826-1850. Why was there no marked improvement in ship-board health?

Information contained in the CD-ROM database on ship-ownership, dates of sail, and vessel construction can also lead students into discussions on the economic organization of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. There are ownership records for many British, French, Dutch and Rhode Island slaving vessels of the eighteenth century. These may be retrieved by filtering the search on the period 1701-1800 with the imputed variable for vessel ownership NATINIMP. Thus “Ship” > “Imputed national registration of vessel” = English (or French or Dutch or U.S.A.). In the spreadsheet, have students scroll to the ownership variables and compare the number of owners for a typical British slaving venture with those for typical Dutch or French or Rhode Island ventures. If more merchants organized a typical British slaving voyage, does this imply that there

was more capital available in England? Students can also search for individual slaving vessels and examine the number of voyages they made in the trade. In 1807, the Liverpool ship *Kitty's Amelia* made the last legal British slaving voyage. Search for this vessel via the filtered search "Shipname" = Kitty's Amelia (or "Shipname" = Kitty's Am or Kitty's or Kitt, etc.). How many consecutive slaving voyages did this ship make? Examine the dates when this ship sailed from and returned to Liverpool. Have students note the ship's tonnage and calculate the number of days in port between voyages. How many days did it take Liverpool workers to fit out a ship of this size? Search the database for other slaving vessels of similar tonnage, which sailed from different ports. See if students can use this "portturn-around data" to draw speculative conclusions about efficiencies in slave-trading.

These are a few examples of the kinds of searches one can make in the CD-ROM database. They are outlined here as a guide to teachers, rather than as a set list of the most important queries. It is hoped that students and teachers studying the trans-Atlantic slave trade pose other questions and use this database to promote discussion and to help understand this tragic part of human history.

## 2) Overview of the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade

From 1519 to 1867 an estimated ten to twelve million African men, women and children were forcibly transported from the African coast to work as slaves in the Americas. This coerced migration was the largest trans-oceanic movement of peoples in the Atlantic world prior to the late nineteenth century. As many as 36,000 slaving voyages made the Atlantic crossing—the infamous Middle Passage—carrying enslaved Africans who were chained below deck. Fettered usually in pairs, often naked or only partially clothed, and given minimum levels of food and water, mortality rates in the terrible, cramped conditions exceeded those of all other migrants or passengers in oceanic history. Perhaps fifteen percent of all enslaved Africans died on the Middle Passage: almost two million people. Most major Atlantic ports participated in this massive forced migration. In Africa, there were slaving markets from the western Sahara southeast along the coast to Angola. Enslaved Africans, destined for the New World, also were embarked in Indian Ocean ports from Mombasa south to the Cape of Good Hope. In the Americas, there were slave markets from New England south to Argentina. In Europe, slaving ventures were organized from ports in Portugal, Spain, England, Ireland, Scotland, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Scandinavia, German city-states, and even Russia.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, before slaving ships sailed from Africa to the Americas, there were several other slave trades in the Atlantic and Caribbean. On the west African coast, Portuguese vessels transported enslaved Africans from the Bight of Benin (modern-day Togo, Benin and western Nigeria) to the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana) to work in gold mines. The first heavily-capitalized plantation complexes developed in the Canary

Islands, on Madeira, and on the island of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea. Portuguese captains shipped enslaved Africans from the coast to labor on sugar plantations on these islands. African captives also were transported to Portugal and Spain. By 1550, the city of Lisbon had a population of 10,000 enslaved Africans—ten percent of the population of Portugal. Many of these Africans transported along African coastal waters and the North Atlantic were captured in raids. Over time, the Portuguese and other Europeans organized more systematic slaving by building trading posts on the coast or on small islands near river estuaries. In 1445, the Portuguese located a trading post on the small island of Arguin, off northwest Africa (modern-day Mauritania), and then in 1482-83 built a larger stone “castle” on the Gold Coast. This latter fort, the castle of São Jorge da Mina (known as Elmina or “the mine”) was built to secure the gold trade and remained the principal European base in Africa for a century, though Portuguese power extended, at best, to only a few miles inland.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade developed in the early sixteenth century in response to the labor demands of the settlers and conquistadors—mostly Spanish—who arrived in the wake of Cristóbal Colón (Christopher Columbus) and who were determined to extract as much wealth as possible from New World lands. In the twenty-five years following the first Columbus voyage of 1492-93, a Caribbean inter-island slave trade developed to transport enslaved Indians, mostly to the principal Spanish settlements in Española (Hispaniola: modern-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic). The decimation of Indian populations due to European and African diseases, such as measles and smallpox, led Spanish colonists to petition their king, Charles V, to allow the importation of enslaved Africans into the New World. Some Africans had arrived earlier in the Spanish Americas via Spain and Portugal, but a direct trans-Atlantic slave trade was not yet in place. Emperor Charles V granted this privilege in August 1518 and for about 270 years thereafter Spanish authorities sold *asiento* contracts to merchants who agreed to transport a specified number of enslaved Africans, for short-term periods, to Spanish colonies. Italian merchants financed many voyages in the early years of the trade. It is believed that the first slaves brought to the Americas direct from Africa arrived in Puerto Rico in 1519.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade developed slowly throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. Indeed, the slave trade from Africa to the “Old World” (Europe) remained larger. Both trades were in Portuguese hands, as the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) granted Portuguese merchants exclusive trading rights in Africa and the Far East. This treaty placed New World lands—with the exception of most of Brazil—under Spanish control. Spanish conquistadors demanded enslaved African labor to work in silver mines or ranches in Mexico or in Peruvian cities. Though sugar arrived in the New World on Columbus’ second trans-Atlantic voyage in 1493, the center of the colonial sugar production remained the Portuguese island São Tomé, in the Gulf of Guinea. Cane production in the Americas did not increase markedly until the increased exploitation of the coast of northeast Brazil in the 1570s and 1580s. Perhaps forty or fifty

thousand enslaved Africans, almost all transported from the Kingdom of Kongo and Angola coastlines, were disembarked in Brazil in the period 1575-1590. The union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in 1580 spurred the growth of the Brazilian economy and the development of Luanda, the only major European settlement colony in Africa until the later nineteenth century. In 1575 the Portuguese built a fort on the small island of Luanda, located at the mouth of the Coanza River in modern-day Angola. By the 1580s further fortifications were built on the nearby coast and a large Portuguese (Luso)-African community inhabited the growing city there. Down to the mid-nineteenth century, Luanda was a slave-trading center. Further north some slaves left West Africa, but along the Gold Coast, Europeans purchased more gold (by value) than slaves until about the early eighteenth century.

Throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Spanish administrators and merchants focused on exploiting the economies of Brazil, Mexico and Peru. Their neglect of possessions in the Caribbean and North America presented opportunities for rival privateers, merchants and emigrants to raid, trade, and settle lands. For privateers and pirates, the Spanish silver fleets were tempting prizes. Merchants envisioned plantations worked by enslaved Indian, African or indentured European labor. Religious dissidents hoped to create model “cities of god” in pristine environments. Poor men saw the New World as an opportunity to eventually own land and secure better lives. Further, a series of religious wars in Europe weakened Spanish-Portuguese military power along the African coast and in the New World: defending Catholicism in numerous land and sea battles spread forces over too large an area. The Dutch Republic presented the first strong challenge to Iberian slave-trading dominance. In 1621 merchants reorganized a Dutch West India Company, a joint-stock venture designed to tap into the African gold trade and to attack Spanish shipping. This Company was granted a monopoly on Dutch trade with Africa and the West Indies for twenty-four years. In 1630-34 Dutch squadrons captured the coastline of northeast Brazil (Pernambuco). They then captured the Portuguese fort at Elmina in 1637 and gained control of Luanda and much of the Kongo-Angola trade in 1642-48. Dutch merchants dominated the trans-Atlantic slave trade from 1636 to 1645: during this ten-year period West India Company vessels sold more than 20,000 enslaved Africans to merchants and planters in Brazil.

The second half of the seventeenth century marked a more determined effort by British and French merchants to enter the Atlantic slave-trading system. Most of the earlier voyages to Africa traded for gold, redwood, gum, pepper, wax or ivory. In the initial development of the British colonies Virginia, St. Kitts, Barbados and Nevis (1620s-1650s), Jamaica (1660s) and South Carolina (1690s), and the French colonies St. Domingue (modern-day Haiti), Martinique and Guadeloupe (1660s-1680s), most plantation workers were indentured laborers. They were

young European males who contracted to work for 3-5 years in the Americas in return for free oceanic passage and food and housing. By the later seventeenth century, tobacco, sugar, indigo and rice planters in British and French colonies began switching from indentured labor (and some free and coerced Indian labor) to African slave labor. Fewer young males were willing to contract themselves for short-term servitude in the Americas as wages rose in Europe and opportunities to own land in the colonies dwindled. Further, some colonial assemblies enacted laws to further slave-owners' property rights. Greater competition and efficiencies in trans-Atlantic slave-trading also reduced the prices of forced labor shipped from the African coast. With the development of new plantation complexes, fewer enslaved Africans were transported to work within the Spanish colonial sphere. Indeed, by the 1650s the slave populations of Mexico (35,000 slaves) and Peru (100,000 slaves) had peaked relative to the population of whites. Increasingly, Brazil, the Caribbean islands and British North America became the principal destinations for most enslaved Africans. West Indian plantations developed in part from the expertise of Dutch merchants who were forced from Brazil in 1654, after the Portuguese regained Pernambuco.

The geographical expansion of slaving markets in the Americas went hand-in-hand with an expansion of slaving along the African coast. In the late 1640s, the Portuguese, Dutch, British and French built trading posts along the coastline of the Bight of Benin. This area, referred to as the Slave Coast, became a leading region of slave exports for the next eighty years. In contrast to stone "castles" built off the rivers of Senegambia and along the Gold Coast, these forts were smaller, mud-built structures with minimal fortifications. Powerful African military leaders from states such as Dahomey did not allow more substantial forts or one group of Europeans to aggrandize trade. In the half century after the 1660s, the Slave Coast became a region of intense European competition. In addition to the carriers mentioned above, trading companies from Sweden, Brandenburg Prussia, modern-day Latvia, and Denmark attempted to establish slave-trading posts. Further east and south, in a region known as the Bight of Biafra (central and eastern Nigeria, the Cameroons, and Gabon), there were trading relationships between Europeans and African merchants in communities such as Old Calabar. In these markets, Europeans were not permitted to build permanent coastal trading posts. Instead, ships anchored off the coast or along rivers, and were met by African merchants. Over time, the majority of enslaved Africans were sold to private European merchants through this system of "ship-trade." In the late seventeenth century, however, most enslaved Africans were transported to the Americas on vessels owned or hired by chartered monopoly companies.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, state-sponsored monopoly companies were not able to deliver quantities of European and Asian goods demanded by African merchants or the numbers of enslaved African laborers demanded by New World merchants and planters. Only private merchants were able to organize voyages to meet the ever-changing markets for slaves in the Atlantic world. Individual merchants succeeded in spite of the tremendous risks in the trade by organizing small partnerships, purchasing smaller vessels, and basing operations in “outports” such as Nantes, Middelburg (Zeeland, the Netherlands), Bristol, Liverpool, or Newport, Rhode Island. From 1730 to 1750 governments disbanded monopoly companies as the greater slave-trading efficiency of these “interlopers” became marked. The Portuguese government chartered a few small trading companies in the 1750s-1770s, and the Spaniards maintained the system of *asiento* contracts until 1789. Nonetheless, in spite of these remnants of former mercantilist policies, open competition dominated the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the second half of the eighteenth century. There were parallel developments in the market structure of trade on the African coast. Here, too, powerful military or dynastic rulers failed to monopolize supplies or deliveries of slaves. Instead, there were hundreds of African and mulatto merchants based on the coast who organized sales of slaves to European brokers and ship captains.

There was tremendous expansion in the slaving frontier in the eighteenth century with the development of the Minas Gerais gold fields in east-central Brazil and increased land cultivation in the French colony of St. Domingue and in the British colony of Jamaica. In the 1690s Brazilian colonists discovered gold in the mountainous region of Minas Gerais and for the next fifty years many of the enslaved Africans shipped to Bahia and Rio de Janeiro were then transported northwest to work in the mining industry. In other Brazilian regions slaves were forced to work on cattle ranches, in diamond mining, in the fishing industry and on plantations producing the cash crops tobacco, sugar, or cotton. Brazil had the most diversified colonial economy in the Americas, the greatest number of urban centers, and the largest slave population—numbering about a million at the end of the eighteenth century. St. Domingue became the largest plantation colony in the Caribbean by 1750 and the destination for three out of every four French slaving vessels. On the eve of the Revolution of 1791, St. Domingue had a population of 450,000 slaves and they produced as much sugar and more coffee than in the rest of the West Indies put together. Jamaica, with its slave population doubling to 200,000 from the 1740s to 1770s, became the predominant British Caribbean slaving market, producing three times as much plantation produce by value as Barbados, the major British plantation colony earlier in the century. The Jamaican market accounted for about half of British West Indian colonial trade. As new slaving zones developed in the Americas, new trading “diasporas” developed from the African interior to coastal outlets. Increasingly, merchants transported slaves towards the Atlantic coast from the domestic economies of central Africa. As political and military disruptions closed ports or lagoon sites, African and mulatto merchants developed new trading outlets north of the Sierra Leone River, along the Windward Coast (the coastline of modern-day

Liberia) and in the Bight of Biafra. Ultimately, it was the demand of European consumers for slave-produced crops and colonial products, which drove this eighteenth-century expansion of Atlantic slaving.

The first committed movement to abolish the trade occurred in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Led initially by a group of Anglo-American Quakers in the early 1780s, the first goal of the “abolitionists” was to pass regulatory legislation to rid the British slave trade of some of its worst barbarities. Measures approved by Parliament in 1788, 1789 and 1799 attempted to reduce mortality largely by limiting ship-board crowding of slaves and crew. After limiting British slaving in the Guianas in 1805 and abolishing the British slave trade to foreign territories a year later, Parliament completely abolished the trade in 1807—then the largest national slave trade in the Atlantic world. The United States’ slave trade ended in 1807-08, a consequence of the Compromise of 1787 between northern and southern states, which had delayed discussions on abolishing the United States’ slave trade for twenty years. Five years earlier, in 1802, the Danish government ended their slave trade. British leaders then set about to end the international slave trade, something they would accomplish by force of diplomacy and arms by 1867. During the first half of the nineteenth century British leaders were faced with trying to end the slave trade to the profitable plantation economies most dependent upon the continued supplies of enslaved African labor—Brazil and Cuba. The British naval blockades and policies of search and seizure led to charges of veiled imperialism, hampering diplomatic relations with French leaders, who did not fully endorse abolition of their slaving trade until the 1830s. British naval pressure in the 1840s, often in violation of international law, was nonetheless not challenged effectively as few governments were willing by then to publicly support the forced migration of enslaved Africans. Brazil agreed to ban the trade in 1850, and pressure from the United States and Britain forced the Spanish government to approve effective anti-slave trade legislation in 1866. The last trans-Atlantic slaving vessel arrived in Cuba in 1867.

### 3) For further reading and research

Studies of the trans-Atlantic slave trade range across academic disciplines which makes categorization difficult. In bookstores, one often finds works on the slave trade in sections on maritime history/explorations, medical history, African history, African-American/Black Studies, Latin American/Caribbean history, United States history and European history. Similarly, most scholarship on the slave trade has focused on the trade of individual nations—often for select time periods—or topics of debate, such as the size, mortality levels, profitability or abolition of the trade. This wide range of categories and topics relating to the slave trade makes Peter C. Hogg’s *The African Slave Trade and Its Suppression: A Classified and Annotated Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Articles* (London, Frank Cass, 1973), a particularly valuable reference

work. Another reference work currently under preparation is Stephen D. Behrendt, *A Historical Dictionary of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (for Greenwood Press). This will be an A-Z listing of some 700-750 terms, events, people, and geographical locations in the trans-Atlantic slave trade—with appendices of statistics on the trade.

There are also bibliographies or entries on the slave trade in reference works on slavery. Beginning in 1980, each December issue of the British-based journal *Slavery & Abolition* includes a “bibliographical supplement” of writings on the broad field of slavery studies. One section is devoted to slave trades throughout world history. This reference project is headed by Joseph C. Miller and the bibliography appeared first in 1977 in his *Slavery: A Comparative Teaching Bibliography* (Waltham, Massachusetts, Crossroads Press, 1977). Entries then were corrected and consolidated in Joseph C. Miller, *Slavery: A Worldwide Bibliography, 1900-1982* (White Plains, New York, Kraus International, 1985), Joseph C. Miller, *Slavery and Slaving in World History: A Bibliography, 1900-1991* (Millwood, New York, Kraus International, 1993) and Joseph C. Miller, *Slavery and Slaving in World History: A Bibliography* (Armonk, New York, M. E. Sharpe, 1998). There are three additional reference works on slavery—with entries on the slave trade—published recently: Junius P. Rodriguez (ed.), *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery* (Santa Barbara, California, ABC-CLIO, 1997); Paul Finkelman and Joseph C. Miller (eds.), *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery* (New York, Macmillan Press, 1998); and Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman (eds.), *A Historical Guide to World Slavery* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1998).

Information on the slave trade also can be obtained through discussion groups on the internet. While there is at present no “bulletin board” on the slave trade, many slave-trade historians subscribe to the “slavery” discussion group (slavery@listserv.uh.edu).

Among English-language books, the broader context and rapid expansion of the slave trade in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is taken up in David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000). The Portuguese trade centered on Angola and Brazil has been studied by Joseph C. Miller in *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). This lengthy work (with an excellent bibliography) is clearly aimed at an upper-level university course. There are more accessible works on the eighteenth-century French, Rhode Island, and Dutch slave trades. These are: Robert L. Stein, *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1979); Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700-1807* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1981); and Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990). Though perhaps the most-researched national carrier, there is still no general work covering the history of

the British slave trade. Some well-known captains' and surgeons' histories—and notorious events—in the eighteenth-century British trade are included in James Walvin's general study of British slavery, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (Washington, D. C., Howard University Press, 1992). The standard work on the monopoly-chartered Royal African Company (based in London) is still K.G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, Longmans, 1957). This trading company organized British slaving voyages from the 1670s to the 1720s. For the large British slave trade from 1750 to 1807, Roger Anstey's *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (London, Macmillan Press, 1975), remains the best introduction.

Many students believe that the trans-Atlantic slave trade ended in the period 1789-1815. During these years the French and St. Domingue revolutions closed off the French slave trade, the Danish, United States, and British governments abolished their slave trades, and Dutch merchants were forced out of the trade by the warfare of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. After the peace settlements of 1815, however, European and American merchants quickly re-entered the trade, fitting out vessels with Portuguese, Dutch, French, Cuban, or Brazilian flags to deliver enslaved Africans principally to Brazil and Cuba. The attempts by the British government to end this international trade by force and diplomacy have been studied by Christopher Lloyd in *The Navy and the Slave Trade: The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London, Frank Cass, 1968) and by David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1987). There are numerous works in Portuguese and Spanish on the Brazilian and Cuban slave trades. Two in English are Robert E. Conrad, *World of Sorrow: The African Slave Trade to Brazil* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1986) and David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1980).

There are three full-length studies of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. James Rawley's *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History* (New York, Norton, 1981) includes chapters on each of the major carriers, on the economics of the trade and on the Middle Passage. A more recent work is Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1997). This lengthy-monograph (908 pages of text, appendices, notes and index) is organized mostly as a chronological narrative of the history of the trade, focusing on people and places. The work summarizes few of the debates that have engaged historians, and does not offer new interpretations. Perhaps the greatest strength of this study is Thomas' discussion of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth century "High Renaissance" background to trans-Atlantic slaving and the early Portuguese slave trade. A concise overview of the slave trade is Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1999). This work builds upon two of his previous studies: *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978) and *African Slavery in Latin*

*America and the Caribbean* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1986). Klein's books focus on larger integrative themes that have concerned students of the slave trade.

Several edited volumes of essays on slaving and slavery include chapters which are useful for teaching the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (eds.), *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, Academic Press, 1979), David Richardson's chapter on "consumption patterns" demonstrates that there were distinct regional African preferences for European and Asian goods, and that these preferences changed over time. In the same volume, Ernst van den Boogaart and Pieter C. Emmer summarize the early history of the Dutch slave trade, 1596-1650. In Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene Genovese (eds.), *Race and Class in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975) there are six chapters on slave-trade topics. K. G. Davies' contribution "The Living and the Dead: White Mortality in West Africa, 1684-1732" illustrates the human costs associated with staffing Europeans in coastal trading "castles." High mortality was one reason why Europeans did not advance into the interior of Africa until the great changes in tropical medicine in the later nineteenth century.

Other edited works with chapters directly or indirectly related to the trans-Atlantic slave trade include: David Eltis and James Walvin (eds.), *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman (eds.), *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Europe, Africa, the Americas, and Europe* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1994); Patrick Manning (ed.), *Slave Trades, 1500-1800: Globalization of Forced Labour* (Aldershot, England, Variorum, 1996) and David Eltis and David Richardson (eds.), *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity, and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (London, Frank Cass, 1997). Manning's volume includes his chapter "Migrations of Africans to the Americas: The Impact on Africans, Africa, and the New World." Published first in *The History Teacher*, XXVI (1993), pp. 279-96, this piece is a succinct overview of some of the larger issues in slave-trade scholarship. Most chapters in *Routes to Slavery* include information contained in a preliminary version of the CD-ROM database.

Topics increasingly discussed in slave-trade studies are the "ethnicity" of enslaved Africans, the skills they brought with them in their forced migration, and their ability to maintain local African cultures in the Americas. Three important full-length works are: Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1981; reprint University of Illinois Press, 1991); Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987); and Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1992). Littlefield suggests that Africans

from the broadly-defined Upper Guinea Coast region (Senegambia, the Sierra Leone region and the Windward Coast) brought knowledge of rice cultivation with them in their forced migration to the Carolinas—a point made by Peter Wood in *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1974).

The stone trading castles and forts of Senegambia and the Gold Coast are the most visible reminder of slave-trading on the African coast. Several of these castles—built originally to secure the gold and produce trades of various European powers—are now tourist sites. Photographs and diagrams of most are included in A. W. Lawrence, *Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1964), a work available in major university libraries. A few private merchants also built mud or stone factories to centralize their slave-trading activities. One of the most extensive of these sites was the factory on Bance Island, situated on a branch of the Sierra Leone River. A full discussion of this complex—including illustrative material—is found in David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1995, paperback edition 1997), pp. 172-220. For maps, charts and other diagrams summarizing the broad demographic trends of four centuries of Atlantic slave-trading, the best work by far is still Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

There are personal narratives of the slave trade written by captains, sailors and enslaved Africans. Perhaps the most well-known is Olaudah Equiano's narrative of the 1780s, which recalls his enslavement, Middle Passage journey, and life in the Caribbean and greater Atlantic world in the 1750s-1780s. Published first in London by an abolitionist in 1789, Equiano's narrative, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa the African. Written by Himself*, may be found in editions edited by Paul Edwards (London, Longmont, 1989) and Robert J. Allison (Boston, Bedford Books, 1995), and in anthologies of slave narratives, such as Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.(eds.), *The Slave's Narrative* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1990). Equiano is not the only African who left an account of his capture and imprisonment on board a slaving vessel. For other accounts see Philip Curtin (ed.), *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1967). Among European slave-traders, extracts from Liverpool captain John Newton's journals have been republished in Bernard Martin and Mark Spurrell (eds.), *The Journal of a Slave Trader (John Newton) 1750-1754, with Newton's Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (London, Epworth Press, 1962). Though this work is no longer in print, it is held at most major university libraries. Particularly useful is the journal of Newton's third slaving voyage in which he describes several confrontations between sailors and enslaved Africans—including an account of rape and attempted insurrections.

Newton's work is one of many first-hand accounts of the trade written and published in English. These contemporary testimonies are accessible to students at the high school and secondary school level. Abstracts of some of these accounts are included in a four-volume compendium edited by Elizabeth Donnan more than sixty years ago. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institute, 1930-1935), available in most major university libraries, includes examples of the full range of source material on the slave trade published in English. Most of the contemporary writings on the slave trade have been microfilmed. Many are included in a collection of "economic literature" as cataloged in the *Goldsmith-Kress Library of Economic Literature: A Consolidated Guide to the Microfilm Collection* (Woodbridge, Connecticut, Research Publications, 1976). This large collection is used infrequently by historians, perhaps because of its unfortunate (and misleading) classification as "economic" writings. The microfilm collection in fact includes numerous subject headings (arranged by year of publication), including "Slavery." Within this heading are most of the important pamphlets and monographs on the slave trade. Many of these were written during the debates on abolition.

In 1994 David Northrup edited a useful "reader" on the trans-Atlantic slave trade, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Lexington, MA, D.C. Heath, 1994). This brief compilation (221 pages) includes extracts from contemporary writings (such as Equiano's narrative) and articles and chapters written by scholars of the slave trade. This work includes sections on the impact of the slave trade in Africa, the mortality of the trade, and the trade's importance to economic growth.

The authors, program designers and Cambridge University Press created *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1527-1867: A Database on CD-ROM* as a teaching and research tool. For students unfamiliar with the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, it is hoped that this database will help them understand this complex international trade which linked three continents. Further, the project team hopes that this database promotes a new research interest among students and scholars. There is much yet to be learned about the history of this massive forced migration.