

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY *of*

SLAVERY AND ABOLITION



MARTIN A. KLEIN

SECOND
EDITION

The logo for the Historical Dictionary is set against a dark green rectangular background. It features the letters 'HID' in a large, bold, red serif font. The word 'HISTORICAL DICTIONARY' is written in a smaller, teal-colored, all-caps serif font, positioned horizontally across the middle of the 'HID' letters.

HID HISTORICAL DICTIONARY

The historical dictionaries present essential information on a broad range of subjects, including American and world history, art, business, cities, countries, cultures, customs, film, global conflicts, international relations, literature, music, philosophy, religion, sports, and theater. Written by experts, all contain highly informative introductory essays of the topic and detailed chronologies that, in some cases, cover vast historical time periods but still manage to heavily feature more recent events.

Brief A–Z entries describe the main people, events, politics, social issues, institutions, and policies that make the topic unique, and entries are cross-referenced for ease of browsing. Extensive bibliographies are divided into several general subject areas, providing excellent access points for students, researchers, and anyone wanting to know more. Additionally, maps, photographs, and appendixes of supplemental information aid high school and college students doing term papers or introductory research projects. In short, the historical dictionaries are the perfect starting point for anyone looking to research in these fields.

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Second Edition

Martin A. Klein

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Editor's Foreword

Few institutions are as abhorrent as slavery, and yet it has existed not just for centuries but for millennia. Moreover, it has not been limited to just a few geographic areas or just a few slaveholding societies nor under just one political system, one religious or ideological banner, or one economic system. It has existed, sometimes even flourished, in many places, at many times, and under quite varied circumstances. That is more than enough cause to welcome what is now the second edition of *Historical Dictionary of Slavery and Abolition*. The most important reason for this book, however, is that—although finally condemned and in most places formally banned—slavery has not disappeared. It has merely assumed other forms, adapting to social mores and economic circumstances and skirting bothersome laws. Despite centuries of efforts for abolition and emancipation, slavery and similar practices continue to exist. And the struggle to eradicate it must also continue.

This volume takes a broad view of slavery, as indeed it must. The introduction provides a general overview, and the chronology follows the key events. The dictionary entries describe different forms of slavery, numerous sources of slaves, and circumstances existing in various countries and regions. They also examine those who fought for abolition, many slaves or former slaves, as well as those who defended the institution. Economic and social implications are also covered, as well as contemporary slavery and similar practices. But this volume could not begin to cover the whole field, which makes the large but inevitably selective bibliography so important.

Martin A. Klein has devoted a long career to the study of slavery, abolition, and Africa. For 34 years he taught at the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Toronto. He is the author of *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* and editor of *Women and Slavery in Africa* (with Claire Robertson) and *Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Africa and Asia*. This explains the wealth of information that appears in this book, one that has been updated and expanded. This was a considerable task for just one person, but he has done an excellent job of providing both the details and the overall picture, and we are again grateful to him.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Preface

I am pleased to be able to do a new edition of *Historical Dictionary of Slavery and Abolition*. Since the first edition came out, slavery has been an increasing concern of both the scholarly world and the larger public. There have been a number of reasons for this. One is the question of the role of people of African descent in the Americas and in Europe and the effort to memorialize those who were victims of the Atlantic slave trade. Confrontation with the heritage of slavery was first important in the United States but has also become important in Brazil and Hispanic America. Second has been the concern of scholars and communities of slave descent to confront the heritage of slavery within Africa. A third has been the development of world or global history, which has confronted the role of coerced movements of peoples in all parts of the world. Most important, however, is probably the recognition that slavery is still with us, and that though illegal everywhere, it has taken new forms. Slavery is not dead, though it has in most parts of the world gone underground.

In revising the Dictionary, I have tried to give increasing attention to contemporary forms of slavery and the organizations that are struggling against it. I have also tried to increase the coverage of slave systems in different parts of the world, in particular in Asia and Africa. I have increased the amount of space devoted to slaving within Africa. I have also revised many articles to recognize newer scholarship, particularly as it concerns native American societies and the world of the Indian Ocean. The increase in the length of the bibliography reflects the tremendous amount of new scholarship that has appeared during the last dozen years on all parts of the world.

The history of slavery is a long and brutal one. The history of abolition is short and incomplete. It has been challenging to try to cover both tales in a single volume, and in particular to cover the different forms slavery has taken and the different places in which it has developed. In trying to do so, I have depended on the advice of a number of fellow scholars. Many colleagues and students have helped, but Joseph C. Miller, Michael Wayne, Peter Blanchard, and Suzanne Miers were particularly generous of their time and knowledge and kindly read relevant parts of this volume. They have saved me from some grievous errors, both factual and grammatical. In particular, they have tried to save me from the sin of oversimplification. If they have not been completely successful, it is largely due to my stubbornness. Since the first edition of this volume came out, I have been involved in a project to find the

African voice by discovering and publishing African sources for this history of slavery and the slave trade. I owe a special debt to my colleagues in this enterprise: Alice Bellagamba, Sandra Greene, and Carolyn Brown.

I also have a debt of respect. Most writers on abolition stress the actions of people of generous and humane values. I would not denigrate these, but I have tried to give equal attention to the struggle of slaves and former slaves to assert their dignity and get some control over their work and family lives. The student of slavery does not always see human beings at their best. Our somber task is lightened somewhat by those moments in which the oppressed assert themselves to establish their right to live free from the control of others. They did so not only by violent resistance, but also by taking advantage of the limited opportunities a harsh life offered them. It is, alas, a process still taking place. I have tried to write not only about slavery, but also about the slaves and their quest for autonomy and self-respect.

Finally, I owe a special debt to my wife, Suzanne Silk Klein. She has long been my most perceptive critic. She has put up patiently with the periods of distraction that my writing has caused and has been, even though her name is not on the title page, a generous companion and a very rewarding collaborator.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AASS	American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society
AMA	American Missionary Association
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
ASI	Anti-Slavery International
BLLF	Bonded Labour Liberation Front
CMS	Church Missionary Society
FTS	Free the Slaves
ILO	International Labour Organization
UN	United Nations

Chronology

SLAVERY

- c. **3200 BCE** Evidence of slavery in Sumer.
- c. **2500 BCE** Evidence of Egyptian enslavement of war prisoners.
- c. **1790 BCE** Hammurabi's Code regulates slavery in Babylon.
- c. **1500 BCE** Hittite law code regulates slavery; there is also evidence of slavery in ancient China, Assyria, Babylonia, and Crete.
- c. **1220 BCE** Moses leads ancient Israelites out of Egypt to freedom.
- c. **650 BCE** Messenian helots begin 20-year revolt against Sparta.
- c. **600 BCE** Intensive use of slave labor in Persia.
- c. **590 BCE** Solon abolishes debt slavery in Athens and recognizes landless Athenians as citizens; this leads to development of Athens as a slave society.
- c. **500 BCE** Slavery is common in ancient India; evidence of slavery in Meso-America.
- c. **464–455 BCE** Helots revolt against Spartan rule.
- 453 BCE** Twelve Tables include slave law in Roman Republic.
- c. **300 BCE** The *Arthashastra* explains law of slavery in ancient India.
- 241 BCE** Rome defeats Carthage and begins accumulation of slaves in Italy.
- c. **200 BCE** Roman conquests bring massive numbers of slaves to Italy.
- 136–132 BCE** Slave revolts in Sicily.
- 73–71 BCE** Spartacus leads slave revolt against Rome.
- 17 Wang Mang**, who usurped the Chinese throne, abolishes slavery, but it is reestablished on his death six years later.
- c. **300** Roman slavery is in decline.
- c. **500** German invasions temporarily revive slavery in Europe.
- 622** Prophet Mohammed flees to Medina; beginning of Islam.
- c. **700** Islam develops law of slavery.

701 Taiho Code regulates condition of slaves in Japan.

726 *Ecloga* regulates slavery in Byzantine Empire.

c. 800 Establishment of Cambodian Empire with massive use of slave labor.

c. 862 Foundation of Kievan state; Vikings working Russian rivers sell slaves to Byzantium.

883 Zanj slaves revolt in southern Mesopotamia.

c. 1000 Dublin is founded by Vikings, becomes an important slave market; development of institution of military slavery in Muslim world.

c. 1150 Slavery disappears in England and France.

1206 Foundation of Delhi Sultanate, often called the “slave sultanate” because it was dominated by Turkish Mamlukes.

1265 Spanish law code *Siete Partidas* regulates slavery.

c. 1300 Beginning of main period of Korean slavery; Italians develop sugar cultivation on Cyprus and Crete.

1314 All remaining slaves are freed in Sweden.

1341 Portuguese navigators reach Canary Islands.

1443 Portuguese navigators reach Senegal River in West Africa.

1444 Sale of captives from West Africa in Portugal.

1452 Pope Nicholas V issues a bull authorizing Portuguese to enslave people taken prisoner in a “just war.”

1453 Constantinople falls to the Ottoman Turks, closing off a major trade route for East European slaves.

1482 Portugal begins construction of Elmina castle on the Gold Coast; Portuguese navigator Diogo Cao establishes contact with Kongo kingdom.

1485 Portuguese begin developing sugar cultivation on São Tomé.

1492 Christopher Columbus discovers island of Hispaniola, later called Santo Domingo or Saint-Domingue.

1495 Christopher Columbus sends large shipment of slaves to Spain.

1500 Pedro Alvares Cabral claims Brazil for Portugal.

1502 First African slaves arrive in West Indies.

1518 Spanish king Charles I establishes the *asiento*.

1519 The West African kingdom of Benin bans the export of male slaves.

1521 Slave revolt on Hispaniola.

1526 King Afonso I of Kongo protests enslavement of his subjects.

1538 First African slaves introduced to Brazil.

1542 The King of Spain promulgates the New Laws, which prohibit the enslavement of Amerindians.

1552 Bartolomé de Las Casas publishes *Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies*.

1553 Dutch enter Atlantic slave trade.

1562 First British slave-trading voyage to Africa.

1571 French King Charles IX decrees that any person setting foot on French soil was free.

1576 Portuguese establish slave trade post at Luanda.

1602 Dutch East India Company established.

1610 Brazilian Maroons form settlement of Palmares.

1618 Company of Royal Adventurers of London is first British slave-trade company.

1619 First African slaves land at Jamestown, Virginia.

1621 Dutch West India Company founded.

1627 English settlers on Barbados; French settlers on St. Kitts.

1630 Dutch invasion of Brazil.

c. 1640 With Dutch assistance, English settlers on Barbados and French on St. Kitts shift into sugar.

1648 Brazilians under Salvador de Sa recapture Angola from the Dutch.

1652 Capetown created by Dutch East India Company.

1654 Dutch are driven out of Pernambuco, their last stronghold in Brazil.

1672 Royal African Company founded in England.

1685 French enact *Code Noir* to regulate slavery in colonies.

1694 Destruction of Maroon state of Palmares in Brazil.

1702 Asante becomes dominant power on Gold Coast.

1705 Virginia enacts a harsh slave code.

1715 French occupy island of Mauritius in Indian Ocean, then introduce slaves.

c. 1720 Slaves in Virginia and Maryland achieve positive rate of reproduction.

1733 James Oglethorpe founds Georgia and prohibits slavery there.

1739 Stono rebellion in South Carolina; colony passes a harsh slave code; British sign treaty with Jamaican Maroons, ending 80 years of conflict.

1749 Trustees of Georgia colony repeal the prohibition of slave imports.

1760 Tacky's rebellion on Jamaica.

1763 Slave revolt on island of Berbice.

1772 Slave revolt in Demerara region of Guiana.

1780 French sign a treaty with Maroons on Saint-Domingue.

1793 Invention of cotton gin by Eli Whitney leads to spread of slavery; passage of first Fugitive Slave Law in United States.

1794 A group of African-Americans led by Richard Allen found the Mother Bethel Church, which becomes the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

1795 Julien Fédon leads slave revolt on Grenada; slave revolt also on Curaçao.

1800 Gabriel's rebellion in Virginia.

1802 New Jersey approves gradual emancipation law.

1806 Said ibn Sultan comes to power in Oman and Zanzibar.

1811 German Coast slave revolt in Louisiana.

1822 Denmark Vesey is accused of planning a slave revolt in South Carolina.

1831 Nat Turner leads slave revolt in Virginia; slave revolt in Jamaica.

1834 Slave revolt in Cuba.

1835 Malê slave revolt in Bahia province of Brazil.

1836 American settlers in Texas revolt against a Mexican constitution that contained an anti-slavery clause.

ABOLITION

1511 Father Antonio de Montesinos attacks exploitation of native people on Hispaniola.

1514 Bartolomé de Las Casas begins to attack enslavement of Indians.

1542 The New Laws proclaimed by Charles I of Spain prohibit enslavement of Indians.

1549 Charles I prohibits holding of Indians as slaves.

1573 Bartolomé de Albornoz attacks enslavement and sale of Africans.

1576 French jurist Jean Bodin criticizes morality of slavery.

1648 Society of Friends (Quakers) founded in England.

1688 A group of Quakers in Germantown, Pennsylvania, sign a statement that slavery was contrary to Christian principles.

1700 Judge Samuel Sewall publishes an anti-slavery tract, *The Selling of Joseph*.

1712 Pennsylvania bans further import of slaves.

1741 Pope Benedict XIV condemns the slave trade as practiced in Brazil.

1748 Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, criticizes slavery.

1754 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Quakers decides that slavery is a sin.

1765 The *Encyclopédie* speaks of liberty as a natural right.

1772 Lord Mansfield rules in Somerset case that slaves brought to England cannot be forced to return to slave colonies.

1775 The Earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, offers to free male slaves joining British forces opposing the American rebels.

1776 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Quakers is closed to slave owners; Second Continental Congress calls for an end to the import of slaves.

1777 New Vermont constitution prohibits slavery.

1780 Pennsylvania passes gradual emancipation statute; new Massachusetts constitution abolishes slavery; Condorcet's *Reflexions sur l'esclavage de nègres* is published.

1782 British ships take almost 15,000 black Loyalists to Nova Scotia and the West Indies.

1783 In Quaco Walker case, Massachusetts Supreme Court holds that a person cannot own a slave in Massachusetts.

1784 Organization of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society; Connecticut and Rhode Island pass abolition laws.

1786 New Jersey adopts a gradual emancipation law.

1787 Creation of Sierra Leone as a colony for freed slaves; British abolitionists create the Association for the Abolition of Slavery; U.S. Congress prohibits slavery in the Northwest Territory.

1788 Société des Amis des Noirs founded in France.

1789 French Revolution begins; Declaration of the Rights of Man declares all men free and equal.

1790 Unsuccessful revolt by free persons of color in Saint-Domingue.

1791 Haitian Revolution begins.

1792 Denmark abolishes slave trade.

1794 French National Assembly abolishes slavery; rebel generals led by Toussaint L'Ouverture establish their control of Saint-Domingue.

1799 Gradual emancipation law passed in New York; George Washington dies; his will frees his slaves.

1801 Korean government frees agricultural slaves belonging to the state; after invading Spanish Santo Domingo, Toussaint L'Ouverture frees all slaves there.

1802 Napoleon Bonaparte reestablishes slavery and sends an army to Saint-Domingue; Toussaint L'Ouverture is captured and dies in a prison in France.

1804 After defeating French armies, Jean-Jacques Dessalines proclaims independence of Saint-Domingue and renames it Haiti.

1807 Great Britain abolishes slave trade.

1808 United States ends slave imports.

1811 Chile approves a “free womb” emancipation law.

1815 Final act of Congress of Vienna includes a commitment to end the slave trade.

1816 Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín promise freedom to all slaves who support the struggle for liberation from Spain; African Methodist Episcopal Church founded in the United States; American Colonization Society founded.

- 1817** Portugal ends the slave trade, but only in lands north of the equator.
- 1820** Missouri Compromise establishes balance between slave and free states in the United States; Spain abolishes slave trade south of the equator.
- 1821** Congress of Cúcuta approves gradual abolition in Gran Colombia. José de San Martín decrees gradual emancipation in Peru; it was not completely enforced.
- 1822** Liberia is founded by repatriated American slaves.
- 1823** Formation of British Anti-Slavery Society; Chile becomes first nation in Latin America to abolish slavery.
- 1824** Slaves are freed in the United Provinces of Central America; end of slavery in New York.
- 1829** Mexico abolishes slavery.
- 1831** William Lloyd Garrison founds the American Anti-Slavery Society and *The Liberator*; France ends its participation in the Atlantic slave trade.
- 1831–1832** Virginia state convention debates abolition and rejects it.
- 1833** Great Britain abolishes slavery.
- 1835** Georgia enacts death penalty for publication of abolitionist tracts.
- 1836** Portugal abolishes the slave trade in its colonies. This is poorly enforced.
- 1837** Abolitionist editor Elijah P. Lovejoy murdered by mob.
- 1837–1838** Great Britain signs a series of treaties with other nations which allow the Royal Navy to search their ships for slaves.
- 1838** Frederick Douglass escapes from slavery.
- 1839** Formation of British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; *Amistad* mutiny.
- 1840** Great Britain frees the *Hermosa*, which was shipwrecked in the Bahamas; Liberty Party runs James G. Birney for president of the United States.
- 1841** U.S. Supreme Court rules that Africans on *Amistad* were illegally enslaved.
- 1842** Paraguay approves a gradual emancipation law.
- 1843** East India Company ends legal recognition of slavery in India; Vermont and Massachusetts bar state officials from aiding efforts to remove fugitive slaves.

1844 Arab slave traders create Unyamwezi as a base for slave trade in western Tanzania.

1845 Annexation of Texas opens new areas of United States to slavery; Mexican-American War arouses conflict over extension of slavery.

1846 Congressman David Wilmot proposes exclusion of slavery from lands acquired in Mexican War; Ahmed Bey abolishes slavery in Tunisia.

1847 Liberian independence; Frederick Douglass starts publishing *North Star* in Rochester, New York.

1848 France abolishes slavery in all its colonies; Liberty Party merges into new Free Soil Party; Persia bans import of slaves by sea; slavery is abolished in the Danish West Indies.

1849 John Beecroft appointed consul to Bights of Benin and Biafra.

1850 Compromise of 1850 includes second Fugitive Slave Act; Brazil prohibits import of slaves.

1851 British occupy slaving port of Lagos in West Africa; Christiana, Pennsylvania, abolitionist mob disperses band of slave catchers.

1852 Ecuador liberates all remaining slaves; publication by Harriet Beecher Stowe of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act opens two years of civil conflict in Kansas; Peru abolishes slavery; completion of gradual emancipation in Argentina and Venezuela; formation of Republican Party.

1854–1855 Many Northern states pass personal liberty laws to block enforcement of Fugitive Slave Law.

1857 Supreme Court rules in Dred Scott case that the federal government could not restrict a slave owner's rights over a slave; Ottoman Empire prohibits slave imports.

1859 John Brown leads raid on Harper's Ferry.

1860 Election of Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States; slavery is abolished in Dutch colonies; holding slaves becomes a criminal offense in India.

1861 Formation of Confederate States of America; American Civil War begins with bombardment of Fort Sumter; Confiscation Act authorizes freeing of slaves in areas under Union army control; Russian czar Alexander II frees the serfs; slavery is ended in Argentina.

1862 Congress frees slaves in District of Columbia.

1862–1863 Peruvian “blackbirding” expeditions in the Pacific.

1863 Emancipation Proclamation frees slaves in areas under Confederate control; the Netherlands abolishes slavery in its colonies.

1864 Reelection of Abraham Lincoln to the U.S. presidency.

1865 Unionist legislatures in Missouri and Tennessee abolish slavery; Thirteenth Amendment to U.S. Constitution abolishes slavery; U.S. Congress sets up Freedmen’s Bureau.

1866 Civil Rights Act makes freed slaves citizens.

1867 Last slave ship from Africa arrives in Cuba; Reconstruction Acts send Union troops back into South to protect rights of freed slaves.

1868–1878 Ten Years’ War begins emancipation of slaves in Cuba.

1870 Ratification of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution; Moret Law enacts gradual emancipation in Cuba.

1871 Brazilian law provides for emancipation of unborn children.

1873 Zanzibar agrees to end slave trade; Spain abolishes slavery in Puerto Rico.

1874 King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) of Thailand begins reforms that lead to abolition of slavery.

1877 Egypt prohibits import of slaves.

1878 Slavery is abolished in Portuguese colonies.

1880 Formation of Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society; Spain enacts Law of Patronato, which begins abolition of slavery in Cuba.

1884 French colonial government abolishes slavery in Cambodia; provinces of Amazonas and Ceara in northern Brazil abolish slavery.

1886 Abolition of slavery in Cuba.

1888 Golden Law ends slavery in Brazil; Pope Leo XIII supports struggle of slaves for emancipation.

1889–1890 Brussels conference takes weak measures against African slave trade.

1890 Pope Leo XIII attacks slavery in encyclical *Catholicae Ecclesiae*.

1895 Abolition of slavery in Korea.

1905 France abolishes all transactions in persons in Africa; this involves sale, gift, or exchange; Thailand abolishes slavery.

1906 French abolish slavery in Algeria.

1909 Chinese emperor orders that all slaves be released and given the status of commoners.

1915 British colonial government abolishes slavery in Malaya.

1924 League of Nations creates Temporary Slavery Commission.

1926 League of Nations Slavery Convention is approved; British colonial government abolishes slavery in Burma.

1927 British colonial government abolishes slavery in Sierra Leone.

1930 A convention condemning forced labor in colonies is approved at the International Labor Organization.

1932 League of Nations appoints Standing Committee of Experts on Slavery.

1933 Nazis come to power in Germany and early establish concentration camps.

1936 British colonial governments abolish slavery in Nigeria and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

1942 Emperor Haile Selassie abolishes slavery in Ethiopia; establishment of a slave labor system in Nazi Germany.

1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that slavery should be prohibited in all its forms.

1949 Communist China proclaims abolition of slavery in China.

1950 United Nations establishes Ad Hoc Committee on Slavery to continue anti-slavery work of the League of Nations.

1952 Slavery is prohibited in Qatar.

1956 United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery.

1958 Slavery is prohibited in Bhutan.

1962 Saudi Arabia and Yemen abolish slavery.

1970 Muscat and Oman abolishes slavery.

1978 El Hor is founded among haratin of Mauritania to fight for rights.

1980 Mauritania abolishes slavery, but allegations of slavery continue.

1980s Resurgence of slavery as a result of Sudanese civil war.

1990 Bonded Labor Liberation Front organizes National Workshop on the Eradication of Child Labor in the Carpet Industry; Korean group demands reparations from Japan for Korean women forced to serve as sexual slaves during World War II.

1990s Allegations of slavery in Brazil, Dominican Republic, and Ghana.

1991 Timidria is founded in Niger to seek eradication of slavery and its legacy.

1993 Anti-Slavery International begins campaign against child prostitution in Asian sex industry.

1995 SOS Esclaves is founded in Mauritania to fight against slavery; Iqbal Masih, a child activist in fight against bonded labor, is murdered.

2003 Niger makes owning slaves a criminal offense.

2005 Temedt is founded in Mali to fight against vestiges of slavery and stigmas of slave origins.

2007 Mauritania makes owning slaves a criminal offense.

2008 The Initiative for the Resurgence of Abolitionism is founded in Mauritania.

Introduction

For almost 4,000 years, men and women with power have figured out ways to get people to work for them. The exploited have been slaves, serfs, helots, tenants, peons, bonded laborers, and forced laborers, among others. They have built pyramids and temples, have dug canals, and have mined the earth for its minerals. They have built the palaces and mansions in which the powerful have lived and have fed and clothed them. One of the more common forms of exploitation has been the most complete. Slavery gave the slave masters theoretically total control over the body and labor power of the slave. Masters have not always pushed that control to the limit. They have often been interested in absorbing slaves into their communities and sometimes even into their families.

Slavery is separated from the other kinds of exploitation by the complete nature of the slave's subjugation. The slave is owned. He or she has no family. The slave can be forced to do any kind of work. His body, or more often, her body, can be used in any way her owner wishes. Modern religions have often tried to limit the exercise of the master's rights, but not always effectively. Slaves have often found ways to protect themselves, but slavery leaves them few options. Slavery is a system of total control by some persons over the bodies and labor power of others.

EMERGENCE OF SLAVERY

The origins of slavery lie far back in the mists of prehistoric time. Most pre-agricultural societies were egalitarian. They had few status distinctions and did not have enough of a surplus to have slaves. Many of these societies rarely engaged in war. When they did fight with or raid their neighbors, they could easily absorb female captives, but usually as wives. Occasionally, such societies absorbed male prisoners, but also as full members. Among the Woodland Indians of North America, a male prisoner could either be tortured and killed or absorbed. If absorbed, it was usually as a replacement for someone who died in war or from disease and the prisoner took on that person's identity. Male and female prisoners could also be ransomed.

Some writers have seen women as the original slaves, but they were usually not absorbed as inferiors but as wives or concubines. The crucial moment of transition to slavery was probably the point at which successful warriors

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decided that they could exploit the labor of prisoners if they made them into a permanently degraded part of the society that labored for others. The status of the first slaves was not necessarily hereditary, but as the institution developed, slave status became permanent. The emergence was usually coterminous with the emergence of a state. For egalitarian societies, it always involved an end to equality. Not only were slaves a distinct social group, but the existence of slaves involved the presence of an elite, who controlled the slaves. Either the slaves were owned by persons, perhaps those who took them prisoners, or they were owned by the group and exploited by its chiefs.

In most complex pre-industrial societies, some form of servitude existed, but forms of slavery differed and slavery was only one kind of social domination. Human societies have known a wide range of servile statuses. Ancient Sparta was not interested in selling the prisoners it took but rather in exploiting their labor in place. They were helots who maintained their own religion and family life but owed labor to Spartan masters. Serfdom later developed as a system in which the dominated people were attached to the land and owed various dues to lords. They were, however, part of a community and like the helots preserved their own family life. In medieval Europe, serfs existed within a relatively self-sufficient manorial economy, but in other areas—for example, early modern eastern Europe and China—a similar relationship provided goods for market.

In many parts of the world, debt slavery or pawnship was common. These were often societies where commercial relations were developed but not private property in land. The only security a borrower could give for a loan was himself or a member of his family. In most cases, the person and his or her family could be redeemed if the debt was repaid, though sometimes the relationships became permanent. Debt has also been important in post-slavery societies, where debt was used to tie cultivators to landowners under systems of bondage in India or peonage in the Americas. Often those so bound were former slaves or the descendants of slaves, and the debt merely confirmed the dependence of the bondsperson. In many cases, these debts were inheritable, and thus the bondsperson's status was passed on to offspring.

Scholars have long debated both the boundaries between these different kinds of servitude and the nature of slavery. The term *slavery* includes a range of relationships. Slaves work in different ways. Slaves in some societies have rights. In others, they have none at all. Some slaves were highly privileged servants of those who wielded power. A slave concubine could become very influential if her son inherited power. Other slaves were condemned to the misery of unremitting labor in mines or on plantations. Generally, definitions of *slavery* have stressed three variables. First, the most frequently stressed characteristic of the slave is that he or she is property and therefore can be sold. The slave belongs to someone else. Thus, H. J. Nieboer

defines the slave as “the property of another,” and James Watson argues that the property relationship “is what distinguishes slavery from all other forms of dependency and involuntary labour.”

Others stress the second variable, that the slave was always an outsider, a person who had no place in the kinship system. Thus Orlando Patterson writes, “Not only was the slave denied all claims on, and obligations to, his parents and living blood relations, but by extension, all such claims and obligations on his more remote ancestors and on his descendants.” For Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, the African slave was defined by his or her marginality, but this marginality decreased as he or she was gradually integrated into the kinship system. For Claude Meillassoux, by contrast, the slave remained outside the kinship system, a kind of permanent anti-kin. But all these writers agree that without kinship ties, the slave was powerless. Watson differentiates between open societies, within which gradual integration took place, particularly among those born into the society, and closed societies, where slaves and their descendants were kept forever outside the kinship system. In fact, these two variables, the property relationship and the absence of kinship, were intimately related. They were the opposite faces of the same coin. The property relationship made it possible to keep slaves marginalized and made it easier to exploit their labor. The marginality made it possible for them to be bought and sold, and thus to be property.

The third variable is that the slave originated in an act of violence, the violence of war or of the slave raider or the legal violence of criminal law. The slave was torn from a network of social relations in which he or she lived and inserted in a new one in which he or she was completely powerless. The potential for violence also kept the slave subservient. It made possible the exploitation of the slave’s labor and kept the slave in an enforced marginality. Some slaves were well off. A slave could be a military leader or a royal official and could enjoy great wealth, but this wealth was always dependent on the slave being the instrument of another human being. The privileged slave could always be stripped of his wealth and status because he enjoyed them only because of his dependence. The most privileged were often eunuchs, who were physically incapable of forming families.

Within most slave situations, there was tension between the desire to keep the slave marginal and the fact that the slave was a human being. Law and culture often treated the slave as a thing, an instrument of another’s will. In fact, slaves had wills of their own and intelligence. Masters were also interested in productivity. This could often be best achieved by recognizing the slave’s humanity. Thus, slaves were allowed and even encouraged to live in family units, and while the law denied the slave the rights free persons had in their offspring, slaves built family structures. Slaves were often given private plots because it was the most efficient way to feed them, but these plots often made it possible for them to engage in petty commerce. Many slave-owning

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societies had a paternalistic ideology. Institutions like the Catholic Church tried to protect family and religious life. In spite of this, a child could be sold away from his parents and an adult away from his or her spouse. Furthermore, the slave rarely had any protection against a brutal master or one who was irrational in his exploitation of his slaves.

The slave family was usually strong, though slavery posed problems. The slave family was mother centered, and with parents spending long hours at work, a child was usually raised by an extended family. Slaves in many parts of the world clung to their religion and culture. African possession rituals were common in both the Muslim and Christian worlds. In both Christian and Muslim worlds, the religion of African slaves has often shaped the beliefs and practices of the larger societies. American evangelical cults have practices rooted in Africa. In Brazil, white Catholics often attend *candomblé* ceremonies, and in North Africa, *bori* and *gnauwa*. African possession cults have been incorporated within Muslim Sufism. Though slave owners often prohibited drumming, for fear it could be used to send messages, African music survived in the Americas and contributed to jazz, blues, calypso, and other American musical idioms.

There was also within most slave systems a certain amount of amelioration and manumission. Amelioration meant that even the newly acquired slave could aspire to improvement in his or her well-being, and the slave born into the society, the Creole in the Americas or in West African slave societies, the slave “born in the house,” could expect somewhat better treatment and higher status. If nothing else, the Creole slave spoke the master’s language and was rooted in his culture. Manumission was possible in almost all slave-owning societies and directed the energies of many abler slaves toward their own liberation. Only in some American jurisdictions was manumission prohibited, and even there, legal fictions often gave abler slaves considerable autonomy. For example, Simon Gray, a Mississippi slave, controlled a fleet of barges on the Mississippi River and was able to purchase his wife and children, but he could not purchase his own freedom. Of course, even the Creole slaves worked long hours, and a minority of slaves were manumitted.

The importance of manumission meant that most slave-owning societies were marked by a significant “flow-through,” by which slaves acceded over a lifetime first to some kind of clientship and eventually to freedom. A large percentage of those freed were the female lovers of rich and powerful men and their offspring. In Muslim law, the child of a slave concubine inherits his father’s status and is thus born free. Others were loyal retainers, but there were often mechanisms by which a clever or ambitious slave could win his own freedom either through valor on the battlefield or by earning the money to do so. This meant that most slave societies had a large population of freed

persons, usually clients of their former masters. In the Americas, racial difference kept these people in a kind of social middle ground. Many were poor, but many played a middleman role.

SLAVERY AND THE GROWTH OF THE STATE

Slavery was often important in the development of states. Slaves were important objects in the process of accumulation, and their existence was a major factor in political centralization. Slaves were often the major prize of war. They were controlled by rulers and by those the rulers sought to reward. Slaves could be distributed after a victory to those who served the ruler well, particularly on the field of battle, or they could be put to work producing commodities for sale or food for the elite. Roman military commanders often became wealthy landowners. The surplus slaves produced was often used to feed the court and therefore made it possible for the ruler to support more dependants. Slaves were important in another way. In most early states and many more recent ones, royal power was established in a struggle between royal and aristocratic power. To increase his power, the king needed loyal dependants, men who identified with him and who could not become rivals. In early modern Europe, rising monarchies used free commoners, but elsewhere, no group was more important over time than slaves.

In slave-owning societies, the rich and powerful were often surrounded by servants and retainers. Being a “big man” often involved having an entourage ready to do the big man’s bidding. The ablest in this band were often entrusted with major responsibilities. If the big man was a king or a potential king, the quality of the men around him was crucial to his success. Such slaves could have wealth, privilege, and power, but only by guaranteeing that their man was successful. In some societies, like the Ottoman Empire or the Hausa states of West Africa, there were mechanisms for male slaves to be chosen young and trained for bureaucratic or military service. The abler among them could rise to the highest offices in the empire. Slave soldiers like the Ottoman Janissaries were usually the elite troops and often were the cavalry or had the best weapons. In 19th-century West Africa, slave soldiers were often the first armed with late-model rifles. Not surprisingly, the ruler’s closest advisors were often chosen from these privileged slaves. They were the group most committed to him.

We can see two different models of how the state used other slaves and of how the use of slaves impacted on state power. In China, population densities were high for well over 2,000 years. This meant that slaves were not needed to work the land, though for long periods land was worked by tenant farmers who had a serf-like relationship to landowners. Even when conquered people

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were enslaved, they were rather quickly transformed into a kind of tied peasantry. Slaves were found primarily in courts and in the households of the wealthy and powerful. They were predominantly concubines and servants, though some, particularly the eunuchs, often became officials. We see a similar evolution in the Arab world, which was an important market for slaves from both eastern Europe and Africa. Slaves were primarily concubines, servants, and soldiers, and after the ninth century were not heavily used for agricultural labor.

By contrast, in Southeast Asia, lands were fertile and well watered, but population densities were low. In densely populated China, wars were fought to defend frontiers or to conquer new areas. Land was sought. In Southeast Asia, wars were fought to get control over people. It was common for victors to move large numbers of conquered people to areas they controlled. This may in turn have kept population densities low. The difference between these two areas is explained partly by Nieboer's theory that slavery is most likely to develop in areas where land is freely available, labor is in short supply, and technology is simple. Of course, slavery was important in China, but in a very circumscribed way. Low population densities were also a reason for the importance of slavery in Africa, and the slave trade, by keeping population densities low, assured the importance of slave labor.

Slavery was important wherever complex political institutions existed. Slavery existed in Sumer by 3200 BCE. It was regulated in most subsequent Middle Eastern law codes. By 1500 BCE, and probably much earlier, ancient Egypt was procuring slaves from Nubia. They were present in ancient India at least as far back as the Aryan conquests, which began in about 1750 BCE. Slavery was present in China during the first millennium BCE and probably in Meso-America during the same period. Slavery was a factor in processes of political evolution in all parts of the world.

EMERGENCE OF SLAVE SOCIETIES

Even though slavery had a very long history, slave societies or slave modes of production did not exist until relatively recently. These are societies where slaves were the major source of productive labor and slavery shaped all aspects of life. Moses Finley argues that there are three preconditions for the creation of a slave society: private ownership of land, commodity production and the existence of markets in which surplus could be sold, and the lack of adequate supplies of labor at home. They are thus societies with a substantial market economy. Societies have followed different paths to the creation of a slave society. The first community we can identify as a slave society was Athens during the fifth century BCE. The trigger was the reforms of Solon.

Near the beginning of the fifth century, Athens was faced with a social crisis that resulted from the spread of debt slavery and involved much popular discontent. Solon resolved the crisis by abolishing debt slavery and granting citizenship to peasants and artisans. The poorer Athenians thus participated in political life and became rowers for the Athenian fleets, which then dominated the seas of the eastern Mediterranean. Landowners solved the resultant labor shortage by purchasing slaves from Asia Minor, the Balkans, and the shores of the Black Sea or by absorbing captives taken in various wars. Slavery thus underwrote both Athenian democracy and its rapid economic growth.

Rome followed another path. From the third century BCE, the conquest of southern Italy and the defeat of Carthage brought increasing numbers of captives back to Rome. Two parallel developments took place. Lands were available because more and more male peasants were away serving in the Roman legions. Rich Romans were able to acquire these lands and work them with slaves acquired elsewhere. Southern Italy and Sicily were major centers of slave-based production. The success of Roman legions meant that for more than four centuries, captives were being brought back to Rome in large numbers and were providing the basis for economic activity. During some periods, captives arrived in such great numbers that revolts like that of Spartacus became a problem. Slaves were numerous but less important elsewhere in the empire. Roman law was also to provide a framework for the treatment of slaves in later European empires.

Greece and Rome never had a slave majority. That did not happen until European expansion and the spread of capitalist plantation agriculture introduced more intensive forms of slavery in the Americas, in Africa, and on the islands of the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia. Sugar was first domesticated in India or Southeast Asia, but Europeans discovered it as a result of the Crusades. Venetian and Genoan entrepreneurs realized that they could grow sugar using Arab technology and slave labor on Cyprus and Crete. Here they improved the technology and developed a form of plantation. Slaves came mostly from the Black Sea and eastern Europe, but also from Arab prisoners and Africans. In the early centuries of sugar cultivation, much labor was also provided by free peasants. With an increasing European demand for sugar, which was at first a luxury crop, sugar cultivation spread first to Sicily and the western Mediterranean and then, as Portuguese and Spanish navigators discovered new places, onto the Atlantic islands.

The Portuguese started planting sugar on Madeira in about 1455. The Spanish introduced sugar on the Canary Islands in the same period. Capital for both areas was provided largely by Genoan financiers. By 1500, Madeira was the most important source of sugar for Europe, and land was being granted by Portugal for plantations on São Tomé. Here the technology for grinding sugarcane was improved and a more intensive form of plantation

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organization developed. Because of the equatorial climate, São Tomé was the first sugar producer to depend completely on slave labor, but this increased the problem of security because Maroon settlements in the interior harassed the plantations. Though it was briefly the world's most important sugar producer, with the development of plantations in Brazil, São Tomé became more important as an entrepôt for slaves from Central Africa. This problem was to recur elsewhere. By the end of the 16th century, Brazil was the world's largest sugar producer.

Some islands, like Madeira, were unpopulated, but on others, there was a common pattern of development. Often the first Europeans enslaved and sold native peoples. The Guanche of the Canary Islands were heavily raided during the 14th century. In Hispaniola, Columbus sent a shipment of about 500 slaves back to Spain in 1495. Europeans usually moved quickly to using enslaved native labor rather than selling it. This was the pattern on the Canaries, on Hispaniola, in Brazil, and in the British American colonies, but enslavement and European diseases so reduced the population of native peoples that would-be entrepreneurs had to find other sources of labor. Sugar planters were the first to be squeezed by this demographic crisis. Sugar offered them a good return, but only if they could find a source of labor.

The only place they could find enough labor was Africa. Before the middle of the 15th century, the major source of slaves for the Mediterranean was eastern Europe. Then, when the Turks took Constantinople in 1453, they reduced Mediterranean access to Slavic sources at the very time that Portuguese navigators were opening up African sources for slaves. The first Atlantic producers of sugar were close to Africa and looked to nearby areas of Africa for slave labor. By the time sugar plantations developed in the Americas, the Portuguese had a regular ongoing trade with various African states that was capable of expansion. The quest for slaves was not the major motive for the Portuguese voyages, but the slave trade was the major result. The Portuguese not only provided slaves for their own sugar producers, but also for the Spanish under contracts called *asientos*.

THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN CHALLENGE

In the late 16th century, the nations of northern Europe began challenging the Iberians. The first were the Dutch. The wealthiest part of an empire ruled by the Spanish Hapsburgs, the Protestant Netherlands revolted against Catholic Spain in 1569. When the Spanish and Portuguese crowns were united in 1580, the Dutch saw the far-flung Portuguese empire as the most vulnerable place to attack Spain. After some success raiding Iberian fleets, the Dutch East India Company was chartered in 1602 and began seizing parts of Portu-

gal's Asian empire and developing more intensive forms of exploitation. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was chartered and began seizing Portuguese positions in Africa. In 1630, it seized Pernambuco, a sugar-producing province of northeastern Brazil. Dutch control did not last long. In 1648, a Brazilian force reconquered Angola, and by 1656 the Dutch had been pushed out of Brazil.

By this time, however, the Dutch had learned a lot about sugar and were teaching what they knew to others. The English and French were colonizing both the American mainland and the Caribbean. The West Indies were particularly inviting because they were underpopulated and potentially fertile. The English settled Barbados and the French St. Christopher in 1627. After experimenting with other crops, both islands switched to sugar by the 1640s. The Dutch were major agents of this transformation, providing slaves from their West African posts, technology, know-how, and credit. Sugar brought large profits and spread rapidly. By the end of the century, six European nations were cultivating sugar in the West Indies. For Britain and France, the West Indies was by far the most important overseas source of wealth during the 18th century. West Indian markets for food and timber were also important to the growth of British and French colonies on the mainland.

The sugar-slave complex lay at the heart of European expansion. A similar but smaller sugar system developed on the Indian Ocean islands of Mauritius and Réunion. Slave labor was also used elsewhere. Slaves cultivated spices for the Dutch in Indonesia. Slave concubines and servants inhabited the households of many of the Europeans who built empires in Asia and the Atlantic. Slaves cultivated tobacco in Virginia and Maryland, spices on Granada, and rice in South Carolina. Slave labor was important in cities that sprang up on both sides of the Atlantic and in Asia to service the new imperial economy. Nevertheless, at the end of the 18th century, most slaves in the Atlantic economy were cultivating sugar. Then in 1793, Eli Whitney developed a machine, the cotton gin, which could cheaply remove the seeds from cotton. The British Industrial Revolution had just begun and was based in its first phase almost exclusively on cotton textiles. There was thus a tremendous demand for cotton. Cotton spread quickly to new states west of the Appalachian Mountains. By 1860, two-thirds of the slaves in the United States were growing cotton.

The effects of the trade were disastrous for Africa. Many parts of the world have been exposed to a demand for slaves from wealthier and more powerful societies, but none has been exposed to such a sustained demand as Africa, and none has provided so many people to labor for others. Slavery existed in Africa as it did elsewhere in the world, but no African society in the mid-15th century specialized in the production of slaves. The first slaves were procured in relatively small numbers from areas near the coast. The first society to be influenced by the demand for slaves was the Kongo kingdom, which

was eager to learn from the Portuguese and to modernize, but by the 1520s, King Afonso was unable to control slave raiding and civil conflict within his kingdom. More successful slave producers were careful to control the conditions of the trade and not to allow Europeans to maintain permanent residences within their kingdoms. Trade was conducted at coastal ports or specialized markets, which could be controlled by the African trading state.

The steadily increasing demand for slaves on the coast and increasingly effective resistance by potential victims led merchants to push trade routes further and further into the interior and influenced military leaders to focus their efforts on taking prisoners who could be sold. In the 16th century a quarter of a million slaves were exported across the Atlantic. The sharpest increase came after the middle of the 17th century, when demand for the expanding sugar complexes of the West Indies led to an increase in prices of slaves along the West African coast. The period from 1660 to 1725 saw the creation of a series of powerful states in the interior of Africa, which were all capable of producing large numbers of slaves. Over 6 million slaves were exported across the Atlantic in the 18th century, and others were shipped across the Sahara. Many decentralized and stateless societies resisted the lure of the slave trade at first but often found themselves dependent on goods like iron and weapons that could only be procured by selling slaves. Slave merchants slowly developed social institutions like the Aro network in eastern Nigeria, which were capable of moving slaves through decentralized areas in the interior to the coast. For every slave shipped across the Atlantic, the Sahara, or the Indian Ocean, it is probable that several died in the wars, on the harsh caravan trail to the coast, or while being held for sale.

The safest places in western Africa were at the center of the large slaving kingdoms. Elsewhere, slave merchants managed to stimulate conflict and create needs that could only be met by selling slaves. For example, in decentralized societies, young men chafed at the control of their elders, who often made them work for years before allowing them to marry. Kidnapping or raiding gave young men revenues they could use to marry. The slave trade thus turned people against each other. It also made slaves available for African users. During the 18th century, Africa probably kept as many slaves as it sold. Most of those kept were women and children, who were easier to assimilate. The European traders preferred men, who made up two-thirds of the adults exported. African purchasers preferred women. In the interior, however, the price of women of all ages was always higher than the price of men of the same age. Wherever the demand for labor existed, slaves were sought. They were particularly important in the desert-side areas, where the transhumant cycles of the pastoralists brought them south every dry season and created a market for grain and cloth. They were also important in Saharan oases, in market towns across the region, and in the heart of many powerful kingdoms.

SLAVE LABOR

The work regimes within different kinds of slave economy varied radically. The harshest was sugar. Sugar has to be put into the presses within hours of being cut or less of the sweet liquid can be squeezed from the cane. The harvest was long, anywhere from five to eight months, and planters usually had more sugar planted than they were capable of harvesting. The field work was harsh, but the presses and the boiling rooms were often kept running all day. Men working there often had 18- to 24-hour shifts. A man who was not alert could easily be maimed or killed if his arm got caught in the press. Sugar colonies had a high mortality, both because of the harshness of the labor and because planters preferred to buy men, knowing that it was cheaper to buy a new slave than to raise one. Labor was also highly regimented. Mines also often had a high mortality, especially where workers had to work underground.

Rice farms also had a high mortality, though for a different reason. Rice was grown in swampy lowlands. Workers often worked in water and were exposed to malaria and various waterborne diseases. The work regime on tobacco farms was more benign, and the diversified agriculture of the Chesapeake made for a better diet. The units of production were small and the work diversified. By 1720, the slave population was increasing in Virginia and Maryland by natural reproduction. Cotton involved long workdays and unpleasant stoop labor, but slaves were well fed and slave populations also saw a natural increase there.

In all slave societies, a large percentage of the slaves, at least 10 percent and up to 25 percent, worked within the household. This involved cooks, butlers, seamstresses, and child care. The work was less harsh, but the hours were long and supervision constant. Slaves had the greatest freedom in the cities. Imperial cities were often new cities and were frequently populated largely by slaves. Whether in coastal Africa, the American South, Latin America, Southeast Asia, or the West Indies, many slaves did skilled work, and slaves were often allowed autonomy. They had their own social and religious life and were capable of learning new skills. They often worked for wages and paid their masters a percentage of their income. Many were able to develop remunerative sidelines and sometimes used income from these sidelines to purchase their freedom.

Slaves resisted in many ways. Slave revolts were not numerous and, with the exception of the Haitian Revolution, were usually put down quickly and brutally. Invariably, the vast number of those killed were slaves, often people merely suspected of being involved. Slave societies are almost by definition paranoid societies. Within them, slave owners were surrounded by a servile majority that did not want to be there. The hostility of slaves was most

intense where there were large numbers of the newly enslaved. In ancient Rome, as in South Carolina or Jamaica, these were the people most likely to revolt. As a result, slave societies were marked by law codes that applied cruel punishments to anyone involved in revolts. There were usually patrols to keep an eye on slave movements, and passes were often required for slaves leaving plantations or households. Justice was swift and often arbitrary. Slave patrols usually had the authority to deal out instant punishment. The slave still had options. Some ran away if there was somewhere to run to, though they often had to outrun professional slave catchers. Where there were mountains or forests, slaves formed Maroon settlements, some of which sustained themselves over long periods. There were also subtle forms of day-to-day resistance like sabotage or work slowdowns.

RELIGION AND SLAVERY

There is no evidence of a systematic attack on slavery as an institution in any society before the 18th century. Many of the universal religions had reservations about slavery and sought to control both who could be enslaved and how they were treated. In Christian thought, there was a strong belief that a person could be enslaved only in a just war. Such a belief was also characteristic of Islam, which permitted enslavement only in a jihad or holy war and restricted the type of wars that could be called jihads. Buddhism condemned warfare, and the Buddha forbade his followers from engaging in the slave trade. All three also regarded slaves as human beings and sought to convert them. All three also saw slaves as worthy of divine concern, and all insisted that masters treat their slaves humanely. In Buddhism, slaves were people being punished for the sins of an earlier life, and like other human beings, they were amenable to reform.

In spite of this, all of these religions accepted the legitimacy of enslavement, though all criticized the enslavement of co-religionists. This was also true of the Zoroastrians. All of the universal religions rose at times when slavery was widespread and would not have succeeded if they taught otherwise. Paul counseled slaves to serve their masters faithfully, seeking their reward in the afterlife. Mohammed also counseled obedience, and the Buddha asked slaves not to envy the wealth of their masters. Perhaps most important, slave raiders and slave dealers ignored the teachings of their respective religions on just war and jihad, and even used religion as a justification for enslaving non-believers. Slave masters also ignored many religious teachings. The Catholic Church, for example, tried to protect the sanctity of the sacraments, particularly the sacrament of marriage. Many slave masters

could not accept the idea that they should not have sexual relations with their slaves, or that they could not separate a slave from his or her spouse or parent. Buddhist temples often had large slaveholdings.

Slavery did decline in many places, though rarely because anyone saw the institution as immoral. Often the decline was linked to an increasing inability to procure new slaves, but the most important reason was usually that changes in social or economic structure made other ways of exploiting labor more attractive. The decline of slavery could be linked to economic decline or to an increase in population that facilitated other means of acquiring labor. The best-studied decline was in medieval Europe. The decline began when Roman conquests ceased and Roman legions stopped bringing home captives. With the collapse of the commercial economy and increasing insecurity, other means of organizing labor became more efficient, and serfdom replaced slavery. By the 12th century, slavery had disappeared in Britain, France, and Germany. It persisted in the Mediterranean, but no longer as a major source of agricultural labor.

Other areas saw similar declines. Slavery seems to have disappeared from Japan by the 12th century, though Tokugawa Japan (1602–1867) bound peasants to the land. In China, people enslaved during periods of conquest were often quickly transformed into peasants, sometimes with serf-like obligations. Slavery was very important in medieval Korea, probably more important than in any other East Asian country, but by the 16th century, population growth was making slavery unnecessary. In 1775 the king established a policy of gradual emancipation, and in 1895 Korea abolished slavery altogether. In Scandinavia, the Vikings were very effective slavers, but as population built up, slaves were no longer sought and slavery declined between the 12th and 14th century. Other forms of labor organization were more useful. Christianity seems to have also been a factor in the decline of slavery in Scandinavia and perhaps elsewhere. In Russia, slavery declined in the 17th century, but serfdom was tightened up to the point where it was as restrictive as many forms of slavery. In Mesopotamia, the massive use of slaves to revive irrigation systems led to the Zanj revolt of 883 CE and may have convinced Arab rulers to limit the use of slave labor.

Early Christian teaching accepted that slaves had eternal souls and were equal to free persons in the eyes of God, but it saw the Christian life as the only true liberty. Convinced that earthly life was meaningless, it counseled obedience. Nevertheless, from early on, the Church Fathers imposed two restrictions on the rights of slave owners. First, they insisted on the validity of marriage between slaves, which meant the legitimacy of relations between spouses and between parent and child. Second, they condemned extra-marital sexual relations between master and slave. Some popes also protested against Christians holding fellow Christians as slaves, and in the late Middle Ages, the Church was responsible for reintroducing Roman law, which afforded

slaves important protections and encouraged manumission. There were also dissident voices. The 13th-century theologian John Duns Scotus condemned the enslavement of prisoners of war and argued that enslavement was only justified as a punishment of crime. In the 16th century, the French Renaissance political theorist Jean Bodin was critical of Aristotle's notion that some men were slaves by nature. He also attacked the ways people were enslaved and used.

Catholic missionaries in the Americas were forced early to confront the harsh realities of exploitation in the new imperial economy. Almost from the beginning Spanish priests like Antonio de Montesinos and Bartolomé de Las Casas and Portuguese like Manuel da Nóbrega protested against enslavement and cruel treatment of Indians. They attacked legal justifications of slavery and persuaded Pope Nicholas III to issue *Bulla Sublimus Deus* (1537), which asserted the rationality of the Amerindians and their potential for Christian life. They also persuaded King Charles I to issue his New Laws (1542) prohibiting the enslavement of Amerindians and their exploitation in the *encomiendas*. In order to reduce the demands on Amerindians, Las Casas at first advocated the import of African slaves, but in his later years, he was critical of African slavery. Other missionaries like the Spaniards Tomás de Mercado and Bartolomé de Albornoz picked up the African cause later in the century. In Brazil, missionaries like the 17th-century Jesuit António Vieira tried to play the same role. Catholic thinkers were often divided on the legitimacy of slavery and the slave trade, but many were critical of the conduct of the trade and the harshness of slave life. In all of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, there were laws requiring that slaves be baptized and given religious education, the opportunity to worship, and the right to marry. Catholic priests and bishops often attacked the sexual exploitation of slave women.

ABOLITION

Few of the Catholic missionaries advocated the abolition of slavery. The systematic attack on slavery began in the middle of the 18th century and had two sources. The first was the European Enlightenment. The French political theorist Montesquieu rejected traditional justifications of slavery, though he shied away from attacking French colonial slavery. Others were not so cautious. Philosophers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the authors of the influential *Encyclopédie* argued that all human beings were endowed with certain natural rights, including the right to liberty. The Scotch political economist Adam Smith argued that slavery was not as efficient as free labor. Though many Enlightenment thinkers invested in slaving enterprises, and

some, like Thomas Jefferson, owned slaves, Enlightenment thought influenced educated public opinion and shaped the ideas of leaders of the American, French, and Spanish-American Revolutions. A belief in an inalienable human right to liberty found expression in the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, though many supporters of both declarations thought that these rights were only held by white people.

The other source, Protestant religion, turned out to be more potent. It started with the Quakers. Based on a belief in equality and a rejection of violence, Quakers had reservations about slavery from their establishment in about 1650. By the second half of the 18th century, many Quaker meetings accepted that slavery was sinful and were closed to slave owners. Quakers were influential in forming the first anti-slavery society in Philadelphia in 1775 and soon became important in other such societies. Other Christians also got involved. Anglican Granville Sharp used the courts to assist runaway slaves who did not want to be returned to the West Indies. When Lord Mansfield decided in 1772 that James Somerset, a former Virginia slave, was not property under English law, this meant that slaves could not be forced to return to the colonies against their will and could no longer, in fact, be considered slaves in England. Soon after that, another Anglican, Thomas Clarkson, began doing research on the slave trade. In 1787, they came together with other British abolitionists to form the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade under the leadership of the Anglican William Wilberforce. A year later, French abolitionists joined to form the *Société des Amis des Noirs*.

Abolition registered rather speedy successes. In the United States, all Northern states passed some form of abolition law between 1780 and 1804. Mostly these were gradual emancipation laws, often “free womb” laws which freed slaves born after a certain date. Some were quite slow. In New Jersey, there were still 18 slaves in 1860, but in general, Northern slavery was insignificant by 1830. Slavery issues were important at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. One of many compromises protected the import of slaves until 1808 but authorized an end to the trade after that. In Europe, only the French debated slavery itself, and there the issue was forced by the Haitian Revolution, which began in 1791. In 1794, with ex-slave armies in control of most of the island of Saint-Domingue, slavery was abolished. Eight years later, slavery and the slave trade were reestablished by Napoleon, but the army sent to Saint-Domingue failed to reconquer the island and it became independent as Haiti in 1804. Denmark abolished the slave trade in 1792.

In Great Britain, then the world’s largest slave trader, the abolitionists faced a strong West Indian lobby, but they became skillful at mobilizing public opinion. They used the churches, held meetings all over the country,

and used petitions to put pressure on Parliament. Finally in 1807, Britain abolished the slave trade. From 1807, British diplomacy was used to put pressure on other European powers, and the British navy tried to block the export of slaves from Africa. The continuation of the slave trade by other nations soon persuaded the abolitionists that the trade would exist as long as there were slaves. In 1823 they organized the Anti-Slavery Society, and in 1833, after a very effective campaign, the British Parliament voted to abolish slavery. The French agreed reluctantly to abolish the trade after the defeat of Napoleon, but they did not enforce the abolition of the trade until 1831. In 1848 a new revolutionary government abolished slavery in all French colonies. The Dutch were slower, abolishing slavery in the Dutch West Indies only in 1863. This did not touch Indonesia. Portugal abolished the slave trade in 1836 and slavery itself in 1869, but both slavery and disguised versions of the slave trade existed in Africa until the 20th century.

In Spanish America, the issue of slavery became a central one during the wars of liberation. Both sides recruited slaves and former slaves and promised them their liberty. Leaders like Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín were convinced that they could only throw off the colonial yoke if they were willing to offer liberty to the slaves. The abolition of the slave trade by Chile and Venezuela in 1811 was followed by abolition of the trade elsewhere, and in many cases by abolition of slavery itself. In most instances, these were gradual emancipation laws, usually free womb laws. With the victory of the Patriot cause, some states reestablished slavery, but by mid-century, liberals all over Hispanic America were becoming influential. Many of them were convinced by the experience of Great Britain and the Northern United States that economic development would be more rapid if based on free labor. Only Brazil and Cuba stood against the tide. Brazil became independent from Portugal in 1822 while Cuba remained under Spanish rule. Though isolated voices in both countries opposed slavery, Brazil and Cuba increased their imports of slaves, expanded the production of sugar, and, when British sugar production declined, took over much of Great Britain's market share.

In the United States, the divide between North and South led to a bloody confrontation over slavery. In the early years of the new republic, leaders like Benjamin Franklin and George Washington feared that the slavery issue would divide the Union and often were careful not to push it. That did not prevent the issue from surfacing. Before the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, some Southerners were concerned about the region's large slave population and favored gradual emancipation, and sometimes resettlement in Africa. After 1793, the Deep South moved heavily into cotton. In the cotton South, there was a strong sense that the region's wealth was based on slavery and that abolition threatened that wealth. The end of the slave trade in 1808 did not seriously hinder the cotton boom because of the rapid natural increase of the slave population, especially in Virginia and Maryland. With the de-

cline in tobacco production, they had more slaves than they needed. The surplus slaves were either sold off or moved to the Deep South with their owners.

In the North, there was a more broad-based economic growth fueled by industrialization, immigration, and free labor. The North soon became wealthier, more urban, and more populous than the South. Both North and South spread west, and as new states entered the Union, they did so as either slave or free. This required intermittent compromises, the first being the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Though there was little abolitionist pressure during the first decades of the new century, the divide was there. In the South, intermittent slave revolts both at home and in the West Indies, and a sense of increasing isolation, fostered a pro-slavery militancy. Both the Northern states and Great Britain were convinced that their growth and prosperity resulted from the use of free labor. This belief was shared by workers and farmers who feared competition with slave labor. There were also increasingly self-conscious African-American communities hostile both to slavery and to a political order in the North that denied them the vote and gave them few rights. They organized within their own churches and social organizations. They soon found allies. In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison began publishing a newspaper called *The Liberator*. Garrison provided a focus for people, most of them deeply committed Christians, who were convinced that slavery was a sin.

The immediate abolition advocated by Garrison was never popular, but abolition societies began springing up all over the North. The abolitionists were marked by the intensity of their commitment. A lecture circuit developed. Like their British counterparts, abolitionists organized petition campaigns and in numerous publications criticized the evils of slavery. They also provided a platform for African-American leaders, founded schools and training programs for African-Americans, and provided assistance to slaves fleeing the South. The involvement of abolitionists in other causes, particularly women's rights, split the movement but did not dull its vehemence. For many early feminist activists, the causes of slaves and women were linked. In 1840, the more moderate abolitionists organized the Liberty Party, which ran James G. Birney for the presidency. An increasingly eloquent African-American leadership emerged in the 1840s, many of them former slaves like Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, and William Wells Brown, who were able to talk about their experiences with slavery.

The annexation of Texas in 1845 and the resultant war with Mexico was strongly supported in the South, which was looking for places where slavery could expand. This contributed to Northern fears of a slave hegemony. In 1848, the Liberty Party was replaced by the Free Soil Party, which called not for the abolition of slavery but for stopping its extension. It had greater success at the polls but was still a third party. The Compromise of 1850 was

an effort to settle the increasing divide between North and South. It included a Fugitive Slave Act, which provided for federal enforcement and heavy penalties for interfering with federal officials. The law had the opposite effect. While many runaways fled to Canada or Great Britain, where they attracted support from abolitionists in the Northern United States, there were confrontations all over the North where crowds tried to prevent the enforcement of the law, and in many cases state authorities interfered to keep federal officials from carrying out the law.

Then, in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, Congress suggested that the fate of any states in the territory be decided by popular sovereignty. This meant that the settlers were to decide themselves whether the state was to be slave or free. “Bleeding Kansas” was the result as militants from both sides poured into the state. The best-known figure to emerge from this prelude to the Civil War was John Brown, who became a martyr when he was executed after the Harper’s Ferry raid of 1859. Also in 1854, the Republican Party was formed by a merger of the Free Soilers and sympathetic Whigs. In the 1856 elections, the Republicans replaced the Whigs as the second party and carried much of the North. In the subsequent years, events pushed the Union toward war. In 1857 the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case negated all previous compromises when it held that Congress could not limit the right of a slave owner to take his slave anywhere in the United States. This angered the North, while the South was disturbed by John Brown’s attack on Harper’s Ferry, by sympathy with Brown, and by the continuing inability the federal government had in enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law.

In 1860, the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, swept the North and was elected president without the support of a single slave state. In spite of Lincoln’s assurances that he had neither the right nor the intention of interfering with slavery where it already existed, all but four of the slave states seceded and formed the Confederate States of America. While Lincoln carefully limited federal objectives, slaves took matters in their own hands, crossing federal lines in massive numbers. Under pressure from abolitionists and African-American leaders, in January 1863 Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves in all areas in rebellion. This and the increasing use of African-American troops, recruited at first by local commanders and finally with Lincoln’s authorization, changed the nature of the war. What began as a war to save the Union ended up being a war to end slavery. In 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolished slavery throughout the Union. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which followed soon thereafter, gave the freed slaves citizenship and defined their rights.

A CONTINUING STRUGGLE

By 1865, slavery was illegal in all areas settled by Europeans except Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Brazil. In Cuba, the intensification of slavery and an increase in imports led to several slave revolts and an effort to find other sources of labor. During the Ten Years' War (1868–1878), both sides tried to recruit slaves. By the end of the war, former slaves and free people of color were a majority of the liberation army. Slavery was ended in Puerto Rico in 1873. In Cuba, it was done in small steps, but final abolition came in 1886, by which date there were few slaves left. In Brazil, the import of slaves was abolished in 1851. An abolitionist movement was formed during the 1850s. In 1871, a gradual emancipation statute was passed, but emancipation moved slowly until after 1880, when under pressure from an increasingly vigorous abolition movement individual provinces began to act. In the last stages, as in the United States and Cuba, slaves simply started leaving the plantations in large numbers. In 1888, slavery was abolished in Brazil.

Throughout the 19th century, British naval and diplomatic pressure was used in countless areas. By 1839, Great Britain had treaties with all major maritime powers except the United States providing the right to stop and search each other's vessels. These treaties were valuable to the British navy in its efforts to stop the trade. British ships cruised off Brazil, Cuba, and the Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts of Africa. Britain also put pressure on various Muslim states. British efforts produced a resistance in some parts of the Muslim world because slavery was seen as an institution legitimated by the Prophet Mohammed. Nevertheless, many Muslim states were amenable to British pressure. In 1846 Tunisia abolished slavery, and a year later the Ottoman Empire closed the Constantinople slave market and banned the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. Egypt closed its slave markets in 1854 and signed an anti-slavery treaty with the British in 1877. In 1873 an anti-slavery treaty was signed with Zanzibar, and in 1876 the slave market was closed. Other areas resisted British criticism. The pilgrimage to Mecca remained the occasion of a clandestine slave trade well into the 20th century.

By the late 19th century, the notion that slavery was immoral was widely accepted in Europe and America, as was a belief in the superiority of free labor. In a little over a half century, slavery had been abolished throughout the European world. The Catholic Church, once at the forefront of efforts to limit slavery, had resisted involvement in this movement throughout the 19th century. The Church had been stunned by the French Revolution and the role in various progressive movements of anti-clericals, and it identified abolition with those movements. In Europe, most active abolitionists were anti-clerical. Late in the 19th century, Pope Leo XIII moved the Catholic Church away from this fear of progressive movements. Cardinal Charles Lavigerie

persuaded the pope to authorize the organization of anti-slavery movements, and in 1888 he toured Europe doing so. In 1890, the pope condemned slavery.

At this time, European nations were creating new colonial empires in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Many of these were areas where slavery was important, but the slave owners were indigenous people, not Europeans. Colonial regimes often had limited funds and military forces, and as a result they often ruled through local elites. These elites were often slaveholders. Many of the colonial armies were also made up of slaves, and some were rewarded partly by booty, which often included women and children taken prisoner. Colonial regimes often stopped slave raiding, which was a barrier to their economic plans, and slave trading, which was crucial to the slave economy. They were reluctant to attack slavery itself, and in fact many colonial military and civil officials enjoyed the services of slaves. The regimes depended on democratically elected parliaments for appropriations, though, and thus had to justify themselves to a public opinion that opposed slavery. In many cases, too, their plans for economic development depended on creating a free labor market.

The British abolitionists did not rest on their laurels. In 1839, they organized the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, now known as Anti-Slavery International. One of their first concerns was India. India had not been affected by the Abolition Act of 1833 because it was ruled not by the Crown but by the East India Company. In 1843, under pressure from Parliament and the abolitionists, the company proclaimed Act V, which held that under Indian law, there could be no recognition of slavery. This meant that slave owners could neither use the courts nor the coercive power of the state to maintain their control over slaves. It also meant that colonial officials had no obligation to either compensate slave owners for their losses or to intervene to encourage emancipation.

The Indian formula was useful to many other colonial regimes. It was used first in the Gold Coast in 1874, though the law proclaimed there only had effect in areas near the coast. In other parts of Africa, colonial power was slower to act. The issue was also important in Asia. The Dutch began a step-by-step emancipation of slaves in Indonesia in 1878. In Cambodia, the French abolished slavery in 1897. The British abolished slavery the same year in Zanzibar. In French Africa, an effort was made to distance the colonial state from slavery. Administrators applying a new law code in 1903 were told not to receive complaints from masters, and two years later, a law prohibited all transactions in persons. Within a year a massive exodus from slavery had begun that culminated in about a million slaves leaving their masters. In northern Nigeria, Lord Frederick Lugard acted to prevent such an exodus. He told administrators to free only slaves who had been abused and asked others to use a Muslim process called *murgu* to enable slaves to pur-

chase their freedom. Slavery was only abolished in Nigeria in 1936, but in the interim, many slaves freed themselves. In Malaya, slavery was abolished piecemeal, state by state, and was not complete until 1915. During the inter-war period, pressure was placed on the colonial regimes and on countries like Liberia and Ethiopia by League of Nations committees. In Burma the process of emancipation was completed only in 1926. In Sierra Leone, slavery was abolished in 1928.

The European discourse on slavery increasingly shaped other areas. In many places, reformers interested in modernizing their own societies looked to what European states had done. Sometimes edicts were issued only to placate British public opinion. Menelik, the powerful emperor of Ethiopia, issued countless anti-slavery edicts between 1887 and 1908 while the sale of captives from his military campaigns in southern Ethiopia was increasing. Others, however, became convinced that free labor was more productive than slave labor and essential to any effort to copy European modernization. In Thailand, anti-slavery policies were part of an effort to fend off the French and British appetite for empire, but emancipation was facilitated by the increasing importance of wage labor. The Ottoman Empire was also anxious to avoid imperial partition, but anti-slavery also became part of reform agendas. In the years just before World War I, a reform regime ended the slave trade, and after the war, Kemal Atatürk abolished all forms of slavery. In China, slavery was abolished in 1910; when the empire fell the following year, there was no government capable of enforcing emancipation. In the Arabian Peninsula, slavery was abolished in 1962 in Saudi Arabia and in 1970 in Oman.

EMANCIPATION

In the last stages of various slave systems, it was often the slaves who acted to destroy slavery. They did so sometimes by revolting, but usually by just walking away from the site of their servitude. In Haiti, the revolt of the slaves in 1791 put pressure on French revolutionary assemblies uncertain of what to do about slavery. In the British Caribbean, the expectation of emancipation led to slave revolts in Jamaica and Barbados. When emancipation finally came, the British set up a transitional phase called apprenticeship. It did not work and was ended by Parliament in 1838. In the United States, during the early years of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln opposed any action against slavery because he was trying to convince the South to return to the Union. Slaves, however, forced his hand, crossing Union lines wherever possible. In Brazil, anti-slavery measures during the 1880s aroused the expectations of slaves and led many to simply walk away from the plantations. By the time

abolition was finally approved in 1888, most of the slaves were gone. In French West Africa, those slaves who remembered an earlier home went there after 1905. Elsewhere in Africa, many other slaves also left.

The abolition of slavery did not necessarily end slavery. It generally led to a struggle for the control of the labor of the former slaves. Often slaves had nowhere else to go, and the post-slavery situation involved a complex process of negotiation. In this, the question of mobility and the question of land were important to former slaves. Mobility existed where slaves could withdraw their labor and go elsewhere. Where slave owners controlled most of the land or remained dominant in the state, they were often able to substitute other forms of control. In India, bondage based on debt became a way to tie peasant farmers to landowners. In parts of Latin America, peonage remained important. In the United States, where pro-slavery elements controlled state governments after the Civil War, Southern states passed the so-called Black Codes to force the freed slaves to continue working for their masters. Congress intervened to give citizenship and to protect the rights of the former slaves. A 10-year period called Reconstruction followed, which carried out many profound changes in Southern life, but full citizenship involved a struggle that lasted a century. Few former slaves, however, accepted a return to plantation labor in the United States or anywhere else.

Everywhere, freed slaves were concerned about two things above all. The first was control over their family life. This meant the right to choose their spouses. It meant that women no longer had to submit to the sexual demands of masters, their sons, and their visitors. It meant that people could no longer be sold away from their families. It meant that they could plan for themselves and that whatever they accumulated could be passed on to their offspring. Second, former slaves sought the right to work for themselves. For artisans with a marketable skill, this was usually easy. They often already worked for wages part time, or in the case of some urban slaves, worked full time for wages. With farm slaves, autonomy generally depended on the availability of land. On the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, the whole slave population left the plantations and moved into mountainous areas in the center of the island not suited to plantation crops. In less than a decade, they were completely replaced by indentured labor from India. Similarly, in Jamaica and other Caribbean islands with mountainous areas, freed slaves often moved onto their own lands. The men would work on the plantations, but never the long and abusive hours of slavery. The women were withdrawn from the labor force, creating a crisis for Caribbean sugar producers and necessitating the import of Indian indentured laborers. In the American South, white control of land forced the freed slaves to submit, but they worked as sharecroppers rather than submitting to the hated discipline and gang labor of the plantation.

HERITAGE OF SLAVERY

Strictly speaking, slavery exists nowhere today, but the impact of slavery remains wherever it was important. The most important part of this heritage is racism. People of all colors and from all parts of the world have been slaves, but the largest source of slaves over the last 500 years has been Africa. Africans were the victims in the largest forced migration in history. In the period up to 1800, more people crossed the Atlantic in slave ships than as free persons. The numbers were so massive that native people who had been enslaved earlier were largely absorbed within an African mass. During this period, Europeans did not enslave each other except as a punishment for crimes. They often killed each other in wars. The victims of several rebellions were sent to the Americas but were freed after a term of service. Europeans during the age of slavery did not sell other Europeans into slavery. Europeans thus had to explain why it was right to enslave Africans and not Europeans. The only way they could do so was to argue that these Africans were somehow inferior to other peoples. This belief in racial inferiority in turn underlay segregation and racial discrimination and has been a major source of conflict wherever African slavery was important and has been used to deny people of African descent the full development of their potential. The abolition of slavery was often only the beginning of the struggle for equality and against discrimination.

The stigma of slave descent remains important even in areas where the slaves are not physically distinct. In areas where the former slaves did not remain a distinctive group, they disappeared, melting into the general population, often migrating to other places where they could make a fresh start. Elsewhere, for example, in parts of Africa, the stigma of slave descent remains powerful and is underpinned by the belief that people of slave descent lack honor. Often people of free descent will not marry them, and they are ineligible for certain Muslim offices. Sometimes, however, they are better off economically than those of free ancestry because they are more entrepreneurial and more willing to do kinds of work that lack status.

CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY

Though slavery no longer exists, new forms, which are illegal almost everywhere, have emerged. The new forms differ from the old in that most of them are temporary. The owner has no concern to protect his property interest once the enslaved person is no longer useful. In spite of the risks to those owning and trading these new slaves, they are found in all parts of the world. The United Nations regularly investigates different contemporary forms of slav-

ery. These involve mostly children and women. Children are particularly valued in industries like rug making where their small fingers can work faster than those of adults. They are also sought for the sex industries of some Third World cities and for agriculture. For adult women, the most important form of slavery is coerced prostitution. It involves women from eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa who are sold and can be moved to wherever the market for sex seems attractive. Many are women who sought other kinds of work but once out of their home countries found themselves controlled by criminal syndicates. Others are recruited within wealthy countries from runaways who are picked by pimps and unable to break away. They are brutalized and confined until they accept their new status. Prostitution is invariably linked to other sex industries like strip shows, massage parlors, and pornography.

There are other examples. Domestic service in some countries often involves people who are hereditary retainers, the children of slaves who remain clients of wealthy families. It also involves poor young women who contract with wealthy families in hopes of earning money before marriage, but they find themselves virtual slaves when they arrive at their destination. In some parts of the world, male farmworkers also live in conditions of virtual servitude. These are usually men or boys who migrate in search of work. All of these people are not slaves strictly speaking because they are not in a permanent relationship, but all are forced to do a job that they do not seek and are denied the freedom to leave. They invariably migrate from poor regions in the quest for work but find themselves in weak states unable or unwilling to protect them. They are denied the right to leave and are forced to work at low wages and under brutal conditions.

Linked to these different networks are the human traffickers who annually move people from one part of the world to another. Most of the people trafficked are people who are fleeing poverty or oppression and seeking work in wealthier countries. They often pay the traffickers, but if they cannot pay, they borrow, and after their arrival at the destination, they must work off their debts. Sometimes this involves factory work, but for young female migrants, it usually involves prostitution.

Thus these new slaves come mostly from poor countries, and many work in poor countries. The prostitutes, however, work and are traded in some of the world's most prosperous cities. They exist because of poverty in their countries of origin. They exist also because criminal syndicates can coerce those they control. They exist because those syndicates and unscrupulous employers can profit by paying low wages to unwilling workers. They exist because they operate underground and can escape detection. These operations are essential neither to the global economy nor to the well-being of the countries where the new forms of slavery exist. Rugs are produced by both

free labor and coerced labor. In parts of India, bonded labor has disappeared. The struggle against such forms of exploitation is a constant one, and probably one that will never be ended.

The new forms exist everywhere, but the old forms have disappeared. The end of traditional slavery is not easily explained. At the time it took place, slave plantations were still prosperous. Sugar, cotton, coffee, cloves, and other spices were being grown profitably in many areas where slavery was abolished. Furthermore, the late 19th century saw unprecedented demands for labor for sugar plantations in the West Indies, Fiji, and South Africa; to shovel guano on islands off the Peruvian coast; and to construct railroads in all parts of the world. Labor had to be enticed. Why then was slavery abolished? More than anything else, it was because of the rapid economic progress of a handful of countries, first Great Britain and the United States, then Western Europe, and later Japan. These were all nations where labor was free and where people believed that free labor was more efficient and better motivated. These were by the end of the 19th century all democratic nations where most people believed that human beings had the right to freely choose where and how to work and how much. People are often motivated by poverty to migrate and seek work elsewhere, but those seeking work make their own choices. They are often exploited and not always well treated, but they are no longer marched in chains and kept at work by the threat of whipping.

A

ABLEMAN V. BOOTH. This was a case that involved conflict between federal and state law in the United States. The genesis of this important case was the capture of a runaway slave, Joshua Glover, in Racine, Wisconsin, by his master and U.S. Marshal Steven Ableman in 1854. The local sheriff immediately arrested Ableman and the master for assault and battery, and a mob freed the slave. Charges were brought in federal court against the leaders of the mob, Sherman Booth and John Rycraft, but a state judge freed them. They were then rearrested and convicted, but a state court intervened, holding that the **Fugitive Slave Law** of 1850 was unconstitutional. When the case reached the Supreme Court, Chief Justice **Roger Taney** held that state courts could not use writs of habeas corpus to free federal prisoners. He also held the Fugitive Slave Act to be constitutional. The case ended state court resistance to the act, but within two years the nation was at war.

ABOLITION, BRAZIL. The first steps toward emancipation in Brazil came not from an abolition movement but from British pressure, first in 1810 on Portugal, and then, after Brazilian independence in 1822, on Brazil. Brazil had over three centuries imported more slaves than any country in the Americas, and its economy was dependent on slave labor. In 1831, the Brazilian Parliament passed a law ending the import of slaves and freeing those introduced illegally. Passed only to satisfy the British, this law was widely ignored for 20 years. During this period half a million slaves entered Brazil. By the 1850s, an abolition movement had emerged led by José Tomas Nabuco de Araújo, and later by his son, **Joaquim Nabuco de Araújo**. An 1851 bill abolished the **African slave trade**. An 1871 bill gave freedom to newborns and set up a fund to free children. During the Triple Alliance War (1865–1870) in which Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay fought Paraguay, Brazil freed slaves willing to enlist in its army.

In 1880, Joaquim Nabuco and fellow reformers, disappointed by the slow progress on the issue of slavery, organized the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society and began an active propaganda campaign. The next few years were a period of intense debate. A number of provincial movements developed and

proved effective. There was also support from members of the royal family. Emperor Pedro II was a strong believer in gradual abolition and his daughter, Isabella, was a supporter of abolition. In 1886, Parliament responded to the brutal whipping of two slaves to death by passing a law prohibiting whipping. Soon after, there was a massive flight of slaves from São Paulo coffee **plantations**. Masters responded by offering conditional freedom, but that proved inadequate. In May 1888, recognizing that slavery had collapsed, and with strong support from Princess Isabella, Parliament voted to end slavery. Brazil was the last country in the Americas to do so. The slaves succeeded where neither British pressure nor the eloquence of humanitarian elites had been effective. One ironic effect was that in spite of the popularity of emancipation, the empire was overthrown by conservative elements unhappy about the support members of the imperial family had given to the abolitionists. The new regime, however, did not try to reinstitute slavery.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY.

ABOLITION, FRANCE. In France, abolition was part of the heritage of the **Enlightenment** and the **French Revolution**. The first French abolition society was the **Society of the Friends of Blacks** founded in 1788. This was later than in Great Britain or the United States, and it differed from those in being composed of members of elite groups. Its membership was small but influential. It did not engage in appeals to public opinion and was not rooted in the churches. Nevertheless, the French Enlightenment had seriously questioned slavery, and the assemblies of the French Revolution were sympathetic to both anti-slavery and the rights of free blacks. In 1791, the National Assembly extended citizenship to mixed-race **people of color** in the Caribbean. This act increased tensions in Saint-Domingue, where the **Haitian Revolution** was in its first stages. This event, in turn, pushed France to take further action. In 1794, it abolished slavery throughout the empire and barred slave owners from bringing their slaves to France. In 1802, Napoleon reinstated colonial slavery. In 1817, defeated in the Napoleonic Wars and under pressure from the British, the French agreed to end the **slave trade**. The restored Bourbon dynasty did little to fulfill its commitments until the late 1820s.

By this time, the abolition movement had reemerged. It was still very elitist in organization and methods but included some very influential men. Though most of its members were Catholics, it lacked the support of the **Catholic Church**, which had been alienated by the activities of many leading abolitionists who supported anti-clerical policies during the French Revolution. One of its members was the Duke of Orleans, who became King Louis Philippe after the July Revolution of 1831. The Orleans regime ended the slave trade and debated about what to do about slavery. No French slave ship left the coast of Africa after 1831. In 1834, the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery was organized. The most important abolitionist was

Victor Schoelcher, the son of an Alsatian industrialist. Most members of the society wanted gradual emancipation, but Schoelcher advocated immediate and total abolition. In 1848, a new revolution brought the more radical Second Republic to power. In April 1848, it issued a law, written by Schoelcher, that made slavery illegal throughout the French empire.

With the total end of slavery in the French colonial empire, the abolition movement disappeared, only to resurface in the 1870s when slavery once again became an issue in the new French colonies of Africa. Both Schoelcher and West Indian deputies like Alexandre Isaac raised the question of toleration of slavery in these new African colonies. Then, in 1888, the Cardinal-Primate of Algeria, **Charles Lavigerie**, won the support of Pope Leo XIII for the creation of a Catholic anti-slavery movement. He made a tour of Catholic Europe, which resulted in the creation of a series of anti-slavery organizations. In 1903, the colonial state ordered the courts to stop considering slave status in legal cases. This application of the “Indian formula” meant that masters could no longer go to the courts to reclaim slaves. In 1905, a new law abolished all transactions in persons in French West Africa: sale, gift, bequeathal, or exchange. It was followed by a massive exodus, as many slaves left their masters to return to earlier homes or to create a new life for themselves.

See also BANAMBA EXODUS; EMANCIPATION, INDIA; MADAGASCAR.

ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN. Over the centuries, there were many critics of slavery, but before the late 18th century, there was never a movement to abolish it. The movement that took form in Great Britain in the 1780s was rooted in **Enlightenment** philosophy, in economic theories that proclaimed the superiority of free labor, and in British Protestantism’s belief that slavery was immoral. Its most dramatic success was the abolition by the world’s largest slave trader of the **slave trade** in 1807 and of slavery itself in 1833. Though faced with a powerful entrenched West Indian lobby, the abolitionists had a speedy success. The movement can be traced to the middle of the 18th century, when many meetings of the Society of Friends (**Quakers**) decided that no slave dealer could be a member of the Quakers. Slavery had not existed in Great Britain since the late Middle Ages, but with the development of great wealth in the Americas, planters began returning to Britain with slave servants. A young Anglican, **Granville Sharp**, began to use the courts to seek freedom for slaves in Britain. In 1772, in the case of James Somerset, a Virginia slave who had fled his master, Lord Justice Mansfield ruled that Somerset could not be returned to Virginia against his will. Nevertheless, until the 1780s, such movement as existed was largely among the Quakers and a few other Christian abolitionists like Sharp.

Then, in 1787, the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was formed. Major roles were assumed by non-Quakers, **William Wilberforce**, who led the parliamentary campaign, and **Thomas Clarkson**, who was in charge of organization and research. Strongly based in the Protestant churches, the movement was speedily able to create local societies in all parts of Britain. In 1792, a petition signed by 400,000 individuals persuaded the House of Commons to approve a gradual end to the trade. Then, for over a decade, war with France took priority over abolition. In 1807, the British Parliament finally approved abolition of the trade. This satisfied those supporters of abolition called ameliorationists, who assumed that treatment of slaves would improve when imports were no longer possible. They founded the **African Institution** to monitor enforcement of abolition laws and create alternative sources of income for those societies that had participated in the slave trade.

By this time, however, the abolitionists had learned to exploit their backing in the churches to mobilize public opinion. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Great Britain put pressure on other European powers to follow Britain's lead in abolishing the trade, and then, later, to accept treaties giving the British navy the right to search ships suspected of being slavers. The **Africa Squadron** pursued slavers in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans for over half a century. At the same time, the abolitionists realized that ending the trade would have little impact on slavery itself. In 1823, a new organization, the Anti-Slavery Society, was formed. William Wilberforce yielded the parliamentary leadership to **Thomas Fowell Buxton**, but Thomas Clarkson still played a key role. The abolitionists were at first successful in providing more opportunity for religious instruction for slaves, in removing barriers to manumission, and in regulating flogging. In 1831, an aggressive group of younger abolitionists organized the Agency Committee, which sent itinerant preachers and lecturers around Britain to whip up support. In 1833, Parliament finally abolished slavery throughout the British Empire. To win support from gradualists, Buxton approved a transitional phase in which the slaves would become apprentices. When it became evident that slave owners saw apprenticeships as a form of slavery, the abolition movement attacked again and apprenticeship was ended in 1838.

Even then, abolitionists were aware that millions of people were in slavery and that the trade was continuing in many parts of the world. In 1839, they reorganized as the **British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society**. One of their first victories was in India, which was not affected by the 1833 act because it was the property of the East India Company and not of the British crown. In 1843, slavery was abolished in India. The abolitionists continued to put pressure on Britain to use its influence to end slavery elsewhere in the world, and

in particular, in British colonies. The successor of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, **Anti-Slavery International**, is still actively fighting slavery and slavery-like institutions in all parts of the world.

See also EMANCIPATION, INDIA; *SOMERSET V. STEWART* (1772); STURGE, JOSEPH (1793–1859).

ABOLITION, UNITED STATES. In 1758, the annual meeting of the Philadelphia Society of Friends voted to exclude members who traded in slaves. This was the first act of what became an active abolition movement. Abolition in the United States took its strength from three sources. First, the **Quakers** and many other Protestants became convinced that slavery was opposed to Christian teachings. Second, many American thinkers were strongly influenced by the **Enlightenment** critique of slavery and its emphasis on universal human rights. Finally, the ideology of the **American Revolution** stressed equality and the struggle for liberty. These ideas came together in **Thomas Jefferson**'s writing of the Declaration of Independence, which stressed the right of all persons to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." A slaveholder himself, Jefferson freed only eight of his own slaves, and then only in his will. Four of them were almost certainly his children.

Slavery at this time existed in all parts of the United States but was more limited in the North. There, abolitionist societies persuaded one state after another to abolish slavery. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 effectively ended slavery there. Pennsylvania in the same year, Rhode Island in 1784, and New York in 1789 followed with emancipation acts. By 1804, every Northern state had approved some form of emancipation, though in some cases emancipation was very gradual. Many slaves were also freed by the British during the American Revolution for supporting the royal cause and resettled in Nova Scotia, Britain, and Jamaica after the war. Many others freed themselves or were freed for military service. At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, there was a heated debate when abolitionists attacked the slave trade. The compromise approved authorized Congress to end the import of slaves after 1808. By that time, the slave trade had been abolished by all states except South Carolina. Congress then followed suit. Thus the United States ended the import of slaves the same year as Great Britain.

At the Constitutional Convention, some Southerners like Jefferson were sympathetic with abolition, but with the development of the cotton gin in 1793, **cotton** became the major commercial crop in the South. Heavily dependent on slave labor to pick the cotton, the South dug in, developed its slaveholding culture, and determined to protect it. In the North, resettlement of slaves in Africa, advocated by the **American Colonization Society**, was the most popular approach to abolition, especially among those who believed that African-Americans were not ready for liberty. A more militant abolitionism emerged with the formation of the **American Anti-Slavery Society**

under the leadership of **William Lloyd Garrison** in 1833. Garrison also published the *Liberator*, an anti-slavery newspaper. Abolitionists believed strongly that human progress was based on free labor. Many also believed that slavery was against God's will and thus a sin.

Abolitionists split on a number of issues. A western wing led by **Theodore Dwight Weld** favored a more gradual approach than that of Garrison. They differed on violence, an issue that came to a head with **Bleeding Kansas** in 1854 and **John Brown's** raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859. Others differed on race. As the free black population grew and competed with white immigrants for jobs, racial discrimination increased. Some abolitionists felt that the movement should seek equal rights for those it freed. By contrast, the **Free Soilers** only wanted to limit the expansion of slavery, and some even wanted to exclude the free blacks from the new western states. At the same time, African-Americans like **Frederick Douglass** and **Henry Highland Garnet** increasingly played a strong role in the movement.

The abolitionists remained a minority. The abolitionist **Liberty Party** was successful mostly in spreading ideas but never got a lot of votes. The passage of the **Fugitive Slave Act** in 1850 made it possible for slave owners to reclaim runaway slaves in the North and provided a crucial issue for the abolition movement. Resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act and the formation of the Republican Party with a free-soil agenda in 1854 hardened Southern attitudes. Most Southerners could not accept the election of **Abraham Lincoln** in 1860. Lincoln did not advocate abolition of slavery, but he opposed its extension. For the South, protection of slavery depended on North-South parity in the Senate. Many leading abolitionists played an active role in the **American Civil War** and in the **Reconstruction** period that followed. In the earliest stages of the Civil War, Lincoln was reluctant to abolish slavery because he hoped to persuade Southerners to return to the Union. That proved to be a vain hope. In 1863, the **Emancipation Proclamation** ended slavery in areas still in rebellion against the Union, and in 1865 the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the **Constitution of the United States** ended slavery elsewhere.

See also QUACO WALKER CASES.

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY (1767–1848). After serving as president of the United States from 1825 to 1829, John Quincy Adams was elected to the House of Representatives. Though he personally found slavery repugnant, Adams was reluctant as secretary of state and as president to push anti-slavery legislation that would strain the American Union. In Congress, however, he became more outspoken. A popular abolitionist tactic was the submission of petitions to Congress. The majority of the House of Representatives responded by passing the **gag rule**, which prohibited the presentation of anti-slavery petitions to Congress. This was a violation of the First Amend-

ment to the U.S. Constitution, which guaranteed the right to petition. Week after week for years, Adams rose in the House to read petitions sent to him, often facing abuse from pro-slavery colleagues. Finally, in 1844, the gag rule was rescinded. In 1844, in the important *Amistad* case, Adams represented the slave mutineers before the U.S. Supreme Court and won their liberation.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

AFONSO I, KING OF THE KONGO (DIED c. 1545). Nzinga Mbembe was a Kongolese prince born shortly after the arrival of the Portuguese in the Kingdom of the **Kongo** in 1482. He was one of the first converts to Catholicism and with Portuguese support became the Mani (King) Kongo in about 1506 as Afonso I. Afonso was eager to absorb European technology and modernize his kingdom. To that end, he corresponded with King Manuel I of Portugal, who offered him advice and promised assistance. In exchange, Afonso sold slaves. As the **slave trade** developed, it turned out to be disastrous for the Kongo. Slave traders from the Portuguese island of **São Tomé** encouraged warfare and provided aid to Afonso's vassals, many of whom broke free from his control. Young men sent to Portugal for training disappeared into the slave trade. In 1526, Afonso wrote King John III to complain of the slavers' practices. Finally he tried to stop the trade but was unable to do so. The warfare encouraged by the slave trade eventually destroyed the unity of the Kongo kingdom.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

AFRICAN INSTITUTION. After the abolition of the British **slave trade** in 1807, the African Institution was founded to monitor compliance with the new law and to lobby for abolitionist objectives. It was also concerned to disseminate information about Africa and to encourage the growth of new forms of commerce in Africa. Some of its leading members were involved with mission activities and with the colony of **Sierra Leone**, which was the base for Britain's **Africa Squadron**. It also corresponded with American abolitionists and maintained a central slave registry that documented harsh treatment of slaves. It operated primarily by lobbying the powerful, but by 1823, many abolitionists wanted to attack slavery itself and were convinced that popular mobilization was necessary. In that year, members of the African Institution voted to become part of the British Anti-Slavery Society.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (AME). In 1787, the African Methodist Episcopal Church began when a group of free blacks in Philadelphia, who objected to being seated in the gallery of the Methodist church they attended, broke away and created their own church. It is today

known as the Mother Bethel Church. Under the leadership of an ex-slave named **Richard Allen**, they started worship in a blacksmith shed but soon constructed their own building. Their example convinced other black Christians offended by racial discrimination in white churches to form their own. In 1816, a group of these churches united and formed the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Soon, there were AME churches in almost every sizable African-American community.

From the first, the AME Church gave a voice to African-Americans denied the vote and mobilized black support for their brothers and sisters in slavery. The Mother Bethel Church was also a way station on the **Underground Railroad**. Members like **William Still** played a key role in feeding and clothing refugees from slavery. Leading abolitionists like **Frederick Douglass** often spoke at AME churches. In the Southern states, the AME Church was regarded with suspicion. When AME member **Denmark Vesey** was accused of organizing a revolt in Charleston, South Carolina, his membership in the AME Church led to the destruction of the Charleston church and efforts to suppress the church elsewhere in the South. Beginning with the establishment of Wilberforce University in Ohio in 1856, the AME Church created six institutions of higher learning, which played a major role in educating former slaves. The AME Church has also played an important role in missionary work in Africa. Today, it contains over 2,000 churches in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and the West Indies.

AFRICAN SLAVERY. Slavery has long existed in Africa, as it has in almost all parts of the world, but it often took forms different from the Americas. Traditionally, most slaves came from capture in war, though many also came from kidnapping. The majority of those kept in Africa were women, who were incorporated into families as junior wives. The preference for women was such that the price for female slaves was almost everywhere higher than the price for males, even though males were preferred by European slave traders. Slaves were generally part of a household economy and often worked alongside free members of the household. They probably did more work than others, but not necessarily different work. They usually also lived in the same compound and ate with free-born family members. Children young enough to be initiated with the captor's children often became virtually full members of society as did the children of those captured.

In African societies, slaves differed from the free-born in that they had no kin to whom they could turn for help. Lacking kin, they were powerless and were sometimes seen as lacking in **honor**. They remained lifetime dependents, though because they were dependent, they were often trusted aides to a chief or a family head or a merchant. In most African societies, no slave could become a chief or the head of a household. A slave remained indefinitely under the authority of others, dependent on others for the grant of land

or for the arrangement of a marriage and always with lower status. Even if freed, the slave remained a client of his or her master. Slaves born in the society were generally better treated. In much of Africa, it was considered immoral to sell a slave born in the society. The slaves sold to Muslim and European slave traders were generally the newly enslaved, though the possibility of profit provided an incentive for ambitious men to enslave others and sell them.

Slavery began to change wherever centralized states emerged and a market economy developed. Here, slavery became hereditary, though manumission was always possible, was more widespread than in North America, and was encouraged in Muslim societies. In centralized states, many of the slaves taken prisoner were kept by the king and the more powerful nobles. Attractive women became concubines of the rich and powerful and sometimes the mothers of their heirs. Some male slaves became soldiers or servants of the powerful and were well-off. Powerful men were often surrounded by a large retinue composed mostly of slaves. Some slaves exercised power and enjoyed privilege, though always as agents of other men. The export slave trade not only exported many slaves but encouraged increased use of slaves within Africa. It did so largely by making slaves available.

Domestic slavery continued in these centralized societies, but increasingly large numbers of slaves were settled in slave villages where they produced food or other commodities for the court or for trade. Slave villages were always a reliable source of food for the courts. Where markets were developed, slaves were put to work producing commodities for exchange. Such a region was the desert-side area, where Saharan nomads descended every year into the savanna during the dry season. They exchanged salt, copper, and animals for grain and cloth. The grain and cloth were often produced by slaves. Slaves also did most of the labor on oases, and some nomads had slave villages that provided them with grain. Slaves in such areas usually had precisely defined labor obligations, though those born within the society were often allowed once married to practice a kind of sharecropping in which they worked their own land and made fixed annual payments to their masters. Where **mining** developed, slaves often did much of the dangerous underground labor. When European nations abolished the export slave trade, many slaves were put to work producing commodities for European markets.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ASANTE; CENTRAL AFRICA; ELITE SLAVES; ISLAM; SAHARA; WEST AFRICA.

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. The major effect of the export of slaves to the Americas, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East was the development of slave trading and slave production in Africa. In the early years, slaves were

often provided from areas close to the coastal export centers, but as demand increased and as local people proved effective at defending themselves, routes penetrated further and further into the interior.

The long-distance slave trade also stimulated slaving activities and the development of professional slave traders. Wars became more frequent and were increasingly directed to taking slaves. Kidnapping became a serious problem in many areas, and enslavement increasingly became a penalty for wrongdoing. The large-scale slave trade also stimulated the use of slaves. Particularly important was the use of slave soldiers. They were generally assumed to be loyal because they were rewarded for their work. Some slaving states, like Bambara **Segou**, were dominated by their slave soldiers. The **Atlantic slave trade** generally preferred men, but African purchasers preferred women. Some were incorporated within the **harems** of the rich and powerful. Others became the wives of slave soldiers. Their agricultural work made it possible for their husbands to devote themselves to war. A large number became farmers working alongside male slaves to whom they were often married. Slave farmers fed elite groups, but increasingly they produced commodities, which merchant owners sold within Africa or exported elsewhere.

After the closing of the Atlantic slave trade, there was a dramatic increase in the use of slaves within Africa to produce goods like palm oil, peanuts, and cloves for European and Asian markets. Because of the insecurity engendered by slaving, it was not easy to recruit free labor in most parts of Africa. As a result, the labor needs of areas that were producing for export were met by the slave trade. Only with the emergence of free porters on East African trade routes and the growth of diamond and gold mining in late 19th-century South Africa did free-labor migration develop. Elsewhere, the period after the closing of the Atlantic slave trade saw an increased demand for and use of slaves within Africa. With newer and better weapons available, areas hitherto isolated from the slave trade experienced its ravages in a particularly brutal manner. This was especially true in the southern Sudan and in the interior of east and central Africa. The generation before the partition of Africa in the late 19th century was probably the bloodiest period in the history of the continent.

See also AFRICAN SLAVERY; CENTRAL AFRICA; EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; MIDDLE PASSAGE; MILITARY SLAVES; SUDAN, WEST AND CENTRAL; WEST AFRICA; ZANZIBAR.

AFRICA SQUADRON. After Great Britain abolished the slave trade, ships of the Royal Navy were sent to the coast of **West Africa** to enforce the law. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain signed treaties with other European powers providing a mutual right to stop and search ships suspected of being slavers. Only the British, French, and briefly the Americans and

Portuguese ever had ships doing this. The vast majority of ships on anti-slave patrols were from Great Britain, which maintained a squadron in West African waters until 1869.

The British squadron was based in Freetown, **Sierra Leone**, which was also the location of the **prize court**. British ships also operated in the **Indian Ocean** and off the coasts of Brazil and Cuba. When a slave ship was captured on the high seas, the ship and its cargo had to be taken to a prize court, where the slaves were freed. If the prize court condemned the ship, the captain of the British ship received prize money. Over 1,600 ships were stopped, more than 85 percent by the British navy. The Africa Squadron stopped the slave trade on large stretches of the West African coast and raised the costs of slaving, but only a little over 160,000 slaves were freed in West Africa. More than 2.5 million slaves made it across the Atlantic before the trade there was finally ended in the mid-1860s. The squadron also often intervened in African affairs, both in the struggle against the slave trade and in the protection of British commercial interests.

See also ABOLITION, BRAZIL; ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; RECAPTIVES.

AFRO-BRAZILIANS. The Afro-Brazilians were descendants of slaves shipped to Brazil from **Dahomey** and Nigeria who returned to the Benin coast during the 19th century as merchants and petty traders. Many of the European slave-trading nations abandoned their forts during the Napoleonic Wars, but with most of the slaves going to Brazil during this period, Brazilians were in a strong position. Domingo Martins controlled the slave trade to Brazil from Porto Novo. **Felix Francisco de Souza** built a strong line of trading posts along the Bight of Benin and helped King Ghezo to seize power in Dahomey in 1818. He was rewarded the title of *chacha* and put in charge of customs collection, a position that enabled him to dominate the Whydah trade. Then, after a slave revolt in Salvador de Bahia in 1835, the Brazilian government began deporting free blacks back to Africa. Over a 40-year period, about 3,000 settled at points along the coast, most of them engaging in trade. Regular contact was maintained between Brazil and the port cities of the Bight of Benin throughout the 19th century, and some people went back and forth. They were Portuguese speaking, had Portuguese names, and were Catholic. Many of the Afro-Brazilian families were important under French colonial rule and have remained important up to the present.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; BAHIAN SLAVE REVOLTS.

AHMAD BABA (1556–1627). Born in the oasis town of Arawan, Ahmad Baba was taken to Timbuktu by his father at a time when Timbuktu was the most important center of Muslim learning in Africa. He became one of the

most important Muslim thinkers in Timbuktu. When the Moroccans defeated the Songhai Empire in 1591 and then occupied Timbuktu, Ahmad Baba was critical of their methods. In 1593, he was deported to Marrakesh, the capital of Morocco, along with other clerics critical of the new order. He was imprisoned, but the story is that he was freed at the request of Muslim clerics in Marrakesh, who knew of his reputation and his writings. He taught law and theology in Marrakesh until 1607, when he was allowed to return to Timbuktu. He continued to teach law until his death. Ahmad Baba wrote many books but is best known for the *Mi'raj al-Su'ud ila Nayl Hulan Majlub al-Sud*, which sought to define who was enslaveable in Africa. It is based on two notions, first, that it is illegal under Muslim law to enslave Muslims or people who have submitted to a Muslim ruler, and second, that it is only legal to enslave people in a proper **jihād**. In it, he carefully analyzes who can be enslaved and under what conditions, effectively arguing that many Africans shipped north in the Saharan slave trade were illegally enslaved. He also criticized racism and in particular the notion that black people were condemned to slavery by the curse of **Ham**.

See also ISLAM; SAHARA.

AHMAD BEY (1806–1855). Ahmad Bey was the first Muslim ruler to abolish slavery. He was the son of Mustafa Bey of Tunis and a Sardinian slave concubine. As a young man he received a classical Muslim education but also studied European history and geography. Ahmad became Bey in 1837. Tunisia was still an **Ottoman** province, but like Mohammed Ali in Egypt, Ahmad wanted to establish his independence from the Ottoman Empire. He also wanted to be accepted in the European community of nations. To this end, he launched a program of modernization, which included the sending of cadets to Europe to study, the establishment of new secular schools, and the development of new industries. In 1841, he closed the slave market in Tunis. Under pressure from the British to end the trans-Saharan slave trade, Ahmad Bey decided to go further, but first he asked his personal secretary, Ahmad ibn Abi Diyaf, to prepare a justification for abolition in Islamic terms. Abi Diyaf made a number of arguments. First, he argued that many of those being walked across the Sahara were already slaves or had submitted to a Muslim ruler. Their enslavement was thus illegal under Muslim law. Second, using cases that came before the Bey's court, he argued that many of these slaves were brutally treated both in the difficult desert crossing and within Tunisian households. From this, he suggested that slaves could not be given the protections guaranteed them by Islamic law. This provided Ahmad Bey the justification he needed. In 1846 he decreed the abolition of slavery, two years before the French did the same thing. In 1855, Ahmad Bey

died. His successor, Mohammed Bey, overturned much of his anti-slavery legislation, though with growing European influence, Tunis never again became a major bastion of slavery.

See also EMANCIPATION, MIDDLE EAST; ISLAM; SAHARA.

ALBORNOZ, BARTOLOMÉ DE (?–1575). Albornoz was a theologian and the first professor of law at the University of Mexico. He was one of the first Spaniards to criticize the enslavement of Africans. His major work, *Arte de los contratos* (1573), contained an essay, “De la esclavitud,” which attacked the **Atlantic slave trade** as sinful. Enslavement was in theory based only on capture in a **just war**, but Albornoz argued that purchasers had no way of knowing whether the slaves they bought originated in a just war. Furthermore, even the theory of just war did not justify the enslavement of women and children. He also took issue with the argument that conversion to Christianity justified enslavement and suggested that if conversion was the goal sought, the Church should send missionaries to Africa. Finally, though he did not call for the emancipation of slaves, he argued that Africans had a natural right to liberty. He criticized slave merchants as sinful and urged them to get out of the trade. Albornoz’s book was not translated into other languages, and in later years it was banned by the **Inquisition**.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH.

ALLEN, RICHARD (1760–1831). Born a slave, Richard Allen converted to Methodism as a teenager and then converted his master. Working as a bricklayer, woodcutter, and wagon driver, he persuaded his master to let him purchase his freedom at the age of 20. It took him five years to do so. Though self-educated, Allen became an itinerant preacher. In 1786, he was invited to preach to black members of Philadelphia’s St. George Methodist Episcopal Church. A year later, he formed the Free African Society to fight both slavery and racism. Later the same year, Allen and other black members of the church were ordered to sit in a segregated gallery. They refused and left together to form the Mother Bethel Church. After worshipping for seven years in an empty blacksmith shed, they completed and dedicated their own church building. Allen then had to fight to win recognition for Mother Bethel as a separate church. After the Pennsylvania Supreme Court gave them independent church status in 1816, a meeting of 16 black churches created the **African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME)** with Allen as bishop. For many years, Allen took no salary and supported his religious activity with a series of businesses: blacksmithing, shoemaking, and chimney sweeping.

Allen wrote an autobiography, sermons, and pamphlets; organized conventions and meetings; and tried to increase educational opportunities for African-Americans. In 1830, he was one of the convenors of the first national

Negro Convention, which met at the Mother Bethel Church and formed the American Society for Free People of Color. Under his leadership, the AME Church fought against both slavery and racial discrimination. He sheltered fugitive slaves, opposed the colonization movement, and encouraged self-help and self-reliance.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

AMBAR, MALIK (c. 1550–1626). Malik Ambar was a slave who rose to become the ruler of an Indian state. Born a free man in Ethiopia, he was enslaved and sold to the Arabs. He converted to Islam, was given an education in finance and public affairs, and in the 1570s was sold to the ruler of the Indian state of Ahmednagar in the northern Deccan. There, he became a leader of mercenary soldiers who distinguished himself in the service of several Indian kingdoms. He was one of a number of African slave soldiers who held high office in late medieval India. In 1602, he seized power in Ahmednagar, imprisoning the king and proclaiming himself regent. During the generation that followed, he successfully resisted the expanding powers of the Mughal Empire. His personal bodyguard was made of African slaves, but other appointments were distributed among Brahmins, Arabs, and Persians. He reformed tax and land policies, constructed a number of mosques, and was a patron of literature and arts. Within a decade after his death, Ahmednagar was incorporated into the Mughal Empire.

See also ELITE SLAVES; INDIAN OCEAN; INDIAN SLAVERY; SIDIS.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Many conservative abolitionists were unhappy with the militant tactics of the Garrisonian abolitionists dominant in the American Anti-Slavery Society, with their attacks on mainstream churches and their involvement in other forms of reform. In 1840, after a woman was elected to office in the **American Anti-Slavery Society** (AASS), these conservatives under the leadership of New York businessman **Lewis Tappan** broke away and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It was dominated by evangelical clergymen, including many black ministers. Many of its members became involved with the **Liberty Party** and the **American Missionary Association**, but they never developed the kind of network of affiliated organizations that gave the AASS its importance. In the late 1850s, its members were involved in an effort to create an alternative to the Republican Party more committed to abolition.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD (1805–1879).

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (AASS). Founded in Philadelphia in December 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society brought together a number of abolitionist organizations. Led by **Arthur and Lewis Tappan**, New York businessmen, and **William Lloyd Garrison**, the editor of the *Liberator*, the society was committed to the immediate end of slavery and rights for free blacks. It organized local abolitionist groups, produced a series of publications, and bombarded the U.S. Congress with petitions. The endorsement of women's rights and militant denunciations of some churches as pro-slavery led to a defection of more moderate abolitionists, who formed the **American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society**. The breakaway group remained active but did not develop as extensive a network of local auxiliaries as the American Anti-Slavery Society, which remained the most powerful anti-slavery organization in the United States.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color was founded in 1816. It advocated the resettlement of free blacks from the United States to Africa as a solution to American racial problems. Initially the society had the support of many free blacks, who despaired of ever achieving equality in the United States, but when it became clear that no African-Americans would hold leadership posts in the organization, most turned against it. Many abolitionists also supported the organization, though it carefully avoided taking a position on slavery. After a brief flirtation, most of them left. One of the reasons was that many slave holders supported it in the hope of getting rid of free blacks, whom they regarded as a threat to slavery. The organization's most important success was the creation of **Liberia** in 1821 on land purchased by the society. Though it tried to distance itself from pro-slavery backers, the American Colonization Society was never able to mobilize support from abolitionists or free black groups. **Abraham Lincoln** briefly flirted with the idea of colonization. In the end, only 15,386 African-Americans migrated to Liberia.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION (AMA). In 1839, a group of abolitionists organized a committee to provide legal aid for slaves freed from the Spanish ship the *Amistad*. After that effort was successful, they joined with several other groups to form the American Missionary Association under the leadership of **Arthur Tappan**. The association was hostile not only to slavery, but to racism, which remained strong throughout the United States. Rare at the time, it had a racially integrated board, and the schools that

it founded were open to both white and black. When the American **Civil War** ended in 1865, **William Lloyd Garrison** dismantled his **American Anti-Slavery Society**, but the AMA entered its most important period.

Even during the war, the AMA sent missionaries and teachers into areas the Union army had occupied. They set up schools and churches, helped African-American people acquire land, and lobbied for public education and the rights of freed slaves. During the **Reconstruction** years, the AMA expanded its operation and created a series of colleges and universities, among them Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee (1866); Talladega College in Talladega, Alabama (1867); Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia (1868); Dillard University in New Orleans (1869); Le Moyne College in Memphis, Tennessee (1870); and Tillotson College in Austin, Texas (1881). In later years, the AMA worked among Asian immigrants on the West Coast, poor whites in Appalachia, and Mexican-Americans in New Mexico and also helped to set up schools in Puerto Rico.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The American Revolution provided an opportunity for thousands of slaves to free themselves. It also forced Americans to ask what role slavery would play in the society they were creating. Disputes over taxation of the **slave trade** were among the many grievances of the colonists.

Both sides used slave soldiers. In 1775, Virginia's governor, the **Earl of Dunmore**, offered to free slaves who joined the British side and organized a regiment of those who responded to his call. His efforts may have convinced many white slave owners to support the rebels, but other British commanders followed similar policies. About 20,000 blacks fought in the war, two-thirds on the British side. Many others sought freedom as civilians behind the British lines, working as free artisans or setting up **Maroon** communities and farming for themselves.

The Continental army also recruited slaves, mostly in the North. Some served instead of their masters, and some were freed. In general, the war saw a weakening of the control of their masters and, in the North, a strong movement toward abolition. Some Americans saw a contradiction between demands for liberty and the enslavement of Africans. Vermont entered the Union as a free state in 1777. In Massachusetts, a new state constitution passed in 1780 led to the freeing of its slaves. In the same years, Pennsylvania passed a gradual emancipation act, the first such law in the new nation. Connecticut followed after the war. There was also support for abolition in parts of the Upper South. Enough individual slaveholders manumitted slaves that there were about 100,000 free blacks in the South by 1810.

After the war, some blacks were betrayed by the British and were reenslaved, but many British officers believed that they had an obligation to the former slaves who supported them. About 10,000 were evacuated to Nova Scotia and Jamaica. Some eventually settled in **Sierra Leone**. In spite of this, once the war was over, there were more slaves than before, and with the triumph of **cotton**, the South became even more committed to slavery.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); BLACK LOYALISTS.

AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.). In 1619, about 20 slaves were sold by a Dutch ship at Jamestown, Virginia. At the time, there was very little English law on the subject. Slavery was not legal in England. Some of those first slaves seem to have been freed after a term of service. Many of them became prosperous farmers. In spite of this, by the end of the century, slaves were found in all American colonies, and three of them, Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, were well on the way to becoming **slave societies**. Slaves in New England were a by-product of both trade with the West Indies and wars with native Americans, but they were numerous only in Rhode Island, which traded a lot with the West Indies. In New York, originally a Dutch colony, slaves were important because of the city's commerce. Most slaves worked in agriculture, but many were domestic servants, artisans, or unskilled workers. Few slave owners had more than one or two slaves.

By contrast, Virginia and Maryland produced **tobacco** for export. During the first part of the 17th century, **indentured labor** was cheaper than slaves, but gradually the price of indentured labor rose as wages improved in Great Britain. Tobacco planters soon recognized that slaves were cheaper, were owned for life, and produced slave children. In South Carolina, the shift into rice in the early 18th century created a demand for slaves, many of whom were imported from rice-growing areas of West Africa. Because of the high mortality in the humid South Carolina lowlands, few Europeans lived there year round. South Carolina became the only state with a black majority and one where African languages and customs long survived. Georgia, the last of the American colonies, was founded in 1733 by **James Oglethorpe** as a free colony, but almost from the first, farmers pressed for a reversal of the prohibition against slavery and in 1750 slavery was authorized.

The context of slavery in what became the United States was very different from the West Indies and Brazil. The number of slaves brought in was much smaller—somewhat over 400,000 compared to about 4 million in Brazil and over 4 million in the West Indies. The slave population in the British North American colonies also experienced a natural increase by the middle of the 18th century. By 1860, there were 4 million people of African descent in the United States. The climate in the United States was healthier, nutrition was better, and work in the **cotton** and tobacco fields was less abusive than

on **sugar** plantations. In contrast to Brazil and the West Indies, most of these African slaves lived in a society where whites formed the majority. Slaves were never much over 20 percent of the American population, though they were much more numerous in parts of the South. This meant that, unlike most of the West Indies, slaves competed in different ways with free white workers and farmers. The opposition of these workers and farmers to the expansion of slavery did as much to destroy slavery as the abolitionists. In 1787, when the **Constitution of the United States** was written, some Southerners wanted to end slave imports because they worried about the size of the African-American population.

The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 transformed the situation. Cotton textiles were the most important industry in the earliest stages of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain and then, a little later, in the Northern United States. The South contained extensive lands suitable to cotton, a ready source of labor, and entrepreneurial skills. It quickly became the most important producer of cotton in the world. Cotton plantations spread from Georgia and South Carolina into Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. When the import of slaves was stopped in 1808, prices rose, but population growth in the older states of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina provided the slaves the cotton South needed. There were many kinds of slavery in the United States, but in 1860, two out three American slaves worked in cotton.

Even though slave populations grew, so too did hours of work. The Southern slave **plantation** was an efficient operation that forced slaves to work very long hours. Slaves were valuable, however, and planters sought to maintain their health and physical well-being. That did not mean that slave life was easy. During the growing season, slaves often worked from dawn to dusk, sometimes even longer during the harvest. The work was hard. Mothers had little time to care for their children, and the children found themselves working from a very young age. Southern states were wary of their own free black population and moved to limit **manumission**. The internal slave trade was important to the development of new areas. Slave families were often broken up, husbands separated from their wives, mothers from their children. Slave revolts and abolitionist propaganda aroused Southern fears and led to strengthening of slave discipline. Slaves were regularly whipped for a variety of infractions, most notably flight. In some states, it was illegal to teach a black person to read. In spite of the constraints, slaves developed a rich culture strongly rooted in African traditions. This was particularly evident in religion and music.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE; BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; DEMOGRAPHY OF SLAVERY; EMANCIPATION, UNITED STATES; SLAVE RELIGION.

AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE. Many slaves in the United States were traded several times. Some were imported first to the West Indies and then sold to the British colonies in mainland North America. The largest slave populations during the 18th century were in Virginia and Maryland, where they produced **tobacco** and grain, and South Carolina, where they cultivated rice. Growth in the slave population was rapid in the Upper South, especially in Virginia. With the invention of the **cotton** gin in 1793, cotton became a more remunerative crop. The British textile industry, and later, factories in the Northern United States, were hungry for cotton. Cotton spread rapidly, but its expansion created a demand for slave labor. At the same time, the market for Virginia and Maryland tobacco was much less remunerative. Between the invention of the cotton gin and the Civil War, over a million slaves were moved from the Upper to the Lower South, particularly to areas of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana suited for cotton. Some of them were moved by boat from Norfolk, Virginia, to New Orleans. Others were moved down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Probably the largest number were forced to walk from Virginia and the Carolinas into Tennessee or Kentucky and then down to trade centers like Natchez, Mississippi.

A class of slave merchants developed who maintained a network of slave pens and warehouses, where slaves could be housed while on the move. Though widely despised, they were the second-largest business in the cotton South, second only to cotton. Few slaves were moved in family units. Virginia planters rarely wanted to sell all their slaves, and traders only wanted to buy those that could be sold at an attractive price. The result was often tearful separation from loved ones who would never be seen again. Ira Berlin has referred to this movement as the “second Middle Passage.” Once they arrived at their destination, they usually faced a much harsher situation than the one they left. Most slaves were sold into frontier areas, where their first task was clearing and de-stumping land so it could be put into cultivation. Once the land was cleared, they faced dawn-to-dusk labor on cotton plantations. Furthermore, if a planter failed or slaves proved rebellious, they could find themselves on the move again. For abolitionists like **Harriet Beecher Stowe**, the inhumanity of the internal slave trade intensified their commitment to end slavery.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

AMERINDIAN SLAVERY. Many native American societies took and absorbed captives. Generally, women were taken as wives, and children were adopted. Adult male prisoners were often sacrificed or tortured. This was particularly true in Mesoamerica, where large numbers of captives were sacrificed in ritual ceremonies. The **Aztecs** had rural tenants who were like

serfs. Among the Aztecs, people could also enslave themselves or dependent members of their families to pay their debts or for subsistence needs. Among the Maya, slavery was largely a result of capture in war.

Slavery was much less developed among other Amerindian societies. There was, however, a crucial transition in many societies from captive to slave. In these cases, the captives were assigned to menial tasks such as gathering wood or seeking water. They were not members of any clan and thus had none of the protections that kinship brought. They could be beaten or killed without fear of retaliation. In some cases, however, among the Iroquois or **Cherokee**, a captive could be chosen for adoption into a clan and become a full member. When the Iroquois suffered population decline from European diseases, they used adoption of captives to maintain their numbers. An elaborate slave system in the Americas was found in the Pacific Northwest. Here there was a unique civilization based on fishing, and in particular, the annual run of the salmon. They developed a hierarchical social structure, which included war captives who were held as slaves.

European settlement in the Americas led to the expansion and transformation of indigenous slave systems. In all areas where modern slave systems developed, early settlers sought to enslave native peoples or to encourage some of the more war-like to enslave and sell others. The Spanish in Mexico abolished human sacrifice but encouraged native allies to enslave others. These slaves became a major source of labor for the Spanish until the **Catholic Church** began attacking the system. The same thing happened in Brazil, where early settlers depended on Indian slaves and encouraged allied groups to enslave people further in the interior. Through much of the 16th century, most slaves on Brazilian plantations were Amerindians, but the high mortality of Indian slaves and the decline in Indian populations led Brazilian planters to gradually shift to African slaves. Further north, the expansion of the fur trade led to an expansion of warfare and trade and eventually extended over much of Canada. As a by-product of this trade, slaves were traded in small numbers over large areas. In the West Indies, enslavement, harsh treatment, and European diseases led to the decimation of indigenous populations.

In the southeastern part of what is now the United States, demand for slaves at first stimulated warfare among tribes like the Cherokee, the Choctaw, and the Creek. The planters, however, soon found the **African slave trade** a better source of slaves. The local Amerindian tribes served as slave catchers, returning runaways to coastal populations. At other times, tribes like the **Seminoles** of Florida served as a refuge for runaways. Gradually, many Indians in the southeast began adopting the ways of the settlers, farming in an American way, and sometimes even using African slave labor. This did not save them from the expropriation of their lands. Under the presidency of Andrew Jackson, the so-called “civilized tribes” were expelled from the southeast and forced to migrate to Oklahoma, which was set aside as Indian

territory. Many of the slaveholding Indians brought their slaves with them on what was known as the Trail of Tears. After the conquest of the Seminoles, they too were moved to Oklahoma.

A very different kind of slavery emerged in the northern borderlands of Mexico, now the southwestern United States. Here, populations were dispersed and there was constant raiding and counter-raiding involving Spaniards, Mexicans, and various native communities. Women were taken as slaves but often became wives. Children were used to tend livestock. Slaves could be ransomed, but they could also be used as intermediaries between their new and old communities. From the mid-18th century, the area was dominated by highly mobile Indian tribes like the **Comanches**, who had adopted the horse and used it both to hunt buffalo and raid for slaves.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; SOUTHWEST BORDERLANDS.

AMISTAD. A mutiny by 54 slaves on the *Amistad*, a Cuban slave ship, in July 1839 led to a court case that affirmed human rights in the United States. The slaves had been brought from Africa to Havana, sold to landowners in eastern Cuba, and were being transported there when they seized the ship and ordered two slave owners on board to take them back to Africa. Their leader was **Joseph Cinqué**. A Mende from **Sierra Leone**, Cinqué knew which direction he wanted to go during the day, but not at night. As a result, the ship was steered on a zigzag course, moving steadily north, until after 60 days the boat was seized by the U.S. Navy off Long Island, New York. The Spanish rulers of Cuba immediately demanded the return of their “property,” but they were challenged in the courts by a committee of abolitionists led by New York businessman **Lewis Tappan**. Spain had agreed to the abolition of the **slave trade**, though slavery was still legal in Cuba. Spain held that the slaves were property.

Abolitionists wanted to use the case to demonstrate the evils of the slave trade and to establish that slaves were human beings. Their lawyer argued that the *Amistad* mutineers were kidnapped Africans who had been brought to Cuba illegally. The president of the United States, Martin Van Buren, wanted to return the mutineers to Cuba, but they were successful in a district court. Van Buren then insisted that the case go to the Supreme Court, where five of the nine justices were Southern slaveholders. Here the abolitionist case was argued passionately by 73-year-old ex-president **John Quincy Adams**. The Court refused to pass judgment on slavery, but it held that the slaves were free because they had never been slaves in Cuba. Funds were raised to return 35 of the mutineers to Africa, where most of them were never heard of again. One young woman returned to the United States and attended Oberlin College. The story was made into a film, *Amistad*, by Steven Spielberg.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; CUBAN SLAVERY.

AMO, WILHELM (1703–c. 1753). Born on the Ghanaian coast, Wilhelm Amo was sent to Europe, almost certainly as a slave, and given as a gift by the Dutch West India Company to Anthony Ulrich, the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel. African slave children were popular as servants in 18th-century Europe. Raised and educated in the duke's family, he early distinguished himself. He attended the universities of Halle and Wittenberg, where he received a doctorate in philosophy. He taught philosophy for many years at Halle and Jena universities. In 1747, he returned to Ghana. Little is known about his life there. Amo's career illustrates the possibilities open to child slave servants in some European households.

ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY. As far as is known, ancient Greece was the first **slave society**, that is, the first society dependent on slavery. Originally, most slaves in Greece were the result of capture in war or by pirates and were primarily women, but as Greece got involved in trade and colonization between the eighth and fifth centuries BCE, the money economy expanded and more and more people were enslaved as a result of debt. When an increasing number of Athenians found themselves trapped in servitude and poverty, the city faced civil conflict. In the beginning of the fifth century, **Solon's** reforms of Athenian law abolished debt slavery and confirmed the citizenship of all Athenians. This was, however, a period in which trade and production were increasing. Those seeking labor or slave dependents could do so only by acquiring captives or purchasing slaves. Slaves from this point on were foreigners or the descendants of foreigners. They could be freed but could not become citizens. In the centuries after Solon, Athens was marked by a population of free citizens and a large slave population that did most of the real labor. Only the citizens served in the army and navy. Athenian democracy was thus very much based on the labor of slaves.

The Athenian slave was chattel. He or she could be sold, punished, or asked to do whatever the master wished. Any slave, male or female, could be used sexually. Slavery was also permanent. Any child born of a slave mother was a slave, though manumission was possible. Slaves did not form their own kinship groups or participate in public life. Even those born in Athens were totally dependent on their masters. Slavery was ubiquitous, most households owning at least one. Most slaveholdings were relatively small, the norm being about three or four per household. This is different from large holdings that became common later in Rome, the Americas, and Africa. Athenian farms specialized in the production of wine and olive oil, much of which was exported. Most of the labor was done by slaves.

One of the characteristics of Athens was that, like other slave societies, labor was the lot of slaves and thus considered dishonorable. Citizens rarely farmed or did manual labor. Many slaves were also in domestic service. They did the cooking, baking, and made the clothing in most households. House-

hold slaves usually ate with the family and shared its family and religious life. Most prostitutes and courtesans were slaves. The many small manufacturing establishments—pottery, weapons, jewelry, and clothing, for example—were dependent on slave labor. Slaves were also the carpenters and stoneworkers who produced the temples and other magnificent public buildings of Athens. The harshest slavery was found in the silver mines, where mortality was very high. Some historians think that most of the slaves assigned to work there were rebels or criminals.

Another form of slavery evolved in Sparta and Thessaly. Sparta was a highly militarized and landlocked society. The Spartans were not involved in maritime trade. The people they conquered were kept in place and became helots. The helots were essentially **serfs**, owned by states, but assigned with land to Spartan families, for whom they cultivated. Unlike chattel slaves, the helots had the right to marry and raise families. Living in their original communities, they maintained links with each other and thus found it easier to organize resistance. Surrounded by a helot majority, the Spartans lived in fear of revolt and were very repressive. By contrast, in Athens, slaves were originally foreigners. They lived and worked in small groups, which made it difficult for a rebellion to coalesce. They also worked in different places, some had a comfortable existence, and many had different interests. Recalcitrant slaves could be sent to silver mines, or marked with a tattoo indicated that they were difficult.

We know more about slavery in Athens, but it was common throughout Greece and later in the Hellenistic states. Forms and the laws regulating slavery differed from place to place. Slavery was also questioned by some of the Greek philosophers, particularly the Stoics.

See also HELOTRY; HONOR.

ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY. The ancient Middle East was the first area to develop urban civilization, the first known to have grain agriculture, and the area where Christianity, Judaism, and Islam developed.

The first civilization in the Middle East was the **Sumerians** of lower Mesopotamia, who lived in cities from 3500 BCE and depended primarily on the labor of free peasants and artisans. By 2700 BCE, there is clear evidence of slaves working in the royal household, in the temples, and on the estates of the powerful. All of the great empires that succeeded the Sumerians used slave labor, but none were **slave societies**; that is to say, none were dependent primarily on slaves for productive labor. For most of Middle Eastern history, agriculture was largely in the hands of free peasants, often tenants, but not chattel. The most important source of slaves was warfare, but many were also purchased from poorer mountainous areas that border the Tigris-Euphrates valley and some were kidnapped. Enslavement for debt also existed in all of the Middle Eastern empires, and there were slaves given to

temples by poorer families. The law codes we have for these societies, including the ancient Hebrews, sought to regulate slavery and protect the slaves. The Old Testament provided for Hebrew male slaves to be freed after six years of service. It is not clear whether this was done, but the permanent enslavement of fellow Hebrews was clearly seen as immoral. In the early Middle Eastern empires, slaves could marry, have families, and own property.

The **Assyrians**, who developed in northern Mesopotamia, extended their control beyond the Tigris-Euphrates valley from about 1250 BCE. With the use of iron weapons, chariots, and archers, the Assyrians were more powerful than earlier empires. As a result, the Assyrians, and later the Babylonians, took large numbers of prisoners, who were put to work constructing palaces, temples, and irrigation canals. Slaves were important in royal households and temples and worked as domestic servants and artisans. Both Assyrians and Babylonians also forced many conquered peoples to relocate to the central part of the state, where they could be more easily controlled and exploited. They were treated like chattel slaves but lived in their own separate communities. The **Bible** tells of the Hebrews being forced to move to Babylon, where they lived as slaves until a new conqueror, **Persia**, allowed them to return to their homeland. By the early centuries of the first millennium BCE, there were slave markets in the major cities and ports of the Middle East and trade routes that extended to the Mediterranean, the Caucasus, and the Persian Gulf.

Persian society was marked by strong patriarchal authority. Though most labor was still provided by free men, slaves were found as servants, artisans, and agricultural labor on royal estates. When Cyrus II began the conquests that established Persian rule from northwest India to the Nile Delta and the Aegean Sea, this brought large numbers of captured people into Persia. These slaves built many of the palaces and public buildings of the dynasty. Trade routes were opened first to India and the Mediterranean, and eventually to China and northeastern Africa. Slaves were an important item of trade on these routes, though slavery never became as important as in Greece and Rome. Both law and custom regarded slaves as persons, protected them from mistreatment, and encouraged manumission. Many of the slaves were skilled artisans and musicians.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY; HAMMURABI (1792–1750 BCE); JEWS; TEMPLE SLAVERY.

ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY. For well over 600 years, Rome was the dominant power at the western end of the Eurasian land mass. Slavery played a major role in the economy of the Roman Empire, particularly the Italian peninsula, perhaps more than any earlier society. Slavery clearly existed in Rome from its earliest days, the fourth to sixth centuries BCE, when Rome

was a small city-state. As Roman armies spread Rome's control over Italy and then over the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and western Europe, they took large numbers of prisoners. The Roman word for slave, *servus*, came from the word *servare*, to spare, which suggests that the Roman slave was originally a captive whose life had been spared. At the peak of Roman power, at the beginning of the Common Era, there were about 2 million slaves on the Italian peninsula, about a third of the population. Slaves were common, but not as numerous elsewhere in the empire.

By the third century BCE, the Roman Republic controlled most of the Italian peninsula. In the two centuries that followed, Rome defeated Carthage, absorbed the Hellenistic states of the eastern Mediterranean, and moved into Gaul (France). Most of these slaves ended up in cities, particularly Rome itself, but many were put to work on farms near Rome. Those who profited from conquest bought land and created estates called **latifundia**, which were worked by slave labor. The rich and powerful accumulated land as a land market emerged. Peasants still remained the majority of the population of rural Italy, but many male peasants were conscripted into the army, while others were pushed off their lands and forced to seek out military careers. Many soldiers were rewarded with grants of land in distant parts of the empire and never returned to Italy. There was thus a process in which war captives poured into Italy while Roman peasants headed out to the provinces. During the second century BCE, the process was taking place so rapidly that it was difficult to assimilate all of the slaves. There was a series of major slave revolts, of which the largest was led by **Spartacus**.

The Roman family was strongly patriarchal. The head of the family, the *paterfamilias*, had control over both slaves and children that included the right to put either to death. Slaves did not marry, but they could enter a **contubernium**, a relationship in which two persons lived together but had none of the rights that marriage conferred on citizens. The master could sell any slave, even those in *contubernium*. On the other hand, manumission was widespread, and the freed slave had the right to citizenship. The freed person remained a client of his master until death. Some slaves received a **peculium**, a sum of money that enabled them to conduct a business, and if successful, to purchase their freedom. Others were freed for services to their master or to the state.

Slaves did a wide variety of tasks. On the latifundia, slaves did most of the hard labor, but some were farm managers and many worked as tenant farmers alongside the free peasantry. Most lived in the city where wealthy Romans often had many slave servants, where there were numerous slave artisans, and where slaves were almost all of the workers in industrial establishments like brickworks. As in Greece, the harshest form of slavery was in the mines. The movement of slaves into Italy declined toward the end of the first century CE as wars of conquest became more rare. After this, most slaves

were born into slavery, though there were always some who were kidnapped or who were enslaved as a result of criminal penalties. By the third century, most rural workers were free. The transition from Roman slavery to medieval **serfdom** had begun. The recovery of Roman law during the late Middle Ages had a great influence on the status of modern slaves, particularly in the Spanish Empire.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; LAW OF SLAVERY; MEDIEVAL EUROPE; SIETE PARTIDAS.

ANDRADE E SILVA, JOSÉ BONIFACIO (1763–1838). A statesman, naturalist, and man of letters, José Bonifacio Andrade e Silva was one of the founders of Brazil and one of its first abolitionists. Born in São Paulo, he went to Portugal for his studies and in 1800 became professor of Geology at the University of Coimbra. While living in Portugal, he became a critic of slavery, which he regarded as an inefficient and immoral institution. He despised the slave owners, whom he regarded as a barrier to economic growth.

In 1819, he returned to Brazil where he joined the government of the Regent Dom Pedro. He urged Dom Pedro to seek independence and after he did so became the prime minister. At the Constituent Assembly of 1823, he advocated both democratic principles and a plan for the gradual emancipation of slaves. This disturbed the slave owners, who were a powerful force in the Assembly. He was jailed and exiled for six years. In 1825, he published a treatise attacking slavery. He wanted to replace slave labor with free labor using the latest industrial machinery. On his own estates, he used only free labor. In spite of this, he remained close to the emperor and after his return in 1829 he became the tutor to the prince, who later became Emperor Pedro II. Brazil was not ready for his ideas, but a later generation committed to abolition admired his work.

See also ABOLITION, BRAZIL; BRAZILIAN SLAVERY.

ANGOSTURA, CONGRESS OF (1819). For much of 1819, nationalist delegates from northern South America debated what kind of government they wanted to create in what had been the Viceroyalty of New Granada (Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador). One of the major issues before the Congress was the role of slavery. Slaves were being freed by both the royalist and patriot armies, and even where not formally freed, they were taking advantage of the disorder to free themselves. **Simón Bolívar**, the leader of the patriot forces, advocated total abolition, but slave owners were also a powerful force. Though the population of New Granada was less than 5 percent slave, slave ownership was concentrated in several productive areas. Slave owners were wealthy and influential. The result was a compromise.

The status of slaves already freed was confirmed. There were to be no further slave imports, and the rest were to be freed within a fixed period of time. None of these decisions, however, were binding on the governments that were later established.

See also CÚCUTA, CONGRESS OF (1821); HISPANIC AMERICA.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN AFRICA. Though much of the opposition to slavery came from European missions, there were numerous efforts within Africa to reject slavery, resist it, or limit its importance. Many of the more decentralized and egalitarian societies refused to take slaves. Some of them were age-grade societies in which one's position in the society was determined by one's membership in an age grade. These age grades tended to be democratic and had difficulty accepting the inequality that came with slavery. The Jola of Senegal and the Balanta of Guinea were so hostile to slavery and the slave trade that they killed European survivors of shipwrecks. Others took occasional captives, mostly women from neighboring societies, but integrated them rapidly as wives. With the expansion of the slave trade, these societies found themselves forced to defend themselves. To buy weapons or better tools, many of these societies got involved in slaving.

The most important 17th-century critic of enslavement practices was **Ahmad Baba**, a Songhai cleric based in Timbuktu, who was deported to **Morocco** in 1593 after the Moroccan conquest of Timbuktu. Ahmad Baba argued that many Muslim rulers ignored Quranic law, which forbade the enslavement of other Muslims and persons who had submitted to the authority of a Muslim ruler. He listed the ethnic groups that were Muslim and therefore immune from enslavement. Muslim law also held that enslavement was legitimate only in a **jihad** made for religious purposes. Most of the wars in which slaves were taken were not real jihads. Ahmad Baba was not opposed to slavery but insisted that Muslim law regulated who could be enslaved and how they were to be treated. These principles surfaced many times in Muslim Africa.

In the 1670s, a reformer named Nasr al-Din attacked many of the established regimes in the Senegal River area. Offended by the slave trade with the French, he attacked the corruption of Senegalese leaders, insisting that they stop pillaging and enslaving their subjects and other Muslims. He was eventually defeated by the leaders he criticized, who had the aid of the French. A later reform regime, the *torodbe*, took power in the Senegal River area in 1776. Under their first ruler, Abd el-Kader, it was the practice to stop ships moving slaves downriver to the French port of St. Louis, but only to remove people speaking the Poular language of the Fulbe, who were presumed to be Muslims. There were also a number of reform regimes around the powerful Muslim state of **Futa Jallon**, which depended both on trading slaves and on the labor of slaves. The most important of these reformers, the

Mohammed Juhe, had been a cleric in Futa Jallon, but he was increasingly disaffected from what he saw as the moral corruption of the Futa. He retreated to a frontier area, where he formed the **Hubbu** and attracted many disciples, most of them poor and many of them slaves. The Hubbu seem to have abolished slavery, and certainly freed slaves who fled to them. The Hubbu were defeated by **Samori Ture** in 1883.

There were also slave rebellions, which created **Maroon** communities. The Nkhifore were runaways from Futa Jallon who managed to survive in a thickly forested area in the hinterland of the Rio Nunez, in part because they attacked neither caravans from the Futa nor coastal traders. A larger Maroon community, Gosha, was formed in thickly forested areas of the lower Juba River in Somalia and islands in the mouth of the Juba. They continued to speak the Bantu languages of regions in Tanzania and Malawi from which they came. They were able to survive both because they obtained weapons and because they had natural defenses. Similarly, a Maroon community was formed in the 1870s on the Pagani River in Tanzania. Numerous other religious leaders and state builders built up support by attracting runaway slaves.

In the 19th century many mission stations attracted runaways, though they often had to be cautious in the face of intimidation by African slaving regimes. The Swiss Basel mission in the **Gold Coast** bought slaves or pawns and then allowed them to work off their purchase price. Almost all of the major mission organizations tried to provide hope, land, and education for former slaves. This was particularly true in the early colonial period, when colonial regimes afforded them protection, but they were not yet able to protect the majority of slaves. The mission societies, both Catholic and Protestant, were also an important anti-slavery pressure group. The largest anti-slavery regime was **Sierra Leone**, but it was founded in 1787 for freed slaves in Britain and North America, and slaves freed by the Africa Squadron of the Royal Navy.

See also ISLAM; RECAPTIVES.

ANTI-SLAVERY INTERNATIONAL (ASI). This is the modern name of an organization that was formed in 1909 as a result of the merger of two of the oldest humanitarian organizations in the world. The Aborigines Protection Society was formed in 1838 to protect aboriginal peoples from exploitation and mistreatment. The **British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society** was formed in 1839, six years after Great Britain abolished the **slave trade**, to carry on the struggle against slavery and the slave trade wherever it existed. It also sought to protect the rights of slaves who had recently been freed. To achieve its goals, the Anti-Slavery Society held a series of international anti-slavery conferences during the 1840s. It pushed for abolition in India, supported the struggle of American abolitionists, and attacked toleration of slavery in the colonies. Its officials corresponded with missionaries and colonial

officials in distant parts of the world and publicized the continued existence of slavery. After the 1909 merger, one of the first issues for the new organization involved a disguised slave trade that supplied Portuguese plantation colonies with labor. After World War I, under the leadership of **John and Alice Harris**, the organization was important in persuading the **League of Nations** to investigate the continued existence of slavery in several parts of the world, including colonies of European nations. Since World War II, it has been active in publicizing child labor, bonded labor, child prostitution, the use of child soldiers, and various modern forms of slavery. To this end, it publishes studies, holds meetings, and makes presentations to the **United Nations**.

See also BONDED LABOR; CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY; HUMAN TRAFFICKING; SEXUAL SLAVERY; STURGE, JOSEPH (1793–1859).

APPRENTICESHIP. This term has generally applied to methods of training various kinds of artisans by working under the supervision of a master craftsman. Within slavery, it was common for a slave owner to apprentice an intelligent slave child to a master craftsman and thus increase his value. Apprenticeship was also used to describe a transitional status between slavery and freedom in both British and American emancipation. When the British **Emancipation Act** was passed in 1833, many members of Parliament were nervous about claims that slaves were not “ready” for freedom. To get their votes, supporters of abolition introduced a transition period. When supporters of abolition realized that planters were simply using apprenticeship as a continuation of slavery, it was abruptly ended in 1838. In the United States, the term was used in **Black Codes** passed by Southern states after the **Civil War**. Here, too, apprenticeship merely re-created many of the conditions of slavery and was a device to maintain control over the freed slaves. It was quickly prohibited by the **Civil Rights Act of 1866** and then by the **Fourteenth Amendment** to the U.S. Constitution.

See also STURGE, JOSEPH (1793–1859).

ARABIA. The Arabian Peninsula was the last place in the world where slavery was legal. Even after slavery had been abolished in other Muslim countries, slavery and the slave trade remained legal in the different nations of the peninsula. Slaves were used as bodyguards, camel drivers, soldiers, workers, servants, and concubines. The encouragement of manumission by **Islam** meant that there was a constant demand for slaves. There was an illicit slave trade from areas like the **Sudan** and Ethiopia in Africa and India, which continued long after slavery was abolished in those countries. Some of the trade took place during the pilgrimage to Mecca. Mecca and Medina were

markets. Britain had long pressured the Hashemite rulers of the Hejaz, which included the holy cities, to abolish slavery. They had no success, though slaves fleeing to the British consulate in the port city of Jiddah were able to free themselves.

In 1932, Ibn Saud conquered the Hejaz and created the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He saw no reason to change the law on slavery. A generation later, with development of Arabia's oil wealth, there was no longer a need for slave camel drivers, but there was a demand for servants and workers that could not be met by an underground slave trade. In addition, the Arabian-American Oil Company and the nations buying the oil were unhappy with the persistence of the trade. After Ibn Saud's death in 1953, Crown Prince Feisal eventually emerged as the most powerful of his sons. He freed many of his own slaves and in 1962 abolished the institution, using a religious justification. He argued that **Quranic** teachings about justice and equality and its insistence that slaves be treated with kindness made it impossible to continue slavery. At this time, there were an estimated 15,000 to 30,000 slaves in Saudi Arabia. Most were in the service of the royal family. Many of them are believed to have remained in the service of those families. In 1962, Yemen abolished slavery. Slavery was also abolished in the various states of the Persian Gulf, culminating in its abolition in Oman in 1970.

See also EMANCIPATION, MIDDLE EAST; ISLAM.

ARISTOTLE (384–322 BCE). Aristotle was one of the founders of modern philosophy. The importance of slavery to ancient Greece forced him to ask a number of basic questions: What was the distinction between slave and free? Was slavery natural? Why were some men slaves? In his *Politics*, he defined slavery as property: "A slave by nature is an individual who, being a man, is by his nature not his own, but belongs to another . . . he is a thing possessed." He thus also assumed that there was something natural in some persons being slaves and others being masters. The master had intelligence, foresight, and the ability to plan and organize. The slave provided only brute force. He argued that slaves and masters needed each other and that some people were naturally suited to be slaves. By giving responsibility to the abler person, slavery was in the interests of both master and slave, was morally justifiable, and was in the interests of the larger society. He feared only that the slave's servility would influence the master's children and urged masters to teach their slaves virtue. His ideas were later used by many pro-slavery thinkers to defend slavery.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY.

ARO. The Aro were a commercial community that was influential in providing massive numbers of slaves to the trading ports of the **Bight of Biafra**. Their original village, Arochukwu, was in the border area between Igbo and Ibibio of the interior and the coastal Efik people. Their village was the site of an oracle, to which many people took their conflicts. Losers often had to pay a penalty in slaves or be enslaved themselves. More important in the growth of slave exports was the colonization of densely populated Igboland. The slave trade developed slowly in this area because of the difficulty of moving slaves across a land with no central authority. In such areas, there was no one to guarantee the security of traders. The dispersal of Aro colonies created local trade centers throughout Igboland. These colonies rarely took slaves themselves, but they made alliances with powerful local groups, encouraged warfare, and purchased the slaves taken in these local conflicts. It became possible to move slaves from one Aro area to another and finally to Arochukwu, from which they were sold to **Calabar** or one of the other slaving ports. By the late 18th century, Igboland was one of the most important sources of slaves in Africa. The Aro system never evolved into a state, but the different Aro communities were tied together by self-interest and a belief in common origins.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

ASANTE. The Asante kingdom was one of a series of states that arose after the introduction of sugar plantations to the West Indies increased the demand for slaves in the late 17th century. The **Gold Coast**, now Ghana, had hitherto been largely an exporter of gold, and for many years actually imported slaves to work in the gold mines. The introduction of guns and higher prices for slaves led to a struggle for control of the hinterland. With its victory over rival Denkyera in 1702, Asante established itself as the dominant power of the Gold Coast, though it took another half century before it could eliminate other rivals.

Enslavement in southern Ghana was a result of war, debt, or kidnapping, but with Asante's success, most slaves came from tribute. Some areas paid tribute in gold or agricultural products, but conquered kingdoms in northern Ghana paid in slaves. This meant that most slaves came from northern Ghana or areas in what is now Burkina Faso. Those kept within Ghana were treated better than those exported in the Atlantic trade, though they were in danger of being sacrificed when a powerful man died. Asante slavery provided for progressive integration into Asante society. The children of captives were better integrated, and with the third generation, their descendants were free. Such was Asante's power that the core area of the kingdom was one of the safest places in West Africa. Asante developed a sophisticated bureaucratic state in which those who served the Asantehene (king) were promoted according to merit. Most of the slaves who came to Asante as captives or as

tribute were exported into the Atlantic trade. Slaves from southern Ghana were known as Coromantee and seen in the Americas as inclined to be rebellious.

See also AFRICAN SLAVERY; AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

ASIEN TO. The *asiento* was an exclusive contract to provide slaves for the Spanish colonies. The system originated because Portugal controlled trade with the West African coast, the source of all slave imports to the Americas in the 16th century. As the Amerindian population declined during the 16th century, Spain needed labor to develop its vast American domains. To get it, Spain granted licenses to foreign merchants to provide labor no longer available in the Americas. In 1595, Spain set up the *asiento* system, under which a single contractor received an exclusive contract. The contractor then dealt with sub-contractors, who provided the slaves. The *asiento* was essential to the development of a **plantation** economy in parts of Spanish America. The Portuguese, then being ruled by the Spanish king, held the *asiento* until 1640, when the two kingdoms separated. In the subsequent century and a half, with Spain weak and the demand for slave labor in the Spanish colonies increasing, the *asiento* was a major issue in a number of European wars. It was held for long periods by the Dutch, Portuguese, French, and English. Over 900,000 slaves were brought to the Americas by the *asiento* system.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; HISPANIC AMERICA.

ASSYRIA. Assyria existed as a state on the upper Tigris River in northern Mesopotamia from the 24th or 25th century BCE, but it rose to great power in the 10th century BCE, when they used iron weapons and horse-drawn chariots to extend their rule from Egypt to what is now Iran. The Assyrian Empire was the largest created up to that time. One of the kingdoms conquered by the Assyrians was the northern Hebrew kingdom of Israel. The survivors of the 10 tribes of Israel, often referred to as “the 10 lost tribes,” were probably enslaved and taken back to the Assyrian capital, where their descendants merged into the Mesopotamian slave populations.

Military conquest brought Assyria many slaves, who were often used to construct temples, palaces, and other public works. They were considered property and could be sold or mortgaged. The other major source of slaves was debt. Debt slaves could purchase their freedom and sometimes worked independently, paying their masters a part of their earnings. Most wealthy families possessed a number of slaves. Assyrian society was very hierarchical and had numerous laws regulating what a slave could do or could not do. For example, free women were expected to wear a veil. Slave women and prostitutes were not allowed to wear a veil.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; JEWS.

ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE. The Atlantic slave trade was the largest forced movement of people in history. The 15th-century sea captains who sailed south in the service of Portugal were not primarily interested in the slave trade, but for many of them taking captives from coastal communities and selling them was a source of profit for their voyages. There was a market for slaves in Portugal, in the Mediterranean, and on the Atlantic islands that were being colonized during this period. It was justified by the fact that many of the victims during the 15th century were Muslims and were therefore presumed to be enemies of Christianity.

Two things led to a dramatic increase in this market. The first was the precipitous drop in population in the Americas as native people were exposed to the diseases Europeans brought with them and often also to harsh treatment. This meant that European settlers in the Americas were faced with an increasing shortage of labor. The second factor was the extension of sugar cultivation, which demanded a heavy input of unpleasant manual labor not readily provided by free persons. Sugar cultivation was developed on Atlantic islands like Madeira and **São Tomé** and then in Brazil, which was the world's leading sugar producer by the end of the 16th century. In the 17th century, sugar was introduced into the West Indies, sending the demand for slaves shooting upward.

Europeans soon found that purchasing slaves was more efficient than trying to capture them. African coastal societies first responded to European demand by making war, but they gradually became middlemen as the demand for slaves pushed the slave trade deeper and deeper into the interior. In response to the steadily increasing demand, powerful political systems emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries that were capable of supplying the demand. Europeans also enslaved native Americans. Europeans did not enslave other Europeans, though some of the labor demands of the Americas were met by indentured laborers who contracted for a fixed number of years of labor in exchange for transportation across the Atlantic. This proved inadequate, in part because the labor demanded in the Americas was very onerous, and in part because in tropical and semi-tropical areas, Europeans had a higher mortality than Africans. Also during the 17th century, rising wages in Europe meant that many poor people were better off at home.

The trade was dominated in the earliest centuries by the Portuguese. By the early 17th century, Dutch, British, and French trading companies were taking over the market. Much of the northern European trade was controlled by chartered companies, but from an early date the trade was attractive to interlopers, who could make large profits. There were, however, great risks. Sailing ships were vulnerable to many dangers. An epidemic, a slave revolt, or calm seas could wipe out profits. Wars exposed slavers to the attacks of

privateers and enemy warships. As a result, there were efforts to spread the risk. In port cities like **Liverpool**, Bristol, and **Nantes** that were major centers of the trade, each venture usually involved large numbers of investors. Insurance also provided some protections for the entrepreneurs of the trade. Press-gang methods were used to produce a crew because service on a **slave ship** involved personal risk and was not popular with sailors.

The increasing demand for slaves led to a steady increase in slave prices. As ship construction improved, the length of the voyage was reduced, which brought down the cost of shipping and the death rate for the slave cargo. At the same time, the organization of slaving and slave trading improved, and there was a steady increase in the number of people traded. In the early years of the Atlantic trade, the number of slaves exported from Africa rarely went over a thousand a year. In the 16th century, about 250,000 slaves were carried across the Atlantic. In the 18th century, that number rose to over 6 million. In all, over 12.5 million slaves were shipped from Africa, and over 10.5 million are known to have landed in the Americas. About 12 percent of the slaves died on the voyage. For those who survived the voyage, the experience was a horrible one. Slaves were chained below deck at night and during storms and had to put up with disease, seasickness, the brutality of the crew, and the constant smell of feces and vomit.

Most of the immigrants to the Americas during the period before 1800 were involuntary immigrants who came from Africa in chains in the holds of slave ships. Ninety percent of the women who crossed the Atlantic were slaves, and eighty percent of the children.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; MIDDLE PASSAGE; PLANTATION; ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY.

ATTUCKS, CRISPUS (c. 1723–1770). Not much is known about Crispus Attucks except that he was the first American to die in the events that led up to the **American Revolution**. He was the slave of a Protestant deacon from Framingham, Massachusetts, but he ran away in 1750 and worked for years on whaling ships. On 5 March 1770, he seems to have been one of the leaders of a group of men who taunted British soldiers guarding the customs house and pelted them with snow and ice. When the British fired on the demonstrators, five persons were killed. The first to die was Attucks.

AZTEC SLAVERY. Slavery was common in Aztec society. There were two ways a person could become a slave. Slavery was often a punishment for crime. For example, in cases of murder, the victim's wife could ask for the murderer to become her slave. A person could also be sold into slavery to pay a family's debts. In some cases, people sold themselves into slavery. Slaves

had rights they did not have in other slave-owning societies. They could have possessions, could purchase their freedom, and could not be sold without the slave's consent. When a master died, slaves who had served him well were often freed. Slave status was not hereditary. The slave's children were automatically freed, and a slave could seek his or her freedom if mistreated. The slave's lot was different from the war captive. War captives were often ritually murdered. The Aztecs also had rural tenants who were like serfs. Slavery also existed among the Maya and other Mesoamerican societies.

See also AMERINDIAN SLAVERY; MEXICO.

B

BABYLON. *See* ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; HAMMURABI (1792–1750 BCE).

BACON, LEONARD (1802–1881). A Congregationalist minister and reformer, Leonard Bacon was born in Detroit, the son of a missionary to the Indians, but he spent almost all of his life in New Haven, Connecticut. He attended Yale University and was from 1825 to the end of his life pastor of a Congregationalist church in New Haven. He was attracted when young to the American Colonization Society because he believed that white prejudice meant that African-Americans would never improve their condition. He moved away from colonization because of mismanagement of the **American Colonization Society** and a concern about increasing sectional polarization. In a series of essays gathered in *Slavery Discussed in Occasional Essays from 1833 to 1846* (1846), he criticized the Garrisonians. While he thought slavery wrong, he thought amelioration was possible if slave masters would respect the marriage bond and treat slaves humanely. In the 1840s, he moved to a **Free Soil** position. In 1848, he was one of the co-founders of *Independent*, a journal that opposed the extension of slavery to Western territories. It was a sign of the increasing divisions that he opposed the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** and urged settlers to arm themselves. He opposed violent resistance to **fugitive slave laws**, but he also thought that Christians had a moral obligation to disobey laws that violated “God’s laws.” He became convinced during the **Civil War** that abolition of slavery was necessary.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

BAHIAN SLAVE REVOLTS. Bahia was a province in the northeastern part of Brazil that was a major **sugar** producer. From the 1780s to the 1820s, dramatic growth in sugar production led to large imports of slaves, of whom the majority were **Yoruba** from western Nigeria. From 1807 to 1835, there were several slave revolts. This was also a period of political ferment among the free population, a ferment in which slaves participated. Many of the slave revolts seem to have been spontaneous events on a single plantation, but

many also were large scale. Some were based on *quilombos*, Maroon settlements that proliferated in the hinterland and sometimes in areas quite close to the capital of the province, Salvador. Many of these *quilombos* were centers of African religions like *candomblé*.

A rising was planned during the Corpus Christi celebrations in 1807, but a loyal slave betrayed the plot to his master. It was led largely by Muslim Hausa from northern Nigeria and was planned to take place in different parts of the city. The leading plotters were arrested, and two were executed. In 1809, 300 residents of a *quilombo* attacked a hinterland town in search of arms, ammunition, and food but were eventually dispersed by troops, who arrested 83 men and 12 women. In 1814, a band of slaves gathered at a *quilombo* and attacked a boat marina. In 1816, slaves in two hinterland towns burned several plantations, killed whites and loyal slaves, and rampaged for four days before being defeated. Revolts also took place in 1822, 1824, and one or more every year thereafter until 1830. Most of the revolts were rural and many were highly localized, but they led to increasing security precautions in both city and countryside.

The biggest revolt was the Malê Revolt of 1835. Recent slave imports contained numerous Muslims, who were called Malês in Bahia. The leaders were mixed Hausa and Yoruba Muslims, some slave and some free. The Muslims knew each other, gathered regularly for prayer, were literate, ran schools, and produced the white garments and skull caps worn on festive occasions. All of this gave them important organizational skills. They were often respected by other slaves and former slaves. Once again, the revolt was planned for a Catholic feast day, when the Malês assumed that the vigilance of slave masters would be lax. It was supposed to begin early Sunday morning, but a loyal former slave heard rumors of the plot and informed the authorities. The efforts of the authorities to squelch the revolt led to an early eruption of fighting, which took place on the streets, at the prison, and at one of the barracks. The rebels tried to get out of the city to avoid a siege but were not successful. More than 70 people died in the fighting.

After defeating the rebels, police searched homes of both slave and free blacks throughout Salvador. Whenever they found evidence of Arabic writing or the white robes worn by Muslims, the owner was arrested. They also arrested people who could not adequately explain themselves. Some 231 persons were tried. Only four are known to have been executed, but most of the rest were imprisoned, deported, or flogged. The revolt led to more rigid controls on the slaves. Slaves found outside after 8 p.m. needed a pass from their masters. Another edict made possible the deportation of freed slaves to Africa and facilitated the growth of the **Afro-Brazilian** community there. Other laws tried to repress African street vendors and imposed controls over work.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; MAROONS.

BAILEY, GAMALIEL (1807–1859). Gamaliel Bailey was an anti-slavery journalist and newspaper editor who was a gradualist on abolition, in part because of his racist belief in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture. In 1847, he founded *National Era*, which during the 1850s was the most popular anti-slavery newspaper, largely because it was never a single-issue paper. He helped found the **Liberty Party** and supported **Free Soilers**, and later Republicans. Bailey was more concerned with the power held by Southern pro-slavery interests than he was with the rights of slaves. He believed that slavery was oppressive and inefficient. Nevertheless, he sought some combination of gradual emancipation and colonization and hoped for some kind of consensus that would combine Southerners and Northerners. He supported a project to encourage African-Americans to settle in Haiti. His paper, however, printed a variety of different points of view, including articles by abolitionists like **Lydia Maria Child** and **John Greenleaf Whittier**.

BALAIADA REVOLT (1838–1841). Maranhao is a province in northern Brazil that specialized in raising cattle and growing **cotton** during the early 19th century. More than half of the population were slaves, concentrated largely in the cotton-growing areas. The revolt began when a group led by Raimundo Gomez attacked the prison in Vila de Manga to free the brother of Gomez. They then marched through the province attracting supporters. It took its name from the fact that one of its leaders was a maker of baskets, *balaio*. During the disruption, Cosme, a fugitive slave, amassed an army of 3,000 runaway slaves. The slaves became the bulk of the movement. In August 1839, they took Caixas, the second-largest city in the state; started to establish an administration; and offered to negotiate an armistice. The government did not negotiate and in 1841 recaptured Caixas. The slaves were returned to their masters. Most of the others were given amnesty, but Cosme was hanged. The revolt was one of the longest slave revolts in Brazilian history.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY.

BALES, KEVIN (1952–). Kevin Bales is one of the best-known anti-slavery activists today. Born in Oklahoma and a graduate of the University of Oklahoma, he received a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics in 1994. While in England, he became involved with **Anti-Slavery International** and in fund-raising for humanitarian organizations. In 1999, he published *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*, which described a number of slavery-based businesses and examined how changes in the world economy have produced different kinds of slavery. In 2001, he organized **Free the Slaves**, a secular American counterpart and associate of Anti-Slavery International. It is the largest American anti-slavery organiza-

tion. Bales is involved in research, lecturing, and organizing anti-slavery activities. He has published or edited seven other books on **contemporary forms of slavery**. Among them are *Ending Slavery: How We Can Free Today's Slaves* (2007) and with Zoe Trodd, *To Plead Our Cause: Personal Stories by Today's Slaves*. He has also served as a consultant to the **United Nations** and to many governments concerned about anti-slavery policies.

BALL, CHARLES (1780–?). Charles Ball was born a slave in a tobacco county in eastern Maryland. Soon after getting married, he was sold to a **cotton** plantation in South Carolina, and from there was taken to Georgia. The first time he ran away was to return to Maryland, where he married again and worked a small farm. He was eventually recaptured and returned to Georgia. The second time he escaped, he stowed away on a ship from Savannah to Philadelphia. There, he was not able to contact his wife and children, who had been sold into slavery. His story was dictated to a white lawyer and published anonymously as *The Life and Adventures of a Fugitive Slave* (1836). A year later, it came out as *Slavery in the United States: The Life and Adventures of Charles Ball*. It was valuable in presenting both a picture of life on a slave plantation and the differences in the styles of slave masters. It also depicts the importance of African culture in slave life. Ball's grandfather was African born and told him a great deal about his origins. While a slave in South Carolina, he witnessed rituals from both Islam and African religions. After publication of his book, he faded into obscurity, perhaps fearing to be enslaved once again.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

BANAMBA EXODUS. Banamba was the most important market town in the Western Sudan in the late 19th century. Much of the slaving that took place during that period was in the southern part of savanna lands that stretched across the continent. Slaves were first moved north to Banamba in exchange for horses, weapons, and industrial goods. From Banamba thousands of slaves were directed every year to Senegambia, where peanut growers needed labor, or into the desert-side, where they produced food and cloth that could be exchanged with nomadic peoples. Banamba merchants also provided arms and consumer goods for African military leaders. Banamba was surrounded by a 30-mile-wide belt of slave-worked farms. Many of the slaves remembered earlier homes and yearned to return there after the area was conquered by the French. By 1905, Governor General Ernest Roume had given instructions that runaway slaves were not to be returned to their masters and was working on a law that banned any transaction in persons.

In the spring of 1905, slaves from Banamba began leaving their masters, and the masters responded with armed vigilante groups preventing them from leaving. The governor general sent in troops and instructed the local administrator to try to negotiate differences between slaves and masters in order to keep slaves in place. He was successful, but the following spring slaves started leaving again. This time Lieutenant Governor **William Ponty**, of the colony of Upper-Senegal-Niger, told the local administrator to let them go as long as they sought passes. In April and May, about 3,000 slaves left. Most of them went to homes about 30 days' walk distant, and in doing so they passed through other communities. As the news spread, slaves in one community after another left. It is probable that between 1906 and 1914, about a million slaves left their masters. Most returned to earlier homes and tried to rebuild communities destroyed by slave raiders. Others went to the cities or sought work where they could find it. More than any other event, the Banamba exodus transformed slavery in French West Africa.

See also EMANCIPATION, AFRICA.

BANDEIRANTES. The *bandeirantes* were Brazilian frontiersmen based in São Paulo who pushed the frontier south and west during the 16th and 17th centuries. During this period, the wealthiest part of Brazil was the northeast, which produced **sugar**. São Paulo developed as a frontier base that provided Amerindian slaves for the plantations. *Bandeirantes* involved anywhere from 15 to several thousand men, together with their families and their dependents. Their horses and guns generally gave them an advantage over the poorly armed Amerindians. They lived off the land and often were away from São Paulo for as long as two years. Eventually they reached the Jesuit mission settlements among the Guarani of Paraguay. The resulting raids destroyed the Jesuit settlements and enslaved many of the Guarani. The *bandeirantes* also explored, prospected for precious stones and metals, hunted down runaway slaves for planters who hired their services, and served as a military force in attacking **Maroon** communities.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; ENSLAVEMENT; PALMARES; SLAVE CATCHING.

BAPTISTS. The Baptists were a small evangelical dissenting Christian sect that expanded dramatically in the United States during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The stress on personal conversion, evangelistic preaching, and a more active worship style were popular in the United States. They played a major role in converting slaves and free blacks to Christianity, and in the process absorbed into American Christian practice many aspects of African religion: exhorting, giving testimony, singing, and in general a more

accessible and emotional type of religion. Black preachers, many of them slaves, developed an intense, emotional, and eloquent preaching style that shaped African-American religion.

Lacking any central government structure, however, the Baptists were soon deeply divided on the question of slavery. In the Northeast and Midwest, many Baptists were strongly anti-slavery. In 1840, they gathered in the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention. The national Baptist leadership tried to maintain a neutral position on slavery, but in 1844 the Board of Foreign Missions decided that it could no longer appoint slaveholding missionaries. This offended Southerners. The Baptist movement split in 1845 into Northern and Southern wings. The Southern Baptist Convention, formed in that year, was a strong supporter of slavery and during the Civil War identified strongly with the Confederate cause. This was in spite of the fact that about a quarter of the Southern Baptist congregations were black.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; CHRISTIANITY; SLAVE RELIGION.

BARBADOS. Barbados was the island where the West Indian slave-sugar complex first developed. The first British settlers, who arrived in 1627, grew **tobacco**, indigo, and **cotton**. Most of their laborers, if they had any, were white indentured workers from Great Britain. In the 1640s, the Dutch introduced sugar, provided credit, and supplied the technology. The struggle between the Dutch and Portuguese for control of Brazil led to high prices during this period. Within a short period of time, Barbados shifted into sugar, and the small farms of the earlier period were replaced by large estates, which were more efficient for growing sugarcane. Tales of the harsh work and the high mortality made it more difficult to recruit indentured labor, especially at a time when wages in Britain were rising. By 1670, Barbados was a densely populated island with about 70,000 inhabitants, three-quarters of them African slaves. It was also a relatively flat island, which made slave flight and resistance difficult. Though a small island—only 166 miles across—Barbados was at the time the wealthiest and most important British colony in the Americas. As the first of the sugar islands, it also was the first where the population reached a normal balance between men and women. The prosperity of Barbados was a major factor inducing many European nations to develop sugar plantations on other West Indian islands.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; PLANTATION.

BARBARY SLAVERY. Piracy was a problem in the Mediterranean even in ancient times. More recently, Christian and Muslim ships in the Mediterranean known as corsairs captured each other's ships and raided each other's

shoreline communities. The effect was that in Mediterranean areas that were not fortified, people were reluctant to live in areas near the coast. This corsair activity increased after the expulsion of Moriscos, people of Muslim descent, from Spain in 1609. During this period Barbary sailors learned better ship-building techniques from European renegades and raided not only the Christian Mediterranean, but as far as England, Ireland, and Iceland. On one occasion, almost all of an Irish village was seized. It is estimated that in a little over two centuries, over a million Europeans experienced slavery in North Africa, most spending the rest of their lives there. Two Catholic orders ransomed European slaves, but this only helped the wealthy or the lucky few who benefited from Catholic fund-raising efforts.

Of those not ransomed, most of the women were taken into harems. The men were divided into two groups. The public slaves, owned by the state, worked as galley slaves, often rowing boats that hunted for more Christian slaves. They could also be assigned to public works such as quarrying stone, building harbor walls, and constructing boats. Private slaves could find themselves in privileged roles such as companion or servant or could be consigned to agricultural labor or selling goods in the street for their masters. For most, slavery was harsh, but it was often ameliorated if the slave converted to Islam. Converts, for example, were more likely to become overseers, and some were freed. Women often converted because they wanted to keep control of their children.

See also BARBARY WARS; ISLAM; REDEMPTIONIST ORDERS.

BARBARY WARS. The Barbary Wars were efforts by the United States to force the Muslim states of North Africa to stop seizing American ships. The background to these wars was centuries of raiding and state-sanctioned piracy in the Mediterranean. If not ransomed, the victims were enslaved. Many European nations paid tribute to the North African states, but with independence, the Americans lost their protection. In 1785, encouraged by Great Britain, Algiers seized two American merchant ships, and then in 1793 a dozen more. In order to free the crews, who were held in captivity, the United States agreed to pay tribute. It is this first American crisis that led to the creation of the U.S. Navy. In 1801, Tripoli again seized several American merchant ships. The Americans responded by blockading Tripoli from 1803. In 1805, a treaty ended tribute payments, though the Americans paid a ransom for the crew of a ship after it ran aground. Finally, during the war of 1812, Algiers took advantage of the absence of the U.S. Navy to seize several merchant ships. A naval squadron under Stephen Decatur seized the Algerian flagship and eventually forced a settlement that included suppression of tribute payments, restoration of American property, and emancipation of Christian slaves. Tunis and Tripoli soon agreed to similar terms. European powers also used force to close down slave raiding. An Anglo-Dutch expedition

destroyed the Algiers corsair fleet in 1816 and forced the Dey of Algiers to end the raids. French occupation of Algiers in 1830 closed off much of the coast.

See also BARBARY SLAVERY; ISLAM; REDEMPTIONIST ORDERS.

BARRACoon. The word *barracoon* refers to buildings in which slaves were held while awaiting sale and export in the **Atlantic slave trade**. The term originally applied to barracks in which slaves were held on Spanish plantations. Barracoons became necessary in the 19th century when patrols of the British Royal Navy **Africa Squadron** made it necessary to gather slaves in one place so that slavers could transact their business and get back on the high seas quickly. The British navy often burned barracoons. Slaves were also sometimes gathered in fortified locations like **Bunce Island** and the castles of the **Gold Coast**, but often they were dispersed in villages near the point of trade so that they could more efficiently be fed and put to work while awaiting sale.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

BAXTER, RICHARD (1615–1691). Richard Baxter was a largely self-educated English theologian and early critic of slavery. He was the author of over 100 books, mostly popular Christian works stressing the importance of faith and piety. Baxter supported Parliament in the English Civil War but opposed the execution of King Charles I. He wrote two books in which he discussed slavery: *A Christian Directory* (1655) and *Chapters from a Christian Directory, or a Summ of Practical Theology and Cases of Conscience* (1673). He accepted the legitimacy of enslavement of war captives or criminals, but he condemned the violence of the slave trade and the cruelty of slave masters in the West Indies. Baxter saw their behavior as unchristian greed and covetousness. He urged slave masters to bring their slaves to Christianity and recommended obedience to the slaves.

BEECROFT, JOHN (1790–1854). The first British consul to the Bights of Benin and Biafra (1849–1854), Beecroft was an important figure in the struggle to end slavery and to establish British influence on what had been the **Slave Coast** of West Africa. He first arrived in West Africa as director of the department of works on the island of Fernando Po, which was the base for British naval operations. In 1834, he went to work for a **Liverpool** palm oil merchant. In that capacity, he explored the Niger and Cross Rivers, published a number of articles about his explorations, and opened commercial relations with many African chiefs. Because of his influence and his knowledge, he often accompanied navy officers when they tried to negotiate anti-slavery treaties with African rulers. As consul, he pursued an active interventionist

policy in trying to persuade African rulers to give up on the **slave trade**. He was never reluctant to back up his diplomacy with the guns of the Royal Navy's **Africa Squadron**. During his short term as consul, he was the most powerful figure in the bights. He is best known for his occupation of Lagos in 1851 and for the deposition of Jack Anna Pepple, a powerful slave-trading chief in the **Bight of Biafra**.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; EMANCIPATION, AFRICA.

BELLA. Like the Bidan of Mauritania, the Tuareg of Mali, Niger, and Algeria raided into the agricultural areas of the Western and Central Sudan for slaves. These slaves served two functions. Some lived in the Tuareg encampments and did both herding and menial labor. Some lived in their own communities and became known as the Bella, or in Tamachek, the Iklan. Nomad factions would visit the villages of their Bella dependents every year to collect their tribute in grain, which was necessary for their diet. During the colonial period, the Bella often pursued a double-edged strategy of using the French to free them from Tuareg control, but turning back to the Tuareg when it was advantageous to do so.

See also HARATIN; SAHARA.

BELLON DE SAINT-QUENTIN, JEAN (?–1764). Jean Bellon was an influential French theologian and a major opponent of **Enlightenment** ideas on slavery. He was the editor of a four-volume work on the history of superstition and the author of *Dissertation sur la traite et le commerce de nègres* (Dissertation on the Slave Trade) (1764). In this, he argued that slavery was divinely ordained and that while slave and free were one before Jesus, some were destined to serve and others to be served. Bellon claimed that harsh treatment was rare and suggested that without slave laborers, Europeans would not be able to survive in the tropics. He also included three letters to a trader who was concerned about the moral legitimacy of buying and selling slaves.

BENEDICT THE MOOR (1524–1589). Benedict was born to African slaves who had been sold in the early 16th century to San Fratello, a small town near Messina in Sicily. He was freed at birth as a reward to his parents for their loyal service. Though poor and illiterate, he was invited to join a community of Franciscan hermits because of his generosity and the dignity with which he bore racial insults. In 1564, when Pope Pius IV disbanded orders of hermits, he moved to a friary in Palermo. Though still illiterate, he developed a reputation as a counselor and a healer and was admired for his intuitive understanding of Scripture. The sick and troubled often came to him

for healing, and he was believed to have performed miracles. At his death, many people asked for his canonization, but he was only proclaimed a saint in 1807 by Pope Pius VII and became the patron saint of African-Americans.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH; MEDIEVAL EUROPE.

BENEZET, ANTHONY (1713–1784). Anthony Benezet was an important Philadelphia abolitionist and educator. He was born in France to a Huguenot family that moved early in his life to Rotterdam because of persecution of Protestants in France. In Rotterdam, the family became **Quakers**, and in 1731 they moved to Philadelphia. As a young man, Benezet joined **John Woolman** in trying to convince his Quaker brethren that owning slaves was incompatible with Christian belief. After several business ventures, he became a teacher, and in 1754 he began teaching night courses for slaves. In 1754, he founded the first public girls' school in North America. In 1770, he founded the Negro School. He also founded the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. On his death, **Benjamin Franklin** and Benjamin Rush renamed it the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. Benezet was a correspondent of British abolitionists like **Granville Sharp** and played a major role in connecting the two nascent abolition movements. He wrote a number of books, of which the best known is *Some Historical Account of Guinea, Its Situation, Produce and the General Disposition of Its Inhabitants* (1767).

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

BERBICE SLAVE REVOLT (1763–1764). Berbice was a Dutch sugarcultivating island in what is now Guyana. After an epidemic of yellow fever killed many of the white settlers, the slaves rose in revolt in 1763 under leaders named Kofi and Akara. The major causes of the revolt were harsh treatment and cruel punishments. Many whites were killed, plantations were sacked, and their houses were set on fire. By late March, the slave rebels controlled most of the colony, but they were not able to take the island's largest fort. Eventually, reinforcements arrived, and aided by conflict within the rebel ranks, they were able to reestablish control over the colony. About 60 percent of the whites died during the rebellion, and almost 40 percent of the slaves. Of the rebels, 128 were executed in various cruel ways designed to dissuade the slaves from further revolts.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; DUTCH SLAVE TRADE.

BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884–1885). At the Berlin Conference, which was convened in November 1884, the major European powers agreed to ground rules for the partition of Africa. The Berlin Act was signed on 26 February 1885. Concerned to justify their presence in Africa, the powers

committed themselves to the protection “of the material and moral well-being” of their African subjects “and to help in suppressing slavery, especially the **Slave Trade**.” The act prohibited the slave trade, but since there were no provisions for enforcement, it had no immediate effect on the continuation of slaving and raiding. In fact, the decade that followed was one of the bloodiest in African history. Most of Africa was yet to be conquered, and those seeking to conquer it were allied to and dependent on slave-owning political leaders, whom they did not wish to alienate. In most parts of Africa, serious efforts to end the slave trade and the associated violence came only after the conquest had been completed. The importance of the Berlin Conference is that it legitimated the partition of Africa.

See also BRUSSELS CONFERENCE (1889–1890); EMANCIPATION, AFRICA.

BIAFRA, BIGHT OF. The Bight of Biafra was the stretch of coast from the Niger Delta to Cameroon. The Biafran hinterland was inhabited by people who lived in decentralized societies with few slaves. The largest group was the Igbo. There were no centralized slave-raiding kingdoms in the area. The area had high and thick forest. The many mouths of the Niger and other rivers that flowed toward the coast facilitated trade, but until well into the 17th century that trade was largely in salt and fish produced by people who lived in the delta and was marketed by merchants who worked the creeks in large dugout canoes. The first European traders to reach the area were generally not able to buy many slaves.

That situation began to change in the 17th century, with the emergence a group called the **Aro**, who created an oracle called Arochukwu at their original home area. Some slaves were provided by people who brought conflicts to the oracle, but more important, the Aro began spreading out and forming colonies throughout the Igbo and Ibibio areas. They allied themselves with village leaders, who provided them with slaves taken in local conflicts. Agreements with local communities then made it possible for the Aro to move these slaves to the coast.

On the coast, slaves supplemented the trade in salt and fish for various delta communities like the Efik and Ijaw. Coastal traders absorbed many slaves as wives and as canoe men. This enabled them to send trading expeditions into the markets of the interior, where they traded with the Aro and other interior commercial groups. The coastal trade was in the hands of organizations called canoe houses, which sent large armed canoes to trade in the interior, frequently commanded by successful slaves. The merging of these two commercial systems led to a dramatic increase in the export of slaves from the Bight of Biafra. In the 16th century, an average of 200 slaves a year were sold to European ship captains. Their number increased to 2,500 a year in the late 17th century, to over 6,000 a year in the 1730s, and then to

over 22,000 a year in the 1780s. By this time, the resourceful trading community had extended trade routes up the Niger River, overland into Middle Belt communities north of Igboland, and up the Cross River into the Grassfields of Cameroon.

See also AFRICAN SLAVERY; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; CALABAR; JAJA.

BIBB, HENRY (1815–1854). The son of a Kentucky white planter and a slave woman, Henry Bibb was a slave who was sold six times before he reached the age of 25. Six of his siblings were also sold. In 1833, he married another slave, Malinda, and had a daughter with her. He first escaped in 1837. He returned to Kentucky a year later to try to get his wife and daughter out and was captured. He escaped and was captured again when he returned once more to get his wife and daughter. This time, all three of them were sold downriver. He worked for a harsh slave owner in Louisiana and then was sold to two professional gamblers, who took him to Oklahoma, where he was sold to a **Cherokee**. When his Cherokee master died, he escaped once more, crossing the slave state of Missouri and eventually making it to Ohio, where he became involved with the abolition movement. He once again sought information about his wife, but when he discovered that she had been forced to become the lover of a white man, he married again, this time to Mary Miles, a black abolitionist. In 1849, he published *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an African Slave*. After the passage of the **Fugitive Slave Law** in 1850, Bibb and his wife moved to Canada where they published a biweekly, *Voice of the Fugitive*. They reported news of Canada, encouraged African-Americans to come there, and also encouraged education and commercial enterprise. They were strong exponents of African-American self-sufficiency. Three of his brothers, attracted by Bibb's renown, escaped to Canada and found Bibb. He published their stories in his newspaper.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; CANADA.

BIBLE. Slavery plays an important part in the biblical version of the history of the Hebrew people. Abraham, the first of the patriarchs, had children by both his wife and a slave concubine. Isaac and Jacob, the other patriarchs, also clearly had large families that included slaves. Jacob's son, Joseph, was sold into slavery in Egypt by his brothers. In Egypt, slaves could become very important as the agents of powerful men. Joseph became one of the Pharaoh's key officials. When a famine struck, the brothers who sold Joseph took refuge in Egypt, where Joseph helped them and as a result was reunited with his father. At a later date, when a new dynasty came to power, the Hebrews were reduced to slavery. Eventually, Moses led them from slavery,

and after 40 years of wandering in the desert, they found their promised home in the Land of Canaan. The **Exodus** from slavery is seen as one of the founding events of the Jewish people. Oppressed Christians have also seen the promise of liberation in the Exodus story.

The Bible also contained a law code. The laws dealing with slavery are found in different places and can be read in different ways. A Hebrew could only become a slave to another Hebrew as a punishment for theft or as the result of self-sale because of poverty. The enslavement of fellow Hebrews was supposed to be temporary. They were to be freed in the sabbatical year after at most six years of enslavement. Gentiles could be enslaved as a result of capture in war, self-enslavement, or punishment for theft. They were slaves in perpetuity and their children were slaves, but biblical rules sought to protect them from mistreatment. For example, a slave concubine was to be treated as a wife, and a slave injured by his master was to be freed. Biblical law also commanded that a slave fleeing a foreign master be allowed to settle where he wished. The Bible also repeatedly counsels humane treatment of slaves.

If slavery was important to the world of Moses, it was even more so when Jesus lived. There is no evidence that Jesus ever condemned slavery, though he attracted many slaves to Christianity. In the Epistles, Christian slaves are offered equality in the eyes of God but are urged to be obedient to their masters in this life. In later centuries, this was stressed by defenders of slavery. Abolitionists had difficulty with the Bible. Both the Old and New Testaments described slave-owning worlds. They often appealed to the spirit of the Bible rather than the substance.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; CHRISTIANITY; JEWS; SAINT PAUL (10 CE?–62 CE?).

BIRNEY, JAMES G. (1792–1857). Born in Kentucky, James Birney was the most important Southern abolitionist. He graduated from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) in 1810 and briefly practiced law in Philadelphia and Lexington, Kentucky. In 1818, he bought a **cotton** plantation in Alabama, but financial problems forced him to sell it and the slaves he owned. In the 1820s, he became active first in the temperance movement and then in the **American Colonization Society**. In 1832, he became a traveling agent of the society, seeking funds and recruiting blacks interested in resettlement in Liberia. Within a few years, he became convinced that the society was a racist organization and that the result of its activities would be the denial to African-Americans of their place in American life. By the late 1830s, he was advocating the emancipation of all slaves. Attacked by Southerners, he moved to the North, where he worked to recruit supporters to anti-slavery. He edited the *Philanthropist*, an anti-slavery newspaper, and in 1840 and 1844 he ran for president as the candidate of the **Liberty Party**.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

BLACKBIRDING. Blackbirding refers to the recruitment of labor in the Pacific through deception and force. It particularly refers to coerced labor recruitment in the late 19th century when capitalist plantation development created a demand for labor. The use of coercion was not new in the Pacific. In the 16th century, European ships would sometimes kidnap island people to replace lost or deceased crew members. Even after it became possible to recruit crew in places like New Zealand, Tahiti, and **Hawaii**, some kidnapping continued to take place. Women were also sometimes kidnapped to provide sexual services for crew members.

Blackbirding became a major problem when Peru experienced a labor shortage in the early 1860s. An Irish sea captain who set sail in the eastern Pacific was able to quickly recruit 253 people on an island suffering from drought. Within months, other ships were combing Pacific islands and using trickery and coercion to recruit workers, who on arrival in Peru were used on **sugar** and **cotton** plantations or as domestic servants. Pressed by European countries who saw in this a new slave trade, the Peruvian government withdrew licenses to these “blackbirders.” This was, however, when **plantations** were being beginning to grow sugarcane, cotton, copra, and cocoa in Queensland, Fiji, and Samoa. There was some willing labor migration, but many ship captains continued to use dishonest and violent methods to find labor. Efforts by the British and Australian governments to control labor recruitment were at first unsuccessful but gradually led to a reduction of abuses. British ships patrolled the islands, and recruiters were increasingly obliged to present evidence that recruits had freely agreed to labor contracts. The situation in Fiji also improved from 1879, when a regulated migration of indentured Indian labor began. By 1900, recruitment was largely from the more densely populated countries of the Asian mainland.

See also PACIFIC ISLANDS SLAVERY.

BLACK CARIBS. When Columbus arrived in the West Indies in 1492, many islands were inhabited by an Amerindian people known as the Caribs. Though some were enslaved and others died from European diseases, the Caribs continued to exist on many of the less-developed islands and in isolated areas on larger islands. They vigorously resisted European conquest. From time to time, they raided European plantations and carried off African slaves, who were usually assimilated into their community. Though European regimes often tried to co-opt them into catching runaways, the Caribs also absorbed many of the runaways. The result was a population of mixed African and Carib extraction. In the 1790s, the British deported many of them to an island off the coast of Honduras, from which they spread to the

coast of Central America. In the 19th century, there were almost a hundred Black Carib communities strung out along the Atlantic coast of Central America, where they are also known as Garifuna.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY.

BLACK CODES. Toward the end of the American Civil War, Congress passed the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the American Constitution, which freed those slaves who had not already been freed. This began a struggle for the control of the labor of former slaves. Many Southern states responded to the Thirteenth Amendment by passing the Black Codes, laws that tried to reassert control over former slaves and put them back under the control of their former masters. These codes, which varied from state to state, limited the jobs the freed persons could hold, prohibited their owning weapons, and forced them to live in rural areas. Many of them forced freed persons into an “**apprenticeship**,” which closely mirrored the conditions of slavery. Freed slaves sentenced for various crimes, often on trumped-up charges, were forced to labor for planters. Mississippi even denied them the right to own land.

Disturbed by both the Black Codes and the election of former Confederate officers to public office, a heavily Republican Congress saw black voters as the basis for a Republican majority in the South. It thus passed first the **Civil Rights Act of 1866**, which guaranteed the rights of freed persons; then the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, which forced President Andrew Johnson to send federal troops back into the South to organize elections in which freed men would have the right to vote; and finally the **Fourteenth Amendment** in 1868, which defined citizenship and the rights of freed persons. In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment provided that no government could deny the right to vote on the basis of “race, color or previous condition of servitude.”

See also RECONSTRUCTION.

BLACK LOYALISTS. During the **American Revolution**, freedom was offered by British governors and generals to slaves who served the British. They were called the Black Loyalists. There may have been as many as 100,000. Many worked for the British, but several black regiments were formed. When the war ended, the British evacuated many of those who wanted to leave. Some were betrayed and returned to slavery, but others went to Great Britain or to Kingston, Jamaica. The largest group went to Nova Scotia in Canada. There they had to face a cold, wet climate and the hostility of many whites, including White Loyalists, many of whom were slave owners. Inadequate land grants and an unresponsive government magnified many of their problems. Many were therefore ready to move again when the opportunity arose to return to Africa and settle in **Sierra Leone**. There, too, the

first years were harsh and mortality was high. Both in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, the Black Loyalists survived and established new and important communities. Many members of the Nova Scotia black community trace their origins to the *Book of Negroes*, which listed the name, age, physical description, and status of freed slaves transported by the British from New York to Nova Scotia in 1783.

BLANCHARD, JONATHAN (1811–1892). Jonathan Blanchard was an evangelical Protestant pastor, an educator, and an abolitionist. Born in Vermont and a graduate of Middlebury College, he met **Theodore Weld** and left school to become a lecturer for the **American Anti-Slavery Society**. He resumed his studies at Lane Seminary, where he preached in black churches and continued working for abolition. In 1845, he became president of Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois. In 1850, he attacked the **Fugitive Slave Law**, and in 1854 he publicly debated its author, Senator Stephen Douglas. He was known throughout his career for his vehemence and his passionate commitment to abolition. He left Knox in 1858 to take over a small school, which became Wheaton College, another stronghold of evangelical Christianity and abolition.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

BLEEDING KANSAS. The Border War, known as “Bleeding Kansas,” was a prelude to the American **Civil War**. The **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, which opened the territories of Kansas and Nebraska to settlement in 1854, repealed the provision of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 that barred slavery in all territories north of latitude 36°30′. Both pro- and anti-slavery groups saw this as a threat and an opportunity. Money was raised in New England to fund the settlement of people opposed to slavery. Several thousand responded to the opportunity, some of them armed with “Beecher’s Bibles,” rifles purchased with money raised by abolitionist preacher Henry Ward Beecher. Pro-slavery activists known as the Border Ruffians also poured in. Most were from the bordering state of Missouri, a slave state where slaveholders feared seeing Missouri bordered on three sides by free states.

Some of the fighting was political. At one point, there were two state constitutions. But there also was a lot of violence. **John Brown** and his sons led an attack on a pro-slavery settlement at Osawatimie Creek. The Border Ruffians ravaged several anti-slavery communities. In 1856, a territorial governor began trying to mediate the violence. Kansas was not ideally suited for slave labor. By 1859, an anti-slavery state constitution was approved, though Kansas did not actually enter the Union until after the firing on Fort Sumter and the departure of Southern states from the Union. The Kansas constitution was not so much anti-slavery as **free soil**. The settlers did not

want to compete with slave labor. The constitution actually prohibited settlement by African-Americans. Many of the Border Ruffians became active in guerrilla warfare in Missouri during the American Civil War. The fighting in Missouri was in some ways marginal to the course of the war, but nevertheless brutal. The most effective of the guerrilla leaders, William Quantrill, led an attack on Lawrence, Kansas, in which after a 24-hour ride, Quantrill's raiders burned a quarter of the town, looted banks and stores, and killed 185 to 200 men and boys. More than three times as many people died in the Lawrence Massacre as in the Border War.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

BLOOD MEN. The Blood Men were a group of slaves in **Calabar**, a major slave-trading port in the Bight of **Biafra**, who organized to resist sacrifice of their members. In Calabar, there were slaves in the towns who were relatively well-off, but with British efforts to end the slave trade, an increasing number of slaves were directed onto plantations just inland from Calabar that produced palm oil for export. It was from these agricultural slaves that victims were chosen to be sacrificed whenever a king or a wealthy man died. One of the things that facilitated the organization of these slaves was that they knew each other and worked together. In the late 1840s, they began forming a covenant by exchanging blood with each other. By 1850, whenever a powerful man died or there was a poison ordeal, the Blood Men would troop into town in large numbers to prevent any of their number from being sacrificed. Toward the end of that year, the *ekpe* society, which controlled the local government, approved a law banning human sacrifice.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; AFRICAN SLAVERY.

BODIN, JEAN (1530–1596). Jean Bodin was a French jurist and political theorist who was one of the first important thinkers to question the existence of slavery. In Bodin's time, much thinking about slavery reflected **Aristotle's** notion that some people were meant by nature to be slaves. Bodin argued against this. In his *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, he argued that slavery corrupted a society, that the master–slave relationship inevitably led to cruelty, and that the existence of slavery led to mistrust and social conflict. He also argued that many slavers violated religious law. In spite of his opposition to slavery, he was a practical man and feared that freeing the slaves would merely create beggars and criminals. He advocated a gradual emancipation process in which slaves would be freed after being taught a craft.

BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (1783–1830). Simón Bolívar was the general from Venezuela who led the armies that ended Spanish rule in Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. In the process, he freed many of the area's slaves. Bolívar was born into a wealthy slave-owning family, but he gradually became committed to abolition. He freed his own slaves before the struggle for independence began. In 1816, on a visit to Haiti, he promised Haitian president Alexandre Pétion that in exchange for arms, he would free the slaves in areas he liberated. After returning home, he realized that he needed the support of slaves, free blacks, and mulattoes if he was to defeat the Spaniards. At the **Congress of Angostura** in 1819, Bolívar called for complete abolition. He believed that slavery could not be justified in societies that had freed themselves, but delegates chose a more gradual approach. Everywhere Bolívar's army went from 1819 to 1824, actions were taken against slavery, but the newly independent nations either chose the gradualist approach, or if they chose total abolition, they reneged soon afterward. Slavery was abolished in Colombia and Bolivia, but the abolition was later revoked. In Peru, reform consisted of freeing the newborn children of slaves and restricting abuses like whipping. These measures and the freeing of slaves who enlisted in the army were, however, the beginning of the end of slavery in Hispanic America.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; PIAR, MANUEL (1782–1817); SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (1778–1850).

BOMBAY AFRICANS. From the 1830s, Africans freed from slavery by British ships were taken to Bombay or Karachi in India. They were often assigned to European families. From 1860, they were gathered in an African Asylum run by the **Church Missionary Society** (CMS). They were educated in English and in several Indian languages and were frequently taught crafts. Most became Christians, and some of them were recruited by European explorers to work on missions into the interior of **East Africa**. Some of them moved back to East Africa where they worked in CMS missions. In 1874, the CMS created a liberated-Africans village called Freretown near the port of Mombasa. It was named after Sir Bartle Frere, who in 1873 negotiated with Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar a treaty prohibiting the maritime trade in slaves. Much of the work of setting up the villages was by Bombay Africans. By 1876, they were more than a fifth of the 342 persons at Freretown. After the occupation of East Africa by colonial regimes, many of them moved on.

See also INDIAN OCEAN.

BONDED LABOR. In many parts of the world, debt was a major source of servile labor. In much of Asia, **debt slavery** was more important than true slavery. In Africa, **pawnship** was important. These institutions differed from

true slavery in that the pawn or debt slave could be redeemed if the debt was repaid. The debt slave was also usually still a part of his family of origin. With economic growth and the abolition of slavery, wealthy persons in many parts of the world sought to use debt to control the labor of others. Thus traffickers often expect the person trafficked to pay for his or her transport. This is used to control the trafficked person and to force him or her into what amounts to slavery.

India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are countries where traditional institutions early became a model for modern ones. Since early times, the Indian Subcontinent has been marked by a variety of servile statuses. Debt slavery was important in many areas. When the British East India Company decided to no longer recognize slavery in 1843, landlords increasingly began to use debt to bind landless laborers to them. Drought and crop failure often led to peasants losing their land. Once deprived of land, they often contracted debts. In fact, landlords were quite eager to loan them money or food. Borrowers then had to work for the landlord until the debt was repaid. If not successfully repaid, the debt passed to children of the bonded laborer. Landlords often found ways to increase the debt and sometimes used strong-arm tactics to intimidate laborers unhappy with the arrangement. Families thus often remain in bondage to a landlord for many generations. Bonded labor is important in agriculture, carpet making, brick making, stone quarries, tanneries, and many industries. Arrangements differ from place to place and from industry to industry. Sometimes the bonded people are paid in food, sometimes with a plot of land. Bonded labor continues to exist in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, though it has long been illegal in all three countries.

Bondage contracts have become increasingly important in providing child laborers for a number of industries, but particularly for carpet makers. Young boys, particularly between the ages of 7 and 10, are especially valued because their small hands are useful in tying the knots that make expensive oriental carpets. They work long hours bent over looms, often ruining their health. They receive no education. Children also work in other industries with similar effects on their health and education. Estimates of the numbers vary. The **Bonded Labour Liberation Front** suggests it's between 500,000 and a million in Pakistan. Estimates in India vary more widely, with official estimates of 250,000 and anti-slavery groups estimating as many as 65 million. The actual number is probably somewhere in between. These anti-slavery groups provide help and education for those escaping slavery, but sometimes at a price. **Iqbal Masih**, a 13-year-old former bonded laborer and activist, was assassinated because he threatened the control of the landlords.

Some writers have suggested that bondage works in the laborer's interest because it guarantees him work, but it also assures his subservience. The landlord's control is facilitated by a lack of alternative sources of credit for the bonded laborer. Bondage has declined where alternative sources of in-

come are available, where there is a high level of literacy, and where the poor and landless are organized. Such a situation exists in the southern state of Kerala, but bondage persists in much of the rest of the Indian Subcontinent. Since independence, various Indian governments have tried to control or destroy the institution. It was abolished in 1976. Local and international organizations have fought it. The most important in India is the Bonded Labour Liberation Front founded in 1981. They are supported by international organizations like **Anti-Slavery International**, **Free the Slaves**, and the **Walk Free Foundation**, but local politics are often controlled by landlords, who resist change.

Forms of bondage like **peonage** exist in many other parts of the world. The use of debt is a common tool to keep people held in servitude dependent, even in the cities of the industrial world.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY; INDIAN SLAVERY.

BONDED LABOUR LIBERATION FRONT (BLLF). In India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and **Nepal**, bonded labor is illegal, but it continues. The BLLF was founded in India in 1981 and in Pakistan in 1988. It is the most important organization fighting for the rights of bonded laborers in those two countries. It pursues actions in the courts and seeks enforcement of legislation which is often ignored in rural areas. It also provides refuges for those escaping bondage and has created schools to provide education for child laborers who have been denied it. It faces intimidation in many areas. Its most well-known child activist, **Iqbal Masih**, was murdered in 1995 because of his work against bondage.

See also BONDED LABOR.

BORI. *Bori* is a culture in which female dancers are possessed by spirits. It seems to have originated in northern Nigeria before conversion to **Islam** and is an important traditional form of healing. It was particularly popular among slave women, though others often attend the dances. Though looked down on by Islam and associated with traditional religion, *bori* dances are an important form of self-expression for low-status women and are common in the cities of northern Nigeria. The slave trade took *bori* across the Sahara to the cities of North Africa, where the dances are done primarily by black women of sub-Saharan slave origin. Here, too, the dances are attended by many others and are very important to low-status women. As with **zar** in East and Northeast Africa, and *vodun* and **candomblé** in the Americas, we see with *bori* the way Africans clung to and reinterpreted traditional religious beliefs.

See also SLAVE RELIGION.

BOYER, JEAN PIERRE (1776–1850). Jean-Pierre Boyer was born in Saint-Domingue to a French colonist and an African slave. His father sent him to France for education. He attended a military school and briefly served in the French revolutionary army. After returning to Saint-Domingue, he joined **Toussaint L'Ouverture** in the struggle to end slavery. After participating in an abortive revolt against Toussaint, he went into exile in France, returning in 1802 with the forces of General Charles Le Clerc, who was sent by Napoleon to restore French rule. When he discovered that Le Clerc had orders to abolish the civil rights of mulattoes and reestablish slavery, he and Alexandre Pétion joined the forces of **Jean-Jacques Dessalines**, who had proclaimed the independence of the island and named it Haiti. After the assassination of Dessalines in 1806, Boyer helped Pétion establish a republic in southern Haiti and succeeded Pétion as president in 1818. When the troops of **Henri Christophe** in the north mutinied and Christophe committed suicide, Boyer reunited Haiti without a fight. In 1821, when Santo Domingo rebelled against Spain, Boyer's troops marched into Santo Domingo and unified the whole island. In 1825, he signed an indemnity treaty with France, promising to reimburse France for properties seized during the **Haitian Revolution**. In 1843, he was ousted and spent his last years in exile in France.

BOZAL. *Bozal* was the Spanish and Portuguese term for recently imported African slaves who did not speak Spanish or Portuguese well. It means “wild” or “savage,” which reflected the fact that they were more likely to resist and were harder to control. They were generally watched more carefully than the **Creoles**, who were born into slavery. Creoles born in the Americas, also called *ladinos*, spoke European languages, knew European customs, and were better integrated into slave society.

BRAZILIAN SLAVERY. After the accidental discovery of Brazil by a Portuguese navigator in 1500, the Portuguese developed a trade in dyewoods. They soon discovered that the land and climate were suitable for **sugar** cultivation, but they needed labor. The Portuguese found it impossible to recruit local labor, so they turned to enslaving the local **Amerindian** populations, often allied with those near the coast, who were able to enslave others further in the interior. However, these slaves died in large numbers because they had no resistance to European diseases. Other people retreated further into the interior to escape the Portuguese.

By 1550, a regular **slave trade** had begun. From 1570, royal law limited enslavement of natives to “**just wars**,” though some enslavement continued. São Paulo in the south became the base for slave raiders known as **bandeirantes** who regularly attacked native peoples. By the end of the century, African slaves outnumbered indigenous slaves, though both groups worked

together for many years. In the subsequent three centuries, almost 4 million slaves were imported from Africa. This was about a third of the slave trade to the Americas. No American nation has been as much influenced by slavery as Brazil. For much of Brazilian history, people of African descent outnumbered people of European descent. By 1600, Brazil was the largest producer of sugar in the world.

The work of a slave on a sugar plantation was particularly harsh. The central figure on the Brazilian sugar plantation was the *senhor de engenho*, the “lord of the mill,” who controlled a large plantation and a sugar mill. He also processed sugarcane from small farmers who owned land near his mill. The harvest took place over a period of eight or nine months. Once the cane was cut, it had to be brought to the presses as quickly as possible. This was done by men who worked more than 18 hours a day during the peak of the harvest season. The greatest danger to a tired slave was getting mangled by the presses. The sugar was then moved into the boiling room. On the plantations during the early years, men outnumbered women by three to one and often lived in locked barracks called *senzalas*. The harsh work, high mortality, and shortage of women meant a low rate of reproduction, but planters knew that they could easily buy more slaves. Slaves were also used on cattle ranches that developed in the interior, on small food farms, and as stevedores.

In the cities, wealthy families had many slave servants, and even poor whites often had a slave or two. All kinds of labor were done by slaves. They were skilled workers, prostitutes, street vendors, musicians, and stevedores. In the 1690s, gold was discovered in the interior captaincy of Minas Gerais. The result was the movement of large numbers of slaves from the sugar-producing areas of the northeast to the gold mines. Then again in the 19th century, slaves were moved to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo to work on coffee farms. Newly imported African slaves were often valued for the skills they brought with them, for example, animal husbandry, blacksmithing, and rice cultivation.

Slave owners had virtually complete control of their slaves. Owners could be brutal or generous. The only check on them came from the **Catholic Church**, which insisted on the equality of all before God, offered slaves baptism, allowed them to form their own religious fraternities, and encouraged **manumission**. The rate of manumission in Brazil was higher than in the United States and most of the West Indies. Between 1 and 2 percent of slaves were freed every year. Twice as many women were manumitted as men, many of them the wives, concubines, and lovers of the men who freed them. Men were a majority among both Europeans and Africans, which encouraged a great deal of racial mixing. Slave servants often became the companions of older men and women and received for their service not only freedom but property. Some slaves were also able to buy their freedom, particularly in the

gold-mining areas. Manumission was also more frequent in the cities, where slavery was less harsh than on the plantations and there were more opportunities to earn money.

Slaves also responded to the harsh conditions of their lives by resisting. The most frequent form of resistance was flight. Some groups of **Maroons** formed independent ex-slave communities called *quilombos* or *mocambos*. The most important was **Palmares**, which maintained its independence in the interior for over a century. There were also a number of revolts, particularly in the sugar-growing northeast during the early 19th century. They included the **Balaiaida Revolt** and a series of slave revolts in Bahia. Though most slaves became Catholics, they also preserved their own religions, of which the best known is called *candomblé*. These African religions are still important in Brazil.

See also ABOLITION, BRAZIL; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; BAHIAN SLAVE REVOLTS; COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE; SLAVE RELIGION.

BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, JEAN-PIERRE (1754–1793). Jean-Pierre Brissot de Warville was born the son of an innkeeper. After completion of his education, he entered a law office and studied law. His first book, *Théorie des lois criminelles* (1781), was on the philosophy of law. His **Enlightenment** views offended the government. He was interned for four years in the Bastille and later was forced to retire to England, where he got to know many of the British abolitionists. On his return to Paris, he was one of the founders of the **Society of the Friends of Blacks** (Société des Amis des Noirs), the first French abolitionist organization. In 1788, he made a trip to the United States to assess the situation there. After his return, he published *Nouveau voyage dans les États-Unis de l’Amérique septentrionale* (1791). He served as president of the Société des Amis des Noirs in 1791 and 1792. He also got involved in the conflicts of the **French Revolution**. As one of the leaders of the moderate faction known as the Girondins, he was arrested and executed for his views in 1793.

See also ABOLITION, FRANCE.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (BFASS). The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, formed in 1839, is one of the oldest continuing anti-slavery organizations. It was the most important abolitionist organization during the 19th and much of the 20th centuries. It is now known as **Anti-Slavery International**.

BROUGHAM, HENRY PETER (1778–1868). A Scottish barrister and politician, Henry Brougham played a crucial role in bringing members of the Whig Party to support the abolition cause. Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, and educated at Edinburgh University, he moved early to London. He became a defender of radical causes and wrote two books on the slave trade issue: *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of European Powers* (1803) and *A Concise Statement of the Question Regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (1804). He supported the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and in 1810 introduced the Felony Act, which made it a crime punishable by 14 years' transportation for a British subject or any foreigner in British territory to buy, sell, or transport slaves. It is this act with its strong criminal penalties that effectively ended the British slave trade. As a lawyer, he was active in protecting working people. Like many abolitionists, he became convinced that the African slave trade would end only when slavery itself was abolished, and in 1823 he was one of the founders of the Anti-Slavery Society. He played a major role in the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 and the end of **apprenticeship** in 1838. Though he then retired from politics, he remained active in anti-slavery issues and was a strong supporter of the Union during the **American Civil War**.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

BROWN, HENRY (c. 1816–?). Henry Brown is famous for the way he escaped slavery. Born in Virginia, he lived happily in Richmond with his wife and three children until 1848, when they were sold and moved to North Carolina. Embittered, Brown decided to flee the South. He had a box made that was large enough to hold him. He then arranged for a white friend to ship him to Philadelphia. He took water with him and made small holes so that air could get into the box. After a 27-hour trip, during part of which the box was upside down, he arrived in Philadelphia. He became known as “Box” Brown and went on the abolitionist lecture circuit talking about the evils of slavery. The white shoemaker who shipped the box north was sent to prison after he was caught shipping two more slaves the same way. His slave helper managed to escape and joined Brown on the lecture circuit. After the **Fugitive Slave Law** was passed in 1850, an effort was made to kidnap Brown, but he fled to England, where he lectured for a while. It is not known if he ever returned to the United States. Nothing is known about him after the mid-1850s.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

BROWN, JOHN (1800–1859). One of the most controversial figures in the American abolition movement, John Brown helped to polarize the United States in the period leading up to the **Civil War**. Brown was born in Ohio,

the son of New England Congregationalists. He was a mature man with 20 children when a failed business enterprise caused him to retire to an African-American community in Upstate New York in 1854. Several of his sons moved to Kansas and were involved in the fighting there between pro- and anti-slavery factions. When his sons pleaded for weapons, Brown came himself. He was responsible for the massacre of five pro-slavery settlers, which led to months of guerrilla warfare. When peace was restored to Kansas, he freed a group of 11 slaves and guided them to Canada.

Convinced that slavery was an evil and that its existence corrupted republican institutions, Brown organized a “provisional government” at a conference in Chatham, Ontario. When a small band under his command attacked Harper’s Ferry in northern Virginia in 1859, they were speedily defeated by local militias and a band of marines. He was tried and sentenced to hang. His eloquence at his trial and his willingness to die for freedom attracted sympathy from African-Americans and anti-slavery militants. The Harper’s Ferry raid helped to bring on the Civil War by arousing Southern fears and convincing many Southerners to insist on Southern rights in the 1860 election. On the other hand, Union troops marched off to war singing what became the anti-slavery anthem, “John Brown’s Body.”

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; BLEEDING KANSAS; KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT (1854).

BROWN, WILLIAM WELLS (c. 1814–1884). William Wells Brown was a leading African-American abolitionist, speaker, and writer. He was born a slave, the son of a white father and a slave mother. He grew up in St. Louis, Missouri, where he had three different owners. He worked at different times on a farm, on riverboats, in a doctor’s office, and in a tavern. When his master took him to Cincinnati as a servant, he fled and chanced upon a **Quaker**, Wells Brown, who took him in when sick and nurtured him back to health. To honor his benefactor, he added Brown’s name to his own. He then moved to Cleveland and later to Buffalo. His work on lake steamers enabled him to assist slaves fleeing to Canada. Although self-educated, he lectured on temperance and abolition and eventually became a doctor. In 1847, he published *The Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave*. A year later, he represented the American Peace Society at a peace congress in Paris and then stayed in Europe to lecture. When the **Fugitive Slave Law** of 1850 was passed, he remained until English abolitionists purchased his freedom. Through all of this, he kept writing: a travel book, *Three Years in Europe* (1852); a novel, *Clotel* (1853); a play; and four books on African-American history. During the **Civil War**, he recruited for the Union army. His last book, *My Southern Home* (1880), was about travels through the South after the Civil War.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

BRUSSELS CONFERENCE (1889–1890). The Brussels Conference was called by the British to deal with the continued trade in slaves in Africa and the Middle East just as the Catholic anti-slavery movement led by Cardinal **Charles Lavigerie** was successfully focusing the attention of European public opinion on the horrors of slavery and the slave trade there. The major European powers, the United States, Persia, Turkey, and Zanzibar attended. The Brussels Act prohibited the maritime slave trade, though it did not provide for the right of search. It committed the colonial powers to suppress the overland slave trade, but left each free to pursue that objective in its own way. It provided a sanction for colonial powers to extend their authority by encouraging construction of military stations, establishment of administration, and the building of roads and railroads. This was of concern to Leopold, the king of the Belgians, who was interested in using anti-slavery public opinion to justify the extension of his authority to the Congo. The act also provided for the limitation of the weapons and alcohol trades. In spite of all this, the act was weak. Each of the colonial powers was careful to protect its interests. The act provided for a central institution to gather information, but no mechanism for the enforcement of the act's many provisions. It put pressure on colonial regimes to act on slavery, but they would eventually have done this without any act. They each moved at their own pace, which was often quite slow. Perhaps its most important effect was the notion of international trusteeship, which was expanded under the **League of Nations** and the **United Nations**.

See also EMANCIPATION, AFRICA.

BUDDHISM. Buddhism was born in India and developed in East and Southeast Asia. Slavery was a common institution in all of those regions. Buddhism was critical of wealth, inequality, and exploitation, but Buddhists believed in withdrawal from a world of suffering rather than trying to transform it. Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, taught his followers to accept their lot in life, but also to be kind to persons less fortunate than themselves. Buddhists believe in reincarnation. A person's situation in life was determined by his or her moral behavior in previous existences. Therefore, a slave was a slave because of sins committed in an earlier existence. It was because of this that the Buddha encouraged slaves to accept their status and not be jealous of their masters. The Buddha was, however, critical of the behavior of slave owners. He forbade them from trading in slaves and urged them to treat their slaves with kindness.

As Buddhism move into Southeast Asia, it developed its own forms of servitude. Temples acquired slaves, originally by kings giving them war prisoners. Others were donated by private persons or voluntarily submitted as an act of piety. The slaves did most of the maintenance, washing, and cooking in the temple. Others dealt with the dead, kept records, copied manu-

scripts, or maintained the temple library. In Thailand and China, temple slaves also cleared new lands for rice cultivation. A slave could not become a monk. Though Buddhism recommended withdrawal from worldly concerns, many Buddhist temples and monasteries became wealthy institutions controlling land and slaves.

See also TEMPLE SLAVERY; THAI SLAVERY.

BUNCE ISLAND. Situated in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River, West Africa's best natural harbor, Bunce Island was a major site for the Atlantic slave trade. First settled by English slave traders in 1670, it was ravaged by an Afro-Portuguese rival in 1728. It was reoccupied in the mid-1740s, and for the next half century it was the center of operations for two important British slave-trade operations. The sizable fort, referred to as a castle, was one of about 40 slave-trade castles built along the coast. It was particularly important as a source of slaves for South Carolina and Georgia, which were especially interested in slaves from rice-growing areas of West Africa. The Charleston representative of Bunce Island was Henry Laurens. When Freetown was established just downriver from Bunce Island, the anti-slavery leaders of the new colony found themselves forced to deal on many occasions with their better-supplied enemies. When Britain abolished the slave trade and made Freetown the base for the **Africa Squadron** of the Royal Navy, Bunce Island's slave-trading activities were abruptly terminated. The island has very substantial remains of the castle, which the **Sierra Leone** government has proclaimed a protected site.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

BURACO DO TATU. Meaning the "armadillo's hole," Buraco do Tatu was a typical *quilombo*, a community of about 200 fugitive slaves that survived for many years in a jungle area near Salvador, the capital of Bahia province in Brazil. They survived in large part by raiding plantations and by highway robbery, seizing food and sometimes kidnapping women. The fugitives had contacts within the city, which made it possible for them to acquire guns and gunpowder. Their jungle base was surrounded by pits filled with sharp stakes, which made it dangerous for attackers. In 1761, it was finally attacked, but only 61 fugitives were taken prisoner.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; MAROONS.

BURNS, ANTHONY (1834–1862). Born a slave in Virginia, Anthony Burns fled in 1854 by stowing away on a boat going to Boston. There, his master had him arrested under the **Fugitive Slave Law** of 1850. An abolitionist attorney, Richard Henry Dana Jr., volunteered to defend Burns, and in a six-day trial he attracted attention in Boston and around the nation. After

the judge ordered Burns returned to Virginia, mass meetings were held to protest, and there were several attempts to free him by force. When Boston's black community raised enough money to buy his freedom, the purchase was blocked by the U.S. attorney. Finally, 15,000 troops were called in to escort Burns to the boat that brought him back to Virginia. There, a slave trader purchased him and sold him to a black church in Boston, which set him free. In his remaining years, he lectured on slavery, attended Oberlin College, and became the pastor of a congregation of runaway slaves in Canada. He died of tuberculosis in St. Catharines, Ontario, at age 28. After the Burns case, there were no further extraditions in Massachusetts under the Fugitive Slave Law.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

BUSSA'S REBELLION. Barbados was the stablest and most secure of the **sugar** islands. It had a mature slave population, which meant relative equal numbers of men and women and few recent slave imports. The island was intensively cultivated, and there were no hilly or wooded areas where **Ma-rooms** could hide. The year 1815 was harsh. The end of the Napoleonic Wars led to a slump in sugar prices. Food imports were scarce and slaves were pushed to increase production. Toward the end of 1815, a rumor spread that slaves were to be freed. When it did not happen, many slaves became convinced that it would happen only if they seized their freedom. An elaborate conspiracy developed. One of the leaders was supposedly named Bussa, though there is no clear evidence of who Bussa was. The plan was that on Easter night, when whites were in town, beacon fires would be lit, and the slaves would seize arms and horses. Everything started well. Within six hours of beacon fires being lit, the revolt had spread to 70 plantations and a third of the island was aflame. No whites were killed, however, and there was no effort to attack the capital of Bridgetown. Militia and regular army units speedily and brutally put down the rebellion within two days. Though only one white and one black soldier died in the fighting, at least 50 slaves were killed in combat and 70 were summarily executed in the field. About 300 were brought to Bridgetown for trial. Of them, 144 were put to death and 132 deported.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY.

BUTLER, BENJAMIN (1818–1893). A lawyer and a Democrat in New England before the war, Benjamin Butler became a general during the **Civil War** and played a key role in developing policy toward slaves. Though he had always supported the notion that slave property should be respected, events forced him to change his position. He was commanding Fortress Monroe in Virginia early in the war when Northern generals had to decide what to do about slaves flooding over Union lines. Butler responded by

proclaiming them “contraband of war” and providing them with work. In August 1861, Congress passed the First Confiscation Act, which put this principle into law.

The following year, he set another precedent as commander of the Union forces in New Orleans. The Native Guards, an all-black unit organized by the Confederates, was eager to join the Union army. Butler was at first reluctant to use blacks as soldiers, but he needed manpower. The First Regiment of the Native Guards became the first recognized regiment of black soldiers in the Union army. After the war, Butler was elected to Congress as a Republican, where he became one of the most ardent defenders of the rights of African-Americans. He co-authored the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, which enabled the federal government to repress the Klan, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. He later returned to the Democratic Party and served one term as governor of Massachusetts, in which he appointed the first Irish-American judge and the first African-American judge in the history of the state. He also appointed Clara Barton to head the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women, the first woman to hold an executive office in the state.

See also CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866 (U.S.); RECONSTRUCTION.

BUXTON, THOMAS FOWELL (1786–1845). Thomas Buxton was the leader of the abolitionist bloc in the British House of Commons. From his Quaker mother, Buxton developed both a commitment to Christianity and an interest in social issues like prison reform and abolition. In 1818 he was elected to the Commons, and three years later he was asked by an aging William Wilberforce to take over leadership of the campaign to abolish slavery. The slave trade had been abolished in 1807. Throughout the 1820s, abolitionist forces publicized the evils of slavery. In 1833, he presented a massive petition supporting emancipation and then steered through Parliament a bill to end slavery throughout the British Empire. To do so, he agreed to an amendment requiring a transition period in which the slaves worked as apprentices. He soon regretted this and spent his last years in Parliament trying to get the provision removed. Though Buxton was not returned to Parliament in 1837, the apprenticeship provisions were removed in 1838.

Buxton then turned to slavery in Africa and published *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy* (1840), in which he argued that slavery kept Africa poor and miserable and prevented the full exploitation of its potential. The remedy he offered was “Christianity, commerce and civilisation.” He believed that the Christian religion and the development of commerce would open the door to change. Buxton was one of the founders of the **British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society**. His ideas dominated the abolitionist movement for much of the 19th century.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; ANTI-SLAVERY INTERNATIONAL (ASI).

BYZANTIUM (325–1453 CE). Byzantium was the eastern part of the Roman Empire. At the time of the split between the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, slaves recruited largely from warfare did much of the productive labor. Slaves came from the shores of the Black Sea: the Balkans, southern Russia, and the Caucasus. These areas remained the major source of slaves for Mediterranean Europe and the Arab world. They came both from warfare and trade. This trade was extended in the late medieval period as the **Vikings** developed trade routes that brought slaves and furs down the Russian rivers to Byzantium. From Byzantium, they were sold elsewhere in the Middle East and the Mediterranean world.

The Emperor Justinian (527–565) dealt with slavery in his codification of law. As in earlier Roman law codes, a slave was property, but Justinian allowed a slave to plead his case in court, limited harsh treatment, and treated the killing of a slave as murder. Around 726, a revised law code, the *Ecloga*, amended the laws on slavery. In particular, it clarified provisions on manumission and prohibited abusive masters from owning slaves. Amelioration probably resulted from both criticism of slavery within the Orthodox Church and from the declining importance of slave labor. The spread of Christianity in eastern Europe posed many questions. Were slaves who converted to Christianity freed? The *Ecloga* held that only the Christian slaves of non-Christians could claim their freedom. Could a slave become a monk? The law said that he could do so only with his master's permission. But the most important result was the decline of enslavement in areas that converted to Christianity. It was illegal to enslave another Christian. With time, serfdom replaced slavery as a source of agricultural labor. In later centuries, slaves worked primarily as domestic servants, though there were still also some slaves in agriculture and slave artisans. Slavery did, however, remain important, and the areas bordering the Black Sea remained the major source of slaves for societies bordering the Mediterranean until the fall of the Byzantine capital, Constantinople, to the Turks in 1453.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; EAST EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE; SCANDINAVIA.

C

CALABAR. Located near the mouth of the Cross River on the Bight of Biafra, Calabar was a major supplier of slaves from what is now eastern Nigeria and southern Cameroon. The people of the Bight of Biafra had long traded fish and salt to people of the interior. They thus had trade routes and commercial relationships, but when the Portuguese started visiting the area, it was difficult for them to move slaves to the coast through areas that had no ruler who could protect traders. In the 17th century, a number of settlements were formed at the outlet of the Calabar and Cross Rivers. Calabar was never united, but two of these towns dominated it, Duke Town and Creek Town. There was a king, called the *obong*, but his role was limited. He collected dues from European ships and granted them the right to trade. Real power lay in the hands of the powerful chiefs of Duke Town and Creek Town and in *ekpe*, a secret society that made laws and provided a mechanism for regulating conflicts between the major towns of Calabar, with Europeans, and with interior trading fairs and commercial partners. Slaves were at first not allowed to enter *ekpe*, but in the 18th century, when many slaves became influential, they were allowed into the three lower grades. Important decisions were made, however, by the higher grades. Through *ekpe*, Calabar was able to develop trade routes northeast into the Grassfields of Cameroon, and the **Aro** developed trade routes capable of moving people from central Igboland. *Ekpe*'s membership included men from different ethnic groups, including European merchants. In 1850, Calabar was the site of a rebellion by slaves called **Blood Men** against human sacrifice.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

CALHOUN, JOHN C. (1782–1850). A slave owner and planter from South Carolina, John Calhoun served as a senator, cabinet minister, and vice president of the United States. He was an important political theorist and for a generation the most important Southern political strategist. He was born in a slaveholding family and educated at Yale University. He studied law, but while still young he displayed a vocation for politics. He was elected to

Congress in 1811 and remained in public life until his death. An expansionist, he was particularly concerned to defend the right of slave owners to take slaves into new territories.

Calhoun was an outstanding debater who vigorously defended slavery in the halls of Congress. He believed that black people were racially inferior and argued that slavery was beneficial to both masters and slaves. He is best known, however, for his argument for state's rights. Convinced that the South was in danger of being outnumbered, he argued that important legislation needed a "concurrent majority"; that is to say, federal legislation needed the assent of the affected state. He spoke of the right of interposition, that is, the right of the state to veto federal legislation and prevent its application within its borders. Calhoun was concerned about protecting minorities, but the minority he was trying to protect was not slaves but slave owners. His ideas were presented in a posthumous book, *Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States* (1852).

See also RACE AND SLAVERY.

CAMBODIAN SLAVERY. During the period from the 9th to the 15th century, a powerful Cambodian empire ruled a large part of Southeast Asia. During this period slaves formed the majority of its labor force. They were either war captives or prisoners taken in raids on upland areas, or their descendants. Chinese sources tell us that slaves were scorned, that only the poor lacked slaves, and that the rich had many. The temples had particularly large workforces, many of them gifts from the state or from wealthy people. Some of the slaves labored in the fields, while others performed ritual functions or produced the beautiful art for which the period is known. Slaves were often treated harshly and could be punished at will by their masters.

In later centuries, commerce became more important. Debt slaves became common, as did the enslavement of criminals. Many of the slaves still were non-Khmer, either purchased from Thailand or **Laos** or acquired in raids on highland areas. They were divided between state slaves and private slaves. The state slaves were war captives, criminals, or their descendants and were settled in villages scattered around the country. They owed goods, agricultural produce, or corvée labor to the state. Many of them were directly controlled by the king. Slavery was only abolished in 1897 after occupation by the French.

See also EMANCIPATION, SOUTHEAST ASIA; THAI SLAVERY.

CANADA. Slavery was never very important in Canada. According to historian Marcel Trudel, there were only a little over 4,000 slaves in all of Canadian history. Two-thirds of these were Amerindians called *pani*, based on the name Pawnee. Most of them came from conflicts between Indian nations and

were moved to Montreal and Quebec. About a third were African slaves who came to Canada as a result of trade with the West Indies. One of them, Marie-Joseph Angélique, became notorious in 1734 when she apparently lit a fire in the home of her owner, a rich widow who intended to sell her. A large part of Montreal burned down. Most of the slaves were servants or craftsmen. The growing season was too short to make slave labor productive. Very few persons owned more than one or two slaves, though one influential Indian chief, Joseph Brant, owned 40. The number 4,000 probably does not include an estimated 2,000 slaves brought to Canada with White Loyalists fleeing the United States after the American Revolution. In 1793, the lieutenant governor of Ontario, John Graves Simcoe, tried to abolish slavery, but he had to compromise with his executive council, which was unhappy about the measure. The Act against Slavery banned slave imports and freed slaves born to slave women at age 25. By 1833, when slavery was abolished in the British Empire, it had become very rare in Canada.

Canada played an important role as the destination for slaves fleeing the United States in the quest for freedom. The first group was the **Black Loyalists**, slaves who supported the British during the **American Revolution** and were freed by them. Then, after the War of 1812, many African-Americans came to Canada, both former slaves coming on the **Underground Railroad** and free blacks trying to get away from racial discrimination in the Northern states. The number increased dramatically after passage of the **Fugitive Slave Act** in 1850. Many settled in southwestern Ontario near the Michigan border, but some who feared slave catchers sent by former masters went to Toronto or other areas. Though many native nations took prisoners, the only place in Canada where **Amerindian slavery** was highly developed was the Pacific Northwest.

CANDOMBLÉ. *Candomblé* is a religion of largely **Yoruba** African background practiced in Bahia in northeast Brazil. Bahia, with its overwhelming slave majority, was marked by a mixture of religions—Yoruba, Dahomeyan, Angolan, Muslim, and Catholic. Yoruba practices tended to predominate, but *candomblé* was practiced underground during the period of slavery and the *babalawos* used elements from all sources. Most of them were women. *Candomblé* uses African music to call up spirits and involves divination and the worship of different kinds of spirits. It was used by slaves to deal religiously with the power of their white masters, but it also provided its believers the security of contact with the divine. Practitioners also often attended Catholic religious services.

See also SLAVE RELIGION.

CAPE COLOURED. The Cape Coloureds of South Africa descend from a mixture of slaves and the indigenous Khoisan peoples. When the Dutch settled at Capetown in 1652, the only inhabitants were the Khoi-Khoi, herders who were once known as Hottentots, and the San, hunter-gatherers once known as Bushmen. The Khoisan were not interested either in working for the Dutch or in providing the supplies they wanted. As a result, Dutch settlers developed farms and imported slaves to work both on the farms and in town. Most came from Mozambique and East Africa, but a large number also came from Asia. Particularly important among them were the Cape Malays, who have maintained their commitment to Islam and much of their Asian culture. Islam, in fact, proved more attractive than Christianity to the urban slave population. At the same time, the Khoisan were decimated by disease and either pushed out of their best lands or reduced to slaves or servants of Dutch farmers. Most of these people joined the Dutch Reformed Church.

In an effort to implement a social system based on racial separation and called *apartheid*, or separateness, the descendants of the Dutch, called Afrikaners, tried to classify South Africa's diverse peoples. Those persons who were neither white nor black or a mixture of the two were classified as Coloured. This included descendants of the Khoisan, of slaves, and the products of marriage and sexual relations between different groups on the frontier. Physically, the Coloureds include a range of physical types. The effort to classify them as a single group demonstrates the illogical nature of such a racial classification system.

See also DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; SOUTH AFRICAN SLAVERY.

CAPITALISM. Slavery has existed in many different social and economic systems. The nature of the system usually shapes the form slavery takes. In many early kinds of slavery, most slaves were servants, concubines, and soldiers. Capitalism changed that. Capitalism is an economic system in which the means of production are in private hands and are operated for profit in a market system. In many societies, planters have been concerned to make a profit, but with the modern capitalist slavery of the 17th and 18th centuries, slaves were purely a factor of production. Slaves were used because they were the most efficient way for the planter to use his capital. The **sugar, tobacco, and cotton** plantations of the New World operated within a world market system. The slave-sugar complex was the forerunner of other capitalist **plantation** systems. The planter took his own or borrowed money and invested it in land, labor, and equipment. His largest investment was in his slaves. He also had to buy food and clothing. The slaves produced not for the planter's use, but for the market. The planter had to sell at a profit in order to be able to buy more slaves and feed them.

The slave trader was also a capitalist. He bought and sold slaves for profit. If a ship captain spent too much to buy the slaves, or if there was a shipboard rebellion or a high mortality rate from disease, the ship lost money. At the core of the system was the broker in Europe, who provided credit to traders and planters, arranged the sale of the slaves in the Americas, and handled the sale of the sugar produced. Every actor in the system except the slave was concerned with the maximization of profit. The rise of the slave plantation was symbolic of changes in the nature of European enterprise abroad. Early colonial enterprises in the 15th and 16th centuries were dominated by the interests of the royal houses of Spain and Portugal. The expanded colonialism of the 17th century was built on joint-stock companies, capitalist plantations, and international markets for capital, labor, and commodities.

See also GENOVESE, EUGENE (1930–2012); SLAVE TRADE.

CAPOIERA. The *capoiera* is an elaborate dance done by slaves on Brazilian plantations in which two dancers engage in a simulated combat to the beat of music. Each encounter can take from several minutes up to two hours. When the encounter is finished, the dancers join the musicians, and two more dancers come forward. It combines both West and Central African musical traditions. Both the songs and many of the stylized dance steps recall slavery. For example, the dancers often move as if in chains. Planters and urban police tried for centuries to suppress the *capoiera*, but it remained popular and is still performed.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; SLAVE MUSIC.

CARIBBEAN SLAVERY. No part of the world has been as marked by African slavery as the Caribbean. At the peak of the slave period in 1790, two-thirds of the population of the region were African slaves. Only in some parts of West Africa was the ratio of slave to free as high. This reliance on slave labor was a product of the Spanish conquest. After **Christopher Columbus** landed on Hispaniola in 1492, Spain tried to enslave local Amerindian populations and force them to work. The Spanish also brought with them diseases for which the Amerindians had no resistance. The mortality rate was very high. Already in the early 16th century, African slaves were being brought in to meet the demand for labor.

With the invasion of Mexico in 1519, Spanish interests focused more on the mainland. The result was that during the early 17th century, the Caribbean contained a series of fertile underpopulated tropical islands. They were colonies waiting to happen. With Spain weak, the British and French moved in, followed by the Dutch and the Danes. **Barbados**, settled in 1627, was the first to develop a slave-based economy. Most of the early settlers were smallholders who cultivated tobacco, indigo, and cotton with the aid of indentured

labor from Europe. In the 1640s, settlers began shifting into **sugar**. Investment in a mill, an efficient labor force, and the ability to get newly cut cane processed all required some capital and encouraged the emergence of large plantations. Land prices rose, and smallholders were forced out. At the same time, the demand for labor increased, but Europeans were increasingly reluctant to sign indenture contracts. It was unpleasant labor and in a climate where Europeans had a higher mortality than Africans. Furthermore, the African slave was a lifelong dependent. Thus Barbados soon was getting all of its labor from Africa. The shift into sugar was aided by the Dutch, who had briefly ruled Brazil. The Dutch introduced the latest technology, taught Brazilian methods, and supplied slaves. The high profits led to rapid expansion. Soon the French, Dutch, Swedes, and Danes all had colonies, and the Spanish developed the islands they retained, most notably **Cuba**. Other crops were also developed—indigo, cacao, coffee, and cotton—but sugar was the major source of profit. The Caribbean slave-sugar complex also stimulated growth elsewhere.

By 1800, a quarter of Britain's overseas trade was with the Caribbean. Seventy percent of France's overseas trade involved the import and reexport of Caribbean produce. North American colonies exported fish, grain, and lumber to the Caribbean. All of this was at a very high price. Sugar planters preferred men and imported twice as many men as women. This was because they were not concerned with creating communities that could reproduce themselves. It was cheaper to import more slaves and replace them if they died. Sugar involved long hours of backbreaking labor, and living conditions were harsh. In all of the sugar colonies, the death rate exceeded the birth rate until the end of slavery. In the 17th and 18th centuries, about 3,700,000 slaves were brought to the Caribbean, but at the end of the 18th century, there were little more than 1,600,000 people of African descent in the Caribbean.

The reliance on slavery meant that slaves were trained to do all kinds of work. Skilled artisans and domestic workers were all slaves. About a third of male slaves did skilled labor. The climate meant that there was a shortage of European women. Furthermore, successful planters often moved back to England and appointed managers to run their farms. Planters, managers, foremen, and merchants often lived with slave women. Manumission was possible in most colonies, but most of those manumitted were the lovers or offspring of Europeans. There were a number of slave revolts, but the most common form of resistance was flight. On islands like Jamaica where there were forested or mountainous refuges, **Maroon** communities emerged. Fear of revolt led to the creation of harsh **slave codes**. Slaves could only leave their plantations with signed passes. They were not allowed to drum because drumbeats could be used to send messages. Punishments were very harsh for escape, for burning sugarcane, or for any other act of resistance. A slave could be executed for striking a white person.

See also COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE; DEMOGRAPHY OF SLAVERY; DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; PLANTATION.

CARTHAGE. Carthage was originally a colony of the Phoenician city of Tyre, but it had an advantage over Tyre. Tyre and the other Phoenician cities turned to the sea and became major traders because their mountainous hinterland did not leave them much space for agriculture. Carthage was founded in the eighth century BCE and soon became wealthier and more powerful than either of its mother cities or other colonies. It came to dominate the trade of the western Mediterranean, competed with the Greek cities, and even sent trading expeditions to Great Britain and to the African coast. The Carthaginians raided for slaves, enslaved people defeated by its armies, and traded for slaves. We do not know very much about how slavery operated because after a series of wars, Rome totally destroyed the city and most of its records. Slaves were probably used in agriculture.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY; ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY.

CASTE. *See* HINDUISM; INDIAN SLAVERY.

CATHOLIC CHURCH. Slavery has been a problem for Christians throughout the history of the Church. Many of the early Christians were slaves, but Church Fathers like **Saint Paul** counseled obedience while at the same time recommending that masters be humane. Paul, and later Augustine, suggested that the social order was divinely ordained. For the obedient slave, the reward would come only in the afterlife. And yet some early Christian groups used common funds to purchase the freedom of fellow Christians, and some protested aspects of slavery like the kidnapping of children.

Church Fathers insisted, and the Church continued to insist, on the sanctity of marriage between slaves. This meant that extra-marital intercourse with a slave woman, common in most slave societies, was considered morally wrong. On the other hand, canon law imposed enslavement as a penalty for certain crimes. The Council of Pavia in 1012 decreed the enslavement of the children of priests who violated their vows of celibacy. Some medieval thinkers held that slaves had a right to disobey a master who tried to prevent them from procreating, who worked them too hard, or who denied them adequate sustenance. The slave was justified in fleeing if the master tried to force him to commit a sin. One 13th-century theologian, John Duns Scotus, accepted the enslavement of felons but felt that hereditary servitude was unjust, and by the late Middle Ages, there was a widespread belief that

enslavement was only morally acceptable as a result of a **just war**. The problem with this was that any Muslim was considered to be at war with Christendom and thus was enslavable.

With the discovery of the Americas and the increasing use of slave labor, the Church faced several dilemmas. First, some Catholic missionaries who saw the native peoples of the Americas as potential Christians were horrified by enslavement and its effects. In the early 15th century, the Dominican friar **Bartolomé de Las Casas** attacked the enslavement of Indians in Mexico, and though driven from his bishopric in Chiapas, he persuaded the Spanish king Charles V to prohibit the enslavement of Indians. Though Las Casas at first favored substituting African slaves for Indians, within a generation he regretted this. Seville theologian **Tomás de Mercado** contended that most African slaves were enslaved through violence and deceit and were thus unjustly enslaved. Mexican law professor **Bartolomé de Albornoz** argued that under natural law, even Africans had the right to liberty. In Brazil, a century after Las Casas, **Antônio Vieira** also fought against the enslavement of Indians and was driven from his position in the Amazon, but he persuaded King John of Portugal to protect Indians.

The second dilemma was whether Indians and Africans were equal before God, and if Catholic, had the right to the sacraments. Throughout Latin America, many Catholic priests insisted that slaves be baptized, given religious instruction, allowed time for worship, and have the right to marry. For the masters, if slave marriage was sacred, then it was a sin either to have sexual relations with slave women or to sell a slave separate from his or her spouse. Most slave masters were unwilling to yield either of these rights. Missionaries also had to cope with the fact that both Africans and Indians had their own religions, and even when they became Catholic incorporated elements of their religions into their Catholicism, or in many cases practiced both religions.

In the 19th century, the Catholic Church faced another dilemma. It had been attacked during the **French Revolution**, and it saw the **Enlightenment** and the Revolution as hostile forces. It associated abolition with these forces because many early abolitionists were Enlightenment intellectuals or supported the Revolution's efforts to control the church. In Britain and the United States, the Protestant churches were the backbone of the abolition movement, but the Catholic Church remained hostile to abolition until the late 19th century. Several popes had criticized the slave trade, but in 1888, pushed by missionaries from Africa like **Alexandre Le Roy** and Cardinal **Charles Lavigerie** of Algiers, Pope Leo XIII authorized a Catholic anti-slavery movement, and in 1890 he attacked slavery itself in the encyclical *Catholicae Ecclesiae*.

See also BIBLE; SLAVE RELIGION.

CEDDO. The *ceddo* were slave soldiers among the Wolof, Sereer, and Fulbe kingdoms of Senegambia during the period of the Atlantic slave trade. They were known for their colorful clothes, their hard-drinking hedonistic lifestyle, and their loyalty to the rulers they served. They rode horses, raided for slaves, and lived by a code that placed great emphasis on generosity and courage. Boys taken prisoner often served as grooms and porters, and if they served well, they could become *ceddo* themselves. The *ceddo* received booty from their raids and generally had their lands worked by slave wives taken prisoner in those raids. Loyal service gave them access to military commands. The slave chiefs were usually the most influential and the most trusted officeholders.

See also ELITE SLAVES; MILITARY SLAVES; WEST AFRICA.

CENTRAL AFRICA. Soon after the Portuguese arrived at the mouth of the Congo River in 1482, Central Africa became a major source of slaves for Europeans. Europeans were able to buy slaves because forms of slavery already existed. They were rooted in capture during war, in debt, and in criminal penalties. The largest state in the area, the **Kongo** kingdom, was interested in Christianity and eager to learn from the Portuguese. To facilitate its relationship, they were willing to sell slaves into a harsher servitude. The slave trade rose within a generation to about 7,000 a year, but it turned out to be disastrous for Kongo. Portuguese traders, many of them based on the island of **São Tomé**, encouraged warfare and the autonomy of provincial chiefs. In 1526, **Afonso**, the able Catholic king of Kongo, complained in a letter to the Portuguese king that the Portuguese were destroying his kingdom, but he was unable to stop the trade. In 1576, the Portuguese founded Luanda, which grew into the colony of Angola.

By the middle of the 17th century, there were a series of European bases along the coast. The Dutch and English dominated the trade north of the Congo River, from which trade routes bypassed the cataracts on the Congo River and went overland to Malebo Pool. At the Pool, they tapped into riverine routes that drained slaves from much of the Congo basin. Further south, Luanda was the center of a small Portuguese colony and the terminus for routes into the interior. Outside the Portuguese lands were a series of warlord-dominated states, which slaved and provided commercial outlets for slaves coming from deeper in the interior. Another set of routes went through the Ovimbundu kingdoms of central Angola to Benguela. Slave-trade routes also penetrated the interior of central Africa from Mozambique. Though the Portuguese in the Zambezi valley were at first more interested in gold than slaves, land grants called *prazos* led to the creation of a series of polities that were often subject to both Portugal and Zimbabwe and depended heavily on slave soldiers and slave farmers. There was a trade that provided slaves to various Portuguese outposts, and that expanded in the 18th century when the

Indian Ocean economy began demanding more slaves. By the late 18th century, routes based in Luanda intersected in the far interior with routes based in Mozambique.

When the British abolished the slave trade in 1807, the Portuguese sought to continue it. The Brazilian sugar industry was expanding to meet the demand created by the decline of sugar production in the British West Indies. But in 1850, **Brazil** stopped importing slaves. Changes were already under way in Central Africa. The demand for ivory was increasing and the demand for slaves persisted, but now the slaves were being used within Africa. Newer and more efficient weapons made it easier both to hunt elephants and to enslave. **Swahili**, Arab, and Nyamwezi traders from the eastern coast penetrated Central Africa. From the western coast, a new competitor emerged, Cokwe, who started as elephant hunters but gradually found slave raiding and trade more profitable. From the north, traders based on the Nile and on Saharan trade routes penetrated into Central Africa. All of these new invaders were using efficient modern rifles. The result was the destruction of old kingdoms and the ravaging of communities who were unable to defend themselves against the well-armed intruders. Central African peoples had no time to learn how to defend themselves from the new predatory structures. The process only ended with the conquest of Central Africa between 1885 and 1914 by European powers. These powers brought in new forms of exploitation, but they ended the slave trade.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; INDIAN OCEAN; PORTUGAL IN AFRICA; TIPPU TIP (c. 1837–1905).

CENTRAL ASIA. The steppe lands of Central Asia were both a means of communication between all of the civilizations of Europe and Asia and a source of nomadic warriors, who from time to time conquered every region bordered by Central Asia. The greatest of these empires was that of the **Mongols**, which stretched at its peak from eastern Europe to northern China. Central Asia was also crossed for at least 2,000 years by a series of routes known as the **Silk Road**, which connected China to the Middle East, the Roman Empire, and Europe. Slaves were one of the most important items of trade on the Silk Road, not necessarily going all the way. Merchants on the Silk Road bought and sold at various markets along the way, trading in whatever could give them profit. The great cities of Central Asia like Samarkand, Bukhara, and Tashkent were centers of political authority and market activity. They were also junctions between the main east–west road and routes extending down into Persia and Iraq. Samarkand is the oldest and was also the capital of the empire built by Timur, also known as Tamerlane, in the 14th century. The labor of slaves taken as prisoners of war built many beautiful mosques, palaces, and mausoleums.

From the 18th century, Central Asia was penetrated by the rising power of Russia, though at first with limited results. In 1717, a Russian expedition of 4,000 men made it to the Kiva Khanate. They were tricked into dividing their forces. Those not massacred were enslaved. In the 19th century, nomadic raiders, particularly in the Kiva Khanate, regularly raided into Persia and Russia in quest of slaves. Bukhara in 1840 had 200,000 slaves. It has been estimated that there were at one point in the 19th century a million Persian slaves scattered through the Central Asian khanate. The Russians took Tashkent in 1865, Samarkand in 1868, and Bukhara and Kiva in 1873. Most of Central Asia was incorporated into the Russian empire, and then after the Bolshevik Revolution into the Soviet Union.

CERVANTES, MIGUEL DE (1547–1616). Cervantes is Spain's most famous author. Early in his life, after serving in wars against the Ottoman Empire, Cervantes was in a ship that was seized by Algerian pirates. He spent five years in slavery in Algiers while his captors tried to extort a generous ransom from his family. Well-born captives taken by North African pirates were often held for a ransom. In this case, his master was a convert to **Islam** born in Venice. He was almost shipped to Istanbul before his family finally provided the ransom. His most famous novel, *Don Quixote*, contains a fictionalized account of his captivity. Other writings present a very critical picture of slavery in Spain, where there was an important slave population.

See also BARBARY SLAVERY; REDEMPTIONIST ORDERS.

CHASE, SALMON P. (1808–1873). Salmon P. Chase was an abolitionist and a leading Republican politician. After graduating from Dartmouth College, he studied law and in 1830 opened a law practice in Cincinnati. He got involved in abolition through his legal practice, first defending **James G. Birney** on charges of harboring a fugitive slave and then defending runaway slaves whose return to slavery was sought by former masters. He first entered politics in the **Liberty Party** and then was elected to the Senate in 1849 as a member of the **Free Soil Party**. In the Senate, he was a strong spokesman for anti-slavery views. He was elected governor of Ohio in 1855 and sponsored personal liberty laws and other anti-slavery measures. He was a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860 but lost to **Abraham Lincoln**. After Lincoln's election, Chase was chosen as secretary of the treasury. As a cabinet member, he was one of the first to support both making the elimination of slavery a war aim and the recruitment of African-American soldiers. He also supported voting rights and full equality for African-Americans. In 1864, he became chief justice of the Supreme Court. One of his first acts there was to admit John Rock, the first African-American lawyer to argue a case before the Supreme Court.

See also CIVIL WAR, U.S.

CHAVANNES, JEAN-BAPTISTE (?–1791). Chavannes was one of the leaders of the revolt that began the Haitian Revolution. He was a landowner and had served in French forces that aided the American Revolution, but he was also one of the free *gens de couleur* (**people of color**). In 1790, the French National Assembly decided that in the colonies all men who owned property and paid taxes could vote, but it left to the colonial assemblies the right to apply this decision. The all-white assembly in Saint-Domingue ignored the claims of the people of color. **Vincent Ogé** and Chavannes gathered a force of 200 men and seized a town in northern Haiti. Their revolt was suppressed. Both Ogé and Chavannes were executed, and their heads were publicly displayed. The act shocked the French, and in May 1791, the National Assembly granted citizenship to people of color born of free parents. Three months later, a massive slave revolt broke out. In 1792, the Assembly extended citizenship to all people of color, and in 1794 it abolished slavery.

See also HAITIAN REVOLUTION.

CHAVIS, JOHN (1763–1838). Chavis was a conservative free black preacher who opposed freeing the slaves. He somehow managed to get a very good education, attending Washington Academy (later Washington and Lee University) and by some accounts the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). These same accounts suggest that he was sent to school to see if blacks could learn as well as whites. He excelled in classics and rhetoric. In 1801, he was licensed to preach by the Presbyterian Church. After marrying, he settled in Raleigh, North Carolina, where he opened an integrated school. He was eventually forced to separate white and black students, teaching the whites by day and the blacks in the evening. Though he seems to have been a genuine conservative, his opposition to abolition was probably a case of self-interest. In the 1830s, after the **Nat Turner** rebellion, there was a movement to expel free blacks from the South, and in 1835 they were deprived of the vote. He was clearly anxious to reassure white society, which saw free blacks as a threat.

CHENG HO (1371–1433). Cheng Ho's career is an illustration of the power that some slaves could exercise when they were the agents of a powerful king or emperor. Cheng Ho was a **eunuch** who served the Ming emperor of China, Zhu Di. Between 1405 and 1433, at the very time that Portuguese navigators were cautiously beginning the exploration of the West African coast, Cheng Ho led seven fleets in a series of expeditions to Southeast Asia, India, the Persian Gulf, and East Africa. The purpose of Cheng Ho's voyages was to open up commercial and political ties with nations on the shores of the

Indian Ocean. After 1433, the Ming dynasty ended the voyages and turned inward, discouraging international trade and ending efforts to reach out to other societies. One result was that Europeans discovered China rather than Chinese discovering Europe.

See also CHINESE SLAVERY; ELITE SLAVES.

CHEROKEE. The Cherokee originally inhabited an area that stretched from North Carolina to Alabama. Before the arrival of Europeans, they often took prisoners, but those prisoners were eventually absorbed into Cherokee families. With the coming of British settlers, Cherokees began selling those prisoners to the settlers. Gradually, however, some Cherokee became Christians, intermarried with settlers, and began to farm in the European manner. Some even used African slaves and became successful planters. In 1828, they organized a republic centered at New Echota, Georgia. Their constitution was modeled after the U.S. Constitution. They also had a code regulating slavery, which prohibited marriage with slaves or the sale of liquor to them. The republic was run by slaveholding Cherokee, who also controlled most of the businesses and the plantations. Though the Cherokee had accepted Southern culture, when gold was discovered on their lands, the state government asked that they be removed to the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. The long trip to Oklahoma, on which many died, is called the Trail of Tears. Most Cherokee slave owners took their slaves with them.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); AMERINDIAN SLAVERY.

CHESNUT, MARY (1823–1886). Though she was the daughter of a Southern planter and the wife of another, Mary Chesnut sympathized with abolition. She was well educated and widely read, but she spent most of her life in South Carolina. Her attitudes were recorded in a diary she kept during the Civil War. Her distaste for slavery seems to have originated in her friendship with two slave servants and with a mulatto who was the ward of the headmistress of the school in Charleston where she was educated. “God forgive us,” she wrote, “but ours is a monstrous institution.” She also remarked sardonically that on most plantations, the mulattoes resembled the white children, “and every lady tells you who is the father of all the mulatto children in everybody’s household, but those in her own she seems to think drop from the clouds.” She kept her views to herself, and the diary was not published until the 20th century.

See also CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

CHILD, LYDIA MARIA (1802–1880). Lydia Child was an important abolitionist author. Born in Massachusetts, she first established herself as a writer with a novel about miscegenation entitled *Hobomok* (1824). She also

wrote several domestic self-help books for women, which did well financially and established her reputation. Along with her husband, David Lee Child, she became active in the New England Anti-Slavery Society led by **William Lloyd Garrison**. In 1833, she published *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans*. In it, she set American slavery within an international perspective and argued against the notion that emancipation would lead to economic collapse. Child edited the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* from 1841 to 1843 and remained an active abolitionist writer. In 1859, her offer to be a nurse for **John Brown** led to an exchange of letters with Margaretta Mason, the wife of the senator from Virginia. This exchange was printed in many newspapers and reproduced as a pamphlet by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

CHILD LABOR. Children have been a source of labor throughout history, but mostly within family units. In peasant families, children have always started working very young. In artisan families, they usually trained from a young age in the family's profession. On peasant farms, they helped with agriculture. In 2008, the International Labour Office estimated that there were 150 million child laborers, two-thirds within family units. Children were also highly valued as slaves. They were easy to train and indoctrinate and were not likely to escape. In patriarchal households, they became servants. Girls could eventually be taken into the **harem**. In **plantation** slavery, they were trained to do agricultural labor. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution, children became an important part of the workforce, sometimes working 10 to 12 hours a day in unhealthy conditions. In all leading industrial countries, the abuse of children became a major social issue. The result was laws limiting the hours and conditions under which children could work and guaranteeing children the right to an education. In spite of this, child labor remained important in colonial areas, generally within traditional peasant agriculture, but also on plantations and in workshops of artisans.

With globalization and increasing economic inequality in the late 20th century, the use of child labor took new forms, some of which can be considered slavery. It is estimated that over a third of those held in contemporary forms of slavery are under the age of 18 and are often placed in exploitative situations because desperately poor parents need the income they bring in. Sometimes these new forms take place within traditional forms of labor. **Bonded labor** in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh has extended into new areas like quarries. Children are often contracted out or sold, sometimes with parents deceived about what kind of labor their children are going to undertake. In some industries, like the rug industry, children are highly valued because their small fingers are more adept at tying the knots that make the rugs. Some girls are sold into prostitution, where some men seek young, even

pre-pubescent girls. In Brazil, they work as charcoal makers, in Pakistan as brick makers, in West Africa on cocoa farms, and on the Arabian Peninsula as camel jockeys. The difference between **contemporary forms of slavery** and traditional forms is that the modern employer has no commitment to the slave. When the child slave no longer has any utility, he or she is cast aside. Camel jockeys often return home badly injured. Child prostitutes can become adult prostitutes until disease limits their utility. Globalization has also led to an expansion of sex tourism, where men from wealthy countries travel to countries where young women and often girls are freely available.

CHILD SOLDIERS. When war was conducted with swords and spears, children were of limited value except as spies, messengers, or lookouts. With modern weaponry, armies have often found that young soldiers can be effective and often brutal soldiers. In prolonged struggles, many armies drop their age limits or ignore them to meet the need for soldiers. In the American **Civil War**, soldiers as young as 11 were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. Most child soldiers serve as regulars alongside older soldiers.

In modern guerrilla warfare, especially in Africa, children have increasingly been used, sometimes as young as seven or eight. They are often used both by rebels and by government troops and often under the command of soldiers only slightly older. At its worst, the process often involves kidnapping children. Boys become soldiers. Girls become porters, sex slaves, cooks, and often the “wives” of commanders. Some also serve in combat. Child soldiers are often given drugs to dull their senses and are encouraged to brutalize others. In Sierra Leone, the Revolutionary United Front often asked children to kill members of their own families. The intention was to make it impossible for them to ever go back to their families and to make the guerrilla army their new family. Many guerrilla movements have tens of thousands of child soldiers. The Lord’s Resistance Army in Uganda had over 30,000, almost all kidnapped in attacks on schools. At the end of such conflicts, there is often an extensive process of rehabilitation to bring such soldiers back to civilian life.

In 1989, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child tried to bar the use of children under 15 and allowed only voluntary participation of children 15 to 18. This has had little effect, however, on those using children as soldiers, especially guerrilla movements.

See also BONDED LABOR; CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY.

CHINESE SLAVERY. Slavery existed in China since well before China was unified in 221 BCE. Many slaves originated as war captives. Others were sold into slavery by families or enslaved as a punishment for crimes.

Chinese slavery is striking in that slaves were almost never used for productive labor. This was because China was marked from an early date by high population density. When free land was not available, people who did not have enough land had to go work for other people, usually as sharecroppers. In these conditions, land was for the wealthy a more secure investment than persons. A person who owned land could always find labor, and that labor was usually more efficient than slave labor. Necessity created a culture of hard work in China.

Slaves were used in two sectors of the economy. State slaves were convicts, the relatives of criminals, or prisoners of war. Sometimes they were numerous after conquest by new dynasties. Many were also offspring of such people because the status was hereditary. They were used in constructing public works like irrigation canals. Sometimes, because state slavery was a form of punishment, they were sent to live in harsh and poorly populated regions. Most dynasties did not make systematic use of state slaves. In addition, many were freed when there was a change of dynasty. As a result, the institution declined over the years.

There were also private slaves. Some originated from self-sale or the sale of a wife or children, usually because of debt or natural calamity. There was also some kidnapping or raiding, particularly during periods of social disintegration, and occasionally the gift of state slaves to a meritorious individual. Private slaves lived and worked almost exclusively in wealthy households. The best treated were concubines, but slaves also served as personal servants, doorkeepers, commercial assistants, private soldiers, and entertainers. It was also possible for a man who had no offspring to buy a young boy, who then was adopted as his heir. This could only be done with agreement of the man's family, and the boy ceased to be a slave the minute he was adopted. Wealthy families often had large numbers of slaves, but because the institution was limited to the very wealthy, the percentage of Chinese in slavery was small. Slavery was hereditary, and the master had almost absolute control over the slave. The slave owed his or her master total obedience. The killing of a slave or excessive violence was prohibited, but slaves could be sold or given away. The slave could not testify in court except in cases where the master was plotting treason against the state. Some slaves were able to pursue an education, accumulate wealth, and purchase their liberty.

The Chinese state generally discouraged the institution of slavery because slaves were not productive. It also feared slave revolt. Many Chinese rulers took action against slavery. In 17 CE, a usurper named Wang Mang abolished slavery to limit the power of landowning families. The **Mongols** had enslaved many people, but T'ai Tsu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, who expelled the Mongols, abolished all forms of slavery. When the Manchu conquered China, they took about 2 million slaves, but in 1685, the Emperor Kangxi freed all slaves belonging to families of the ruling Manchus. There

was, however, one very privileged group of slaves, the **eunuchs**, who played an important role at court and in the government. In 1909, three years before the fall of the Qing dynasty, all slaves were freed and given the status of commoners.

See also CONFUCIANISM; CONCUBINES AND CONCUBINAGE; EMANCIPATION, EAST ASIA.

CHIRINO, JOSÉ LEONARDO (1754–1796). José Leonardo Chirino was the leader of the Coro Revolt in Venezuela. Coro was a small city on the coast of Venezuela. The son of a male slave and an Indian woman, Chirino worked for a trader in the city of Coro, and in that capacity he visited **Saint-Domingue** with his employer. He seems to have been impressed with the Haitian situation. In May 1795, he led a band of slaves and free blacks, who marched through the countryside killing plantation owners, burning plantations, and trying to gather support. He called for a republic based on French law and social equality. However, his forces were speedily defeated by a local Spanish force. He was hanged and quartered, and many of his followers were decapitated.

CHRISTIANA SLAVE CASE. In September 1851, a group of slave catchers commanded by Edward Gorsuch, a Maryland slave owner, and a deputy U.S. marshal crossed into Pennsylvania to reclaim a runaway slave named William Parker. They were acting under the **Fugitive Slave Law**, which had been passed only a year earlier. A group of African-Americans gathered at Parker's home in Christiana to prevent his seizure. They soon received the support of some local whites. The whites refused the marshal's effort to deputize them. In the ensuing struggle, Gorsuch was killed and several members of his party were wounded. Parker fled to Canada, but 4 whites and 36 blacks were charged with treason. At this time, U.S. president Millard Fillmore was anxious to curry favor with the South. After a two-week trial, the judge instructed the jury to hold the defendants not guilty because a refusal to aid the authorities under the Fugitive Slave Act could not be considered treason. Other charges were then dropped. This was one of many incidents indicating both the increased militancy of African-Americans and the hostility of many whites in the North to the return of runaway slaves.

CHRISTIANITY. Christianity was created in the Roman Empire where slavery was common. It stressed from the first the belief that all human beings were one in the eyes of God. At the same time, the survival of Christianity in the Roman world necessitated acceptance of the established order. Slavery was thus a problem for Christians throughout their history. Many of the early Christians were slaves, but Church Fathers like **Saint Paul**

counseled obedience while at the same time recommending that masters be humane. Paul, and later Augustine, suggested that the social order was divinely ordained. For the obedient slave, the reward would come only in the afterlife. And yet some Christian groups used common funds to purchase the freedom of fellow Christians, and some protested aspects of slavery like the kidnapping of children.

Over 2,000 years, Christianity has given birth to a large number of different churches, each of which has dealt with slavery in its own way. What they have in common is a conflict between ideas of obedience, universal moral truths, and individual responsibility. One result of this is that while most Christians accepted the legitimacy of slavery, there have always been critics. Christians believe that masters and slaves share the same human nature and are subject to the same moral laws. From the early Middle Ages, Christian bishops and theologians have encouraged **manumission** and recommended that slaves be treated kindly. The Church Fathers insisted, and the Church continued to insist, on the sanctity of marriage between slaves. This meant that extra-marital intercourse with a slave woman, common in most societies with slavery, including Christian ones, was considered morally wrong. Finally, there was a belief that a person could only be legitimately enslaved in a **just war**.

Most slaves in medieval Europe were domestic slaves, and there was a high rate of manumission. With the European voyages of discovery, the beginning of the African slave trade, and the expansion of plantation systems, harsher and more exploitative forms of slavery emerged. There were two major Christian reactions to these harsher forms. First, **Catholic** missionaries protested against the enslavement of **Amerindians** and the treatment of slaves. Only a few actually opposed slavery, but many criticized the morality of enslavement, the brutality of the slave trade, and the ways slaves were treated. They also insisted on Christian education and the right to marry. A more intensive attack came from some British and American Protestants, led often by the **Quakers**. Though influenced by the French **Enlightenment**, the British and American abolition movements were rooted in the Protestant churches and in a rethinking of Christianity, which stressed the spirit more than the letter of the **Bible**. Anti-slavery Protestants objected to any institution that kept persons from living a Christian life. They believed not only in moral responsibility but in the necessity of each person being free to make his or her own moral choices. From this they came to believe that any institution that subordinated one individual to the absolute authority of another was immoral.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; BAPTISTS; CATHOLIC CHURCH.

CHRISTOPHE, HENRI (1767–1820). Henri Christophe was a military leader in the **Haitian Revolution** who became the head of a northern Haitian state. He was born a slave on Granada and went to sea as a cabin boy at age nine. He served with French forces during the American Revolution and seems at some point to have been freed. He was the manager of an inn when the Haitian Revolution began, but he speedily became an officer in forces commanded by **Toussaint L'Ouverture**. When Toussaint was captured by the French, command of the army went to **Jean-Jacques Dessalines**, who proceeded to proclaim independence and declare himself emperor. Fearing a new despotism, Christophe allied himself to the mulatto general Alexandre Pétion in the assassination of Dessalines, but their alliance soon broke down. Christophe commanded the north and Pétion the south. Christophe proclaimed himself king and tried to set up a constitutional monarchy. Fearing a French invasion, Christophe sought international recognition, a reopening of commerce, and the assistance of abolitionists in creating an education system. He tried to improve living conditions, but the need for money led to restoration of the plantation system. He established order, but the harsh work and discipline was resented by former slaves. In 1820, when southern forces were threatening, Christophe had a stroke. Knowing that the end was near, he committed suicide.

CHULALONGKORN (1853–1910). King of Thailand in 1868 at the age of 17, Chulalongkorn became an important modernizer and a liberator of slaves, continuing a process begun by his father, Mongkut. His father was king and hired an English woman, Anna Leonowens, to tutor his children. Because of the new king's youth, power was entrusted to a regent, and he was allowed to spend five years in study and travel. When he finally took power, one of his most important objectives was to end slavery, which was very important in Thailand and which Chulalongkorn regarded as immoral. The regent had tried to implement a program of compensated emancipation in 1870, but it was strongly resisted. The new king decided for a more gradual approach. In 1874, he decreed that for anyone born into slavery after 1868, the price of emancipation would decrease year by year until it was zero when the slave turned 21. He closed gambling houses because many people sold themselves into slavery to pay debts. One edict after another decreased the importance of slavery. In 1908, slave trading became a criminal offense. Within a few years of his death, it had disappeared, without conflict or violence.

See also THAI SLAVERY.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY (CMS). Founded in 1799, the Church Missionary Society was the most important Anglican mission society. From the first, the CMS sought to combine religious conversion and

economic development to end the slave trade. In 1804, it established a mission in Freetown. With the abolition of the slave trade, the CMS created a network of institutions to help the freed slaves establish themselves. More than any other mission, CMS created from the ragged ex-captives a Christian elite. The CMS and this allied elite gradually spread through Great Britain's West African colonies. Part of its success was the confidence that CMS leaders had in African converts. Under Henry Venn, secretary from 1834 to 1873, the CMS preached its gospel of "Christianity, civilization and commerce." Venn's program involved education, industry, conversion, and self-improvement. To create a self-sustaining church, Venn encouraged both ministers like **Samuel Ajayi Crowther** and the creation of a middle class of entrepreneurs, who would provide lay leaders for the church. The economic program of the CMS involved the introduction of new crops that could replace incomes lost with the end of the slave trade. It was often referred to as an alliance between "the Bible and the plow." The CMS also worked in other parts of the British Empire.

See also CHRISTIANITY.

CIMARRON. *Cimarron* is a Spanish word that became **Maroon** in English and *marron* in French. Originally an Arawak Indian word, it first referred to feral cattle who ran wild in the hills of Hispaniola. It then was used for runaway Indian slaves and came to have a connotation of wild or fierce, which is how colonial society saw the runaway slave communities that developed in many parts of the Americas.

CINQUÉ, JOSEPH (c. 1811–c. 1879). Joseph Cinqué was a Mende slave from **Sierra Leone** who led a revolt on the slave ship *Amistad* and tried to sail back to Africa, but instead he found himself in the middle of a famous American legal case. Cinqué was seized by slavers in 1837 or 1838. He was taken to a Portuguese slaving station on the coast, leaving behind a wife and three small children. The slaves were taken to Havana, Cuba, and sold. The *Amistad* was taking them to slave plantations further east on the island when Cinqué used a rusty nail to pry open the locks that bound the chains of the slaves to the hull of the boat. The slaves then broke into the hold and armed themselves with knives, with which they attacked the crew, killing all but two seamen, who were spared so they could sail the boat back to Africa. They sailed instead northeast by day and due north at night until they were intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard off the coast of Long Island, New York.

The Spanish government sought the return of the slaves. The U.S. government supported the Spanish claim, but Cinqué and his fellow slaves were supported by the abolition movement. After two years of court cases, they were freed by a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. While the case was

being heard, Cinqué was out on bail and went on the abolitionist lecture circuit. His speeches were given in Mende and translated into English. In 1842, he returned to Sierra Leone. Little is known about his life after that.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; MIDDLE PASSAGE; SLAVE REVOLTS.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866 (U.S.). When the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the U.S. Constitution abolished slavery, most states of the former Confederacy responded by passing **Black Codes** that sought to perpetuate the legal inferiority of the former slaves. These acts sought to regulate where freed persons could live, what kinds of jobs they could hold, whether they could own property, whether they could own weapons, and the terms of apprenticeship. Apprenticeship was used to re-create the conditions of slavery. Congress responded with “An Act to Protect All Persons in the United States in Their Civil Rights and Furnish Means of Their Vindication.” This act conferred citizenship on the freed persons and guaranteed equal rights of African-Americans in legal proceedings and the right to make contracts, sue, testify in court, and buy and sell property. It also gave federal commissioners the authority and the power to enforce the act. When President Andrew Johnson vetoed the act, Congress overrode the veto. It then passed the **Fourteenth Amendment** defining citizenship and the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteeing African-Americans the right to vote.

See also RECONSTRUCTION.

CIVIL WAR, U.S. In the American Civil War, the South fought to protect slavery, the North to protect the Union. In the end, the slavery issue shaped the progress of the war, and the abolition of slavery was its most important result. The war resulted from the election of **Abraham Lincoln** as president. Lincoln and his supporters did not oppose slavery where it already existed. They were simply opposed to its extension. For many Northerners, the issue was not the immorality of slavery but competition between slave labor and free labor. The South, however, was not concerned with such distinctions. It was fighting to protect slavery and Southern sovereignty. They understood that if slavery could not be extended, it would eventually be abolished. In the wake of **John Brown**’s raid on Harper’s Ferry and massive Northern resistance to the **Fugitive Slave Act**, the South felt its way of life threatened.

The North was more populous than the South, but there were an equal number of slave states and free states. Representation by state meant that Southerners could block any legislation they opposed. When Lincoln’s election threatened that majority, 11 of the slave states seceded. Lincoln tried to reassure them, and throughout the first part of the war, he did nothing that would make return to the fold more difficult. He refused to free slaves, and

he refused to recruit black troops. He also offered federal funds to assist the emigration of free blacks. He was particularly concerned to protect the interests of slaveholders in border states that remained within the Union. When General John Fremont abolished slavery in Missouri, Lincoln objected, and Fremont's order was overruled.

Events, however, moved too fast for Lincoln. From the earliest days of the war, and in spite of Union defeats, slaves began fleeing across Union lines. At first, the responses of Union commanders varied. Some returned runaway slaves to their masters. General **Benjamin Butler**, a lawyer in civilian life, proclaimed runaway slaves contraband, and in August 1861 Congress passed the First Confiscation Act, which provided for the seizure of all property, including slaves used in aid of the rebellion. At the same time, Union commanders were finding uses for the former slaves. Men were put to work digging ditches and building fortifications, and women as cooks and washerwomen. Some Union generals began asking for the right to enlist African-American troops. In April 1862, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia. Three months later, the Second Confiscation Act provided that all captured or runaway slaves were "forever free." Finally on 1 January 1863, Lincoln issued the **Emancipation Proclamation**, freeing all slaves in the rebellious states. By late 1862, a number of Union generals had started using black troops recruited in the South, and in January 1863, the War Department began authorizing Northern states to raise black regiments. Roughly 186,000 African-Americans served in the Union armies, about half of them former slaves from the Confederacy, and most with great distinction.

By 1862, many slave men had fled the plantations. Most of the slaves left on plantations were women and children. In other areas, whites fled. In many lowland areas, slaves began reorganizing their life. In others, rebellious slaves refused to do what their masters wanted. By 1864, Confederate president Jefferson Davis was convinced that the Confederacy could only survive if it agreed to gradual emancipation and used African-American troops. Other Confederate leaders rejected his plans. To deal with the problems of the freed slaves, Congress created in the last months of the war a Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known as the **Freedmen's Bureau**. This agency played a major role in the years after the war. By the time the war ended, slavery was shattered. The **Thirteenth, Fourteenth**, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution provided the legal basis for a new more egalitarian social order.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; RECONSTRUCTION.

CLARKSON, JOHN (1764–1828). The brother of the more famous abolitionist, **Thomas Clarkson**, John Clarkson was an officer in the British Royal Navy and the first governor of **Sierra Leone**. He entered the navy as an 11-year-old youth. Long service in the West Indies and discussions with his

brother confirmed in him a deep hostility to slavery. He was an early investor in the Sierra Leone Company, which proposed to create a colony in Africa for Africans who wanted to return to Africa. In 1791, he was asked to go to Nova Scotia to gather from the **Black Loyalists** there settlers interested in going back to Africa. In that enterprise, he linked up with a Loyalist leader, Thomas Peters. They were so successful that they could not find enough space for everyone interested in resettling. He did, however, leave for Sierra Leone with 15 ships and almost 1,200 settlers. In the process, he developed a respect for the Nova Scotia settlers. He was remembered as a fair-minded governor, but his defense of settler interests alienated some directors of the company. On his return to England, he was fired.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

CLARKSON, THOMAS (1760–1846). Clarkson was one of the key figures in the British campaign to abolish first the slave trade, then slavery. In 1779, he entered Cambridge University intending to become a clergyman. His career changed when he won an essay contest on whether it was right to enslave others against their will. An expanded version of this essay was published in 1786 as *An Essay on Slavery and the Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African*. This book was based on information he gathered by going to the docks at Liverpool and Bristol, England's major slave ports, and talking to men who worked in the trade. In doing so, he risked his life because pro-slavery groups were determined to stop him, but it won him the attention of other abolitionists, and when the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was organized a year later, he became a key figure. As an Anglican, he helped to broaden the movement from its **Quaker** base. He was indefatigable as both a researcher and organizer. He traveled widely, covering 35,000 miles between 1787 and 1794 organizing local committees, establishing links with abolitionists in other countries, and researching the slave trade. He interviewed more than 20,000 sailors who had served on slave ships and collected such equipment as shackles, thumbscrew, branding irons, and tools for forcing open the mouths of slaves. He described the campaign in the two-volume *History of the Abolition of the British Slave Trade* (1808).

After abolition, he worked with the **African Institution** to ensure that the law was enforced. In 1823, he became vice president of the Anti-Slavery Society. Though now over 60, he continued to write on the issue and played an active role in the struggle to abolish slavery itself.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; SHARP, GRANVILLE (1735–1813); WILBERFORCE, WILLIAM (1759–1833).

CLAVER, PEDRO (1580–1654). Pedro Claver was a Jesuit missionary who worked to ease the suffering of slaves. Born the son of peasants in northern Spain, he arrived in America in 1610 and became a priest in 1616. He was sent to Cartagena, then the only port in Spanish America allowed to import slaves. He first worked among Amerindians but early was assigned to give religious instruction to newly arrived slaves. When slave ships arrived, Claver would board them with water, oranges, lemons, brandy, and tobacco. He baptized the dying and started religious instruction for the others. To do so, he learned several Angolan languages. He also used interpreters chosen from among slaves owned by the Jesuits. Claver often toured the hinterland, observing conditions and staying in slave cabins. Though supported by some members of the elite, he attacked slave owners for opposing slave marriages and tried to protect slave morality. To that end, he opposed African drumming and dancing, which he regarded as idolatrous. He did not oppose slavery, and could on occasion whip slaves, but he struggled all his life to improve the treatment of slaves. In 1888, he was canonized by Pope Leo XIII.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH.

CLAY, CASSIUS MARCELLUS (1810–1903). Born the son of a Kentucky planter, Cassius Clay became one of the few abolitionists in a slave state. Educated at both Transylvania and Yale universities, he became an abolitionist after hearing a speech at Yale by **William Lloyd Garrison**, but unlike Garrison, he advocated gradual emancipation. The 17 slaves he inherited in 1828 were freed only in 1844. He served twice in the Kentucky legislature, but his anti-slavery views made a political career impossible. Personally courageous, he was a hero in the **Mexican-American War** and survived several assassination attempts. In one case, the knife he carried for self-defense blocked a bullet, and he then used the knife to fight off his attackers. For many years, he published a newspaper called *The True American*, which was the only anti-slavery newspaper in the South. In 1851, Clay ran unsuccessfully for governor of Kentucky on an anti-slavery platform. He supported **Abraham Lincoln** in 1860 and was briefly in command of a unit pressed into duty to defend Washington. He then became the U.S. ambassador to Russia, but he was briefly back in Washington in 1862 and was consulted by Lincoln on the wording of the **Emancipation Proclamation**. After the war, he broke with the Radical Republicans on policies toward former slaves.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; RECONSTRUCTION.

COARTACION. Under Spanish colonial law in Cuba, if a master refused to permit a slave to purchase his freedom, the slave could initiate a legal process called a *coartacion*. The slave and the master each appointed an assessor,

who estimated the value of the slave. If the two assessments were far apart, the court sometimes appointed a third assessor. Once the price was set, the master's rights were limited. The slave could work independently and make installment payments on his self-purchase. Once the slave had made the required payments, he or she received a notarized document of emancipation. The existence of this legal procedure facilitated manumission in **Hispanic America** and contributed to the large free-black population.

See also SIETE PARTIDAS.

CODE NOIR. The Code Noir or Black Code was promulgated in 1685 by the French naval minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert for use in all of France's slave colonies. It had a number of protections for the slave. It prohibited the separation of families, required minimum standards of food and clothing, guaranteed care of the elderly, and gave the slaves the right to a trial in criminal cases. It also, however, defined slaves as property. Slaves could be mortgaged and seized for debt. They could not own property and had no right to assemble or testify in court. The code also provided for harsh treatment for a whole range of crimes, particularly for running away, theft, or striking the master or any other free person. Masters could whip or chain slaves or have the authorities brand, mutilate, or execute them. Many of the protections were often ignored. The harsher provisions were used to intimidate the slaves. It differed from other slave codes primarily in its concern to guarantee the practice of the Catholic religion. Similar but often harsher legislation was passed in most of the other slave colonies.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; SLAVE CODES.

COFFIN, LEVI (1798–1877). Though born and raised in North Carolina, Levi Coffin was a **Quaker**, an abolitionist, and one of the organizers of the **Underground Railroad**. In 1821, Coffin and his cousin organized a school for African-Americans, but slaveholders forced them to close it. In 1826, he and his wife moved to Newport, Indiana, where he became a prosperous businessman. Learning that many fugitive slaves came through Newport, he let it be known that he could provide shelter, food, and transportation to other anti-slavery homes further north. He also helped organize a school for African-American children in the Newport area. In 1844, he visited former slaves he had assisted in Canada and organized assistance for newly arrived former slaves who needed help.

In 1847, he moved to Cincinnati to take charge of a depository for goods made by free labor. As part of the project to encourage the use of cotton goods made by free labor, he moved a cotton gin purchased by abolitionists to Mississippi and made contact with planters who used free labor. The result was a successful business producing cotton goods. With the passage of the

Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, he created in Cincinnati the same kind of network for runaway slaves he had in Indiana. During the Civil War, he worked among freed slaves, and after the war, he was involved in efforts to assist former slaves. In 1876, he published his autobiography, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, Reputed President of the Underground Railroad*.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

COLES, EDWARD (1786–1868). A member of an influential slave-owning family, Coles was convinced as a student at the College of William and Mary that slavery was immoral. He served briefly as the private secretary to President James Madison, who was married to his cousin. Virginia law required any freed slave to leave the state within a year of manumission. Coles knew that if he was to free the 20 slaves he had inherited, he had to find land and establish them elsewhere. He found land in southern Illinois and took his slaves there by wagon and boat. Only after they started down the Ohio River did he tell them that they were free to do what they wanted and could leave him if they wished. None of them did so. In Illinois, both Coles and his slaves faced harassment and lawsuits that questioned both the manumission of his slaves and their title to the lands he provided. Coles entered politics in order to defeat efforts to rescind Illinois's anti-slavery constitution. The move was defeated, and Coles became the state's second governor in 1823. The hostility slaves faced convinced him that freed slaves would be better off back in Africa, but none of those he freed chose to go. He remained active in the anti-slavery cause the rest of his life.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE. One of the most dramatic effects of European voyages of discovery was the exchange of people, plants, animals, and diseases between the New World and the Old. For example, maize, tomatoes, and cassava were introduced to Africa. Domesticated animals like horses, pigs, and cattle were introduced to the Americas. For the history of slavery, two elements of the Columbian exchange were particularly important. First, Europeans brought to the Americas new crops suitable for the tropics, which could be efficiently raised on plantations. **Sugar** was the most important, but **tobacco** and indigo were also grown with slave labor, and in the 19th century, **cotton** became important. These slave-grown crops all became profitable exports from the new economies of the Americas.

The second element was demography. The most disastrous effect of the exchange was the introduction of new diseases like smallpox, measles, whooping cough, bubonic plague, and malaria, to which local people had no resistance. The resultant loss of life was drastic. The population of central Mexico is estimated to have dropped in less than two centuries from about 25

million to less than a million. In Peru, the drop is estimated at about 9 million to about 600,000. Population losses meant that Europeans were unable to staff their plantations with local workers. Africans were linked geographically to Europe, and as a result, Africans had been exposed to most European diseases and vice versa. This meant that the mortality rate for Africans was lower than both the rate for Europeans and for Amerindians. Thus, European planters in the Americas looked to the African slave trade for the labor they needed if they were to farm fertile lands available to them.

See also DEMOGRAPHY OF SLAVERY.

COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER (c. 1451–1506). The arrival of Christopher Columbus in America in 1492 was the beginning of European exploitation of slave labor in the Americas. Columbus had earlier experience of slavery in Portugal, in Africa, and on the Atlantic islands. The enslavement of Amerindians speedily became part of his vision for the development of the lands he discovered. In 1493, on his second voyage, Columbus made the island of Hispaniola his base and started to conquer it. He distinguished between those who accepted Spanish rule and those who were subject to enslavement because they resisted it. Though Ferdinand and Isabella ordered a moratorium on enslavement of Amerindians, Columbus shipped to Spain 500 persons enslaved because they rebelled against Spanish authority and suggested an export of Amerindian slaves to Spain. No large-scale export of Amerindian slaves developed, partly because there was a shortage of labor on Hispaniola, and it rapidly got worse as European diseases and harsh labor obligations decimated the Amerindian populations. Columbus also introduced the first African slaves into the New World. He was eventually removed from his position in 1500, in part because he disobeyed royal instructions on enslavement. He made one more voyage in 1502.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; SAINT-DOMINGUE.

COMANCHES. One of the most war-like Amerindian nations, the Comanches dominated during the 18th and early 19th centuries an area that included large parts of what is now New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Colorado. They were the most important Amerindian slave raiders. Originally part of the Shoshones of Wyoming and Idaho, the Comanches adopted horses late in the 17th century and began moving south, probably in the quest for more horses, eventually operating in Texas, New Mexico, and even northern Mexico. The horses had been introduced to the prairies by the Spanish. By the time the Comanches adopted horses, there were herds of wild horses roaming the prairies, though at first not enough.

The Comanches rapidly became superb horsemen and expert raiders. They attacked other Amerindian communities, destroyed missions, stole horses, and enslaved women and children. The slaves provided labor in their camps, processing buffalo hides, herding, hunting, preparing food, and doing domestic labor. Many of the women became wives. Those males enslaved as children could prove themselves as warriors and become important figures. Most families had some slaves, but the most powerful chiefs had dozens of slaves, several wives, and large herds of horses. Prisoners could be ransomed. With success, the Comanches also traded during periods of peace, selling the Spanish, Mexicans, and, later, Americans slaves and buffalo robes. Many of those taken prisoner married and were successfully integrated into Comanche society. Such a person was **Cynthia Ann Parker**, who was taken prisoner at age nine in Texas and spent 24 years as a Comanche, becoming the wife of a Comanche chief. When “freed” by the Texas Rangers, she wanted to return to the Comanches.

By the late 1860s, American policy was to force the Comanches onto reservations. Decimated by American diseases, the Comanches were unable to resist. The last band submitted in 1875.

See also COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE; SOUTHWEST BORDERLANDS.

COMFORT WOMEN. The comfort women were sexual slaves who worked for the Japanese army during World War II. About 80 percent were Korean and 10 percent were Japanese. Others included Chinese, Dutch, Indonesians, Burmese, Russians, Eurasians, and Filipinos. Korea was at this time a colony of Japan. The Dutch women came from prisoner-of-war camps in Indonesia. The Japanese women were mostly prostitutes. The others were recruited by force or by fraud and were beaten if they did not cooperate. Most were between 14 and 18 years old when enslaved. The Japanese army was concerned to control the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. They also believed that men who were sexually satisfied would be better fighters. So-called comfort stations were set up wherever there were sizable numbers of Japanese troops. Those in brothels for common soldiers were expected to service 30 to 40 men a night, with heavier demands when troops were in transit. They received a small sum for each sexual act but were often cheated out of their money. After the war, many of the victims remained quiet because of the shame, but from the late 1980s, survivors began to speak up. Some even sued the Japanese government.

See also SEXUAL SLAVERY.

COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION. In almost every society that debated emancipation, a major conflict was between the slave’s human rights and the master’s property rights. Few societies have been willing to ignore the wealth

invested in slaves. This issue has often slowed up emancipation. The debate was often over when and how to compensate the slave owner. The reluctance of some societies to appropriate the necessary funds was often a reason for postponing emancipation or using **free womb laws**, a gradual method that involved freeing children at birth. Sometimes costs could be stretched out by issuing bonds redeemable at a later date.

Massachusetts freed its slaves in 1780 by adopting an anti-slavery constitution, but in other states of the Northern United States, compensation was provided for slave owners. Many states like New York and New Jersey opted for gradual programs, and some asked the freed slaves to pay some of the costs of their own emancipation. British emancipation in 1833 involved a program under which the British government set compensation levels in the West Indies, South Africa, and other British colonies. This policy was also adopted by France and Denmark in 1848 and the Netherlands in 1863. Most Latin American states compensated owners when they freed their slaves during the 1850s and 1860s, but Cuba and Brazil opted for gradual emancipation.

In the United States, **Abraham Lincoln** proposed a program of compensated emancipation in the hope of conciliating the South during the early years of the Civil War, but the South had already opted for war. By fighting to protect slavery, Southern slave owners ended up losing any possibility of compensation. The **Emancipation Proclamation** freed all slaves in areas under rebellion without compensation, and the **Thirteenth Amendment** extended emancipation elsewhere. Later in their African and Asian colonial domains, European powers were not willing to pay the money necessary for compensation. The pressures of humanitarian public opinion at home meant that most of them felt obliged to act in some way against slavery. The usual solution to the problem was the “Indian formula,” in which the state simply withdrew its support for slavery. Without the coercive power of the state and its courts behind them, masters had difficulty maintaining control over their slaves. No compensation was paid, and large amounts of wealth were simply wiped out.

See also EMANCIPATION ACT (1833); EMANCIPATION, AFRICA; EMANCIPATION, INDIA; EMANCIPATION, UNITED STATES; HISPANIC AMERICA.

COMPROMISE OF 1850. Until 1848, the United States maintained a balance between slave states and free states. This was essential because Southerners believed that the Senate, where representation was by state, was the only protection it had against anti-slavery legislation. In 1848, the end of the **Mexican-American War** added a huge area to the United States. A year later, California applied to enter the Union as a free state, threatening the balance. A compromise suggested by Henry Clay involved five components:

admission of California as a free state, the right of New Mexico and Utah to choose their own status, settlement of a boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico, and a **Fugitive Slave Law**. The passage of the compromise did not lessen tension between the sections. The Fugitive Slave Law offended Northerners who found themselves required to protect slavery by returning runaways to the South, and the unresolved problem of new western states led to the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** and a prelude to the **Civil War** in **Bleeding Kansas**.

CONCUBINES AND CONCUBINAGE. In almost all slave-using societies, the highest prices are paid for beautiful young women. Some became high-priced prostitutes or companions, but most became concubines. In much of Asia, rulers and powerful figures maintained many concubines in **harems**. Elsewhere, men with enough money to purchase a concubine often maintained one instead of or in addition to a wife. In one form or another, concubinage existed in most parts of the world and always involved a relationship of a wealthy man with a socially inferior woman. In the Middle East, concubinage can be traced as far back as the Assyrian Empire. Under **Islam**, men were limited to four wives but could own an indefinite number of slave concubines as long as they had the ability to support them. Sultans and emirs usually had large harems.

If a Muslim concubine bore her master's child, she was treated virtually as a wife, could no longer be sold, and was freed when the master died. Furthermore, her offspring had equal right of inheritance with the children of wives. In many Asian and African kingdoms, it was not unusual for the son of a concubine to inherit. In Muslim areas and in China, a concubine could achieve great power if she were the royal favorite or if her son inherited power. In China, many concubines were essentially servants, but a few became powerful empresses. By contrast, in Rome, where monogamy was the legal norm, rich men often kept a concubine in addition to a wife, but many men lived monogamously with a concubine. In contrast to Islam, some Roman men preferred a concubine because her offspring did not inherit and therefore did not infringe on the rights of their legitimate children. In China and the Muslim world, only the father's status determined legitimacy.

Not all concubines were slaves, but most were. In most societies, the attraction of a concubine was that she was totally dependent. She had no family and could be sold, dismissed from the patriarchal bed, or punished. That meant, of course, that her tenure depended on her ability to satisfy. She was insecure. On the American slave plantation, masters sometimes engaged in promiscuous relations with their female slaves. This was even true of many married men. Others, including some married men, maintained a long-term relationship with a single slave woman. These relationships could be tender and caring. Often in such cases the man arranged for the liberation of

the concubine and the offspring he had with her. This was more common in the Caribbean where many men did not have wives with them. Young men were hired by absentee owners to work as managers and overseers. They often kept slave concubines and sometimes maintained these relations over long periods of time. In urban Latin America, the Catholic Church fought against concubinage, but the institution was widespread.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; CHINESE SLAVERY; SEXUAL EXPLOITATION.

CONDORCET, MARIE-JEAN-ANTOINE-NICOLAS CARITAT, MARQUIS DE (1741–1794). Condorcet was a mathematician, a political theorist, and a leading figure in the French Enlightenment. Secretary to the French Royal Academy of Science, Condorcet was a firm believer in the rights of all human beings to freedom. He defended women, slaves, Jews, and other oppressed groups. In 1781, he wrote *Reflexions sur l'esclavage des nègres*, a pamphlet that attacked slavery and advocated an immediate end to the slave trade and a gradual emancipation of all slaves. He argued that slavery was morally wrong and economically unproductive. He believed, like Adam Smith, that free labor was more productive than slave labor. He became a good friend of **Benjamin Franklin** when Franklin represented the American colonists in Paris, and he may have influenced Franklin's views. In 1788, Condorcet was one of the founders of the **Society of the Friends of Blacks** (Société des Amis des Noirs). During the French Revolution, he pushed his views with passion, but he was also an opponent of Robespierre's Reign of Terror. He was in hiding when slavery was abolished by the National Assembly in 1794. He was arrested a month later and died in prison.

See also ABOLITION, FRANCE; ENLIGHTENMENT; FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. After the election of **Abraham Lincoln** in 1860, seven slaveholding states voted to secede from the United States, fearing that Lincoln's election meant an end to the expansion of slavery and thus eventually an end to slavery. In March 1861, they met and voted to form the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis was elected president. Though Davis did not want war, he moved immediately to take control of forts and military installations on Southern soil. When Lincoln tried to supply Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, Confederate guns fired on the Union ships, and the war was on. Four more slaveholding states joined the Confederacy, but the border states of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri remained with the Union.

The constitution of the Confederacy was based on the American **Constitution**, but it affirmed the rights of the states and the institution of slavery. It prohibited any measure restricting the property rights of the master or the master's right to take his slaves anywhere in the Confederacy. The leaders proclaimed their belief in black racial inferiority. Slavery was the cement of the confederacy even though only a quarter of white Southerners actually owned slaves. In spite of this, the Confederacy eventually found itself dependent on its slaves. The Confederacy did well in the early stages of the war, largely because its military leadership was more experienced, but the Union was wealthier and more populous. Confederate slaves built fortifications, worked in industry, and were nurses in military hospitals. Some free blacks were armed, but many more slaves fled across Union lines. About half the African-American soldiers in the Union army were former Confederate slaves. In the summer of 1863, the Confederate invasion of the North failed at Gettysburg, and Union armies seized Vicksburg, Mississippi. In desperation, as Union armies moved through the South, Jefferson Davis asked the Confederate Congress to approve the arming of black troops, who would be offered their freedom in exchange for military service. The Confederate Congress rejected the proposal. On 9 April 1865, Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union general Ulysses Grant at Appomattox, Virginia.

See also CIVIL WAR, U.S.

CONFRATERNITIES. Confraternities were communal organizations of laymen within the Catholic Church. They were important in medieval Europe. When large numbers of African slaves began arriving in Spain and Portugal in the 15th century, confraternities integrated them into Catholic religious life. In Africa and Latin America, missionaries organized confraternities in their effort to evangelize local populations. There were separate confraternities for whites and blacks, for men and women, and sometimes for people from different regions of Africa. For slaves, they provided mutual aid, a role in religious festivals, and a dignified funeral. They were particularly important in Brazil, where the African population was very large. The confraternities were often devoted to black saints and helped preserve African religious customs and even African religious beliefs. They were probably most important in providing a religious life and meaningful social bonds for slaves. They played an important role in breaking slaves' isolation and in helping to integrate them into Portuguese culture. They also helped slaves to maintain African traditions within a Catholic context. They tended to be most important in the cities.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH; SLAVE RELIGION.

CONFUCIANISM. Confucianism was more an ideology of social relations than a religion. It was not concerned with God or with understanding the spiritual world. Central to Confucianism was a concern with hierarchical relationships such as ruler and subject, father and son, and master and slave. In the abstract, the position of the slave under Chinese law was quite limited. Punishments for crimes by slaves were harsher than those committed by free persons. Masters could beat slaves, who were considered lifelong children, and they could take female slaves as sexual partners. A slave could not wear fine clothes and could be punished for making accusations against his master. The great power that the master held over the slave was checked only by humane values of Confucianism, which stressed the moral obligations that superior and inferior had toward each other. The slave owed the master obedience. The master owed the slave kindness and consideration. The superior was obligated not only to the slave but to the ethical standards of Confucianism. Slaves were property, but they were also human beings. During the last years of the Chinese Empire, Chinese reformers favorable to abolition based their critique of slavery on Confucian ethical ideas.

See also CHINESE SLAVERY.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. In the debates at the convention that produced the U.S. Constitution in 1787, slavery was a major issue. Though the abolition movement was only in its early stages and cotton was not yet king, the use of slaves was already a major divide between North and South. The issue was not yet clear cut. Slavery was declining in the Northern states. Some Southerners also had reservations about the morality of slavery. The Constitutional Convention met before the introduction of the **cotton** gin increased the demand for slave labor and at a time when some Virginians were worried about their large slave surplus. Slaves were, however, a major source of labor in the South, but they were less important in the North.

The question of slavery came up in a number of contexts. The first was the debate over representation. When the decision was made that Congress be chosen by population, the question was whether slaves would count in calculating how many representatives a state got. The compromise was that three-fifths of the slave population would count. This increased Southern representation, but not as much as the South wanted. The second question was over the continuation of the slave trade. Many delegates, including several Southerners, wanted to end it. The compromise protected it until 1808. Congress would then have the authority to ban the slave trade. This gave Southerners 20 years to accumulate slaves. The third question was the formula for amending the Constitution. It was decided that an amendment could only be approved when it had the accord of three-quarters of the states. This essentially made amendment difficult and gave the South a veto. Fourth, the convention

decided against direct election of the president. Instead, he was to be chosen by an electoral college, whose numbers were based on a state's representation in the Senate and House of Representatives. Since the Senate involved representation by state, this increased the electoral importance of the less populous Southern states. In the long run, the equal division of the Senate between pro- and anti-slavery states gave the South a veto over legislation. Finally, the Constitution denied the federal government the authority to interfere with slavery where it existed.

The constitutional protection of the slave system extended to many other institutions. Many clauses of the Constitution were litigated over the years. The Supreme Court tended to be a conservative body with strong Southern representation. When questions involving slavery were taken to it, the Court generally insisted that slaves were property. The most important decision was the **Dred Scott** case (1857), in which the Court insisted that a slave owner had the right to take his slaves with him into federal territories. The Constitution limited President **Abraham Lincoln** during the American **Civil War**. He was able to act against slavery in those states that had rebelled against the Union, but he had no right to do so in the border states, which remained in the Union. The question of slavery was thus not definitively decided until the passage of three amendments to the Constitution after the Civil War. The **Thirteenth Amendment** abolished slavery. The **Fourteenth Amendment** made African-Americans citizens. The Fifteenth Amendment banned racial discrimination in voting rights.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY. Since 1970, slavery has no longer been legal anywhere in the world. In spite of this, millions of people are controlled by others, forced to do work they do not wish to do, and do not have the freedom to leave these onerous situations. **Free the Slaves** estimates that approximately 27 million people are held in conditions approximating slavery. The number could be higher. It depends on how we assess the status of different kinds of people whose freedom is restrained.

Over a third of these people are children. In some cases, they were kidnapped, but usually they were provided by parents who live in oppressive poverty. Sometimes those parents think that their children are taking jobs that will give them opportunities for education or training. In most cases, the parents involved probably have little knowledge of the fate they are consigning their children to. Often they think that their children could send money home, and some do. In yet other cases, the children involved are runaways or migrants seeking work who are trapped into relationships they do not choose by pimps who exploit their vulnerability. Many of these children, mostly girls but some boys, work in the sex industry as prostitutes, catering to the tastes of men who like their partners young. Others work in industries like

rug making where they are valued because their small fingers are more dexterous than those of adults. Yet others inherit their status. For example, the children of bonded laborers in India often are forced to work, and when their fathers die, they inherit the father's debt. Escape is difficult, in part because the child laborers are uneducated, but groups like the **Bonded Labour Liberation Front** and Free the Slaves have tried to provide opportunities for those who do break away.

Adults also find themselves in servile relationships. Chattel slavery still exists in Mauritania, though slavery is illegal there. It was abolished in 1981 but criminalized only in 2007. Slavery also continues to exist in other Saharan countries, and there are areas where the stigma of slave origins limits the options of descendants of slaves. Groups like Timidria in Niger, Temedt in Mali, and SOS Esclaves in Mauritania fight for the rights of slaves and people of slave descent. Slavery returned during the 1990s in the Sudan as the result of a civil war, in which militias raided rebellious areas and took prisoners who were either sold or given to members of the militia.

Probably the largest group of contemporary slaves are women who are forced to work in the sex industry. Many are young women who think that they are accepting jobs in wealthy countries, but find themselves forced to work in the sex industry as prostitutes, masseurs, or porn actresses. Many prostitutes choose their profession, but there are criminal networks that recruit women from poor countries in eastern Europe, Africa, and Latin America, who once away from the protection of their homes find themselves being sold into brothels where they are kept confined and forced to work as prostitutes for low salaries. In Europe, the Balkans, Ukraine, and Moldova are a source of such women. In Asia, women are moved from Nepal to India and from northern Thailand and bordering countries into the prosperous south.

There are also peasants locked by debt into conditions of bondage in India and Nepal. There are workers in the Brazilian Amazon and the Dominican Republic who are forced to work in abusive conditions. Often these are people eager for work who find that they can be kept enslaved in isolated areas. There are workers on American farms who are virtual slaves. In order to meet the demand for these modern slaves, **human trafficking** networks have developed, which move people from country to country, from region to region, and from continent to continent. Many of the people being moved are willing migrants, who have paid to be moved. Many others are unwilling victims of contemporary slavery. Even the willing migrants can find upon arrival that they have "debts." These networks operate in the major cities of Europe and North America. There are underground markets in many cities where women or children are traded and which manage to evade police surveillance.

Most of these people, in particular the sex workers and the child laborers, will be discarded when they no longer serve anyone's interest. Others, like the bonded laborers and Brazilian workers in the Amazon, are legally free but lack the ability to make that freedom effective. Since 1975, the **United Nations** Working Group of experts on Contemporary Forms of Slavery has met every year to take evidence on different forms of slavery-like institutions. A range of non-governmental organizations, of which the largest are Free the Slaves and **Anti-Slavery International**, work to end modern forms of slavery.

See also BALES, KEVIN (1952–); BONDED LABOR; CHILD LABOR; INDIAN SLAVERY; SEXUAL SLAVERY.

CONTUBERNIUM. Under Roman law, a *contubernium* was a form of marriage between slaves in which the two partners had none of the rights of marriage. Everything they had was owned by their masters, and any commitment each had to the other could be overruled by the master.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY.

CONVICT LABOR. Convicts have often been used as a source of labor. Those convicted of crimes have usually been sentenced to “hard labor,” which can be productive activity or make-work like splitting rocks. Galleys have since the Middle Ages been rowed by slaves, convicts, and the free poor. From the 16th century, many of those rowing in those ships were sentenced to galleys as a penalty for a crime. With the development of colonies in underpopulated and distant parts of the world, transportation became a substitute for prison. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Irish and Scottish rebels were often shipped off to the New World, where they were generally treated as **indentured laborers**. In 1718, Great Britain decided to banish ordinary criminals to labor in the colonies. It was a way of saving on the cost of prisons at home, making money from the fees, and meeting the demand for labor in the colonies. Most were sentenced to seven years, though some received 14-year or life sentences. The state also received money from shippers who took the convicts. They were then auctioned off in the colonies. Transportation to North America ended with independence, but from 1788 it was used to provide settlers to Australia. Between 1718 and 1775, about 50,000 convicts were shipped to the North American colonies, about a quarter of all British arrivals in North America.

With the end of slavery in the United States, slave masters sought ways to reestablish control over labor. The **Thirteenth Amendment** to the U.S. Constitution banned slavery “except as a punishment for a crime.” **Black Codes** immediately tried to use that clause. They regulated what freed slaves could do and imprisoned them for minor violations. Even after the Black Codes

were nullified by the **Civil Rights Act of 1866**, Southern states used minor infractions such as vagrancy, loitering, or speaking loudly to imprison African-Americans and then rent them to plantations, mines, and railroad companies. These contractors often maintained private prisons near their work sites. Prison labor was also used on public works. The Southern states were known for their chain gangs of convicts working while chained together. The system did not completely end until the 1950s, and there was a brief attempt to restore it in the 1990s. Prison labor was also used elsewhere, but mostly within the prisons. Prisons often maintain farms or make things like mailbags, license plates, or furniture.

Many other countries have used prison labor. Convicts, often charged with political crimes, were sent off to labor camps in both tsarist and communist Russia. The Dutch, Germans, and French used convict labor. Participants in the Paris Commune of 1870 were shipped off to New Caledonia. Under Nazi rule, Germany maintained slave labor camps. The system that most resembled the American South after slavery was South Africa under apartheid. Africans had to carry passes which tightly controlled where they could go. In some years, over a million people were sentenced to jail for pass-law violations and were rented out to private entrepreneurs, often large farmers, who maintained private prisons on their properties.

See also GALLEY SLAVES; GULAG; NAZI SLAVE LABOR CAMPS; RECONSTRUCTION.

CORO REVOLT, VENEZUELA. The coastal lowlands of Venezuela from about 1530 regularly experienced large importations of slaves to work in mines and on plantations. With a large, poorly populated hinterland, the area also experienced regular flight and many slave revolts. The first slave revolt was led by a slave known as King Miguel in the 1550s. The best-known revolt took place at Coro, a small Venezuelan port in a predominantly black province. The two leaders were **José Leonardo Chirino**, who worked for a Coro merchant, and José Caridad Gonzalez, a free black who was believed to have magical powers. The stimulus was a visit by Chirino to Saint-Domingue, then in the first flush of the **Haitian Revolution**. In May 1795, Chirino proclaimed a French republic and set off with a small band, killing about a dozen planters and burning their haciendas. They quickly gathered a force of slaves, Indians, and free blacks and besieged a number of whites in a church. The second day of the siege, the local militia arrived and quickly dispersed Chirino's force. Within a month, 171 persons were executed and over 50 imprisoned.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; SLAVE REVOLTS.

COTTON. Until the end of the 18th century, most slaves in the Americas worked in **sugar** production. Brazil and the West Indies had populations that were largely slave, on some West Indian islands as much as 90 percent slave. In the United States, only in South Carolina was there a slave majority. Slaves in the United States were used to cultivate diverse products, **tobacco** more than anything else. More than two-fifths of the slaves in the United States in 1790 lived in Virginia. The biggest problem with cotton was the expense of removing the seeds from cotton by hand. Then in 1793, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, which could clean 50 pounds of cotton a day. This was at a time when Britain was hungry for cotton for its rapidly expanding textile industry. Cotton exports went from 200,000 pounds a year before Whitney's invention to over 18 million in 1800. Cotton continued to grow and rapidly spread across Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and then after annexation, to Texas. These lands could be exploited only if labor could be found. It was found on the declining tobacco fields of the Chesapeake region.

The United States is one of the few places in the world where slave populations have grown by natural reproduction. Demographic growth was particularly rapid in the old slave states of Maryland and Virginia. Living conditions for slaves there were healthier than in rice- and sugar-growing areas. With the end of slave imports in 1808, slave prices rose sharply and there was a massive movement of slaves from Virginia and Maryland to the new cotton areas, sometimes taken by owners who wanted to be part of the cotton boom, often sold off by tobacco plantations that were no longer productive. In 1800, about 1 in 10 U.S. slaves worked on a cotton plantation. By 1860, that number had risen to two in three. Cotton, like sugar, was well suited to slave labor. The slaves could be used most of the year, and gang labor, if well organized, was very productive.

The major result of the cotton revolution was the polarization of the United States. The rising price of slaves meant that most Southern planters had their capital tied up in their slaves. At a time when slavery was gradually being eliminated in the North, the South was becoming more dependent on it. Before the cotton gin, many Southerners were worried about the South's large slave populations, and some, like Jefferson and Washington, had reservations about slavery. After the cotton gin, the South's wealth was being produced by slaves. Southerners knew that their wealth came from cotton and was dependent on slave labor. They were determined to resist any action that might deprive them of that labor.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); DEMOGRAPHY OF SLAVERY; PLANTATION.

CRAFT, WILLIAM (1824–1900) AND ELLEN (c. 1826–1891). The Crafts were slaves in Macon, Georgia, who became well known because of the way they escaped the South. William was a cabinetmaker who was able to earn enough money to pay their travel expenses. Ellen was the light-skinned daughter of a white man. She dressed with glasses and a muffler to cover her face and pretended to be an elderly master, while William claimed to be her servant. After a number of adventures, they made it to Philadelphia and then to Boston, accompanied on the last part of the trip by **William Wells Brown**, another former slave. In Boston, they married again and became active in the abolition movement. After passage of the **Fugitive Slave Law** in 1850, agents for their masters appeared with warrants for their arrest, but they fled to England, where they were active in the abolition movement. After the **Civil War**, they returned to Georgia and founded an industrial school. Their first school was burned by the Ku Klux Klan. They told the story of their adventures in *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom* (1860).

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

CRANDALL, PRUDENCE (1803–1890). Prudence Crandall was an abolitionist educator who fought against racism in Connecticut. Born to a **Quaker** family in Rhode Island, she took a position as the principal of a girl's boarding school in Canterbury, Connecticut, in 1831. When a local black woman asked if she could attend the school, Crandall agreed. When white parents objected and withdrew their daughters, Crandall sought the assistance of **William Lloyd Garrison**. In 1833, with a racially integrated list of sponsors, she reopened her school for black women, many of whom came from urban centers in the North. Crandall's goal was to train these women to be teachers, but during the year and a half that the school was open, it was persecuted. The state legislature passed a law which made it illegal to teach black people from outside the state. Crandall went through three trials before being convicted and then released on a technicality. Many local people refused to do business with the school, white youths threatened students who dared to walk the Canterbury streets, and finally townspeople attacked the school and made it unusable. Crandall later endured an abusive marriage and gradually moved west, first to New York, then to Illinois and Kansas. In 1886, Samuel Clemens and descendants of some of the people who persecuted her persuaded the Connecticut legislature to give her a pension to compensate for the wrongs they did.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

CREOLE. *Creole* is a word that has many meanings. In linguistics, it refers to languages that are a mixture of two other languages. In many slave societies, Creole languages developed as a marriage between European and African languages. In France the term *Creole* is used for white people born in the West Indies. In **Sierra Leone**, the Creoles are the English-speaking descendants of the early settlers and the **recaptives**. In slave societies, the term *Creole* often refers to persons born in slavery who have been integrated into the language and culture of that society. They were contrasted to the *bozal*, who were newly arrived, raw, and not yet assimilated to the new culture.

CREOLE INCIDENT (1841). The *Creole* was a boat engaged in the interstate slave trade. In 1841, it was carrying 135 slaves from Virginia to Louisiana when 19 slaves mutinied, seized the boat, and took it to Nassau in the Bahamas. The Bahamas were a British colony where slavery was illegal. The attorney general of the Bahamas freed both the mutineers and the rest of the slave cargo. Though there was no extradition treaty between the two countries, President John Tyler asked for the return of the slaves. The British refused, but the disagreement led to a decision to negotiate a series of major differences. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 settled some of these differences. It protected U.S. ships stopping in British ports and included an extradition treaty. Because of abolitionist pressure, the British did not accept mutiny as grounds for extradition. In 1853, a claims commission provided compensation to Southern slave owners whose slaves were on the *Creole*.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

CROWTHER, SAMUEL AJAYI (c. 1806–1891). Born a **Yoruba** in western Nigeria, Samuel Crowther was taken prisoner in 1821 in the wars that troubled the Yoruba during the early 19th century and sold to Brazilian slavers. When the ship was stopped by the British navy's anti-slave trade patrol, the ship and the slaves were taken to Freetown, Sierra Leone. He was educated by the **Church Missionary Society (CMS)** and baptized in 1825. Two years later, he became the first student at newly founded Fourah Bay College and in 1843 was ordained an Anglican minister. Starting with the Niger expedition of 1841, he served as an interpreter on a number of expeditions up the Niger River. He was also the principal translator of the Bible into Yoruba. He was appointed head of the Niger Mission in 1857 and opened mission stations at a number of points in the Niger Delta and along the Niger River. The Niger Mission was staffed exclusively by Africans, most of them, like Crowther, former slaves educated in CMS schools. From 1850, Crowther was the recognized leader of a growing Christian educated elite in Britain's African colonies. He faced the hostility of some white missionaries and imperialist interests. The Yoruba missions were never placed under his au-

thority. In 1864, he became an Anglican bishop. In keeping with the CMS program, he worked for evangelization, for economic development, and for the suppression of slavery and the slave trade. In 1890, he was forced to resign by a group of young European missionaries. Today, Crowther is regarded as the most important African Christian leader of his time.

See also AFRICA SQUADRON; RECAPTIVES; SIERRA LEONE.

CRUMMELL, ALEXANDER (1819–1898). Alexander Crummell was the leading African-American exponent of repatriation to Africa. The son of a Sierra Leonean, he was born in New York and studied at Cambridge University. Like **Martin Delany**, he confronted racism and despaired of African-Americans ever winning equality in the United States. In 1853 he emigrated to **Liberia** where he worked as a minister, taught school, was a professor at Liberia College, and farmed. He wrote numerous articles in *African Repository*, the journal of the **American Colonization Society**, and in 1862 published *The Future of Africa*. In Liberia, he fought with white missionaries about the organization of a black diocese, and he fought for the indigenous Africans in their conflicts with the elite of Americo-Liberian settlers. In 1872, he was forced to return to the United States.

See also SIERRA LEONE.

CUBAN SLAVERY. Cuba was first settled by the Spanish in 1511. By mid-century, African slaves were being used to mine gold. Cuba soon became the major base for the Spanish in the Caribbean. **Sugar** plantations were not as important as on the British and French islands until the late 18th century. Slaves worked in farming, ranching, petty trade, and domestic service. Then, from the 1760s, growth was rapid. When the **Haitian Revolution** shattered Saint-Domingue's sugar and coffee economy in the 1790s and Britain abolished the slave trade in 1807, the Spanish expanded sugar, **tobacco**, and coffee production even more rapidly, until by 1840 it was the world's largest sugar producer. Coffee production was stimulated by the arrival of refugee planters from Saint-Domingue. Between 1774 and 1841, the slave population grew from a little over 40,000 to over 400,000. Slave imports continued until almost 1870.

Cuba differed from other sugar-producing islands in that it always had more whites than blacks. This was partly because the island had a long history before it focused on sugar and partly because it had a more diversified economy. It also had a large population of free blacks, up to 40 percent of the Afro-Cuban population in the 1860s, many of them skilled workers in the cities. Spanish law encouraged manumission. Of particular importance was **coartacion**, a procedure by which a third party fixed the price of emancipation and the slave paid in installments.

In spite of this, conditions on the sugar plantations got worse as sugar grew in importance. At their peak, they were as harsh as elsewhere: gang labor, 14- to 16-hour days during the five-month harvest season, harsh punishment, and poor nutrition. There is a Cuban saying that “sugar is made with blood.” During the 19th century, the mechanization of mills and the introduction of light-rail systems to move the cane to the mills made Cuban plantations more efficient, but this increased rather than reducing the pressure on workers. The system was very productive. Three years of a slave’s labor could pay for his or her purchase price. In the cities, the **Catholic Church** supported **confraternities** called *cabildos*, which were often rooted in African ethnic or regional consciousness and combined free and slave blacks. *Cabildos* raised money for manumissions, organized recreational activities, and dealt with white institutions.

Cuba had a long history of slave resistance marked by revolt and by flight. There were at any time a number of small **Maroon** communities in the mountains, some with more than 100 members. There were professional slave hunters who went searching for Maroons, but they were often frustrated by fortifications called *palenques*. Between 1825 and 1845, there were a series of slave revolts, many of them involving primarily Yoruba slaves from Nigeria. Plantations were burned and repression was brutal. This led to the import of Chinese workers. Between 1847 and 1874, 124,813 were imported, only 80 of them female.

Eventually, slave resistance merged with the struggle for freedom from Spain during the Ten Years’ War (1868–1878). Rebel leader Carlos Manuel de Céspedes began his call to arms by freeing his own slaves. Many of the leaders supported gradual emancipation, but before long former slaves and free blacks formed a majority of the liberation army. Faced with both domestic opposition and foreign sympathy with the rebels, Spain responded with the **Moret Law** of 1870, which freed all slaves born after 1868 and all over 60 years old. In 1880, another law set up a system under which slaves were called *patrocinados* and worked for payments to be used for self-purchase. If this law worked as projected, all of the slaves would have been freed by 1888, but slaves increasingly took matters into their own hands. An 1886 law recognized this by freeing all of the *patrocinados*.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; MACEO, ANTONIO (1845–1896).

CÚCUTA, CONGRESS OF (1821). The Congress of Cúcuta followed an earlier congress at **Angostura** (1819). It produced a constitution for the Republic of Gran Colombia, which included what are now Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Slavery was a major subject of debate. The congress confirmed the abolition of the slave trade and the freedom of those slaves emancipated during the liberation struggle. Many, however, remained in slavery in mining areas and on plantations in coastal Colombia and Venezue-

la. Their owners fought against a general emancipation. The resultant compromise was a **free womb law**, which freed all children born subsequently, but only after reaching the age of 18 and subject to a review of the slave's personal conduct. Very few slaves were freed under this law. The president of Gran Colombia, **Simón Bolívar**, tried to strengthen it but failed, and when Gran Colombia collapsed in 1830, the emancipation of the slaves was largely deferred for more than a generation.

See also EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

CUGOANO, OTTOBAH (c. 1757–after 1791). Though Ottobah Cuguano was the author of one of the first books about slavery written by a former slave, very little is known about him. He was born about 1757 in southern Ghana and was shipped to Grenada, where he worked on a plantation for a year. Then his master took him to England as a servant in 1772. It is not known how he was freed, but that very year, Lord Mansfield held in the **Somerset** case that one could not be a slave in England. In 1773, he was baptized. During the following years, he wrote letters on the slavery issue and seems to have been involved with abolitionist groups. In 1786 he informed **Granville Sharp** that another former slave, Henry Demane, had been kidnapped and was being returned to the West Indies. Sharp got a writ of habeas corpus and rescued Demane as the ship was about to leave. In 1787, he published *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Trade of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*, which tried to refute arguments for slavery and argued for the slave's duty to resist. In 1791, he published an abridged version, in which he said he intended to open a school. Nothing is known of him after that date.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

CUJO (c. 1680–1744). Cujo was a common name among the Akan of southern Ghana. Many Cujos found their way to the Americas in the slave trade, but the most famous was the leader of a **Maroon** state in the interior of Jamaica that successfully fought off the British. Cujo's father, Naquan, was enslaved in the 1640s and shipped to Jamaica. Soon after his arrival in Spanish Jamaica, he led a group of rebel slaves into the mountainous interior. When Jamaica was conquered by the British in 1655, many slaves took advantage of the disorder to join the Maroons in the interior. When Naquan died, Cujo succeeded him. He organized his community into five towns, all set in rugged mountainous terrain. The Maroons often raided plantations and freed runaway slaves. When the British invaded during the First Maroon War in 1730, command of the Maroons was divided between Cujo in the west and his sister, Nanny, in the east. The Maroons proved adept at guerrilla warfare, using camouflage, ambushes, and a communication system that involved

drums and horns. After a series of defeats, the British asked for negotiations. Eventually a treaty was agreed upon in 1739 that confirmed the independence of the Maroons in exchange for a promise to return runaway slaves. Cujó died five years later. He was succeeded by his brother, Accompong. The Jamaican Maroons remained free.

CURUCAO SLAVE REVOLT (1795). Curucao was primarily a base for Dutch trade in the West Indies. The revolt began in the small plantation sector and was stimulated by the successful revolt on **Saint-Domingue** and the defeat of the Dutch by the French in Europe. It began when slaves on two plantations refused to continue working. It spread quickly as free blacks and runaways joined in. The slaves had a series of grievances such as Sunday work and punishments given to all of the slaves for the deed of one. They were armed and seem to have carefully prepared their action. Troops were called in and suppressed the revolt within a month. Most of the slaves were returned to their plantations, but leaders were hanged after being tortured on the rack. Free persons involved in the revolt were expelled from the island. It led, however, to a new body of regulations, which clarified the rights and obligations of slaves. It guaranteed Sunday as a day of rest and required adequate food and clothing. It also limited punishment to those accused of actual wrongdoing.

See also DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; SLAVE REVOLTS.

D

DAHOMY. Dahomey was an African kingdom in what is now the Republic of Benin that was one of the most efficient producers of slaves. It first developed somewhat inland from the coast early in the 17th century. In the second half of the 17th century, it developed a very effective army and gradually extended its control. Under Agaja (1708–1740), it achieved its opening to the sea with the conquest of the coastal states of Allada (1724) and **Whydah** (1727). For much of the rest of the 18th century, Whydah was the most important slaving port in West Africa, exports rising often to 20,000 a year. In the early years, most of the slaves came from an annual campaign waged by Dahomey's army, but with time, Abomey developed as a slave market and slaves were brought there by traders from further north. In Whydah, a representative of the king, the *yevogan*, maintained a very tight control over the trade. European merchants were restricted to the coast and traded with licensed merchants who brought the slaves from Abomey. In spite of its success, Dahomey was a tributary of its larger and more powerful neighbor, the **Yoruba** kingdom of **Oyo**. In the early years of the 19th century, that relationship was reversed when Oyo collapsed during the Yoruba civil wars and Dahomey preyed on Yoruba areas.

Dahomey also became a large user of slave labor. Both the king and the powerful merchants had plantations worked by slave labor. Many slaves were also concubines and servants, and some were sacrificed in annual festivals. In the 19th century, Dahomey continued to export slaves, but as the British navy gradually limited Dahomean exports, slaves were gradually shifted into producing palm oil on these plantations. In 1892, Dahomey was conquered by the French.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

DANISH WEST INDIES. In the 17th century, **Barbados** was so profitable that other countries rushed to get into West Indian sugar production. One of these was Denmark, which colonized three small islands: St. Thomas in 1672, St. John in 1718, and St. Croix, purchased from the French in 1734. Denmark had the same problems as other slave-using societies. Though the

islands were small, there was a constant problem of flight. There were also a number of revolts. The most successful revolt took place on St. John Island in 1733 and controlled the island for more than six months.

Denmark was also the first country to abolish the slave trade in 1792. The committee that recommended this action argued that the slave trade was unprofitable and that Denmark should encourage natural reproduction as a means of replenishing slave numbers. Over the next half century, Denmark enacted a number of reforms. It curtailed the authority of planters over the punishment of their slaves, regulated the length of the workday, recognized the rights of slaves to testify in court, gave the slaves a day off on Saturday, and set up elementary schools for slave children. This was the most systematic attempt to make slavery a humane institution, though some of the reformers thought in terms of an eventual transition to free labor. In 1847, King Christian VIII proclaimed a program of gradual abolition. All slave children were to be free at birth, and adult slaves were to be freed after 12 years. One effect of the partial measures was a peaceful revolt. On 2 June 1848, slaves on St. Croix, the largest island, gathered in the capital of Frederiksted, proclaimed a work stoppage, and threatened arson. Governor General Peter van Scholten announced an end to slavery that afternoon. It was confirmed three months later by a decree from the new king, Frederick VII. The planters responded by trying to impose in 1849 a very rigid system of labor control that required former slaves to work and that fixed hours and wages. There was immediate conflict. A strike on St. Croix was suppressed by police, but several weeks later, workers on St. John began boycotting cane field labor. A revolt against the plantation system took place in 1878. By this time, sugar cultivation had become unprofitable. In 1917, Denmark sold the islands to the United States, where they are now known as the Virgin Islands.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY.

DAVIS, DAVID BRION (1927–). David Brion Davis has been one of the dominant historians of slavery. His service in the U.S. Army at the end of World War II sensitized him to the profound racial dilemma of the United States and awakened in him the potential that the study of history could have for understanding and dealing with such moral problems. His career has been dominated by a trilogy. In 1967, he published *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for non-fiction. In 1976, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* won the Bancroft Prize for best book in American history or diplomacy and the National Book Award. He then produced eight books before finally publishing *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation* in 2014. If there is a central focus to his work, it is that slavery was an attempt to dehumanize a human being and reduce him or her to a piece of property. It was an effort doomed to failure because slaves found ways to assert their humanity and push the boundaries

of slavery. His work sets Atlantic slavery in broad comparative perspective in both time and space. His vision of the history of slavery is driven by a set of moral questions, but that morality is channeled by a subtle and very learned mind.

DE BOW, JAMES D. B. (1820–1867). A graduate of the College of Charleston, James De Bow studied law but did not enjoy the practice of law. In 1846, he founded *De Bow's Review* in New Orleans. He was also a professor of political economy at the University of Louisiana. *De Bow's Review* quickly became one of the most influential defenders of slavery, Southern nationalism, and doctrines of racial superiority. De Bow wrote extensively himself. He served as superintendent of the 1850 census and was effective in his use of census data. De Bow also believed that reliance on a single crop was unwise and was convinced that slave labor could be the basis for the industrial development of the South. He believed that slaves were well suited for both agricultural and industrial work. In 1860, he advocated secession, but during the **Civil War**, he was forced to suspend publication of the *Review*. He resumed publication in 1865, unrepentant in his views, but died two years later.

See also RACE AND SLAVERY.

DEBT SLAVERY. In many slave systems, there were provisions for a person to be enslaved or for putting a member of his family into slavery in payment of debts. Often this was voluntary, though on other occasions enslavement was a judicial response to debt. Debt slavery existed in the ancient Middle East, where a man could be condemned to slavery for debt. The law of **Hammurabi** in Babylon (1700 BCE) limited debt slavery to a three-year term, but the same law code permitted a man to use his wife as security for a loan or to sell himself or a child. The **Bible** seeks to regulate enslavement for debt. A Hebrew debt slave had to be freed at the end of his seventh year of servitude or during the Jubilee year. Throughout the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia, it was possible for a man to enslave himself or a member of his family either because of extreme poverty or debt. In some cases men were enslaved because of lost wagers. The Hindu lawgiver Narada listed a number of other causes of debt slavery: famine, debt, and the need for maintenance. The only restriction was that a member of the Brahmin caste could not be enslaved. In most cases, debt slavery was reversible. That is to say, if the debt were repaid, the debtor could be freed. Most forms of debt slavery were also not hereditary.

In Africa, debt slavery is called **pawnship**. Generally, a borrower or a debtor enslaved a member of his family, usually a child, in fact most of the time a girl child. It was often done as surety for a loan or because of famine.

The child's labor functioned as if it were the interest on the debt. When the debt was repaid, the child was returned. Africans generally did not see the pawn as a slave because she remained a member of her family which could redeem her. Some writers think that when such a pawn was not redeemed, she often became a full slave. By contrast, in ancient Greece, debt often led to the enslavement of adults. During the 6th century, as Athens began shifting into the production of wine and olive oil for market, debt slavery was a major source of labor. When a social crisis emerged, **Solon**'s legal reforms abolished debt slavery and guaranteed the citizenship of all Athenians. That forced entrepreneurial farmers to seek slaves outside Athens and led to Athens becoming a slave society.

There are modern forms of debt servitude. In colonial America, a person could be sold into servitude for failing to pay taxes or fines. In India, there is even today a system called **bonded labor**, under which debts keep many people in a permanent dependent relationship. In the Americas, debt has been used to keep landless laborers dependent and force them to work for a landlord at low wages. This is often referred to as **peonage**.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY; INDIAN SLAVERY; INDO-NESIAN SLAVERY; THAI SLAVERY.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN. The Declaration of the Rights of Man is one of the most important and most enduring documents of the **French Revolution**. It was approved on 26 August 1789 as the preamble to a new constitution. The constitution in question has long since disappeared, but the Declaration of the Rights of Man remains one of the most important statements of human rights. It began with the words "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights." It listed those rights as "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." It claimed that sovereignty lay not with the king but with the people and guaranteed the people the right to take part through their representatives in the writing of laws.

Once approved, the question became who the men were to whom the Declaration applied. The constitution distinguished between active and passive citizens. Only the active citizens could vote. They were men over the age of 25 who paid a tax equal to three days' pay. A small group within the National Assembly allied with the **Society of the Friends of Blacks** (Société des Amis des Noirs) believed that slaves also had the rights enumerated in the Declaration. Pro-slavery elements rallied to oppose them, and a delegation of white planters from Saint-Domingue asked for seats in the National Assembly. A delegation of mulatto planters, led by **Vincent Ogé**, also asked for representation. When the matter was referred back to the governor of Saint-Domingue, Ogé returned to Saint-Domingue, where in October 1790 he led a rising of mulattoes. Though his force was defeated and he was killed,

a rising of slaves began 10 months later. The divisions in the planter community and the debates about human rights had opened the debate to one of the few successful slave revolutions.

See also HAITIAN REVOLUTION.

DELANY, MARTIN R. (1812–1885). Martin Delany was one of the most important African-American thinkers of the mid-19th century. He was born the son of a free mother and slave father in Charleston, Virginia, but his family early moved to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. He had a very varied career: doctor, journalist, ethnologist, editor, judge, scientist, orator, politician, and novelist. From 1843 to 1847, he edited *Mystery*, an African-American newspaper in Pittsburgh. Then he worked for two years with **Frederick Douglass** on his newspaper, *Northern Star*. In 1852, he brought out his most important book, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered*. Up to this point, most black intellectuals assumed that if they got an education and earned the respect of their white peers, slavery would be ended and they would be accepted as citizens. Delany was angry about the failure to grant citizenship. This anger was exacerbated when Harvard admitted him and two black colleagues to its medical school on condition that they practice outside the United States, and then, when racist white students protested, withdrew that admission. He was now convinced that African-Americans would only get justice in a state of their own making. He attacked the **American Colonization Society** but advocated emigration. Delany was the father of a tradition of black nationalism that did not so much look to white society to do right as to African-American society to take care of itself. In 1856 he moved to Chatham, Ontario, and in 1859 he led an expedition to Africa. In 1859, the novel *Blake; or the Huts of America* began to appear serially. It involved a black revolutionary hero. During the **Civil War**, he recruited for black regiments, and after the war he worked for the **Freedmen's Bureau**.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

DEMERARA SLAVE REVOLT (1823). One of the largest slave revolts in Caribbean history, the Demerara slave revolt began on a Guyanan plantation called Success, which was owned by John Gladstone, the father of future British prime minister William Ewart Gladstone. Eventually it involved over 10,000 slaves on more than 60 plantations. The revolt was influenced by Methodist missionaries of the London Missionary Society, who had been working in Demerara since 1803 and did not hide their disapproval of slavery. The leaders were elite slaves who gathered at a chapel the missionaries had created. A number of factors made Demerara vulnerable to revolt. First,

as in Saint-Domingue, the whites were a small minority. Slaves numbered 75,000 of 80,000 in the district. Second, it changed hands six times between 1780 and 1803 before being incorporated into the British Empire. There had been an earlier revolt in 1795. Though Demerara was originally Dutch, most of the planters were British. Finally, the planters were heavily in debt. When sugar prices dropped, they tried to drive their slaves harder, producing considerable discontent. The direct stimulus was a rumor that slavery had been abolished, but the planters had withheld the information. The planters blamed the missionaries. One of them, John Smith, was convicted of fomenting treason and died in prison while appealing his conviction to Parliament.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; SLAVE REVOLTS.

DEMOGRAPHY OF SLAVERY. It is often difficult to do an accurate demography of a slave community. This is because there were always newcomers entering, and there was always a flow-through, a number of slaves who were being manumitted or slave women who were producing free children. Nevertheless, we can make some generalizations about slave demography. The first is that there was almost always a high mortality. Mortality was highest in the slave trade. Those being moved were sometimes sick to start with; they were taken from one climatic zone to another, being introduced to new diseases; and the maintenance of discipline often led to harsh treatment. They were also often held in tightly packed, small enclosures: slave ships, **barracoons**, or the dungeons of slave castles. Finally, they often lost the will to live and committed suicide or “pined away.” After settling in a new environment, the **seasoning** period was still a period of high mortality because they had to adapt to a new climate, to new diseases, and to a new social environment. Even after they were settled in a new community, they often still had a higher mortality than free persons. They were less well fed and clothed, and during periods of hardship, they were often the first to suffer. In parts of West Africa, during droughts, slaves who could not be fed were simply turned out to fend for themselves.

Slaves also tended to have a lower rate of reproduction. In many areas, this was because of a skewed male-female distribution. Where slave women were numerous, as in the Arab world, many women were isolated in **harems**, where only one male had access to them. Many slave women were servants who never had sexual relations. Even the favorites tended to have few children. In America, there was the reverse problem, a majority of men, many with no female partners. Even when slaves did marry, many chose to have few children. In those African communities, where they lived in families, the slave ménage bore the cost of raising the child but could never be sure the

child would be around to support them in old age. The economics of the slave family forced them to restrict reproduction. In almost all slave societies, the rate of infant mortality was higher for slaves than for free persons.

There are a few areas where slave populations increased. This is most striking for the United States, particularly for the Chesapeake states of Virginia and Maryland, and for the Minas Gerais province of **Brazil**. Both were areas that early had gender parity, where the climate and disease environment were attractive, and where slaves were well fed and given good medical treatment. The import of slaves to the United States ended in 1808. From 1810 to 1860, the slave population multiplied almost four times. Slaves in the United States lived in family units. The rise in slave prices after the end of slave imports provided an incentive for slave masters to take good care of their slaves. The rate of infant mortality was still high, but the health of older children and adults was as good as other working populations.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); BRAZILIAN SLAVERY.

DE SOUZA, FELIX FRANCISCO (c. 1760–1849). Felix Francisco de Souza was the most important of the **Afro-Brazilians**, free blacks who returned to Africa from Brazil and settled along the Bight of Benin. De Souza arrived in 1788 and started out as a small trader, dealing with slaves and other products. When the wars of the **French Revolution** forced some slave-trading operations to close down, De Souza and other Afro-Brazilians like Domingo Martins filled the void. De Souza's trading posts extended along the lagoon from Grand Popo to Lagos. He also was careful to make influential friends. In 1818, he helped one of those friends, Ghezo, seize the throne of **Dahomey**. As his reward, Ghezo created a new office, that of *chacha*, and gave it De Souza. His role was to represent the king, selling the king's slaves and collecting customs. This made him the most powerful slave trader in the region, but he also recognized that the slave trade was threatened and encouraged Ghezo to develop royal palm oil plantations, which used slave labor within Africa.

See also BAHIAN SLAVE REVOLTS.

DESSALINES, JEAN-JACQUES (c. 1758–1806). Dessalines was one of the generals in the army of former slaves that won Haitian independence and was briefly emperor of **Haiti**. He was born a slave, probably in a coffee-growing area that was one of the centers of the **Saint-Domingue** revolt. In later life, he often displayed his scarred back to explain his hatred of his former French masters. He got involved early in slave resistance and was by 1794 a battalion commander in **Toussaint L'Ouverture's** army. By 1799, he

was a general and the commander of an expedition to bring the mulatto-controlled southern province under Toussaint's control. He established a reputation for brutality by executing hundreds of prisoners.

Dessalines was then given the job of bringing the plantation economy under control. Slavery had been abolished, but the new regime needed money; **sugar** was the only way to get it. The army reestablished the plantation system and made labor compulsory. In the process, many officers acquired estates. Dessalines controlled 33. In 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded and attempted to reestablish the French slave system. When Toussaint surrendered, Dessalines also submitted and briefly became an ally of the French, but in October 1803, all of the black generals turned against the French, who were quickly defeated. Toussaint had died in a French prison earlier that year. On 1 January 1804, Dessalines proclaimed the independence of the former French colony under the name Haiti, an Amerindian name for the island. He became emperor. Whites were denied the right to own land, and all French residents were ordered executed. Slavery was definitively ended. His most controversial policy, however, was his effort to maintain the plantation system, which increasingly fell under the control of the new black and mulatto elites. In October 1806, he was killed by a plot within his army, and two other generals took power, Alexandre Pétion in the south and **Henri Christophe** in the north.

See also HAITIAN REVOLUTION.

DEVSHIRME. In the Ottoman Empire, the *devshirme* was a levy on boys in the Christian provinces of the empire. It originated in the 14th and 15th centuries when the expansion of the state created a need for both civilian and military personnel. Approximately every five years, administrators in Christian areas would select a fixed number of strong boys aged 10 to 12. After a period in which they were converted to Islam and educated, they were divided into four groups, the palace, the scribes, the religious, and the military. Those chosen for the military entered the elite **Janissaries**, the most prestigious military units in the Ottoman army. Those who entered the palace could rise to the highest positions in the civil service. The scribes also had the possibility of achieving important positions. Some areas resented the *devshirme*, but others hoped that their sons would rise to high office and possibly return as provincial officials. The *devshirme* remained important in the Ottoman Empire until the early 18th century.

See also KUL; OTTOMAN SLAVERY.

DEW, THOMAS RODERICK (1802–1846). Thomas Dew was one of the leading pro-slavery theorists in the South. He was born in Virginia in a plantation family, was educated at the College of William and Mary, and in

1827 became professor of political economy there. In 1831, in reaction to the **Nat Turner** revolt, the Virginia state legislature debated a proposal that slaves be gradually emancipated and expelled from the state. As part of the debate, Dew wrote *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832*, which laid out many arguments against the proposal and for slavery. Resettlement, he argued, would be too expensive. He went on to argue that Virginia's slaves would work only under compulsion and would be worse off if freed. He argued that the slaves were happy and well-off. He then marshaled biblical and historical examples in support of his argument. Dew's essay was widely distributed and influenced other Southern theorists. He became president of William and Mary in 1836.

DIALLO, AYUBA BEN SOLOMON (c. 1701–1773). Ayuba ben Solomon was a Muslim trader from the kingdom on Bundu in the upper Senegal valley. In 1730, while trading on the Gambia River, he was captured by slave traders and shipped to Maryland. He was first put to work on tobacco, but when it became clear that he was not suited to such labor, he was shifted to tending cattle. His ethnic group, the Fulbe, were by tradition cattle herders, though Diallo was a merchant. He attracted attention by going into the woods every day to pray in seclusion. When he ran away because of conflict with a white youth, he was caught. He could not speak English but tried to communicate by writing in Arabic. Surprised that he was literate, his master called him to the attention of well-known English intellectuals, who arranged for him to be freed and brought to England, where he became an instant celebrity and was interviewed and entertained.

In 1734, Ayuba was brought back to West Africa accompanied by a British representative. He seems to have worked for a while as a representative of the **Royal African Company**, a British company that was competing with the French for the trade in slaves, gold, and gum from the upper Senegal–upper Gambia region. He is mentioned in company correspondence until the early 1740s. Little is known of him after that date. He was one of many educated Muslims taken in the slave trade, but fortunate that his existence came to the attention of English intellectuals interested in his knowledge and a company that wanted to use him as an agent.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ISLAM.

DIASPORA. The word *diaspora* comes originally from the Greek word for “scattering.” For a long time, it was used only for the dispersion of Jews outside Israel. Increasingly, however, it has been used for other dispersions, especially where there is a collective memory, a sense of common identity, and an emotional tie to the land of origin. It has thus been used for the

dispersions of commercial groups like Chinese in Southeast Asia, Greeks, and Armenians. It is also commonly used for the dispersion of Africans in the slave trade, though not all children of Africa share in the collective memory.

What has marked African history is that most of the Africans who have left Africa did so unwillingly and as slaves. There were undoubtedly some free migrants. Africans undoubtedly went to India and the Middle East as sailors from early times. Africans entered Egypt as conquerors. The vast majority left as slaves dating back to early times. People from sub-Saharan Africa were sold in Egypt, Carthage, the Hellenistic states, and Rome. The trade became more important with the rise of **Islam**. Islamic merchants developed the trans-Saharan trade and moved into the Indian Ocean. In the Mediterranean, North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and Mesopotamia, there is a large population of African origin. There has long been a trade in slaves from **Ethiopia**. Ethiopian women were considered attractive in the Middle East, and Ethiopian men became slave soldiers in India. The largest trade, however, was the **Atlantic slave trade**, which shipped Africans to Europe, to the Atlantic islands, and to the Americas. About 12.5 million Africans were exported.

Wherever Africans have gone, they have taken their religions and their music with them. African spirit-possession cults like *gnauwa*, *bori*, and *zar* are found in North Africa, Iran, and parts of the former Ottoman Empire. In the Americas, many people of African descent combine observance of Christianity with African cults like *vodun* and *candomblé*. These African cults have often had an influence on dominant religions, particularly forms of Baptism in the Americas and Sufism in the Muslim world. The music has often moved beyond the African community. In the Americas, African music gave rise to jazz, the blues, and various kinds of West Indian and Brazilian music. In Morocco, *gnauwa* musicians are popular.

In the Americas and in Europe, intellectuals of African descent have maintained or renewed their ties to Africa. Many important movements like Pan-Africanism have originated in the diaspora and are based in the ties that diaspora intellectuals feel toward Africa. Some also have returned to Africa.

See also INDIAN OCEAN; SLAVE MUSIC; SLAVE RELIGION.

DORT, SYNOD OF. As European states developed slave plantations, European Christian churches had to deal with a number of religious questions. One was whether slaves should be baptized, and if baptized, whether they could then still be held as slaves. The Synod of Dort was a meeting of Calvinist theologians that met in 1618 and 1619 to deal with a series of theological questions. On the slavery issue, it held that slaves should have the same right to liberty as other Christians and should never be sold to non-Christians. It did not, however, require that slaves should be converted. That was up to the conscience of the individual slaveholder. One result is that

most Calvinist slave owners, largely in the Dutch colonies, refused to give their slaves a religious education or to baptize them, for fear that this would require manumission.

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK (1818–1895). The most influential African-American abolitionist and one of the most eloquent black voices of the 19th century, Douglass was born a slave on Maryland's eastern shore. He had harsh memories of his early childhood. He never knew his father, who was white, and he had little contact with his mother, who worked a distance away and died when he was a child. Douglass was raised by his grandmother. He remembers being poorly clothed and cold and hungry during the winter. He was early assigned to his master's house and then sent to Baltimore to serve as a companion for his new master's son. His master's wife taught him to read, and though her husband stopped the lessons, Douglass did his best to learn more.

Douglass was working as a caulker in the Baltimore shipyard when in 1838 he escaped to New York. By chance, he met abolitionists on the streets of New York, who sent him to New Bedford, Massachusetts, an abolitionist stronghold. Ironically, he could not get a job as a caulker in New Bedford because of racism. He soon, however, proved himself to be a powerful orator and became one of the movement's most effective speakers. His effectiveness was the best possible antidote to pro-slavery racism. He soon left New Bedford to establish himself in Rochester, New York, where he published an anti-slavery newspaper, begun as *The North Star* (1847) and renamed *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in 1850. He also published three versions of his autobiography. The first, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), was the most popular slave narrative of the pre-war period. Such narratives were important in giving free people a sense of what life was like under slavery.

Douglass was originally a follower of **William Lloyd Garrison**, but he broke with Garrison because Garrison believed in moral suasion rather than politics. Douglass felt that the movement had to try to influence politics. During the **Civil War**, he was a strong advocate of using black troops, and when the 54th Massachusetts Regiment was organized, he recruited for it, and two of his sons served in it. When it became clear that black troops would not be treated as well or paid as much as white troops, he attacked the War Department. Though he was often unhappy with the way Lincoln pursued the war, he was an active Republican after the war. In 1881, he was appointed recorder of deeds for Washington, D.C., and in 1889, minister to Haiti. Until the end of his life, he fought against racism and discrimination.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

DRED SCOTT CASE (1857). The Dred Scott case was a major victory for pro-slavery forces in the United States, but it brought closer the **Civil War** and the end of slavery. Dred Scott was a slave who worked as the personal servant of John Emerson, a U.S. Army surgeon from St. Louis, Missouri. Emerson had taken Scott with him to several postings in free states. In 1843, Emerson died, leaving Scott to his wife. The executor of the will was her brother, John Sanford. Scott sued for his freedom on grounds that his setting foot in free territories made him free. Though Scott won in the lower court, his victory was overturned by the Missouri Supreme Court. He did not appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court at the time because his lawyers believed that court did not have jurisdiction. Then, however, ownership of Scott was transferred to Sanford, and Sanford moved to New York. The case now involved residents of two separate states. When Scott lost again, he appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Chief Justice **Roger Taney** gave a sweeping response. First, he argued that because of their race, blacks were not citizens of the United States and could not sue in a federal court. Second, he argued that visiting a free territory did not make a slave free, because the Constitution guaranteed the right of a person to his property, including the right of the slave owner to his slave. He therefore argued that the **Missouri Compromise**, which declared some states free and some slave, was invalid because the federal government could not limit the slave owner's rights over his slaves.

The case delighted Southerners, but it offended Northerners. Hostility to the Dred Scott decision and fear that the Court might restrict the right of free states to prohibit slavery helped the Republican Party, which was opposed to the extension of slavery. It contributed to the election of **Abraham Lincoln** in 1860. Soon after the case was decided, Dred Scott was sold to a man who set him free.

DRESCHER, SEYMOUR (1934–). Born in New York and trained at the University of Wisconsin, Seymour Drescher did his earliest research on the French political thinker Alexis de Tocqueville. Then in 1977, he published *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition*. This was a criticism of one of the key theses in **Eric Williams**'s *Capitalism and Slavery*. Williams had argued that the British abolition movement was successful because slave systems in the Americas had entered a period of decline. Drescher presented evidence that these systems were profitable and still expanding. This reopened a debate on why Great Britain, then the world's largest slave trader, abolished first the slave trade and then slavery. Drescher continued to write on the history of slavery and on comparative emancipation. In 2002, he published *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation*, and in 2009, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Abolition*.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

DRIVERS. In many **plantation** systems, there is a class of privileged slaves that directs the labor of the others. In **West Africa**, slaves were often settled in separate villages under slave chiefs. Any collective labor was usually directed by these chiefs. In the Americas, work gangs were led by drivers, who woke the slaves before dawn, assigned tasks, directed the labor in the fields, and arranged the feeding of slaves and animals at midday. They also often kept accounts, mediated conflicts, and were responsible for policing the slave quarters at night. As a reward, they received extra rations, better clothing, better housing, a more secure family life, and bonuses of cash, liquor, or tobacco. They were also freer of restraint in their movements. They often had to punish their fellow slaves and were sometimes resented as the master's agent. Caught in the middle, they often found themselves forced to mediate conflicts. Nevertheless, they were clearly very useful to slave owners. They often understood agriculture better than their white superiors, and they could interpret the mood of the slaves to the slave owner. It is estimated that about two-thirds of the slaves in the United States worked under black drivers, generally on the larger plantations.

See also AFRICAN SLAVERY; AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); PLANTATION.

DU BOIS, WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT (1868–1963). W. E. B. Du Bois was the most influential African-American historian of the early 20th century and the first to examine the history of slavery. Born in western Massachusetts, he studied at Fisk University in Nashville and the University of Berlin. In 1896, he completed a thesis at Harvard University entitled *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870*. Though most recent scholars disagree with his estimate that 250,000 slaves were illegally imported into the United States after the 1808 abolition of the trade, his use of primary sources made the study a model for later research. In 1903, his *Souls of Black Folk* probed the rich African tradition of music and religion and the way they were forged by Afro-Americans into powerful consolations for their sufferings. In *The Negro* (1915), he celebrated the African heritage and chronicled the accomplishments of African-Americans. From 1910 to 1934, he was also the editor of *The Crisis*, the publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The themes he identified and the methods he developed had a great influence on other historians. Throughout his long life, his works focused not only on the immorality of slavery, but on the way its heritage continued to deny African-Americans the fruits of freedom. He spent his last years in Ghana, where he died at age 95.

DUNMORE, JOHN MURRAY, EARL OF (1730–1809). In 1775, as the **American Revolution** was beginning, the Earl of Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, sought to undercut the rebels by offering freedom to slaves and indentured servants willing to desert their masters and support the king's cause. From the hundreds who responded to his call, he organized a unit called the Ethiopian Regiment. Dunmore, however, was defeated in his first major engagement, and his black troops were decimated by smallpox. Eventually, he withdrew them to New York. Dunmore's actions, taken on his own initiative, pushed many white Southerners into supporting the rebel cause, but his approach was later used by other British commanders, who saw slave flight as a way to undercut white planters. Over 10,000 slaves fled to British-controlled areas. Most worked as laborers. Many were evacuated to Nova Scotia after the British defeat. After the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, Dunmore wanted to raise an army of 10,000 former slaves to continue the war, but the British government was ready to concede independence to the American rebels.

See also BLACK LOYALISTS.

DUTCH SLAVE TRADE. The Dutch were never as important in the exploitation of slave labor as the English, French, and Portuguese, but they were large slave traders and played a major role in developing the West Indian plantation economy. The wealthiest part of the Hapsburg Empire, the Dutch declared their independence from Spain in 1569. When the Spanish and Portuguese crowns were united in 1580, the Dutch saw the far-flung Portuguese empire as the weak point in the armor of Europe's most powerful state. They turned first to the East, challenging Portuguese hegemony in Asian waters from 1596. In 1602, the Dutch East India Company was chartered and began building an empire in **Indonesia** and India.

The slave trade was a small part of the business of the Dutch East India Company, but there was a regular trade that brought slaves to Java in the Dutch East Indies, a trade network centered on Ceylon, a trade from East Africa to its Asian colonies, and one from the Asian colonies to its supply post at Capetown. Slave labor was used in Dutch enterprises in India and Java, and the households of Dutch officials contained large numbers of slave concubines and servants. The original population of Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies, was mostly slaves. By contrast, the Dutch West India Company was primarily a slave-trading operation, though it aspired to be more. Founded in 1621, it captured many of Portugal's trading posts on the West African coast and the colony of Angola. In 1630, the Dutch began the conquest of **Brazil** when they seized Pernambuco. Brazil became briefly the major outlet for the slaves the Dutch ships carried from Africa. The Brazil-

ians, however, rallied, drove the Dutch from Brazil, and in 1648 recaptured Angola. By 1654 the Dutch had been pushed out of Brazil. During their brief tenure in Brazil, the Dutch had learned a lot about sugar and slavery.

The Dutch developed sugar plantations in Surinam and had a small plantation sector on several of the islands they controlled, but none of these islands were important sugar producers. They were primarily trade entrepôts. More important, the Dutch introduced sugar technology, helped English planters organize their plantations, and provided them with slaves. The Dutch also controlled the *asiento*, the contract to supply slaves to the Spanish from 1662 to the 1690s. The Dutch supplemented the *asiento* trade with an illegal trade into the Spanish colonies. After the loss of Angola, most of the Dutch slaves came from the Gold Coast, where the West India Company maintained about a dozen forts. With the loss of the *asiento*, the British and French replaced the Dutch as the world's biggest slave traders. In all, the Dutch ships carried about 540,000 slaves to the Americas. The Dutch West India Company was dissolved in 1791.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; BARBADOS; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; INDIAN OCEAN; PLANTATION.

E

EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. The coast of East Africa was from an early date involved in the trade of the **Indian Ocean**. A series of **Swahili**-speaking commercial towns and cities developed along the coast, which traded regularly with Arabia, India, and the Middle East. Slaves were a significant element in the towns, where they did manual labor and were domestics. Some slaves were exported to the Middle East and to India, and African slaves were found in more distant parts of Asia, but until about 1800, the number was very small. The Horn of Africa was a more important source of slaves. Trade from the Swahili coast to the interior was limited and focused on areas that could provide gold or copper. Interior peoples tended to live in dispersed settlements without fortifications, which suggests that enslavement was not a problem.

The Dutch East India Company began buying slaves in East Africa for their settlements at the Cape and in Asia in the 17th century, but the rapid growth of the trade began in the late 18th century, when French planters began developing sugar plantations on the islands of the Indian Ocean. The demand for ivory was also increasing. Traders began penetrating deeper into the interior. Then **Said Sayyid ibn Sultan**, the sultan of Muscat, Oman, and **Zanzibar**, supported the development of clove plantations on Zanzibar and Pemba early in the 19th century. To provide labor for the plantations and to expand the ivory trade, he also encouraged Arab and Swahili traders to penetrate the interior and develop bases for the trade there. Indian financiers were given tax contracts to encourage them to settle on the coast, where they were able to provide finance for the caravans. There was also in the 19th century a slave trade from Mozambique to Brazil, which had a high death rate because of the length of the voyage.

The result was a rapid expansion of the slave trade, the encouragement of slaving, and the destruction or transformation of many interior societies. Coastal traders either settled at the courts of powerful chiefs, whom they supplied with arms, or in towns like Tabora and Ujiji in western Tanzania. These new settlements were often surrounded by plantations worked largely by slaves. The Swahili traders alternatively competed with and complement-

ed trade routes organized by interior peoples like the Nyamwezi of central Tanzania and the Yao of Malawi and Mozambique. In the 1860s, Swahili traders like **Tippu Tip** began developing settlements in the Congo basin. Others were in Malawi, Zanzibar, and Uganda. Most of the peoples of East and Central Africa were poorly equipped to deal with the threat of raiders armed with the latest European rifles. The 19th century was without a doubt the bloodiest period in the region's history. Estimates of the 19th-century slave trade through Zanzibar range from 750,000 to a million slaves. Others were exported from Kilwa and the ports of Mozambique, or in the latter part of the century, moved overland up the coast. About half of the slaves that passed through Zanzibar were kept there, mostly to work on the clove plantations. Others were sold to the Middle East or along the coast, where the availability of slaves encouraged the development of plantations to provide grain for Zanzibar and copra and sesame for export.

By 1840, when Said moved permanently to Zanzibar, the island was wealthier and more important than Oman. It had become a major trade entrepôt, the world's largest producer of cloves, and a slave society. It also commanded a loosely organized commercial empire that extended into the Great Lakes region and the Congo River basin. The British put pressure on Zanzibar to stop exports across the Indian Ocean, and then in 1873 to abolish the slave trade. There was a significant illicit slave trade under British occupation in 1890. In 1897, slavery itself was abolished, and in 1907, slavery was abolished in British East Africa (now Kenya).

See also CENTRAL AFRICA; INDIAN OCEAN; MAURITIUS AND RÉUNION.

EAST EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE. From ancient Greek times on, eastern Europe was a major source of slaves for the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The Greeks imported slaves from the Balkans and the Black Sea areas. The Black Sea remained a source of slaves for almost 2,500 years. Roman conquests also took slaves from the Balkans. During the eighth and ninth centuries, as Christianity was pushing into eastern Europe, warfare along the German-Slavic frontier, now Poland and the Czech Republic, was a major source of slaves, who were moved across Europe to Muslim Spain and the cities of the Mediterranean. During the same period, **Viking** traders developed trade routes that moved through what is now Russia on the Dnieper and Don Rivers. They bought slaves and brought them to **Byzantium**, which sold them to the Arabs and to the western Mediterranean.

Eastern Europe remained the major source of slaves for the Mediterranean until the 15th century, when Portuguese voyages to **West Africa** opened up the slave trade with that area. The land-based trade across western Europe was ended with the conversion of Poland, Lithuania, and Kievan Russia to Christianity at the end of the first millennium. Dubrovnik was for a while a

source of slaves from the southern Balkans to Venice. The Turks, however, continued to take slaves from eastern Europe. From their Christian provinces, they took a levy of male children called the *devshirme*, and from the shores of the Black Sea and Caucasus, they took slaves that originated in warfare, raiding, and trade. The southern steppes and the Tatar slave raiders of the Crimean Khanate remained a source of slaves for the Ottoman Empire until Crimea fell to the expanding Russian state in 1783.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY; OTTOMAN SLAVERY; RUSSIAN SLAVERY; SCANDINAVIA; SLAVS.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN (1703–1758). Jonathan Edwards was an important New England minister and theologian. Though he owned slaves himself and defended slavery, he attacked the slave trade and argued that it should be prohibited. He argued that no one had the right to capture or sell slaves. He also argued that the existence of slaveholding in biblical times did not authorize the participation of Christians in modern slavery in his times. Some of his followers, including his son, Jonathan Edwards Jr., developed these arguments and were among the first abolitionists. In 1757, he was invited to become president of the College of New Jersey, later Princeton University, but within several months of his arrival, he died as a result of complications of a smallpox inoculation.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

EGYPT, ANCIENT. Slavery was not as important in ancient Egypt as in Greece or Rome, but it was a significant social institution. In early dynastic Egypt, late in the fourth millennium BCE, slaves were relatively few and largely owned by temples or the state. Under the Old Kingdom, early in the third millennium, slaves were more numerous, and there was a trade in slaves. Most were war captives, but some were **debt slaves** and some were criminals. Young women were particularly sought as concubines and servants, and some worked in the production of textiles. Slaves were manumitted and sometimes absorbed into families.

Slavery expanded dramatically under the New Kingdom late in the second millennium because Egypt conquered neighboring areas of Canaan, Syria, and Nubia. Thutmose III returned from one campaign in Canaan with 90,000 prisoners. Slaves were often given as gifts to those who served the Pharaoh. The least fortunate slaves worked in gold and copper mines. Those who were servants of the Pharaoh were often well-off. They could be manumitted. Manumission seems to have been significant throughout Egyptian history. The biblical story of Joseph tells us a lot of what elite slavery may have been like. Joseph was sold by his brothers and traded down into Egypt, where he was purchased by Potiphar, the head of the palace guards, and became the

head of Potiphar's household. He eventually came to the attention of the Pharaoh and was entrusted with the government of Egypt. This all suggests a system where slaves could play a variety of roles. They could be condemned to hard labor in mines or fields, could be given wealth and power, or for women, could become the concubines of powerful men.

Ptolemaic Egypt was part of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, but slavery did not become as important as in Greece. Agricultural slavery was found largely on temple lands. Most slaves were either in the households of the rich and powerful or in trade and industry. Agriculture was largely the lot of the Egyptian peasantry.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY.

EGYPT, MODERN. When Arab armies swept across North Africa soon after Mohammed's death in the seventh century CE, two attempts were made to conquer three Nubian Christian kingdoms. These efforts failed but ended with a treaty in which the Nubians agreed to pay Egypt 360 slaves a year and to allow the construction of a mosque in the capital of Dongola. This treaty lasted for six centuries. In addition to the tribute payment, a regular slave trade developed from Nubia to Egypt, and from 1250, slaves known as **Mamlukes** took over the Egyptian state. Egypt was until 1798 ruled by a military and administrative elite recruited from slaves. In the same period, there was a movement of Arabic-speaking Muslim nomads into Nubia, which eventually destroyed the Christian kingdoms in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Egypt's trade with the **Sudan** had become by this time a source of slaves for the Middle East, rivaled only by Christian and Turkish areas of eastern Europe and Central Asia. It had also become a slave-using area, though slaves were used primarily as soldiers, servants, and concubines. Two kingdoms south of the Sahara, the Funj kingdom of **Sennar** and Darfur, met this demand. Both were Muslim, but not Arab. Sennar started as a federation of small states, but by the 18th century, it used slave soldiers and slave administrators to develop a more centralized state. Darfur also used slave soldiers. Cavalry from both states raided regularly into less well armed areas further south to provide slaves for both their own use and export to Egypt.

In 1805, Mohammed Ali, an officer in the **Ottoman** army, became the *wali*. Though not an Egyptian, Mohammed Ali became the founder of modern Egypt. He started by seeking greater autonomy within the Ottoman Empire and by eliminating the vestiges of Mamluke influence. In 1820 he invaded the Sudan, primarily to acquire slaves who could be used as soldiers. Though the Sudanese resisted, by 1824 he controlled the nucleus of what is now the Sudan and began building a modern capital at Khartoum. By the 1850s, Arab and European traders were penetrating the south Sudan in the quest for ivory and slaves. With the closing off of Slavic sources for slaves,

Africa was becoming increasingly important as a source of slaves. The slave trade rapidly became more important than the ivory trade. Arab traders like **Zubayr Pasha**, using modern firearms and based in fortified positions called *zaribas*, used slaves to enslave more slaves.

In the meantime, slavery was becoming less important in a rapidly developing Egypt, and Mohammed Ali's successors were seeking acceptance in Europe. The Khedive Ismail prohibited the sale of slaves in 1877 and used Christian representatives to try to end the slave trade in the Sudan. While this effort provoked the Mahdist revolt, which ruled the Sudan from 1885 to 1898, Great Britain took over Egypt in 1881 and the Sudan in 1898. Slavery was suppressed in 1896.

EKPE. *Ekpe* is a secret society among the Efik people of **Calabar**, Nigeria. Only males can be initiated. Some enter *ekpe* at puberty. There is an oath of secrecy. For each advance in grade, there are fees and new oaths. So the highest grades contain only the wealthiest and most powerful men. *Ekpe* played two roles: policing local communities and regulating conflict. This made it very important during the slave trade. Men from different communities, Europeans, **Aro**, Igbo, and Ibibio joined. If any member wanted to air an issue, he either beat a drum or blew a horn, which called for a meeting. *Ekpe* still exists both in Nigeria and in areas where the Efik diaspora moved, but it plays a more limited role.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

ELITE SLAVES. In many societies, slaves could become wealthy and powerful. There were a number of important categories. Thus **eunuchs** in Asian societies and in parts of Africa were originally castrated in order to serve as guards for harems, but many rulers learned to use them as administrators and policy makers. An able eunuch could rise to high office because he was trusted. Such a person was **Cheng Ho**, the Chinese admiral who sailed to South Asia and East Africa in the 15th century. Slave soldiers were important in the Muslim world. In Africa, many of the slave raiders were themselves slaves. Some of these soldiers became generals or powerful chiefs. In West Africa, slave chiefs were often those closest to the ruler. Egypt was ruled for centuries by slaves called **Mamlukes**. In Rome, a group of state-owned slaves emerged from the second century BCE. Their role increased with the elaboration of administrative structures under the empire. In Rome, too, slaves often tutored the children of the powerful and worked as farm managers or land agents. A slave could also be given a sum called a *peculium* to manage and could become a wealthy merchant. In West Africa, too, a slave could trade on his own account and become wealthy.

Some scholars have questioned whether such persons should be considered slaves, but in fact their power was dependent on their slave status. The “slaves of Caesar” could not wear the toga, which was a symbol of citizenship. In the West African kingdom of Kano, in 1926, a slave official who had become too powerful was humiliated by being stripped down to his loincloth, the common garb of the simple farm slave. The elite slave was valuable because he was dependent. The slave who was given administrative responsibility could not become a king. He could only enjoy power in the name of others. There were exceptions like **Malik Ambar**, an African slave general who became the ruler of Ahmednagar in late 16th-century India, or slave soldiers in different places who have deposed a king or imposed their candidate for royal power.

See also CEDDO; CHINESE SLAVERY; ISLAM; JANISSARIES; KUL; MILITARY SLAVES; TONJON.

ELKINS, STANLEY (1925–2013). Stanley Elkins was born in Massachusetts and earned his Ph.D. at Columbia University. In 1959 he published *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. In this book, he argued that the slave system in the United States was harsher than those in Latin America and the Caribbean. He attributed the difference to the role of the **Catholic Church**. The most controversial part of the book was an effort to describe a slave psychology. He compared the impact of slavery on slaves to the effect of Nazi concentration camps on their inmates and argued that the authoritarian paternalism produced a “**Sambo**,” who was docile, lazy, jovial, loyal, and often a liar and a thief.

The questions Elkins asked revolutionized slave studies as a number of scholars struggled to attack his analysis. Most scholars today would argue that the differences in slave systems were more a result of the political and economic system than of the national culture, and that the crops produced often dictated the labor regime. American slavery was harsh, but the conditions of life and the rate of reproduction were better than Brazil and the sugar islands of the West Indies. Efforts to disprove the infantilization thesis produced a body of work on slave culture, for example, John Blassingame’s *The Slave Community* (1972) and Sterling Stuckey’s *Slave Culture* (1987).

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; HISPANIC AMERICA.

ELLISON, WILLIAM (1790–1861). Born a slave in South Carolina, William Ellison became a slave owner himself as result of his successful cotton-gin business. His mother was a slave, and his father was a white man, probably his owner, Robert Ellison, or Ellison’s son, William. As often happened with the slave children of planters, he was taught a skill. He was

apprenticed to a white cotton-gin maker. He also learned to read and write. He bought his own freedom in 1816 with money he had earned and opened his own cotton-gin business. He took the name William after being freed. By 1820, he had purchased his wife and daughter and begun to accumulate slaves, at first to help him in his business and later to work land he was also buying. His business prospered, and he gradually expanded his holdings of land and slaves until in 1860 he owned 900 acres and 63 slaves, more than the vast majority of white slave owners. Respected by his white neighbors, he and his family were allowed to sit on the main floor of their church, and not in the gallery with the slaves and free blacks. He was probably the richest former slave in the South. He never freed any of his own slaves.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

ELMINA. The castle at Elmina was built by the Portuguese in 1482 to serve as a base for the gold trade with the area that came to be known as the **Gold Coast**, now Ghana. It was named São Jorge da Mina, St. George of the Mine, though the actual mines were inland and not close to the castle. It was one of the first of a series of castles built on the Gold Coast. The area was not at first a slave-exporting area because profits from the gold trade were greater than profits from slaves. In fact, slaves were imported from elsewhere in Africa and sold to gold-mining peoples in the interior. In 1637, the castle was seized by the Dutch. Later in the 17th century, as the price of slaves rose because of the development of plantations in the West Indies, the Dutch and other Europeans began buying slaves, and gold production declined. Elmina became the base of the **Dutch slave trade**. With British and Dutch abolition, Dutch interest in the Gold Coast declined, and in 1872 the castle was given to the British. It is today a major historic site, which along with the neighboring Cape Coast Castle attracts many foreign tourists.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ASANTE; WEST AFRICA.

EMANCIPATION ACT (1833). The British Emancipation Act freed all the slaves in the British Empire. It was the culmination of a half century of struggle by abolitionists. In order to get the act passed, abolitionists had to make two important concessions to the intransigent slave-owner lobby. First they had to agree to compensation. Over 800,000 slaves were freed, 700,000 in the West Indies, the rest in **South Africa** and **Mauritius**. Small numbers were also freed in British posts elsewhere. A sum equivalent to one-third of the British budget was given to the slave owners. Second, they accepted the idea of a period of transition, during which the slaves would be called apprentices. The transition proved difficult to enforce. Even magistrates appointed to enforce the act did not understand what the apprentices were supposed to be. For many of the slave owners, it was merely a continuation

of slavery. The abolitionists received stories of the worst cases and began criticizing the **apprenticeship** system almost from the first, and slaves began asserting their independence. Eventually it was West Indian assemblies that ended apprenticeship on 1 August 1838.

Though there were fears of indiscipline and disorder, the transition was peaceful, and slaves speedily became self-sufficient. The most significant disruption came not from slaves but from Afrikaner farmers in South Africa, who resented interference with their social order. About 10,000 to 12,000 Afrikaners migrated into the interior, where they founded two new republics. Most of the trekkers were actually not big slave owners. In the West Indies, the process differed from island to island. Wherever possible, former slaves sought their autonomy. On islands like **Barbados** and Antigua, where almost all of the land was being cultivated, former slaves had nowhere to go. There was no free land and no alternative employment. Most of the freed slaves continued to work for the planters. On those islands with mountainous areas not suited to **sugar**, slaves withdrew from the plantations and started farming for themselves. In many cases, the men continued to work for wages, but the women withdrew to private plots. In Jamaica, sugar production dropped by a third. The increasing demand for sugar was largely filled by **Cuban** and **Brazilian** planters, who were still using slave labor. British planters responded by seeking contract labor from India.

See also COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION; INDENTURED LABOR.

EMANCIPATION, AFRICA. When slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1833 and in the French empire in 1848, the number of African areas under European sovereignty was very limited. Slaves were freed within those areas, but colonial governors generally recognized that their relations with nearby African states depended on toleration of slavery. They usually acted quickly to prevent their colonies from becoming places of refuge for runaway slaves. Some mission stations did receive runaways, but the nascent colonial state tried to keep the doors closed and even returned slaves to their masters.

As colonial officials began expanding European rule, they not only compromised with slave owners but actually exploited slavery. Africa was largely conquered for European states by African armies made up largely of slaves. The French freed slaves who served in their army, but in order to find enough soldiers, they often bought them in the slave markets. When the Germans moved into Cameroon in 1885, they bought slaves in Dahomey and trained them as soldiers. Equally important, as Europeans established their control over much of Africa, they carefully avoided applying European laws on slavery. They sometimes used legal fictions like that of a protectorate to

avoid applying European law. A protectorate was ruled indirectly by European officials, but using an adapted version of the conquered state's law code.

The first colony to abolish slavery was the **Gold Coast** (now Ghana) in 1874, but the law was only enforced in areas close to the coast. In most areas, slave raiding was ended within a few years of conquest, and often the slave trade, too, but colonial regimes were cautious about ending slavery. They feared disruption and depended on slave-owning elites to administer their colonies. By the first years of the 20th century, Britain and France had more slaves living under their flags in Africa than they did in 1833 when they abolished slavery. In many areas, slaves freed themselves in the period after conquest. Some went home. Some found free land and in collaboration with other former slaves started to work it. Others gathered at mission stations eager to learn. Slaves who freed themselves were a large part of the early colonial working class and the educated elite.

The most massive exodus was in French West Africa, where events at a market town named **Banamba** started an exodus that may have involved as many as a million former slaves. In other areas, colonial regimes feared disruption. In Nigeria, **Frederick Lugard** moved quickly to end slave raiding and the slave trade and to set up a procedure called *murgu* by which slaves could purchase their own freedom. Otherwise, slaves were expected to continue working for their masters. Slaves were freed only in cases of maltreatment. Slavery was abolished in **Sierra Leone** only in 1927 and Nigeria in 1936. In the **Sudan**, the vestiges of the slave trade continued almost to World War II. In many areas, slavery declined as much through slave initiative and social change as through colonial legislation. Wage labor, military service, and migration aided slaves to establish their autonomy. Only in the **Sahara** and in a few areas where masters controlled access to land did slaves remain under control of their masters past World War II.

See also PONTY, WILLIAM (1866–1915); SOUTH AFRICAN SLAVERY.

EMANCIPATION, EAST ASIA. East Asian societies had very hierarchical social systems, but in modern times, none of them depended on slave labor. In **China** and Vietnam, several forms of slavery existed, but the state had always discouraged a large-scale development of slavery. In 1909, China abolished slavery, but the Ch'ing dynasty was in its last days. The period after the end of the dynasty in 1912 saw disunity, natural disasters, poverty, and misery. Poor families often sold their daughters, who became servants or prostitutes, and sometimes their sons. Only with the triumph of the Chinese communists in 1949 was slavery effectively destroyed. In Vietnam, slavery was technically abolished when the colonial regime introduced the French penal code in 1879, but the anti-slavery provisions were not strictly enforced.

The French did suppress piracy, which provided female slaves for the cities of South China. **Korea** moved away from slave labor before coming in contact with the West. Korea had a highly developed slave system, but in 1775 it established a policy of gradual emancipation. From 1806, slave status could no longer be passed to the next generation. In 1895, it was abolished altogether. In **Japan**, slavery had never been important. Under the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1868), there was a rigid system of hierarchical obligation, but no slavery.

EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA. The process of emancipation in Hispanic America took a half century. The speed with which former Spanish colonies embraced emancipation depended on the importance of slave-based production and the development of capitalism. Slave resistance and flight were also important. So was intermarriage and cohabitation between European men and slave women. Slaves were less numerous than in Brazil or the West Indies. Only in a few areas, like the coasts of Venezuela and Peru, did slaves number more than 10 percent of the population. Furthermore, there were traditions of manumission, particularly the institution of *coartación*, which had created large free black and mulatto populations.

It was, however, the wars of independence that sped up the process. Leaders like **Simón Bolívar** in Venezuela and José Artigas in Uruguay believed that Spain's colonies could not struggle for liberation while leaving large populations in chains. Bolívar freed his own slaves. In 1816, in exchange for arms aid, Bolívar promised Haiti's president, Alexandre Pétion, that he would free all of the slaves. The early stages of the struggle for independence were usually led by white landowning elites. The Royalists appealed to slaves of the rebels and to landless groups. Increasingly, as the war progressed, both sides offered freedom to slave soldiers who enlisted. Bolívar and **José de San Martín** often freed slaves in contested areas, and different kinds of anti-slavery legislation were passed in different countries. The slave trade was abolished in Chile and Venezuela in 1811, Argentina in 1812, and Mexico in 1821. In many areas, "**free womb**" laws were passed, which granted freedom to children born of slave mothers, though sometimes only on reaching maturity. Such laws were passed in Chile in 1811, Argentina in 1813, and Peru and Gran Colombia in 1821. Promises made during the war aroused the expectations of slaves. Many left their masters, particularly during periods of disorder. Some fled to rural refuges, but many sought anonymity and new lives in the cities.

Slave owners were, however, almost everywhere able to block total emancipation. Only in four of the new states was slavery completely abolished: Chile in 1823, the Central American Federation in 1824, Mexico in 1829, and Uruguay in 1830. These were all areas with few slaves. Bolívar's plea for emancipation at the **Congress of Angostura** (1819) was rejected. The

congress was only willing to confirm the emancipation of those freed by rebel commanders and to approve the end of the slave trade and a gradual process of emancipation. Two years later, at Cúcuta, it was decided that children of slave mothers would be freed, but would receive that freedom only at age 18 and then only if a local committee thought they were able to cope with freedom. In Bolivia, slavery was prohibited by the constitution in 1826, but a form of **peonage** was established. Wherever plantations existed, once the struggle was over, planters tried to restore their control over slaves or former slaves. Peru even reestablished the slave trade for a while. In most of the new states, landowners were powerful enough to influence the ways laws were interpreted.

The independence struggle had reduced the number of slaves. Few new slaves were being imported, and many were purchasing their freedom. The contraction of slave numbers often made slavery uneconomic. Slaves also resisted plantation discipline and sometimes fled or revolted. Free labor was used in the development of coffee lands, partly because slaves were no longer available. Where industrial development took place, it involved free labor. The end of slavery was attractive to industrial capital because it created a more mobile labor force. In addition, many educated Latin Americans, influenced by European liberal ideals, were convinced that slavery was inefficient, and some thought it immoral. Bolivia and Colombia abolished slavery in 1851, Ecuador in 1852, Argentina in 1853, Venezuela in 1854, Peru in 1855, and Paraguay in 1862. By this time slavery existed only in Cuba and Puerto Rico, which were still Spanish colonies, and in Brazil. In these areas, sugar had created a powerful interest in the perpetuation of slavery. Emancipation was to take another generation there.

See also ABOLITION, BRAZIL; CUBAN SLAVERY; HISPANIC AMERICA.

EMANCIPATION, INDIA. Slavery was a recognized institution in almost all Asian countries. The patterns of emancipation varied. Emancipation came first in India. The British Emancipation Act of 1833 did not affect India because India was ruled by the British East India Company rather than by the British crown. The British Parliament, however, pressured the East India Company, and in 1843, Act V abolished slavery by withdrawing support of the state and guaranteeing the rights of slaves. A master could no longer go to court to enforce his control and could be punished for using violence against a slave. No government official could sell slaves to collect taxes. No person could be deprived of property on the grounds that he was a slave. The company did little to publicize the act, and the officials responsible for enforcing it had little interest in doing so. Many of them profited from the labor of slaves.

In 1858, the Government of India Act gave Great Britain control of India. The Indian Penal Code of 1860 made slave trading, keeping slaves, and abduction for the purpose of slave trading criminal offenses punishable by up to 10 years of imprisonment. It is not clear how much effect these laws had. The problem in India is that there were a variety of servile statuses and relationships. Traditional forms of servitude faded, but masters often found other ways to maintain control over their dependents. Caste rules often helped them do it, but the most important institution was **bonded labor**, in which debt was used to keep rural labor under the control of landlords. In the transformation of forms of labor control, masters often benefited from the sympathy of local officials. The freed slaves were a major source of **indentured labor** as various parts of the British Empire turned to India to meet the needs of plantation economies. Indian indentured laborers went to Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa, and the West Indies, often to replace freed slaves no longer willing to work on plantations.

See also INDIAN SLAVERY.

EMANCIPATION, MIDDLE EAST. The relations of the Muslim Middle East with Europe faced many challenges during the 19th century. Some Muslims prospered in trade with Europe and often invested some of their profits in the purchase of slaves, mostly from Africa. At the same time, Muslim states faced pressure from Great Britain to end the slave trade. In 1846, Tunisia abolished slavery and Persia prohibited further imports of slaves by sea. In Ottoman Turkey, the Istanbul slave market was closed in 1846, and slave imports were ended in 1857 after the Crimean War. In 1877, **Egypt** agreed to suppress the slave trade, and after the establishment of British hegemony, slavery itself was phased out. By 1900, there were almost no slaves left.

Conservative forces in the Muslim world resisted these pressures to abolish slavery. Though Islamic law contains more restrictions on slavery and slaving than Christian law, many Muslims resented the imposition of abolition by Christians. These groups were particularly important on the Arabian Peninsula. Elsewhere, change was affecting the very groups who once held slaves. Elites found themselves going to Europe and investing more in consumer goods than in the service of slaves. In the early 20th century, new modernizing groups of intellectuals, bureaucrats, and army officers were coming to power in many Muslim countries. They were often hostile to slavery as an institution that slowed economic and social change. Slavery was already in decline. The *devshirme* system had been ended in the 17th century. The trade in white slaves was prohibited in 1830 and the trade in black slaves in 1858. Measures were taken against slavery, though it was not definitive until the abolition of the sultanate in 1922 by Kemal Ataturk, the disbanding of the imperial harem, and the total abolition of slavery. In **Iran**,

there was a similar series of anti-slavery actions during the 19th century, but the culmination was the abolition of slavery in 1928 by Shah Reza Pahlavi, a reformer who saw it as a barrier to modernization. In 1962, Saudi Arabia abolished slavery, and in 1970 Yemen also did so. The last country to abolish slavery was **Mauritania**, where the French tolerated the continued existence of slavery throughout the colonial period in spite of French law.

See also AHMAD BEY (1806–1855); ARABIA; ISLAM; OTTOMAN SLAVERY.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. When the American Civil War began, **Abraham Lincoln** was reluctant to emancipate the slaves because he still hoped to negotiate the return of the rebel states to the Union. In 1862, under pressure from abolitionists and African-American leaders, he began to move on the issue. In April, Congress approved emancipation in the District of Columbia with limited compensation. Two months later, Lincoln signed bills freeing slaves who came over to the Union side and slaves in the territories. By this time, slaves in various war zones were voting with their feet and fleeing to areas occupied by Union forces. Finally, on 1 January 1863, he issued a proclamation that “all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be, then, thenceforward, and forever free.”

The proclamation was greeted by African-Americans with thanksgiving services and other kinds of celebration. It helped to further undermine the Confederate economy as slaves continued to leave the plantations and other sites of enslavement and offer their services to Union forces. It did not affect more than 800,000 slaves in the border states, which had remained within the Union or areas already occupied by the Union army, though the local legislature abolished slavery in Louisiana in 1864 and the governor of Missouri ended slavery by executive order in 1865. Others had to wait for the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the U.S. Constitution.

See also EMANCIPATION, UNITED STATES; RECONSTRUCTION.

EMANCIPATION, SOUTHEAST ASIA. Slavery was important throughout Southeast Asia, but the paths chosen for emancipation were very different. With most Southeast Asian states, emancipation came with colonization, but in Thailand it was part of a policy of modernization designed to fend off the European powers. Thailand always had a large slave population. Nineteenth-century estimates ran as high as one-third of the population. In the 19th century, economic life in Thailand was changing. Chinese were immigrating in large numbers. Rice exports were growing, as was wage labor. Hiring wage labor increasingly became more attractive than buying slaves. At the same time, Thailand was interested in avoiding colonization. Two

modernizing monarchs, Mongkut (1851–1868) and **Chulalongkorn** (1868–1910), moved first to limit slavery and then gradually to abolish it. In 1868, it was forbidden for a man to sell his wife or children without the wife's consent. Six years later, Chulalongkorn set up a schedule under which the price of liberty for any person born after 1868 would be reduced year by year. Thus, when slavery was abolished in 1905, it was no longer a major source of labor.

Indonesia included a number of very different cultures and had a number of forms of servitude. The exploitation of slave labor was intensified under the Dutch from the early 17th century. Dutch officials often ran large households staffed with slaves. The agricultural economy in many areas also depended on slave labor, though in many areas slavery evolved into a kind of serfdom. Elsewhere, particularly on Java, the importance of slavery declined as the growth of the population and the increased impoverishment of the peasantry made cheap labor readily available. In addition, tributary states grew in power to the point where they could get labor without reliance on slaves. The Netherlands abolished the slave trade in 1807. This was repeated in 1818 by the restored monarchy, but trading continued, as did raiding by pirates. Only in 1860 did the Netherlands prohibit the ownership of slaves, but this was applied only to Europeans and Chinese in areas under direct Dutch control. From 1874, the colonial government required local administrators to propose measures for freeing slaves under their jurisdiction. From 1878, they pushed emancipation more vigorously, but some forms of bondage persisted until World War II. In the long run, only population growth, impoverishment, an increase in wage labor, and an increased concern for liberty have eroded traditional forms of bondage.

Elsewhere, emancipation came with colonization. The French signed treaties with Cambodia in 1877 and 1884 that had anti-slavery clauses, but they did not act decisively until after occupation in 1897. In Malaya, the British moved in piecemeal fashion, state by state, against slavery and debt bondage. Anti-slavery legislation was not firmly in place in all states until 1915. In Burma, the British acted with similar caution, acting in eastern Burma only in 1926.

See also CAMBODIAN SLAVERY; INDONESIA SLAVERY; LAOS; SULU SULTANATE; THAI SLAVERY.

EMANCIPATION, UNITED STATES. There were two patterns of emancipation in the United States. In the North, emancipation was freely voted by state legislatures and usually gradual. In the South, it was sudden and cataclysmic because it was produced by war. West of the Appalachians and north of the Ohio River, states entered the Union free.

Slaves in the North engaged in many different kinds of work and were in some states quite numerous, particularly in New York and New Jersey. Slavery was not, however, crucial to the functioning economy, nor were there powerful groups that depended on slavery for their wealth and well-being. Still, slavery was abolished first in areas with few slaves. Vermont, scheduled to become the 14th state, prohibited slavery in its first constitution in 1777. In 1780, Pennsylvania approved a “**free womb**” law under which all children born after that date were freed. In Massachusetts, efforts to pass an abolition law failed, but the courts held that slavery was incompatible with the state’s Bill of Rights. By 1790, there were no slaves left. Connecticut ended the import of slaves in 1774, freed slaves who served in the colonial army, and, after the Revolution, passed a gradual emancipation law that all slaves born after 1784 should be free on reaching the age of 25. Rhode Island passed a similar law. New York in 1799 and New Jersey in 1804 passed weaker laws that made possible some payment to the masters. Slavery was not definitively ended until 1827 in New York and 1846 in New Jersey.

In border states, slavery was not abolished, but manumission was more frequent than in the South. The ease of escape to free states limited the harshness of exploitation. By 1860, most African-Americans in Delaware and about half of those in Maryland were free. Slavery in Maryland ended with the approval of a new constitution in 1864. Manumission was less common in Kentucky, which was almost a quarter slave in 1860, but by the end of the Civil War, 75 percent of those had fled to freedom. Missouri, which was only about 10 percent slave, saw bitter fighting, but in early 1865, the governor ended slavery by executive proclamation.

The South was another matter. After his election, **Abraham Lincoln** tried to convince the South that he had no intention to do anything about slavery where it already existed. He was even willing to support a constitutional amendment to protect slavery in the South. Once the war began, however, slaves took the issue into their own hands by fleeing into areas controlled by Union troops. Some Union generals returned slaves to their masters, but others like **Benjamin Butler** treated slaves as contraband, preferring to have them working for the Union army rather than constructing fortifications for the rebel armies. Congress supported this policy with the Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862. Lincoln remained reluctant, but as Union armies advanced, slave owners fled and many slaves, while not yet legally freed, began organizing their lives and work. In 1862, Congress freed slaves in the District of Columbia and in all of the territories. Finally, on 1 January 1863, Lincoln issued the **Emancipation Proclamation**, which freed all slaves in areas in rebellion. From that point, the war became a war to end slavery. African-American soldiers, most of them former slaves, were recruited, and Union armies freed slaves wherever they went. Lincoln asked the border states to approve gradual **compensated emancipation**, but they resisted. Neverthe-

less, slavery was abolished in Maryland and Missouri. Elsewhere it ended by the **Thirteenth Amendment**, which was passed by Congress in early 1865 and ratified by the states before the end of the year.

The period after the war saw radical differences over what freedom meant. Congress created the **Freedmen's Bureau**, which for four years played a major role in assisting former slaves. Missionaries and teachers went into the South to help the freed slaves. The Southern states tried to reestablish their control over the former slaves with **Black Codes**, which severely restricted the freedom of former slaves. Congress responded with the **Fourteenth Amendment**, which defined the rights of the free slaves and limited the ability of the states to restrict those rights. The Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed the freed slaves the right to vote. The freed slaves, however, wanted land, which few of them got. Lacking land and capital, most freed slaves slipped back into a dependent position after the end of Reconstruction returned control of the Southern states to white elites.

See also RECONSTRUCTION.

ENCOMIENDA. The encomienda served as an alternative to slave labor in Spanish America. During the 15th century, conquered people were often “commended” to one of the Spanish conquistadors. The *encomendero* was to teach Indians in his charge basic tenets of the Catholic faith and how to live in a “civilized” manner. In exchange, they owed him either tribute or labor. In theory, the Indians could not be sold or rented out. In practice, there were many violations of the system. The system became a massive tribute collection system. From early on, Spanish priests like **Bartolomé de Las Casas** and **Antonio de Montesinos** criticized the abuses and called for an end to the system. The New Laws of 1542 were an attempt to end the encomienda, but they were not completely successful.

ENCYCLOPÉDIE. The *Encyclopédie* (Encyclopedia) was the most famous reference book of its time. Begun as a translation of an early British encyclopedia, it eventually had 35 volumes of text and articles by many of the leading thinkers of the French **Enlightenment**. It came out between 1750 and 1772 and several times was banned because its ideas were considered subversive. A second edition published between 1776 and 1780 added more articles. A number of the articles dealt with slavery, for example, articles on “Slavery,” “Slave Trade,” “Natural Liberty,” and “Maroons.” They summed up the thought of Enlightenment abolitionists. They argued that freedom is an inalienable natural right, that people cannot dispose of their freedom, and that slavery is a crime against nature because it denies a basic human right. They criticized Europeans and European institutions such as the state and

church for condoning and participating in slavery and the slave trade. Finally, they argued that free labor was more productive than slave labor and would create greater prosperity.

ENLIGHTENMENT. The Enlightenment was a body of thought in the 18th century that was based on a belief in progress and in the ability of reason to make a better life for humanity. Most Enlightenment thinkers were not abolitionist, but they were the first to collectively question slavery. They did so first by questioning the traditional justifications of slavery: its existence in biblical times, Aristotelian philosophy, and the belief that enslavement in a just war was morally acceptable. Baron de **Montesquieu**'s *Spirit of the Laws* (1748) argued that slavery was immoral and that all humans had certain natural rights. Voltaire's *Candide* (1759) mocked the cruelty of slavery, and **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** in *The Social Contract* (1762) argued that humans are born free and endowed with certain natural human rights. Many of these ideas were incorporated in the 35-volume *Encyclopédie*.

If the French thought in terms of natural rights, the Scotch philosopher **Adam Smith** argued in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) that slavery was inefficient. Smith believed that labor was more efficient where free and motivated by self-interest. Smith, **Benjamin Franklin**, David Hume, Comte de Mirabeau, Pierre Du Pont de Nemours, and Jacques Turgot criticized slavery not on humanitarian grounds, but because they saw it as a barrier to social and economic progress. If much Enlightenment thought remained abstract, it was partly because many Enlightenment thinkers believed that Africans were inferior, and some even had money invested in the slave trade. A number, however, did move to a more activist position. The *Reflections on Slavery* (1781) by Marquis de **Condorcet** proposed a plan for gradual emancipation. Condorcet was one of the founders of the Society of the Friends of Blacks (*Société des Amis des Noirs*), the first French abolitionist organization. The main contribution of the Enlightenment was not action, however, but its attack on the justifications of slavery and its argument that all human beings have certain natural rights.

ENSLAVEMENT. There are many ways people became slaves. The largest number were born into slavery and had no choice, particularly if both of their parents were slaves. Of the others, the biggest group was probably those taken as prisoners of war. These could be either enemy soldiers, camp followers, or members of a conquered society. In Christian thought, there is a notion that a person taken prisoner in a **just war** is subject to enslavement. Under strict interpretations of Islamic law, a person could only be enslaved if taken prisoner in a religious war. **Orlando Patterson** has suggested that for these people, enslavement is an alternative to death.

Where slaving became a business, slave raiding and kidnapping became a major source of slaves, and there was little effort to justify enslavement. Bands of warriors raided neighboring societies, and in some cases kidnapers operated within their own community. Persons had become a commodity. Some, like the Phoenicians, **Vikings**, or sea raiders of the **Sulu** Archipelago, ranged far from home. In these situations, a number of other sources became important. Criminal penalties were converted into enslavement. Conviction for theft, witchcraft, or sexual crimes could lead to enslavement. So, too, **debt** was a major source of enslavement. Where money had become important but land had little value, a person's only source of credit was himself. In much of Asia, the debtor or his family could be enslaved if a debt was not paid. The Ottoman *devshirme* was a tax in which a certain number of boys were taken from Christian communities.

EQUIANO, OLAUDAH (1745–1797). As an 11-year-old boy, Olaudah Equiano was kidnapped along with his sister from the Igbo village (Nigeria) where he was born. He was sold to slavers and shipped to America, where he was fortunate not to be sent to a plantation. Instead, he was sold to a British navy officer. After serving with his master in the Seven Years' War, he expected to be freed, but instead he was returned to the Americas where he worked for a merchant. Serving on sailing ships, he was able to make enough money from petty trading to buy his freedom at the age of 21. He spent most of the rest of his life in England, where he became a Christian, a leader in the African community, and an active abolitionist. He was involved briefly in the effort to resettle free blacks in Freetown, **Sierra Leone**, but had a falling-out with the organizers of the project. In 1788 he published *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, which described his childhood in Nigeria, the horrors of the **Middle Passage**, and the racism that slavery brought in its wake. An eloquent book, it was translated into a number of other languages. Equiano spent his last years lecturing on the evils of slavery.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; ENSLAVEMENT.

ETHIOPIA. Slavery and the slave trade were very old in Ethiopia. We know that in the middle of the second millennium BCE, Egyptians purchased slaves from Punt, which is believed to be either Eritrea or Somalia. Aksum (c. 100–940 CE), which was based in northern Ethiopia, used slaves and traded in slaves. The *Fetha Negast*, the 13th-century law code of Christian Ethiopia, allowed the enslavement of non-Christians but prohibited the export of slaves. Muslim subjects and neighbors were not so inhibited. The number of slaves exported fluctuated but was steady over the previous 800 years. They were mostly exported through ports in what is now Eritrea. Ethiopian slaves were highly valued. The women were considered beautiful.

Ethiopian male slaves like **Malik Ambar** were valued in both the Ottoman Empire and India. In India many were important as soldiers and administrators. Between 1400 and 1900, an estimated 1.5 million slaves were exported from Ethiopia. Most of the slave exports went into the Ottoman Empire. Within Ethiopia, slaves were numerous, but primarily as domestic servants.

In the second half of the 19th century, after a period of decline, a series of modernizing emperors created a more centralized state and extended Ethiopian control over much of what is today southern Ethiopia. Two of these emperors, Johannes in 1875 and Menelik II in 1889, issued anti-slavery edicts but made no serious attempt to enforce these edicts. Menelik's armies took numerous slaves in his conquest of what is now southern Ethiopia, exported them to Arabia and the Middle East, and used them, particularly in his army and administration. After World War I, stories about the continued existence of slavery in Ethiopia in 1922 jeopardized the desire of the regent, Ras Tafari Makonnen (later Emperor Haile Selassie), to enter the **League of Nations** and created fears of European annexation. Ethiopia was admitted to the League, but only on condition of acting against slavery.

Ras Tafari feared that the immediate freeing of an estimated 2 million slaves would cause social disruption. He was also ruling in collaboration with the very conservative Empress Zawditu Menelik and feared that the opposition would rally around her. He did, however, within the next two years produce a series of decrees that radically reduced the importance of slavery. He freed all slaves who served in the army or wanted to enter the clergy. The export of slaves was forbidden, and slaves running away had to be claimed within eight days and only by the master or a customs official. All children of slaves were proclaimed free at birth. However, in 1932, the **British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society** estimated that there were still about 2 million slaves in Ethiopia, about a quarter of the population. Italy used the continued existence of slavery as a justification for its invasion in 1935. They abolished slavery. Then, in 1942, after Haile Selassie returned with the British army, he proclaimed the end of slavery.

EUNUCHS. Eunuchs are men who have been castrated. They have almost always been slaves. There is evidence of eunuchs as far back in antiquity as the ancient Near East and ancient China. Eunuchs have been associated in most societies with **harems**. As men deprived of their sexuality, eunuchs were used to guard and administrate harems. Often they were the only men with access to the harem besides the king himself. This, however, put them in the heart of many royal palaces. Both the king and his potential heirs lived in close proximity to eunuchs. They were men who had been removed from their families and were unable to create families of their own. This made them very dependent and loyal. They were thus entrusted with important positions in the palace, and from there they often moved into key administra-

tive positions in the state. This was true in China, in the Roman Empire, and in many Muslim states like the Ottoman Empire. Some served as military leaders. The Chinese eunuch **Cheng Ho** led a series of great voyages to South Asia and East Africa. The Prophet Mohammed criticized the use of eunuchs, but many Muslim states used them.

See also ELITE SLAVES; ISLAM.

EXODUS. The book of Exodus is the second book of the Jewish and Christian **Bible**. Though the events described in it probably did not take place the way the Bible narrates them, the story has been an inspiration to both Jews and Christians. The story actually begins in the book of Genesis, when Joseph is sold into slavery by brothers jealous because of his father's affection for him. Joseph eventually earned the Pharaoh's favor and became the most powerful official in Egypt. When a drought struck the region, his brothers came to Egypt to try to buy grain. Joseph forgave them and helped them to settle in Egypt.

The book of Exodus refers to a Pharaoh who "knew not Joseph" and reduced the Hebrews to slavery. When a leader, Moses, emerges among the Hebrews and Pharaoh refuses to let them go, God smites Egypt with 10 plagues and then, when Pharaoh temporarily recants, parts the Red Sea so that the Hebrews can leave. They then wander in the desert for 40 years before God lets them enter the land of Canaan. During this period, Moses is at times sorely tried, but he is given the Ten Commandments and the Hebrew law.

The story of the Exodus is one of the defining tales of the Jewish tradition. Every year, at the Passover festival, they celebrate the Exodus and praise God who took them from slavery in Egypt. The story of Exodus is also referred to by the Prophets and comes up at other times in Hebrew religious writings. It was also important to North American abolitionists who saw in it God's condemnation of slavery and criticism of the way American slaveholders treated their slaves. Finally, it has been important to oppressed peoples. African-Americans see in the story of Joseph an allegory for the slave trade and, in flight from slavery, the possibility of liberation and the hope that God will reward slaves for their suffering and punish those who persecuted them. It is a tradition that has regularly been celebrated in sermons, folktales, and spirituals like "Go Down Moses."

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FALCONBRIDGE, ALEXANDER (c. 1760–1792). Alexander Falconbridge was born to a poor family in Bristol, a major port in the slave trade. Lacking the funds to become a doctor, he became a surgeon, then a less prestigious occupation. He worked as a surgeon on four slave voyages. In 1787, disillusioned by the trade, he quit and became an apprentice doctor. The same year, he met **Thomas Clarkson** and became an abolitionist. In 1788, he published *An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa*. A large, resolute man, he traveled with Clarkson as a bodyguard during a research trip to Liverpool, which was probably dangerous for both of them. He was also one of Clarkson's informants and may have helped him to make contacts with other informants. In 1790, he testified to a House of Commons committee investigating the slave trade. In 1791, he was sent to **Sierra Leone** to help organize Freetown. His wife, Anna Maria, who accompanied him, did not share his views. She came from a family involved in the slave trade. The two fought. Toward the end of 1792, he died. Soon afterward, she published *Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone during the Years 1791–1792–1793*, which took a very different view of the slave trade and was critical of her husband.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

FAMILIA CAESARIS. The “family of Caesar” consisted of those slaves and ex-slaves of the Roman Empire who served either the administration of the palace or the state. They were a very powerful group. The origin of their power was their proximity to the emperor and the rivalry between the emperor and the Senate. The emperor could trust slaves, who were totally dependent on him. Slaves handled most of the finances, petitions to the emperor, and correspondence with provincial governors and foreign states. Many members of the *familia caesaris* were **eunuchs**. Most slaves in the administrative services were freed at about the age of 30, so senior positions tended to be held by freedmen. Even before they were freed, the emperor's slaves

had more rights than other slaves, for example, the right to marry free women. Many of them also grew wealthy, and they had the right to dispose of their wealth.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; ELITE SLAVES.

FEDON'S REBELLION. Grenada was a West Indian island that was ceded to Great Britain by the French in 1763 after their defeat in the Seven Years' War. Both French whites and the free colored resented restrictions on their language, religion, and right to hold office. It was, however, the rising on **Saint-Domingue** and the **French Revolution** that stimulated the revolt. The leader, a free colored planter named Julien Fedon, took action under the French Revolutionary slogan of "liberty, equality and fraternity." When the revolt began on 1 March 1795, Fedon freed the slaves and armed them. With the aid of a small force from Guadeloupe, Fedon seized most of the island and confined the British to the capital, St. George. In March 1795, a British force of 5,000 men landed. Fedon tried to wage a guerrilla campaign, but within four months, his forces were destroyed. His fate is not known. The British used summary executions, show trials of free colored leaders, and deportation of many participants. The revolt was the most important challenge to British authority during its wars with the French. It came close to replicating events on Saint-Domingue. One effect of the damage caused by the revolt was that the British gave up trying to convert Grenada into a major sugar producer. Many of the remaining planters turned to the less demanding cultivation of spices.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; SLAVE REVOLTS.

FEE, JOHN GREGG (1816–1901). John Gregg Fee was a Kentucky abolitionist and educator. Born to a slave-owning father and a mother descended from Pennsylvania **Quakers**, he decided as a young man to become a minister and went to Ohio, where he studied at Miami University and at Lane Theological Seminary, a major center of abolitionist thought. He became an abolitionist there and married another abolitionist, Matilda Hamilton. In 1854, he tried to create in Berea, Kentucky, a colony for freed slaves and an anti-slavery school on land given to him by fellow abolitionist **Cassius Marcellus Clay**. After **John Brown's** raid on Harper's Ferry, pro-slavery demonstrators forced Fee and his teaching staff to flee to Ohio. He returned to Kentucky during the **Civil War** and began a mission to freed people. He was influential in getting Camp Nelson made a refugee camp for the wives and children of Union soldiers. In 1866, with the assistance of the **American Missionary Association**, he created Berea College, which was racially integrated and accepted women and the white poor. The school remained racially integrated until 1904, when a Kentucky law prohibited racially integrated

schools. Berea people founded a school for black students called the Lincoln Institute, but in 1950, when integration once again became legal, the school integrated immediately.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

FINLEY, MOSES (1912–1986). Moses Finley was the most important student of slavery in classical antiquity and has influenced scholars writing on slavery elsewhere. Born and raised in New York, he taught at City College of New York and Rutgers University. When he declined to answer questions about his alleged membership in the Communist Party before a U.S. Senate committee in 1952, he was fired by Rutgers. He immediately received an offer from Cambridge University in England and spent the rest of his career there.

Ironically, though influenced by both Karl Marx and Max Weber, Finley was a consistent critic of communist historical thought, in particular the use by communist scholars of the concept of a **slave mode of production**. He developed instead the concept of a **slave society**, which was based on slave labor. He underlined the differences between slave societies, which were relatively rare, and societies in which slavery existed but was not basic to the operation of the economy. He described the emergence of a slave society in **ancient Greece** with the replacement of **debt slavery** by chattel slavery and of local slaves by those purchased or taken prisoner elsewhere. He argued that slavery was only one of a series of dependent statuses that existed on a continuum and that the history of slavery and freedom in antiquity was closely linked. For Finley, the lack of kinship ties was as important as the property relationship in defining slavery. He argued that any slave system had to be understood in the context of its time and place. Finley's views were presented in *The Ancient Economy* (1973), *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (1980), and numerous other books and articles. Since his death, it has become clear that the number of slave societies was greater than he thought.

FITZHUGH, GEORGE (1806–1881). George Fitzhugh was a lawyer in Port Royal, Virginia, who became one of the most articulate defenders of slavery. He wrote extensively in *De Bow's Review* and wrote two books, *Sociology of the South; or the Failure of Free Society* (1854) and *Cannibals All! or Slaves without Masters* (1857). He vigorously attacked the idea of equality, arguing that free laborers were “wage slaves” who would be better off in slavery and that slaves on Southern plantations were happy and well taken care of. He attacked liberal thinkers like **John Locke**, **Adam Smith**, and **Thomas Jefferson**. He defended patriarchy and argued that the Southern slave plantation was a harmonious society in which both slaves and masters

had obligations to each other. By contrast, he believed that only the existence of free land prevented industrial labor from being more intensely exploited, an argument that anticipated the later work of Frederick Jackson Turner. His analysis of industrial labor has echoes of Karl Marx, though he turned his analysis in a very different direction, arguing not for revolution but for patriarchal slavery. After the Civil War, he disappeared from view and died a poor man in 1881.

FOGEL, ROBERT WILLIAM (1926–2013), AND STANLEY ENGERMAN (1936–). Fogel and Engerman are economic historians who tried in *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (1974) to use modern statistical methods to understand **American slavery**. They were both trained at Johns Hopkins University. Engerman got his Ph.D. in 1962 and Fogel in 1963.

In *Time on the Cross*, Fogel and Engerman argued that American slavery was destroyed not because it failed economically but because of ideological opposition. They presented evidence that American slavery was a very flexible form of capitalism that was returning large profits and stimulating economic growth in the South. They argued that in material terms, slaves were often better off than many industrial workers in the North and that they actually worked fewer hours than their free counterparts. They insisted that slave labor was highly productive and that most slaves lived in normal families. They argued that rewards were more important than whipping and other forms of brutality. The book produced bitter attacks. Herbert Gutman, Paul David, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright argued that Fogel and Engerman used the wrong statistics or misinterpreted them. Most historians questioned some of the book's conclusions, but on its most important argument, that slavery was economically productive, their argument has been widely accepted. Historians would instead argue about why it was productive.

Fogel and Engerman have remained major figures in the economic history of slavery. Fogel won the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1993. He is particularly well known for *Without Consent and Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (1989), which picked up some of the themes not resolved by *Time on the Cross*. Engerman has continued to work on slavery, much of his best work appearing in articles. He has written or edited more the 16 books, often in collaboration with other scholars. With Joseph Inikori, he edited *The African Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies and Peoples in Africa, the Americas and Europe* (1992).

FORTEN, CHARLOTTE (1837–1914). Charlotte Forten was a free black woman active in the movements for abolition and women's rights. Born into a well-to-do African-American family in Philadelphia, she was sent to a

girls' school in Massachusetts because her father objected to the segregated schools in Philadelphia. At age 17, she joined the Salem Anti-Slavery Society and began publishing poetry in **William Lloyd Garrison's** *Liberator*. She taught at the Salem Normal School and in 1862 went to the recently conquered Sea Islands to teach freed children. Her memoirs of this period were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. In 1878 she married Francis Grimké, the son of a slave owner and a slave woman. Grimké was also the nephew of abolitionists **Angelina and Sarah Grimké**.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

FOSTER, ABIGAIL KELLEY (1811–1873). Abby Kelley was an abolitionist, a feminist, and a provocative figure in radical movements. A supporter of **William Lloyd Garrison**, she began lecturing in 1838. At the 1840 conference of the **American Anti-Slavery Society**, she was elected to an important committee. Her insistence on speaking led to a split in the movement when it provoked a group headed by **Lewis Tappan** to leave the organization over the question of the role of women. The fight brought her to prominence and influenced younger women like **Lucy Stone** and Susan B. Anthony. Kelley believed that the end of slavery and racial prejudice had to come first, but she was also a passionate supporter of women's rights. She was an effective organizer and fund-raiser. She lectured, organized campaigns, and raised money throughout the Northeast and the Middle Atlantic states. She was also one of the more radical figures in the movement. In 1859, Garrison attacked her fund-raising methods, leading her to withdraw from organizations he controlled, but she remained an important figure. During the **Civil War**, she was skeptical of the commitment of Lincoln and the Republican Party to emancipation and the rights of freed slaves. In the last years of her life, she turned her considerable talents to the women's rights and temperance movements.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. Right after the American **Civil War**, Congress passed the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the Constitution, which freed all remaining slaves. Many of the Southern states then passed "**Black Codes**," which restricted the rights of former slaves, denied them many rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, and forced them to work for former masters. Congress, which was dominated by Radical Republicans, then moved to protect the freed persons. The Fourteenth Amendment defined U.S. citizenship, affirmed that the freed slaves were citizens, and reduced the representation of states that denied black people the right to vote. It also restricted the rights of the states by making the Black Codes illegal and barring any legislation that would "deprive any person of life, liberty and

property without due process of law.” Congress sought to guarantee the rights of the freed slaves, but Southerners still managed to restrict the right to vote. As a result, Congress presented the states with the Fifteenth Amendment, which guaranteed adult black males the right to vote. It was ratified in 1870. The Fourteenth Amendment became the basis of much litigation in the century that followed as African-Americans used it in the quest for equality. It still took a century before the Civil Rights Act of 1965 guaranteed the descendants of freed slaves the rights the Fourteenth Amendment sought to protect.

See also RECONSTRUCTION.

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN (1706–1790). Benjamin Franklin was a late but effective convert to the abolitionist cause. As a young businessman, he owned slaves and even sold them as part of his retail business. In the 1750s, he became involved with a program to set up schools for African-American children. In the process, he became convinced of the abilities of black children. During the American Revolution, when he represented the American cause in Paris, he became a popular figure in France. He had warm relations with French scientists, with **Enlightenment** thinkers, and particularly with the founders of the French abolition movement. Even after returning home, he corresponded for years with French scientist and abolitionist **Marquis de Condorcet**. He remained silent, however, because he felt that while he was representing his country abroad during a war, he could not afford to alienate Southern slave owners. After his return to Philadelphia in 1785, he spoke out and became president of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. In the debates at the Constitutional Convention, he was concerned to compromise on issues that divided North and South, but after the Constitution was adopted, he advocated an end to slavery and suggested a plan for freeing slaves and integrating them into American life. One of his last political acts before his death was a debate with a Southern congressman in which he parried a hostile attack with the wit and sense of humor for which he was known.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; PEOPLE OF COLOR.

FREEDMEN. In almost all slave societies, some **manumission** is allowed. Manumission makes it possible for masters to reward those who serve them well and also provides an outlet for the energies of people of talent. In societies where slavery is highly developed, freed slaves often have a status somewhere between slaves and those born free. They also often remain attached to the families of their former owners. In Africa, the slave remained dependent because he or she had no family. In a society where kinship relations were important, the freed slave often had no choice but to maintain links with the former master’s family because he had no kin. In some ethnic

groups, this might involve gifts to the former master, but the freedman also had the right to seek help when in need. Former slaves also played a role in family festivities, for example, doing the cooking at a wedding or a naming ceremony. In Rome, freed slaves became citizens, but continued work for the patron was often part of the manumission agreement. Slaves also had an obligation to “respect.” They could not join the army and rarely became senators. Some freedmen became wealthy or were successful in other spheres.

In the Americas, such clientship relationships were rare. The problem freedmen faced in the Americas was rooted in racial difference. Elsewhere, slaves were not racially distinct. In the Americas, both those who were freed individually over the years and those freed when slavery was abolished faced racial discrimination and legal disabilities because they were black. Many of the free blacks in the Americas were the light-skinned offspring of white fathers and slave women. In some cases, their fathers arranged for them to learn a skill, and a few became quite wealthy. They tended to gather in the cities where they intermarried and formed self-sufficient communities. Nevertheless, free **people of color** often faced great difficulty. The Spanish and Portuguese were more generous, the English and Dutch less so, but no society in the Americas accepted freed persons as the social equal of whites. In the United States, they could not vote, were regarded with suspicion by whites, and were often in danger of being reenslaved. In spite of this, there was a small number of freed persons who became wealthy and even came to own slaves.

See also ELLISON, WILLIAM (1790–1861); GRAY, SIMON (c. 1810–1870); HISPANIC AMERICA.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU. In March 1865, five weeks before the Civil War ended, Congress set up the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Land, better known as the Freedmen's Bureau, to administer the process of emancipation. It was given the right to distribute confiscated lands in plots of not over 40 acres, to adjudicate disputes, to investigate violence, and to distribute food and clothing. It was headed by General O. O. Howard, and many of its agents were former Union officers. The Freedmen's Bureau helped mission societies build and establish schools for the children of freed slaves. It also helped to feed and clothe refugees during the hectic period after the war. It monitored state courts, investigated violence against freed persons, and reported on their conditions. It was particularly concerned that freed persons were treated fairly.

It faced the hostility of Andrew Johnson, who had become president of the United States after Lincoln's assassination. Its original mandate was for one year. When Congress voted to extend it, Johnson vetoed the bill, but Congress overrode his veto. Johnson also gave an amnesty to former Confeder-

ates and ordered land restored to its former owners. This meant that the former slaves received nothing but their freedom. When the bureau closed operations in 1869, former slaves had become a poor landless rural peasantry.

See also RECONSTRUCTION.

FREE SOIL PARTY. The Free Soil Party was not opposed to slavery. It was organized in 1848 to oppose the extension of slavery into territories taken over in the **Mexican-American War**. Its slogan was “No more slave states and no more slave territories.” Free Soilers believed in the superiority of small farmers to slaves and preferred family farms to large plantations. The Free Soilers replaced the Liberty Party as the major anti-slavery political party. Where the **Liberty Party** was not successful, the Free Soilers received 14 percent of the Northern presidential vote in 1848. They also elected seven congressmen and two senators, one of whom was **Salmon P. Chase**. When the Republican Party was formed in 1854 with a commitment to a Free Soil policy, most Free Soilers joined it.

FREE THE CHILDREN. In 1995, a 12-year-old Canadian boy named Craig Kielburger read about the murder of a bonded laborer of the same age named **Iqbal Masih**. Horrified by this act and by the conditions under which **bonded laborers** lived, Kielburger started raising money in his own 7th-grade class and then elsewhere. With the support of his family, he traveled to India and Pakistan and met with children who were bonded laborers. His experiences were written up in a book entitled *Free the Children*. In its early years, the organization Free the Children focused on organizing children to raising money and to bring pressure to end bonded labor. With time, it spread out to work in other countries and to address the causes of poverty that were barriers to children’s education. It builds schools, digs wells, provides medical care, and develops alternative sources of income in India, China, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Haiti, Ecuador, and Ghana. In 2008, it completed its 500th school.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY.

FREE THE SLAVES (FTS). Free the Slaves is the largest anti-slavery organization in the United States. It was founded in 2001 by **Kevin Bales** after favorable responses to his book, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*. It was originally associated with **Anti-Slavery International** and is active in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It gathers and publishes information on **contemporary forms of slavery**, it advocates for more active government anti-slavery policies, and it organizes anti-slavery activities. Within the United States, it works with local groups to stop **human**

trafficking and **sexual slavery**. It also tries to raise awareness of modern forms of slavery elsewhere. It focuses on six countries: Brazil, India, **Nepal**, Haiti, Ghana, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Much of its work is in southern Asia, where it estimates that two-thirds of the world's slaves exist. It also often works with local organizations. In Haiti, it supports *Fondasyon Limyè Lavi*, which combats a system called *restavek*, under which children of poor families are given to other families and exploited as laborers. In Congo, FTS is concerned with sexual slavery, **child labor**, forced marriage, and the use of force to make people work in mines without remuneration. In Ghana, FTS works with a network of 25 organizations that combat the exploitation of children in mining, fishing, and agriculture. In Brazil, it supports two organizations that work to combat slavery in remote areas, where people are coerced to work in clearing forests, producing charcoal, growing cotton, and raising cattle. Everywhere, it seeks to persuade countries to enforce anti-slavery legislation that is already on their books and to provide education and economic opportunities for those held in bondage by different devices. It tries to help people in bondage to resist their oppressors and to help themselves.

See also INDIAN SLAVERY.

FREETOWN. *See* SIERRA LEONE.

FREE WOMB LAWS. Under free womb laws, only children born after the date the law was passed were freed. These laws had low cost in that no person actually in slavery was immediately freed. Since the nominally free children were raised under the master's control, these laws also gave the masters a generation to find some way to control the labor of the descendants of slaves. Free womb laws were used in some of the states of the Northern United States. For example, the New York law passed in 1799 freed all slaves born after that date, women only after 21 years and men after 25. This approach to abolition was also popular in parts of Latin America, for example, the **Moret Law** (1870) in Cuba and the Rio Branco law in Brazil (1871).

See also ABOLITION, BRAZIL; ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; CUBAN SLAVERY.

FRENCH REVOLUTION. When the French Estates General gathered in May 1789, slavery was not one of its major concerns. For the bankrupt Louis XVI, the major issue was raising money. For most of the delegates gathered in Paris, the issues were their own grievances. They carried with them petitions of grievance, *cahiers de doléances*, from people of all classes in France and in the colonies. Most of their grievances were local. Within seven weeks, the Third Estate, which represented the vast majority of the people, had

proclaimed itself the National Assembly and unleashed a 26-year struggle that divided Europe and eventually transformed the political life of much of the rest of the world.

Underlying many of the issues debated by the revolutionaries was a belief in natural law and universal human rights. This found its first expression in the **Declaration of the Rights of Man**, which proclaimed that “Men are born free and remain free and equal in rights.” Though the declaration, like most documents of the Revolution, spoke in universal terms, its authors were still divided over who exactly were entitled to these rights. Only a small group gathered in the **Society of the Friends of Blacks** believed that such rights extended to black slaves, but they argued passionately for the rights of slaves.

In the short run, one important effect of these debates was the **Haitian Revolution**. The island of **Saint-Domingue**, which was then the world’s largest **sugar** producer, contained a sizable mixed-race population, some of whom were free planters and merchants. They sent a delegation to Paris headed by **Vincent Ogé** to ask for the extension of citizenship to free **persons of color** and for their representation in the National Assembly. When the National Assembly turned Ogé down and referred the issue back to the governor of Saint-Domingue, Ogé returned home and led a brief, unsuccessful revolt. Ten months later, taking advantage of the disorder, a rising of slaves began. The Haitian Revolution took 13 years and became the most successful slave revolution in history. It created fear among slave owners in many slave societies and inspired slaves in societies all over the Americas.

In the long run, the most important result of the French Revolution was that it entrenched two ideas in popular discourse. The first was that sovereignty lay with the people, that all people, including slaves, had the right to have a say in how they were governed. The second was that all human beings are endowed with the right to personal liberty. The French Revolution led to rule by Napoleon Bonaparte, and after Bonaparte’s defeat, to the restoration of the monarchy in 1815. This was, however, only a temporary setback. In 1848, when another revolution took place in France, the abolition of slavery throughout the French empire was approved quickly and without much debate. Anti-slavery had become a part of the republican agenda. By the time the Third Republic was created in 1871, the superiority of free labor and a belief in human rights had been accepted all over Europe. Among European societies, slavery existed only in Cuba and Brazil and was on the defensive there.

See also ABOLITION, BRAZIL; ABOLITION, FRANCE; CONDORCET, MARIE-JEAN-ANTOINE-NICOLAS CARITAT, MARQUIS DE (1741–1794); ENLIGHTENMENT; NATURAL LAW.

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS, UNITED STATES. Slave societies generally take measures to prevent the flight of slaves. At an early point in their history, U.S. and Brazilian colonists made arrangements with Amerindian tribes to return runaway slaves. In Jamaica, there was even a treaty with the Maroons, themselves originally runaways, to return all new runaways. The first fugitive slave law in the United States was part of the act prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory (1787). In the same year, a fugitive slave clause was added to the U.S. **Constitution**. It provided that any person fleeing labor obligations should be returned to his owner. A 1793 law set up procedures for returning runaways. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution assumed that states would enforce the law, but many Northern states responded with **personal liberty laws**, which guaranteed the fugitive a jury trial and required that state officials supervise the process to make sure that free blacks were not kidnapped. The Supreme Court held these acts unconstitutional, but some of the states responded with even stronger laws, which forbade state officials enforcing the federal law and denied the use of state prisons and courtrooms in fugitive slave cases. Throughout, the issue remained a basic concern for the South.

The **Compromise of 1850** included an amendment to the 1793 act that created local officials to enforce the law in every county in the country and established fines and prison sentences for anyone helping a slave escape from custody. Many fugitives fled the United States, taking refuge in Canada or Great Britain. This included people like **Frederick Douglass** who had been free for many years but feared a claim. In carrying out the law, federal officials were empowered to use the army and federal marshals. The law was bitterly resented in the North. Between 1850 and 1864, when it was repealed, fewer than 400 slaves were returned. Often the arrest and return was physically contested by abolitionists and free blacks. The Fugitive Slave Act played a major role in increasing sectional polarization in the decade before the Civil War.

See also *ABLEMAN V. BOOTH*; BURNS, ANTHONY (1834–1862); JERRY RESCUE; KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT (1854); SHADRACH MINKINS CASE.

FUTA JALLON. Futa Jallon is a West African state that became a major source of slaves during the 19th century. It is also the highest area in greater Senegambia, sometimes called the “water tower of West Africa” because it is the source of three major rivers, the Niger, the Senegal, and the Gambia. The most fertile areas are in valleys, which were worked by farmers known as Diallonke. Between the 13th and 15th centuries, Fulbe pastoralists began to move into the more barren uplands to graze their herds, often paying tribute

to Diallonke chiefs. Around 1725, an alliance of Fulbe and Diallonke Muslims began a **jihad** to convert their non-Muslim brethren and create a Muslim state.

The struggle was bitter. The Fulbe leaders increasingly relied on their fellow Fulbe, which caused their Diallonke allies to drop out. They also found that they could exchange war captives for arms. By 1776, they had complete control of the highlands, and the Diallonke had either fled or been reduced to slavery. They developed a federal constitution, in which the ruler, called the Almamy, was changed every two years. Within Futa Jallon, the Fulbe tended to live on the hills, while their slaves worked lands in the valleys. Slave labor made it possible for the Fulbe elite to devote themselves to war, religious learning, and politics. Alliances with other Muslim rulers made the Futa Jallon a crossroads for trade routes, particularly for trade in slaves. The conservatism of the regime and its commitments to social hierarchy alienated some more radical Muslims and created a series of resistance movements. The most successful was the **Hubbu**, which received runaway slaves and promoted a more democratic version of **Islam**. In spite of such opposition, the Futa state gradually extended its control over the neighboring area and remained involved with the slave trade until brought under the control of the French in 1894.

See also AFRICAN SLAVERY; AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

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GABRIEL'S REBELLION (1800). Gabriel's Rebellion was an effort to overthrow slavery in Virginia. Gabriel Prosser was a literate slave blacksmith, physically large and known for his intelligence. Though only 24 years old, he was respected in Henrico County, where he lived. As a blacksmith, he was frequently rented out by his owner. He was thus able to move around and make contact with slaves over a large area. The immediate stimulus to the rebellion was an incident in which he was caught trying to steal a pig and got into a fight with its owner. He escaped the gallows only because he was able to recite a verse from the Bible, but his treatment angered him. The plan of the rebellion was for three columns of slaves to march on the state capital, Richmond, to seize guns stored there, and to take Governor James Madison and a number of city leaders hostage. The plan failed when a thunderstorm on the day set for the rising prevented many slaves from arriving at the meeting place. Of the 500 to 600 who were aware of the plot, only 12 showed up. Recognizing that the uprising had failed, two slaves informed their master. The militia was called out. Gabriel was arrested fleeing on a boat. Twenty-six slaves, including Gabriel, were hanged. Eight others were sold to New Orleans. Unsuccessful as it was, the plot scared Virginia slave owners. Laws were passed prohibiting slaves from congregating on Sunday for religious services and requiring that any manumitted slave leave the state within 12 months of manumission.

See also SLAVE REVOLTS.

GAG RULE. A gag rule is a rule in a legislative body that limits or forbids discussion of a certain topic. Gag rules were a subject of intense debate in the U.S. House of Representatives during the 1830s and 1840s. By 1831, abolitionist groups were becoming numerous in the United States. They developed a tactic that had been used successfully by British abolitionists in submitting to Congress petitions on slavery signed by tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands of persons. From 1830, supporters of slavery imposed a gag rule which prevented them from being read or discussed. Former president **John Quincy Adams** took on the job of presenting these petitions and

opposing the gag rule, which he regarded as an infringement of freedom of speech. The gag rule did not always have the effect intended. It was designed to prevent discussion of abolition, but outside Congress, Northerners were offended by the gag rule. It probably increased the number of petitions and the number of signatures. In 1844, using this public opinion, Adams finally put together a coalition that ended the gag rule.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

GALLEY SLAVES. Galleys were boats that relied primarily on oar power, using sails only when winds were favorable. They were important in the Mediterranean for at least 2,000 years, particularly in war. The Greeks and Romans relied primarily on poor citizens, though slaves may have been used in some crises. In the Middle Ages, too, the oarsmen were mostly free, but from the 16th to the 18th century, galleys were rowed primarily by slaves and convicts. The slaves tended to be better oarsmen. In Christian ships, they were mostly Muslim prisoners or Orthodox Christians from Greece and eastern Europe. The Turks used galley slaves from Russia and Italy. Most were under 35 years of age. Poorly fed and harshly treated, they had a high mortality rate. When not on the water, they were often used for heavy work around the port. The galleys stopped being used about the middle of the 18th century.

See also MEDITERRANEAN SLAVERY.

GANGA ZUMBI. This was the title of the king of the **Maroon** state of Palmares created in the interior of Brazil after 1605 by slaves fleeing from sugar plantations of northeastern Brazil. The Ganga Zumbi seems to have become the ruler in the 1630s, when Dutch intervention in Brazil enabled increasing numbers of slaves to flee. The title probably comes from the Kimbundu words “Great Lord.” The Ganga Zumbi claimed to be a noble from **Kongo**, who had been enslaved when the Portuguese defeated a Kongo army. In his capital, he had a palace and three wives. He placed relatives in each of the other villages. He was an effective military leader who successfully repelled a number of Brazilian attacks. In 1678, he signed a treaty with Brazilians, but a faction led by his nephew, Zumbi, deposed him. Zumbi was killed when the Brazilians finally defeated Palmares. The story of Ganga Zumbi has been recounted in Brazil in several histories, novels, and films.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; QUILOMBO.

GARNET, HENRY HIGHLAND (1815–1882). Henry Highland Garnet was a distinguished African-American minister and abolitionist. He was born a slave on a Maryland tobacco farm, but his family escaped in 1824. He left school to go to sea at age 13 but on his first voyage was crippled. Unable to

do physical labor, he undertook theological studies. After receiving honors, he was ordained in 1842 and became the minister of a Presbyterian church in Troy, New York. He also became a leading abolitionist orator; founded the *Clarion*, a black weekly; and was one of the organizers of the National Convention of Colored Citizens and their Friends. In 1843, he gave a speech to the annual conference of the National Convention calling for slave insurrection. It very much divided abolitionists. He remained a militant voice for abolition, African culture, voluntary emigration, and aid to fugitive slaves. During the **Civil War**, he recruited for several black regiments and served as a chaplain. In 1856, he became the first African-American to address the U.S. Congress at a ceremony celebrating passage of the **Thirteenth Amendment**. In 1882, he died of malaria in Monrovia while serving as the U.S. minister to Liberia.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

GARRETT, THOMAS (1789–1871). Born into an anti-slavery **Quaker** family, Thomas Garrett early became involved in the problems of runaway slaves when kidnappers tried to sell a servant from his family home into slavery. He allied himself to **William Lloyd Garrison**, unlike most of his fellow Quakers who found Garrison's style too confrontational. He lived most of his life in Delaware, where he was a successful businessman. Delaware was a slave state where there was strong abolitionist sentiment. Collaborating with **William Still** in Philadelphia, he and a group of accomplices provided food, shelter, and transportation to runaway slaves. He later claimed that he aided over 2,700 runaways. This contributed to the legend of the **Underground Railroad**. On several occasions, **Harriet Tubman** led slaves to his home. Garrett was open about his activities. He was sued several times and on one occasion was almost thrown from a train while trying to keep a woman from being sold into slavery. After the **Civil War**, he worked for civil rights, women's suffrage, and temperance.

GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD (1805–1879). Garrison was the most important and most controversial abolitionist of his time. Born in a poor family with an alcoholic father and a deeply religious mother, Garrison was largely self-educated. He was apprenticed first to a shoemaker and then to a printer. In the 1820s he became a protégé of **Benjamin Lundy**, one of the leaders of the **American Colonization Society**, but he soon moved to more radical positions. In 1831, he began publishing *The Liberator*. Though it generally lost money, Garrison brought *The Liberator* out every week for 35 years. Most of its readers were African-Americans. His penchant for controversy and his radical positions often divided abolitionists and frequently aroused the ire of Northern mobs. A deeply religious man with a strong belief

in his own righteousness, Garrison denounced colonization and gradualism and repeatedly attacked slavery as a sin and slaveholders as sinners. He also denounced the U.S. Constitution because it sanctioned slavery, and he advocated secession by the North. He favored “moral suasion” over political action, and he supported an active role for women in the movement. During the early years of the **Civil War**, he regularly attacked Lincoln for moving slowly on abolition, but after the **Emancipation Proclamation**, he changed, supporting Lincoln’s 1864 reelection campaign.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

GENOVESE, EUGENE (1930–2012). Eugene Genovese was controversial for his questioning of many accepted ideas and for his application of Marxist theory to the history of slavery. After studying at Brooklyn College and Columbia University, Genovese made his mark with two books. In *The Political Economy of Slavery* (1961), he argued that slavery created a powerful slaveholding elite who needed capitalism and used capitalism but who were hostile to many of its fundamental values. He developed these ideas in *The World the Slave-Holders Made* (1969).

Genovese’s greatest book was *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1972). In it, he argued that slavery was shaped by the balance between paternalism and coercion on the master’s side and accommodation and resistance on the slave’s side. In Genovese’s hands, **Marxism** was freed from economic determinism and transformed into a powerful tool for analysis. He saw class struggle not in physical resistance but in the give-and-take of the **plantation**. Genovese used this approach to discuss religion, sexual relations, family life, and work. As he grew more conservative with age, his work increasingly focused on Southern planters and the way of life they created. He believed that slave life in the South was not marked by cruelty and constant degradation. He argued that the slaves successfully maintained a measure of human dignity and created a distinct African-American culture, but he also argued the importance of the planter’s paternalism in preventing revolt and encouraging a psychology of dependence. Genovese argued that American slavery differed from the West Indian variant because the planter usually lived on the plantation and maintained a personal relationship with his slaves. He was married to Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, also a well-known historian. During the 1990s, they both converted to Catholicism. She died in 2007.

GERMAN COAST REVOLT. The German coast was a stretch of the Mississippi River north of New Orleans. In January 1811, a group of slaves attacked a planter named Manuel Andry and killed his son. They then marched off downriver, burning plantation buildings and recruiting other

slaves as they went. Many whites fled to New Orleans or hid in the woods. A militia force was quickly gathered, and with the aid of regular army troops, they cornered the slaves three days later. Most of the slaves were only armed with knives and axes. They were no match for the well-armed troops. At least 60 were killed and many were arrested. After a trial, 21 were sentenced to death and executed. To serve as an example to others, their heads were cut off and placed on posts along the river. It is not known what caused the revolt, but many observers think that the resettlement of refugees from **Saint-Domingue** in the area was a factor.

See also SLAVE REVOLTS.

GERMANTOWN ANTI-SLAVERY PETITION. In 1688, four German **Quaker** immigrants to the recently founded colony of Pennsylvania signed a petition criticizing slavery and asserting that holding slaves was incompatible with the Quaker belief in equality. The petition cited a number of immoral and unchristian abominations, such as the capture of human beings and the separation of husbands, wives, and children. It was based on the Golden Rule, “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you,” and a belief that all persons had the same basic rights. At the time, many wealthy Quakers owned slaves. The Philadelphia Annual Meeting refused to act on the petition, and it was forgotten until rediscovered in 1844. The petitioners, however, raised an issue that was to trouble many Quakers and lead to the worldwide abolition movement.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

GHULAMS. The term *ghulam* refers to **elite slaves** of a type common in the Muslim world. The term originally meant “youth.” It developed its meaning of elite slaves under the Abbasid Empire, which ruled the Middle East from 750 CE to 1258. The *ghulams* were generally purchased as boys from non-Muslim areas. The Abbasids generally got them from Central Asia. They were converted to **Islam**, trained for the army or bureaucracy, and eventually manumitted. Lacking family ties, they were usually loyal to the rulers they served and occupied many of the highest offices of the state. Many became wealthy, and some were important benefactors of the arts and religion. *Ghulams* were also important among the Seljuk Turks, who gradually took over Abbasid areas from the 11th century. *Ghulams* are similar to the **Mamlukes** and **Janissaries** of the Ottoman Empire.

GLADIATORS. Gladiators were usually, though not always, slaves in ancient Rome who engaged in combat. The original gladiatorial games were part of a religious ritual to appease the dead, but with time, they just became a form of bloody entertainment. Most were war prisoners or convicts who

were trained at special gladiator schools. They usually fought to the death. The most famous slave revolt in Rome began with a series of gladiators led by **Spartacus**. Though there were attempts to abolish the games, they did not end until the fifth century.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY.

GOLD COAST. When Portuguese navigators cruised along the West African coast in the late 15th century, they were particularly interested in tapping into the sources of gold they knew were there. They were successful only when they reached what is now Ghana. This became known as the Gold Coast. While Europeans increasingly bought slaves elsewhere, gold was the most important item traded on the Gold Coast until the end of the 17th century. Slaves were actually bought elsewhere for sale on the Gold Coast, where they could be used to mine gold. One effect of the gold trade was that different European powers built trading posts and castles in the area, among which were the most formidable structures built by Europeans on the coast.

Toward the end of the 17th century, however, the demand for slaves was rising, as was the possibility of profit. The Dutch started selling guns and buying slaves. Soon, other European traders increased their purchases of slaves. In 1702, **Asante** defeated its major rival Denkyera to become the major state in the area. The ability of Asante to control the slave trade over the whole of what is now Ghana made the Gold Coast a major source of slaves in the 18th century. The production of gold declined, though Asante was able to supplement the slave trade with a continuing trade in gold and a growing trade in kola nuts. About 600,000 slaves were exported from the Gold Coast during the 18th century. When the British established their control over the area, their colony was called the Gold Coast. In 1874, slavery and the slave trade were abolished, but the abolition was not effective far from the coast until the early years of the 20th century. The Gold Coast was named Ghana after independence.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; ELMINA.

GOLDEN LAW. The Golden Law of 13 May 1888 abolished slavery in Brazil. The first article stated simply, "From this date slavery is declared extinct in Brazil." The second article repealed all earlier laws that contradicted this statement. This simple statement ended a struggle that began when Brazil ended the slave trade in 1850. Brazil moved toward abolition in small steps, beginning with the **free womb law** of 1871, which freed all children born of slave mothers when they reached the age of 21. After 1880, a number of states began to take action, and in 1887, slaves began to leave their plantations.

On 3 May 1888, when the legislature opened, Princess Isabel, the daughter of Emperor Dom Pedro II, urged it to abolish slavery. Ten days later, the law passed. The debate was short because many planters recognized that slavery was doomed, and some, particularly coffee planters in the south, were convinced that slavery was a barrier to the adoption of a free-labor system using immigrant labor, which was then becoming available. The Golden Law provided the slaves with freedom, but it did little to meet their need for land and education.

See also ABOLITION, BRAZIL.

GORÉE ISLAND. Gorée is today a small 65-acre scenic island in the harbor of Dakar, Senegal's capital. When the Portuguese ship captain Dinis Diaz sighted it in 1444, it was uninhabited because it was not suitable for agriculture. It speedily became useful for trade with the opposite coast and then with areas further south. In 1617, the Dutch built two forts on the island. It changed hands several times before the French took it in 1677. It remained French thereafter except for several brief periods of British occupation. The population was small, a little over 1,800 in 1780, rising to about 4,000 in the mid-19th century. About two-thirds of the population were slaves who worked for French and métis traders. In particular, they manned the small boats that worked the rivers and beaches of the Senegambia coast and amassed goods for trade. There was also a small free black population and an even smaller French population. Even in 1835, there were only 22 white French persons on the island. Particularly important among the métis were the *signares*, female entrepreneurs, who owned most of the slaves and most of the boats. Gorée was a port where traders could put on goods, supplies, and extra slaves before attempting the **Middle Passage**. It remained a minor slave-trade base.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

GRADUAL EMANCIPATION. Many reformers unhappy with slavery were also worried about some of the consequences of abolition. Some, who believed that slaves were property, found the expropriation of property immoral. More likely, they believed that emancipation would cause social disruption. Slave owners often convinced other authorities that slaves would not work without coercion. Many feared the decline in production that was inevitable in economies where the productivity of labor was a result of very coercive policies that sometimes drove slaves to the limits of their endurance. Many feared that emancipation would lead to unemployment and unemployment to vagrancy, crime, and prostitution. Most of these fears were unjustified, but often even the abolitionists were unsure of the consequences of the policies they were pushing and accepted gradual policies.

The most common policy was **free womb laws**, in which no slave was freed immediately. Only those born after the law was passed were born free, and they often had to work for the master until a certain age, usually 21 or 25. That meant that they were raised by slave owners and received neither education nor training in any occupation that would make them more independent. Sometimes, as in **Thailand**, where the king was serious about ending slavery, the free womb laws were reinforced by other laws that freed small groups or restricted what their owners could do to them. Sometimes there were limited programs of emancipation in which slaves were freed for service to the state, usually as soldiers. The end of slavery in most of the Northern United States was gradual.

In other cases, slaves were freed, but only subject to a term of **apprenticeship**. The best-known example of apprenticeship was in the British colonies. When it became clear that apprentices were treated by their masters as if they were still slaves, the British Parliament ended it. In Latin America, there were either free womb laws or a system in which *libertos* continued to work for their masters under long-term apprenticeships. In many colonial societies, the state was not eager to free the slaves but was under pressure from abolitionist groups at home to do so. The result was a policy in which the state did not actually free the slaves but stopped enforcing slavery. This meant that runaways would not be returned to their masters. Many colonial policy makers hoped that the slaves would not notice, but in French West Africa, about a million slaves picked up and walked home.

See also EMANCIPATION ACT (1833); EMANCIPATION, AFRICA; EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA; EMANCIPATION, INDIA.

GRAY, SIMON (c. 1810–1870). Simon Gray was a slave who became an administrator in a private business and eventually ran his own business. Originally hired as a laborer by Andrew Brown and Company, a Natchez, Mississippi, lumber firm, he became a raft crew chief in 1838 and then chief boatman for the company in 1845. As raft chief, he placed orders and collected debts. As chief boatman, he supervised white workers, paid their wages, and kept records. He was never formally manumitted. That required an act of the legislature, but he seems to have been effectively free from 1853. He may have had a private arrangement with his owner. Though he continued to work for Brown and Company until 1862 and his family was owned by the company, he also owned flatboats and was hauling sand to New Orleans. In 1863, after Vicksburg fell to the Union army, Gray and his family were freed.

See also ELITE SLAVES.

GREEK SLAVERY. *See* ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY.

GRÉGOIRE, BISHOP HENRI (1750–1831). The bishop of Blois, Henri Grégoire was the leading abolitionist during the **French Revolution**. He had earlier supported legal equality for French Jews. In 1787 he joined the French abolitionist organization **Society of the Friends of Blacks** (*Société des Amis des Noirs*). During the early months of the French Revolution in 1789, a key issue was whether mulatto populations should be given the vote. A strong supporter of political rights for mulattoes, Grégoire published a pamphlet, *Lettre aux citoyens de couleur* (*Letter to Citizens of Color*), which proslavery elements accused of fomenting the **Haitian Revolution**. He corresponded with the Haitian leader, **Toussaint L'Ouverture**, and became a regular spokesman for the Haitians in France. He criticized the reenslavement of Haitian blacks by Napoleon in 1802.

When the revolutionaries sought to reorganize the Catholic Church, Grégoire was one of the few Catholic priests to accept the reform. This made him a controversial figure within the church and probably hurt the abolition movement because it made it difficult for him to ever seek Church support. In 1808, he published *De la littérature des nègres*, which argued for the equality of blacks. He believed that all men were equal in the eyes of God and saw slavery as an immoral and debilitating institution.

See also ABOLITION, FRANCE.

GRIMKÉ, ANGELINA AND SARAH. The Grimké sisters, Sarah (1792–1873) and Angelina (1805–1879), were born into a wealthy Charleston slave-owning family. When Sarah Grimké visited Philadelphia in 1819, she was attracted by the **Quaker** religion, to which she converted, rejecting the Episcopalian faith in which she had been raised. Her sister joined her 10 years later and went through a similar conversion. In 1836, with the support of **William Lloyd Garrison**, Angelina published *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the Southern States*, which based an argument for emancipation on natural rights. The same year, Sarah published *Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States*, in which she denied the biblical arguments for slavery. Southern postmasters destroyed copies of the Grimkés' writings. The two sisters were no longer welcome in Charleston, but they became key figures in both abolitionism and a nascent feminist movement. Both became active as public speakers, originally addressing primarily women's groups. The question of the role of women was a factor in a split in the **American Anti-Slavery Society**. The challenge to their position led the Grimkés to argue strongly for the right of women to participate in political life. In 1838, Angelina married **Theodore Dwight Weld**, another abolitionist leader. Sarah lived with the Welds for the rest of her life.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

GRINNELL, JOSIAH B. (1821–1891). A key abolitionist and one of the founders of the Republican Party, Josiah Grinnell was born in Vermont. After being ordained a minister in 1846, he accepted a pulpit in Washington, D.C. When he gave an abolitionist sermon, he was forced to resign and to leave Washington. In 1854, he moved to Iowa, where with two business associates he bought 5,000 acres of land and founded the town of Grinnell. Two years later, the college that was eventually to bear his name moved there. A founding member of the Iowa Republican Party, he served in the state senate from 1856 to 1860. He also became Iowa's leading abolitionist. In 1859 he hosted **John Brown** when Brown was escorting a group of fugitive slaves to Canada. He served two terms in the U.S. Congress, where he strongly supported **Abraham Lincoln** and advocated the use of black troops.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

GUERRERO, VICENTE (1783?–1831). Vicente Guerrero was the second president of **Mexico** and the man who freed its slaves. A mestizo from southern Mexico, Guerrero was known as “el Negro” because of his dark skin. A mule driver in his youth, he enlisted in the army of José Maria Morelos, who was fighting for independence from Spain. He rose quickly, and when Morelos was killed by the Royalists in 1815, he became the leader of independence forces in southern Mexico. He held a number of important positions during the 1820s. In 1829, he lost the presidential election but was installed in office by a military coup.

On 15 September 1829, Guerrero abolished slavery, promising that slave owners would be compensated when funds were available. The strongest opposition to this act came from American settlers who were moving into Texas at that time and regarded abolition as an infringement on their property rights. As a result, Guerrero excluded Texas from the law. In December 1829, the military men who put him in office removed him. He was later shot, but he remains a much-admired figure. One of the states bears his name.

See also EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

GUINEA. The term Guinea originally referred to the coast of West Africa. Slave traders were often called Guinea Men. Upper Guinea was the area from Senegambia to **Sierra Leone**. It was the first area where the slave trade developed, but it was eventually replaced by Lower Guinea, which consisted primarily of the **Gold Coast** and the **Slave Coast**. Today, Guinea is the name of two countries in West Africa and one in Equatorial Africa.

The coast of modern Guinea was a major center of slave-trade activity. The export trade in the area was developed early in the 15th and 16th centuries by descendants of Portuguese settlers based on the Cape Verde Islands.

The deeply indented coastline and numerous islands made it easy for private slave traders to develop but prevented the emergence of a single dominant slave-trading state. Many of the traders who established themselves in various rivers of Guinea were British or African-American traders who married local women and created families that are still important in the area. When the **Futa Jallon** emerged in upland Guinea, it exported slaves through a number of these river trading stations but never tried to conquer the coast. After the end of the export slave trade, slaves were often put to work growing commodities like peanuts, coffee, and rice.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

GULAG. The gulag was the administrative structure of a network of forced-labor camps that existed in the Soviet Union from 1930 to 1960. The word was introduced in English by *The Gulag Archipelago* written by Nobel-prize-winning author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who had spent a number of years in one of the camps. Prison camps were used by the Soviet Union from the first years of the Bolshevik Revolution, but their use increased after the creation of a formal system. An estimated 17 to 19 million persons passed through the camps between 1930 and 1956. Over 3 million people died in the camps, and others were released seriously ill. At their peak, there were about 2.5 million people in the camps. The Soviet camps differed from the Nazi concentration camps in that many of the Nazi camps were created primarily to kill Jews, Roma, and other scorned groups. Labor was a secondary function. The Soviet camps were designed both for punishment and for economic goals. They mixed political prisoners and ordinary criminals. The camps were used to colonize remote areas, particularly in the Arctic, to create such infrastructure as railroads and canals, and to exploit natural resources. They produced much of the Soviet Union's nickel, tin, and cobalt. In the camps, labor was very harsh, housing was poor, food and clothing were inadequate, and hygiene was bad. The use of the camps was reduced after the death of dictator Joseph Stalin in 1953 and the denunciation of Stalin by Nikita Khrushchev in 1956. The gulag was disbanded in 1960, though some isolated labor camps remained.

See also NAZI SLAVE LABOR CAMPS.

GULLAH. Gullah is an African dialect spoken on the **Sea Islands** of South Carolina and Georgia. African languages and African culture persisted on the Sea Islands for several reasons. First, many of the slaves came from the rice-growing areas of Sierra Leone and Guinea and in fact were brought in because of their skill in cultivating rice. Second, the malarial climate meant that few whites wanted to live there year round. Thus the slaves were able to preserve much of the culture and folklore they brought with them.

See also PORT ROYAL.

H

HAITIAN REVOLUTION. In the late 18th century, **Saint-Domingue** was the most populous and most productive of the **sugar** plantation colonies in the West Indies. From 1791 to 1803, it experienced the biggest and most effective anti-slavery revolution in history, one that spread fear in slave-owning societies throughout the Americas. Saint-Domingue was vulnerable because half a million slaves outnumbered whites by over 12 to 1. There were also over 30,000 free coloreds. The **French Revolution** created the opportunity by weakening the colonial government and creating divisions within the white community.

In 1791, both slaves and free coloreds revolted. The free-colored revolt, under **Vincent Ogé**, the son of a French merchant, was quickly suppressed. The slave revolt was more successful. Its leaders were mostly drivers and skilled slaves born on the island. Within a month, over a thousand plantations were burned. When a French army was sent to put down the revolt, it was weakened by tropical diseases and ineffective against rebel guerrilla methods. Hoping to prevent an alliance between free coloreds and slaves, the French government granted the free coloreds equality with the white French. By 1793, the rebels controlled part of the north, but the plantation system remained in most of the rest of the colony. Then war broke out with Britain and Spain.

When the Spanish began recruiting rebel slaves, the French state abolished slavery throughout the empire. British troops occupied Martinique before the slaves could be emancipated, but revolutionary regimes established themselves on Guadeloupe and Saint-Domingue. On Saint-Domingue, an ex-slave named **Toussaint L'Ouverture** established his ascendancy and drove out the Spanish invaders. To finance his armies, he established a forced-labor regime that frustrated the desire of most slaves to farm for themselves. On Guadeloupe, the revolutionaries were led by Victor Hugues, a French radical. In 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte reestablished slavery and invaded both Saint-Domingue and Guadeloupe. French troops were successful in Guadeloupe but were defeated in Saint-Domingue. Toussaint was captured and taken to Europe where he died in prison, but in 1803 the French were driven out by a

new regime under another ex-slave general, **Jean-Jacques Dessalines**. To underline its break with colonial rule, Dessalines took an Amerindian name, Haiti, for the new state.

The Haitian Revolution had several effects. It forced the French Revolution to consider questions of slavery and racial equality. It created a free black society in the Americas, it awakened the hopes of slaves and free blacks throughout the Americas, and it created fear among slave owners, who tightened discipline in all slave-owning societies.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY.

HALE, EDWARD EVERETT (1822–1909). Edward Hale was a Congregationalist minister and an active abolitionist. He was born into a distinguished Boston family. In 1839 he graduated Harvard and became first a teacher and then a minister. As a minister, he worked for both the freeing of the slaves and the economic betterment of freed persons. In 1862, he was one of the founders of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, which raised funds to provide an education for newly freed African-Americans. During his last years, he was chaplain of the U.S. Senate.

HALE, JOHN PERCIVAL (1806–1873). John Percival Hale was the first avowedly anti-slavery member of the U.S. Senate. Born in New Hampshire and educated at Bowdoin College, he became a lawyer and served seven years as the U.S. attorney for New Hampshire. He was first elected to the House of Representatives as a Democrat in 1842. In opposition to party policy, he voted against the **gag rule**, which limited debate on slavery, and he opposed the annexation of Texas because it would provide additional territory for slavery. The result was that he was not renominated for Congress, but in 1846 he was elected to the Senate by a coalition of the **Liberty Party** and anti-slavery Democrats. He and **Salmon P. Chase** emerged as leaders of the Liberty Party and supported the development of an anti-slavery coalition, which became the **Free Soil Party**. In 1852, he ran for president as nominee of the Free Soilers. He then returned to the Senate. In 1865, **Abraham Lincoln** appointed him ambassador to Spain. His daughter was engaged to John Wilkes Booth, who assassinated Lincoln, but there was no connection between the Hale family and the assassination.

HALL, PRINCE (c. 1735–1807). Born a slave in Massachusetts, Hall was freed by his master at age 25. He became a leatherworker and a merchant and founded an all-black lodge of the Masons. Hall used his position to organize black citizens to attack slavery and advocate for African-Americans. In 1787, they asked the Massachusetts government to provide education for black children or stop taxing African-Americans. In 1788, after a case in which

three black men were kidnapped into slavery in the West Indies, they persuaded the Massachusetts legislature to make the kidnapping of Africans illegal.

HAM. Ham was the son of Noah. According to the Bible, Ham saw his father drunk and naked and did not cover him. When Ham called attention to their father's state, his brothers, Shem and Japheth, covered Noah. When Noah awoke, he cursed Ham's son, Canaan, and his descendants to remain forever the servants of Shem and Japheth and their descendants. The myth developed that Ham was the ancestor of black people and that their enslavement was a result of this curse. The curse of Ham was a myth used in later centuries to justify the enslavement of Africans. There is neither scientific nor biblical justification for it.

HAMMOND, JAMES HENRY (1807–1864). James Henry Hammond was one of the South's most important leaders in the generation before the Civil War. Born and raised in South Carolina, he graduated from South Carolina College in 1825 and became a lawyer in 1828. In 1831 he married a wealthy Charleston heiress whose dowry included a plantation with 147 slaves. Hammond knew nothing about farming, but he learned quickly. By 1860, he owned 14,000 acres and over 300 slaves.

He served briefly in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1836, where he claimed in one of his first speeches that slavery was "the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed upon our favored region." In 1842, he was elected governor of South Carolina, where he served two terms. In 1857, he was elected to the Senate. He was a passionate defender of the South and its slave system and an early proponent of the idea of Southern secession. He is perhaps best known for a speech given on the floor of the Senate in 1858 in which he proclaimed, "No, you dare not make war on **cotton**. No power dares make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war on it. Cotton is king." He resigned from the Senate after the election of **Abraham Lincoln** and retired to his plantation, where he died near the end of the **Civil War**.

HAMMURABI (1792–1750 BCE). Hammurabi was a ruler of ancient Babylonia who codified Babylonian legal practice during the 18th century BCE. The compilation is known as Hammurabi's Code. It is one of the fullest expositions of early Mesopotamian law. Many of the laws refer to slaves, who were the lowest of three categories of person. The code dictated a distinctive hairstyle for slaves and gave them more severe criminal penalties than others. Habitual runaways were permanently marked, and persons who harbored runaways were severely punished. The punishment of runaways

was not discussed in the code, which suggests that they were simply returned to the owner, who was the person to decide on punishment. The code provided for free persons to be sold into slavery if they could not pay their debts. Slaves were also less protected than free persons. For example, if a man struck a slave, the compensation was half what would be paid to a free person.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; LAW OF SLAVERY.

HARATIN. In the western **Sahara**, the *haratin* were intermediaries between slaves and the free. The exact origin of the term is not clear, but most were freed slaves or the descendants of freed slaves who remained in a client relationship to the warrior and clerical tribes. They cultivated palm groves; worked as herdsmen, gardeners, and water carriers, and were also free to work for themselves. During and after the period of French colonial rule, some of them were able to profit from their willingness to do different kinds of work. They were also more likely to be educated in French and therefore held many jobs in both the colonial and post-colonial regimes. In the central Sahara, among the Tuareg, there is a similar group called the **Bella**.

HAREM. In much of Asia and Africa, the harem was the women's quarter in the houses of the wealthy and powerful. The term can refer to either the physical space or the women who lived in it. Most of these residents were slaves, though legal wives and children also resided there. Harems could be very large, with as many as 1,000 women in many imperial harems. Wealthy men, leading aristocrats, and powerful officials also had harems, but very much smaller. Access to the harem was generally restricted to the master of the house and to eunuchs. The harem was generally managed by the senior wife or in the **Ottoman** case by the sultan's mother, who was called the *valide*. She was herself usually originally a concubine, though as the mother of the sultan, she was often very powerful. Harem politics often centered around the struggle of women to get their sons placed so as to succeed. In any harem, many of the women were servants rather than sexual companions of the master. The Ottoman *valide* was in charge of the kitchen, hospital, school, and garden. She was also in charge of the training of concubines. Slave women prepared and served meals, washed and prepared clothing, and kept the area clean. Children usually remained with their mothers until sexual maturity. Then the boys were taken elsewhere for training and the girls were married.

HARPER, ROBERT GOODLOE (1765–1825). Robert Harper was from backcountry South Carolina. He had been educated at Princeton and was influenced by the egalitarianism of the American Revolution. In the 1790s, he became an advocate of racial equality and an opponent of the extension of slavery to the western territories. At the same time, the revolt in **Saint-Domingue** awakened fears of slave revolt. He served as a congressman from South Carolina from 1794 to 1801 and then moved his law practice to Maryland. There he became active in the **American Colonization Society**. It was he who suggested the names of **Liberia** for the nation and Monrovia for its capital.

HARRIS, JOHN (1874–1940), AND ALICE SEELEY-HARRIS (1870–1970). John and Alice Harris were Baptist missionaries who provided photographs of atrocities in the Congo that effectively ended the rule of King Leopold of the Belgians in the Congo. John was the son of a plumber, who had become an evangelical Christian. He was working in London when he met Alice Seeley. In 1898, they married and left for the Congo, where they worked as Baptist missionaries. Alice brought a cheap Kodak camera with her. Horrified by the atrocities committed by Leopold's rubber-gathering agents, they wrote letters and sent pictures of Congolese who had been mutilated for failing to meet their quotas. On their return to Britain in 1905, they embarked on lecture tours, wrote, and testified at hearings. They provided much of the substance to the Congo Reform Movement, which forced Leopold to yield control of the Congo in 1908.

In 1910, John became secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (now **Anti-Slavery International**), a post he kept until his death in 1940. Though Alice had no official position, they were effectively a team. The society was no longer as important as it had been, but the Harrises were very adept at organizing press campaigns and mobilizing public opinion to put pressure on political leaders. In 1920, after five weeks spent lobbying the newly founded **League of Nations** on slavery issues, they realized that the League could be used to raise humanitarian issues. The opportunity to act came with news stories on slavery and the slave trade in Ethiopia. Harris persuaded a representative from New Zealand to raise the issue at the League. The result was an inquiry into slavery by the League. This involvement persisted and, regularly prodded by the Harrises, put pressure on colonial governments to act on slavery. Harris also wrote a number of books, including *Dawn in Darkest Africa* and *A Century of Emancipation*. He served briefly in Parliament, but he and his wife were probably more influential outside of Parliament.

HART, LEVI (1738–1808). Levi Hart was a late 18th-century theologian in Connecticut who criticized both slavery and the slavery trade. He argued that the slave trade was inhumane and saw human liberty as part of God’s plan. He preached to soldiers from the Continental army and argued that American slavery was the same kind of oppressive tyranny that the colonial army was fighting against. He wrote a proposal for abolition of slavery in Connecticut, but it was not published until after his death.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

HAWAII. The social structure of Hawaii was marked by sharp caste-like divisions between the ruling elite, priests, commoners, and a group of outcasts called *hauwa*. History is at the origin of these distinctions. Hawaii was originally settled by migrations from the Marquesas Islands in about 500 CE. These early settlers had an egalitarian social structure. About 500 years later, the islands were invaded by more war-like Tahitians, who reduced the earlier inhabitants to slavery. The slave population was made up of war captives and their descendants. The *hauwa* were subject to human sacrifice when there were no criminals available to be sacrificed. They also fished, built houses, farmed, and made a bark cloth called *tapa*. They were usually marked with a distinctive tattoo on their foreheads. In the early 19th century, the development of ocean trade, the arrival of Christian missionaries, and the beginnings of plantation agriculture led to rapid change. In 1852, King Kamehameha III abolished slavery. This was the same year that the first Chinese indentured laborers arrived in Hawaii.

See also PACIFIC ISLANDS SLAVERY.

HAYNES, LEMUEL (1753–1833). Lemuel Haynes was an important African-American abolitionist. He was abandoned shortly after his birth but is believed to have been the son of a white woman and an African man. He grew up as an indentured servant but joined the Minutemen and then the Continental army after his commitment to service ended. His first abolitionist writings date from this period. After the war, he studied for the ministry and for many years served as a minister in Rutland, Vermont. His writings criticized slavery and the slave trade and were based on both New Testament ideas of universal brotherhood and the republican values of the American Revolution. Because he was a Calvinist, he was outside the mainstream of American abolitionist thought, which was based on free-will Christianity.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

HELOTRY. Helotry was a form of state-controlled captivity in ancient Sparta. The helots were people living in areas that had been conquered by Sparta. They remained where they were and were owned by the state, but

they were controlled by individual landowners. They differed from slaves in that they were bound to the land, much like serfs. They paid a fixed portion of their crops to their landowners. The helots maintained their own family and religious life and were almost all agricultural workers. They also worked as domestics and artisans. The helots outnumbered the free Spartans and were occasionally armed when Sparta was threatened.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY.

HEMINGS, SALLY (1773–1835). Sally Hemings was a mulatto slave owned by and almost certainly the daughter of **Thomas Jefferson's** father-in-law, John Wayles. Sexual relationships between wealthy white men and slave and freed black women were common in the American South. When Wayles died in 1773, Jefferson inherited the Hemings family and moved them to his estate of Monticello. Sally was almost certainly Jefferson's mistress for many years. Jefferson's wife died young, and he never remarried. In 1787, five years after his wife's death, when Jefferson was sent as minister to the court of French king Louis XVI, Sally Hemings was a 14-year-old servant and companion to Jefferson's daughter, Mary. She lived the rest of her life at Monticello. Over two decades, she bore six children, four of whom grew to adulthood. Several of them supposedly resembled Jefferson. All four of her children were freed by Jefferson, two before his death and two in his will. Two of her sons, Madison and Eston, claimed to be Jefferson's sons. Eston changed his name to Jefferson after moving to Wisconsin. A DNA study published in 1998 suggests the probability that they were right. Jefferson never admitted to the relationship. To have done so would have caused political problems in a racist society, though relationships such as his were common and often very open. Many other members of the Hemings family served Jefferson in different capacities, for example, his cook and his butler.

See also SEXUAL EXPLOITATION.

HENSON, JOSIAH (1789–1883). Josiah Henson was born a slave in Maryland but escaped to become a minister and educator in Canada. As a young man, he was an overseer on his master's plantation. In 1825 he escorted a group of slaves to his master's brother's plantation in Kentucky. Though he had to pass through free territory in Ohio, he refused to let the slaves escape. Five years later, he and his wife fled to Canada. There he became a minister, served in the Essex Company of Coloured Volunteers, and founded a manual training school for former slaves who fled to **Canada**. In the 1840s, he went back to Kentucky to help other slaves escape. In 1849, he published his autobiography, *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself*. Henson is believed by many to be the model for Uncle Tom in **Harriet Beecher Stowe's** *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

In the novel, however, Tom is sold to the Deep South, where he is beaten to death by a cruel overseer. Henson escaped slavery and went on to help others.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

HERMOSA CASE. The *Hermosa* was a ship carrying slaves from Richmond, Virginia, to New Orleans that ran aground in the Bahamas in October 1840. When the ship was taken into Nassau harbor, the captain refused to allow the slaves to leave the ship or have contact with anyone on the dock. British troops, however, removed the slaves, who were then freed over the protests of the captain and the U.S. consul. The *Hermosa* case was one of several in which the British freed slaves removed from U.S. ships. The Americans contended that the ship had done nothing wrong and was only seeking help. The British contended that under British law, the slaves became free when they entered British territory. The two countries argued about this and several similar cases until 1854, when they finally agreed to put the case before an umpire. He decided in favor of the Americans but awarded them only \$16,000, a fraction of the slaves' market value.

HEYRICK, ELIZABETH COLTMAN (1769–1831). A reformist pamphleteer, Elizabeth Heyrick was one of the first people to call for immediate abolition. She was born the daughter of a manufacturer in Leicester, England. She was married at 19 to a man who then entered the military and died young in 1797. After his death, she became a **Quaker** and devoted herself to such causes as prison reform and fair remuneration for labor. During the 1820s, she produced seven anti-slavery pamphlets. Her most important was an 1824 pamphlet entitled "Immediate not Gradual Abolition." She saw slavery as sinful and argued that the rights of the slave were more important than the rights of the slave owner and that any compensation on abolition should be given to the slave and not the master. She believed in human equality and argued that neither a transition period nor preparation for freedom were necessary. She became one of the representatives of women's anti-slavery groups, which though formed as auxiliaries of male groups became more radical, particularly in their insistence on immediate and total abolition. Her 1824 pamphlet was published in the United States, where it influenced black abolitionists, the nascent Garrisonians, and a group of female abolitionists such as the **Grimké** sisters and **Lydia Maria Child**. Her writing is marked by passion, intelligence, and wide reading.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH (1823–1911). Thomas Higginson was a Unitarian minister, an abolitionist, and the commander of black troops during the American **Civil War**. After graduating Harvard College (1841) and Harvard Divinity School (1847), Higginson served as a minister in Newburyport and then Worcester, Massachusetts. During the 1850s, he became an increasingly radical abolitionist, even favoring Northern secession. He was active in efforts to protect fugitive slaves like **Anthony Burns**, and after passage of the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, in supporting free-state emigrants to Kansas. He was one of a group of abolitionists who funded **John Brown**'s efforts in "Bleeding Kansas" and later his raid on Harper's Ferry. After Brown's arrest, Higginson raised money for the defense.

Higginson welcomed the coming of the Civil War. In November 1861, he was authorized by the governor of Massachusetts to raise a regiment, which he did. A year later, he accepted a commission as colonel of the first all-black regiment in the Union, the first South Carolina Volunteers, which was composed completely of freed slaves. He trained his recruits and sought action so that they could prove themselves in combat. In 1864, a leg wound and the effects of malaria forced him to resign. His account of these years was later published as *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1870). After the war, he became involved in women's issues, serving as co-editor of the *Women's Journal* from 1870 to 1884.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

HINDUISM. The institution of slavery was widespread in ancient India. The classics of Hindu literature contain numerous references to slavery, for example, laws regulating gifts of slaves or the ability of slaves to enter into contracts. One document refers to 15 different kinds of slave. They include persons born into slavery, those captured in war, and those enslaved as payment of a debt. Some slaves were temporary and some permanent. The treatment of slaves was regulated in these early law codes. Slaves could be beaten, for example, but only on the back and only with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo. These law codes would suggest that slavery was not particularly harsh.

The operation of slavery was influenced by the importance of caste. Caste involves a structured system of inequality in which different strata are ranked, separated socially, and tied to certain occupations. Marriage between castes was forbidden. Status was inherited and not based on wealth or power, though the restrictions of caste status made it almost impossible for many people to achieve wealth or power. Caste often influenced slavery because it shaped who could do what and with whom. It involved prohibitions on sexual relations and physical contact. Most slaves came from the lower castes. Many writers have suggested that an upper-caste Brahman could not be enslaved. Caste also influenced who could own whom and what kinds of

relations people of different castes could have. A slave could also not perform certain important rites. A slave could, however, marry a free person, but a free woman who married a male slave became a slave, while a free man who married a female slave became her owner and could therefore free her. The difference between caste and slavery was that caste was permanent.

See also INDIAN SLAVERY.

HIRING OUT. A slave could not freely move to seek work and was rarely entitled to wages, but it was often profitable for a master to hire out his slaves or to allow slaves to find additional work on their own. Sometimes the master hired out his slaves when he did not have enough work for them. Other times, slaves were free to seek work when not needed. In these cases, the slaves gave a part of their wages to their masters and were relatively autonomous. In some cases, slaves were able to develop specialized skills. **Robert Smalls**, for example, became a ship pilot in Charleston harbor. In other cases, slaves developed small businesses. A slave in the American South might start by raising chickens and use the money from the sale of eggs to buy a mule and go into the cartage business. His master could use his cart, but could also rent him out to nearby planters. Hiring out was especially common in the cities. In St. Louis, the capital of the West African colony of Senegal, most of the male slaves went up the Senegal River every year in convoys that purchased slaves, gum, and commodities. During the half year that they were back in St. Louis, slave owners tried to use their time profitably. Some had dry-season businesses like shipbuilding, but many allowed their slaves to work independently. In fact, most port cities involved a high percentage of slaves working independently. In Batavia, many employees of the Dutch East India Company invested in slaves, who could then be hired out profitably.

See also URBAN SLAVERY.

HISPANIC AMERICA. Spain was the first European power to enslave Amerindians and the first to import African slaves to the Americas, but with the exception of a few areas like **Cuba**, slavery never became as important in Hispanic America as in **Brazil**, the West Indies, and the United States. The desire for slaves was rooted in the low population of large areas and the decimation of these populations by European diseases.

Slavery existed in 15th-century Spain, and there was a law code, the *Siete Partidas*, that regulated it. Thus, it was natural for **Christopher Columbus** to think first of selling Amerindian slaves and then of importing slaves to Hispaniola, his base in the Americas. In 1518, long after Columbus was gone, King Charles V approved the import of African slaves. On the mainland, the Spanish did not at first need slaves. The two major centers of *conquistador* activity, highland **Mexico** and Peru, were the most densely

populated areas of the Americas. There, Spain used the **encomienda** and other forms of forced labor. Soon, however, European diseases decimated Amerindian populations. Spain then purchased African slaves from the Portuguese on the *asiento* system, mostly to be used in **sugar** plantations in the **Caribbean** and in coastal lowlands, but also in some silver mines. Eventually 1.6 million slaves were imported. The vast majority went to the Caribbean islands and the lowland areas of the mainland.

From the first, the **Catholic Church** tried to check the harsh excesses of slavery. **Bartolomé de Las Casas** and other Catholic missionaries described the horrors of the enslavement of Indians and agitated against it. In 1542, King Charles V outlawed Indian slavery as part of the New Laws, though some enslavement continued on the periphery of the empire. By the end of the 16th century, Spanish sugar production was in decline as Brazil was producing cheaper sugar. Still, slaves remained important in areas like the lowlands of Peru and New Granada (Colombia and Venezuela). Slaves were also present in most cities, where they were servants and did most of the heavy labor and a lot of artisanal labor. The dispersed nature of slave populations contributed to the high degree of racial mixing with both European and Indian populations. In some areas, like Mexico and the Rio de la Plata, where slaves were briefly important, there are few people of visibly African origins because the descendants of slaves have been mostly absorbed within other populations. Hispanic America is also marked by a high degree of **manumission** due to laws that made manumission easy and procedures like *coartación*, which made it possible for a slave to ask a court to set a price for his or her manumission.

Slaves who served in Royal and Patriot armies were freed during the wars of independence, but once the wars were over, the process was slower. Still, by the middle of the 19th century, most states of Hispanic America had freed their slaves. Only in Cuba and Puerto Rico, which still remained in Spanish hands, did slavery remain important. A true slave society emerged in Cuba as it became more intensively involved in sugar production. This fueled the last major slave imports from Africa.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (1783–1830); EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

HISPANIOLA REVOLT (1521). On Christmas Day 1521, a group of about 20 Wolof slaves revolted in what was probably the first revolt by African slaves in the Americas. The slaves were the property of Governor Diego Colon, the son of Christopher Columbus. In what seems to have been a well-planned revolt, they waited until Christmas Day, when the Spaniards were celebrating and not paying careful attention. They then marched toward Azua, the center of Hispaniola's sugar industry, ransacking several plantations, accumulating supplies, and gathering supporters on the way. Several

Spaniards were killed, many buildings were burned, and about a dozen hostages were taken. Colon gathered a troop of soldiers and pursued them. The lightly armed slaves were no match for the horses and swords of the Spaniards. After a week's fighting, most of them were captured or killed. The captured rebels were hanged, and their bodies were displayed along the road as an example to other slaves.

HITTITE SLAVERY. On the Anatolian plateau, the Hittites created an empire that ruled from the 18th to the 11th century BCE. At its peak it controlled most of modern Turkey and Syria and northern Mesopotamia. A large part of the population were slaves who had been taken prisoner in various wars and who worked the estates of army officers, temples, or communities whose population had been reduced by constant military service. There were also **debt slaves** and murderers, who were enslaved to the families of their victims.

Hittite law codes contain numerous references to slavery. Slaves could be bought and sold. There were rewards for the return of runaway slaves. They could be married to free persons, in which case their offspring were free. Slaves could accumulate wealth. In Hittite law, compensation was more important than retribution. A slave paid half as much reparation for a crime as a free person and received half as much if a victim. If a slave committed a crime, the master made the payment, or if he refused to do so, the slave was transferred as a payment. Though the law codes recognized slaves in these cases as persons, they were bound to their masters for life and he had absolute control over them.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY.

HONOR. In most societies where slavery was important, honor was an important differentiating feature between slaves and the free. These were societies where honor was important. Slaves were seen as lacking honor because they were dependent and submissive and because they were subject to the commands of others. **Orlando Patterson** has suggested that enslavement was usually an alternative to death and that slavery was thus often seen as a form of "social death," which deprived the slave and his descendants of any claim to honor. In addition, the slave woman was often sexually accessible. Slave women often had license to behave in ways that were considered dishonorable. For example, in the Middle East, slave women did not have to wear veils, and in parts of Asia and Africa, slave women often were asked to do dances that were considered licentious. By being submissive or deferential or by not wearing a veil, a slave underlined the difference in her status.

At the same time, the service of slaves tended to enhance the status of their owners. In slave-owning societies, the noble was often marked by the entourage that surrounded him or her in public. Slaves enhanced the noble's status by serving, but also by begging and obeying. People served the noble. In some societies, slaves could achieve wealth and power, but they lacked status and could be humiliated if they pretended to be noble. The noble ideal often involved courage, generosity, and the ability to command. The slave could only achieve honor in war. While there are numerous sagas of slave courage, these were always unique individuals, and they often demonstrate the ultimate characteristic of the good slave, loyalty.

HOUSEHOLD SLAVES. In those societies with large slaveholdings, the households of the rich and powerful were generously staffed with slaves. For the wealthy slave owner, one of the rewards of wealth was to be served. This was even true in societies where most labor was done by free peasants. In **China**, for example, most slaves were concubines or servants. The wealthy and powerful had people to serve them. It was also true of **slave societies** where slaves were valued for their labor and where slave work was subject to the rigorous accounting of capitalist rationality. Officials and merchants maintained large households staffed with slave labor. In both the urban household and the **plantation**, slaves did the cooking, cleaning, sewing, and laundering; they took care of the master's children, ran messages, and were coachmen and butlers. The master's wife was usually freed from labor, though she often managed the house. Her babies were suckled by a wet nurse, and the cooking was done by slave cooks. In societies as diverse as Rome and the U.S. South, the master's child often had a slave companion.

The most favored slaves often had a privileged relationship within the master's family. The slave mammy of the U.S. South, the slave tutor in Rome, and the personal servant were close to the master's family and often cherished. Household slaves were generally fed and clothed better than field slaves. Where manumission was common, a favored household retainer was the slave most likely to be freed. On the other hand, household slaves worked longer hours and had less independence. They often had to be available at all hours of the day and night.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; URBAN SLAVERY.

HUBBU. The Hubbu were a group of Muslim reformers in Guinea who were discontented with the aristocratic, slave-based regime of the **Futa Jallon**. Led by Mamadu Juhe and his son Abal, who had a more egalitarian approach to **Islam**, they moved away from the Futa to a mountainous area in about 1850. They abolished slavery and attracted both free persons of modest means and slaves. They successfully resisted attacks from the Futa until 1883

but were finally defeated by **Samori Ture**, a powerful military leader allied to the Futa. The Hubbu were one of several Muslim movements to oppose slavery and the autocratic regimes that profited from it.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING. Human trafficking has been going on for several millennia, largely in the form of the slave trade. It involves people being moved against their will to places they cannot leave and where they are owned or controlled by traffickers or by people to whom they are sold. With the slave trade, most people were either forced to walk or moved by ship. In modern times, they are moved largely by bus, truck, or airplane. People writing about human trafficking usually differentiate between traffickers and smugglers. People smugglers are often hired by those being smuggled. In fact, the line is not always completely clear. Where credit is provided, debt is often used to control the persons being moved. Estimates of the scale of the trafficking business run as high as \$32 billion a year.

The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (2003) defined human trafficking as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.” People are trafficked for different purposes. Probably the most important, more than three-quarters of those trafficked are for **sexual exploitation** as prostitutes or in other sex industries. This often involves young women being promised jobs and discovering when they arrive in a new place that they owe money for their travel expenses. These debts can only be paid off by working in a brothel or in street prostitution.

Sometimes these routes are international as were **prostitution** networks in the 19th century. Women from Europe were moved to South Africa, Argentina, and the United States. Japanese and Chinese women were moved to Southeast Asia. Today, they are moved to all parts of the world. A lot of trafficking also takes place on a smaller scale in many places. Pimps prey on runaway and homeless girls, offering them housing and affection and then forcing them to work the streets as prostitutes. They can then be moved to wherever there is money to be made.

There is also a lot of trafficking for labor. Within Africa, boys are often promised work and moved to farms that they cannot leave. More than a third of those trafficked are under 18. Trafficking takes place within countries and across national borders. People being moved sometimes find that they cannot leave. Others contract debts that can only be paid off by working for someone else. The increasing barriers to immigration in Europe, North America, and other developed areas mean that those trafficked are essentially prisoners

of their traffickers. Being illegal, they fear to complain and can only get work at low wages and through their traffickers. Much of this takes place within countries, where people move from poor areas like northern Thailand or northeast Brazil to areas where work is available like southern Thailand or the Amazon. Increasingly, governments and non-governmental organizations are using education to alert potential victims to the dangers they face.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY.



IGBO. *See* BIAFRA, BIGHT OF.

INDENTURED LABOR. In the 17th century, indentured labor was an alternative to slave labor in the West Indies and the English colonies of North America. The persons seeking indentures were generally poor persons who felt that they had few prospects of betterment at home. They would contract with either an employer in the New World or a merchant, who would sell the indenture contracts after the worker arrived in America. The employer or the merchant would pay the worker's transportation, and he would then be committed to anywhere from three to 10 years of labor for the American employer. During the term of the indenture, the employer was obligated to feed, house, and clothe him. In many cases, he was also committed to help the indentured laborer to establish his independence at the end of the indenture. In the early 17th century, indentured labor was actually cheaper than slave labor.

By the end of the 17th century, there was a commitment to slavery instead of indenture. There were several reasons for this. First, slaves became more readily available, and as slave law developed, so too did the farmer's control over his slaves. The advantage of the slave was that he or she served for life, and so too did their children and usually their children's children. Second, wages were rising in Britain and Europe during the latter part of the 17th century and conditions were improving for the poor. Third, both prospective indentures and prospective employers became aware of harsh conditions and high mortality, particularly in the West Indies, where the mortality rate for white indentured servants was two to three times as high as for slaves. On the **tobacco** farms of the Chesapeake, the movement to slavery was only a little bit slower. In a sense, indentured servants provided a school for slavery as planters learned to control a labor force. By the early 18th century, planters in both the Southern United States and the West Indies looked primarily to slaves for the labor they needed.

The various international slave trades ended in the 19th century at a time when European colonialism was investing increasing amounts in distant parts of the world and needed labor. With slavery and the slave trade increasingly illegal, there was once again recourse to indentured labor. This time, however, the labor came not from European society but from India and China. They went to the West Indies, South Africa, Fiji, Assam, and North America. Though coercion and economic need were often used to guarantee labor, European powers in most areas insisted on contracts and the right of return. In a few areas, like the Portuguese colonies in Africa, contracts covered a disguised slave trade. The number of indentured laborers moved in the 19th and early 20th centuries was significantly greater than the number of slaves exported from Africa.

See also BONDED LABOR; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; SÃO TOMÉ.

INDIAN, NATIVE AMERICAN. *See* AMERINDIAN SLAVERY.

INDIAN OCEAN. The Indian Ocean was the site of an ancient slave trade. It was never as large as the Atlantic trade, but it was older. The Indian Ocean is easier to navigate than the Atlantic. The monsoon winds blow in toward central Asia half the year and outward the other half. This meant that there was an important trade across the Indian Ocean and into the seas of East Asia at least as far back as the beginning of the Common Era. Slaves were only one item traded. Commodities and slaves could move freely and in all directions across a large interconnected zone from Korea and China to the Middle East and East Africa. Most of the slaves moving north into the Middle East and the Mediterranean came from the Horn of Africa. There was, nevertheless, a small slave trade from the coast of **East Africa** both to the Middle East and to India. There was also a trade in slaves in **India**, East Asia, and what is now **Indonesia**.

The slave trade moved both ways. It expanded under both the Portuguese in the 16th century and the Dutch in the 17th century. The Dutch settled first in Java and then at the Cape of Good Hope, which became a market for slaves from **Madagascar**, East Africa, India, and Indonesia. During the 18th century, the French began to cultivate plantation crops on the islands of Bourbon (now Réunion) and Ile de France (now Mauritius). Like the West Indies, these islands had a low population. Slaves were brought in from Africa, India, and Indonesia. As sugar plantations grew, the French developed contracts with the African coastal port of Kilwa and then with the Portuguese in Mozambique to provide the needed slaves. The development of clove plantations on the island of **Zanzibar** created a second market for slaves. On Madagascar, the expansion of the Merina kingdom and the development of agricultural exports created yet another market. These new mar-

kets for slaves stimulated the penetration of the interior of East Africa by slave traders and an increase of slave trading on Madagascar. One of the by-products of these developments was the increased availability of cheap slaves. The plantation economy was expanded on the coast, and slaves were moved toward the Middle East.

From the 1820s, the British tried to restrict this trade. An 1820 treaty with the Merina briefly ended slave exports, and the Moresby treaty of 1822 with Zanzibar banned the sale of slaves to Christian powers and the Merina. The French abolished slavery in 1848. One by one, various markets were closed off. Zanzibar abolished the export of slaves in 1873. The trade continued, however, to the last years of the century. Slavery was abolished on Madagascar in 1896 and a year later on Zanzibar.

See also DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; MAURITIUS AND RÉUNION.

INDIAN SLAVERY. Slavery has existed for a long time in India, though generally embedded in a very complex system of hierarchical relationships. Early Sanskrit texts describe the different ways a person could become a slave: capture in war, penalty for a criminal act, purchase, or birth to a slave. Later texts refer to enslavement resulting from debt or cohabitation with a slave. During the period from 700 to 1100, when warfare was common, capture in war was the most important source of slaves. In more recent centuries, when warfare was less common, capture gave way to enslavement for criminal acts and particularly to debt slavery. Slaves were also imported from other parts of Asia and Africa. During the period of European penetration from the 16th century, slaves were regularly traded within India and were for sale in the port cities where European merchants lived. Slaves did agricultural labor and served in the households of the wealthy and were important in the households of Europeans.

British data on slavery is not reliable because the British were often confused about different kinds of servile status. India is a large subcontinent with a wide range of different kinds of social arrangements, which differed by region and by time period. Voluntary forms of bondage and caste provided labor and services for elites. Caste was linked to occupation and involved prohibitions against social and sexual mixing. As the Mughal Empire and then the British East India Company increased taxation in areas under their control, members of the poorer castes were often forced into dependence on richer and more privileged groups. The British saw these castes as slave castes because they labored for others. By making large groups dependent, caste may have made slaves unnecessary, but slavery continued to exist. In theory, caste rules should have limited the operation of slave systems. For example, it should have prevented lower-caste persons from being taken into the houses of higher-caste persons and, conversely, the enslavement of high-

er-caste persons by those of lower caste. It should also have limited sexual exploitation. In fact, these prohibitions seem to have often been violated over the years.

India was not affected by the British abolition of slavery in 1833 because the East India Company was sovereign there. Nevertheless, pressure was placed on the company by Parliament. Act V of 1843 did not so much abolish slavery as deny slave owners the use of the state and its courts to enforce their rights. This meant that if a slave fled, the master could not use the law to get the slave back. The act was deliberately not well publicized. As a result, forms of servitude continued to exist for many years. In 1858, Great Britain took control over India. The Penal Code of 1860 clearly prohibited slavery and provided penalties for sale or ownership of slaves. The Indian approach to emancipation was copied by colonial regimes elsewhere in Asia and in Africa.

See also AMBAR, MALIK (c. 1550–1626); DEBT SLAVERY; EMANCIPATION, INDIA; INDIAN OCEAN.

INDONESIAN SLAVERY. The many islands that make up Indonesia were never united before the Dutch brought the archipelago under colonial control in the 17th century. There were thus a variety of social and economic systems. In Indonesia, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, population densities were low, though the land was fertile. Land, therefore, had little value. There was always a surplus. Kings and powerful men thus sought not to conquer new lands but to acquire dependants to work land they already controlled. Slavery was therefore widespread throughout the islands. In the more developed areas of Java and Sumatra, slaves existed within hierarchical social orders marked by patron–client relationships and a range of what Anthony Reid calls “relations of obligation.”

Different forms of slavery are noted in inscriptions from the first millennium. Many slaves served in the palaces and temples of medieval kingdoms. Evidence also suggests that even commoners often owned slaves. Some resulted from capture in war or punishment for crimes, but Indonesia is also marked by the importance of **debt slavery**. In 15th-century Melaka, most laborers and concubines were slaves. Some merchants had hundreds of slaves. Early observers usually saw slavery as mild, though slaves could be sold and beaten. The sources do not, however, indicate a clear differentiation between different forms of obligation.

The nature of slavery was transformed by **Islam**, by the development of a commercial economy, and by European colonization. Conversion to Islam influenced patterns of enslavement. Islam prohibited the enslavement or sale of Muslims. Thus, with Islamization, trade and the raiding of non-Muslim areas became the major source of slaves. With commercialization from the

16th century, more rigid concepts of slaves as property developed. Pirates from the **Sulu** Archipelago became experts at slave raiding in order to meet the demand for different kinds of slave labor.

The Dutch used slaves as agricultural laborers and as a source of servants and concubines for their officials. Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies, became a major slave market. In the 17th century, more than half of the population of Batavia was slaves. Within the Indies, there were radical differences in population density. In fertile but less densely populated areas, particularly on the Spice Islands, slaves were brought in because it was difficult to get free peasants to work for others. In many areas, within a generation or two, relationships were transformed from slavery to a form of serfdom. Slaves also worked as miners, artisans, soldiers, prostitutes, and entertainers. The Dutch abolished the slave trade on Java in 1818 but did not abolish slavery until 1863. Debt slavery remained important on many of the outer islands, and some slave trading continued in eastern Indonesia until about 1910.

See also DUTCH SLAVE TRADE.

INQUISITION. The Catholic Inquisition was set up to combat heresy and unbelief. There were a number of different inquisitions with varying degrees of severity. The first was set up in the 12th century to combat a religious heresy in France. During the late Middle Ages, the functions of these inquisitions expanded as they took on responsibility for the forced conversion of Jews, Muslims, and Africans. The inquisitions often used torture to extract confessions and force penance. Those who refused to retract, who returned to earlier practices, or who were not properly penitent could be sentenced to being burned at the stake or imprisoned, sometimes for life.

After the voyages of exploration, the Spanish and Portuguese established colonies in India, Africa, and the Americas, within which Catholicism was the state religion. Many of those who found themselves living under Iberian rule clung to their own religious beliefs. So too did millions of Africans, often converted to Christianity in rituals they did not understand and then forced into ships that took them to the Americas. The Inquisition intermittently tried to suppress African cults like *candomblé* and *vodun*, which involved spirit possession. They also tried to suppress sorcery, healing, and African methods of divination. Some persons were brought back to Europe for interrogation and punishment. The resources of the Inquisition in the colonies were limited, and African religious beliefs were deeply rooted among both slaves and free people of color. Europeans, in fact, also used African healers, and planters often preferred to leave the religious beliefs of their slaves alone. The Inquisition is long gone, but African religious beliefs and practices have survived.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION (ILO). Created in 1919 as part of the **League of Nations**, the purpose of the International Labour Organization was to protect the rights and well-being of working people. Throughout its history it has been concerned both with the rights of labor in industrial countries and also with the elimination of slavery in pre-industrial countries with different forms of forced labor, **child labor**, and relations resembling slavery. It collaborated with the Temporary Slavery Commission to produce the **Slavery Convention of 1926**. Annually, the ILO brings together representatives of labor, management, and government to discuss and produce agreements on major aspects of labor relations. In 1930 and 1957, there were agreements on forced labor. In 1999, there was a convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. The ILO has also been concerned to protect the rights of laborers to organize and to bargain collectively, a right always denied to slaves and other workers in coerced relationships. The ILO collects data from member states and publicizes violations of its conventions. It assists countries trying to develop a modern system of labor contracts and free movement of labor. This process has been an important part of the decolonization process for countries becoming independent from colonial rule.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY; UNITED NATIONS.

IRAN. Slavery has existed in Iran, also known as Persia, since ancient times. In ancient Persia, the conquests of Cyrus II brought many slaves into the heart of the empire, where they built the palaces and public works the empire wanted. Slaves worked as servants, artisans, and farmers and filled the **harams** of the powerful. Persian law tried to protect them from mistreatment and encouraged manumission. Under Persian rule, the Hebrews were allowed to return to Israel from their Babylonian captivity. The Parthians, who ruled Iran from 247 BCE to 224 CE, had slave soldiers, slave-worked estates, and large numbers of domestic slaves. Slaves were also used in construction of public works and in mines. There seem to have also been debt slaves.

We know much more about slavery under the Sassanians (224 CE to 637 CE), in part because there was extensive Sassanian legislation on slavery. There was an extensive slave trade, mostly with the Caucasus and Central Asia. The state religion was **Zoroastrianism**, a monotheistic religion, which like **Christianity** and **Islam** offered slaves some protection. A slave who converted to Zoroastrianism could purchase his freedom. Slaves could not be executed for a single crime. Freeing a slave was considered a good deed. Slaves had the right to property and to three days of rest a month. Slaves could not be sold to non-Zoroastrians. There were agricultural and domestic slaves.

Under the Safavids (1501–1722), slavery seems to have increased in importance. Even middle-class families often owned slaves. Many slaves were in domestic service. An 1867 census suggested that 13 percent of the population of Teheran were slaves. The importance of manumission in Islam meant that there were also numerous freed slaves. Slaves were a major part of the army and sometimes held high administrative office. In the Safavid years, most of the slaves still came from the north, but by the 19th century, the slave trade with Africa had become larger. Domestic slaves lived in a situation in which the master provided food, clothing, and security and even arranged marriages. In the 19th century, the development of cotton, tobacco, opium, and rice created a demand for slave labor in agriculture.

In 1826, the slave trade with Circassia and Georgia was banned. Under pressure from Great Britain, Persia abolished the slave trade in the Persian Gulf in 1848. In 1882, a new treaty gave Britain the right to search ships. Neither act was rigorously enforced. An overland trade persisted, but support for slavery was declining. In 1925 the reformist regime of Reza Pahlavi came to power. In 1928 it proclaimed complete abolition of slavery. The act effectively ended slavery in Iran.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY.

IRANUN. The Iranun were a seagoing people from the **Sulu Sultanate**, an island state north of Indonesia. During the 18th century, the Iranun turned to piracy. They lived in small colonies scattered throughout the many islands and ranged widely, sometimes going south to Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and the Moluccas, sometimes north into the Philippines. They operated in fleets of well-armed boats, about 90 to 100 feet long, taking advantage of the isolation of many coastal communities. Sometimes fleets contained as many as 40 boats. They assimilated some of their young male prisoners but sold others to members of the Sulu elite, to Dutch officials, and to Chinese merchants. Almost all of the Dutch and most of the Chinese came to Southeast Asia without women. There was, therefore, a market for concubines and servants. Other slaves were put to work gathering marine products for the China market, producing food, or working as servants, artisans, and officials in Jolo, the Sulu capital.

See also INDONESIAN SLAVERY.

ISLAM. There is no such thing as Islamic slavery. Slave systems differed radically from one end of the Muslim world to the other. Islam, however, offered slaves protection, limited the types of people subject to enslavement, and established a law code to regulate enslavement and the treatment of slaves. Its principles were not always accepted by all Muslims.

Islam was founded by the Prophet Mohammed in the 7th century CE. Slavery was at this time a well-established institution in the Arabian Peninsula and in the Middle East. Mohammed prohibited the enslavement of Muslims. He also insisted that good Muslims had the obligation to feed, clothe, and care for their slaves and to guarantee them the right to marriage and to the protection of Muslim law. There are many traditions of the Prophet's kindness to his slaves. Muslims also had an obligation to educate their slaves.

The conversion of a slave to Islam did not guarantee freedom, but manumission was recommended and regarded as a pious act. A high rate of manumission was thus characteristic of many Muslim societies. Finally, Mohammed limited men to four wives. Men were allowed extra **concubines**, but Islamic law gave all children equal rights of inheritance (though daughters received only half the share given to sons). This meant not only that the children of a slave concubine were free but that they shared in their father's wealth and had equal rights to titles he bore. Islamic history is full of the children of concubines who inherited royal office. The concubine who bore her master a son was freed on the master's death, and if her son achieved power, she could become well-off and influential.

Mohammed differed from other great religious prophets in that he was a ruler in the last years of his life. When he died in 632 CE, he ruled the Arabian Peninsula. In the century that followed, Arab armies swept over the Middle East and then west to North Africa and Spain and east to Persia. Arabs thus achieved within a century a wealth and power probably not imagined by Mohammed. In the process, Muslims elaborated the law of slavery and adopted institutions that eroded some of the principles of Mohammed's teaching. Large **harems** became marks of power. **Eunuchs** were procured to protect them, though Islamic law prohibited castration. Slave soldiers and slave administrators became common in much of the Muslim world. On the other hand, within the core area of the Middle East and North Africa, the prohibition of the enslavement of Muslims meant that slaves could not be recruited there. The result was that Islam moderated the treatment of slaves within much of the Muslim world but contributed to the development of a long-distance slave trade. Turkish slaves from Central Asia included the soldiers who eventually came to rule the Middle East. Warfare and a regular slave trade brought slaves from the Balkans, Russia, and the Caucasus. Black slaves also crossed the Sahara or came by sea from Ethiopia and East Africa. Enslavement thus became common on the fringes of the Islamic world.

Islam limited enslavement to persons taken prisoner in a **jihad** (holy war), but the conditions of jihad were severely limited. The would-be warrior had to purify himself, and he had to try to convert the object of his attentions by persuasion. Instead, Muslim slave raiders used the prohibition on enslaving Muslims as a justification for the enslavement of non-Muslims—and in some cases even attacked other Muslims. Slaves imported into the Arab and Turk-

ish core area were largely used as concubines, soldiers, and servants. Agricultural slavery was rare, though slaves were used for specialty crops like sugar and dates. The situation was different on the fringes. All manual labor in **Saharan** oases was done by slaves, while slave societies based on the exploitation of agricultural slave labor emerged on the Swahili coast and among societies like the Hausa that bordered the Sahara. In India, too, Muslim law was interpreted so as to allow the enslavement of peasants unable to pay their taxes. In the Mediterranean and the Middle East, there was a low rate of reproduction and a high rate of manumission. Most of the slaves did not reproduce slaves, if they reproduced at all. Where a society based on slave labor emerged, the rate of manumission was lower, exploitation was more systematic, and slaves reproduced slaves.

See also IRAN; ZANJ; ZANZIBAR.

J

JACOBS, HARRIET (1813–1897). Harriet Jacobs was born a slave in North Carolina. Her mother died when she was a child. Her mistress treated her well and taught her to read and write. When her mistress died, she was inherited by a local doctor, who wanted her to have sexual relations with him. She refused, but she did have a relationship with a white lawyer, with whom she had two children. Her master was persistent, however, and she fled his house in 1825. For seven years, she lived hidden in a tiny attic in the home of her grandmother, who was free. She could watch the world go by but not be part of it. Finally she was smuggled aboard a ship and escaped to the North. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, she had to move several times to avoid agents of her master. With the help of abolitionist friends, she was eventually able to free herself and her children. In 1861, using the pseudonym Linda Brent, she published *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl: Written by Herself*. The book highlighted the harassment to which slave women were exposed. During and after the **Civil War**, she did relief work among former slaves.

See also SEXUAL EXPLOITATION.

JAJA. Jaja was a slave who became the ruler of a small kingdom in the Niger Delta. Born in an Igbo village, he was enslaved at about 12 years old. Bought and sold several times, he ended up the property of the Anna Pepple canoe house in Bonny, a small city-state in the Niger Delta. The trading settlements were dominated by canoe houses, trading firms that competed first for slaves and then for palm oil in the markets of the hinterland. The trade was very competitive. As a result, a slave who proved himself in military conflicts and as a trader could advance very quickly. Jaja was entrusted with the command of one of the large trading canoes that dominated trade with interior markets. By 1861, though still a slave, Jaja had become one of the wealthiest traders in Bonny. When the head of the Anna Pepple house died, Jaja was chosen to succeed him. In 1869, faced by opposition in Bonny, he withdrew with all of his followers to form a new settlement called Opobo. Within a few years, Bonny was ruined and Opobo dominated the

delta's palm oil trade. Though at first recognized by Great Britain, Jaja refused many British demands. In 1887, the British consul, Sir Harry Johnston, invited him to a conference on board Johnston's boat. Johnston refused to let him off and sent him to exile in the West Indies.

See also BIAFRA, BIGHT OF; WEST AFRICA.

JAMAICAN SLAVE REVOLT (1831–1832). After 1823, restlessness increased on the slave islands of the British Caribbean, a restlessness probably linked both to the intensification of labor regimes and the expectations engendered by the British abolition movement. Incidents took place on many islands, but the most important was the Jamaican Slave Revolt. By 1831, rumors of freedom were widespread, but also the fear that the planters would intervene to prevent it. The provocation seems to have come when an unpopular slave owner struck a female slave for stealing cane. When her husband, a driver, refused to whip her, the planter was chased away, and two constables sent to make arrests were manhandled and disarmed. By the time the militia arrived, the slaves had disappeared. Ten days later, a plantation near Montego Bay was set afire. A group of elite slaves had been plotting a rising since April of the previous year.

The leaders included a carpenter, a wagoner, and, most important, an eloquent Baptist deacon named Sam Sharpe. Sharpe's plan was a strike in which the slaves refused to work until concessions were made to them. Some did patiently refuse to work, but almost from the first, slaves began plundering plantations and burning down hated sugar works. Other leaders expected to fight and organized slave regiments, but when the fighting began, they were no match for British troops. It still took more than a month to restore order. More than 200 plantations had been burned and plundered. Over 200 slaves were killed in the fighting, and at least 340 were executed. Among them was Sam Sharpe. A disproportionate number were members of the slave elite: masons, carpenters, drivers, and blacksmiths. A large number were also Baptists, though the missionaries seem to have been ignorant of the conspiracy. Many of the missionaries were jailed, several chapels were burned by white mobs, and one missionary was tarred and feathered. Forced to return to England, some played a role in persuading Parliament to abolish slavery two years later.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; SLAVE REVOLTS.

JANISSARIES. The Janissaries were elite slave troops in the Ottoman Empire. Originally they were recruited from prisoners of war, but a system called *devshirme*, or "roundup," evolved early in the history of the empire. Christian communities in the Balkans were required to provide boys—one for every 40 families—between the ages of 12 and 18. These levies took

place every seven years. The conscripts were converted to Islam and trained in special schools. The best students, about 5 to 10 percent of the group, entered the palace or the Ottoman administration. Some of them eventually held high office. The rest became soldiers. There were at the end of the 17th century about 80,000 Janissaries. They were known for their discipline and camaraderie. They served all over the empire. They were the crack infantry on military campaigns; they repressed rebellions, protected the frontiers, and guarded cities. They were legally slaves, but as the sultan's best troops, they were well rewarded. The *devshirme* system lapsed by the middle of the 17th century. By that time, the Janissaries were accepting as recruits the sons of Janissaries and free Muslims.

See also GHULAMS; KUL; MAMLUKES; MILITARY SLAVES; OTTOMAN SLAVERY.

JAPAN. Slavery existed in early Japan but seems never to have been important. Instead, the tendency in Japan was to tie peasants to the land in a kind of **serfdom**. Serfs, however, have their own family life and are not slaves. By the latter part of the first millennium, there were two groups at the bottom of the Japanese social order. There were slaves, probably mostly prisoners of war, who could be bought and sold and could not marry. There were also outcasts—butchers, leatherworkers, and those who handled the dead. The slaves were never a major source of labor, and the outcasts, who did labor that was “polluted,” were not owned. By 1200, slavery had disappeared. The Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1867) provided a long period of peace, which meant no prisoners. The Tokugawa system involved a rigid hierarchy, with peasants, who paid most of the taxes, tied to the land. The feudal nobility were served by retainers who sought service.

JEFFERSON, THOMAS (1743–1826). The third president of the United States, Thomas Jefferson's life embodies many of the contradictions of early American history. He was the primary author of the Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed that “all men are created equal,” but he was also the second-largest slave owner in his Virginia county. His opposition to slavery was articulated in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787), but over the course of a long life, he freed only eight of the several hundred he owned. At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Jefferson strongly supported an end to slave imports, but he sold many of his slaves into the internal trade and gave others to members of his family. He proposed restrictions on the extension of slavery to the new territories west of the Appalachians. He had a long relationship with a slave woman, **Sally Hemings**, and is assumed to be the father of her four children.

There are two explanations for these contradictions. The first is that he was in debt much of his life. Some were debts he inherited from his father-in-law. His career in the public service took him away from his estate but did not bring him enough income to enable him to pay those debts. He was wealthy, but much of his wealth was in the form of human chattel. He was also concerned with creating the base for a republican society. The form of government created in the United States was new and unproven. Jefferson believed that a republic had to be based on independent farmers and artisans. He believed in innate racial differences and did not believe that the slaves, if freed, could be integrated into American society. He believed that black people were intellectually inferior and that freeing them would create great problems for the republic.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

JERRY RESCUE. William Henry, known as Jerry, was a runaway slave working as a carpenter in Syracuse, New York. In October 1851, he was arrested under the **Fugitive Slave Act**. At the time, a local convention of the **Liberty Party** was taking place in Syracuse. When news of the arrest reached the convention, the meeting was adjourned. Church bells were rung to alert members of the local vigilance committee, who gathered at the office of the U.S. commissioner. When Jerry tried to escape, he was shackled and placed in a big room under heavy guard. A crowd of abolitionists arrived with a battering ram, freed Jerry, and placed him in a horse and buggy, which took him to the port of Oswego, where he was placed on a boat to Canada.

The event was important because it marked the movement of abolitionists away from moral suasion to forceful resistance to what they saw as unjust laws and the increasing sectional polarization of the United States. Many of those who freed Jerry fled to Canada, but 13 men were arrested. Only one was convicted, and he died while waiting for an appeal. Abolitionists brought legal action against Marshal Henry Allen on charges of kidnapping, but he too was acquitted by a jury that felt he was simply doing his duty. Jerry died of tuberculosis in 1853.

JEWES. The ancient Hebrews were a slave-owning society. Since the conquest of ancient Israel by Rome, Jews have been dispersed around the world, living from trade, moneylending, and artisanship. The vast majority of Jews have lived in societies where they were governed by others and were a minority, often a small minority. In societies without slaves, Jews did not have them. In slave-owning societies, Jews were often limited by laws preventing them from owning members of the majority religious community. There were, however, periods when their international connections enabled

them to be brokers in commerce between different parts of the world. Thus, in the 9th and 10th centuries, Jewish merchants were active in the trade between the Slavic frontier and the Mediterranean.

The second period when Jewish merchants were important was during the rise of the Netherlands. Dutch religious tolerance contributed to the rapid growth of a Jewish community of Iberian origin. Some Jewish merchants got involved in the slave trade and in running slave plantations. There was for many years a small community of Jewish merchants on the coast of Senegambia, but the most significant community was in Surinam, where by 1700, Jews owned 40 plantations and about 9,000 slaves. In the United States, Jews owned fewer slaves than the general population, though Jews were found on both sides of the ideological divide. Judah Benjamin was an influential Confederate cabinet minister during the Civil War. On the other hand, August Bondi was a member of the free-state faction in Kansas and a supporter of **John Brown**. Rabbis in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Chicago were active abolitionists. Rabbi David Einhorn was chased out of Baltimore by an angry mob because of an anti-slavery sermon.

Jewish law carefully regulated slavery. Slaves were to be converted to Judaism and could not be asked to work on the Sabbath or important holidays. If a slave were manumitted, the slave became a full member of the community. A slave was freed if punishment caused serious injury. Jewish teaching, like the teachings of other major faiths, insisted that slaves be treated humanely, fed well, and not excessively punished. Freed slaves and the offspring of slaves participated in several Jewish communities.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; BIBLE; DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; MANUMISSION.

JIHAD. *Jihad* means “struggle” in Arabic, but that has many meanings. The “greater jihad,” which is stressed in many Islamic writings is the struggle of the individual to fulfill his or her religious and moral obligations. It is also seen by some writers to mean the struggle to create the good society. The “lesser jihad” is the struggle against the enemies of **Islam**. This involves warfare, but under Islamic law, it is to be made under only two conditions. First, the jihadist must engage in the greater jihad and purify himself so that he is not making war for reasons of personal aggrandizement. Second, he must first engage in the “jihad of the word” and try to convert the targeted enemy by persuasion.

The law of jihad shaped the history of slavery because under Islamic law there are only two ways a person can become a slave. The first is by birth. The second is capture during a legal jihad. Islamic law prohibits the enslavement of other Muslims. This was generally observed. There was, however, a demand for slaves in the Muslim heartland. This could only be met by enslaving non-Muslims on the fringes of the Muslim world. Here, Muslim

warriors and slave raiders convinced themselves and tried to convince others that the prohibition of enslaving Muslims was an authorization to enslave non-Muslims. This misinterpretation of Muslim law was a cover for the enslavement and shipping of millions of Africans across the Sahara, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. When **Ahmad Bey** of Tunis became the first Muslim ruler to abolish slavery, his justification was that he could not guarantee slaves imported across the Sahara the protections guaranteed by the **Quran** nor could he be sure that they had been legally enslaved.

See also AHMAD BABA (1556–1627); JUST WAR DOCTRINE.

JOHNSON, ANTHONY (c. 1621–1669). Anthony Johnson was a slave brought by a Dutch ship to Virginia in 1621. He was one of the first slaves in Virginia. At the time, there were no laws regulating slavery, and Johnson, like many other early slaves, was treated as an **indentured laborer**. After about 20 years of service, Johnson, his wife, and his four children were freed. It was at this time that he took the name Johnson. By 1650, he owned 250 acres of land, some cattle, and black indentured servants. As Virginia moved to create slave law in the 1660s, life became more difficult for Johnson. He moved to the eastern shore of Maryland. When he died, his son Richard inherited 50 acres in Virginia, but the will was challenged under a Virginia statute that made it illegal for African-Americans to own land. A window of opportunity in the early labor system had been closed. The Johnson family disappears from the public record early in the next century.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

JONES, ABSALOM (1746–1818). Born a slave in Delaware, Absalom Jones was the first African-American to be ordained a priest in the Episcopal Church of North America. Brought to Philadelphia to work in his master's retail business, he worked nights to earn money to purchase his freedom and that of his wife. In 1787, he joined with **Richard Allen** in forming the Free African Society. Later that year, when their church, the St. George Methodist Church, insisted that African-Americans sit in a segregated gallery, Jones and Allen led a walkout. Where Allen created the **African Methodist Episcopal Church**, Jones founded St. Thomas Church, which affiliated with the Episcopalians in 1794. He was ordained a deacon in 1794 and as a priest in 1804. Jones was active in creating African community organizations such as an insurance company, a Masonic lodge, and an anti-slavery society and was active in anti-slavery work, organizing petitions to the state and national legislatures.

JONKONNU. Jonkonnu was one of several varieties of slave carnival that developed in the slave societies of the West Indies. The slaves were generally freed from work for the week between Christmas and New Year's Day. This was the occasion of a weeklong festival that involved masked and costumed stilt walkers, singers, dancers, rattles, drums, and other musical instruments and much singing and dancing. The Jonkonnu dances often involved a ritual inversion of the power relations of slavery. Wearing masks and elaborate costumes, the dancers would move from one planter's house to another, dancing until the proprietor sent them off with a small gift. The dances often involved miming and mockery of European music and social institution. Its roots lay in West African musical forms and masquerades and the mummery of the British Isles.

JUST WAR DOCTRINE. Just war doctrine was the **Catholic** equivalent of the Muslim law of **jihad**. The original purpose was to prevent war by arguing that war was only justified in self-defense. Leaders, however, often claimed that they were threatened by enemies, who were by definition, then, unjust. The doctrine thus became a justification of enslavement, particularly when the enemy was not Christian and was seen as hostile to **Christianity**. The captive was seen as having forfeited his freedom by engaging in an unjust war. This affected policy in many Christian states. In 15th-century Valencia, for example, a slave imported into the lands of the crown of Aragon was taken before a bailiff, who was to determine whether the person had been justly enslaved. The slave almost never won his case, though often it was only because he was a Muslim and therefore seen as an enemy of Christendom. In the Americas, European missionaries working with newly arrived slaves often asked whether these persons had been legally enslaved. Their moral concerns usually had little effect on policy.

K

KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT (1854). The **Missouri Compromise** of 1820 prohibited slavery in all lands north of latitude 36°30'. For years, the issue was not important, but by 1850, there was an interest in organizing the area that is now Kansas and Nebraska to encourage settlement and facilitate the construction of a trans-continental railroad. Southerners did not want to create more free states. To win their support, Senator Stephen Douglas suggested that the prohibition on slavery in the territories be repealed and that “popular sovereignty” be used to resolve the issue. This meant that the settlers would decide. Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, however, merely opened Kansas up to civil war. Slave owners from Missouri moved into Kansas to make sure that it became a slave state. This brought a response from Free Staters like **John Brown**. “**Bleeding Kansas**” was marked by raids and counter-raids for two years. A pro-slavery state constitution was approved, but Kansas was not land suited to slave labor. In 1858 the voters rejected a pro-slavery constitution, and in 1861 Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state. At the height of the conflict, there were 500 slaves in Kansas, but the 1860 census recorded only two.

KEMBLE, FANNY (1809–1893). Fanny Kemble was a British actress who met Pierce Butler, a wealthy Georgia slave owner, while touring in the United States. In spite of her opposition to slavery, she married him and they had two children. For years, she kept her opinions quiet, but a winter spent on one of the Butler plantations gave her firsthand experience with slavery and intensified her hostility to it. It also led to the end of her marriage to Butler. The diary she kept there circulated among Northern abolitionists, but she refused to publish it for years, even after she returned to England. After the Civil War broke out, however, she was alarmed by British sympathies with the Confederacy. In 1863, her diary was published as *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation*.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

KILEKWA, PETRO. Petro Kilekwa was born as Chilekwa in a Bisa village in Zambia. As a boy he was captured by slavers and taken to the coast, where he was put on a boat headed to the Persian Gulf. The third day out, the boat was captured by the British navy and he was taken to Zanzibar, where he was put in the care of the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Two years later he was baptized. He became a teacher, and in 1897 he married Beatrice Myororo, who was a Yao from the Lake Malawi area. Like Kilekwa, Myororo had been captured by slavers, rescued by the British navy, converted, and then studied to become a teacher. They requested a teaching assignment in the Lake Malawi area, where in 1911 Kilekwa became a deacon, and six years later a priest. He wrote an account of his life in Chinyanja, which was translated and published in English as *Slave Boy to Priest: The Autobiography of Padre Petro Kilekwa* (1937).

See also EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

KING, BOSTON (1760–1802). Boston King was born in slavery in South Carolina. A favorite of his master, he seems to have become literate early. As a slave, King traveled with his owner to help care for horses. He was also apprenticed to a carpenter in Charleston. During the **American Revolution**, he joined the British army in response to appeals for slaves to defect from their rebel owners. At the end of the war, he was evacuated first to New York and then to Nova Scotia, where he began preaching. In 1792, he joined the migration to **Sierra Leone**. In 1794, he was sent to England to study at a Methodist school, after which he returned to Sierra Leone as a missionary. While in England, he wrote his memoirs, in which he described his life in slavery and his life as a Christian. He died in 1802.

See also BLACK LOYALISTS.

KIRK, JOHN (1832–1922). John Kirk was the son of a Scottish minister, who became a naturalist, explorer, and diplomat. After graduating the University of Edinburgh in 1854 with an M.D., he was appointed to accompany **David Livingstone** on an exploration of Central Africa that lasted from 1857 to 1863. He brought back botanical collections but also saw firsthand the ravages of the East African slave trade. In 1866, he was appointed British vice consul in **Zanzibar**. In 21 years as consul and as consul general, he was for long periods the second most powerful figure in East Africa, second only to Sultan Barghash of Zanzibar. He used the British navy and his diplomatic influence in the struggle to suppress the slave trade on the **Indian Ocean** and to limit the trade in both slaves and weapons on the mainland. In 1873, he persuaded Barghash to sign a treaty abolishing the slave trade, and several years later to close the slave market in Zanzibar. He retired in 1887 but two years later served as a British representative to the **Brussels Conference**.

See also EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

KONGO. When the Portuguese cruised down the western coast of Africa during the 15th century, they found few large kingdoms. One of the most impressive was Kongo, on the south shore of the Congo River. From the first, the Portuguese found Kongo an eager trading partner. Kongo was impressed with Portuguese skills and wanted European goods. It was the most important source of slaves for the Portuguese trade. The Portuguese sent missionaries, craftsmen, and soldiers and educated some members of the elite in Europe. In 1506, **Afonso I**, a Christian, became king of the Kongo. Much of the elite was Christian and literate. Afonso wanted development, but from early on, the Portuguese at his court of São Salvador conspired to increase conflict. The worst were traders from **São Tomé**, who often dealt with provincial chiefs and dissident factions. Slaves from the Kongo were the basis of a sugar boom on São Tomé. Afonso complained bitterly to the Portuguese king that his subjects were being taken and then tried to stop the slave trade, but it was too late. In 1576, the Portuguese shifted their base in Central Africa further south when they founded Luanda. The much-weakened Kongo remained a presence in the lower Congo River, but never again exercised the power of earlier years.

See also CENTRAL AFRICA.

KOREA. Slavery has existed in Korea at least as far back as the beginning of the Common Era. People enslaved were generally conquered people and criminals, but the status was hereditary. Some persons were also enslaved through debt. Slaves do not seem to have been a large part of the population, however, until Korea was conquered by the Mongols in the 13th century. During this period, large estates were created, which were owned by absentee landlords and worked by servile labor. It is not clear whether these people should be seen as slaves or serfs.

When the Mongols were replaced by the indigenous Yi dynasty, slavery remained important. Under the Yi dynasty, Koreans were divided into classes, whose obligations to the state were rigidly defined. Slaves were often between 30 and 40 percent of the population. The slaves were divided between public slaves, essentially owned by the state and attached to offices, and private slaves, owned by persons. By the 15th century, wage labor was increasing, which made it possible for slaves to flee their masters. Increased population densities meant that there was less and less logic for the wealthy to own slaves. They could hire labor and services. In 1775, a gradual emancipation policy was approved. In 1806, servitude was limited to a single generation, and in 1895 it was abolished.

See also EMANCIPATION, EAST ASIA.

KRIO. The Krio, or as they are also called, **Creoles**, of West Africa, are a community formed from ex-slaves on the **Sierra Leone** peninsula. The Sierra Leone colony was established by abolitionists in 1787. Three groups were settled there: blacks from England, **Black Loyalists** who had sided with the British during the American Revolution and were dissatisfied with their situation in Nova Scotia, and **Maroons** from Jamaica. There were also a small number of white women. The largest part of the population was made up of slaves on ships stopped by the British navy and taken to Freetown, the location of the only prize court in West Africa. Under international law, a ship seized at sea had to be brought before a prize court before it and its cargo could be freed. About 74,000 slaves were freed in this way. Christian missions often gave these people assistance and taught them English. These people, often called **recaptives**, had no common culture and no common language. They had also gone through the traumatic experience of enslavement and shipment on a slave ship. Many of them eagerly learned English and accepted Christianity.

The only African language that persisted in the Krio community was **Yoruba**, but they commonly communicated with each other in English and Krio, a pidgin dialect. The community had a very high educational level and came to be of great assistance to the British. During the 19th century, Europeans still had high mortality in West Africa. As a result, the British used the Krio agents extensively. Krios settled in Bathurst, Lagos, **Calabar**, Cape Coast, and Accra. They were crucial to the operation of the mission societies. Bishop **Samuel Crowther** was the outstanding Christian leader in West Africa. They worked in commerce and some went into business for themselves. They also served as judges, administrators, and clerks in the nascent colonial administrations. The Krio community produced the first African doctors trained in European medical schools and the first African lawyers trained in British law. The largest Krio community remained Freetown.

KUL. The *kul* were a class of **elite slaves** in the **Ottoman** Empire. The group included harem guards, **Janissaries**, and civil officials. The harem guards were **eunuchs**, who were influential because they were the only males with access to the harem and thus were often close to the sultan and his favorite concubines. The *kul* were slaves of the sultan recruited as children in Christian parts of the Balkans and trained for either administrative or military careers. The process by which they were recruited was a tax called the **devshirme**. These boys were circumcised, taught Turkish, and converted to **Islam**. The more intelligent were educated at palace schools and were adopted by powerful officials and raised in the households of these officials. They were educated and trained for public service. They benefited from the patronage of their owners, but they rose through the ranks of the civil service on the basis of merit. Many rose to the highest offices in the empire and

achieved great wealth. Others were recruited to elite Janissary military units. The attraction of this system to the Ottomans was that it created a class of individuals who were not limited by ties of family and were supposedly loyal to the sultan. As slaves, the *kul* had no legal protection, but if they remained loyal, they enjoyed wealth and privilege.

L

LAOS. A person became a slave in Laos as a result of punishment for a crime or capture in war. Some of those captured in war became the property of the king and served him in the army or by working on royal estates. Because population densities were low, control of people was often more important than control of land. Villages of captives were often located near centers of political power, where slaves could more easily be controlled and exploited. They owed labor services to their masters, generally for three to six months a year. Their slavery was hereditary. There were also many **debt slaves**, who had the right to purchase their freedom by repaying their debts. In practice this was rare because their labor usually paid only the interest of their debts. Children inherited the status of their parents, but some were adopted into the families of their owners. Slaves were not obligated to the *corvée* that ordinary free persons owed the state, but worked only for their owners. Both ordinary slaves and debt slaves could be sold.

There was an area in the southern part of Laos that was subject to slave raids from the Lao, Cambodians, Vietnamese, and Siamese and were frequently traded throughout the region. They were often tattooed to make it difficult for them to escape. Some parts of Laos fell under the control of neighboring Siam (Thailand) in the 19th century. Slaves in these areas benefited from reforms carried out by the Thai state under King **Chulalongkorn**. In 1893, Laos, which had divided into three kingdoms, became a French protectorate. In 1898, slavery was abolished, though it continued to exist in parts of the country until the 1920s.

See also EMANCIPATION, SOUTHEAST ASIA; THAI SLAVERY.

LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE (1474–1566). Bartolomé de Las Casas was a Spanish priest who arrived in Santo Domingo in 1502. Like many Spaniards, he was given an **encomienda**, which entitled him to a tribute in labor from a number of **Amerindians**. Las Casas was early horrified by the harshness of Spanish rule and the decimation of Amerindian populations on Santo Domingo and Cuba. In 1514, he renounced his *encomienda* and dedi-

cated himself to the protection of Amerindians. He worked briefly in Venezuela, where he was unable to stop Spanish slavers who provided Amerindian slaves for Santo Domingo.

In 1524, Las Casas joined the Dominican order. In the years that followed, he produced a number of books that documented the mistreatment of Amerindians: *History of the Indies*, *The Apologetic History of the Indies*, and *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. His works influenced Pope Paul III to issue his *Bulla Sublimis Deus* (1537), which accepted that the Amerindians were rational and could become Christians. This undercut the argument that they were by nature slaves. In 1540, he returned to Spain, where he persuaded the king to issue his New Laws, which prohibited enslavement of Amerindians and ended the *encomienda* system. At one time, Las Casas had suggested substituting African slaves for Amerindian slaves, but with time he rejected that. He spent the rest of his life in mission work.

In 1543, he became bishop of the largely Indian province of Chiapas but was driven out by the local Spanish community. In 1547, he returned to Spain, where three years later he had a famous public debate with the historian Juan Ginés de Sepulveda. Sepulveda defended the position of Aristotle that some people were by nature slaves.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH.

LATIFUNDIA. The latifundia were large slave-worked **plantations** in ancient Rome. They originated in the second century BCE when Roman conquests began bringing large numbers of slaves back to Rome. Many farms were empty because farmers had gone off to war and had not returned. It was thus easy for members of the Roman elite to accumulate land that they could work with slave labor. The growth of a large urban population provided a market for the grain, wine, and olive oil the plantations produced. The latifundia reached their peak during the first and second centuries CE when Roman armies were bringing large numbers of captives back to Italy.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY.

LATINO, JUAN (1516–1599). Enslaved in West Africa, Juan was taken to Europe at age 12. A noblewoman purchased him to work in her house. When she saw that he was interested in books, she allowed him to attend the cathedral school, where he excelled at Greek and Latin. He was so enamored of Latin that he changed his name from de Sessa to Latino. He studied at the University of Granada and in 1557 was appointed a professor there. In 1565, he became professor of grammar. Latino was a man of many gifts and a leading figure in Spanish intellectual life. He translated the Latin poet Horace into Castilian and was known for his Latin orations. His ability as a singer of madrigals gave him access to the homes of the rich and powerful. He was

perhaps best known for his poetry, particularly for a long Latin poem, the *Asturiad*, honoring his friend Don Juan, son of Emperor Charles V. His orations and his poetry were marked by wit and learning. Though he praised his powerful acquaintances, he also felt deeply and referred in his poetry to European racial attitudes.

LAVIGERIE, CHARLES (1825–1892). A leading figure in the **Catholic Church**, Cardinal Charles Lavigerie was the founder of the modern Catholic anti-slavery movement. The son of a civil servant from southwestern France, Lavigerie became a priest in 1849 and several years later received his doctorate in theology. In 1863, he was appointed bishop of Nancy. The Catholic Church had been hostile to progressive forces, including supporters of abolition, because of links these forces had with efforts to create a state-controlled church during the French Revolution. As bishop, Lavigerie tried to disengage the Church from reactionary forces in Nancy.

In 1867, Lavigerie was appointed archbishop of Algiers. A year later, he formed the Society of Missionaries to Africa, better known from the color of their robes as the White Fathers. The White Fathers were originally interested primarily in the Muslim world, but they had little success there. From 1878, the White Fathers concentrated on sub-Saharan Africa, where they immediately confronted the ravages of the slave trade. In 1884, Lavigerie became a cardinal. In 1888, with the approval of Pope Leo XIII, he launched a crusade against the slave trade within Africa. He made a tour of Europe, leaving behind anti-slavery committees in every Catholic country he visited and forging links with British abolitionists. Lavigerie was influential in the convening of the **Brussels Conference** of 1889–1890. The Société Antiesclavagiste de France (Anti-Slavery Society of France) was an important force in French colonial politics until 1968, when it became Aide aux Missions d’Afrique (Aid to African Missions). It remained, however, a Catholic organization and did not collaborate with the anti-clericals of the earlier anti-slavery movement.

LAW OF SLAVERY. The existence of slavery necessitated a slave law. This law had several functions. The first was to reinforce the authority of both master and state over the slave. The second was to reinforce the social distance between the two. There are many things that were common to all slave laws. Thus, slave law was always concerned to maintain the person as property, which meant the right of the slave’s owner to sell, trade, give, or bequeath the slave. It also meant the right to punish. In the sale of slaves, the law often also protected the right of the purchaser. Under Islamic law, the purchaser could see only the slave’s face, but if he found the slave defective, either because of disease or bad habits like drunkenness or incontinence, he

had the right to ask for return of the purchase price. In Rome, the master could even kill his slaves. Others prohibited killing, for example, **Islam** and the Anglo-American common law, though in few societies was a master ever punished when a slave died from whipping or from abuse.

The mechanisms by which social distance was maintained varied from society to society. In the Americas, slaves tended to be physically distinct because they were mostly from Africa, but elsewhere, there was no physical difference between masters and slaves. As a result, there were often physical markers: a distinctive haircut or tattoo in Mesopotamia, a pierced ear among the Hebrews, the prohibition of certain kinds of clothing in China or parts of Africa. There were also limits in what slaves could do or where they could go. In ancient Greece, they could not attend political assemblies. The law also often enforced subservience. Slaves could be punished for talking back to free people, and in the Southern United States, they did not even have the right to defend themselves against whites. In the South, too, slaves could not be witnesses except against other slaves. In many ways, law codes treated slaves as the instruments of their masters. Thus, when a slave was injured, the slave had no legal recourse, but the master could ask damages. Conversely, the master was often responsible when the slave committed a wrong.

A few slave systems prohibited intercourse with slave women. Most did not discuss it, but the property relationship implied the master's right to use a female slave as he wished and this right was widely exercised in almost all slave-owning societies. Societies differed, however, in the ways they dealt with marriage and offspring. Some prohibited marriage with slaves. Islamic and Germanic law allowed it only if the slave were freed first. They differed even more in treatment of offspring. In most slave societies, the child belonged to the mother's owner. The basis for this was often livestock law. Islamic law, however, freed a woman who bore her master a child, though only on the death of the master. The children, however, inherited the father's status, were free, and had equal rights of inheritance.

Some law codes recognize a right to manumission and even encourage it. Deathbed manumissions were common under Islam because Islam offered the master who freed his slaves the promise of paradise. Roman and Germanic law encouraged manumission, and Spanish law even set up a procedure called *coartacion* by which the slave could ask a court to set a price and a payment schedule. On the other hand, Southern law either prohibited manumission or made it difficult. The same split is present on education. Mediterranean and Middle Eastern societies encouraged it because slaves were used in government, but many American states made it illegal to teach a slave to read. The major universal religions insisted on humane treatment of slaves. They treated the slave as a person, equal in the eyes of God, and their law codes sometimes were explicit on the master's obligation to feed, clothe, and not abuse his slaves.

In societies with massive slave populations, there was often a fear of slave revolt and of slave flight. These societies, particularly in the Americas, had detailed **slave codes**, which often laid out what slaves could and could not do and were brutal in the punishments that could be given to the disobedient or rebellious slave.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; CHRISTIANITY; JEWS; SEXUAL EXPLOITATION.

LAY, BENJAMIN (1681–1759). Benjamin and Sarah Lay were **Quakers** who moved to Barbados in 1718. Though they went there for business and not as missionaries, they quickly got involved in the conditions of slaves. Their efforts to introduce their Quaker religion to slaves and their efforts to improve the conditions of slave life so alienated their neighbors that they were forced to leave in 1731. They then moved to Pennsylvania, where they devoted themselves to convincing the large Quaker community there that slavery was incompatible with Christian morality. At the time, many Quakers owned slaves. On one occasion, Benjamin fasted for 40 days. On another, he stood with one foot in the snow to demonstrate the condition of ill-clad slaves. He also wrote a number of pamphlets, among which was *All Slave-Keepers, That Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates Pretending to Lay Claim to the Pure and Holy Christian Religion* (1737). The Lays were not immediately successful, but in 1754 the Philadelphia meeting of the Quakers voted to deny membership to slave owners.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; CHRISTIANITY.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS. After World War I, the major world powers were so convinced that the issue of slavery had been resolved that they abrogated the **Brussels** Convention. Nevertheless, the Treaty of St. Germain committed them to “the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms” and to the suppression of the slave trade. The Covenant of the League of Nations included a “prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade” and bound colonial powers to seek “humane conditions of labor for men, women and children.” In 1922, press reports of slaving in **Ethiopia** and **Arabia** led to discussion of the issue and eventually to the creation in 1924 of the Temporary Slave Commission to study the question. The commission report discussed the continuation of slavery, slave trading, and slave raiding and suggested an international convention. The result was the **Slavery Convention of 1926**. The convention called for the immediate suppression of the slave trade and the submission of annual reports by member nations. It contained no enforcement provisions, but its very existence put pressure on **Liberia** and Ethiopia to end slave trading and raiding and on colonial powers to abolish slavery.

Liberia had been investigated for its use of coerced labor, though the colonial powers had systems of forced labor just as harsh as Liberia's. It was only after 1927 that slavery was abolished in British colonies like Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and Sudan. In 1932, the Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery was formed to receive the national reports and compile regular reports of its own. In spite of efforts to keep it weak, the committee made public information on slavery and other kinds of coercive labor in different parts of the world. In the long run, this was the most important result of the League's involvement in questions of slavery. The League's work was eventually continued by the **United Nations**.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY.

LE CLERC, CHARLES VICTOR EMMANUEL (1772–1802). Le Clerc was the general sent by Napoleon Bonaparte to win Saint-Domingue back from the rebel armies of **Toussaint L'Ouverture**. He was also married to Napoleon's sister, Pauline. Though Napoleon had pledged not to restore slavery, Le Clerc had secret instructions that he was to disarm L'Ouverture's black armies, restore slavery, and return the island to its slave plantation economy. His initial efforts were successful. He won a series of victories, won some of L'Ouverture's leaders to his side, and captured Toussaint, who was sent to France, where he died in prison. Opposition, however, stiffened when news arrived that slavery had been reestablished on Guadeloupe. Le Clerc's black allies went back into opposition, Maroon communities waged effective guerrilla action, and yellow fever decimated his forces. Finally, in November 1802, he died of yellow fever. The French were soon forced to admit failure. Saint-Domingue became independent under **Jean-Jacques Dessalines**, who renamed the island Haiti.

See also HAITIAN REVOLUTION.

LE ROY, ALEXANDRE (1854–1938). Born in Normandy, Alexandre Le Roy joined the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1877. His first assignments as a missionary were in Pondicherry in India and the island of Réunion. In 1881, he was sent to Zanzibar, where he confronted the horrors of the East African slave trade and marked himself as an explorer and a very vigorous missionary. He wrote two books on his years in East Africa: *À travers le Zanguebar* (1884) and *Au Kilima-Ndjaru* (1893). In 1889, he published a pamphlet, *L'esclavage africain*, which was an appeal to the great powers then convening in **Brussels** to take action against the African trade. After serving briefly as bishop in Gabon, he became the superior general of the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1896. He was twice reelected, remaining in that post until 1926. He also served a number of times as president of the Anti-Slavery Society of France. He oriented the work of his order and of the society toward questions

of the status of women, opposing polygamy and arranged marriages. During these years, however, the Society also pressured the colonial administration to end pawning in West Africa, which usually involved young girls.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH; EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; PAWNSHIP.

LIBERIA. Liberia was founded in 1822 by the **American Colonization Society** for former slaves who wanted to resettle in Africa. The U.S. Navy lieutenant who escorted the first settlers to Liberia had difficulty finding land for them, but he finally was able to buy a strip 130 miles long where Monrovia now is. Until 1847, the settlement was run by a group of white governors. The increasing opposition of African-Americans to colonization meant that relatively few former slaves actually resettled—a little over 12,000 between 1822 and 1867. In addition, 5,700 slaves taken from ships stopped by the U.S. Navy were settled there.

The constitution of the new republic stated clearly that “there shall be no slavery within the Republic. Nor shall any . . . person resident therein deal in slaves either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.” Slavery and the slave trade had long existed in the area. Over the years, about 300,000 people from what is now Liberia were sold into the Atlantic trade. As the Americo-Liberians spread their influence, they made their compromises with the existing social orders. Many Liberians owned slaves, and toward the end of the 19th century, they used coercive methods to recruit labor for the construction of the Panama Canal, for Spanish cocoa plantations on Fernando Po, and for German companies working in Cameroon. Forced labor was also used within Liberia.

Though the American Colonization Society hoped the settlers would introduce the Christian religion and end the slave trade in the interior, the settlers were not numerous enough to have much influence until the 20th century. The Americo-Liberians continued to speak English, to wear European clothes, and to keep themselves separate from other Liberians. Most of them continued to live near the coast, but gradually they established their control over interior peoples. Though not formally a colony of the United States, they used the U.S. dollar and depended on U.S. diplomatic support in their efforts to fend off covetous French and British neighbors. The Americo-Liberian hegemony was ended only in 1980 when a coup d’état brought an African sergeant, Samuel Doe, to power. The instability of the Doe regime led to a period of bitter civil war, which ended only in 2003.

LIBERTY PARTY. The Liberty Party was founded as an abolitionist party in 1839. It ran **James G. Birney** as its candidate in the presidential elections of 1840 and 1844, but it attracted few voters away from the major parties.

Even in 1844, when both major candidates were pro-slavery, Birney attracted only 60,000 votes. This only seemed to convince members of the **Garrison** wing of the abolition movement that politics would not be successful. Nevertheless, members of the Liberty Party decided that if they had more limited goals, they might do better. In 1848, they joined with disgruntled members of the Whig and Democratic Parties to form the **Free Soil Party**, which opposed the extension of slavery to new territories in the West. The Free Soilers got 14 percent of the vote and in 1854 became part of the new Republican Party.

LIBREVILLE. Just as Freetown was developed to serve as a reception center for slaves freed by the British, Libreville, which means “free town” in French, was founded for slaves freed by the French navy. It was built on land in the Gabon estuary ceded to the French by a local ruler, King Denis, in 1839. Missions were established there in 1842 and a French navy post in 1843. Gabon had never been a major center of the Atlantic slave trade, though slavery existed in most Gabonese societies. Low population densities meant that European slave traders rarely had an interest in going there. The trade was, however, increasing in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

After the abolition of slavery in the French empire in 1848, it was decided to make Libreville a settlement for freed slaves. A group of 261 freed slaves were settled there in 1849. Some later groups were brought there, but the French navy never developed the zeal the British displayed for stopping slave ships, and Libreville was far from West Africa where much of the French navy operated. The slave trade continued to function for many years on the other side of the estuary. The freed slaves were never numerous enough to develop into the kind of self-conscious community that emerged in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Most of the freed slaves were eventually absorbed into the Mpongwe population around the estuary. Libreville is today the capital of Gabon.

See also ABOLITION, FRANCE; AFRICA SQUADRON.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM (1809–1865). Abraham Lincoln is known as the Great Emancipator. He was the American president who fought the civil war and freed the slaves. He did not at first want to do either. Born in Illinois on what was then the frontier, Lincoln became a lawyer and a politician. Neither as a state legislator nor as a U.S. congressman was he involved in anti-slavery issues, though he indicated his distaste for slavery on several occasions. By 1856, when he joined the recently founded Republican Party, he seemed to have been convinced that slavery should be gradually ended. He allied himself with moderate Free Soiler elements opposed to the extension of slavery to the new territories of the west. Lincoln believed that if slavery

could not expand, it would begin to die. Many Southerners shared this belief, and thus when Lincoln was elected president, there was an immediate move to secession and Lincoln had to act to protect the Union.

From the moment of his election and well into the first year of the war, Lincoln tried to reassure first the South, and then the slave-owning border states, that he had no intention of abolishing slavery. He insisted that he only wanted to save the Union and suppressed decrees by military commanders that might arouse Southern fears. The slaves themselves forced the issue by fleeing in large numbers across Union lines. After major Confederate victories in the early part of the war, Lincoln became convinced both that a voluntary return of the Confederates was impossible and that the North needed the larger sense of purpose that abolition would provide. The result was the **Emancipation Proclamation** of 1 January 1863, which declared free the slaves in areas still in rebellion against the Union. The rest were freed only after Lincoln's assassination when the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the Constitution was passed. The importance of the proclamation was that it changed the nature of the war and undermined the authority of slave owners. Lincoln also resisted the recruitment of black troops, but once it became clear that the Union had no choice but to destroy slavery, it recruited 200,000 black soldiers. Though Lincoln was a hesitant emancipator, willing to defer the end of slavery to preserve the Union, he was revered by most freed slaves as their liberator.

On 15 April, six days after the surrender of Confederate general Robert E. Lee, Lincoln was assassinated in the Ford Theater in Washington, D.C.

See also BUTLER, BENJAMIN (1818–1893); CIVIL WAR, U.S.; FREE SOIL PARTY.

LIVERPOOL. During the second half of the 18th century, Liverpool was the world's most important slaving port. Originally a small fishing port at the mouth of the River Mersey, it became a wealthy city. The first ship from Liverpool to the West African coast sailed in 1700. By 1730, there were 15 a year, and in the 1770s, over a hundred. Liverpool ships carried about half of the 3 million slaves Great Britain sent to the Americas. Liverpool ships traded in other products, but slaves made up between a third and a half of the Liverpool trade. A major factor in Liverpool's success was its access via canals to many of the trade goods sought in West Africa—textiles from Lancashire, guns from Birmingham, and metal goods from Staffordshire and Cheshire. The last British slaver sailed from Liverpool in July 1807. With the end of the slave trade, Liverpool merchants played a major role in the import of palm oil from West Africa and cotton from the Southern United States. Liverpool's ties with the South meant that there was substantial sympathy with the Southern cause during the American **Civil War**. Much of the Confederate navy was built in Liverpool.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

LIVINGSTONE, DAVID (1813–1873). David Livingstone was a missionary, a doctor, an explorer, and a crusader against slavery in Africa. His career was marked by a deep concern and respect for the African people, among whom he spent his adult life. Born to a Scottish working-class family, he was first sent to Africa by the London Missionary Society in 1841 and worked among the Tswana people of South Africa. In 1849, he left on a series of great explorations that covered large areas of East and **Central Africa**. Here he confronted the horrors perpetrated by slavers based in East Africa. His books described the burned villages and the long lines of manacled slaves being moved to the coast. They contributed to a renewal of the abolition movement. Among them are *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857) and *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries and of the Discovery of Lakes Sherwa and Nyasa* (1865).

In 1856, on a brief visit back to Britain, he made an impassioned plea in a lecture at Westminster Abbey for the introduction of a program of “Christianity, commerce and civilisation” to Central Africa. It led to the creation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa and the foundation of missions dispersed across East and Central Africa, especially in the ravaged Lake Malawi area. He inspired many Christians to dedicate themselves to the struggle against slavery. He then returned to his explorations. After many years, when he was not heard from, a New York newspaper sent Henry Morton Stanley to find him. Livingstone refused to be rescued, but two years later he died and his body was carried to the east coast by his porters. He was buried in Westminster Abbey along with many of Great Britain’s greatest heroes.

See also EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

LOCKE, JOHN (1632–1704). John Locke was a British philosopher who had a great influence on many of the Founding Fathers of the United States. In his *Second Treatise on Government*, he argued that people were born with the right to life, liberty, and property, and that people united to form a government in order to protect these rights. Slavery was for Locke nothing but a continuation of the state of war. The slave had no moral obligation to obey. In spite of this, he argued that there were two conditions under which a person could be legitimately enslaved. The first was as punishment for a criminal act. The second was as a result of defeat in a **just war**. The ultimate contradiction in his thought was his defense of chattel slavery. He justified it because he believed that Africa was a continent marked by misery and suffering, and therefore Africans were better off as slaves. In 1669, he wrote the

Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, which gave the master absolute authority over his slave. His idea that people had a natural right to liberty lived longer than the constitution he wrote.

LONG, EDWARD (1734–1813). Long was a planter, historian, and defender of slavery. Born in England and trained as a lawyer, he moved to Jamaica in 1757 to take over management of his family's estates after his father died. He became a judge but was forced to return to England in 1769 because of ill health. His first published work, *Candida Reflections* (1772), was an attack on Judge Mansfield's decision to free the slave James Somerset. In *History of Jamaica* (1774), he polished up his arguments. His defense of slavery was based in part on historical precedent and a belief in social hierarchy, but he bolstered his case with racist arguments. He argued that Africans and their slave descendants were savages. He also described mulattoes as inferior beings and Africa as a continent marked by brutal despotism. By contrast, he defended Jamaican plantation slavery as a benign patriarchal system. Long had a lot of influence on later defenders of slavery.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; RACE AND SLAVERY; *SOMERSET V. STEWART* (1772).

LOVEJOY, ELIJAH (1802–1837). Elijah Lovejoy was an abolitionist who was murdered for his principles. He was born in Maine the son of a Congregationalist minister. After graduating from a college in Waterville, Maine (now Colby College), he moved to St. Louis where he taught school and was a partner in a newspaper. After studying for the ministry, he returned to St. Louis in 1833 to open a Protestant newspaper, the *Saint Louis Observer*. By 1835, he was regularly attacking slavery and had become an advocate of gradual emancipation. In 1837, he attacked the lynching of a black man. When the judge attacked him instead of indicting the lynchers, he attacked the judge in print. The next day, a mob attacked and destroyed his office and the presses. Lovejoy relocated his publishing enterprise to Alton, Illinois, but in November 1837, a mob made up mostly of men from Missouri attacked his office. He was killed while trying to defend his presses. He became a martyr to the abolitionist movement. His death was often cited as evidence that denial of the rights of slaves affected the rights of free white men.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

LUGARD, FREDERICK JOHN DEALTRY (1858–1945). Lord Frederick Lugard was one of the dominant figures of 20th-century British colonial administration and had a great impact on slavery policy. Born in India to missionary parents, he served in the British army in India from 1879 to 1886 and then led a series of expeditions to East Africa. In 1900 he was appointed

high commissioner to northern Nigeria, and during the next three years he conquered the powerful **Sokoto Caliphate**, which contained at least a million and perhaps as many as 2.5 million slaves. With only 1,200 soldiers, he opted for a program of indirect rule through the existing elites. This necessitated respect for local institutions and recognition of the large slaveholdings of the elites. In the immediate aftermath of the conquest, Lugard abolished the slave trade, prohibited slave raiding, and closed slave markets. At the same time, at least 200,000 slaves were fleeing their masters, either seizing lands or heading back to earlier homes. Though Lugard saw an end to slavery as his goal, he feared disorder and the creation of a rootless population of ex-slaves. He immediately moved to stop the flight. Slaves were not allowed to leave their masters, but *murgu*, an Islamic legal procedure, allowed them to purchase their freedom. Lugard's program was one of gradual change wrapped up in abolitionist rhetoric. Slavery was not definitively abolished in northern Nigeria until 1936. After World War I, Lugard became the British representative and without a doubt the strongest figure on various **League of Nations** committees dealing with slavery. He influenced the Slavery Convention of 1926 and supported a more activist role for the League than the colonial powers wanted.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

LUNDY, BENJAMIN (1789–1839). Benjamin Lundy was an early abolitionist and newspaper editor. Born in New Jersey, he was repelled by the treatment of slaves he saw while working as a saddle maker's apprentice in Virginia. In 1816, he founded the Union Humane Society to oppose racial discrimination. In 1821, he began publishing an abolitionist newspaper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. In 1828, he recruited **William Lloyd Garrison** to work with him on the newspaper. He and Garrison soon split. Garrison became a critic of colonization, which Lundy supported. Lundy tried unsuccessfully to set up colonies of free blacks in Haiti, Canada, and Mexico. He also strongly attacked the admission of Texas to the Union as a slave state, fearing that it would strengthen slavery. He continued to edit anti-slavery newspapers until his death in 1839.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

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MACAULAY, ZACHARY (1768–1838). Zachary Macaulay was an important abolitionist and an early governor of **Sierra Leone**. The son of a Scottish minister, Macaulay was apprenticed when young to a Glasgow merchant and at age 17 took a position as a bookkeeper on a Jamaican sugar plantation. Influenced by the way masters and overseers treated slaves, Macaulay joined the anti-slavery Clapham sect after his return to England. When the Sierra Leone Company was formed, he became its secretary and in 1794 was appointed governor of Sierra Leone. Though he had to deal with French attacks and conflicts with the settlers, he was a successful administrator. Freetown expanded considerably during his five-year term. After his return to England, he remained an active abolitionist. He was one of the founders of the African Institution in 1807, represented the abolitionists at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, and in 1823 was one of the founders of the **Anti-Slavery Society**.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

MACEO, ANTONIO (1845–1896). Antonio Maceo, the son of a Venezuelan mulatto and a free black woman, was one of the most successful generals in the Cuban struggle for liberation from Spain. In 1868, at the beginning of the Ten Years' War, he enlisted in the rebel army. He speedily displayed a genius for guerrilla warfare, frequently outmaneuvering Spanish generals. Though he rose in ranks, he did not avoid combat and was wounded 26 times in his career. A determined opponent of slavery, he often raided plantations and freed slaves. In 1878, most rebel leaders were convinced that they could not win and accepted a Spanish peace offer. Maceo opposed the settlement, insisting that he could only accept total independence and total abolition of slavery. He had to leave **Cuba**, but he returned at the invitation of nationalist leader José Martí for the 1895–1898 war and led a spectacular invasion of western Cuba, which covered a thousand miles in 92 days and captured 2,000 rifles. At the time, he was second in command of the rebel forces. Then, at the peak of his success, he was killed in a minor skirmish. Throughout his career, he strongly supported an end to slavery and insisted on racial equality.

See also EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

MADAGASCAR. Madagascar is the fourth-largest island in the world. It lies in the southwest corner of the **Indian Ocean**, not far from southern Africa. It was settled between the first and third centuries CE by migrants from **Indonesia**, who merged with immigrants from mainland Africa to form several different ethnic groups. From the seventh century, Arab, Persian, and Swahili traders began frequenting the northwestern coast and pulled Madagascar into the Indian Ocean economy. A small slave trade was a part of this commerce.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, Madagascar was brought into the global economy by European traders interested in both slaves and commodities. Madagascar was a source of slaves for the **plantations** of French-owned **Mauritius and Réunion** and for the Cape Colony, **India**, and **Indonesia**. During the late 18th century, the Merina king Andrianampoinimerina began both the conquest of other highland states and a process of modernization. The island also provided food to the plantation islands and to passing ships. In 1820, Radama I signed a treaty with the British promising the end of slave exports. Though some parts of the island continued to export slaves, the Merina became a net importer. Historian Gwyn Campbell estimates that as many as a million slaves were imported into the highlands, mostly from other parts of the island, but also from East Africa. Slaves were used as agricultural laborers, domestic servants, and porters. Slave labor was supplemented for commoners by a system of forced labor called *fanompoana*, which was so onerous that many slaves chose to remain in slavery. There are debates about the size of the slave population, but it was at least a third of the population of the highlands.

In spite of treaty commitments, some slave exports continued, mostly from the Sakalava of the west coast, mostly to the French plantation islands. This continued even after the French abolition of slavery in 1848. An 1868 treaty with Great Britain provided for an end to slave imports, but demand for labor meant that there was strong demand for slaves. Throughout the late 19th century, slaves continued to be imported into both the Merina and Sakalava parts of Madagascar, mostly from Mozambique. During the 1880s, about 4,000 slaves a year were exported from Madagascar and about 5,500 were imported. Madagascar was thus both an exporter and an importer of slaves. In 1895, Madagascar was conquered by the French. In 1896, slavery was abolished.

See also EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; SOUTH AFRICAN SLAVERY.

MALAYA. Slavery was common in pre-colonial Malaya. Little is known about slavery before the 14th century. When **Islam** moved into Malaya in the 14th century, the prohibition of enslavement of other Muslims limited enslavement among the Malays, but raiding parties often attacked the aboriginal communities of the hill areas. Generally men and older women were killed, but the young women and children were brought back to serve as slaves. There were four other sources of slaves. One was raiders who operated in the waters of Indonesia and the Philippine islands and who sold slaves. Second, many pilgrims brought slaves back from Mecca. Third, criminals could choose slavery instead of corporal punishment. Finally, **debt slavery** was common. Debt slaves had a higher status than ordinary slaves because the debt slave could redeem himself. They were not considered true slaves because they were Malays and they could be redeemed if they or their families could pay the debts. This seems, however, to have been rare.

Slaves were considered property. The master could do what he wished to the slave. Some were well treated, but the slave had no guarantee. They could be sold or given away, and their children were automatically slaves. Many slaves, probably the largest group, worked as servants. The household of the wealthy and powerful sometimes had hundreds of slaves. Others were artisans or worked in commerce. Some were allowed to trade on their own account and became quite wealthy, even owning slaves. Some slave couples also worked in agriculture. The importance of slavery was linked to the low population density. It was not easy to find labor. When the British extended their control over Malaya, they brought labor in from China, India, and Indonesia. Wage labor became cheaper than slave labor. Malayan sultans were thus often willing to abolish slavery. Many household slaves in powerful families remained with their masters, but others left.

MALE REVOLT. *See* BAHIAN SLAVE REVOLTS.

MAMLUKES. The Mamlukes were originally slave soldiers who served various Arab regimes from the 9th century on. Most of them were Turks, but some were African, Slavic, or Greek. The term Mamluke, which comes from an Arabic word for slave, referred particularly to slave soldiers in Egypt. Generally, like the Ottoman **Janissaries**, they were captured or enslaved as children, converted to Islam, and raised in barracks. They were trained both for war and administration. They were freed on becoming adults but generally continued to live in a close community.

Like other military slaves, the Mamlukes were considered very loyal to their royal masters. In 1250, however, a Mamluke took power in Egypt with the support of other Mamlukes. Though power passed several times from one group of Mamlukes to another, the Mamlukes remained in power in Egypt

until 1798. The most famous of the Mamluke sultans, Baybars, stopped the **Mongol** advance into the Middle East in 1260. The early Mamluke sultans tried to pass power to their sons, but eventually success was limited to those recruited as youths. They had risen up the social ladder by merit. In 1517, Egypt was conquered by the Ottomans. Though the Ottoman sultan, Selim, executed 800 Mamlukes, he soon found it desirable to operate through the Mamlukes. Thenceforth the Ottomans appointed a governor, who was chosen from another part of the Ottoman Empire, and he ruled through a Mamluke administrative class.

See also EGYPT, MODERN; ELITE SLAVES; MILITARY SLAVES; OTTOMAN SLAVERY.

MANUMISSION. Manumission was the act of freeing an individual slave. Almost all slave systems have some provision for manumission. Some slaves were manumitted for service, some paid for their freedom, and some were given it by their masters. The possibility of manumission was important in motivating slaves to work hard, obey their masters, and save their money. Slaves were sometimes freed for bravery in war. Most slaves were not freed, but the hope was important to the functioning of the system. Those freed were usually household slaves who worked closely with their masters or slaves who were able to accumulate money because of the nature of their work.

In **ancient Rome**, the freedman became a client and was still dependent on his former master. A woman could be freed for bearing numerous children, but she was still dependent on her master. The Prophet **Mohammed** encouraged manumission and treated it as a pious act. Thus slaves were often freed by Muslims facing death. Usually those freed were trusted retainers, but in Arab countries, the rate of manumission was very high. A slave **concubine** who bore a child was automatically freed upon the death of her master. If the slave paid for his or her freedom, manumission could be profitable. In parts of West Africa, the convention was that the slave paid for two replacement slaves. One result of this was that many slaves chose to purchase a slave rather than their freedom.

In the Americas, many of the slaves freed were the offspring or lovers of their masters. Some were also trusted servants or slaves who had grown wealthy in business. In the early years in the British colonies, manumission was widespread, involving between a fifth and a quarter of the black population. In Maryland and Delaware, the number of free blacks came to outnumber the slaves, but in the Deep South, the free black population was regarded as a potential threat. Most states insisted that manumission have public approval, and some made it virtually impossible. In South Carolina, a slave could be freed only by legislative act, and in Mississippi, only by bequest. In Latin America also, many of those freed were the lovers or children of their

masters. Iberian law was generally very open to manumission. Most Latin American cities had large free black populations. In some Spanish colonies, there were procedures like the Cuban *coartacion*, under which a price for manumission was agreed upon and the slave gradually paid for his or her manumission.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; ISLAM; LAW OF SLAVERY; SELF-PURCHASE.

MAORI. The Maori are Polynesians who settled New Zealand in the 13th century. Slaves called *mokai* were an important part of pre-colonial Maori society. They originated primarily in war. When a group was defeated, there were two options. Some groups were allowed to live as they had always lived, but subject to paying tribute to their masters. The victors also took the more attractive women of the defeated group. These women became either concubines of the chiefs or wives of poorer and less marriageable men. Other *mokai* lived among their masters and did menial chores and heavy labor. The owed their masters obedience and could be asked to fight for them. When a Maori chief met with British settlers, he was generally accompanied by a number of slaves who did his bidding. Slaves could also be sacrificed on important ritual occasions. When a slave woman was married to a free man, their children were free, but when two slaves married, their children inherited the slave status.

When the Maori accepted British rule in the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, they agreed to stop taking slaves. Subsequent warfare, conversion to **Christianity**, and wage labor led to the disappearance of slavery. Christianity was attractive to slaves because it preached equality. Wage labor freed them from the obligation of obedience.

See also PACIFIC ISLANDS SLAVERY.

MAROONS. The most common form of slave resistance was flight. Sometimes the fleeing slaves were able to form autonomous and independent states capable of defending themselves against the slaveholder's state. These slaves were called Maroons. They were most successful in areas where they could flee into swamps, woods, or mountainous areas and could defend themselves. The French term was *marronage*. Some writers speak of *petit marronage*, in which slaves fled individually or in small groups and eventually returned to the plantation. Sometimes they hid out in the cities, sometimes in rural retreats. The majority of Maroon communities were short-lived.

Grand marronage involved large independent communities. These communities threatened plantations, which they raided for women, supplies, and weapons. Many of the original Maroon settlements were created by men who

remembered Africa and created states modeled on those they knew in Africa. The most successful were also skillful at guerrilla warfare and masters of warfare in the forests. Maroon raids and the attraction of the Maroons threatened the authority of the planters, and the Maroons were often effective fighters. In a number of cases, Europeans were forced to seek an accommodation. Usually they offered security if the Maroons would stop raiding and return runaways. One of the most successful was in Jamaica, where the British sued for peace in 1739 after a long period of warfare. Though the peace settlement broke down in 1795, the Jamaican Maroons were never conquered. In Surinam, there were a number of Maroon communities. In 1760, the Dutch signed a treaty with some of these communities that involved the regular payment of tribute to the Maroons. This treaty, however, did not stop the raiding. There were many Maroon communities in Brazil, where they were called *mocambos* or *quilombos*, most of them short-lived. The most powerful Maroon community in Brazil, **Palmares**, survived for almost a century before it was finally conquered. In Hispanic America, they were often called *palenques*.

Even in the United States, there were Maroons who survived for years, but the only large Maroon community was among the **Seminole** Indians of Florida. The Seminoles provided a refuge for runaway slaves, who often formed distinct communities that accepted Seminole authority. The result was two wars, from 1817 to 1818 and from 1835 to 1842. The second was particularly bitter and hard fought because the Americans were determined to destroy the refuge and the former slaves were fighting to protect their freedom. Some Maroons also survived for years in the bayous of Louisiana and the Great Dismal Swamp of Virginia and North Carolina. There were also Maroon communities in Hispaniola, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Cuba. Maroons were also found in other parts of the world. In Africa, groups like the **Hubbu** of Guinea survived for years in forested or hilly areas.

See also CUJO (c. 1680–1744); JAMAICAN SLAVE REVOLT (1831–1832); SLAVE RELIGION.

MARRIAGE. In most slave-owning societies, slaves did not marry. They did cohabit, often in long-term recognized relationships, but they did not have the rights in relationships that spouses usually have. This flowed from the notion that slaves were things, that they were property. Marital rights could infringe on the master's property rights. As property, for example, slaves could be sold. Husbands could be separated from their wives, children from their parents. Slaves could also usually not bequeath or inherit. They therefore had no rights in each other. In spite of this, slaves developed deep attachments to each other and related to each other as man and wife. Society often recognized the bond with ceremonies. Heavy work obligations often made it necessary for people to share obligations to children and create a

kind of extended family. In West Africa, for example, slaves were rarely allowed to farm for themselves before they formed a stable relationship. Masters sometimes assigned slaves to each other. In the Americas, slave masters usually discovered that slaves who lived with their spouses and children in two-parent households were the most effective workers. They generally lived in separate cabins. Among skilled slaves, marriage was recognized, and parents often trained their sons and daughters, trying to provide them with the minimum of security that came with having skills.

See also ELITE SLAVES.

MARTINEAU, HARRIET (1802–1876). Harriet Martineau was an English reformer of French Huguenot descent. As a young woman, she became convinced that slavery was both economically unwise and morally unsound. She wrote a short story and several articles condemning slavery. At first she supported colonization, but she soon became convinced that it would not work and that whites and blacks could live together. Then, in 1834, she visited the United States. During this trip, she met **William Lloyd Garrison**, who convinced her to strengthen her opposition to slavery. She remained a militant abolitionist. Like many female abolitionists, she moved from the issue of slavery to that of the subjugations of women.

See also AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

MARXISM. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were very critical of the inhumanity of slavery in their own times but saw it as a necessary stage in the evolution of human society. For Marx, the motor of history was the struggle between classes, but in the beginning, primitive society was egalitarian. When human society reached a certain level of productivity, private property emerged, and some men established their control of others by converting captives into slaves. Slaves thus became the most important form of property, and the state became necessary to preserve the property rights of the masters. This was thus the beginning of history.

Marxists distinguish between systems called modes of production largely according to the means by which the dominant social classes organized productive activity and extracted wealth from the producers. Within the slave mode of production, this was direct. The master owned the slave and the product of his or her labor. Marx himself was primarily concerned to analyze capitalism and its contradictions. Marxist ideas on slavery were spelled out by Marx's collaborator, Friedrich Engels, in a short book entitled *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1891), which developed the idea of a series of stages. He proposed five stages: primitive communism, slave, feudal, capitalist, and communist. With the development of communism after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1918, these stages became a part of

communist orthodoxy. Communist scholars often tried to determine when the slave, feudal, and capitalist periods began in different parts of the world. This proved to be a straitjacket for historical research. Many of the societies being studied followed a course of historical development very different from Europe.

In the 1960s, following the discovery of Marx's early writings, some scholars went back to Marxist ideology, but in a more supple way used it to understand processes of historical change rather than imposing a rigid framework on the study of the past. The new Marxists saw not a single **slave mode of production**, but different modes. Some scholars have even said that each society has its own unique configuration of forces and relations of production. Slavery for a Marxist must be analyzed in terms of the ways slaves are recruited and exploited. **Claude Meillassoux** in his *Anthropology of Slavery* (1991) describes a tension between warriors and merchants that regulated the way slaves were traded and exploited in West Africa. **Eugene Genovese** was concerned with a society where landowners profited from the convergence of slave and capitalist modes of production and profited from their position in each. In *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974), he asked how social classes made themselves, that is to say, how slaves acted.

MASIH, IQBAL (1983–1995). At age four, Iqbal's parents in a village in Pakistan borrowed 600 rupees (about \$12) to pay for his brother's wedding. In exchange, Iqbal was to work for a carpet maker until the debt was repaid. For six years, he worked 14 hours a day, seven days a week, in a carpet factory. At age 10, he heard that the Supreme Court of Pakistan had proclaimed that **bonded labor** was illegal. Nevertheless, when he escaped, he was captured by police and returned to the carpet factory. The second time he escaped, he made contact with the **Bonded Labour Liberation Front**. As a child activist, he helped other children escape. He also went abroad to publicize the movement. In 1995, after returning from a visit to the United States, he was shot and died. In death, he became a symbol of the fight against bondage and for the rights of children. A school in Massachusetts that he had addressed raised money to build a school. A Canadian adolescent, Craig Kielburger, founded **Free the Children** to try to mobilize children to fight against child slavery.

See also CHILD LABOR.

MAURITANIA. When Mauritania abolished slavery in 1981, it was the last country in the world to do so, and even then, its success in doing so was limited. Slavery was an old institution. It probably dates back to the coming of horse-riding raiders, who preyed on and established their hegemony over agriculturists during the first millennium BCE. The importance of slavery

increased with the hegemony of the Berber-speaking Almoravids in the 11th century CE, but the Almoravids soon turned to the north, conquering Morocco and then Spain.

Modern Mauritania developed with the invasion of Arabic-speaking nomads called the Beni Hassan. The Arab conquest produced a very hierarchical social order. At the top were those called Beydane, or “whites.” These in turn were divided between the so-called warrior tribes and the clerical tribes. Though they adopted the Arabic language, the clerical tribes were often wealthier than the warriors because they ran schools and other religious institutions and because they engaged in commerce. Both groups, however, kept large numbers of livestock: camels, cattle, sheep, and goats. In this social order, slaves were crucial. In the nomadic camps, they were servants, and they did most of the herding. Others lived near the Senegal River or in oases, where their agricultural activities provided grain to supplement the diet of the elites. During the 18th and 19th centuries, many slaves also worked extracting gum from acacia trees in the southern desert. These slaves came either from raids on agricultural societies south of the Senegal River or were purchased with profits from the Saharan economy. There were also intermediate groups. There were artisan groups like blacksmiths and musicians. There were also *haratin* (sing. *hartani*), freed slaves or the descendants of freed slaves who remained a part of Beydane families in semi-servile relations. The *haratin* speak Arabic, have Arabic names, and are very much part of Beydane culture.

Mauritania was brought under French colonial control in the early years of the 20th century, though there was resistance until 1934. Slavery was formally ended in most of French West Africa, but not in regions of the **Sahara**. French officials in Mauritania often ignored instructions from the governor general and from the Colonial Ministry in Paris. This was largely because it was difficult for the French military to control the vast empty spaces of the Sahara without the collaboration of the Beydane elite, who would work with the French only if they could be guaranteed control of their slaves. Many of the people who worked for the French and many of the Mauritians who were educated in French were *haratin*. Many *haratin* also served in the Mauritanian army. Slavery only began to break down with a series of droughts that troubled West Africa between 1968 and 1983. These decimated herds and destroyed the pastoral economy. Hundreds of thousands of people moved to areas around the capital of Nouakchott, where masters could no longer control or profit from their slaves.

The 1981 abolition decrees contained no provisions for enforcement, but the political situation had changed. El Hor, an organization largely of *haratin* was formed in 1978 under the leadership of Messaoud Ould Boulkheir. In 1998, SOS Esclaves was formed. It has helped slaves to escape and to find work and accommodation. Its leadership has been harassed and ridiculed, but

they have persisted. Boubacar Messaoud, its president, has been jailed three times, but finally in 2007, the government issued a new decree abolishing slavery once again and introducing criminal penalties for slave ownership. These, however, have not been widely enforced. In 2008, Biram Dah Abeid broke away from SOS Esclaves to form the Initiative de Resurgence de Mouvement Abolitioniste to push for stronger enforcement of anti-slavery laws.

MAURITIUS AND RÉUNION. Mauritius and Réunion are part of the Mascarene Islands of the southwestern **Indian Ocean**. They were uninhabited when first discovered by the Portuguese in the 16th century. Mauritius was occupied by the Dutch in 1638, and Réunion (then called Ile de Bourbon) by the French in 1670. In 1710, the Dutch abandoned Mauritius. It was occupied by the French in 1721 and called Ile de France. The French used it for a while as a base to threaten British shipping, but during the second half of the 18th century, both islands developed as important producers of tropical crops. Slaves were imported from all over the Indian Ocean, 160,000 slaves in all, about half of them between 1769 and 1783. They came from all sides of the Indian Ocean: **East Africa, Madagascar, India, Malaya, and Indonesia.**

The Mascarenes very much resembled the Caribbean islands. They were dominated by a small planter elite, some of whom were **people of color**. After experimenting with other crops, they became primarily **sugar** producers. With no other source of labor, slaves did everything. They were sailors, artisans, fishermen, and servants as well as field workers. Tales of slavery days suggest that Mascarene slavery was particularly harsh. During the 1820s, death rates on Mauritius were almost twice the birth rates. The manumission rate most years was only about 0.2 percent of the slave population, and these were mostly women and children, probably the lovers and offspring of French colonists. *Marronage* rates during the 1820s were between 11 and 13 percent of the population. Slaves fled into the mountainous interior, though no permanent **Maroon** communities were ever formed.

The British occupied Mauritius in 1810 and restored its Dutch name. British efforts to end the slave trade led to a period of illegal slave trading, but by the mid-1820s that ended. Réunion also had a large illegal slave trade that persisted even after the French abolished slavery in 1848. There were also imports of indentured labor. On Mauritius, the end of slavery led to a massive flight from the plantations as freed slaves chose to become peasant farmers in the mountainous interior. During the 1840s, the former slaves were totally replaced on the sugar plantations by **indentured labor** from India. Réunion remains a French overseas territory.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY.

MEDIEVAL EUROPE. Medieval Europe was an area in which slavery declined. In fact, in large parts of Europe, it disappeared completely. The decline began in the late years of the Roman Empire. As Roman armies ceased bringing prisoners from frontier areas and the money economy declined, gang labor disappeared and slavery gave way to other forms of tenure in which farmers were bound to land. Enslavement revived briefly every time new conquerors made their appearance, first the Germans, then the Hungarians and the **Vikings**. Slaves were also found along various war-like frontiers, for example, that of German expansion into eastern Europe, or the boundaries between English and Celtic peoples in the British Isles. In the ninth century, the Carolingian empire was between 10 and 20 percent slave. At the time of the Domesday Book (1086), England was about 10 percent slave. In none of these areas, however, did **plantation** systems emerge. The long-range pattern of change was for slavery to give way to a **serfdom** in which serfs were bound to the land and owed rent and services to a feudal lord.

Between the 6th and 10th centuries, significant enslavement took place on the frontiers of Christendom in eastern Europe. A slave trade took slaves from Prague across Europe to Spain and Mediterranean markets. Viking raiders also took many slaves in areas around the North Atlantic. At Dublin, there was a slave market for Viking slaves. With the conversion of various parts of eastern Europe to Christianity in the 10th and 11th centuries, many rulers in central and western Europe prohibited the sale of Christians as slaves.

In western Europe, slavery coexisted for a while with serfdom, but slaves were more likely to be found in the households of the powerful and on church-owned estates. Slaves were thus closer to power than serfs. Some slaves were also purchased by artisans. The major source of agricultural production was serfs. The medieval state was often too weak to prevent slaves from fleeing. The 9th and 10th centuries were periods of agricultural innovation and expansion into hitherto uncultivated areas. Increasingly, there was competition for labor and more favorable terms for those who grew the crops. Where slavery still existed, it yielded to serfdom. By the 12th century, slavery had disappeared in most areas north of the Alps and Pyrenees. Even serfdom was undermined after the bubonic plague killed a quarter to a third of the European population in the mid-14th century. Efforts were made to force workers and peasants to work on the same terms as before, but the competition for labor was such that terms for peasants and workers improved dramatically. This development was further encouraged by increasingly powerful monarchs, who preferred free, tax-paying peasants to serfs or slaves. Northwestern Europe in the Renaissance and the early modern period was one of the few areas of the world where complex social structures did not involve slavery.

Slavery persisted much longer in the **Mediterranean**. Christian and Muslim corsairs fought each other and raided each other's shores. The price of defeat or capture was enslavement. There was also a constant flow of slaves from eastern Europe, so much that the Roman word for slave, *servus*, gave way in most European languages to words based on the root "**Slav**"—*esclave* in French, *esclavo* in Spanish, *escravo* in Portuguese, *schiaivo* in Italian, *sklave* in German. *Servus* came to mean serf. The presence of slaves never, however, led to the creation of a **slave society**. Slaves were mostly urban. They lived and worked within households. There was a high rate of manumission. Some were owned by artisans and some worked in specialized areas like vineyards, but agriculture remained a peasant responsibility. The number of slaves from Africa was small until the 15th century, when the activity of Portuguese ships in West Africa made increasing numbers of Africans available. Most of the African slaves, however, were directed to the Atlantic islands and then, in the 16th century, to the Americas, where plantation systems developed. Domestic slavery continued to exist in Spain and Italy into the 18th century.

The pattern of change was very different in eastern Europe. During the first millennium of the Common Era, population concentrations were low. Slavic peasants were free but gave part of their crops to local rulers. During the 9th and 10th centuries, there were two parallel developments. First, there was increased enslavement for markets in the Mediterranean and the Muslim world. This declined only when various eastern European rulers converted to Christianity. Second, there was expansion into the area, largely of German speakers from both north and west. The development of a market economy contributed to the growth of both an indigenous nobility in some areas and a class of German planters in others. Thus, when slavery was disappearing and serfdom was easing in the West, serfdom was increasing in eastern Europe. This serfdom involved heavier obligations and tighter controls than any experienced in western Europe and has often been compared to slavery.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; EAST EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE.

MEDITERRANEAN SLAVERY. For almost 3,000 years, slavery has been important on all shores of the Mediterranean, and slaves have been exchanged across it. Ancient Rome and Greece were the first **slave societies**, but slavery was also important to the Phoenicians, **Carthaginians**, and **Egyptians**. In areas that were once part of the Roman Empire, slavery declined in importance but did not disappear until the 19th century. It remained important in **Byzantium**, the eastern Roman Empire. On the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, conquest by Arabs and then Turks stimulated a new growth of slavery in the early Middle Ages. The major source of slaves for the Greeks was the lands around the Black Sea. Russians, Tatars,

Circassians, Bulgarians, and other East Europeans were found in Christian and Muslim households. This region was the most important source of slaves for Mediterranean societies until 18th-century Russia expansion into what is now the Ukraine and 19th-century expansion into the Caucasus ended the slave trade from those areas. Some Africans came across the **Sahara** or up the Red Sea from **Ethiopia**, but generally Africans were unimportant in Mediterranean slave populations until the Portuguese opened trade with West Africa in the late 15th century.

The harshest form of slavery was **galley slavery**. While not all men who rowed galleys were slaves, the vast majority were either slaves or convicts. Galleys were important all around the Mediterranean both for warfare and commerce. Religion was more important than race or physical type in determining who could be enslaved. In the western Mediterranean, Christians and Muslims raided each other. Though enslavement was supposedly limited to people taken prisoner in a **jihad** or a **just war** , both Christian and Muslim raiders regarded the other as an enemy and thus enslavable. The **Barbary** corsairs of North Africa not only raided coastal communities in France and Spain but ventured out into the Atlantic, raiding as far as Ireland and Iceland. There were so many European slaves in North Africa that two Catholic religious orders kept representatives at North African capitals to arrange ransoms. At the same time, Christian ships raided the coasts of North Africa, and in the 15th century, the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

In neither Christian nor Muslim countries were slaves the major source of productive labor, though some slaves were bought by and trained as artisans. Slaves were more important in Muslim countries because women were desired for harems and men for the army. Even in Christian areas, female slaves were more numerous than male, probably because of their use as concubines. Most slaves were servants and retainers. The number of slaves fluctuated often, depending on relations with sources of slave supply. The conquest of Constantinople in 1453, for example, led to a decline in domestic slavery in Renaissance Italy, though it happened at about the same time as an increase in the imports of African slaves. In the Christian cities of the western Mediterranean, slaves were rarely more than 10 percent of the population and often as little as 2 or 3 percent.

See also CHRISTIANITY; EAST EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE; ISLAM.

MEILLASSOUX, CLAUDE (1925–2005). Claude Meillassoux was a French anthropologist who did important research on the evolution of social structures in West Africa. Slavery is important in two aspects of his thought. First, he was interested in the transformation of small-scale decentralized societies into more differentiated and more centralized states. He described a process that began with conflict between older and younger males over the

control of women and wealth. In this process, trade and the accumulation of slaves played a major role. His best-known work, however, dealt with slavery in the highly differentiated societies of the West African savanna, which are marked by some of the largest slave concentrations in the world. He saw the basis of slavery as violence and, in fact, treated as slaves only those produced by violence. His *Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold* (1986) looks at relationships between two kinds of social formation, the warriors and the merchants, and the way each society produced a different kind of slavery. He has been the most supple exponent of a revival of Marxist thought that took place when Marxist scholars went back to Marx's early thought to develop a more flexible analysis of social change than was being provided by communist thinkers.

See also MARXISM; SLAVE MODE OF PRODUCTION.

MENNONITES. The Mennonites were an Anabaptist sect that was pacifist, rejected hierarchy, and believed in the simple life. Because they were hostile or simply oblivious to the demands of the formal church and the state, they were persecuted. Many found their way to North America, where from the first they did not permit any church members to own a slave. Tax records from Pennsylvania, where many Mennonites settled, do not indicate a single Mennonite who owned a slave. Unlike the **Quakers**, they did not get involved in politics and were not very involved in anti-slavery activities, though the 1688 **Germantown** protest against slavery was written by Quakers of Mennonite extraction. Some Mennonites got involved in the **Underground Railroad** because of the Mennonite tradition of giving aid to strangers in need. Districts with a large Mennonite population tended to support abolitionist candidates like Thaddeus Stevens, the leader of the Radical Republicans.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; CHRISTIANITY.

MERCADO, TOMÁS DE (1525–1575). Tomás de Mercado was a Dominican friar, a theologian, and an early critic of Spanish slavery in the Americas. He was born in Seville, Spain, but immigrated to Mexico. His most important work was the *Suma de Tratos y Contratos*, first published in 1569. In it, he examined the Atlantic economy of his time. One chapter discussed slavery and the slave trade. Mercado accepted the traditional Christian legal teaching that people could be enslaved as war captives or as punishment for crimes. They also could sell themselves into slavery, and fathers could sell their children. He was critical, however, of the way the Atlantic trade was conducted. He criticized conditions in slave ships and argued that the profits

from the trade stimulated warfare, raiding, kidnapping, and the abuse of their power by judges and by fathers. He therefore argued that the trade was immoral and that participation in the slave trade was a sin.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH; HISPANIC AMERICA.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–1848). By adding a huge area to the United States, the American victory in the Mexican-American War made possible the extension of slavery. Southern leaders were interested in areas where slavery could expand and saw the war as an opportunity for just that reason, but it also strengthened the resolve of anti-slavery and **free soil** forces in the North to resist that expansion. The war came after Texas became the last slave state admitted to the Union in 1845, a decision opposed by many Northern congressmen. The issue was joined in 1846, when a Pennsylvania congressman named David Wilmot proposed an amendment to a military appropriations bill barring slavery in any territories acquired in the war. It was passed in the House of Representatives after a bitter debate but defeated in the Senate. This was known as the **Wilmot Proviso**. Once the war was over, the question became the organization of the new territories. The bitter conflicts were resolved only temporarily by the **Compromise of 1850** but were definitively resolved only by the American **Civil War**.

MEXICO. Slavery was an important institution in Mexico under the **Aztecs**. After the conquest of Mexico by Hernán Cortés in 1519, he moved to a policy of controlling the labor of the mass of Mexicans. In 1521, he distributed to his followers vast tracts called **encomiendas**, on which all residents were bound to labor. This was in violation of instructions from the Spanish queen Isabella that natives were not to be enslaved. It was also opposed by Catholic priests like **Bartolomé de Las Casas**, who persuaded King Charles V to issue the New Laws, which prohibited enslavement of indigenous people. This was a period when the Mexican population was dropping as a result of European diseases. As a result, African slaves were imported. They became for a while a large part of the population of Mexico City, where they were mostly servants. They were also important in the textile industry and in sugar plantations near Vera Cruz and in the area south of Acapulco on the Pacific coast. There were a number of slave revolts. The most important, led by a slave named Gaspar Yanga, led to a 40-year war and finally to Spanish recognition of the independence of the community of San Lorenzo de los Negros, now called Yanga.

When a revolt against Spain broke out in 1810, the leader, Miguel Hidalgo, issued an emancipation decree, which freed all of the slaves, many of whom enlisted in his forces. Though Hidalgo was defeated, when independence finally came, the leader, Agustín de Iturbide, freed slaves who fought

on the republican side. In 1829, after many states had freed slaves, the Mexican state also did so. One of the objectives of the emancipation law was to limit the movement of American slave owners into Texas. When Texas seceded from Mexico in 1836, slavery was reestablished there, and in 1845 it was annexed to the United States as a slave state.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; SOUTHWEST BORDERLANDS.

MIDDLE PASSAGE. The Middle Passage was the maritime voyage of slave ships from Europe to ports in Africa and then to ports in America and back to Europe. It could take anywhere from three weeks to three months depending on the ports involved and the wind conditions. It was called the Middle Passage because it was often the middle part of the triangular voyage. The experience was the most horrible part of the slave's journey. Men were usually kept chained except during brief periods when they were brought on deck for exercise or feeding. Women and children were usually allowed a certain amount of freedom of movement, but women were also often sexually abused by the crew. During stormy weather, all slaves were kept below deck. The worst ships were the so-called tight-packers, in which slaves had little room to move, but even loose-packers gave slaves less room than any other kind of transport ship. One ship much publicized by abolitionists, the *Brookes*, gave slaves 2.5 feet of headroom and a space 16 inches wide for each person. The number of human beings chained below deck meant that it was almost impossible to clean up the vomit and the human waste. The few accounts we have of the trip describe the stench as the most offensive part. **Olaudah Equiano** describes being hit by the odor as soon as he was brought onto the ship. Passing ships could generally identify a slaver by its smell.

The close confinement of slaves, who were often weak, undernourished, and sometimes ill before they boarded the ship, also meant that there was a danger of epidemic disease. Smallpox or dysentery could wipe out a large part of the cargo. With profits dependent on delivering most slaves alive, owners and captains did their best to keep them healthy. Ships often carried a surgeon, and efforts were made to ensure that slaves ate regular meals. Slavers did manage to reduce the mortality rate from over 20 percent in the 16th century to a little over 12 percent in the 19th. The psychological trauma was also so great that one of the problems the slavers faced was melancholy in which slaves lost the will to live and often tried to starve themselves to death. Forced feeding was common, as were harsh punishments.

Sailors did not like working on a slaver and often had to be pressed into service. The mortality rate for European sailors both in Africa and on the seas was often high. Epidemic disease was not the only problem. Calm seas and poor winds could result in the ship using up its food supplies or water before reaching its destination. Sometimes some of the weaker slaves were thrown overboard to preserve supplies, but slaves still died of hunger or dehydration.

There was also a constant fear of slave rebellion. For that reason, slavers generally carried twice as many crew as other ships the same size. Though slaves did not know how to sail large ships, many of them preferred death to the horrors they were experiencing and others they anticipated. Slaves often feared that they were going to be eaten. Rebellions did take place and were sometimes successful. The best-known case was the *Amistad*, which was taken over by slaves and eventually landed in the United States.

Conditions were similar on other long sea voyages. Though the waters of the **Indian Ocean** were usually calmer and the voyage shorter, conditions were poor on voyages to **Mauritius and Réunion**, and mortality was high.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; SLAVE SHIP.

MILITARY SLAVES. Slaves were frequently used as soldiers in Asia and Africa as they had been in ancient Rome. They were either recruited from boys given as tribute or from young men taken in slave raids. They were often privileged troops that were well rewarded. They were particularly valuable in societies where it was difficult to maintain a large army or where most soldiers were loyal either to their local communities or military leaders. Military slaves were owned by the king or sultan, rewarded for service to him, and loyal to him. Many slave soldiers remained legally slaves, though the **Janissaries** were often freed and the **Mamlukes** of Egypt were freed on completion of their military service. They often had a strong esprit de corps. Many of these groups became hereditary slave elites, though others depended on constant recruitment of new blood.

During the 9th century, the Abbasid Caliphate began recruiting slave units from outside the Arab world, probably because their conquests had outrun their manpower resources. Their slave soldiers, called *ghulams*, were mostly Turks from Central Asia. The use of slave soldiers was important to most subsequent Middle Eastern states into the 19th century. The Ottoman Turks, who replaced the Abbasids, recruited the elite corps of Janissaries from young boys given in the Caucasus and Balkans as tribute. In North Africa, young male slaves were often imported from south of the Sahara to serve as soldiers. In 1820, the Egyptian ruler Mohammed Ali invaded the Sudan to get a source of African soldiers.

Slave soldiers were also important elsewhere. In Senegambia, the *ceddo* became a hereditary slave fighting force. Captured boys were often used as grooms or porters, and if they proved able became *ceddo* themselves. The *tonjon* of Bambara Segou (Mali) were owned by a hunting society that became the nucleus of a state. **Yoruba** rulers also used slaves as soldiers, bodyguards, and messengers. In the upper Nile valley, the Funj also used slave soldiers recruited from boys taken prisoner in areas further south. Slave soldiers often got first access to improved weapons. In the 19th century, there was a development of well-armed private armies that raided for slaves. They

were particularly important for slaving states like **Segou** and **Oyo**, where they were used to enslave others. These slave units were housed separately and treated generously, and their leaders often became influential chiefs. In India, slave soldiers were recruited either from Central Asia or Africa. Though valued because of their loyalty, slave soldiers often developed a sense of corporate identity, particularly where they became a hereditary group. They could then interfere to impose a ruler of their choice, influence the policies of the state, or even impose one of their leaders as a ruler. One late medieval slave general, **Malik Ambar**, became an important ruler in western India.

Many European armies in 19th-century Africa were recruited largely from slaves, sometimes purchased in slave markets for military service, in other cases, freed as a reward for enlistment. In many cases, they were nominally freed, but their slave origins often shaped their identities. German armies in Cameroon and East Africa were purchased as slaves. The French used an army of slaves to conquer French West Africa, and much of the British West African Frontier Force was of slave origin. Slave soldiers were often rewarded for loyal service with booty, of which the most important kind was female captives.

Slaves also served in militias and regular military forces in the Americas. Slave troops were more common in Latin America, even being used to track runaways and fight Maroons. They were often freed as a reward for service. In the English, French, and Dutch colonies, the arming of slaves was more rare. There were black units, but mostly free blacks and mulattoes. Slaves were sometimes armed during military conflicts and often played subaltern roles, for example, as scouts, trackers, artisans, messengers, or servants. Some slaves, however, were used on both sides during the American Revolution, and the British created a slave regiment during the wars of the French Revolution. In the many revolts against Spain in the Americas, the slaves willing to serve as soldiers were often freed as a reward for doing so.

See also EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

MINING. Among the harshest forms of slavery were those found in mining areas. In 4th-century BCE Greece, anywhere from 10,000 to 40,000 slaves worked in silver mines. Slaves were also used to mine gold, silver, copper, and precious stones in the Roman Empire. Often those selected for mining were convicts or recent prisoners of war who worked in shackles. In the **Sahara**, slaves were used to mine salt, and elsewhere in Africa, some were used to work for gold. In the United States, they mined for coal, gold, and lead. Though often rented from planters, many of them became valuable skilled miners. In Spanish America, slaves were used to mine silver in Mexi-

co and Central America and gold in Colombia. When gold and diamonds were discovered in the interior of Brazil during the 18th century, many slaves were brought to the mining areas.

Working conditions were particularly harsh in underground mines. The Greek silver mines often had galleries only two to three feet high. Workers spent long hours underground, working on their backs, with poor ventilation. Many died from overwork, unhealthy conditions, or cave-ins, but some of those who survived became skilled miners and were able to eventually purchase their freedom. In the United States, planters were often reluctant to rent slaves to mining operations. Working conditions were somewhat better where there were surface mines. Frontier areas like the Brazilian Minas Gerais or the Colombian Choco were often more open to slave initiative and had opportunities for slaves to advance themselves and purchase their freedom. Such areas were marked by a high rate of manumission and miscegenation. In Brazil, slaves were allowed some time to pan gold for themselves, and some were able to purchase their own freedom. Frontier conditions also made escape possible. The mining province of Minas Gerais in Brazil had many small Maroon communities. Violent resistance was also a problem in ancient Greece, Rome, and the United States. In the United States, while mining disasters caused much loss of life, the value of skilled slaves brought them some rewards. Cash incentives were often offered for performance.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY; BRAZILIAN SLAVERY.

MISSOURI COMPROMISE. In 1803, the Louisiana Purchase added to the United States the whole western part of the Mississippi basin. This posed the question of the balance between slave and free states. In 1812, Louisiana was admitted to the Union as a slave state. Seven years later, Northern congressmen opposed the admission of Missouri as a slave state because they feared the spread of slavery throughout the purchase area. Missouri was almost one-sixth slave. A compromise was reached under which Missouri's admission was balanced by the admission of Maine as a free state. In the rest of the purchase area, slavery was prohibited north of 36°30', which was the southern border of Missouri. A line was then extended from the southern border of Missouri west. Though hotly debated, this compromise regulated the extension of slavery until 1850, when the issue was raised again during debates about what to do with territories taken from Mexico in the **Mexican-American War**.

See also COMPROMISE OF 1850; KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT (1854).

MOCAMBO. A *mocambo*, like a *quilombo*, was a **Maroon** settlement in Brazil.

MONGOLS. The Mongols were a nomadic people who herded on the steppes north of China. At the beginning of the 13th century, they were united by Genghis Khan. Genghis, who had briefly been enslaved in a conflict between Mongol clans, gradually imposed himself by his mastery of military tactics and in 1206 was chosen as the Great Khan. In the subsequent 20 years, he created an empire that extended from the borders of China to eastern Europe, the largest contiguous empire in history. Recognizing the difficulties of keeping such an empire together, he divided it among his sons. One extended Mongol rule into China. Others moved into Persia, Mesopotamia, and eastern Europe. A Mongol army was at the gates of Vienna when his son Ogutei died and its leaders were called back.

Genghis Khan and his sons could be brutal, massacring large numbers of those who resisted them. They used fear to bring about submission. They also brought large numbers of slaves back to their various capitals. They were particularly interested in skilled artisans and in women, who graced the harems of Mongol elites. Many were also sold to Venetian and Genoan traders in the Black Sea. Others were sold at a slave market at Novgorod in Russia. Slave herders freed Mongol warriors to devote themselves to warfare. At its peak, the Mongol empire controlled the whole of the **Silk Road** on which slaves were one of many commodities traded. Some of the khanates did not last long. A little over a century after Genghis Khan's death, Timur (1336–1405), also known as Tamerlane, created an empire that controlled Central Asia, the Middle East, and a part of India. His armies depended greatly on loot, of which slaves were a major part. Where the khanates lasted, they settled down. The Crimean Khanate, which broke away from the Mongol Golden Horde in 1441, thrived by raiding the steppes of what is now the Ukraine for slaves in a process that they called “harvesting the steppe.” The slaves were directed to the Ottomans and to Mediterranean markets. The khanate was only conquered by Russia in 1783.

See also OTTOMAN SLAVERY.

MONTEJO, ESTEBAN (1860–1973). Born a slave in **Cuba** in 1860, Esteban Montejo was at different times a runaway, a day laborer, and a soldier in the struggle for independence from Spain. When he was 103 years old, he told the story of the first 40 years of his life to the Cuban writer Miguel Barnet, who published it as *Biography of a Runaway Slave*. Blessed with an exceptional memory, Montejo provided great detail on the life of a slave and a poor freedman in the late 19th century. He described the harsh life of the plantation, slave culture and pastimes, and Afro-Cuban religious practices. He also described his life as a runaway in the mountains and the experience of combat under the black general **Antonio Maceo**. Barnet's book is one of the first to make available an account of the life of slaves in their own words.

After independence, Montejo was active in the Partido Independiente de Color, which struggled for equality with whites and was suppressed by the Cuban government.

MONTESINOS, ANTONIO DE (?–1540). Antonio de Montesinos was a Dominican missionary who criticized the treatment of native peoples during the first years of Spanish settlement on the island of Hispaniola. The treatment of the Indians of Hispaniola was brutal. The **encomienda** granted to Spanish colonists gave them both tribute and labor from designated groups of natives. The system was harsh, and for many natives it amounted to slavery. In 1511, Montesinos gave the first of several sermons denouncing the enslavement of Indians. When these sermons were criticized by settlers, he was called back to Spain, where his self-defense led to promulgation of the Laws of Burgos (1512), which attempted to protect Indians from abuses common within the system. Five years later, he was one of 23 missionaries to write the government in Madrid to protest the harsh treatment of native people.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH; COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER (c. 1451–1506); HISPANIC AMERICA.

MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES-LOUIS DE SECONDAT DE (1689–1755). Montesquieu was a leading **Enlightenment** thinker who had a great influence on the leaders of the American and French Revolutions. He was also the founder of the Enlightenment critique of slavery. In *De l'esprit des lois* (1748), he argued that slavery corrupted both master and slave. He saw slavery as a violation of natural law and believed that a man was no more justified in selling himself than in committing suicide. He rejected the enslavement of prisoners of war and the idea that slavery was justified by the conversion of the slave to Christianity. In spite of this, there were ambiguities in his beliefs. Montesquieu was a jurist in Bordeaux, a major port in the colonial trade. In his satirical *Lettres persanes* (1721), he was critical of the treatment of slaves by Iberians in America, but he said nothing about French plantations in the West Indies. His critique of slavery in *L'esprit des lois* was linked to climatic determinism which contrasted the inertia and passions of tropical societies with the hardworking and dynamic temperate societies. Thus, though he condemned slavery in the abstract and influenced abolitionist thought, he justified slavery as a response to sloth in tropical societies.

See also ABOLITION, FRANCE.

MORET LAW (1870). The Moret Law provided for the gradual abolition of slavery in **Cuba**. It was proposed by Segismundo Moret, a Spanish abolitionist, who was minister of colonies in the liberal government that came to power in Spain in 1868. It was a response to the promise by rebels in Cuba of

freedom to all slaves who fought on their side. The law began with a “**free womb**” clause, which emancipated all children born of slave mothers after the publication of the law. Slaves born after September 1868 were to be freed only after the insurrection stopped. The law also freed slaves who fought on the Spanish side and reimbursed for their losses slave owners who supported the Spanish cause. Slaves over 60 were also freed, but without compensation to their owners. Planters in Cuba were able to delay the implementation of the law for two years and engaged in effective stalling tactics after that. Efforts to apply the law ended with a coup d'état in 1874, but in 1880, the more cautious Law of the Patronato proclaimed a more gradual abolition over an eight-year period. This was shortened in 1886 when slave flight and the threat of slave insurrection forced Spain to approve total emancipation. By this time, there were only 25,000 slaves left in Cuba.

See also EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

MOROCCAN SLAVERY. Sijilmasa in southern Morocco was for a long time the northern terminus of a major trade route that brought gold and slaves across the **Sahara**. Moroccans thus became major slave users and providers of slaves for other Mediterranean societies. This trade was the source of power for a number of dynasties that ruled Morocco. Thus the Almoravids, who originated in Saharan **Mauritania** in the 11th century, had a force of 2,000 slave cavalry. The Almohads, who succeeded them in the 12th century, also used slave troops, as did Sultan Mulay Ismail (1672–1727), who was himself born of a slave mother. There were also military units raised from among Christian slaves, for example, much of the army that crossed the Sahara to destroy the Songhai Empire in 1591.

Slaves filled a number of other functions. At the court, they were concubines, wet nurses, eunuchs, and domestic servants. Male slaves worked in the stables and cultivated food for the court. Slaves were important in the households of the rich and powerful, worked some of the larger estates, and were often artisans. Slavery was particularly important in the desert-side areas of southern Morocco, where there were numerous villages of slaves and of *haratin*, freed slaves who maintained a dependent relationship with their former owners. They farmed and tended the date plantations on desert oases. In the late 19th century, over 4,000 slaves a year were being imported into Morocco until the 1890s, when French conquest of the Western Sudan closed off the most important sources. The French conquest of Morocco after 1912 led to the end of the slave trade, though children were still being kidnapped in the south in the 1930s. Eventually economic change opened up opportunities for former slaves to earn money and led to the breakdown of the slave system.

See also MEDITERRANEAN SLAVERY; MILITARY SLAVES.

MORTALITY. It is probable that in all times and all places, slave trading has involved a high death rate. Slaves were never easy to move. It is unlikely that any group of slaves ever accepted their status willingly. Slaves being moved, whether by caravan or by boat, were often interested in revolting or running away. Because of this, they were often tied and treated harshly. They were usually poorly fed. In slave caravans, those who resisted or claimed to be sick were often killed to prevent others from feigning illness. In addition, slaves were often moved into new disease environments. The movement from one climate zone to another was often disastrous for weak, tired, and disheartened slaves. On slave ships, the biggest problem was that close packing facilitated the communication of disease. Smallpox, dysentery, and other diseases could sweep through a ship very quickly. We do not have precise data on mortality except in the Atlantic world. Ship captains generally wanted to keep slaves alive because they were valuable property. In spite of this, the mortality rate was about 14 percent. The most important variable was the length of the voyage. For voyages from Mozambique to Brazil, the rate was about 25 percent.

In ongoing slave systems, slaves often had a higher mortality than free persons. In some cases, the environment was poor. **Miners** or **galley slaves** often had a high mortality because the work was harsh. So, too, did slaves on **sugar** plantations. Though Africans survived better in tropical lowlands than others did, they were subject to a range of tropical diseases like malaria, yellow fever, and dysentery. The biggest problem with sugar was the work itself. During the harvest, which went anywhere from five to eight months, slaves were often pushed to the limits of human endurance. The sooner sugar was in the presses after being cut, the greater the amount of liquid that could be extracted from the cane. There was rarely enough labor, and as a result, slaves worked under great pressures and sometimes were forced to work 18- or 24-hour shifts. Men who were tired were often killed or injured by industrial accidents. In other societies, nutrition was a factor. Slaves were not always well fed, and during famines, they were the ones to suffer most. During droughts in Africa, slaves were sometimes turned loose to fend for themselves. Sometimes, too, slaves died as a result of resistance or harsh punishments. Other times, there were psychological variables like despair, which probably influenced health.

See also DEMOGRAPHY OF SLAVERY; MIDDLE PASSAGE; SLAVE SHIP.

MOTT, LUCRETIA COFFIN (1793–1880). Lucretia Mott was a leading abolitionist and feminist. Born to a **Quaker** family in Philadelphia, Lucretia Mott became a Quaker minister in 1821. She and her husband, James Mott, were supporters of the free produce movement, which encouraged people to buy only products made by free labor. After **William Lloyd Garrison** per-

sueded them to support immediate abolition, the Mott household became the Philadelphia center of the Garrisonian movement. In 1833, Lucretia Mott founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, and in 1837 she was the principal organizer of the First Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. When the second convention was convened a year later, a mob hostile to female political activity disrupted the convention and burned down the hall in which it was being held. The meeting was reconvened elsewhere. Opposition to women in abolition politics led Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton to convoke the Seneca Falls convention in 1848, which played a major role in the women's rights movement. Mott was active throughout the 1840s and 1850s as a lecturer and organizer. Unlike many other abolitionists, she was also involved with the African-American community and with the fight against racial discrimination. After the Civil War, she became president of the American Equal Rights Association, which fought for universal suffrage.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

MUI TSAI. The *mui tsai* were young girls sold into slavery in China. They were sold by poor families, particularly during difficult years, and became household servants in rich families. They were often harshly treated. As they matured, some of them were put to work as prostitutes, but most were servants. The institution was investigated by the **League of Nations'** slavery committees during the 1930s. On the mainland, it was suppressed by the communist regime after 1950. In Hong Kong, it persisted until the late 1950s, but probably disappeared with the economic growth of Hong Kong.

See also CHINESE SLAVERY.

MURGU. In pre-colonial Hausa society in northern Nigeria, *murgu* was a contractual arrangement under which the slave worked independently and made fixed payments to his master. It was always instituted by the master. Under the British colonial regime of Lord **Frederick Lugard**, it became a system under which a slave could request that a price be set for his or her freedom, somewhat like *coartacion* in Hispanic America. The slave paid it off as he or she was able to earn the money. For the colonial administration, it provided an orderly path out of slavery, but it did so only by asking slaves to pay for their freedom and did not give it to them as a right.

See also EMANCIPATION, AFRICA.

MUSCAT AND OMAN. Muscat and Oman was a desert-like emirate at the western corner of the Arabian Peninsula. Because of its aridity, the Omanis early turned to the sea. In 1507, the Portuguese seized Muscat, which they held until 1650, when the Omanis pushed them out. The Omanis then helped the **Swahili** towns to liberate themselves from Portuguese domination, in the

process establishing an Omani commercial hegemony over the Swahili coast from a base in **Zanzibar**. In the early 19th century, the regime of **Said Sayyid ibn Sultan** developed clove plantations on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and a network of trade routes that brought slaves and ivory from the interior. In 1837, Sayyid moved his capital to Zanzibar, which had become wealthier than Oman. When he died in 1856, the British navy stopped an Omani fleet from reestablishing Omani control over Zanzibar. As a result, one son, Thuwaini, ruled Oman, and another, Majid, ruled Zanzibar.

Slaves were important to the Omani economy. They worked as servants, tended date plantations, and worked as pearl divers. Though the British tried to suppress the Indian Ocean slave trade, slaves continued to arrive from East Africa and from Baluchistan, now a part of Pakistan. The British did not have a formal protectorate in Oman, but they maintained a base there. During the 1950s, they began freeing slaves who claimed ill treatment. The British put pressure on the sultan to abolish slavery, but he refused to do so even after slavery was abolished in Saudi Arabia. In 1970, his son, Qabus, deposed him with British assistance. One of Qabus's first acts was to outlaw slavery. Oman was the last state in the Middle East to do so.

See also EMANCIPATION, MIDDLE EAST; INDIAN OCEAN.

N

NABUCO DE ARAÚJO, JOAQUIM (1849–1910). Nabuco was one of the leaders of the Brazilian abolition movement. His father, a landowner and senator from northeastern Brazil with the same name, was one of the sponsors of the Rio Branco Law of 1871, which freed all children born after that date. After 10 years of travel and education in Europe, the younger Nabuco decided to devote himself to abolition. In 1879, he was elected to Parliament and immediately proposed legislation that would totally end slavery within 10 years. Defeated two years later as a result of his outspoken views, he retreated briefly to Great Britain, where he wrote *O abolicionismo* in 1883. His book argued that slavery had a negative effect on the social and economic development of Brazil. He wanted not only an end to slavery but land reform and education that would convert the former slaves into productive peasant smallholders. A good orator, he spoke widely within Brazil, wrote newspaper articles, and was one of the founders of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society. He played a crucial role in the events that led up to the abolition of slavery in the state of Amazonas in 1885 and in the whole of Brazil in 1888. He later served Brazil as a diplomat, but his most important work was the transformation of Brazilian attitudes toward slavery during the 1880s.

See also ABOLITION, BRAZIL; FREE WOMB LAWS.

NAMES. In many societies, newly introduced slaves were given new names to signify that a new identity had been imposed on them. The new names were often also distinctive, indicating that the person was a slave. In many societies—for example, ancient Greece and the United States—slaves had only personal names. The absence of a family name indicated their lack of kinship ties. Greek slaves were often named after gods or their country of origin. In Muslim Africa, many slaves were named after Bilali, the Prophet Mohammed’s muezzin. Many received standard Muslim names like Mohammed or Abdullah, but others had distinctive names indicating, for example, the color of their skin, like “Saffron” or “Ink.” Others were named after fruits or flowers or were given names that suggested a pleasing disposition. Derogatory names like “Pig” and “Torn Sack” were common in Scandinavia.

In the United States, about a fifth of the slaves kept their African names, but many others were given distinctive classical names like “Scipio” or “Hannibal.” Of course, many slaves continued to use their original names in the privacy of their homes. After emancipation, the taking of family names was often an important statement that the slave was fully human.

NANTES. Nantes is a port city on the coast of Brittany in western France. During the 18th century, it was the most important French city in the slave trade, carrying more than 40 percent of the slaves taken from Africa by French ships to the West Indies. This was over 500,000 men and women. Shipowners, shipbuilders, bankers, and suppliers of trade goods like textiles all grew rich in the trade. It also developed industries that processed the sugar and cacao grown by slaves in the Americas. The wealth of this period is illustrated by the beautiful 18th-century architecture of the city. In 2012, Nantes opened a large memorial to the abolition of slavery.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

NASIRI, AHMAD (1834–1897). Ahmad ibn Khalid al Nasiri was one of the most important Muslim abolitionists. A civil servant who occupied a number of positions in the 19th-century Moroccan civil service, he wrote a widely read history of Morocco. In it, he attacked the idea of the curse of **Ham**, which was often used to justify the enslavement of Africans. He also argued that there were no holy wars after the death of the Prophet Mohammed, and that therefore all slaves in the Muslim world had been illegally enslaved. These arguments were reiterated in a book published after his death in Paris. They provoked a debate in Morocco and had an influence on some scholars who wanted to modernize **Islam**.

See also JIHAD.

NATURAL LAW. The concept of natural law involves the notion that there are certain truths valid everywhere and all the time and that they can be comprehended by reason. Both supporters and opponents of slavery often based their arguments on the idea of natural law. Many defenders of slavery used the argument made by the Greek philosopher **Aristotle** that some people lack reason and thus are by nature slaves. Defenders of slavery argue that slavery is in the best interests of these people. Different thinkers gave the idea of natural law a religious interpretation. Ibn Sina (Avicenna), the Muslim philosopher, treated pagans as Aristotle treated those lacking reason. This then justified enslaving non-Muslims. For Saint Augustine, slavery was contrary to natural law, but injustice could not be ended in this world, only in the next.

The first philosopher to call for the abolition of slavery because it violated natural law was the 16th-century French political theorist **Jean Bodin**. Bodin argued that the ubiquity of slavery did not prove that it was natural. The idea of natural law became essential to philosophers of the **Enlightenment** like **Montesquieu**, **Rousseau**, and **Locke**, who believed that all human beings are endowed with certain universal rights. These ideas informed the American and French Revolutions and inspired the American Declaration of Independence and the French **Declaration of the Rights of Man**. They were also fundamental to the British and American abolition movements, which were rooted in the Protestant churches. They often appealed to principles of justice implicit in the Bible rather than the social reality of a world described in the Bible, which involved slavery. Some, like **Garrison** and Thoreau, went further and argued that not only could people know what was just, but they were justified in resisting a morally unjust law like the **Fugitive Slave Law** of 1850. The philosophy of civil disobedience, later important to 20th-century social movements, was rooted in the resistance of abolitionists to laws they believed were unjust.

NAZI SLAVE LABOR CAMPS. Though plantation slavery seemed over by the beginning of the 20th century, new forms of slavery emerged with the growth of totalitarian dictatorships. One of the most brutal was the slave labor camps developed by Nazi Germany during World War II. At peak, there were 8 million foreign workers in Germany. Some of these were voluntary migrants from countries allied to or conquered by the Germans and some were prisoners of war, but most were either concentration camp prisoners or workers forcibly recruited from conquered countries. Slave labor was also made available to German enterprises in concentration camps scattered over the conquered countries. Many leading German companies set up factories in the camps to take advantage of the labor made available to them.

The concentration camps were originally set up for Jews, Roma, homosexuals, political prisoners, and Jehovah's Witnesses slated for either reeducation or extermination, but Germany suffered from a severe shortage of labor, particularly after the war took 13 million able-bodied men out of the labor force. After the German victory in Poland, 300,000 prisoners of war were put to work on German farms. At the same time, Jewish residents of conquered cities were confined to ghettos. By the summer of 1944, about 1.7 million had been forcibly recruited for German farms, but Jews and other scorned groups had been largely moved to concentration camps.

In German planning, there was often a conflict between exploitation and brutal extermination policies. When Adolf Hitler's German armies swept into the Soviet Union, they expected a quick victory and the return of German soldiers to the labor force. At first, there was no effort to recruit Soviet laborers. Of the 3.3 million Soviet soldiers captured in 1941, about 2 million

died because of poor housing, inadequate food, and disease. When Soviet resistance stiffened, the Germans began recruiting Russian labor. By 1944, there were almost 3 million Russian laborers in Germany.

Nazi policy was shaped by racist ideology. By 1942, the Nazis had decided to exterminate the Jewish population of eastern and central Europe. In many camps, there was a careful separation of those capable of productive labor and those scheduled for the gas chambers. About 6 million Jews and up to 1.5 million Roma were killed. Many of the workers were eventually killed, but some survived the war. Racist ideology also led the Nazis to treat western Europeans differently from the Slavic peoples of the East who were seen as racially inferior people fit only for labor. Workers from western Europe were generally paid the same wages as their German counterparts. Those from the East were paid less and were subjected to severe discrimination. They had to wear special badges indicating their inferior status and could be executed for having sexual relations with German women.

See also GULAG.

NEGRO CONVENTION MOVEMENT. The Negro Conventions were the first effort of the African-American community to come together to exchange ideas and deliberate on political and social action. The first convention was convened in 1830 by Hezekiah Grace, a free black from Baltimore, in response to race riots in Cincinnati. Its purpose was both to give an organized voice to African-American abolitionists and to struggle against discrimination and the denial of basic political rights in the North. At the time, most African-Americans could not vote and faced strong racial discrimination. The early meetings were marked by an optimism that self-help and material progress would lead to the elimination of barriers to full citizenship. With time, the conventions began to exclude white supporters and became more militant. In the 1850s, there was a split between a faction that clung to the hope of social and political equality within the United States and another which was convinced that their rights would only be fully recognized in a black-run state. Though a few leading figures like **Alexander Crummell** did migrate to **Liberia**, most of the African-American leadership clung to the hope that they could receive equality in the United States.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

NEPAL. Slavery has long existed in Nepal, perhaps as long as a thousand years. It has generally taken the form of **debt slavery**. A man borrows money, and until he pays back the debt, he, or more likely his children, labor for the creditor. Generally the size of the debt determined the number of children provided. Even if the borrower died, his family inherited his obligations. Traditionally, the debt slaves, called *kamaiyas* or *kamalaris*, did either

domestic or farm labor. Generally it was poor landless peasants who enslaved themselves or members of their families. There have been many efforts to abolish this system. It was abolished in 1824, and then again in 1924.

In the late 20th century, the system was still alive but was concerned almost exclusively with girls between the ages of 5 and 15. Many were destined for the sex industry. According to the U.S. State Department, about 10,000 to 15,000 girls are shipped to India every year to work in brothels. Many are also sold to work in restaurants, dance bars, and massage parlors in Katmandu. Others work as domestic servants, often in abusive conditions, sleeping on the floor and eating the scraps of the family's meals. A fourth group works in carpet factories. In 2000, the government abolished the *kamalar* system and decreed that all debt slaves were to be freed and their debts canceled. The system still continued, mostly because of poverty. There has, however, been an intervention of foreign non-governmental organizations like **Free the Slaves**, and the former slaves have become more militant. There have been land occupations, and groups of freed former female slaves demonstrate, freeing other young girls, sometimes stopping buses headed to India, or visiting former masters to ask for unpaid wages. In 2006, the Supreme Court held that the system was illegal, and in 2013 the government once again promised to end the system.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY.

NEW MEXICO. *See* SOUTHWEST BORDERLANDS.

NEWTON, JOHN (1725–1807). John Newton was the captain of a **slave ship** who underwent a religious conversion, renounced the trade, and eventually became an abolitionist. He is best known as the author of the hymn "Amazing Grace." After working in the Mediterranean trade, he served briefly in the Royal Navy, after which he went to West Africa as a first mate on a slaver sailing to Sierra Leone. He then received his own command and sailed three times to Africa between 1750 and 1755. His account of these years, *Journal of a Slave Trader* (1764), was one of the most vivid descriptions of the way the slave trade corrupted both its African and European participants. After leaving the slave trade, Newton spent nine years as a customs officer before becoming ordained as a clergyman. As the abolition movement developed, Newton became particularly valuable to **Thomas Clarkson** and **William Wilberforce** because of his personal experience of the trade. His testimony before parliamentary committees was important in persuading many members of Parliament to oppose the trade. In 1788, he published *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*, which played an important role in the abolition movement.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

NIEBOER, HERMAN JEREMIAS (1873–?). A Dutch ethnographer, Nieboer was the author of *Slavery as an Industrial System* (1910), one of the few truly cross-cultural studies of slavery. For his research, he surveyed much of the ethnographic data available at his time. He defined the slave as property and as someone whose labor was coerced. An evolutionist, Nieboer noticed several patterns. First, slavery existed only where there was a surplus and slavery could give an economic return. Slavery is extremely rare in hunting societies. It is found largely in agricultural societies. For Nieboer, the mode of subsistence was very important in making slavery possible. Second, he noticed that slavery existed where there was a free land frontier and land was freely available. In such a society, labor was in short supply and control of labor was clearly a more important source of wealth and power than land. Where land was rare, landowners could get labor without coercion, but where land was freely available, coercion was necessary.

NILOTIC SUDAN. For Ancient Egypt, the upper Nile River was a source of both luxury items and slaves, though in relatively small numbers. These slaves came from the highlands of **Ethiopia** and the savanna south of the Sahara. With the coming of **Islam**, the slave trade expanded. In the seventh century, Arab armies failed to conquer three medieval Christian kingdoms. The truce, which lasted for about six centuries, involved a regular tribute in slaves sent to Egypt. When the Christian kingdoms were finally conquered in the 14th and 15th centuries, their role as a buffer between Egypt and Sudanic Africa was taken by the kingdoms of **Sennar** and Darfur, both of which depended on slave soldiers and on raiding for slaves into the more populous and better-watered areas of the southern Sudan. While both kingdoms depended heavily on slave labor, both exported large numbers of slaves to Egypt and the Mediterranean.

In 1820, Mohammed Ali, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, invaded the Sudan, largely to get slaves who could be recruited into his army. While this plan was short-lived because of the high mortality rate of the slave soldiers, it opened the southern Sudan to modern commerce at a time when Russian expansion was eliminating the major source of slaves for the Ottoman Empire. Traders who moved into the southern Sudan from the 1830s on were at first interested primarily in ivory, but the slave trade became more profitable. Sennar had fallen, but the Sudan was lined with kingdoms that already were heavily invested in slavery and the slave trade. Darfur, Bagirmi, and Wadai were a source of slaves for the Mediterranean market. A new element emerged in the 1850s when foreign traders developed fortified encampments in the southern Sudan, which used slave soldiers and modern weaponry to raid the technologically backward societies around them. Forty to sixty thou-

sand slaves a year poured through Khartoum. Some of them stayed in the Sudan as servants, concubines, and slave laborers, but others were shipped north to Egypt and the Middle East.

There was, however, a turnaround. Desiring to win approval and investment from Europe, Khedive Mohammed Sa'id abolished the slave trade in Egypt in 1856. It did not stop the trade, but in the 1870s, Khedive Ismail brought in two Europeans, Samuel Baker and Charles Gordon, to suppress the slave trade in the Sudan. Ismail also ordered the arrest of **Zubayr Pasha**, the largest slave trader. These actions had at first negative results. Efforts to suppress the slave trade contributed to the revolt of a Muslim cleric, Mohammed Ahmed, who claimed to be the Mahdi, or "Rightly Guided One," who would redeem the Muslim world. The Mahdists defeated Egyptian forces, killed Gordon in 1885, and created a state that lasted until conquest by the British in 1898. Ironically, the isolation of the Mahdists led to a dramatic decline in the slave trade. The other effect of Egyptian intervention was to set loose on Sudanic states an armed band under **Rabih**, one of Zubayr Pasha's aides, which used its access to modern weapons to destroy a series of Sudanic states. Rabih was defeated by the French only in 1893.

The slave trade was abolished again by the agreement that formed the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the Sudan in 1899. The British formally ended the trade but were very reluctant to do anything about slavery itself until 1936. In the 1990s the independent Republic of the Sudan allowed a new form of slavery to emerge. Fighting the struggle of the southern Sudan for liberation and unable to defeat the southerners, they authorized tribal militias to raid and take booty. The most important form of booty was slaves. With the independence of Southern Sudan in 2011, this ended, but similar tactics were used against a rebellion in Darfur.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY; EGYPT, ANCIENT; EGYPT, MODERN.

NÓBREGA, MANUEL DA (1517–1570). Manuel da Nóbrega was a Portuguese Jesuit missionary who tried to convert the Amerindians of Brazil to Christianity and to protect them from enslavement. Soon after he arrived in Brazil in 1549, he petitioned the governor to free Amerindians unjustly enslaved. He asked clergy to deny confession to settlers guilty of unjust enslavement and advocated a system under which Amerindians would be gathered in villages, where they would be converted and work under Jesuit supervision. He was opposed to the Spanish system by which indigenous people were assigned to settlers as workers. In 1567, he published *Caso de consciência* which attacked the exploitation and enslavement of native peoples. This book led to Portuguese legislation protecting indigenous peoples. Nóbrega's efforts did not extend to Africans. In fact, he acquired African slaves to work on Jesuit lands in Brazil.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; CATHOLIC CHURCH.

NORRIS, ROBERT (?–1791). Robert Norris was an important defender of the slave trade. A merchant, he traded in West African slaves from the 1750s to the 1780s. When the slave trade came under attack, Norris wrote *Short Account of the African Slave Trade Collected from Local Knowledge, from Evidence at the Bar of Both Houses of Parliament, and from Tracts Written on the Subject* (1787). He also represented the slave traders before parliamentary committees investigating the trade. He had visited **Dahomey** in 1772 and described it as such a brutal place that enslavement provided a more humane existence for its subjects. He also argued that the West Africa trade contributed to British security by training skilled sailors, who were useful to the Royal Navy in time of war.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

NORTHWEST ORDINANCE. In 1787, the U.S. Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance to organize government in the territories ceded to the United States in the Treaty of Paris (1783), which ended the American Revolution. Article VI prohibited slavery except in cases of criminal punishment. When the adoption of the U.S. Constitution that same year voided all previous acts, the ordinance was reenacted. Of the states formed from the Northwest Territory, only Illinois and Indiana had serious debates about whether to allow slavery. Slavery in those states was eventually extinguished by court cases and legislation. The Indiana Constitution of 1816 freed slaves there. In Illinois, slavery was not definitively abolished until 1848. Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota all entered the Union as free states. The Northwest Ordinance also contained a clause providing for the return of fugitive slaves, which was to be contested in later years.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; COLES, EDWARD (1786–1868); FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS, UNITED STATES.

NOTT, JOSIAH CLARK (1804–1873). Josiah Nott was an influential doctor and racial theorist whose ideas provided much of the justification for racial segregation in the United States. Born in South Carolina, he received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1827. In 1836, he settled in Mobile, Alabama, where his practice included running an infirmary for slaves. He wrote about the greater resistance of people of African descent to tropical diseases like yellow fever and their weaker resistance to smallpox, typhoid, and cholera. He is, however, best known for his writings defending slavery and arguing for the racial inferiority of people of African and Amerindian descent. He argued for polygenesis, the now discredited theory that

the racial groups evolved separately and were marked by innate differences. He expounded his racial theories in a series of books, of which the best known was *Types of Mankind* (1854), written with George Gliddon.

See also RACE AND SLAVERY.

O

OBERLIN-WELLINGTON RESCUE (1858). In 1858, a former slave named John Price was arrested under the **Fugitive Slave Act** near his home at Oberlin, Ohio. When a crowd of African-Americans and abolitionists freed him and sent him to Canada, the federal government indicted 37 of the rescuers. The subsequent trials drew national attention and inspired many demonstrations. When a county grand jury indicted the federal marshal and others for kidnapping Price, both sides reached an agreement to drop all charges.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

OGÉ, JACQUES VINCENT (c. 1750–1790). Vincent Ogé was one of the leaders of an abortive revolt by **people of color** that was a precursor to the **Haitian Revolution**. The son of a white merchant, Ogé had been educated in France and on his father's death took over the family business. By 1789, when the National Assembly convened in France, the people of color formed an important group in Haiti that included many wealthy property owners. When the Assembly voted to extend citizenship to all men in the colonies who owned property and paid taxes, it left application of this act to the colonial assemblies. The all-white assembly in **Saint-Domingue** did not extend citizenship to people of color. Ogé went to France to campaign for the rights of people of color, and when not successful he went to Britain and bought arms. On his return home in 1790, he and **Jean-Baptiste Chavannes**, a wealthy colored landowner, led an armed band that seized a town in northern Haiti. When their rebellion failed, they were executed along with many of their followers. In 1791, a massive slave insurrection broke out. Ogé was not opposed to slavery and did not try to recruit slaves to his movement, but it contributed to unrest and helped bring on the revolution.

See also FRENCH REVOLUTION.

OGLETHORPE, JAMES (1696–1785). James Oglethorpe was a British parliamentarian and humanitarian who founded the colony of Georgia. First elected to the House of Commons in 1722, he attacked impressment of

sailors and was interested in conditions in British prisons, particularly debtors' prisons. Oglethorpe proposed Georgia as a colony to which poor English men and women could be sent in order to start their lives anew. In 1733, he accompanied the first settlers to Georgia. Though he owned stock in a major British slaving company, the **Royal African Company**, he opposed slavery because he feared its effect on the white settlers. Though an effective leader, he was seen by many colonists as despotic, particularly because of his opposition to slavery. He was forced to return to England in 1743 to defend his conduct of military operations and never returned. In 1750, the colony's trustees voted to permit slavery. A plantation sector quickly developed around Savannah, and Georgia eventually became a major slave-using state. In his later years, Oglethorpe was a supporter of **Granville Sharp** and the abolitionist movement.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

OSU. Among the Igbo and other people of Nigeria and the southern Cameroons, the *osu* were people or the descendants of people who were given to shrines to serve those shrines as slaves. They and their offspring were owned by the deity and were regarded as outcasts. They married and fraternized among themselves. In more recent times, they have had no obligations to the shrine but remain a separate status group, with whom many other Nigerians will not marry. Many have become educated and are integrated into the economy.

See also TEMPLE SLAVERY; TROKOSI.

OTTOMAN SLAVERY. Turks first entered the Arab world primarily as slave soldiers, but from the 13th century, they entered as conquerors. The Ottoman Empire eventually defeated the Byzantine Empire and conquered most of the Arab world. Slaves came into the Ottoman Empire either as prisoners of war or were purchased in slave markets. Until the expansion of tsarist Russia closed off markets there in the 18th century, most were Slavs. The most high-priced slaves were Circassian and Georgian women from the Caucasus, who were sought as **concubines**. Those who became the mothers or favorites of sultans or high officials could exercise great power. There were also black slaves from **Ethiopia** and elsewhere in Africa. Most of them were used as domestic labor, though many also worked in artisan industries, particularly in the textile industry. Many were involved in public works, and in the early years of the empire they were often agricultural workers, particularly in frontier areas or areas with low population. Slaves never seem to have numbered more than 5 percent of the population because of the high rate of manumission.

The Ottoman Empire is best known, however, for its elite slaves. During the 14th and 15th centuries, when the empire was short of skilled officials, it used a form of levy called *devshirme*, which took boys from Christian areas of the Balkans. The boys were converted to Islam and became *kul*, privileged slaves. Some were raised by high-ranking officials, often themselves of slave origin. The official would train boys in his household, and the ablest would move into government service and advance according to their abilities. Others entered the **Janissaries**, the elite military force. The *devshirme* system declined in the 17th century as free Muslims entered government service, and ended in the 18th century. Many became wealthy and powerful.

The slave market in Istanbul was closed in 1846, though trading in slaves continued until 1908. The trade in black slaves was ended in 1857, and agricultural slavery was abolished. During the last years of the empire the trade was abolished throughout the empire and the government adopted laws that encouraged manumission. During the 1920s, Kemal Ataturk ended the caliphate, disbanded the imperial **harem**, and completely abolished slavery.

See also EMANCIPATION, MIDDLE EAST; ISLAM.

OVERSEERS. Any large enterprise using slave labor depended on men who could direct and control the labor of the slaves. Sometimes it was a member of the owner's family, but usually it was a slave or a hired overseer. Even in ancient Rome, and certainly in more recent **slave societies**, the management of slave labor was the subject of an important literature. In the modern industrial plantation, many of these people were **drivers**, experienced slaves who organized the labor of their fellow slaves and supervised their work. Generally, however, in any **plantation** with over 30 slaves, there was a white overseer. The planter generally gave the overseer careful instructions about the organization of work and the treatment of slaves. Overseers were generally warned about excessively harsh discipline, but they were mostly judged by the size of the crop they brought in and thus had a tendency to drive slaves hard. Unlike the drivers, who worked under their control, the overseer never actually worked himself but was constantly present directing the work. The overseer generally dispensed discipline.

The overseer was often a difficult employee. On most plantations, there was a tension between planter and overseer. Overseers were frequently fired, either for excessively harsh treatment of slaves or for failing to meet quotas. Few remained for long periods with the same planter. An experienced overseer, however, could generally find work. Some planters chose to hire free blacks or to rely on a head driver for control of work.

OYO. Oyo was a powerful **Yoruba** slave-trading kingdom that emerged in what is now western Nigeria in the 17th century. Oyo power was based on its cavalry, which penetrated into the rain forest with great difficulty because sleeping sickness would kill its horses. They dominated the area north of the rain forest and raided into the forest areas during the dry season in order to keep trade routes to the coast open. Those states, like **Dahomey**, that threatened the trade routes were kept in a tributary relationship by force. Oyo was a major source of slaves for the Atlantic slave trade. It was also a large user of slavers. Many officials were slaves, the army included major slave units, and the court included numerous slave officials. The ruler, the Alafin, was represented in tributary kingdoms by slave officials. In the late 18th century, conflict between the Alafin and a council called the Oyo Mesi led to a century of civil wars that marked the end of Oyo hegemony and made the Yoruba the most important source of slaves in the Atlantic system during the 19th century.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ELITE SLAVES.

P

PACIFIC ISLANDS SLAVERY. Slavery was not highly developed on most Pacific islands. It did not exist at all in Melanesia, though “big men” often had a network of clients and dependents. Where slavery existed, it originated in war. Among the **Maori** of New Zealand, prisoners of war could be killed, but some were spared. They did menial tasks like cooking, fetching water, and paddling canoes, but they could marry and generally were well fed. Powerful chiefs always had numerous slaves. In Tahiti and on the Easter Islands, captured enemies were also often made into slaves. In **Hawaii**, there was an outcast population called *kauwa*. Though this word is often translated as “slave,” the *kauwa* did not serve anyone. They lived apart and took care of their own sustenance. They could be asked to provide human sacrifice. Micronesian societies were often very hierarchical. The lowest groups were often seen as impure but cannot be seen as slaves.

After contact with Europeans began, slaves were increasingly put to work in productive ways. The Maori put their slaves to work logging, growing food crops, and raising pigs. They also sent slave women off to work for whaling ships as prostitutes. During the 19th century, Pacific island societies found themselves caught up in the demands of tropical **capitalism** for labor. Particularly important were the guano islands of Peru and sugar **plantations** in Australia and Fiji. “**Blackbirding**,” a form of slave raiding, existed for a while, but it proved an inefficient way of recruiting labor. With time, labor was recruited by contract within the islands for plantation labor on various Pacific islands and in Australia.

See also INDENTURED LABOR.

PADDY ROLLERS. *See* SLAVE PATROLS.

PAINÉ, THOMAS (1737–1809). Tom Paine was a radical journalist and pamphleteer who played a role in both the American and French Revolutions. Born in England, he arrived in Philadelphia a few months before the outbreak of the **American Revolution** and became the editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. He believed in the cause of the rebels and articulated their

goals in clear direct prose. One of his first articles was titled “African Slavery in America.” He argued for the total abolition of slavery and for grants of land to freed slaves that would make it possible for them to support themselves. He did not believe that the colonists could be free while denying freedom to others. Paine was the clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly when it passed the world’s first abolition law. After the war, he returned to Britain, where he wrote *The Rights of Man* (1791–1792) and continued to call for the abolition of slavery. He was a supporter of the **French Revolution** and served in the Convention. In 1802, he returned to the United States, but his ideas were by then seen as too radical. Though a friend of **Thomas Jefferson**, he had little influence in his last years.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

PALENQUES. The most common form of resistance to slavery in Colombia was flight. The result was **Maroon** communities called *palenques*. They were most numerous near Cartagena, the major port for the northern part of South America. Many of these communities successfully defended themselves against Spanish attempts at recapture and even raided plantations to obtain goods they needed. They often built political systems based on African traditions. In the 17th century, frustrated by their inability to conquer the *palenques*, the colonial government adopted a policy of recognizing them. The most powerful *palenque*, San Basilio, was given the right to control land, to name a leader, and to exclude all Spaniards except the priest. Other *palenques* won similar rights. In exchange, the *palenques* had to promise to observe Spanish law and exclude further runaways. During the wars of independence, many of the Maroons supported the royal cause because they feared the attitude of the Patriots toward race and slavery.

PALMARES. Palmares was the most important **Maroon** community, or *quilombo*, in the history of Brazil. Founded about 1605 by slaves fleeing the sugar plantations of Pernambuco, it grew after 1630 when slaves were able to take advantage of the instability caused by the Dutch conquest of Brazil. The population was probably between 10,000 and 20,000 people. They lived in small settlements, each surrounded by strong palisades. Made up largely of men, they regularly raided plantations to get women, who were less likely to run away. Most of the *palmaristas* were originally from the Angola region of central Africa. It is believed that its political and military organization was based on a warrior initiation society among the Imbangala of central Angola. The king seems to have been chosen by the leaders of the separate settlements. Religion and cultural life were also very African. The best-known ruler was known as **Ganga Zumbi**, who claimed to come from **Kongo**.

The lands around each settlement were carefully cultivated and often irrigated. They produced a surplus, which was used in a clandestine trade with Brazilian communities that brought in arms and ammunition. They regularly repulsed Portuguese attacks. Finally in 1678, the Ganga Zumbi signed a treaty with the Portuguese in which he promised to be loyal to the Portuguese crown and return any fugitive slaves. The treaty divided the *palmaristas*, and eventually Ganga Zumbi was deposed by his nephew, Zumbi, who opposed the settlement with the Portuguese. In 1694, the Portuguese brought up *bandeirantes*, hardened frontiersmen from São Paulo, and defeated Palmares. Zumbi escaped but was captured and killed the following year. Over 500 *palmaristas* were captured and returned to slavery.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; MAROONS.

PANYARRING. The seizure of persons when a debt was not paid was a common institution along the Gold and Slave Coasts of West Africa. It differed from pawning in that the pawn was voluntarily and temporarily given as part of the loan contract. As the slave trade grew in importance, *panyarring* came to mean the seizing persons without any pretence of debt. In other words, it became a form of kidnapping that affected the stability of communities within which it took place. Many African states banned it as did the British colonial government.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

PARDO. The Spanish had different terms to describe different shades of racial mixture. The *pardos* were mixed race, and in some areas like Venezuela they were an important social group.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; PEOPLE OF COLOR.

PARKER, CYNTHIA ANN (c. 1825–1870). Fort Parker had been built by John Parker in north central Texas to block the advances of **Comanche** raiders. When the Comanches attacked, the men were out in the fields. The fort was seized, the men were massacred, and five girls were taken prisoner. One of them escaped and three were ransomed, but Cynthia Ann, John's granddaughter, remained a captive. She was raised as a Comanche and married a Comanche chief, with whom she had three children. In 1860, a band with which she and her daughter were traveling was attacked by the Texas Rangers. When they discovered that she was Cynthia Ann, the case was treated as a recovery from barbaric natives. Cynthia Ann, now 34 years old, had become Naduah, a Comanche. Unhappy in American society, she tried unsuccessfully to escape and return to the Comanches. When her daughter died, she became disconsolate. She died in 1870. Her son, Quansah, became a Comanche chief. He fought against the Americans and was one of the last

of the Comanches to submit. However, he adapted much more successfully to American life than his mother did, becoming a chief of his reservation, and then a wealthy rancher.

See also SOUTHWEST BORDERLANDS.

PARKER, JOHN PERCIVAL (1827–1900). John Percival Parker was a slave from Virginia who freed himself and became a conductor on the **Underground Railroad**. Owned by a doctor, his responsibilities included driving the doctor to see his patients. He was taught to read by the doctor's sons. He also worked for a while for an iron molder, but he often quarreled with his employer and his fellow workers. He also ran away once. Because he was troublesome, his master decided to sell him further south, but he persuaded one of his master's patients to purchase him with the understanding that he would pay back his purchase price with interest in exchange for his freedom. He did so in 18 months and then moved to Cincinnati with his freedom papers. Though he said that his master never mistreated him, he was hostile to slavery. He moved to Ripley, Ohio, and collaborated with a number of white abolitionists such as John Rankin and **Levi Coffin** in helping slaves escape from Kentucky across the Ohio River. Although he had a price of \$1,000 on his head, he regularly crossed the Ohio River. In 15 years, he is believed to have helped 900 runaway slaves. He described his experiences in an autobiography titled *His Promised Land*. He eventually created his own iron foundry. He also became an inventor and held several patents. He produced and marketed soil pulverizers and tobacco presses.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

PATTERSON, ORLANDO (1940–). Orlando Patterson is a sociologist and historian who has written a number of major studies of slavery. Born in Jamaica, he published a study of Jamaican slavery, *Sociology of Slavery*, in 1976. He is best known, however, for his *Slavery and Social Death* (1982). This is the first book since **Herman Jeremias Nieboer's** *Slavery as an Industrial System* (1910) to look at slavery from a broad cross-cultural perspective. In a wide-ranging analysis rooted in comparison with all regions of the world, he argued that the slave originated as a captive, who was spared instead of being killed. Slavery was thus a form of "social death." He thus stressed the absence of kinship ties more than the property relationship in the definition of slavery. "Slavery," he argued, "is the violent domination of natively alienated and generally dishonored persons." If the slave master became honorable through his control of slaves, the slave was by definition without honor.

In 1991, Patterson published *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture*. If his earlier work stressed the mutual dependence of slave and master, *Freedom* stressed the idea that freedom is defined and given value by the existence of slavery. It won the National Book Award. He is also the author of *Rituals of Blood: Redefining the Color Line in Modern America* (1998).

PAWNSHIP. Pawnship was an African form of **debt slavery**. Though there were different variants in different parts of Africa, it usually involved children or slaves of the debtor, who worked for the creditor until the original debt was repaid. Pawns were often worked hard, but pawnship differed from slavery in several ways. First, the pawn could be redeemed if the debt was repaid. Second, the pawn kept her own name and identity and remained a member of her birth family. Nevertheless, during the period of the **Atlantic slave trade**, unredeemed pawns sometimes found themselves being sold and moved away from the area where they were known. Pawns were probably a significant source of slaves for the Atlantic slave trade. Most pawns seem to have been young girls. The creditor was not supposed to have sexual relations with female pawns, but pawns did sometimes get pregnant. In that case, the debt was canceled if the pawn married into the creditor's family.

PECULIUM. In ancient Rome, the *peculium* was property the slave controlled with his master's permission. It was often a sum of money given to a slave to enable him to develop a business. Technically, the *peculium*, like all of the slave's belongings, was property of the master. It could consist of some cattle in the countryside, a shop in the city, or simply some money that could be used for trading, or it could be money the slave earned when not serving his master. A slave could even own another slave. Some slaves used the *peculium* to build up very large businesses or to buy their own freedom. When freed, the slave usually kept his *peculium*. The *peculium* was important because it encouraged hard work and stimulated the slave to work within the system to better himself. It contributed to social stability.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY.

PENNINGTON, JAMES (1809–1870). James Pennington was born in slavery on the eastern shore of Maryland but escaped to Pennsylvania in 1830 and eventually became a minister, teacher, and writer. As a slave, he was a stonemason and blacksmith. After escaping, he went to school and became a teacher in black schools in New York and Connecticut. He then studied theology and became a pastor. In 1841, he became president of the Union Missionary Society, which advocated a boycott of products produced by slave labor. In the same year, Pennington published *A Textbook of the Origin and History of Colored People*, which attacked racist ideas on the history and

abilities of people of African descent. In 1849, he published his autobiography, *The Fugitive Blacksmith*. He also lectured in the United States and Europe. In 1843, he represented Connecticut at the World Anti-Slavery Convention. When the **Fugitive Slave Law** was passed in 1850, he fled abroad until supporters arranged his manumission. After his return to the United States in 1851, Pennington was active in efforts to obstruct enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law and in the fight against racial discrimination in New York. After the American **Civil War**, he served as pastor of a Presbyterian church in Jacksonville, Florida, until his death.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

PEONAGE. When slaves were freed, the former slave masters sought ways to force the former slaves to continue to work at low wages. Peonage was one way that they did this. It involved using debt to force people to work. In the United States, it was banned in 1867 by the Anti-Peonage Act, but after the end of **Reconstruction**, Southern states brought in legislation on debt and vagrancy that deprived many workers in agriculture and rural industries of their freedom. In a major case in 1911, the Supreme Court threw out a peonage statute, but cases of peonage recurred intermittently throughout the 20th century. Peonage was also common in Latin America, where it originated as a way of circumventing the Crown's protection of native people. Employers would hire blacks or Indians and loan them money. When they could not pay these debts, the peons were then forced to continue working at disadvantageous terms. Peonage usually coexists with illiteracy and rural poverty.

PEOPLE OF COLOR. The term *people of color* was used in the West Indies for people of mixed race. In most of the slave societies of the Americas, sexual relations between male slave owners and female slaves were common. The offspring were often freed, but not always. There were also a significant number of marriages between white men and black women, particularly in the French Caribbean, Hispanic America, and Brazil. In the West Indies and Latin America, people of color were often seen as a separate racial group. Some of them became landowners and came to own slaves. Many of them were also artisans or merchants. They also often faced racial discrimination. In French **Saint-Domingue**, the struggle of the people of color, many of them quite wealthy, to be recognized as citizens led to the **Haitian Revolution** that destroyed slavery. In the United States, anyone with a black grandparent was defined as black, though light-skinned "blacks" often had access to better working conditions, and if very light skinned, they could pass across the invisible color line.

See also SEXUAL EXPLOITATION.

PERSIA. See ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; IRAN.

PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS. The first personal liberty law was passed in Pennsylvania in 1788 to protect free blacks from capture by slave catchers. Eventually such laws were passed in 14 Northern states. Generally they made a distinction between free blacks and runaway slaves, but they set up procedures for slave owners to reclaim their human property and protected the rights of the slave. Some of them also imposed long prison terms for kidnapping. The enforcement of these laws made it more and more difficult for Southerners to reclaim fugitive slaves. When the Supreme Court in *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* held that state officials could not interfere with efforts to reclaim runaway slaves, many Northern states responded with laws forbidding state officials to cooperate with efforts to reclaim fugitive slaves. This meant that slaves could not be held in local prisons while their cases were being adjudicated.

This second wave of personal liberty laws led Southerners to seek passage of the **Fugitive Slave Act** (1850). This led to a third set of personal liberty laws, which limited the cooperation of state officials, appointed attorneys to defend the runaways, mandated jury trials, set up cumbersome procedures, and insisted that the burden of proof was on the claimant. Slave owners and federal marshals were often prosecuted for attempting to seize fugitives. In 1859, the Supreme Court in *Ableman v. Booth* held that the personal liberty laws were unconstitutional. The legislatures of Wisconsin and Ohio responded by announcing their intention to defy the decision, but before anything further happened, the nation was at war.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

PHILLIPS, ULRICH BONNELL (1877–1934). Ulrich Phillips was the most prolific and influential historian of slavery during the first half of the 20th century. Born in Georgia, he studied at Columbia University. He wrote nine books, of which the best known were *American Negro Slavery* (1918) and *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929). Based on very solid research in primary sources, the best done up to that point, his books were very well written, but his analysis was essentially racist. He saw slavery as a benign paternalistic institution that protected, took care of, and “civilized” the slaves. He was convinced that slavery was unprofitable but necessary. His books were marked by sympathy for the masters and condescension toward the slaves. They represented the values of a time when Americans were interested in healing the wounds of the **Civil War** and restoring white unity and were willing to ignore the aspirations and experiences of African-Americans to do this. His works were strongly attacked by African-American historians such as Carter Woodson and **W. E. B. Du Bois** but were widely

accepted by white scholars until **Kenneth Stampp**'s *The Peculiar Institution* (1956). Today, his research is respected by many, but his interpretations are widely rejected.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

PHILLIPS, WENDELL (1811–1884). One of the finest orators of his time, Wendell Phillips first attracted attention with a speech in 1837 attacking the murder of abolitionist **Elijah Lovejoy**. Like **William Lloyd Garrison**, he advocated the total emancipation of slaves and the repeal of the federal union. He saw the federal government as a protector of slavery, but he differed from the pacifist Garrison in his defense of the use of violence by slaves trying to obtain their freedom. When the **Civil War** began, Phillips changed from a critic of the federal Union to a supporter. During the war, he campaigned for the abolition of slavery and for the use of black troops. When **Abraham Lincoln** agreed to use black troops, Phillips helped to recruit them. He also campaigned for the protection of those freed and the extension of citizenship and civil rights to them. After the war, he became active on labor issues and in urban reform.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

PIAR, MANUEL (1782–1817). During the wars for independence that broke out in **Hispanic America** in 1810, Manuel Piar was first one of **Simón Bolívar**'s generals and later a rival. Venezuela was a colony that was only about 10 percent slave, but about 50 percent of the population was made up of people of mixed race called *pardos* and free blacks, many of them locked into dependent economic relations with the great Creole landowners. Bolívar came from a Creole landowner family. Piar was a *pardo*, proud, ambitious, and very race conscious. Though Bolívar eventually freed his own slaves, and after 1816 offered freedom to all who joined the struggle, the mass of the slaves and *pardos* were more interested in freedom than in independence from Spain. As their leader, Piar was committed to their priorities and was not always willing to follow Bolívar. In 1816, when the war was not going well for him, Bolívar was forced to join up with Piar. Not long afterward, when unhappy with decisions made by Bolívar, Piar resigned his command in order to return to his eastern Venezuela base and lead the struggle for emancipation and equality. Bolívar had him arrested and executed by firing squad.

See also EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

PIPA TSAI. The *pipa tsai* were slave girls in China who played an instrument called the *pipa*. The phrase means “little *pipa* player.” Like the *mui tsai*, they were usually sold by their families because of extreme poverty. They were mostly owned by female entrepreneurs, and as they grew older, they were expected to entertain men, both musically and sexually.

PLANTATION. Plantations are large estates where the labor is done by agricultural workers who live on the estate. Though workers often have private plots, plantations are usually worked by gang labor or by a highly organized task system. They often involve production for market and specialize in crops where coercion can produce a higher profit. Much of the labor is routine, unskilled, and harsh. Over a period of thousands of years, plantations have been the site of the most systematic development of slavery. Generally, the slave plantation was profitable not because slave labor was more efficient, but because more labor could be extracted from the slave.

Many Roman slaves worked on large **latifundia**, which became common from the second century BCE when Roman conquest brought back large numbers of slaves. With many farms empty because ordinary farmers had gone off to war, land was available for purchase and slaves could be exploited profitably growing wine, olive oil, grain, and wool. In early years, they were often housed in barracks called *ergastula*. Plantations were also found in China, India, and many parts of Asia, especially during periods when conquest made large numbers of slaves available. In most slave systems, barracks-type accommodations gave way to villages of small huts where the slaves could enjoy family life.

The modern capitalist plantation originated with the Crusades and the beginning of **sugar** cultivation by entrepreneurs from Venice and Genoa on the island of Cyprus. Fueled by an increased European taste for sweets, the plantation system spread first to the western Mediterranean. Then Genoan entrepreneurs brought Italian technology and methods of estate management to the Atlantic islands discovered in the 14th and 15th centuries by Portuguese and Spanish navigators. Here they found fertile volcanic islands either lacking people or rapidly decimated by European diseases and slave raiding. The Portuguese found a regular source of slaves on the African mainland. By the end of the 15th century, Madeira was the world’s largest producer of sugar in the world.

Madeira had a mixture of slave labor and free labor, but during the 16th century, it was replaced by the equatorial island of **São Tomé**. Here, Portuguese peasants were unwilling to put up with the torrid climate and the high disease rate. Worked exclusively by slave labor in large plantations, São Tomé was the largest sugar producer by the end of the century. The Portuguese then took the plantation system to **Brazil**, from which the Dutch introduced it to the West Indies in the 17th century. As better equipment was

devised for pressing and boiling the sugar, plantations increasingly required a substantial capital investment. The Dutch provided capital, technology, methods of estate organization, and slaves to planters from Britain, France, and Scandinavia.

The rapid growth in the European economy during the 17th and 18th centuries created markets for other products. Tobacco was grown on small slave-worked plantations around the Chesapeake Bay, rice and indigo in the South Carolina lowlands, and after the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, **cotton** plantations spread out over the Southern United States. By 1860, two of every three slaves in the United States lived and worked on cotton plantations. Elsewhere, slave plantations produced coffee in Brazil, cloves on **Zanzibar**, copra on the East African coast, and grain in the West African savanna. In many areas, plantation systems survived the end of slavery or were developed where industrial crops required a large capital investment and an efficient organization of labor.

See also DUTCH SLAVE TRADE.

POLARIS PROJECT. The Polaris Project is an organization that fights modern-day slavery and human trafficking in the United States. It was founded in 2002 by two Brown University seniors who were shocked by a criminal case that involved six South Korean women forced to work in a brothel near where they were studying in Providence, Rhode Island. The project provides outreach and services such as housing and counseling to victims. It also maintains a hotline that can provide information to respondents in 170 languages, and it seeks both to work with law enforcement agencies and to push state and local governments to enact and enforce stronger anti-trafficking legislation. It is based in Washington, D.C.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY; SEXUAL SLAVERY.

PONTY, WILLIAM (1866–1915). William Merlaud-Ponty was the most important liberator of slaves in French West Africa. He originally went to Africa as the civilian secretary of General Louis Archinard, who conquered much of the Western Sudan for France between 1888 and 1895. After serving briefly elsewhere, he was put in charge of Upper Senegal-Niger (now Mali) in 1899 and moved quickly to end slave raiding and trading. By 1903, he insisted that the colonial state could no longer support slave owners, essentially adopting the formula first used in India in 1843 of depriving slave masters of the coercive power of the state and making it difficult for them to retrieve runaway slaves.

By the end of 1903, Governor General Ernest Roume adopted this approach when a new law code was issued. In 1905, the French proclaimed a law that prohibited any transaction in persons, whether sale, gift, exchange, or bequeathal. This law did not actually abolish slavery, but slaves were leaving their masters. In the spring of 1906, faced with massive resistance in the market town of Banamba, Ponty told the local administrator to let the slaves go. When the exodus spread to other places and Ponty realized that it was peaceful, he encouraged local administrators to facilitate slave departures. In 1908, he became governor general. By this time, he realized that most slaves either went home and became productive peasants or joined the labor force. He thus continued to urge local administrators to tolerate the process. All in all, as many as a million slaves left their masters in French West Africa during this period.

See also BANAMBA EXODUS; EMANCIPATION, AFRICA; EMANCIPATION, INDIA.

PORT ROYAL. One of the **sea islands** of Georgia, Port Royal was the site of an experiment in the transition from slave labor to free labor that one writer referred to as “rehearsal for **Reconstruction**.” When it was seized by Union troops late in 1861, most of the whites fled, leaving behind about 10,000 slaves. Most of these slaves wanted nothing to do with the cotton they had raised. Instead, they fed themselves by subsistence agriculture and hunting and fishing. Some of the missionaries who came in wanted to distribute the land, but the federal government tried to maintain the plantation system. The first method introduced by the government maintained the gang labor and tight supervision of the plantation system but used the profits to provide subsistence and education to the workers. When that did not work well, an entrepreneur named Edward Philbrick tried a system in which the slaves received small plots to cultivate their own food and received wages for work on the plantation.

Many of the plantations were auctioned off in 1863 and 1864 and sold to Northern speculators. By 1865, Philbrick realized that his system had failed because of the reluctance of the freed slaves to work the cotton fields. In January of that year, General William Tecumseh Sherman issued an order that all freedmen in a strip of coastal land from Charleston to Jacksonville had the right to a 40-acre plot of land. Later that year, the order was nullified when President Andrew Johnson decreed the return of all confiscated lands to their former owners.

See also CIVIL WAR, U.S.

PORTUGAL IN AFRICA. From about 1415, Portuguese navigators began sailing down the African coast looking for both gold and a sea route to Asia. The effort organized by Prince Henry the Navigator, a younger son of the Portuguese royal house, also tried to develop knowledge of the coast and better ships that could sail into the trade winds. There was, however, a market for slaves in Portugal and on the Atlantic islands the Portuguese discovered. Portuguese navigators found that they could recover the costs of their expeditions by seizing or trading for slaves. Madeira became the site of agricultural development using both slave and free labor. The Cape Verde Islands, discovered in 1466, were too dry for successful development of sugar, but in the 16th century, they became the basis of an extensive slave trade as communities of Cape Verdians settled along the upper Guinea Coast.

When the Portuguese reached the **Gold Coast** in 1482, they were finally near one of the sources of African gold. Here they built the castle of **Elmina**, the first of many castles built along the Gold Coast. They then developed a trade in slaves along the Bight of Benin, some of which were sold to the gold-mining societies of the Gold Coast. For about a century, the Portuguese maintained a virtual monopoly of the West African slave trade, but from the late 16th century, the wealthier states of France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands gradually displaced the Portuguese from many areas. The Dutch took Elmina in 1637.

A year after construction started on the Elmina castle, the Portuguese reached the Congo River and quickly established relations with the growing **Kongo** kingdom. Taking advantage of the Kongo's interest in **Christianity** and economic development and exploiting internal conflict, the Portuguese made the Kongo for almost a century the most important supplier of slaves in Africa. In 1576, with the Kongo declining, Paulo Dias de Novais shifted the center of Portuguese slaving activity further south when he founded Luanda in 1575. In 1587, a fort was built further south at Benguela. From these two bases, the Portuguese developed a slave trade that drained slaves from a vast area in the interior of Central Africa. Angola was a colony that lived off the slave trade. It was also, even after Capetown was founded in 1652, the most important European settlement in Africa.

Once Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached India in 1498, Portuguese imperatives changed. Asia became the most important center of Portuguese commercial activity, at least until the 17th-century growth of sugar **plantations** in **Brazil**. Positions that the Portuguese seized on the coast of East Africa were held largely for strategic reasons. The defeat of an Arab fleet by Dom Francisco de Almeida in 1509 gave the Portuguese control of the Indian Ocean. The forts Portugal built along the coast were largely intended to control the **Indian Ocean** and protect Portugal's trade with India. Portugal penetrated the interior only in the Zambezi valley, which was the gateway to the gold-bearing areas of Zimbabwe. Here Portugal gave

grants called *prazos* to Portuguese nobles, who established mini-states in the Zambezi. In order to entrench themselves, these *prazeros* married locally and often paid tribute to Zimbabwean rulers.

This underlines two of the characteristics of the Portuguese empire. First, the empire was built by men, who married local women wherever they went. The Portuguese empire depended heavily on the mixed-race offspring of Portuguese conquerors. Second, it was an empire built upon the labor of slaves. The various communities created by Portugal depended on slaves both for labor and for various skilled tasks. Almost all Portuguese settlements had slave majorities, in some cases overwhelming majorities. Many of the sailors working boats that sailed between Angola and Brazil were slaves. Many of the traders who went into Central Africa to buy slaves were themselves slaves. In Luanda, Goa, Malacca, and Salvador de Bahia, almost all labor was done by slaves.

In 1836, Portugal abolished the slave trade in its colonies. In 1878, slavery was abolished in all of its colonies. Neither was strictly enforced. In the early 20th century, a disguised slave trade was providing laborers to the **São Tomé** cocoa industry. In 1905, journalist Henry Nevinson published a series of articles exposing the brutal way labor was recruited in Angola and the way these laborers were treated on the plantations. A year later, they came out as a book, *A Modern Slavery*. Slavery was only effectively ended after a liberal parliamentary government took power in 1910. Forced labor replaced slavery and remained important until revolts against Portuguese rule began in 1961.

See also CENTRAL AFRICA; EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

PRAZOS. During the 1530s, Portuguese traders, missionaries, prospectors, and explorers began pushing up the Zambezi River from the Mozambican coast. They were interested in making contact with the powerful kingdom of Zimbabwe and tapping the gold trade on which Zimbabwe had built its power, and if possible developing mines of their own. The Portuguese crown began awarding feudal grants called *prazos* to many of these settlers. The problem was that the Portuguese did not control these areas. To entrench themselves, the *prazeros* intermarried and formed alliances with African rulers. They built up slave military forces called *chikunda*. They used slave labor to develop agriculture. These were all purchased or captured locally. The *prazeros* thus held power in two different polities but were able to maximize their position largely through their control of local slaves.

See also PORTUGAL IN AFRICA.

PRIGG V. PENNSYLVANIA. In 1793, the U.S. Congress passed a Fugitive Slave Law, which required the return to their owners of all runaway slaves. Many Northern states responded to this law with **personal liberty laws**,

which made the recovery of fugitives more difficult. A Pennsylvania statute of 1826 required a slave catcher to obtain a “certificate of removal” before he could take a slave back south. In 1842, a slave catcher named Edward Prigg requested a certificate for Margaret Morgan and several of her children, one of whom was born in Pennsylvania and therefore free under state law. Although Prigg was denied the certificate, he took Morgan and her children back to Maryland by force. He was then convicted for kidnapping. He appealed his sentence to the U.S. Supreme Court, which held that the 1793 law was constitutional and that slave owners and slave catchers had the right to recapture a fugitive privately and return that fugitive to the South. It therefore held that the Pennsylvania statute was unconstitutional and that, therefore, all laws which interfered with the recapture of fugitive slaves were unconstitutional. Justice Joseph Story, who wrote the majority opinion, added at the end that state officials were obligated to enforce the 1793 law, but that the federal government could not force them to do so. In a concurring opinion, Chief Justice **Roger Taney** took issue with this, arguing that many Northern judges and other officials would continue to refuse to cooperate with Southern slave catchers. This happened. The continuing difficulties Southerners faced in recovering their slaves led to the **Fugitive Slave Law** of 1850 and eventually to the **Civil War**.

PRINCE, MARY (c. 1788–after 1833). Born a slave in Bermuda, Mary Prince was the daughter of a house servant and a carpenter. She was an infant when her master died. She was then separated from her parents when the slaves were sold off separately. Before she was an adult, Mary had been sold four times and experienced some of the harshest forms of slavery. She worked for a while in a salt marsh. Eventually she was taken to the island of Antigua. There she became involved with the Moravian church and learned to read and write. Her new master refused to let her purchase her freedom, but soon after, he took her to England, forcibly separating her from her husband. She eventually left her master and sought help from the Moravian church. She then found work with Thomas Pringle, the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society. Her master was then asked again if he would let her buy her freedom so she could return to Antigua and live with her husband. He refused again. In 1831, her account of her experiences was published as *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave (Related by Herself)*. In it, she described her own life and the cruelties to which she was submitted. It was an important anti-slavery document at a crucial moment. It is not known what happened to her after 1833, but the abolition of slavery may have enabled her to return to Antigua.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY.

PRIZE COURT. Prize courts were courts established under international law that decided on the disposition of ships seized on the high seas. During the struggle to suppress the **Atlantic slave trade**, there were prize courts in a number of Atlantic ports. The freed slaves generally had to be released where the court was held because it was impossible to return them to their original homes. The most important prize court on the African coast was in Freetown, **Sierra Leone**. That was where the anti-slavery squadrons working on the 19th-century West African coast had to take the slave ships they seized.

See also AFRICA SQUADRON; RECAPTIVES.

PROSTITUTION. *See* SEXUAL SLAVERY.

Q

QUACO WALKER CASES. Slavery was never important in Massachusetts, and the colony early became a center of anti-slavery sentiment. In 1778, a proposed constitution for the newly independent state was voted down in part because it did not have an anti-slavery clause. The 1780 constitution, which was approved, provided that “All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberty.” The Quaco Walker cases tested the meaning of this clause.

Walker was originally a slave on the Caldwell farm. When Walker’s master died and his master’s wife married Nathaniel Jennison, Walker became Jennison’s slave, or at least so Jennison thought. When Walker returned to the Caldwell farm, Jennison arrived with a group of cronies, beat him, and returned him to slavery. The surviving Caldwell brothers hired a lawyer to pursue assault-and-battery charges on Walker’s behalf. The jury awarded Walker £50 and proclaimed him a free man. Jennison then sued the Caldwell brothers on charges that they had seduced Walker from his service. This time Jennison won and was awarded £25. In the third case, in 1783, the state accused Jennison of assault and battery. The court found Jennison guilty because he had no authority to beat a free man. Quaco Walker was thus a free man and slavery was ended in Massachusetts.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

QUAKERS. The Society of Friends, better known as the Quakers, was the first religious community to oppose slavery. Founded in about 1650, they differed from other Protestants in their belief that the “inner light” of the Holy Spirit could enter any person who lived without sin and that it was oblivious to differences of gender, social class, race, and education. They were opposed to violence and rituals of deference and were committed to a simple hardworking life. It was their belief in the sanctity of all human beings and their resolute egalitarianism that made the sect a source of opposi-

tion to slavery. They were particularly important in Pennsylvania, which had been founded by a Quaker, William Penn, to provide a place where religious dissidents could live in peace.

Freed from discrimination in Pennsylvania, many Quakers became successful merchants and entrepreneurs. Though many criticized slavery, others traded with the West Indies and owned slaves. In 1688, four members petitioned the Germantown Meeting to take measures against slaveholding. While they had little success, the debate within the various Quaker meetings was intense throughout the 18th century, but it seldom went beyond petition or censure. It did, however, put pressure on members to free their slaves, and finally, in 1774, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting voted to exclude from leadership roles any persons owning slaves. Two years later, they excluded slave owners from membership.

In both Great Britain and the United States, many Quakers played a leadership role in the abolition movement. **Anthony Benezet**, **John Woolman**, and **Benjamin Lay** and his wife Sarah were important early leaders. In North Carolina, many Quakers left the state because North Carolina law prohibited manumission. Quaker persuasion led Pennsylvania to become the first state to abolish slavery in 1780. In Britain, Quakers often supported leaders from the Anglican Church, but they provided much of the funding and organizational skill for the abolition movement. In the United States, Quakers ran stores that sold the produce of free labor, were involved with the **Underground Railroad**, and after 1850 tried to prevent Southern bounty hunters from kidnapping free blacks and runaway slaves. Quakers were often deeply divided, not over the question of slavery, but over the tactics to be used in fighting it. There was much support for **William Lloyd Garrison**, but others feared that his tactics would lead to violence, which Quakers abhorred.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; CHRISTIANITY; MOTT, LUCRETIA COFFIN (1793–1880); WHITTIER, JOHN GREENLEAF (1807–1892).

QUILOMBO. The *quilombos* were **Maroon** communities in Brazil. Slaves often fled to mountainous or forested areas, where they formed small communities. The largest *quilombo*, **Palmares**, which resisted Portuguese and Dutch attacks for almost a century, had between 10,000 and 20,000 people. Most of the *quilombos* were much smaller and often maintained themselves for years in areas close to cities and plantations. They usually combined subsistence agriculture with highway robbery and raids on plantations. They needed not only food, but women since their communities were usually founded by male runaways. For the smaller groups, this kind of banditry often exposed them to attacks by Portuguese security forces. Few of them lasted long, but those in more protected locations were often able to defend themselves for a while. After their experience with Palmares, which fell only

in 1694, the Portuguese organized special bands of slave-hunting troops made up of frontiersmen called *bandeirantes*, which attacked *quilombos* and destroyed most of them. The problem persisted, however, until the end of slavery in 1888. Some *quilombos* integrated with indigenous communities, but most were made up of people only recently arrived from Africa. They preserved African languages, religion, music, political structures, and child-rearing methods. Some of them became centers for the observances of African religions like *candomblé*.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; BURACO DO TATU.

QURAN. The holy book of **Islam** differs from the New Testament and the Jewish Torah in its brevity. It is a series of verses, each one a revelation to the Prophet Mohammed. Like the sacred texts of the other two Abrahamic religions, it accepts the existence of slavery, but more than the others it seeks to ameliorate the conditions of slaves. The central message running through the Quran is the oneness of God and the unity of the human species. The natural state of human beings according to the Quran is freedom, and all believers are equal in the eyes of God.

The Quran repeatedly urges believers to treat their slaves humanely; to feed, clothe, and educate them; and to free them. The freeing of a slave is a pious act, which God will reward. There is thus a tradition of deathbed manumissions in Islam. The freeing of a slave can be expiation for certain crimes, for example, unintended homicide. Children of a free man are born free, and under an early interpretation of the Quran, the mother of a free man's child becomes an *um walid*, who cannot be sold and is automatically freed at the death of her master. One of Mohammed's early followers was Bilal ibn Rabah, a slave who was beaten for refusing to renounce his adherence to the new faith. For his steadfastness, he was purchased by one of the Prophet's companions and freed. He became the first muezzin, who called the faithful to prayer five times a day.

The Quran also prohibits Muslims from enslaving other Muslims and establishes the only ways a person can become a slave as either birth or capture in a **jihad**, or holy war. Muslim law also establishes the conditions under which a conflict is a jihad, and the Quran recommends that a successful commander either ransom captives or repatriate them. In practice, Muslims often ignored the teachings of their faith and engaged in wars that did not meet the standards the Prophet Mohammed laid out.

See also BIBLE; ISLAM.

R

RABIH AZ ZUBAYR (c. 1842–1900). After spending a period of time in the Egyptian army, Rabih moved into the southern Sudan during the 1860s, when Khartoum-based slavers were enslaving large numbers of hitherto isolated peoples. He took service with **Zubayr Pasha**, who by the 1870s controlled the large province of Bahr al-Ghazal. When Zubayr returned to Egypt, he was arrested in 1874, and Rabih decided to head in the other direction. Using a small disciplined force of soldiers, many of them equipped with modern rifles, he conquered large areas and created a state in the area between the Nile and Ubangi basins. His power depended on his ability to sell slaves, acquire modern weapons, and use small mobile well-armed military units. He was ruthless in the exercise of power. In 1892 he conquered Bagirmi, and a year later he defeated the thousand-year-old kingdom of Borno. He spent the next seven years trying to assert his control of Borno, but in 1900 he was defeated and killed by a French force. A vassal of Rabih's, Mohammad as Senussi, continued to rule in Dar al-Kuti in what is now the Central African Republic until he, too, was killed by the French in 1911.

See also EGYPT, MODERN; NILOTIC SUDAN; SUDAN, WEST AND CENTRAL.

RACE AND SLAVERY. In most societies, slaves were not radically different in physical shape and color from the freeborn. Rome enslaved people from elsewhere in the Mediterranean and then later from north of the Alps. In the Arab world, slaves could be blond-haired people from the Slavic world or black people from south of the Sahara. The word for slave in most European languages—*esclave* in French, *escravo* in Portuguese, *sklave* in German—comes from the word “Slav.” Most medieval slaves came from eastern Europe. Both **Christianity** and **Islam** banned the sale of co-religionists. They both enslaved each other and felt free to enslave peoples seen as pagan or barbaric. In the 15th century, when the Portuguese began bringing increasing numbers of slaves from West Africa, these people could not at first be interogated and were seen as barbarians, and thus enslaveable.

From the 15th century on, Western enterprise opened up for exploitation fertile areas that were underpopulated or became underpopulated as a result of new diseases and harsh policies. In Spanish America, with its large indigenous population, Catholic missionaries such as **Bartolomé de Las Casas** and **Antonio de Montesinos** were horrified by the treatment of native people and persuaded the Crown to ban enslavement of them. Europeans were not willing to enslave each other and lacked the military capacity to massively enslave Arabs. It was only in Africa that they could find the labor they needed to open up commercial agriculture on the Atlantic islands and in Brazil and the West Indies.

The question was how could Christians justify enslaving other human beings. They could argue that they were justified in enslaving Africans because they were not Christians, but that still left them with the problem of justifying the continued captivity of such people once they converted. They could only do so if they could argue that Africans were inferior, that they needed the discipline of a slave master if they were to be productive, that somehow they were better off in slavery. If European racism originated in observation of difference, it developed as a justification of exploitation. Racist ideologies were spun out by slavers and slave owners. Professional men from the U.S. South were among the first “scientific” racists in the 19th century. These racial thinkers tried to classify the world’s populations according to visible characteristics like skin color, hair texture, and eye shape. They then attributed differences in intellectual endowment and moral qualities to the groups they identified.

Most 20th-century scientists question the science involved in racial classification and in fact question the very idea of race. Skin color is only one of many characteristics that divide people, and certainly not the most important. The more traits a scientist uses, the harder it is to divide people into groups. Not only is it impossible to classify most people into neatly divided groups, but a mixing of peoples has taken place in all parts of the world. There is also no evidence to link visible physical characteristics with moral, temperamental, or intellectual differences. Slavery provided few opportunities for slaves to develop their intellectual faculties. In spite of this, some slaves became successful entrepreneurs even under conditions of slavery. Freed persons have often provided ample demonstration of their talents once removed from the inhibitions of slavery. Nevertheless, once developed, racist ideologies provided a justification for slavery, for racial discrimination, for systems of segregation, and for colonial rule. In many modern societies, racial classifications are still used to separate people and to provide a basis for discrimination in employment, housing, and access to education and jobs.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

RAMSAY, JAMES (1733–1789). The son of a ship's carpenter from Scotland, James Ramsay became a surgeon and entered the Royal Navy in 1757, where he served as a surgeon aboard the *Arundel*. When the *Arundel* was approached by a slave ship that had been struck by an epidemic of dysentery, Ramsay went on board to see if he could help. He was horrified to see about 100 slaves living in filth and inhumane conditions. Returning to his ship, he fell and fractured a thigh bone, which ended his naval service and left him lame. He then studied for the ministry and was ordained as an Anglican priest in 1761. He asked to work with slaves in the West Indies. He was sent to St. Kitts, where he served both white and black parishioners. He also worked as a surgeon on several plantations. Here, he was once again horrified by the treatment of slaves and the brutality of many planters. He became involved in local government, but his proposals for the amelioration of the treatment of slaves only led to his being attacked by the planters.

In 1777 he returned to England. After briefly working again for the Royal Navy, he became a local vicar and spent much of the last 12 years of his life in abolitionist activity. In 1784 he published *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies*. The same year, he also published *An Inquiry into the Effects of Putting a Stop to the African Slave Trade*. He was one of the first Anglicans to publish accounts of slavery based on firsthand knowledge. He also met with **William Wilberforce**, William Pitt, and **Thomas Clarkson** and encouraged Clarkson to continue his research on slavery. He died in 1789 before the movement he helped to create had won any of its victories.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY.

RAYNAL, GUILLAUME-T.-F. (1713–1796). Raynal was an **Enlightenment** writer and the most influential abolitionist in 18th-century France. Though a priest and a member of the Jesuits, he left the order to devote himself to writing. He was the editor and partial author of the six-volume *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* (1770). This included a lengthy discussion of slavery, which argued that slaves were overworked, harshly treated, poorly fed, and scantily clothed. He called on slave owners to ameliorate the treatment of their slaves and on the rulers of Europe to abolish both slavery and the slave trade. He predicted that if the treatment of slaves was not improved, there would be a violent rebellion. In 1780, the third edition of the book was banned because of its hostility to the **Catholic Church** and the French monarchy, which only increased demand for it.

See also ABOLITION, FRANCE.

RECAPTIVES. When the British abolished the slave trade in 1807, they stationed a squadron of the Royal Navy in West African waters to enforce the new law. The slaves on board the slave ships they seized were then taken to Freetown in **Sierra Leone**, where the British Admiralty Court was the only **prize court** in West Africa with the authority to approve confiscation of the slave ships and their cargoes. The British could not return the slaves to their places of origin or they would have risked being enslaved again. The slaves on board the ship were called recaptives or “liberated Africans.” They were released in Freetown, and once released they were often entrusted to mission societies, which educated them and helped them to find land or work. The recaptives became the largest component of a **Creole** community centered at Freetown. They were Christian and usually literate, and they played a major role in the administration and government of all British West African colonies.

See also AFRICA SQUADRON.

RECONSTRUCTION. Reconstruction was the period after the American **Civil War**, when Radical Republicans in Congress sought to reconstruct the social order in the Southern states. In some ways, Reconstruction began with the flight of slaves across Union lines throughout the war and the necessity of organizing these freed slaves to enable them to support themselves and contribute to the Union cause. The **Emancipation Proclamation** of 1863 freed slaves in areas in revolt against the Union, and at the end of the war, the **Thirteenth Amendment** abolished slavery. When **Abraham Lincoln** was assassinated at the end of the war, his vice president, Andrew Johnson from Tennessee, gave an amnesty to the defeated Southerners, restored confiscated lands, and moved to also restore local government. Southern legislatures immediately responded by passing **Black Codes** that controlled the activity of freed people and often forced them to work for their former masters. Parallel to this, the Ku Klux Klan was organized to terrorize and intimidate the freed people.

When Southern congressmen arrived to take their seats, the Southern delegations looked much like the ones that supported secession in 1861. Congress voted not to seat them. They then passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1866**, which made all African-Americans citizens and guaranteed them equality before the law. Then, to prevent the Supreme Court from nullifying the act, they passed the **Fourteenth Amendment** to add most of its provisions to the Constitution. In 1867, they passed the Reconstruction Acts, which sent the army back into the South to run elections. They also guaranteed the voting rights of African-Americans and denied the franchise to the Confederate elite. The result was the appearance of Radical Republican governments in the South, which were supported by African-American votes and included African-Americans at every level of government. White Southerners gradu-

ally regained control of the Southern states, and then in 1876 the Reconstruction ended when President Rutherford Hayes agreed to withdraw the army from the remaining Radical-run states in exchange for Southern support for his election to the presidency.

The Reconstruction was an important period. The **Freedmen's Bureau** helped freed slaves cope with the transition to freedom. Both black and white teachers set up schools all over the South. While freed slaves did not receive the lands many of them hoped for, Reconstruction affirmed their freedom and prevented their former masters from regaining control over them. Radical legislatures set up the first free public schools in many Southern states and abolished brutal punishments like flogging and branding. The former slaves could move freely and had won the right to control their own family life. For most of the freed people, however, the full promise of Reconstruction did not come until a century later, when new legislation confirmed their civil rights, and most important, their right to vote.

See also AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION (AMA); PORT ROYAL.

REDEMPTIONIST ORDERS. From the Middle Ages to the 18th century, the Mediterranean was a battleground between Christian Europe and Muslim North Africa. Coastal areas were often raided, and ships fought for ascendancy. The price of defeat or capture was enslavement. The Redemption Orders were Catholic orders that collected money in Spain and southern France and sought to ransom Christian captives. Members of these orders traveled to North Africa and sought to find Christian slaves, particularly members of families that had given money. If they could not pay the amount demanded, the monks offered themselves as hostages in exchange for these slaves. Some were killed, but many were well received and were successful in their mission. The Trinitarians claim to have freed 140,000 slaves since their foundation in 1198. The Mercedarians, founded in 1218, claim to have freed about 70,000. Some Mercedarians traveled with Columbus. They became involved in missionary work and on occasion redeemed captives taken prisoner by Indians. Neither order became involved in the abolition movement or was concerned about Muslims held as slaves by Christians in Europe.

See also BARBARY WARS; MEDIEVAL EUROPE; MEDITERRANEAN SLAVERY.

REPARTIMIENTO. In Hispaniola, Christopher Columbus was unable to pay his men salaries. Instead, he assigned a certain number of natives to each settler. These grants were called *repartimientos*. This system evolved into the **encomienda**. When the New Laws of 1542 banned Indian slavery and undermined the encomienda, there was recourse again to the *repartimiento*. Under

this system, a Spanish settler or official was assigned a certain number of native people, who owed two to four months of labor a year. It could also include the commitment of goods and other services. It was not slavery, but where the labor obligations were great, as in the silver mines of Peru, it created conditions similar to slavery. There were a number of major revolts in Peru, but the system lasted until independence in Peru, Ecuador, and Central America. The effects of Spanish demands for labor were exacerbated by the dramatic drop in population in the 16th century as a result of European diseases. In some areas, where wage labor and commercial production were possible, labor service was replaced by cash payment.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA.

ROMA. The Roma are also known as gypsies, but since that term is regarded as pejorative, they are today referred to as Roma or Romani. They originated in northern India about 1,500 years ago. Their language is closely related to languages of northern India. It is not clear how they made it to Europe, but by the 14th century, they were in the Byzantine Empire. In **Byzantium**, Bulgaria, and Serbia, they were regarded as slaves of the state. In the Romanian principalities of Wallachia, Moldova, and Transylvania, they were also reduced to slavery and may well have mixed with other servile groups. Slavery was once common in eastern Europe, but most slaves evolved into serfs. This was not true of the Roma of Romania, who were owned as personal property by nobles, monasteries, and the state. Many worked as agricultural slaves, but others were artisans, particularly smiths and gold panners. With the development of cities, many became domestic servants. Many were also musicians. The law gave masters the right to punish, but not the right of life and death. Masters were also obliged to feed and clothe their slaves. Marriage with Roma was illegal, but sexual exploitation was common.

Enslavement in the Balkans may have pushed the Roma to migrate elsewhere. They gradually spread out over Europe, where an itinerant lifestyle made them visible. As the Hapsburg monarchy spread its control over Hungary and the northern Balkans, slavery was suppressed in those areas. This was made definitive with a decree by Emperor Joseph II in 1783. In Romania, a 1763 law forbade the separation of spouses when Roma slaves were sold. There were piecemeal efforts to restrict slavery in the 1830s and 1840s, culminating in complete abolition in 1856. During World War II, Nazi Germany slated the Roma for extermination and killed a number estimated as high as 1.5 million.

ROUSSEAU, JEAN-JACQUES (1712–1778). Rousseau was a French **Enlightenment** philosopher who influenced abolitionist thought. Born in Geneva the son of a clock maker, Rousseau left home early and was largely self-

educated. Both his personal life and his philosophy were a struggle against authority. His criticism of slavery was part of a broader rejection of different forms of authority. He began his most important work, *The Social Contract* (1762), with the words, “Man is born free, but is everywhere in chains.” Freedom was thus a natural right, which people were born with. In *The Social Contract* and his *Discourse on the Origin of Equality* (1755), he argued that since all political authority was based on voluntary contracts and the association of equals, a person could not voluntarily become a slave, nor did any person have the right to hold another person in slavery. No person had the right to alienate his or her freedom.

Rousseau’s argument that all forms of domination were unjust made him an anathema to the rulers of absolutist France. He therefore lived an itinerant life and did most of his writing in various provincial retreats far from the salon life of Paris.

See also NATURAL LAW.

ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY. During the 17th century, European countries often set up chartered companies with monopoly rights to some part of the nation’s commerce. The Royal African Company was England’s major entry in the slave trade. It was a joint-stock company, which was given the exclusive right to trade with the West African coast and between Africa and the sugar islands of **Barbados** and Jamaica. As such, it played a major role in making England the world’s largest slave trader. It also traded in gold, ivory, dyewoods, and hides. The company built a number of trading stations in Africa, of which the largest was Cape Coast Castle in Ghana. It also provided credit for planters getting started in the West Indies. The company’s heavy capital costs made it difficult for it to compete with interlopers, ships that traded illegally within the company’s zone. It also suffered losses during periods of conflict, sometimes paying stockholders out of new share issues. In 1698, an act of Parliament ended the company’s monopoly but gave it the right to levy a 10 percent tax on the interlopers. The company continued operating until its charter expired in 1750. It carried over 100,000 Africans to the plantations of the West Indies.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; GOLD COAST.

RUGGLES, DAVID (1810–1849). David Ruggles was an influential African-American abolitionist and bookseller. He was born in Connecticut, where his parents were free, his father a blacksmith and his mother a caterer. After working briefly as a sailor, he moved to New York and opened a grocery store. He became involved in local anti-slavery activities and employed former slaves in the grocery store. In 1833, he left the grocery business to devote himself to anti-slavery work as an agent for an abolitionist

newspaper, the *Emancipator*. He also became a public speaker and opened a bookstore and lending library in his home. He began writing pamphlets attacking the colonization movement, and he worked with other abolitionists to fight against the illegal slave trade, the kidnapping of free blacks, and the capture of runaway slaves. He took part in very public efforts to “arrest” sea captains accused of smuggling slaves. He also boarded ships and entered homes to look for blacks held illegally. For a while, he published a newspaper entitled the *Colored American*, which was forced to close after a libel suit. In New England, he was thrown off trains when he objected to segregated cars.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

RUSH, BENJAMIN (1746–1813). Though he once owned a slave, Benjamin Rush was a doctor, an **Enlightenment** intellectual, and one of the most prominent early American abolitionists. Born near Philadelphia, he graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1760 and apprenticed with a local doctor. He then studied medicine for two years at the University of Edinburgh. During this time, he visited **Liverpool** and was shocked by the magnitude of the Liverpool slave trade. This led to an important essay titled “An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in North America on Slave Keeping” published in 1773. He also became one of the founding fathers of the United States. He was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was a member of the Continental Congress, and served as a surgeon with the Continental army.

Rush became a professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and wrote on medical and public health questions. He was active in the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and served as its secretary from 1787 to 1789. He was a supporter of a gradual emancipation law that provided freedom for slaves born after the law was passed and when they reached the age of 28. He argued not only against the slave trade but against slavery. He also saw racism as a product of slavery and argued against it. He tried to help former slaves and raised money for African-American churches.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

RUSSIAN SLAVERY. During the Middle Ages, the most important source of slaves for both the Christian Mediterranean and the Muslim Middle East was eastern Europe. **Viking** traders crossed the area that is now Russia via the Dnieper River and purchased slaves, furs, wax, and honey, which they carried down to the Black Sea. This trade stimulated warfare and probably contributed to the development of states in this area. There was a major slave market at Kiev, which became the center of the largest state in the area. Another slave market at Novgorod provided slaves for the Baltic area. The

conquest of Kievan Russia in the 13th century by the **Mongols** led to even more enslavement and the transport of Slavic slaves to Mongol centers in Asia. Slavic areas were also regularly raided by the Turks.

Slaves and serfs had by this time also become important within eastern Europe. The emergence of landownership in the 12th century often involved the working of land by servile agricultural workers. **Debt slavery** also developed when people could not pay debts or fines levied for criminal acts. A new form of limited-service contract slavery emerged with the rise of Muscovy in the 15th century. Poor men would contract their labor in exchange for loans. When these debts were not paid off, temporary slavery often became a permanent relationship. A form of serfdom developed in the late 16th century when the Muscovite state restricted the right of peasants to change landlords. The serf was thus tied to the land while the slave was owned by a person. The limited-service slaves were often better off than the newly enserfed peasants because they did not pay taxes. The state thus sought ways to limit their numbers. In the late 17th century, agricultural slaves were converted into serfs, and during the early 18th century, the same change was decreed for household slaves.

Slaves were better off than serfs in other ways. As serfdom developed in Muscovite Russia, slaves were preferred as servants and dependents. Estate managers were often slaves, and merchants often depended greatly on their slave retainers. Slaves also worked in government, often as aides to their masters, and were most of the household servants. Russian slavery was also unusual in that the slaves were not foreigners, but rather poor fellow Russians who were pressed into service. This was largely because, with the population low, labor was difficult to find. Wealth and power depended on the ability of the lord to find labor to work his fields. In the 1720s, Peter the Great abolished slavery, but at the same time, the modernization program he launched increased the need for labor. He required military or government service from the nobility and in exchange gave them greater control over their serfs. By the late 18th century, serfs could be sold or given away independent of the land to which they were supposedly attached. Serfs in Russia had thus become the same as slaves. By this time, serfdom had become a form of social organization that was inhibiting economic growth. Serfdom was not abolished until 1861, when 22 million serfs were freed.

See also EAST EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE; SCANDINAVIA; SERFDOM; SLAVS.

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SACO, JOSÉ ANTONIO (1797–1879). José Antonio Saco was a writer, editor, historian, and liberal political reformer. After studies of philosophy, he taught at San Carlos Seminary in Havana. In 1828 he traveled to New York, where he edited a strongly anti-slavery periodical, *Mensagero Quincenal* (Quarterly Messenger). He was back in Cuba in 1832, but exiled two years later. He was three times elected as a Cuban representative to the Spanish Cortes but was never allowed to take his seat. He remained throughout his life a supporter of independence and an opponent of slavery. His major historical work was his two-volume *Historia de la esclavitud* (1875–1879). Much of his life was spent in exile because of his liberal and anti-slavery views. He died in Barcelona.

See also CUBAN SLAVERY; EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

SAHARA. The Sahara was the site of an important slave trade. The Sahara was a grassland that began to dry out around 2500 BCE, leaving isolated populations on oases, most of which were eventually reduced to slavery by war-like horse-using invaders. About the beginning of the Common Era, camels were introduced into North Africa. By the fourth century, there was a regular trade across the Sahara. From the seventh century, Arab armies inspired by the new faith of **Islam** created a new empire in the Middle East and North Africa. The dynamism of the Arab economy stimulated demand for products of sub-Saharan Africa, and the wealth of the Arab world aroused the interest of African rulers. The Arabs were most interested in gold, but from the beginning, slaves were an important item of trade. Within the Islamic world, the prohibition on Muslims enslaving other Muslims forced Arabs to seek slaves outside the Muslim world. The major sources were eastern Europe and sub-Saharan Africa. In some years, the number was as high as 10,000. They were walked across the Sahara, where many died from the heat and from thirst. Women desired as concubines and servants were the majority, though men were sought as soldiers and also as servants.

There was a series of major trans-Saharan trade routes that crossed the desert. The routes were largely determined by the presence of oases and wells, where a caravan could get water and food. Around these oases, towns developed. The largest, Tamanrasset in southern Algeria, is a city of 90,000, but most were 2,000 to 5,000 people. When a well was dry or a caravan got lost, death was usually the result. At the same time, a series of desert nomads like the Beydane of **Mauritania**, the Tuareg of Mali and Niger, and the Baggara Arabs of Chad and Sudan, were masters of desert life, raising large herds of animals and taxing the caravans that crossed the desert. Each of these developed hierarchical social structures, with noble warriors, free client groups, artisans, and at the bottom, slaves. Slaves usually served two functions. Those slaves who lived in nomadic encampments herded and did routine labor. In the oases and in desert-side villages, where there was enough water to support agriculture, they produced grain which was essential to support nomadic life, and in some areas they also produced cloth. There were also large groups of freed slave clients called *haratin* in Mauritania and **Bella** in Tuareg areas of the central Sahara.

The trans-Saharan trade also stimulated the growth of the Saharan economy. Taghaza, Taoudeni, and Ijil were major sources of rock salt much esteemed in savanna societies and often used as a currency in the desert. Slaves also mined copper and did agricultural labor in the oases and in desert-side areas. Particularly important were the date palm groves in various oases. This meant that many of the slaves shipped north from the savanna were purchased and used in the desert. Many of them also worked on the caravans. **Mortality** was high in the desert, which meant that slaveholdings were constantly being replenished. Important trading and financial centers developed on both sides of the Sahara. The most important in the north were Ghadames in Libya and Sijilmassa in Morocco, and in the south Walata in Mauritania and Timbuktu and Gao in Mali. Timbuktu and Gao were in an area where the Niger River moved north into the desert, providing water for caravans and a river ideal for the transshipment of goods. A number of these communities, particularly Ghadames, were important as centers of financial and commercial enterprise. A number were also important centers of religious activity.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; MOROCCAN SLAVERY; WEST AFRICA.

SAID SAYYID IBN SULTAN (1791–1856). Said Sayyid was the sultan of Oman who was the principal creator of the **East African slave trade** of the 19th century. Inhabiting a poor desert area, the Omanis early turned to the sea, and by the 18th century they controlled much of the trade with East Africa, where **Zanzibar** island was their principal base. Said seized power in Oman in 1806, killing his cousin and rival. He early proved himself a shrewd diplomat, establishing ties with both the British and French and fending off

hostile neighbors. He also saw the economic potential of Zanzibar and made it the key to his plans for Omani expansion. He encouraged Omanis to establish themselves on Zanzibar and the neighboring island of Pemba as clove producers. He owned 45 clove **plantations** himself. He also established a loose control over the coast south to Mozambique. In 1837, his last rivals, the Mazruis of Mombasa, submitted and accepted his hegemony.

He invited Indian financiers to establish themselves in the major cities of the coast as tax farmers. These financiers provided trade goods for both Arab traders and their African rivals. As a result, caravans snaked into the far interior, bringing back ivory and slaves. By 1837, Zanzibar had become so much wealthier than Muscat, the capital of Oman, that Said shifted his capital there. It had also become the economic base for European and American nations in East Africa, many of them opening consulates there. Said was particularly careful to maintain good relations with the British. When he died, the British navy prevented an Omani fleet loyal to one of his sons from seizing Zanzibar, which was then ruled by another son, Majid.

See also MUSCAT AND OMAN.

SAID, NICHOLAS (1836–1882). Born in Bornu in northern Nigeria as Mohammed Ali ben Said, Said was enslaved by Tuareg raiders and shipped across the Sahara. This began an extraordinary life journey, which he recounted in *An Autobiography of Nicholas Said, a Native of Bournou, Eastern Soudan, Central Africa*, published in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1873. Walking across the Sahara was difficult, but he was then sold to an Ottoman officer, who sent him to Mecca as a servant for his father. When they returned from Mecca, the father's business had burned down, and Said was sold to a high-ranking Turkish official, who brought him to Istanbul and gave him as a gift to a brother, who in turn sold him to a Russian diplomat. In Russia, he ended up in the service of Prince Troubetskoy, who forced him to convert to the Russian Orthodox Church and to change his name to Nicholas. He traveled around Europe with Troubetskoy, who rewarded him with 300 pounds sterling so he could return to his homeland. This would have been dangerous in the 1850s. Instead, he was persuaded to accompany someone he had met to the United States, where he served in an African-American Union regiment from 1863 to 1865. By this time, he had changed hands eight times, had lived on four continents, and spoke seven languages. For all of this, our only source is his account. It does suggest, however, that he had a wide-ranging intelligence and taste for travel. He eventually married and settled down in St. Stephens, Alabama.

SAINT-DOMINGUE. Saint-Domingue was the French name for the island that **Christopher Columbus** had called Hispaniola. It became the first Spanish base in the Caribbean, but the early Spanish period was marked by misrule, brutality, and a sharp drop in the indigenous population. Thus, after Hernán Cortés and the conquistadors opened the possibilities of the wealthy mainland, Spanish interests focused on Mexico, and Havana, Cuba, became the gateway to the Spanish Caribbean. From 1659, the French took over the western third of the island. By the late 18th century, French Saint-Domingue was producing 40 percent of the **sugar** and 60 percent of the coffee consumed in Europe as well as cotton and indigo. It had about 800,000 slaves, a rich planter culture, and a large free black population. It was also the site of the largest-ever revolt by slaves against slavery. After the victory of the former slave armies in 1803, **Jean-Jacques Dessalines** renamed the French part of the island Haiti. Though there were periods of unity, part of the island remained Spanish and is today the Dominican Republic.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; HAITIAN REVOLUTION.

SAINT PAUL (10 CE?–62 CE?). Saint Paul was the most important of the Church Fathers in shaping the theology of the early Christian church. He traveled indefatigably through Greece and Asia and corresponded with many of the early Christian churches. Thirteen letters attributed to him have become part of the New Testament. Paul often dealt with slavery, which is not surprising considering how important slavery was in the Roman Empire and how attractive Christ's message was to slaves. Slavery figures in his letters in two very important ways. First, he stressed the equality of all in the eyes of God: "There is no longer Jew and Greek; there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). He is saying here that Christianity transcends all social distinction. At the same time, he repeatedly advised servants and slaves to be obedient to their masters: "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ" (Ephesians 6:5). The true reward for the faithful slave would come in the afterlife. Though not all subsequent Christians agreed with Paul, these ideas shaped Christian thought and were very popular with pro-slavery preachers in the Americas.

See also CHRISTIANITY.

SAMBO. Sambo and Samba were common African names that remained important in North America. They were often used in popular culture to indicate the prototypical slave, who was lazy, easygoing, subservient, and musical. In his book *Slavery: A Problem in American Intellectual and Institutional Life* (1959), **Stanley Elkins** suggested that slavery contributed to the

creation of a docile, malleable personality which he called Sambo. Elkins's model of Sambo was widely criticized by other scholars, who suggested that Sambo was a role that slaves often assumed to deal with their masters.

SANDIFORD, RALPH (1693–1733). Ralph Sandiford was an early abolitionist. Born in Liverpool, England, he became a **Quaker** as a young man and migrated to America, eventually becoming a successful merchant in Philadelphia. Though wealthy enough to own slaves, he was convinced that trading in slaves and owning them was immoral. When the Pennsylvania Assembly reduced the duty on the import of slaves and the number of slave imports rose, he wrote a tract titled *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times* (1729), which attacked Quakers involved with the trade. When he was expelled from the Philadelphia meeting, he published a revised version titled *The Mystery of Iniquity; in a Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times* (1730). His efforts inspired other Quakers, particularly **Benjamin Lay**, and led to some Quaker meetings calling for more stringent restrictions on the import of slaves. He died in 1733 before his efforts had any effect.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

SANDOVAL, ALONSO DE (1576–1652). Alonso de Sandoval was a Jesuit missionary who ministered to the needs of African slaves in Spanish America. He was born in Seville but grew up in Lima, Peru. In 1605, he began boarding slave ships in the port of Cartagena. He baptized, administered last rites for, and catechized slaves on the boats and in holding pens where they awaited sale. He gathered a team of African interpreters, who enabled him to collect information about the slaves and their experiences in Africa. In 1627 he published *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, which described the suffering of the slaves and condemned the harshness of the trade, but accepted the legitimacy of slavery. After correspondence with Portuguese missionaries in Angola, he accepted the idea that most of the slaves were justly enslaved. He also argued that Africans had immortal souls, which meant that they were amenable to the Christian message. Sandoval was for a while rector of the Jesuit college in Cartagena, but he eventually lost favor. He had, however, an influence on missionaries like **Pedro Claver**, who worked with slaves. He continued his dockside mission until his death.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH; HISPANIC AMERICA.

SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ DE (1778–1850). José de San Martín was one of the most successful generals in **Hispanic America's** struggle for independence from Spain. San Martín was born in Argentina but served many years in the Spanish army. In 1812, he returned to Buenos Aires and enlisted in the army. San Martín's forces defeated the Spanish in 1813 and then crossed the

Andes, where in a victorious campaign they ended Spanish rule in Chile. From Chile, his Army of the Andes marched north to liberate Peru in 1820. San Martín was at first a reluctant supporter of slave emancipation, but in both Argentina and Peru, he granted freedom to slaves who enlisted in his army. Argentina abolished the slave trade in 1812 and the following year passed a “**free womb**” law. Of the 5,000 soldiers in his Army of the Andes, 1,500 were former slaves. In 1821, he was made protector of Peru with supreme military and civil authority. One of his first acts was to proclaim the freedom of all Peruvian slave children born after 28 July 1821. In 1822, San Martín resigned and went back to Europe. While the Constitution of 1823 proclaimed that no one could be born a slave in Peru, this clause was dropped from the Constitution of 1826 and slavery was not fully abolished in Peru until 1854.

See also BOLÍVAR, SIMÓN (1783–1830); EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA.

SANTERIA. Santeria was an African religious cult popular with slaves in Cuba. It was similar to *vodun* in Haiti and *candomblé* in Brazil. It involved divination, music, spirit possession, and worship of African gods.

See also SLAVE RELIGION.

SÃO TOMÉ. As the Portuguese navigators moved out into the Atlantic and along the African coast, they discovered a series of islands. Most of them were mountainous and very thickly forested. These islands became both bases for the slave trade with the African coast and centers of **sugar** production. As the slave-sugar complex was moved out of the Mediterranean, these Atlantic islands were the first places slaves were introduced. São Tomé was discovered in 1471 and the neighboring island of Príncipe the following year. The climate was hot, the islands were well watered, and they were unpopulated. The only problem sugar planters had was acquiring labor. Portuguese peasants were not interested in settling in such a hot, disease-ridden place. As a result, Portuguese planters were soon bringing slaves in from coastal areas of the Gulf of Guinea. With time, São Tomé became not only a sugar producer, but an entrepôt for the slave trade from **Central Africa**. São Tomé traders became major factors in the politics of the **Kongo**, often intercepting messages between the kings of Portugal and Kongo and undermining Portuguese policy when it did not serve their interests. The only problem that the planters had was that the rough terrain and thick vegetation made it possible for runaway slaves to hide. The **Maroon** communities that formed in the forest often raided plantations and influenced many planters to move to Brazil.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; PORTUGAL IN AFRICA.

SCANDINAVIA. From the 8th to the 11th century, **Viking** raiders wreaked havoc over much of western Europe and the British Isles. Viking longboats ranged across the North Atlantic as far as Newfoundland, and Viking traders traveled overland through Russia to the Black Sea. They even penetrated into the Mediterranean. In some areas, like Normandy and Iceland, they settled. In others, they took booty and slaves. Some of the slaves they sold. The Viking traders, who provided Russian slaves for the Mediterranean market, were a major source of slaves for **Byzantium**, for the Arab world, and for the Christian **Mediterranean**. Many of the slaves were, however, brought back to Scandinavia, particularly from nearby areas like Ireland. Called **thralls**, they do not seem to have made up more than 10 percent of the population, but they were an important source of labor on larger estates. Most of Scandinavia was divided into small farms worked by free peasants.

Most thralls were farm laborers. Some males also served as guards, messengers, and retainers of wealthy men. Female thralls cooked, made cloth, and prepared fish and dairy foods. They could also be taken as **concubines**. We know something of slave status from law codes that were written down in the 13th century that made many distinctions between slave and free. When wrongs were done to a thrall, for example, the thrall did not have a right to the compensation a free person would receive. The law codes also provided for relatively easy manumission, though freed slaves often remained dependents of their former masters. Slavery seems to have died out in the 13th and 14th centuries. Later law codes do not refer to it. The end of raiding was a factor, but even more important was probably the impact of Christianity and population growth, which made rural labor available to richer landowners. It was no longer necessary to seek labor elsewhere. In the long run, most thralls merged into the free rural population.

See also EAST EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE; RUSSIAN SLAVERY; SLAVS.

SCHOELCHER, VICTOR (1804–1893). Victor Schoelcher was the most important French abolitionist of the 19th century. Born the son of a Parisian merchant, Schoelcher inherited enough wealth to devote himself to travel and writing. In 1829 he made the first of several visits to the Americas, visiting Mexico, Cuba, and the Southern United States. In 1833 he published *De l'esclavage des noirs et de la législation coloniale*. During a long life, he wrote about 20 books, almost half of them on slavery. Many of these books were informed by his extensive travels. He also published widely in Parisian journals and was well known in progressive circles in Paris. When the revolution of 1848 took place, he entered the government as undersecretary of state for the colonies. In this capacity he wrote the law that abolished slavery in all areas under French colonial rule. It was proclaimed 27 April 1848 and provided for complete abolition, but with compensation for slave owners.

When Louis Napoleon had himself proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III in 1852, Schoelcher went into exile, only to return after the collapse of the empire. A hero in the French West Indies, he was elected first as deputy from Martinique in 1871 and then, in 1875, as senator. In that capacity he defended the interests of former slaves and attacked the continued existence of slavery in Africa and Brazil. A speech he gave in the French Senate in 1880 on the existence of slavery in Senegal put pressure on the French colonial administration to take reluctant action against slavery in the African colonies.

See also ABOLITION, FRANCE.

SEA ISLANDS. Over a thousand islands stretch along the coast of South Carolina, Georgia, and northern Florida. Though many are too small to be habitable, others are fertile. On them, slaves were used to cultivate rice, indigo, and the highly valued Sea Island cotton. Many of the slaves on the islands were brought from **Sierra Leone** and Guinea to cultivate rice, which they had grown at home. Because of the malarial nature of the climate, the white presence on the islands and along the coast was limited. This enabled African culture and languages to persist there more than in other parts of the United States. The languages spoken are known as **Gullah** and Geechee and are related to the languages of the Sierra Leone area. Most of the slaves were freed during the **Civil War** by the Union navy or by troops under the command of William Tecumseh Sherman. Efforts to preserve the plantations failed as former slaves opted for smallholder agriculture. Many Northern abolitionists flocked to the area during the war and developed programs to help slaves transition to freedom.

See also PORT ROYAL.

SEASONING. One of the major problems in any society with slaves was getting slaves to adapt to their new environment. Seasoning was the process by which slave masters tried to get slaves to accept their subjection. The slaves had often been torn by violence from their native societies, marched long distances, and sometimes subjected to brutal conditions on sea voyages. They were often in bad health and despaired of ever receiving humane treatment. A large part of seasoning was adapting physically to a new disease environment, a new climate, new foods, and a new work regime. The first problem was simply restoring their health. **Mortality** was usually high in the first years in a new environment. For example, almost 50 percent of slaves died during the first four years in **Brazil**.

Escape was also a great problem during the seasoning process. In Africa, the newly enslaved were often forced to sleep in chains during their first years. In both Africa and America the newly enslaved were those most likely to run away. In all slave societies, the biggest problem was getting the slave

to accept his or her subjection. In Africa, they were often given new **names** and sometimes were forced to undergo rituals in which they pledged not to run away. Often countrymen were used to help them forge new bonds within the slave community.

SEGOU. Segou was an old market town in the middle Niger River area of Mali when Biton Kulibali converted a hunting society called the *ton* into a state organization. As the *ton* took prisoners, many of the young male captives were given a choice of joining the *ton* and serving the Segou state. They became the *tonjon*, the slaves of the *ton*. As an effective fighting force, they spread the control of Segou over a large part of western Mali, and by raiding far and wide became the most important source of slaves in the region both for the Atlantic trade and for the Famas of Segou. Though majority Bambara, Segou was a multi-ethnic state. The Somono fishermen were also the navy, transporting the *tonjon* on military campaigns and state officials on administrative missions. The Fulbe pastoralists provided milk, meat, and leather. Maraka merchants exchanged the slaves the *tonjon* produced for weapons and trade goods, while keeping some of them to produce grain and cloth. The administrative hierarchy and the army remained Bambara.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; MILITARY SLAVES.

SELF-PURCHASE. In many slave societies, slaves were able to accumulate wealth and buy their freedom. This encouraged the more ambitious to work hard in order to free themselves. Often this involved a series of payments. In ancient Rome, the slave was allowed to accumulate a *peculium* and could use that *peculium* to become free. In Cuba, there was a process called *coartacion* by which a slave could ask the court to set a price for his or her liberty. In northern Nigeria, there was a similar process called *murgu*. In the United States, slaves were able to purchase their freedom, but it was often difficult and in some states was illegal.

The freed slave often remained a client of his former master. In many societies, his social isolation limited the value of his freedom. The slave, after all, had no family. In parts of West Africa, the absence of kinship ties was such a constraint that some slaves chose to purchase slaves—or a male slave could take a second wife—rather than purchase their own freedom. The newly enslaved could also be ransomed. The biggest constraint on self-purchase was the problem of saving money while trying to feed a family.

See also MANUMISSION.

SEMINOLES. The Seminole Indians originally inhabited Georgia and North Florida but were gradually pushed south into the Everglades. Slaves fleeing white planters in Georgia and South Carolina often sought refuge

among them and merged with slaves that Seminole chiefs purchased from the Spaniards. These black communities established a tributary relationship with the Seminoles. The former slaves were more familiar with agriculture and often became wealthier than the original Seminoles. They also served as advisors and interpreters, having firsthand knowledge of white society. The Seminoles fought two wars against the Americans. The first, during 1817 and 1818, resulted from raiding across the frontier and led to Spain selling Florida to the United States. The Second Seminole War (1835–1842) resulted from American efforts to move the Seminoles to what is now Oklahoma. It was one of the most bitter Indian wars fought by the Americans, largely because the black Seminole feared reenslavement and used the woods and swamps effectively to force the conquerors to pay a high price for their victories. The Americans, however, were determined to eliminate the slave refuge and eventually prevailed, though some Seminoles remained in the Everglades. Many of the blacks were reenslaved, but others were given the right to move west with the Seminoles.

See also AMERINDIAN SLAVERY; MAROONS.

SENNAR. In the northern Sudan, a series of Christian kingdoms survived until the 14th and 15th centuries. When Makuria, the last of these kingdoms, was defeated by an Arab army, a group called the Funj moved up from the south to successfully contest control of the area that straddled the junction of the White and Blue Nile. The Funj kingdom of Sennar was created in 1504 and became Muslim in 1523. It was a very militarized state that lived off the slave trade and used slaves in many ways. At the heart of the army was a heavy cavalry made up of aristocrats in chain mail. Sennar's most important export was slaves, who were shipped up the Nile to Egypt or across the Red Sea. Enough slaves were kept to provide the bulk of infantry forces. Slave villages also surrounded the capital and provided food for the court. There were also numerous slave officials. Like most of the kingdoms stretched along the Sudanic belt south of the Sahara, Sennar used Islam to justify slave raiding, but it was also able to profit from better organization and better arms. In 1821, Sennar was conquered by the army of Mohammed Ali of Egypt, who had invaded the Sudan in part to get slave soldiers for his army. The fall of Sennar did not end slave raiding but was the prelude to the most bitter period of slave raiding in Sudanese history.

See also EGYPT, MODERN; NILOTIC SUDAN.

SERFDOM. Many writers use the term *serf* only for the bound agricultural laborers of **medieval Europe**, but the term can be extended to farmers in other parts of the world who were tied to the land and subject to the authority of a lord. The difference between a serf and a slave lies in the nature of their

subjection. The serf was attached to the land, but the slave's person was owned. The serf could not move but had rights and lived within a community. The serf had family. The slave was kinless, an isolate who could be used as the master wished. The right of serfs to their land was subject to clearly defined obligations to a lord or landowner.

The transition from slavery to serfdom or some other form of tenancy often began when slaves were no longer being produced. With the growth of population, different forms of tenancy became more productive than slave labor as the slaves sought to expand their private plots. In Europe the transition took place gradually between the 6th and 11th centuries. The particular form that transition took was shaped by the decline of the urban and mercantile economies. Rural Europe, particularly northern Europe, gradually shifted a slave-based economy to one dominated by largely self-sufficient manors. Three groups merged as tenancy became more attractive than gang labor and the distinction between slaves, tenants (*coloni*), and free peasants disappeared. The insecurity of medieval life also made the protection of a lord attractive.

The exact nature of the rights and obligations of serfs varied according to time and place. Sometimes the distinction between serf and slave was unclear. The Latin word for slave, *servus*, became the word for serf in the later Middle Ages as a new word, based on the root “**Slav**,” took its place. In **Russia**, slavery was replaced by serfdom, but the status of serfs was so sharply reduced in the 18th century that many were sold or given away and thus were treated as if they were slaves.

See also RUSSIAN SLAVERY.

SEWALL, SAMUEL (1652–1730). Samuel Sewall was a merchant, judge, diarist, and early abolitionist. Sewall was one of the judges in the Salem witch trials, a role that he later regretted. He was also a commissioner of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which sought to convert both native Americans and African slaves. In 1700, he published a pamphlet titled *The Selling of Joseph*, in which he challenged the biblical sanction for the enslavement of Africans. Sewall was unhappy about the increasing number of slaves in Massachusetts and the participation of Puritans in the slave trade. His attitude was influenced by the frequency of slave flight and of petitions by slaves for their freedom. He remained a spokesman for equality and against slavery. Sewall also kept a detailed diary, which has given historians a vivid picture of Puritan society.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; CHRISTIANITY.

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION. In most slave systems, the slave has no rights. He or she is a thing, to be used as the master wishes. For the female slave, this has often meant that she had no choice but to accept her master's wishes in sexual matters. This was true, among other areas, in ancient Rome, ancient Greece, and China. In most slave societies, a master could have sexual relations with his slave, assign her to another man, and in many areas could insist that she entertain his guests. Marriage was often prohibited.

In Muslim law, the position of a slave **concubine** was recognized. A man had the right to as many concubines as he could support. The situation of the concubine within the household was protected. If she bore her master a child, the child was free under Muslim law and had equal right of inheritance with the children of wives. She became an *um walid* and was freed when her master died. By contrast, in the West Indies, there were very few white women. Planters, overseers, merchants, and accountants often took slave concubines and sometimes slept promiscuously with many of the women under their authority. It was common to provide a sexual partner for male guests. The slave mistress had few rights. In some cases on the death of a white man, his slave lover was freed along with her children under his will, and sometimes even given a generous financial settlement. In others, she was discarded when her man tired of her, and their children were ignored.

Efforts to limit sexual relations between masters and slaves were generally futile. The French *Code Noir* of 1685 prohibited sexual relations with slave women, but the Saint-Domingue census of 1724 found that 5,000 of 7,000 mulatto women on the island were concubines. In the United States, society was monogamous. Most planters had wives. Christian ministers generally condemned extra-marital unions, and state law often banned interracial sex. Nevertheless, it was difficult for a slave woman to reject her master or a member of his family, and there were almost no cases of white men charged with having sexual relations with their slaves. The clandestine and sometimes transient nature of these relationships meant that males rarely recognized their slave partners or acknowledged their offspring, though some had their lovers and children freed, and others, like **James Henry Hammond**, had their slave children trained as artisans. When a master died, his slave mistress was often subject to retribution from his wife. Some women did resist. **Harriet Jacobs**, author of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), resisted her master but formed a relationship with a white lawyer, probably to protect herself, and still was eventually forced to flee.

The price of young attractive slave women was in most societies higher than that of any other category of slave. In the Americas, mixed-race "fancy women," sold to be concubines or prostitutes, were the highest-priced slaves. Concubinage was widespread in Brazil and Spanish America, and attractive slave women were much valued. In none of these cases did the slave woman's beauty give her any control over her own body. In Africa, the price of

women was always higher than men even though the export trade preferred men. In the Ottoman Empire, the highest prices were paid for Circassian slave women from the Caucasus, who became the wives and concubines of powerful men and the mothers of other powerful men. In some areas—for example, ancient Greece and Rome—male slaves, particularly young boys, were also purchased for sexual use.

In spite of the end of traditional forms of slavery, coerced sexual exploitation has remained socially important. Women enslaved for prostitution are the largest group in **contemporary forms of slavery**.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; ISLAM; SEXUAL SLAVERY.

SEXUAL SLAVERY. Sexual slavery differs from other forms of slavery in that the person is only purchased for sexual services and is often discarded when no longer of value. Most sexual slaves have been women, but in some cases, boys and young men are sought. In ancient Rome, there were bordellos staffed by slave women. In the cities of many slave-owning societies, slave women were put to work as prostitutes and often purchased for that purpose. The slave prostitute either worked in a brothel, where her labor was controlled, or she worked on the streets and was required to return a part of her earnings to her master.

The improvement of transportation in the 19th century made the traffic of women for prostitution an international affair at a time when chattel slavery was being abolished. In the late 19th century, Singapore became a center of distribution for Chinese and Japanese women, and East European women were brought to South Africa, South America, and the United States. This has been one of the most persistent forms of slavery. Today, clandestine networks are particularly active in moving prostitutes from Southeast Asia, eastern Europe, and Africa to wealthier parts of the world. Poverty-stricken parents sell their daughters, sometimes believing their daughters will be able to better themselves. Sometimes young women are fraudulently recruited by the promise of well-paid jobs in a distant area or a foreign country. Once away from home, they often find themselves prisoners and are forced to work as prostitutes or strippers. Frequently they are kept locked up. Sometimes debt is used to keep them bound to the criminal syndicates that control their activity. Often they are sold and moved from one jurisdiction to another, where their ignorance of the law and fear of arrest keeps them dependent.

In wartime, conquered or subject women have often been pressed into service as prostitutes. Military brothels were often used to maintain the morale of soldiers. The most systematic such operation in recent years was the “**comfort women**” recruited by the Japanese during World War II. While some of them were volunteers, 80 percent of them were Korean women from poor families forced into prostitution.

See also CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SLAVERY; HUMAN TRAFFICKING.

SHADD, MARY ANN (1823–1893). Born to a free black family in Wilmington, Delaware, Mary Ann Shadd became the first black female editor in North America. The family moved to Pennsylvania in 1833 because there was no schooling available for black children in Delaware. Shadd became a teacher and, like her father, an active abolitionist. In 1850, passage of the **Fugitive Slave Law** convinced her that African-Americans had a better chance to be accepted as equals in **Canada**. The African-American community in Canada divided between a majority, led by **Henry Bibb**, that favored separate institutions for blacks and a group led by Shadd that sought integration. She opened a school and in 1853 created a newspaper, the *Provincial Freeman*, to publicize her views. She advocated self-help and insisted that black people should demand their rights. After the paper folded, she returned to teaching and in 1863 returned to the United States to help recruit black troops for the Union army. After the war, she returned to teaching and then studied law, but she remained an active campaigner for racial and gender equality until her death.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

SHADRACH MINKINS CASE. The Shadrach Minkins case was the first successful rescue of a runaway slave detained under the **Fugitive Slave Law** of 1850. Minkins was a slave owned by a naval officer stationed in Norfolk, Virginia. In May 1850, he escaped to Boston, where he took work as a waiter in a restaurant in the port area. Though he used a false name, he was tracked down by a detective hired by his owner. During a hearing mandated by the law, a crowd of several thousand African-Americans pushed into the courtroom, grabbed him, and ushered him away. The attack had been carefully organized and was successful. Within several days he was safely in Canada. The case angered the South and the federal government. Under instructions from President Millard Fillmore, eight abolitionists were indicted for their role in the rescue, but five were soon released because of inadequate evidence and the other three were eventually acquitted. It was the first case to prove that it was difficult to get a conviction in the North under the Fugitive Slave Law.

SHARP, GRANVILLE (1735–1813). Granville Sharp was one of the founders of the British abolition movement. Though the son and grandson of Anglican bishops, Sharp was apprenticed as a boy to a linen draper. He was largely self-educated, having mastered Greek and Hebrew in order to better understand the Bible. On the streets of London in 1767, he found Jonathan

Strong, a slave who had been badly pistol-whipped and thrown out by his master, David Lisle, a Barbadian sugar planter. Sharp got the boy medical attention and helped him regain his strength. Two years later, Lisle saw Strong and, recognizing that his health was restored, sold him to a Jamaican planter. When Strong was jailed pending departure of the ship, Sharp appealed to the lord mayor of London and got him released. When Sharp was sued by the purchaser, he bought a set of law books and prepared to argue the case. Sharp won the case when the plaintiff chose not to pursue it. Sharp was convinced by this time that he could challenge the right of masters to own slaves in England and sought a case he could bring to the courts. He helped several slaves claimed by slave masters, but the cases never came to court. Finally, in 1772, in the case of James Somerset, Chief Justice Mansfield ruled that slaves brought to England from the West Indies could not be forced to return there.

Sharp remained a key figure in the abolition movement. He published a number of tracts on slavery and was involved in a series of legal cases, including the **Zong case** and a number of attempted kidnappings. He was involved in the creation of the colony of **Sierra Leone** and in 1787 was one of the founders of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the organization that eventually persuaded the British Parliament to abolish the trade.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; *SOMERSET V. STEWART* (1772).

SHARPE, SAM. *See* JAMAICAN SLAVE REVOLT (1831–1832).

SIDIS. Africans have been coming to **India** since at least as far back as the seventh or eighth century CE. The number increased from the 16th century, particularly with the Portuguese. Most of the African slaves became soldiers, some of whom, like **Malik Ambar**, became powerful military leaders. Many others became servants, entertainers, or slave laborers. Some of their descendants married into the lower castes, but because of the caste system, most of them formed small separate communities, which are found in western and northwestern India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. They are called Sidis, or in Pakistan, Sheedis. They preserve little memory of their African origins, but their music and dance are very African. Most became Muslim, but there are also Hindu and Christian Sidis.

See also INDIAN OCEAN; INDIAN SLAVERY.

SIERRA LEONE. The British colony of Sierra Leone began as a settlement for free slaves resettled in Africa, but it became the base for Great Britain's struggle against African slavery. The area was a center of the **slave trade**. It

was a source of slaves who were preferred on the rice plantations of South Carolina because of their experience with rice. In spite of this, or perhaps because of this, it was chosen in 1787 as the site of an experiment in repatriation. Set up by British abolitionists, its first settlers in Sierra Leone came from three groups: the black poor of London, **Black Loyalists** settled in Nova Scotia after the American Revolution, and **Maroons** from Jamaica. All three were former slaves. The original settlement was named Freetown and was one of the few good harbors on the West African coast.

In 1808, after Britain abolished the slave trade, the British government took over the colony, and Freetown became the base for the **Africa Squadron** of the Royal Navy, which struggled for a half century to stop the export of slaves. It also became the location of the **prize court**, the only court on the African coast that could authorize the confiscation of ships seized at sea and the liberation of their slave cargoes. This meant that when a slave ship was seized, it had to be taken to Freetown. The slaves, called **recaptives**, could not be returned to areas where they might be reenslaved. The result was the freeing of 3,000 to 4,000 slaves a year at Freetown, which led to the city becoming a major base for missionary activity. Most of the newly released captives were received by the missions, who taught them English, helped them to adapt, and in the process converted most of them to Christianity.

Though the community originated from diverse sources, they all eventually merged into the **Creole (Krio)** community, strongly Christian and grateful to Great Britain. Though colonial policy originally called for them to become farmers, they had important skills. The Freetown Krio population had a higher literacy rate than Great Britain. At a time when tropical diseases still killed many European settlers in the tropics, the Krio were invaluable to Britain. They held a range of posts in the nascent colonial administrations, including many senior positions. They were agents of British commerce, and Krio ministers served as missionaries. They spread out over West Africa, some returning to earlier homes, others going where they could earn a living. Among them were an elite of doctors, lawyers, ministers, journalists, and businessmen.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; BUNCE ISLAND.

SIETE PARTIDAS. The *Siete Partidas*, or “Seven Divisions,” was a law code adopted in the Iberian kingdom of Castile in the 13th century. It incorporated much of Roman law into Spanish law, including Roman law on slavery. The law code was particularly concerned to regulate slavery in a nation divided between three religions, **Christianity**, **Islam**, and Judaism. It limited slaveholding by Jews, whose slaves could become free by becoming Christians. It also determined who could be enslaved. Spanish law was concerned that the slave was justly enslaved, though Muslims were often consid-

ered enemies of Christianity and thus were automatically eligible to be enslaved. Warfare between Christians and Muslims was a frequent source of enslavement in late medieval Spain. When Spain built an empire in the Americas, the *Siete Partidas* provided a legal framework for the import of slaves to the colonies and regulated their treatment.

The *Siete Partidas* provided that slaves could be bought, sold, or loaned, but it also considered slavery an unnatural condition. It granted slaves a legal personality and offered them ways out of slavery. They had the right to purchase their freedom, and a slave who was abused could appeal to a court and either be freed or sold to a less abusive owner. Slaves could be freed for service to the state such as military service, acts of heroism, or betrayal of a conspiracy. Slaves were guaranteed the right to marry, to choose their own spouses, and to inherit property. Masters could free slaves in their wills. This became important, especially to slave **concubines** and their children. One effect of Spanish law was that there was from early times a large free black population in Spanish America.

See also HISPANIC AMERICA; LAW OF SLAVERY.

SILK ROAD. The Silk Road was actually not a single road, but a series of alternative routes that first connected ancient Rome and Han dynasty China. It went through central Asia and the Middle East and had branches extending into India. Silk was probably the most valuable item traded, but slaves were also important, particularly beautiful women of different skin colors who were sought for harems all along the road. There was also a trade in pygmies and dwarves. Most of the Silk Road was briefly united under **Mongol** rule, but generally the caravans cut across different jurisdictions.

SIMMS, WILLIAM GILMORE (1806–1870). William Gilmore Simms was a leading Southern man of letters and a prominent defender of slavery. By 1830, Simms had produced four books of poetry and was the editor of the short-lived *Southern Literary Gazette*. He also was a successful novelist, probably one of the few men in the United States to earn his living from writing.

In 1837, in response to a book by an English critic of slavery, **Harriet Martineau**, Simms wrote an essay titled “The Morals of Slavery.” This and other subsequent pro-slavery writings were published in 1852 as *The Pro-Slavery Argument, as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States*. His argument was that slavery was divinely approved and involved a moral contract to help slaves better themselves. His novels present a highly idealized and romanticized picture of slave–master relations. They often attributed affection to relations between masters and slaves.

See also RACE AND SLAVERY.

SLAVE CATCHING. In all societies where slaves were numerous, slave flight was a problem, and measures were taken to pursue and catch runaways. This was particularly important in places where there were potential refuges: the swamps of Florida, the mountainous “cockpit” of Jamaica, the bayous of Louisiana, the free states of the Northern United States, and the frontier in Brazil. In ancient Rome, slave catchers were called *fugitivarii*, and in earlier Near Eastern societies there were laws regulating slave catchers. In the United States, the West Indies, and Brazil, there were professional slave catchers. In Brazil, they were called *capitães do mato*, or bush captains, and were usually frontiersmen called *bandeirantes*. Expert at tracking runaways, these slave catchers knew the routes slaves were likely to use and often used dogs to pick up their trail. It was a risky occupation, so much so that insurance companies often refused to cover such men, but the bounties paid by masters could make such work lucrative. The Brazilian bush captains often operated in larger bands because they were used to attack **Maroon** settlements.

Other slave catchers specialized in tracking runaways in the free states of the North. Where they could, they used the law to reclaim the slaves they pursued. From 1793 there were **fugitive slave laws** that required federal and state officials to assist Southerners in their efforts to recover runaway slaves, but gradually Northern legislatures placed barriers in the way of their efforts called **personal liberty laws**. Many of the slave catchers chose to kidnap runaways they were pursuing and smuggled them back into the Southern states. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 facilitated their activities but led to conflict, as anti-slavery groups tried to block the return of runaways. To avoid the slave catchers, abolitionists hid slaves or helped them move north into Canada on the **Underground Railroad**.

See also BURNS, ANTHONY (1834–1862); JERRY RESCUE; OBERLIN-WELLINGTON RESCUE (1858); PALMARES; *PRIGG V. PENNSYLVANIA*; SHADRACH MINKINS CASE; SLAVE PATROLS.

SLAVE COAST. Different stretches of the West African coast were known by products Europeans expected to be able to buy there. The Slave Coast stretched from modern Togo to Cameroon, included the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and had a relatively densely populated hinterland. By the late 17th century, this was the largest source of slaves for the transatlantic slave trade. Powerful kingdoms like **Oyo** and **Dahomey** produced slaves with their annual military campaigns. The **Aro** developed trade routes in the Igbo country that lay behind the Bight of Biafra. European ship captains knew they would find large numbers of slaves at ports like **Whydah**, Badagry, Bonny, and **Calabar**. The area may have provided as many as 2 million slaves for export.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

SLAVE CODES. Wherever slavery was an important institution, law codes were necessary to regulate relations between slave owners and between slave and master. A commercial law was necessary to regulate the slave trade and the hiring out or loaning of slaves. Slave laws always defined slaves as property, but they also had to deal with the fact that the slave was a person, particularly in matters of sexual relationships and the children these produced. Other perennial questions included whether a slave could be a witness, whether legal penalties from criminal acts were the same for slave and free, and procedures for manumission. Some codes encouraged manumission. Others prohibited it. Some slave codes regulated what a slave could or could not wear.

The most important concern for slave codes was the maintenance of the authority of the masters over slaves. Many slave societies in the Americas had a slave majority, or a large slave minority. In these, there was often an obsessive fear of slave insurrection, flight, and insubordination. In some matters, the law could be gentle with the slave because it did not want to infringe on the master's property rights. In many Southern states, masters could sue for damages done to their slaves. Southern slave codes made it illegal to teach slaves to read, prohibited large gatherings, and required slaves to carry passes when off the plantations.

Where authority was in question, the law was firm and its administration ruthless. Most slave codes affirmed the master's right to punish a slave, and if the slave died in the course of brutal punishments, the master was rarely tried for his excesses. Slave codes were most severe with acts of rebellion, often providing cruel punishments and insisting that these punishments be provided as quickly as possible. Once a slave engaged in rebellion, it was no longer simply a question of the master's property rights. **Slave patrols** also often had the right to act arbitrarily in apprehending fugitives or suspected fugitives. Rebels were subject to summary execution, were tortured, were drawn and quartered, and were subjected to other slow or painful means of execution. West Indian slave codes were particularly harsh.

See also CODE NOIR; LAW OF SLAVERY; SIETE PARTIDAS.

SLAVE GRACE CASE. Grace, a slave from Antigua, was taken to England by her mistress in 1822. She returned to Antigua voluntarily the following year but was seized by a customs official. The Crown pursued the case arguing that she was freed by her residence in England. In 1827, Justice William Scott, Lord Stowell, ruled that Grace was not free. He recognized that if she had remained in England, she could have claimed her freedom, but by returning to a colony where slavery was legal, she became a slave again. This decision was based on the **Somerset** decision of 1772, which did not hold that Somerset was free by his residence in England, but simply that

slavery could not be enforced there. Grace, therefore, was not free and was still legally a slave. With the abolition of slavery six years later, this question became irrelevant.

SLAVE MODE OF PRODUCTION. In Marxist thought, the mode of production is considered basic to the understanding of how a society functions. Historic change is often defined as a movement from one mode of production to another. There are two components to a mode of production. The first is the forces of production: land, tools, and technology. The second is the relations of production. Are those who produce the same as those who own the means of production, and if not, how do they relate to each other?

During the early 20th century, some Marxist thinkers often saw the slave mode of production as part of a fixed evolutionary sequence, but from the 1960s, the concept was used more flexibly. A slave mode of production was one where slaves did all or most productive labor. Thus, a slave mode of production could also be capitalistic, but it differed from other forms of capitalist agriculture in that much of the capital was tied up in the ownership of slaves. Some writers, such as Cambridge historian **Moses Finley**, disliked the rigidities of Marxist thought and preferred the concept of **slave society**. Others, like the French anthropologist **Claude Meillassoux**, found the Marxist concepts powerful, and going back to Marx's original ideas have used the concept flexibly. In any case, slave modes of production and slave societies are similar in that in both, slavery is the basis of the economic system, and that shapes the social and ideological superstructure of society.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY; ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; MARXISM.

SLAVE MUSIC. Slaves have taken their musical traditions with them in many societies, though in most societies slaves also learned the music of their masters. We have no evidence that **Slavs**, who formed the largest part of late medieval slave populations, preserved distinctively Slavic cultural forms, but slaves were never very numerous in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern societies. Africans, however, have often taken their music with them. When they were constrained by law—for example, by laws that prohibited drumming for fear that “talking drums” would be used to spread plans for rebellion—they found other ways to express themselves and adapt their musical heritage. Africans re-created or devised a variety of musical instruments: many kinds of drums, rattles, concussion sticks, bull roarers, flutes, xylophones, and the banjo.

African musical traditions are most vividly present in various kinds of religious observances, which also articulated the hopes and aspirations of enslaved Africans better than any other source available. In North Africa, it

was spirit-possession cults, *bori* and *gnauwa*, which used rhythmic music and dancing to create religious ecstasy and bring on possession. *Candomblé* in Brazil and *santería* in Cuba preserved Yoruba ritual and music virtually intact. *Fon* music was important to *shango* in Trinidad and voodoo in Haiti. In the United States, where slaves made up a smaller percentage of the population, there was a merging of traditions within a Christian context. Slaves sang hymns but replaced the harmonizing of British music with a strong rhythmic line and an African call-and-response pattern. This marriage of traditions eventually produced spirituals, which often presented a distinctively African-American interpretation of Christian tradition, and work songs. This is a music that articulates both the hopes and sorrows of slaves. A similar marriage of traditions, but in a more secular form, took place with the emergence Afro-Cuban music, and in particular, the rumba. After emancipation, this tradition evolved into jazz and blues. It is in music that we see one of the most profound African contributions to modern culture and at the same time one of the most vivid expressions of slave humanity.

SLAVE PATROLS. Called “paddy rollers” by slaves in the American South, slave patrols were common in any society where slaves were numerous and slave flight was a problem. As early as 1530, there were such patrols in Cuba. All of the slave states in the United States except Delaware created citizen patrols that had the authority to stop suspicious black people. There were also regular slave patrols on all of the West Indian sugar islands. The difference between **slave catchers** and slave patrols was that slave catchers were free agents working for planters while the patrols were sanctioned by law and often paid. The slave patrols usually operated in local areas, while slave catchers ranged far from home. Slaves traveling abroad at night had to carry a pass signed by their owner and indicating where they were going. Some also had badges indicating their rights. The patrols were made up mostly of non-slave-owning whites and sometimes included free blacks or native Americans, but each patrol usually included at least one slave owner, probably to prevent the patrols from brutalizing slaves, who were valuable property. Some of the people stopped were runaways, but others were simply slaves who did not have permission to visit spouses or friends on other plantations.

Slave patrols were also used to prevent gatherings of slaves and thus to prevent revolts. They often broke up nighttime religious meetings. The patrols sometimes entered the slave quarters to search for items slaves were not allowed to own such as guns. In the cities, they often enforced local curfews. Because of their violence and intimidation, they were much feared by slaves. In Afro-American lore, there are many stories of the “paddy rollers,” who were used, for example, as bogeymen to threaten young children. The patrols were so detested that many slave owners would not allow them

onto their plantations. In most slave-owning societies, the patrols ended with emancipation, but in the Southern United States, their methods were taken up by the Ku Klux Klan, which sought to create a climate of fear among freed slaves to prevent them from exercising their rights.

See also LAW OF SLAVERY; SLAVE CODES.

SLAVE RELIGION. When a slave society contains large numbers of slaves from a single area, those slaves usually take many of their religious beliefs and practices with them. They often continue to practice that religion, and when they accept the religion of their masters, they infuse it with characteristics of their traditional beliefs. These beliefs and practices then often have influence on the masters' religion. We see this most vividly with the African diaspora. In North Africa, possession cults called *bori* in Tunisia and *gnauwa* in Morocco were common. At night slaves would gather and dance to rhythmic music, which led to some practitioners being possessed by spirits. *Bori* was a pre-Islamic Hausa cult, but in North Africa, it was often seen as a kind of Sufism, Islamic mysticism. We see a similar phenomenon on the East African coast, where people from the Congo basin carried their own music and religious practices.

In Brazil and the West Indies, African cults remain important up to the present day. These cults are marked by ancestor worship, spirit possession, divination, faith healing, and the use of music. There was often an element of syncretism between Catholicism and African religion. African cults assimilated Catholic saints to their traditional gods and used statues, holy water, and rosary beads in their rituals. Conversely, the Catholic Church introduced black saints the slaves could identify with and created black religious confraternities that preserved elements of African religious practice. New World cults often merged elements from different areas, though *candomblé* in Bahia, *santería* in Cuba, and *shango* in Recife were predominantly Yoruba in inspiration; *vodun* in Haiti was Dahomean; and *macumba* in Rio de Janeiro was Congolese. With large gatherings banned under slavery, these cults operated at night and in secret. With the end of slavery, they became more public and often attracted people of European descent.

In all areas, the cults have been influenced by the dominant religion, but none more than in the United States. The difference between mainland North America, the Caribbean, and Brazil was that on the mainland, there were fewer slaves on each plantation and in most areas a white majority. Both **Islam** and African religions were practiced in secret but gradually gave way to the "invisible church." Though many slave masters did not want their slaves to convert, others saw Christianity as a force that could teach obedience and submission. By the early 18th century, there was a movement to convert slaves.

The slaves, however, gave **Christianity** a strongly African flavor. This included dances called “ring shouts,” spirit possession, and immersion during baptism. The spiritual music of the slave community and the slave preachers sought their own interpretations of the **Bible**. Much of their religious music offered hope of freedom and a reward for suffering in the afterlife. They identified with the Hebrews wandering in the desert, bolstered by hope of a promised land of milk and honey. Black preachers, many of them slaves, became important in slave communities and preserved a distinctly African style of preaching.

Many slave religions perpetuated themselves even after the end of slavery. **Yoruba** shrines in the Americas reestablished contact with the Yoruba homeland in Nigeria. Yoruba *babalawo* conduct religious rites in many parts of the world. African religious ideas also shaped new religions that emerged after emancipation like the Rastafarians of Jamaica. But most important, African religions had an impact on the dominant religions. These influences are particularly striking in Muslim Sufism and in American Baptism. They include ecstatic practices, full-immersion baptism, and a deeply emotional religiosity. Christianity in the United States was for a long time highly segregated, but the religious practices of many American Protestant churches have been strongly shaped by African religious practices.

See also SLAVE MUSIC.

SLAVE REVOLTS. Revolt was difficult in all slave societies. Revolts took place, but they were relatively rare and often localized. Slaves were social isolates, usually unarmed and far from home. The social system kept them divided, and the law usually threatened severe punishments. The most common form of resistance was not revolt but flight. It was often futile and desperate, but still, slaves regularly sought to flee, even newly purchased slaves for whom flight was a voyage into the unknown.

Flight was most successful when there was someplace a slave could flee to, either a mountainous retreat like the “cockpit” of central Jamaica, the **Seminole** communities of swampy southern Florida, or a free society like the Northern United States or Canada. Many American slaves followed the **Underground Railroad** to freedom. In mountainous areas of Guinea in West Africa, there were Muslim reformers who received runaway slaves. In war, slaves could often flee to the enemy and be well received. The most successful fleeing slaves were often able to gather together to form **Maroon** communities. Most Maroon communities were small and eventually broken up, but **Palmares** in Brazil lasted for almost a century, and the Maroons of Jamaica were never defeated by the British. Flight has been particularly massive in slave systems under threat. Examples would be the massive

movement by slaves across Union lines during the American **Civil War**, the **Banamba** exodus in French West Africa, and the flight from the plantations in Brazil just before abolition was approved in 1888.

Slaves did take up arms from time to time, sometimes in massive revolts like that of **Spartacus** who held out against the Romans for two years. Slave revolts were most likely under two circumstances. The first was when there were large numbers of the newly enslaved, uncertain about their future and willing to risk death to avert it. This would be true of the Spartacists and the **Stono Rebellion** in South Carolina. The second was when things seemed to be getting better and there was hope of change. Thus, between British abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and of slavery in 1833, the **Jamaican Slave Revolt** of 1831 and **Bussa's Rebellion** in Barbados in 1815 were influenced by expectations of change. The same was true of revolts shaped by the **French Revolution**. The **Haitian Revolution** was the most massive and most successful in modern history, but unsuccessful slave revolts on Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Antigua and in Venezuela were also shaped by expectations of change.

Slave revolts often brought on periods of harsh repression. Societies with slave majorities, or even like in the United States with large slave minorities, have often been obsessively afraid of slave revolts. All slave revolts in the United States were put down quickly, usually within days, but each revolt was followed by a period of bitter repression and by efforts to tighten control over both slaves and free blacks. Revolts usually led to the execution not only of rebels, but also of many of those thought to have been involved in a conspiracy. Slave rebels were often killed in cruel ways and their bodies displayed in public places to instill fear in slave populations.

See also BAHIAN SLAVE REVOLTS; BALAIADA REVOLT (1838–1841); GERMAN COAST REVOLT; HISPANIOLA REVOLT (1521); HUBBU; TACKY'S REBELLION (1760–1761); TURNER, NAT (1800–1831); VESEY, DENMARK (c. 1767–1822).

SLAVE SHIP. Slaves have been carried on many kinds of ships, but the **Atlantic slave trade** operated on such a scale that ships were specially designed to carry large human cargoes. Slave traders were divided between tight-packers and loose, the latter assuming that in giving the slave more space, survival rates would be higher. Still, in neither did a slave have either much room or comfort. Platforms were generally built in the hold for the slaves to sleep on. On a tight-packer, slaves had as little as 18 inches and had to lie on their sides. They also lacked the space to sit up. Men were generally chained. There were usually buckets for excrement, but with seasickness and dysentery causing both vomit and diarrhea, slave ships were marked by a terrible stench.

Men were kept in the hold most of the day but were brought on deck twice a day for feeding and exercise. They were often forced to dance in their chains. Women were given more freedom and were allowed on deck unchained for longer periods. This made their life easier but exposed them to sexual harassment by sailors. The deck areas were so constructed as to make it more difficult for slaves to commit suicide by throwing themselves overboard or rebelling by charging the bridge. Sometimes fixed guns were pointed toward the open deck areas to discourage rebellions. Shipowners were concerned to reduce the mortality rate and over the years brought it down to about 14 percent, but conditions on board slave ships were such that it was impossible to reduce the rate further. When the slave trade became illegal in the 19th century, shipbuilders developed faster ships but packed slaves more tightly in the limited space below deck.

SLAVE SOCIETY. Slave societies are societies in which slaves provide most of the productive labor, in which slavery defines the characteristics of social organization, and in which slavery permeates all aspects of life. The concept was used by **Frank Tannenbaum** and Elsa Goveia to describe societies in the New World, but it was most precisely defined by the classicist **Moses Finley**. Finley argued that slavery existed in many societies but was basic to the structure of society only in ancient Greece and Rome, Brazil, the West Indies, and the Southern United States. The concept of a slave society is similar to the Marxist notion of a **slave mode of production** in that it stresses a link between the system of production and the culture of the slave society. Other writers have added other societies to the list, in particular, African societies such as the **Sokoto Caliphate**, **Zanzibar**, and the **Futa Jallon**, which had slave majorities and were totally dependent on slave labor.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY; ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY.

SLAVE TRADE. Many slave-owning societies could not find slaves close to home. Others felt that slaves close to home were of limited value because they could easily escape and return home. Muslims and Christians were forbidden to enslave their own co-religionists. For all of these reasons, slave users sought slaves from far away. Slaves thus had to be moved. This was particularly true where slave-owning societies became **slave societies**, that is to say, societies dependent on slave labor for much of their production. These were usually expanding societies with a hunger for slave labor. In these societies, specialized merchants emerged, and so did slave producers and militarized states that systematically raided their neighbors for slaves. The merchants connected the slavers and the slave users.

There were many ancient trade routes. The Egyptians got slaves from the shores of the Red Sea in what is now the Sudan, but the most long-lived routes are probably those from eastern Europe and the Black Sea regions down to ancient Greece and the Mediterranean. That trade continued during Roman times and later supplied Byzantium and the Arab world. During the Middle Ages, the **Vikings** developed a trade route down the Dnieper River into the Black Sea. The Vikings also carried Irish and English slaves to **Scandinavia**. Other medieval traders carried slaves overland from eastern Europe down to the Mediterranean.

By the 15th century, Africa replaced the Slavic regions of eastern Europe as the most important source of slaves, and since that time, Africa has been the most systematically and brutally enslaved part of the world. Slave trade routes developed early across the Sahara and by water from the Horn of Africa. Slaves from West and **Central Africa** were brought first in the 15th century to Portugal and the Mediterranean, then to the Atlantic islands, and finally during the 16th century to the Americas. The **Middle Passage** saw the export of more than 12 million slaves from Africa. Other trade routes took African slaves by water to the Persian Gulf, to India, and to the islands of the **Indian Ocean**. There were also overland routes in the United States where the opening up of cotton lands in Alabama and Mississippi during the early 19th century led to a massive movement from the Chesapeake Bay states, which had more slave labor than they wanted. Similarly, the development of mining in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais led to a movement of slaves from the sugar-producing areas of northeastern Brazil. In Southeast Asia, there was a sea trade supplied by pirates in the **Sulu Sultanate** who raided coastal areas and sold slaves to Chinese and European entrepreneurs.

These slave trades were large businesses. Merchants depended on credit and had to carry merchandise that slave producers were interested in. Their biggest problem, however, was moving the slaves, an act that was all the more difficult because slaves had to be coerced and had to be kept alive. Slaves were often in poor health and were always hostile. Often they suffered a despair so deep they wanted to die. The overland trade generally involved slaves being walked long distances, usually chained, and carefully watched so they did not escape. Traders had to be careful to have sources of food. The sea trade, especially across the Atlantic, was in some ways even harsher. Boats were often overcrowded. Male slaves were often kept in chains to prevent both revolt and suicide. Feeding the slaves, giving them exercise, and getting rid of the vomit and human waste were problems. Slave ships could usually be detected from afar by their smell. For the slaves, it was the most traumatic part of the long bitter voyage into slavery.

At the end of all trade routes, or at key points where one route joined another and slaves could be displayed and sold, there were slave markets. Sometimes slaves arrived in such ill health that they needed a period of

recuperation if they were to be sold at a profitable price. They were generally examined to make sure they had no diseases, much as animals would be. The treatment the slave received while being traded and sold was generally the most impersonal and dehumanizing aspect of any slave system.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; EAST EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE; RUSSIAN SLAVERY.

SLAVERY CONVENTION (1926). The Slavery Convention was approved by the **League of Nations** in 1926. Though toothless, it was the first international convention against slavery. In it, signatory nations agreed to work to end slavery, which was defined as the “status and condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.” It also prohibited “the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery.” The convention did not actually abolish slavery, and it had no provisions for enforcement. Though the treaty bound all nations to work for the eventual end of slavery, it set no date for this to be done. It did, however, require each signatory to submit laws and regulations involving slavery to the League. It also condemned forced labor, which was widely used by colonial regimes. In 1953, the convention was approved by the **United Nations**. It was extended by the United Slavery Convention of 1956.

SLAVS. The Slavic peoples, who inhabit most of eastern Europe, were from the decline of the Roman Empire until the 15th century the major source of slaves for various societies of the Middle East and the Mediterranean and for the nomads of the Asian steppes. Slavs so dominated the slave trade that the word “Slav” became the basis of the word for *slave* in most languages of the area, replacing the Latin *servus*, which came to mean “serf.” In Arabic, it is *sakaliba*. In French it is *esclave*, in Italian *schiaivo*, in Spanish *esclavo*, in Portuguese *escravo*, and in German *sklave*. Many slaves from eastern Europe rose to high office as slave officials in Byzantium and in the Ottoman Empire. Others became soldiers, workers, and artisans. Many Slavic women became **concubines**.

Nomads from Central Asia regularly raided Slavic areas for slaves until states developed. **Vikings** developed a trade route down the Dnieper River to the Black Sea. Along the way, they bought slaves from chiefs, who used the slave trade to develop their political authority much as was later done in Africa. They sold these slaves as well as furs and wax to Byzantium, where many of the slaves were used as soldiers or palace slaves. During the ninth and tenth centuries, there was also an important overland route from Bohemia and Poland to Spain and southern France. There were also overland routes through Serbia to Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast, which supplied

Venice with slaves. The **Mongol** and **Ottoman** empires also raided regularly into Slavic areas. Many of the boys recruited as **Janissaries** were collected by the *devshirme*, a levy of Christian children in Slavic provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Slave raiding was gradually restrained by the growth of powerful states in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia capable of protecting their subjects. Enslavement persisted on a smaller scale in frontier areas into the 18th century. The conquest of the Tartar Crimean Khanate by Russia in the 18th century finally ended the victimization of Slavic peoples.

See also SCANDINAVIA; EAST EUROPEAN SLAVE TRADE; RUSSIAN SLAVERY.

SMALLS, ROBERT (1839–1915). Born a slave, Robert Smalls became one of the heroes of the struggle of American slaves for freedom and eventually served in the U.S. Congress. Smalls was brought to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1851 by his master, who hired him out for different kinds of work. Smalls became an adept ship pilot, and when the **Civil War** began, he became a crew member on a Confederate transport ship. On 13 May 1862, while white members of the crew were on shore, Smalls smuggled his family and a number of other slaves on board, and with the help of other slave crewmen, he sailed the ship out of the harbor to join the Union navy, which was blockading the coast. He became a pilot in the Union navy and eventually rose to the rank of captain, the only African-American to hold that rank.

After the war, Smalls was one of the African-Americans who took advantage of the opportunities offered by **Reconstruction**. He was elected first to the South Carolina House of Representatives, then the state senate, and finally in 1874 to the U.S. Congress, where he served for 10 years and was an advocate for freed slaves, health care, and public education. After his political career ended, he became collector of customs at Beaufort, South Carolina.

SMITH, ADAM (1723–1790). Adam Smith was a Scottish philosopher and one of the founders of modern economics. Though slavery was not a central concern for him, he had an influence on anti-slavery thought. He first criticized slavery in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), in which he suggested that enslavement subjected decent human beings to hegemony of the most corrupt elements of society. Smith's most important work was his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), which criticized the intervention of the state into the economy and extolled the virtues of wage labor and of a free-market economy. In it he argued that free labor was more productive than slave labor because free men had more motivation to work hard. He also argued that where slavery was important, slave masters had little incentive to modernize because that would reduce the

value of their slaves. Smith's belief in the greater productivity of market economies was very influential during the 19th century. His argument that free labor was more productive than slave labor was important in winning broad support to the anti-slavery cause.

See also CAPITALISM; ENLIGHTENMENT.

SMITH, GERRIT (1797–1874). Born in western New York, Gerrit Smith was the heir to a large fortune, much of which he spent as a philanthropist and a reformer. He was an evangelical Christian, a supporter of temperance and schools for the poor. He was at first a supporter of the **African Colonization Society**, but by 1837, he could no longer reconcile support for abolition and for the movement to send black people back to Africa. He became a supporter of immediate abolition and for the rest of his life devoted himself not only to the cause of abolition, but to the cause of racial equality. In 1840 he helped found the **Liberty Party** and in 1852 was elected to Congress, but he soon resigned out of disgust with the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**. In 1846, he gave 3,000 poor blacks land in the Adirondack Mountains so that they could become self-sufficient. He also abandoned his earlier commitment to non-violence. In 1851, he helped plan and carry out the liberation of a fugitive slave in the hands of federal marshals. He also supported the use of violence by **John Brown** in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry. He was a supporter of Abraham Lincoln, and though he became more conservative after the failure of the Harper's Ferry raid, he remained until his death a supporter of gender and racial equality.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

SMITH, JAMES McCUNE (1813–1865). Born a slave in New York, Smith was freed in 1827 when the state of New York freed its remaining slaves. He was already a student at an African-American school. Though he graduated with honors, he was unable to get into an American medical school. With the help of a black minister, Peter Williams Jr., he went to the University of Glasgow, where he earned a B.A., an M.A., and an M.D. He returned to the United States in 1837 as the first professionally trained African-American physician. He set up a medical practice as a physician and surgeon and also immediately joined the American Anti-Slavery Society.

In the mid-1840s, he broke with **William Lloyd Garrison's** policy of not voting and became an advocate of using the political process. He joined the **Liberty Party** and became a friend and collaborator of its leader, **Gerrit Smith**. He fought for black suffrage in New York, where African-Americans did not have the vote. He supported immediate and total abolition, unrestricted suffrage for both men and women, and land reform. He wrote widely on these various causes and used his medical knowledge to attack the in-

creasingly widespread scientific racism. He argued for self-help and for the development of African-American education. He attacked efforts to encourage emigration to Liberia or Haiti and urged African-Americans to struggle for full equality in the United States.

See also RACE AND SLAVERY.

SMITH, VENTURE (1729–1805). Enslaved as a child in Guinea, Venture Smith eventually freed himself and wrote his autobiography. He was captured by slavers who killed his father in 1737, sold him for four gallons of rum and a piece of calico, and transported to him America. He ended up in Connecticut. His master allowed him to hire himself out and earn extra money. After many years in slavery, he was able to purchase his freedom, and then over a number of years, his wife, his two sons, and a daughter. A frugal man, he eventually had his own farm and owned several slaves. In 1798, he published *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa, but Resident above Sixty Years in the United States of America*. It described both his enslavement and his life in the United States. When he died, he left to his heirs a 100-acre farm and three houses.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE. *See* ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was organized by the Anglican Church in 1701 to evangelize in England's colonial domains. Major missions were sent to the American colonies. The Society owned slaves, who were taught reading and religion, and encouraged slave owners to do likewise. Most slave owners feared the effect of religious instruction; in particular, they feared that literacy would lead to disobedience. Many colonies made it illegal to teach a slave to read. Some slave owners did allow religious education in spite of the opposition of the Anglican Church to abolition. The Society experienced only limited success.

See also CHRISTIANITY.

SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF BLACKS (SOCIÉTÉ DES AMIS DES NOIRS). The Société des Amis des Noirs was the major French abolition organization during the **French Revolution**. Founded in 1788, it included the Marquis de **Condorcet**, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Abbé **Henri Grégoire**. It advocated an immediate end to the slave trade and gradual emancipation of slaves. An elite organization, it lacked the ability to mobilize sentiment that their English counterparts had because of their roots in the

Protestant churches. The Society was responsible for many anti-slavery grievances being submitted to the National Assembly and played a major role in encouraging discontent in **Saint-Domingue** and other slave colonies. Many of the leaders of the Amis des Noirs were members of the moderate Republican Gironde faction and were eliminated by Maximilien Robespierre during the Reign of Terror.

See also ENLIGHTENMENT.

SOKOTO CALIPHATE. The Sokoto Caliphate in northern Nigeria was the most powerful state to come out of a series of Muslim religious revolutions that took place in West Africa during the 18th and 19th centuries. Led by Usman dan Fodio, the Muslim forces overthrew the Hausa states between 1804 and 1810 in a **jihad**, or religious war, and took over what was already a productive urban civilization. The success of the jihad was that it created a large, stable, and populous area within which there was substantial economic growth. It was probably the wealthiest and most powerful state in sub-Saharan Africa. The cities of the Sokoto Caliphate were major producers of leather and cloth goods and the foci of important trade routes.

War brought back to the caliphate large numbers of slaves, who, as the century went on, were easily absorbed within the caliphate's labor market. The most important use of slaves was in large agricultural estates controlled by merchants and members of the new Muslim aristocracy. The slave population at the end of the century may have been as high as 2.5 million. Palace slaves played an important role in running the highly developed bureaucratic system. Though the founders were critical of luxury and conspicuous consumption, many female slaves were absorbed into large and comfortable harems. In 1903, the caliphate was defeated by British forces under **Frederick Lugard**, who took a gradual emancipation approach to slavery, which protected the power of the aristocracy.

See also ISLAM; WEST AFRICA.

SOLON (c. 620–560 BCE). Solon was the Athenian lawgiver who created the constitution that was the basis of Athenian democracy. His reforms also made Athens a **slave society**. In early fifth century Athens, there was a great deal of social unrest. Wealthy persons were accumulating land, and the poor were increasingly being enslaved because of debts. When Solon became archon, he canceled all debts and prohibited debt slavery. He is supposed to have returned land to the dispossessed and redeemed those sold into slavery elsewhere. He also granted citizenship to all Athenians. Solon's reforms made Athens democratic but forced Athenian landowners and merchants to seek labor elsewhere. The stability created led to a period of growth and a large-scale import of slaves from elsewhere. The poorer citizens worked in

the Athenian navy, which established Athenian hegemony over a large area. Thus, Solon's reforms resolved tensions within the Athenian population but led to Athens becoming a slave society.

See also ANCIENT GREEK SLAVERY.

SOMERSET V. STEWART (1772). James Somerset was the subject of the law case that freed slaves in England. A slave born in Africa, he had been brought to England from North America by his master, Charles Stewart. In 1771, he ran away from his master but was subsequently captured and put on board a ship destined for Jamaica, where he was to be sold. The abolitionist **Granville Sharp** was then looking for a case that could test whether a person could be held in slavery on English soil. Somerset's friends alerted Sharp, who brought a petition for habeas corpus. The courts had up to that point avoided making a decision on whether a person could be held as property in England, but both sides pushed hard in the Somerset case, Stewart's side for the right of property and Sharp's for the position that persons could not be property. The chief justice of the Court of King's Bench, Lord Mansfield, avoided the larger question of whether a person could be a slave in England but held that a slave could not be forced by his master to leave England. It reversed a 1729 decision that slaves could be returned to their masters and removed from the country. The decision did not completely end slavery in England, but it did make it difficult for masters to maintain their authority over slaves brought to England.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; LAW OF SLAVERY.

SONTHONAX, LÉGER-FELICITÉ (1763–1813). Léger Sonthonax was a member of the Jacobin Party during the **French Revolution** and an anti-slavery activist who was sent to Saint-Domingue in 1793 to restore peace early in the **Haitian Revolution**. A revolt of free men of color had been put down, but slave rebels held most of the northern part of the colony. He allied himself to the free men of color but also, on 29 August 1793, granted freedom to the slave insurgents. He did so because war had broken out between revolutionary France and England. He believed that he needed the support of the insurgents to resist an English or Spanish occupation. The insurgents, however, did not trust him until his decision was ratified in 1794 by the French National Convention. The white planters were monarchist and eager for English intervention, and the free men of color were divided because while they wanted recognition as citizens, they did not want their slaves freed. Sonthonax was called back to France to explain himself. When he returned to Saint-Domingue in 1796, the insurgents feared that he had come to restore slavery. Their leader, **Toussaint L'Ouverture**, forced him to flee the country. His moment in history had passed.

SOUTH AFRICAN SLAVERY. Slaves were part of the original settlement built by the Dutch East India Company at Capetown in 1652 to supply ships on the five-month voyage between Java and the Netherlands. Slavery remained important to the colony. In order to have supplies, the company authorized settlers to develop farms near Capetown to provide meat, grain, and wine for the company's ships. Slaves were imported from Indonesia, India, Madagascar, and East Africa to provide labor. The population of the Cape Colony had a slave majority from early in its history up to the British abolition of slavery in 1833. At the end, there were about 36,000 slaves.

These slaves were divided into three groups. In Capetown itself, slaves were mostly artisans and casual workers, though females owned by the company also provided sexual services for sailors temporarily in port. These slaves were the best off, especially the skilled craftsmen from Asia. Immigrants from Asia also brought **Islam** with them. In the area around Capetown, there was an intensively farmed area that produced grain and wine for sale to the ships. This area depended heavily on slave labor. On the frontier, there were very few slaves. The frontier farmers were poorer and depended for labor on the local Khoisan, whom they eventually reduced to a servile dependency. They were generally referred to as servants, but the difference was merely terminology. Slaves in these areas were very isolated and often harshly treated. Rural South Africa had a problem with flight of slaves to the frontier and to mountainous areas.

Slaves were not allowed to marry, and those who cohabited could be separated from spouses and children. Slaves had to carry passes and were subject to harsh punishments. Rebellion was difficult because slaves lived in small units and often far apart, but flight was common. There was a male majority among both the settlers and the slaves, which led to a competition for women. It also meant that the easiest road out of slavery for a woman was to marry a free male, preferably a white man. The offspring of these relationships and the descendants of Khoisan servants eventually came to be seen as a third racial group, the **Cape Coloured**. Many slaves were owned by the company and housed in a Slave Lodge in the heart of Capetown. The company's male slaves built many of the public works. In 1806, Capetown was taken over by the British, and in 1833 the British abolition of slavery applied to the Cape colony.

See also DUTCH SLAVE TRADE.

SOUTHWEST BORDERLANDS. When Francisco Coronado moved into New Mexico in 1540, he was taking New Spain (Mexico) into an area of dry plains, mesas, and canyons that was to remain for more than three centuries a borderland between Spaniards, Mexicans, various Amerindian communities, and eventually Americans. Late in the 16th century, military adventurers, Catholic missionaries, and Mexican settlers started moving into the area.

They brought with them horses, sheep, and European diseases. These revolutionized life in canyons, mesas, and prairies from West Texas to California. Sheep were particularly valuable to nomadic hunter-gatherers.

Horses, which escaped from Spanish settlements, multiplied on the prairies and made possible an expansion of buffalo hunting and raiding. The Apache and Navajo took quickly to the horse, but the most important were the **Comanches**, who dominated a large part of what is now Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Colorado. Superb horsemen, they often destroyed missions, defeated Spanish military units, and later held their own against the first American settlers. They raided for horses, sheep, and slaves. The Spaniards also raided for slaves as did the Apaches and other Amerindian nations. There were people who were enslaved, raised in an adoptive culture, and then reenslaved. Many of these slaves became valuable as translators and interpreters. They did a lot of menial labor such as the processing of hides, herding of sheep, and domestic labor. Most of the Mexican and American women taken captive also became wives and integrated themselves into their adoptive society.

Around the Spanish settlements, there were communities of slaves and former slaves called *genizaros*, who were settled at the edge of these settlements and served as a buffer against enemies. When not at war, the different communities traded. The Comanches often sold the Spanish slaves and buffalo hides. The Spanish skirted the ban on enslaving Amerindians by placing Amerindian slaves under the protection of a Spanish family. Many were able to earn their freedom, and some became artisans or landowners. At the same time, living on the edge of a settlement made them vulnerable to raiders. The abolition of slavery in 1829 and the grant of citizenship by newly independent Mexico did not end the raiding or the use of slaves. Slavery continued to exist after American occupation, as did **peonage**; but the **Thirteenth Amendment** abolished slavery, and peonage was prohibited in 1867.

See also AMERINDIAN SLAVERY.

SPARTACUS (?–71 BCE). The late Roman republic saw three great slave revolts, all based in southern Italy. The probable root of these revolts was that Roman armies were accumulating slaves in large numbers. Over a million slaves were introduced to Italy over a short period of time, and many were placed on large farms in Sicily and southern Italy, where there were thus, for many years, large numbers of the recently enslaved. These were always the people most likely to rebel. Furthermore, they were gathered in large plantation communities. The first two slave revolts took place in Sicily in 136–132 BCE and 104–100 BCE, but the most successful was led by Spartacus. It took place in Italy, was led by gladiators, and threatened Rome itself.

Spartacus was a slave from Greece who was being trained to be a gladiator. In the summer of 73 BCE, Spartacus and about 70 followers broke out and set up camp at the base of Mount Vesuvius. They may have intended to form a Maroon community, but they quickly gathered a force of about 90,000, a force so large that they had little choice but to fight. Three armies sent against Spartacus from Rome were defeated, and their supplies and symbols of authority were seized. Spartacus proved himself brave and an able military strategist. In the course of these victories, Spartacus marched to the north of Italy and could have left Italy, but it would have been unsafe for his army to disperse and return to their previous homes. They would simply have been hunted down. As a result, they turned back south, where they had to face two large Roman armies. In the winter of 71 BCE, Spartacus was finally defeated and killed. Six thousand of his soldiers were crucified along the road to Rome.

See also ANCIENT ROMAN SLAVERY; SLAVE REVOLTS.

SRI LANKA. Strategically located near the southern tip of India, Sri Lanka (then known as Ceylon) was a crucial part of the Portuguese (1505–1656), Dutch (1656–1796), and British empires (1796–1947). Slavery and the slave trade, however, had existed before the Europeans arrived. People were enslaved as a result of debt, sale by poor parents, as compensation for a crime, or as a result of certain sexual offenses. Slaves were also imported from India and East Africa, often for military service. Many of the slaves were destined for the royal and aristocratic courts. The Europeans plugged into and expanded these networks. The Portuguese had large numbers of both male and female slaves. Their sexual partners were slaves, as were most of their laborers. They also imported African male slaves as soldiers. The Dutch expanded the slave trade. One scholar has estimated that the Dutch **Indian Ocean** slave trade was somewhere between 15 and 30 percent of the Atlantic trade. Sri Lanka and Java were the focal points of several trade networks. There was a slave trade from the eastern islands of Indonesia and then further to Sri Lanka and the Cape Colony. There was a trade from Bengal and the Coromandel coast of southeastern India into Sri Lanka, and then from Sri Lanka to both Batavia in Java and the Cape Colony. Sri Lanka and Bengal were a source of many of the skilled artisans of the Cape. They were also a source of women, both slave and free, with whom the Dutch in Indonesia formed families.

When the British took over the island in 1796, slaves were a source of both domestic and agricultural labor, but many governors believed that slavery was ending. Soon after occupation, they abolished the slave trade from India and began to compile registers of slaves to facilitate gradual emancipation. Government slaves were converted to indentured laborers, and some groups were freed. Some colonial governors resisted directives from the Colonial

Office, but in 1844 slavery was abolished. Sri Lanka continued to depend for labor on other forms of coerced labor, forced labor, and indenture. This was particularly true of the expanding plantation sector.

See also DUTCH SLAVE TRADE; PORTUGAL IN AFRICA; SOUTH AFRICAN SLAVERY.

STAMPP, KENNETH (1912–2009). Kenneth Stamppp was the author of *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (1956). This book was a rethinking of much American historiography on slavery and opened up a great outpouring of revisionist historiography on the subject. In the 90 years after the American Civil War, there was a tendency for American historians to present an idealized and sometimes racist picture of slavery. This tendency found its most sophisticated expression in the work of **Ulrich Bonnell Phillips**, who pictured slavery as a benevolent institution in which planters served as tutors to “uncivilized” Africans. Writing at a time when the civil rights movement was just beginning and Americans were rethinking ideas of race and the history of race relations, Stamppp denied Phillips’s image of slavery as a paternalistic institution. He describes it as harsh, dehumanizing, and profitable and argues that slaves perceived it as such. For Stamppp, slavery was based on rigid discipline and demanded total submission by slaves to the will of their masters, which was often enforced by brutal punishments. Stamppp also argues that slaves were a “troublesome property,” who resisted the authority of their masters in many ways. Stamppp’s argument that slavery was both profitable and morally indefensible has remained a consistent theme of subsequent historical scholarship.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

STATE V. MANN (1829). *State v. Mann* was a case that illustrated the magnitude of the power of a master over a slave. It involved a slave named Lydia who had been rented to John Mann. When Lydia ran away to avoid a whipping, Mann shot her. Lydia’s owner could have sued for damages to her property, but instead she filed charges of assault and battery. Mann was convicted in the lower court, but on appeal, Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin of the North Carolina Supreme Court held that Mann, as a renter, had all the rights of a slave owner. This meant that he could punish a slave in any way he wished short of killing her. He explained that “the power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect.” The power of the master could in no way be brought into question. Furthermore, the slave had to be made aware of that power.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); LAW OF SLAVERY.

STEWART, MARIA MILLER (1803–1879). Maria Stewart was a black female abolitionist author and lecturer. Born free in Hartford, Connecticut, Stewart was raised as a servant in a clergyman's house and went to work as a domestic servant at 15. Though she had no formal education, she had clearly been exposed to learning in the clergyman's home and at church. A born-again Christian, she believed that Christians had an obligation to oppose all forms of injustice. Her first tract, *Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality* (1831), was printed by **William Lloyd Garrison**, and soon afterward, she began speaking in public. She was one of the first women to speak in public. She denounced slavery and claimed for African-Americans the right to fully participate in American political life. She wanted the African-American community to be more self-reliant and to develop its own institutions. She also denounced racism and racial discrimination in the North even more than she attacked slavery. Because of personal attacks from those who felt women should not speak publicly, she stopped her public speaking in 1833, but for much of the rest of her life she taught school in New York, Baltimore, and Washington. During the last years of her life, she was the matron of Washington's Freedman's Hospital, which served ill and destitute former slaves.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

STILL, WILLIAM (1821–1902). William Still was an African-American abolitionist who was a key figure in the **Underground Railroad**. Born free, Still was the son of a mother who had fled slavery and a father who had purchased his freedom. In 1847 he joined the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and several years later he became the head of its Vigilance Committee. In that capacity, he assisted more than 800 fugitive slaves moving through Philadelphia. One of those he helped was his own brother, who had been left behind when his mother ran away. In 1855, Still visited Canada to talk to former slaves who had fled there. On his return, he described their success in answer to those who claimed that African-Americans could not survive freedom. During Still's years with the Vigilance Committee, he interviewed many fleeing slaves about their experiences in slavery and their escapes. His notes became useful when he published *The Underground Railroad* in 1872. This was an account that placed as much stress on the ingenuity and heroism of the fugitives as on the white abolitionists who helped them. It served as a corrective to the accounts of many white abolitionists.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

STONE, LUCY (1818–1893). Lucy Stone was a major figure in the struggles both against slavery and for women's rights. Though from Massachusetts, Stone studied at Oberlin College in Ohio, a center of the moderate anti-Garrisonian wing of the abolition movement. In spite of this, she became a

Garrisonian, and after graduation she became a lecturer for the **American Anti-Slavery Society**. A very effective orator, she sometimes faced the criticism of male abolitionists unhappy with her mixing of the causes of slaves and women. In 1863, she joined Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in founding the Women's National Loyal League to campaign for a **Thirteenth Amendment** to the U.S. Constitution to guarantee the freedom of slaves. She became its president and after the war helped form the American Equal Rights Association to campaign for the **Fourteenth** and later the Fifteenth Amendments. She devoted most of the rest of her life to the struggle for women's rights.

See also GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD (1805–1879).

STONO REBELLION (1739). The Stono Rebellion was one of the most important revolts against slavery in Britain's American colonies. In September 1739, a group of slaves working on a road repair crew broke into a general store, killing two persons and seizing weapons. Then, shouting "Liberty" and beating drums, they headed toward Florida, led by a slave named Jemmy. In Florida, the Spanish were then freeing the slaves of their British enemies. As the fugitives marched, they burned plantations, killed more than 20 whites, and added slave recruits. Before they reached their destination, they were attacked by a white posse, who killed or hanged 44 of them, placing their heads on posts along the road.

The Stono Rebellion aroused great fear in South Carolina, where blacks outnumbered whites by almost two to one. The import of slaves was temporarily suspended, a very rigid **slave code** was introduced, and patrols were introduced to control the movement of slaves. Many of the slaves involved were from Angola, which led to the reduction of imports from Angola.

See also SLAVE REVOLTS.

STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER (1811–1896). Harriet Beecher Stowe was the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), a powerful anti-slavery novel. The daughter of Lyman Beecher, an important clergyman, she married Calvin Stowe, a biblical scholar. She lived an itinerant life, moving from place to place, first with her father and then with her husband. While living in Cincinnati as a young woman, Stowe first confronted the reality of slavery. She visited a plantation in Kentucky and met slaves who had fled across the Ohio River to freedom. She also began to write, and after the passage of the **Fugitive Slave Law** (1850), she turned to writing an anti-slavery novel. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* captured the imagination of the reading public as no other anti-slavery literature had done. It described the experiences of a slave

family. While several members of the family escaped to Canada, Uncle Tom was sold downriver to Louisiana, where he was oppressed by Simon Legree and eventually beaten to death.

Uncle Tom's Cabin was important in that it vividly depicted the horrors of slavery and presented black slaves as sympathetic and heroic individuals. The book was translated into 37 languages and is estimated to have sold 3 million copies in the United States alone. It was also a bestseller in Europe. It created such intense feelings both in the North and the South that **Abraham Lincoln** is reported to have greeted her with "So you are the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war." In response to criticism by Southerners that she misrepresented Southern slavery, Stowe published *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1853. It was a collection of documents describing the evils of slavery. In 1856, she published another anti-slavery novel, *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*. About an unsuccessful attempt at slave rebellion, it had none of the impact of the earlier novel. Though Stowe did more than any other person to win the Northern middle classes to the cause of abolition, she was never active in the abolition movement.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

STURGE, JOSEPH (1793–1859). Joseph Sturge was a **Quaker** philanthropist and social activist. The son of a prosperous farmer, he early became a successful corn merchant. In 1826, he became the secretary of the Birmingham anti-slavery association. He became part of the more radical wing of the abolition movement and opposed the idea of **apprenticeship** for freed slaves. Convinced that an unpaid apprenticeship was merely an extension of slavery, he took a six-month trip to the West Indies in 1837. The account of this trip was published as *The West Indies in 1837* (1837). It documented ill treatment of the supposedly freed slaves and helped persuade Parliament to end the apprenticeship stage created by the Abolition Act of 1833. He also publicized laws passed by colonial assemblies in the West Indies, which limited the freedom of ex-slaves or imposed harsh penalties on them.

Although the abolitionists had achieved their major goal in 1833, many were convinced that the struggle would not be over until slavery no longer existed anywhere. In 1839, they organized the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This was to remain the major British anti-slavery organization. Sturge was the dominant figure of this organization into the 1850s. He was also active throughout his life in the education of freed slaves, temperance, peace, and community betterment.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; ANTI-SLAVERY INTERNATIONAL (ASI).

SUDAN, WEST AND CENTRAL. The Sudan is the strip of savanna that stretches across Africa south of the Sahara from the Atlantic to the Nile River. It is marked by open grassland and populated by both nomads and farmers. This led to its being a major area of state formation. In the **Nilotic Sudan**, the river provided a route through the **Sahara** and a gateway to sub-Saharan Africa. It also provided cultural, religious, and economic links between Egypt and the Sudan. Further west, relations between Sudanic and Mediterranean societies developed only after the introduction of horses in the first millennium BCE and then camels into the Sahara early in the Common Era. With the development of nomadic societies, a complex relationship evolved between the nomads and agriculturalists in which warfare and trade alternated. The camel facilitated trade between the Sudan and North Africa in gold, slaves, leather, and salt. This in turn contributed to the development of a series of centralized states: Ghana, Mali, and then Songhai in the west, and Kanem, Bornu, Bagirmi, Wadai, and the Hausa states in the central Sudan. All were involved in raiding into the more populous southern Sudan to produce slaves, which could be exchanged for products of North Africa and the Middle East. All also used slaves as soldiers and officials and exploited slave labor for agricultural production. The open grassland of the Sudan facilitated the movement of armies and peoples, the use of cavalry, and the development of large states. **Islam** also came into the Sudan on the trans-Saharan trade routes, providing ideas about political organization and a model of slave law.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; JIHAD; WEST AFRICA.

SUGAR. More than any other crop, it was sugar that created a demand for slaves on the Atlantic islands and in the Americas. It was sugar that most slaves produced. And it was sugar that produced the harshest regime and the highest **mortality** of any slave-produced crop.

The Crusades led to Europeans discovering cane sugar, which was being grown by Arabs. At the time, the only sweetener in the European diet was honey. Entrepreneurs from Venice and Genoa started growing sugar on Crete and Cyprus. In the subsequent centuries, as Europe grew more prosperous, the European demand for sugar also increased. It was useful in producing cakes and candies, but also in sweetening other imports from the non-Western world: tea, coffee, and chocolate. Sugar was from early on a **plantation** crop because of the necessity of rapid processing. As the market grew, the planters developed better technology and more efficient methods of estate management, and European navigators discovered tropical areas capable of producing sugar. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Genoan capital developed sugar plantations on Madeira, **São Tomé**, and other Atlantic islands. Madeira was the world's largest sugar producer in the early 16th century, São Tomé

by the end of the century, and Brazil in the early 17th century. In the mid-17th century, the Dutch, British, and French opened up sugar production in the West Indies.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, European mercantilist ideology stressed the accumulation of silver and gold. Sugar was an ideal crop for that. It could not be grown competitively anywhere in Europe, but the market was large and growing as Europeans added tea, coffee, and chocolate to their diets. European nations were interested in producing sugar to meet domestic demand, and thus to avoid the loss of specie, and to export to nations that lacked tropical colonies. The problem that European entrepreneurs faced was that the areas best suited for sugar were either unpopulated islands like Madeira or were areas like the West Indies where indigenous populations had been decimated by European diseases and harsh labor policies. Workers brought in from Europe as **indentured labor** had a high mortality. European planters soon looked to the African slave trade to meet the demand for labor.

Sugar had another problem. The work was very harsh, and the harvest season was long, sometimes as long as seven months. Furthermore, it was necessary to get the sugar into the presses and the boiling room as soon as possible. The longer it took, the less sugar was extracted from the cane. Sugar planters were trying to make money and were often in debt. They often planted more than they could process. They thus used force and pushed their laborers as hard as possible, sometimes forcing them to work 18- and 24-hour shifts. Men pushed to the limits of human endurance by threats of violence were prone to injury. Many were killed or mangled by the presses. Slaves were often in poor health and were prone to disease. These conditions were not favorable to family life and reproduction. Sugar planters often preferred male slaves, sometimes calculating that it was cheaper to buy a slave than to raise one. Sugar colonies eventually moved to a stable male-female ratio, but in no sugar-producing area did the slave population reproduce itself until after the slave trade ended, and even then, only a few reached a replacement rate. The failure to reproduce meant that sugar colonies were always eager for more labor, sometimes to expand production, but always to replace those who were not fully reproducing themselves.

See also BARBADOS; BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; DEMOGRAPHY OF SLAVERY; DUTCH SLAVE TRADE.

SULU SULTANATE. Based at Jolo on the islands, the Sulu Sultanate was the base of operations for slave-raiding pirates called **Iranun** and Balangingi during the 18th and 19th centuries. Sea-based slave raiding had been important in the area from the 16th century. By the 18th century, the raiding was being done by the relatively autonomous Iranun, who ranged through the island seas of Southeast Asia preying on isolated communities. The Sulu elite put the slaves to work and traded them or the commodities they produced.

The biggest market was China, which wanted sea creatures called *tripang*, bird's nests valuable for Chinese soups, wax, camphor, mother-of-pearl, and tortoiseshell. Slaves were farmed out to communities on the Borneo coast who gathered these products. Slaves were also used to make salt and to grow rice and other agricultural products. Trade goods were brought in by the British country traders from India, who provided the Sulu Sultanate with cloth, opium, guns, and gunpowder.

Slaves were also used by the Sulu elite and were sold to Dutch and Chinese males who wanted concubines and servants. Jolo, the sultanate's capital, was a major market for slaves and for commodities sought by the slaves. The prices received for women were always higher than the prices for men. The number of slaves in Jolo was several times the number of free persons. They included concubines, slave officials, artisans, and peasants. Manumission was common in Sulu, though more for women than for men. The Sulu Sultanate was conquered by the Spanish in the 1870s.

See also CHINESE SLAVERY; INDONESIAN SLAVERY; SLAVE TRADE.

SUMERIANS. The Sumerians emerged in lower Mesopotamia late in the 4th millennium BCE, the first of a series of complex civilizations to dominate the fertile area created by the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. They drained the marshes, developed irrigation systems, and had long-distance trade. They were organized in city-states, each built around a large central temple complex. Slaves were an important part of Sumerian society. A person could become a slave through capture in war, debt, or birth to slave parents. Many of the slaves came from the hilly areas adjacent to the river basins. In fact, the words for slave meant literally "mountain woman" and "mountain men." They were enslaved either by raids into the hills or in conflicts between hill people, who sold their captives. Sumerians, however, also enslaved themselves. Husbands could sell their wives and parents their children.

Male slaves could work in the fields, in artisan workshops, and in skilled jobs, for example, as scribes. Female slaves worked in the field or were house servants or concubines. Slaves could borrow money, own property, and engage in commerce. They could also purchase their freedom or be granted it. Many slaves were owned by temples, where they did maintenance work and were servants to the priests.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; TEMPLE SLAVERY.

SUMNER, CHARLES (1811–1874). For 22 years, Charles Sumner was the most eloquent and uncompromising voice defending slaves and freed persons in the U.S. Senate. After graduating Harvard College and then studying law,

Sumner became a lawyer, but he was primarily concerned with social and political issues. During the 1840s, he opposed the **Mexican-American War**, supported racial integration of the Boston schools, and was a member first of the **Liberty Party**, then of the **Free Soilers**, and finally a Republican. In 1851, he was elected to the U.S. Senate. In 1852, he gave a four-hour speech that marked him as the most resolute anti-slavery voice in Congress.

In May 1856, he gave a speech titled “The Crime against Kansas.” Two days after this, while working at his desk, he was beaten so badly by Preston Brooks, a South Carolina congressman, that he was unable to return to the Senate for three years, but when he did, it was with a speech titled “The Barbarism of Slavery.” During the **Civil War**, he pushed Lincoln to emancipate the slaves, and then to use black troops. After the war, he became one of the architects of the **Reconstruction** policy which imposed the Union army on the South.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT (1854).

SWAHILI. The Swahili are people who live along the coast of East Africa and on nearby islands from northern Mozambique and the Comoro Islands to southern Somalia. They seem to have developed when Bantu-speaking Africans settled along the coast late in the first millennium CE and became involved with the world of the **Indian Ocean**. Their language symbolizes this involvement. It is Bantu in structure with a strong mixture of Arabic, Persian, and English words. Until recently, the Swahili language was rarely spoken in the interior, though Swahili city-states often had links to peoples in their immediate hinterland. They lived traditionally in small cities, which were dominated by merchants, and in coastal villages of farmers and fishermen. The coast has long had links with Arab and Persian traders and has been overwhelmingly Muslim since early in the second millennium. The coast was never united, though linked to the Middle East and India by ships that used the monsoons.

Slavery seems to have been present in the Swahili cities since soon after the emergence of Swahili culture, but in most places there were not large numbers of slaves. Those slaves were sailors, bodyguards, artisans, concubines, and agricultural workers. Those who worked in the fields often worked alongside clients from neighboring African communities. Most Swahili cities were not, however, involved in export agriculture until the 19th century. The coast was, however, involved in a number of slave trades. From the 11th century, slaves were being bought primarily from northwest **Madagascar** by Muslim traders. Most of the traders were probably Swahili, though with some intermixture of Arabs. Between the 16th and 18th century, that trade expanded to between 2,000 and 3,000 a year. The Comoro Islands served as an entrepôt. The slaves were moved to the Lamu archipelago near the Kenya

coast and then to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, where they worked as servants, soldiers, sailors, pearl divers, and concubines. There was also a smaller Portuguese trade, probably several hundred to a thousand a year to Goa and other Portuguese settlements, where they worked as soldiers, sailors, and servants.

In the 18th century, there were three changes. First, there was the development of plantation agriculture on the Mascarene Islands, Réunion, and Mauritius (then called Ile de Bourbon). This created a demand for agricultural slaves and led to a development of slaving in the interior. The Portuguese on Mozambique island and the Swahili in the city of Kilwa were the intermediaries for this trade. Second, the Portuguese were expelled from Muscat in 1650 and from Mombasa in 1698. There was within Oman an expansion of date cultivation and irrigated agriculture, which created a demand for slave labor. A resurgent Oman also established hegemony over much of the Swahili coast from a base in **Zanzibar**. During the 19th century, under **Said Sayyid**, clove plantations were developed on Zanzibar and Pemba, and long-distance trade routes penetrated to the far interior. The slave trade expanded dramatically throughout Eastern and Central Africa largely as a by-product of the demand for slaves on Zanzibar.

From the 1820s, this expansion confronted the determination of Great Britain to end the trade. In 1873, under British pressure, Sultan Barghash abolished the slave trade on Zanzibar. In 1885, Germany claimed the mainland parts of what is now Tanzania. They immediately ended the slave trade and in 1904 proclaimed a law that freed any slave born after 1905. Zanzibar and Pemba became a British protectorate in 1890 and British East Africa (now Kenya) in 1895. Slavery was abolished on Zanzibar in 1897, though in a way that discouraged the freed slaves from leaving the plantations. It was abolished on the coast in 1907 after most of the slaves had left. One effect of the penetration of the interior by the slave trade is that Swahili is now the lingua franca of much of the area involved.

See also EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; INDIAN OCEAN; MAURITIUS AND RÉUNION; MUSCAT AND OMAN.

T

TACKY'S REBELLION (1760–1761). One of the largest slave revolts in Jamaican history, Tacky's rebellion involved primarily Akan slaves, known as Coromantee, from southern Ghana. It began on Easter Sunday, 1760, when a band of 150 slaves led by a slave named Tacky attacked the fort at Port Maria and seized gunpowder and muskets. They then marched south, gathering new recruits as they went.

The rebellion took place at a time when Jamaican sugar cultivation was expanding rapidly. Roughly 120,000 slaves had been imported during the previous 20 years. In addition, Britain was involved in the Seven Years' War with France, which meant that security was not as strong as usual. The rebellion broke out in St. Mary's parish, which had the highest percentage of Akan and the lowest percentage of whites on the island. The rebels wanted to expel all whites and create an independent state. One of the leaders was an African religious specialist called an *obeah* man, who prepared amulets for the rebels. Tacky was captured during the early days of the revolt and was executed. The *obeah* man was captured soon afterward, but the bands dispersed and continued a guerrilla war for many months. The final suppression of the revolt was not announced until October 1761.

Nearly 400 slaves died in the fighting and about a hundred were executed. Another 500 were transported to other colonies. Only about 60 whites and 60 free blacks were killed. The rebellion led to a tightening of security on the island. *Obeah* was forbidden, slave access to weapons was limited, and the right of slaves to hold meetings was limited. Fortifications were also built so the colony would not be so vulnerable.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; SLAVE REVOLTS.

TANEY, ROGER B. (1777–1864). Roger Taney was the chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court whose pro-slavery decisions helped to bring on the **Civil War**. This was in spite of the fact that he had reservations about slavery. Born the son of a Maryland tobacco farmer, he inherited several slaves, whom he freed. Though he was critical of slavery, he did not believe that whites and blacks could live equally in the same society. He was thus a

supporter of repatriation of free slaves to Africa. In 1831 he was appointed attorney general by Andrew Jackson, and in 1836 he became chief justice. Throughout his long career, he was a supporter of state's rights, in particular, believing that only states could act against slavery. He also consistently defended the rights of slave owners to their human property. His most important case involved a slave named **Dred Scott**, who claimed his freedom because his master had taken him into a free state. Taney held that he could not sue because the Constitution did not grant citizenship to blacks. He also argued that Congress did not have the power to make slavery illegal in any of the territories, which nullified the **Missouri Compromise**. In another case, *Ableman v. Booth*, he overruled a Wisconsin court that held the **Fugitive Slave Law** unconstitutional. He insisted that no state authorities could interfere with federal marshals seeking to enforce federal law.

TANNENBAUM, FRANK (1893–1969). Frank Tannenbaum was a professor of history at Columbia University who is best known for a book titled *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (1946). In it, he argued that the creation of new societies in the Americas was as much an African accomplishment as a European one. In particular, he argued that the difference between the United States and Catholic Latin America lay in the assimilation by Latin countries of Roman law and the insistence by the Catholic Church that slaves had a right to the sacraments, most important, the sacrament of marriage. This meant, Tannenbaum argued, that slavery was less harsh and that there was more miscegenation and more manumission. In later work, Tannenbaum again raised the question of miscegenation and the different roles of mulattoes.

Tannenbaum stimulated a lot of research on comparative slave systems. His work was a precursor to the outpouring of research on slavery that developed during the 1950s and 1960s. Many of his ideas have been disproven or amended. Carl Degler argues in *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (1971) that the Catholic Church had too little manpower and depended too much on the planters to effectively limit the harshness of slavery. The Church tried to protect the slave family, but it had limited success.

See also BRAZILIAN SLAVERY; HISPANIC AMERICA; SIETE PARTIDAS.

TAPPAN, ARTHUR (1786–1865) and LEWIS (1788–1873). The Tappan brothers were major figures in the American abolition movement. Born in Massachusetts, both were strongly influenced by their mother's evangelical Christianity. They remained active Christians and uncompromising supporters of abolition and of the rights of African-Americans all their lives. As

young men, the brothers moved to New York, where they prospered in the silk business. They were thus able to support both Christian and abolitionist activities. They gave to missionary activity, to interracial Oberlin College, and to the **American Colonization Society**. In 1830, they left the colonization movement to become supporters of **William Lloyd Garrison**, but they split with Garrison a decade later over his support for the women's rights movement. In 1839, both were involved in the *Amistad* case. They were also involved with the **Liberty Party** and supported its candidate for president, James Birney, in 1844. They underwrote an abolitionist newspaper called the *National Era* and founded the **American Missionary Society**. During the 1850s, Lewis became a key supporter of the **Underground Railroad**.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

TEMPLE SLAVERY. In many societies, slaves were given to temples or to shrines to serve the gods. Temple slaves were particularly important in the civilizations of Mesopotamia, where temples were centers of great wealth and power. They were also common elsewhere in the Middle East, in Greece and Rome, among the Hindu and Buddhist societies of Asia, and at shrines in Africa. Slaves were often given by persons who wanted the gods' favor or by victorious generals who wanted to thank a god for their victories. Abandoned children were often given to temples to be cared for.

Slaves did very different kinds of work. Temples were in many societies wealthy institutions, controlling lands and much economic activity. In cases where the temple controlled land, slaves worked the land. Other slaves assisted priests in running temples, serving as custodians, assisting in sacrifices, or working as clerks and messengers. In Buddhist Burma, for example, there were three groups of slaves: those who maintained the temple and its grounds, those who took care of the libraries and copied sacred texts, and those who served the monks as cooks and servants. In some cases—for example, the temples of Aphrodite in ancient Greece—slaves worked as sacred prostitutes. Among the Igbo of Nigeria, slaves given to shrines were called *osu* and were very much set apart from other social groups. Among the Ewe of Togo and eastern Ghana, there are still girls called *trokosi*, who are given to shrine priests. In many cases, slaves did harsh labor.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; BUDDHISM; HINDUISM; SUMERIANS.

THAI SLAVERY. Slavery is an old institution among the Thai. The earliest written sources, from the 13th century, mention different forms of slavery. Slavery probably resulted from warfare and natural disasters and certainly existed long before our earliest records. Slavery was also widespread. In the 19th century, one European observer suggested that a third of the population

was made up of slaves. The principal reason that slavery was important was that population densities were low. The land was fertile, but there was a lot of it. Wealth and power came not from control of land, but from control of people. Wars were fought not so much to control territory as to control people. Conquered communities were often physically moved to the conqueror's territory and distributed by the king to those who served him. Captives and their descendants were probably the most numerous kind of slave.

Because land had little value, people could only use their persons or those of their dependents as security for loans. Many people became slaves through debt, sometimes because they could not repay loans, sometimes because of gambling debts. War captives were enslaved in communities. Debt slaves were enslaved individually, and in most cases they could redeem themselves by paying their debts. Some people voluntarily put themselves in slavery to have the protection of a powerful man. As a result, homes of the wealthy and powerful were largely staffed by slaves. Government was staffed by slaves. Buddhist monasteries and temples depended on slaves to provide maintenance and to feed the monks. The status of different kinds of slaves was carefully defined by law, which regulated the rights and obligations of slave and master, and by contract. For example, if a female debt slave bore her master's child, the birth of that child canceled her debt.

The conditions that made for slavery gradually changed during the 19th century. Chinese migrants poured into Thailand and hired themselves out for wages. Thailand became a major rice exporter and was increasingly dependent on wage labor. While slave labor was becoming less important, the Thai kings were also anxious to preserve the nation's independence and afraid that Britain or France would use Thai slavery as an excuse for intervening. King Mongkut gradually began to restrict the control men exercised over women. In 1868, he decreed that neither a woman nor her children could be enslaved without her consent. In 1874, King **Chulalongkorn** decreed that the price of slave children born after 1868 would decrease year by year until they were free at age 21. His hope was that they would buy the freedom of their parents. A series of other measures restricted slavery even further until in 1905 slavery was abolished. With little protest, Thailand had gradually done away with slavery.

See also BUDDHISM; DEBT SLAVERY; EMANCIPATION, SOUTH-EAST ASIA.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT. Lincoln's **Emancipation Proclamation** did not end slavery in the United States. Slavery had collapsed in Maryland and had been abolished by Unionist governments in Louisiana and Arkansas and in the new state of West Virginia, but it still existed in Delaware and Kentucky. The definitive abolition came with the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It provided that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servi-

tude, except as a punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction.” It also gave Congress the right to pass appropriate laws to enforce this prohibition. The amendment was passed by Congress after Lincoln’s reelection and was approved by three-fourths of the states in less than a year. By this time, slaves in both rebel and loyal areas had freed themselves, and most states had taken action against slavery.

The amendment was difficult to enforce. Some Southern states ratified it reluctantly but then also passed “**Black Codes**,” which limited the rights of freed slaves to contract, to own property, or to participate in public life. Many forced slaves to continue working for their former masters, effectively perpetuating slavery. Congress responded by passing the **Civil Rights Act of 1866** and the **Fourteenth Amendment**, which made the Black Codes illegal, gave the freed slaves citizenship, and prohibited any act that would deny the freed slaves their rights without due process of law. The Fifteenth Amendment prohibited the denial of voting rights by race, guaranteeing the freed slaves the right to vote.

See also RECONSTRUCTION.

THRALLS. Thralls were slaves in Scandinavia. Most were taken as prisoners in **Viking** raids all over northern and western Europe or were the children of such prisoners. They worked mostly as agricultural laborers, doing the heavy and dirty work. Females ground corn, milked cows, churned butter, and were often taken as concubines. They had few rights. Legally, they were the same as animals. Owners could buy, sell, exchange, or punish thralls as they wished, but thralls could buy their freedom, in which case they remained dependent members of the master’s family. They wore special collars, and their hair was cropped. Thralldom died out during the 13th and 14th centuries.

See also SCANDINAVIA.

TIPPU TIP (c. 1837–1905). Hamed bin Mohammed el-Murjebi, better known as Tippu Tip, was the most powerful of a series of **Swahili** traders who penetrated the Great Lakes and upper Congo region of Central Africa. These traders brought cloth, beads, guns, and other goods into the interior and bought ivory, slaves, and copper. During the late 1850s, Tippu Tip first began trading into Katanga. About 1870, when ivory was becoming scarce, he shifted further north into the Maniema area of the upper Congo and built his capital at Kasongo. Using slave warriors and slave officials, he created a state and gradually extended his trade routes further into the Congo basin and downriver to Stanley Falls. In Maniema, he appointed officials, set up courts, maintained peace, and introduced new crops, using slave labor to produce

food. He was recognized by Sultan Barghash of **Zanzibar** as the governor of the Upper Congo and Maniema. In 1876, Tippu Tip met the British explorer Henry Morton Stanley. When Stanley took service with the Congo Free State being built by King Leopold of the Belgians, Tippu Tip became Leopold's representative at Stanley Falls. By 1889, however, Leopold was convinced that he had to link himself to the anti-slavery movement to win public support for the Congo Free State. Tippu Tip, recognizing that his time was up, returned to Zanzibar in 1891, leaving his Congolese army to resist the Congo Free State by itself. He remained a wealthy planter until his death, controlling at peak 10,000 slaves.

See also BRUSSELS CONFERENCE (1889–1890); EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

TOBACCO. Of all the slave-grown crops in the Americas, tobacco had the lowest mortality and the highest life expectancy. Virginia, the most important tobacco producer, saw its African-American population increasing from natural reproduction as early as the 1720s. By 1775, no more slaves were imported into Virginia. By contrast, no **sugar** colony saw natural population growth until after the abolition of slavery. When **cotton** became the major slave-grown crop in the young United States, slaves were walked from Virginia to the Deep South to meet the need for labor. It was not that slaves on tobacco farms did not work hard. It was that the work regime was less brutal. Skill was more important in the cultivating and curing of tobacco. This meant that an experienced slave had great value. Many of the units of production were small. In the smaller units, slaves worked alongside their masters.

Tobacco was first grown in Virginia and Maryland five years after the colony of Virginia was founded in 1607. It was an American product new to Britain and Europe, but it became popular overnight. By 1670, half of the adult men in England smoked tobacco. Though there were few economies from large units of production, the demand was high and the prices favorable. The easiest way to increase production was to import slaves, though it was also necessary to maintain quality control. After the 1750s, prices began to drop. In the latter part of the century, many planters like George Washington shifted production from tobacco to grain. There was a slave surplus, which influenced many Virginians to consider abolition. That idea passed when the cotton boom created a demand for Virginia's surplus slaves.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.).

TONJON. The *tonjon* were slave warriors in the Bambara kingdoms of **Segou** and Kaarta in what is now western Mali. Actually, the *tonjon* were slaves of the *ton*, the male hunting society that was the nucleus of the state. As the *ton* began imposing itself on surrounding areas, it began incorporating

young males as slaves of the *ton*. They became an elite group of slave warriors who used their horses to raid widely in the savanna and to provide slaves for the French in the Senegal River and the British in the Gambia River. The *tonjon* remained slaves in theory but were powerful enough to make and break rulers.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; MILITARY SLAVES.

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE (1743–1803). Toussaint L'Ouverture was the leader of the largest and most successful slave revolt in history. Born in the French sugar colony of **Saint-Domingue**, Toussaint was the son of a slave imported from the Dahomey area of West Africa. He worked on a plantation, probably as a coachman and stockman, but by 1791, when the revolt broke out, he had been free for many years and grew coffee on a plot of land that he rented. In the beginning, there were several different rebellions. Toussaint joined the slave rebellion and soon became one of its most effective military leaders. He was briefly allied to Spanish forces, which invaded the area, but refused to sell prisoners or non-combatants to the Spaniards. By 1793, the French were forced to abolish slavery. By 1794, Toussaint allied with them and became the most effective general on the island. At this time, he took the name L'Ouverture, "the opening," which suggested a new birth of freedom. With French armies confined to Europe, Toussaint was effectively in charge of Saint-Domingue by 1796. He even seized the Spanish part of the island and negotiated treaties with Britain and the United States.

Toussaint's forces often lacked food, clothing, and ammunition, but he eventually created the most effective fighting force on the island. By 1800 he had defeated his major rival, the mulatto André Rigaud, and a year later the French recognized him as captain general. Many of the island's plantations had passed into the hands of his officers. At this time, Toussaint tried to revive the plantation economy by forcing former slaves to work on plantations in exchange for a share of the produce. Afraid that he would have no revenue to support his army, he used the army to force peasants to work. He encouraged the return of white planters and in 1801 proclaimed a constitution that made him governor general for life. He shied away from declaring the island's independence, but in 1802, Napoleon invaded. The French armies defeated Toussaint and deported him to France, where he died in prison a year later. When it became clear that the French intended to reestablish slavery, his generals carried on the fight, and under the leadership of **Jean-Jacques Dessalines** they expelled the French and founded the state of Haiti.

See also FRENCH REVOLUTION; HAITIAN REVOLUTION.

TROKOSI. Among the Ewe people of Ghana and Togo, the *trokosi* are girls given to shrine priests to serve them and the shrines. The girls are given to the shrines by their families in atonement for the misdeeds of other family members, usually men. They are slaves to the gods, but they serve the priests, doing household labor and providing sexual services. Any children they produce remain servants of the shrine. If a girl dies or runs away, her family must replace her. The system has been outlawed and abolitionist groups have tried to liberate girls and women involved, but it persists in rural areas. There are similar institutions called *vudusi* in Benin and *osu* in eastern Nigeria.

See also TEMPLE SLAVERY.

TRUTH, SOJOURNER (c. 1797–1883). Born a slave in New York, Sojourner Truth became a preacher, abolitionist, and civil rights activist. She left her New York owner in 1826 and took refuge with another white family, who bought her to keep her out of prison. A year later, she was freed under New York's gradual emancipation statute. She then went to court to have her son freed. Soon after, she had a religious conversion, changed her name from Isabella to Sojourner Truth, and became an itinerant preacher. Though illiterate, she was a colorful and witty speaker, who traveled around southern New England campaigning for Christianity, anti-slavery, and women's rights. When the **Civil War** began, she campaigned for the use of black troops, and when the first Michigan Colored Infantry Regiment was organized, she collected food and clothing for them. In 1864, she moved to Washington, where she worked for the **Freedmen's Bureau**, helping to find jobs for former slaves from Virginia and Maryland. She helped desegregate the streetcars in Washington and campaigned for land to be given to freed slaves in the West.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

TUBMAN, HARRIET (c. 1821–1913). Born a slave on the eastern shore of Maryland, Harriet Tubman became one of the heroines of the struggle against slavery. In 1849, she fled a life of hard field labor and headed north. She traveled only at night, following the North Star until she reached Philadelphia. In 1850, she became a conductor on the **Underground Railroad**, the clandestine network of paths and abolitionist sympathizers that helped slaves flee to Canada, where they would be beyond the reach of the **Fugitive Slave Act**. At least 15 times she went back into the South, ushering from 200 to 300 slaves to freedom. Among them were her own parents. Between expeditions, she worked as a cook, using the money she saved for subsequent expeditions. The groups she led usually left on Saturday because Sunday was the slaves' day off and they would not be missed right away. The escapes were always carefully planned. Though there was a price on her head, she

was never caught. Her strength and endurance often inspired her charges to carry on when tired. No one knows exactly how much she did because she remained reticent to talk about her expeditions.

During the American **Civil War**, she went to the South Carolina coast, where she worked among recently freed slaves and occasionally served the Union army as a scout or spy. A deeply religious Christian, she remained an activist after the war was over. She helped to set up schools for freed slaves and then returned to the home she had purchased in Auburn, New York, where she opened her home to orphans and the elderly indigent.

TUCKER, ST. GEORGE (1752–1857). St. George Tucker was a Virginia jurist and soldier who published a plan for the abolition of slavery. Born in Bermuda, he came to Virginia in 1774 to study law at the College of William and Mary. When the **American Revolution** began, he enlisted in the colonial army and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. After the war, he became a lawyer, a law professor, and then a judge and is best known for his edition of *Blackstone's Commentaries* (1803). Tucker believed that the introduction of slavery into the United States was a tragic error and an anomaly in a nation that had just fought for its liberty. In 1796, after corresponding with other leaders of the time, he wrote *Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It in the State of Virginia*. Tucker proposed a very gradual process that would have taken almost a century. As a judge he proved even more cautious. When presented with an argument that Virginia's constitution abolished slavery when it declared that all men were equal, he disagreed. Slaves had become too valuable a form of property.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

TÚPAC AMARU II (1738–1781). José Gabriel Condorcanqui was a descendant of the last Inca leader to resist the Spanish conquest. He attended a Jesuit school, commanded a district, and was a prosperous businessman. He was, however, disturbed by the treatment of ordinary native people. When he asked the Spanish to end forced labor in the mines, they refused. On 4 November 1780, as Túpac Amaru II, he led a revolt. The rebels executed the regional governor of Tinta, and as other groups rallied around him, he won control of a large area around Lake Titicaca. To win more supporters, he offered to free any slave rallying to his cause. The movement became more radical and more anti-slavery. Eventually, however, the rebels were defeated. Túpac Amaru II was tortured and executed along with other members of his family in Cuzco's main square, but his memory has remained important to radicals in Peru.

See also EMANCIPATION, HISPANIC AMERICA; SLAVE REVOLTS.

TURE, SAMORI (c. 1830–1900). Samori Ture was a state builder in late 19th-century Guinea and the most effective opponent of colonial conquest in West Africa. Born in a trader family, he early took military service in order to free his mother, who had been taken as a slave. He proved himself a brilliant military leader and in the 1870s began building his own state, tying together many small Mandinka polities. He first clashed with the French in 1883 and realized from the first the importance of French weapons. He was able to use trade routes and commercial contacts to acquire modern rifles from Sierra Leone traders and horses from areas further north. He was operating in an area where there were few commodities he could exchange for his military purchases. Though he had a vision of an economically dynamic state, slaving provided him the guns he needed, many of his soldiers, and the farmers who produced the food his army and court needed. As a result, he was forced to increase his slaving activities. This in turn limited the areas that were loyal to him. He was nevertheless able to fend off the French for 15 years but was finally defeated and captured in 1898.

See also SUDAN, WEST AND CENTRAL.

TURNER, NAT (1800–1831). Nat Turner was the leader of one of the most important slave rebellions in U.S. history. Born a slave in Southampton County, Virginia, Turner was a bright child who taught himself to read and write. His father escaped from slavery, but Nat found himself as a child working for a harsh master. When his master died in 1822, Turner and his wife were sold to separate masters. He began to have visions and started preaching on Sundays. He taught that on Judgment Day, God would raise the slaves above the masters. On 21 August 1831, Turner and six followers entered the home of his master and killed all five members of the family. They then moved from house to house, killing whites and attracting supporters. Within two days, militia units were on the scene and Turner's force had been destroyed.

Turner hid out for two months but was finally captured, tried, and executed. At peak, Turner had between 60 and 80 supporters. They killed almost 60 whites. In the suppression, approximately two dozen of his men were killed in skirmishes or hanged. At least 120 African-Americans were killed by white mobs or by the militia. While in prison, Nat Turner told his story to his lawyer, Thomas Gray, who published them as *Confessions of Nat Turner* (1832). The *Confessions* give an insight into the mind of a slave rebel that has fascinated American thinkers for a century and a half. The most important immediate effect of the rebellion was the tightening of control by the state of Virginia over free blacks and over African-American religion.

See also SLAVE REVOLTS.

U

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. The Underground Railroad was a system of assistance to fugitive slaves seeking freedom in the Northern United States and Canada. It has been the subject of many stories, which have often exaggerated its accomplishments, but it did exist. In both free and slave states, there were individuals willing to help escaped slaves, both free African-Americans and sympathetic whites. Some abolitionists made organizing contacts a specialty. **Levi Coffin** organized a network, first in Newport, Indiana, and then in Cincinnati. **Thomas Garrett** did the same thing in Wilmington, Delaware. Such networks were regional rather than national and usually based in the North.

The passage of the **Fugitive Slave Act of 1850** gave a great stimulus to anti-slavery activity. Abolitionists organized vigilance committees and provided food, housing, transport, and travel instructions to fleeing slaves. After 1850, much of the underground activity was in the North, where the goal was often to get the fleeing slaves to safety in Canada. Vigilance committees also often blocked efforts by slave catchers and federal authorities to return captured slaves to the South. They failed to stop the return of **Anthony Burns** from Boston but succeeded in other cases. Though aiding a slave to run away was illegal, Underground Railroad activists like Levi Coffin operated quite openly in the North. Coffin was never arrested. Those caught aiding run-aways in the South often spent years in prison. When **Henry “Box” Brown** became famous for his ingenious escape from slavery, the white friend who mailed the box was arrested.

Abolitionist accounts of the Underground Railroad talked of “stations” and “conductors” and describe the “passengers” as passive participants in their own escapes. Most slave narratives make clear the ingenuity and courage of fugitives, who either used clever disguises or hid out by day and traveled by night. When they received help, it was often after the most dangerous part of their journey was over. The most remarkable stories involve **Harriet Tubman**, an African-American woman, who went into the South many times, leading over 300 slaves to freedom. Both abolitionist and pro-slavery propaganda made much of the Underground Railroad. For the abolitionists, it

provided heroic and romantic tales, much of it published after the **Civil War**. For Southerners, abolitionist activity was a violation of their right to the protection of their private property. Southern congressmen may have exaggerated the number of escapes and the losses of the Southern planters.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

UNITED NATIONS. Soon after its founding in 1945, the United Nations indicated its intention to continue the work of the **League of Nations** on slavery. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in December 1948, included a provision that “No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.” The following year, the General Assembly asked the secretary general to set up a committee to investigate slavery and the slave trade throughout the world. The United Nations reaffirmed the Slavery Convention of 1926, and in 1956 it adopted the Supplementary Convention on Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery. These institutions include debt bondage, forced marriage, **serfdom**, and the exploitation of **child labor** by persons other than the child’s parents. Many of these institutions have been the subject of subsequent United Nations conventions, and different UN bodies have looked into institutions like forced labor, forced **prostitution**, and **child soldiers**.

During the latter part of the 20th century, globalization has facilitated movements of people and led to increases in human trafficking and an increasing awareness of **contemporary forms of slavery**. Though the UN and its member agencies lack the ability to force member states to act, they have become a central arena in the struggle against **human trafficking**, ritual servitude, prostitution, child labor, and debt bondage. The UN can produce agreements, collect information, publicize problems, and encourage cooperation between countries. Much UN activity has been within its specialized agencies. The most important is the **International Labour Organization**, which produced conventions on forced labor in 1930 and 1957 and in 1999 produced the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention. Since then, child labor has been a central focus of ILO activity. It has campaigned against the exploitation of children in domestic labor and for minimum ages for different kinds of work. An end to debt bondage has also been a central concern. In 2007, the ILO collaborated with other UN agencies like the UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to launch a Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking.

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has focused on slavery in a different way. Since 1994, its Slave Routes Project has drawn attention to the tragic history of slavery and the slave trade in the hope that understanding that past will help the world to avoid repetition of humanitarian disasters. Committees in various member countries have stimu-

lated research on that history and its impact on modern societies. The work of the Slave Routes Project has encouraged efforts to memorialize the slave trade and remember its victims. It has been particularly important in those countries that were victims of the international slave trade. This has led to commemorative activities both within and outside the UN. For example, 2004 was the International Year to Commemorate the Struggle against Slavery and Its Abolition, and 2011 was the International Year for People of African Descent. Every year, 2 December, the International Day for the Abolition of Slavery is the occasion for meetings designed to focus attention on the problem of slavery.

Since 1975, the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery has met annually. It has no powers of enforcement, but it meets publicly and takes evidence from non-governmental organizations. These hearings place pressure on countries that tolerate institutions “similar to slavery.” Probably the most common are those that involve children forced into prostitution or to work in factories producing rugs or other commodities where small fingers are an advantage to the worker. UN agencies also have the ability to collect data. In 2014, for example, the UN Office on Drugs and Crime issued a report on human trafficking based on data collected from 155 countries. According to the report, 79 percent of those trafficked were being moved for purposes of prostitution.

See also BONDED LABOR.

URBAN SLAVERY. Most slaves have been agricultural laborers, but slavery has also been common in cities. Urban slaves were important in the ancient Middle East, in Rome, in the cities of the medieval Mediterranean world, in Spanish America, and in the United States. In the Mediterranean cities of the Middle Ages, slaves were not much used in agriculture except for such specialized kinds as vineyards, but they were many of the servants and some of the artisans. Most of the population of 19th-century African towns and cities was servile. They were the artisans, they manned the boats, and they were the servants of the rich.

Urban slaves have done a wide variety of tasks. Rich households in slave societies have always had many servants and often recruited them from among slaves. Many slave owners in different urban contexts rented their slaves out. The slave would work for a wage and give part of that wage to his or her master. Such slaves often had much more personal freedom than rural slaves and the opportunity to accumulate money. In Capetown, for example, many urban slaves worked on a hire-labor basis. They lived in their own quarters and had a vibrant slave culture centered around **Islam**. By contrast, in rural South Africa, slaves were part of the slave owner’s household and worked under his close supervision. In many areas, slaves had a great deal of authority and autonomy. In the **Sahara**, slaves conducted trading expeditions

on behalf of their masters. The same thing was true of the Angolan slave trade. In Senegal, annual convoys went upriver to buy gum and slaves. The sailors were 85 percent slave, and a majority of the boats were commanded by slaves.

In the United States, slaves could also use the relative anonymity of urban life. For **Frederick Douglass** and **Robert Smalls**, it was useful in preparing an escape. For **William Ellison** and **Simon Gray**, it provided an opportunity to become wealthy. During the 19th century, urban slavery declined dramatically in the United States. In the North, it disappeared in cities like New York, where it had been important, as slavery itself declined and free labor proved preferable. In the South, it declined because of the high prices being paid for plantation labor. Still, 19th-century entrepreneurs found they could use slave labor profitably in textile factories and iron forges, on railroads, and as stevedores. Slaves remained important in Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans. When the **Civil War** ended, a major source of leadership for the African-American community was urban slaves, who had already experienced a measure of autonomy and were often literate. Similarly, in West Africa, urban slaves became a major source of the merchant class and of the first groups educated in European languages.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); MEDITERRANEAN SLAVERY; SOUTH AFRICAN SLAVERY.

V

VESEY, DENMARK (c. 1767–1822). A former slave, Denmark Vesey was charged with being the author of an elaborate plot for a slave rebellion in Charleston, South Carolina. As a slave, Denmark Vesey had traveled widely with his master, a slave trader named Vesey. He was literate and able to speak several languages. After winning \$1,500 in a lottery in December 1799, Vesey bought his own freedom for \$600, but he did not have the money to free his whole family. He set himself up as a carpenter in Charleston and became a leader in the **African Methodist Episcopal Church**. He briefly considered moving to Sierra Leone. When he was arrested on the basis of a slave informant, it was charged that he decided instead to organize a revolt and lead the successful rebels to Haiti, whose president, Jean-Pierre Boyer, had invited African-Americans to settle in his country.

From 1818 to 1822, it was believed that he visited plantations around Charleston to conduct religion classes for slaves, but also to identify potential collaborators. The plan supposedly called on slaves to rise on Bastille Day, 14 July, slay their masters, seize control of the city of Charleston, and then sail for Haiti. One of Vesey's collaborators, Jack Pritchard, claimed that he had 6,600 slaves ready to revolt. The plan was betrayed less than a month before it was to take place. The mayor called up the city militia and immediately arrested many of the plotters. After a quick trial, Vesey and 35 slaves were hanged. Forty-two slaves were sold outside the United States. Some historians think that there was no plot, that it was imagined by people who feared the growing importance of the free black population. Nevertheless, repression was severe and so rapid that there is little evidence about what was actually happening. The American Methodist Episcopal church was demolished and its leaders banished. The state assembly banned the entry of free blacks to the state, though it did nothing about those already there. The city of Charleston tried to prevent anyone teaching African-Americans to read.

See also AMERICAN SLAVERY (U.S.); SLAVE REVOLTS.

VIEIRA, ANTÓNIO (1608–1697). António Vieira was a Jesuit preacher and critic of slavery. During Vieira's lifetime, the use of slave labor was expanding dramatically in Northeast **Brazil**. When Vieira took his first vows in 1625, he secretly pledged to do missionary work among Indian and African slaves, but instead he became a teacher of theology, a court preacher, and an advisor to King John IV. In 1652, he got his wish and was sent to Brazil, where he became the Jesuit Superior in the Amazon. Vieira's job included the distribution of Indian labor to the settlers. He tried to stop slaving expeditions in the backlands. Unable to do so, he returned to Lisbon and tried to persuade King John to issue new laws in 1655, which provided that enslavement of Indians was legitimate only when ordered by the king, when Indians stopped the preaching of Christianity, or in a **just war**. When Vieira returned to the Amazon, his efforts to enforce these laws led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Amazon in 1661.

Though the Jesuits were allowed back two years later, Vieira was excluded. He asked in later years for the Indians to be placed in communities under Jesuit control and totally separated from the settlers. He never developed a similar position for African slaves. He believed that under economic conditions in Brazil, slavery was inevitable, that Africans were better suited to slave labor than Indians, and that the introduction of African slaves was the best way to limit the need for Indian labor.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH; HISPANIC AMERICA.

VIKINGS. *See* SCANDINAVIA.

VOODOO. Voodoo is an African religion popular in Haiti and wherever Haitians have migrated. It is predominantly Dahomeyan but contains elements of **Yoruba** and Catholic religion. In Africa, it is called vodun. Though slave owners tried to suppress African religions, these religions persisted underground and were a factor in the **Haitian Revolution**. Voodoo practitioners believe in a high god, several lesser gods, and spirits called orisha. They believe that every person has a soul and that there is a large guardian angel concerned with all of us and a lesser guardian angel for each person. Believers pray alone or in groups and make sacrifices to the gods in trying to contact them to influence human events and prevent possession by evil spirits.

See also CARIBBEAN SLAVERY; SLAVE RELIGION.

W

WALKER, DAVID (1785–1830). A free African-American born in Wilmington, North Carolina, David Walker grew up in the South, but in 1825 he moved to Boston, Massachusetts, and rapidly became active in African-American organizations. In 1827, he opened a clothing store that catered to seamen. He used it to smuggle abolitionist literature into the South. He put pamphlets in the pockets of garments he sold, knowing that they would find their way into the hands of African-Americans in the South. He also mailed his own writings to the South.

In 1829, he published his *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, which called on masters to free their slaves and called on the slaves to revolt and kill their masters. He had little hope of racial harmony, insisting that African-Americans must have a nation of their own and urging them to defend themselves and to follow only African-American leaders. It was the most radical manifesto of the abolitionist movement and an early expression of black nationalism, but there is no evidence that it had any impact on subsequent events. It was cited by Southerners who were hostile to African-American churches and wanted to prohibit anyone from teaching slaves to read. There is evidence that it also led several Georgians to put a price on his life. In 1830, his body was found near his store. The cause of death was never determined.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

WALK FREE FOUNDATION. The Walk Free Foundation was founded in Australia to fight against **contemporary forms of slavery**. It annually publishes the Global Slavery Index, which seeks to estimate how widespread contemporary forms of slavery are in almost every country of the world. It surveys 162 countries. It also tries to assess what some of these countries are doing to combat the problem.

WARD, SAMUEL RINGGOLD (1817–1866). Born a slave on the eastern shore of Maryland, Samuel Ringgold Ward became an influential black abolitionist. In 1820, the Wards fled Maryland, eventually settling in New York.

Samuel was educated and became first a teacher and then a Congregationalist minister. In 1840, he joined the **Liberty Party** and became active in the abolition movement. When the Fugitive Slave Act was passed in 1850, he spoke against it and was involved in the freeing of Jerry, a runaway slave from a Syracuse, New York, jail in 1851. Fearing arrest, he fled to Canada, where he became the Canadian agent of the **American Anti-Slavery Society**, founding local chapters and assisting runaway slaves who made it to Canada. He also made a fund-raising tour of Great Britain. In 1855, he published *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada and England*. He spent the last years of his life as a minister in Jamaica.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES; JERRY RESCUE.

WELD, THEODORE DWIGHT (1803–1895). The son of a small-town pastor, born in Connecticut and raised in New York, Theodore Weld early moved to Ohio, where he became one of the leaders of the western branch of the abolition movement. Though he and his friend **James G. Birney** were briefly involved in the colonization movement, they early became advocates of immediate and total abolition and helped found the **American Anti-Slavery Society**. While working at Lane Theological Seminary, Weld became involved in educational efforts in Cincinnati's large black community, which contained many people who had fled slavery or purchased their freedom. He taught theology but also learned from his students what slavery was really like. After marrying fellow abolitionist **Angelina Grimké** and moving to Oberlin College, he published *The Bible against Slavery* (1837) and *American Slavery as It Is* (1839). The latter included many stories told by his students at Lane and Oberlin and vividly depicted the brutality and harshness of slavery. It was the most popular book on slavery until **Harriet Beecher Stowe**, one of Weld's students, wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852).

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

WEST AFRICA. Slavery has long existed in West Africa. A number of powerful states were found in the savanna regions and in western Nigeria during the first millennium. The first slaves were probably war captives. The great empires—Ghana, Mali, Kanem, Songhai, and Bornu—all traded with the Arabs, and while the Arabs were most interested in gold, there was also a steady stream of slaves across the Sahara. During the 15th century, when Portuguese navigators sailed along the West African coast, they often kidnapped people, who were taken back to Portugal to be trained as interpreters. They soon found, however, that in most areas they could buy slaves, usually in small numbers.

West Africa soon became the major source of slaves for the growing European slave trade. It was near some of the Atlantic islands and was the closest source of slave labor for the western Mediterranean and developing markets in the Caribbean and North America. The result was a steady growth in slaving within West Africa, the development of supply routes into the interior, and the increasing availability of large numbers of slaves on the coast. During the 17th century, when the northern European states moved into sugar production in the West Indies, the demand for slaves increased, as did the prices Europeans were willing to pay. The result was the formation of a series of powerful states in West Africa capable of supplying large numbers of slaves and often using slave warriors: **Oyo**, **Asante**, **Dahomey**, **Segou**, and **Futa Jallon**. All of them were formed or rose to power between 1660 and 1725.

One by-product of the slave-trade routes that crossed West Africa was the increasing market for slaves within the region. Slave-based production increased in the desert-side regions and in some of the more important Muslim states. Britain abolished the slave trade in 1807, and then, one by one, so did other European states. European demand was at this time increasing for African products. More and more slaves were exploited within Africa to produce peanuts, palm oil, and other goods for European markets. The result is that the slave trade remained important until the early colonial period.

See also AFRICAN SLAVERY; ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; EMANCIPATION, AFRICA; SAHARA; SUDAN, WEST AND CENTRAL; YORUBA.

WHEATLEY, PHILLIS (c. 1753–1784). A slave and poet, Phillis Wheatley was born in West Africa, brought to Massachusetts as a young girl, and purchased by John Wheatley, a merchant tailor. She learned to speak English quickly, and her master's family taught her to read the Bible. She soon also taught herself to write and as a teenager was already writing poetry. In 1767, she published her first poem. In 1773, she visited England with Nathaniel, her master's son. In the same year, she brought out *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* with financial help from an English patron. Most of Wheatley's poetry dealt with religious subjects. Her poetry was as good as any being written in the colonies, but because of doubt that a black slave could write such poetry, 18 leading Bostonians signed a letter that they believed she had written the poetry. Her last years, however, were spent in poverty. By 1779, most of the Wheatleys were dead. She married a free black named John Peters, but their three children all died young and they had financial difficulties. Sick and poor, she died in 1784. During her lifetime and later, she was often cited as an example in debates about the intellectual capacities of African-Americans.

WHITTIER, JOHN GREENLEAF (1807–1892). John Greenleaf Whittier was one of the most popular poets of the 19th-century United States. Born a Quaker in Massachusetts, he had a limited education, but he was a voracious reader and began as a teenager to write poetry. In 1826, his sister sent a poem he wrote to a newspaper edited by William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison published it and much of Whittier's later literary production. He also found Whittier a job as the editor of the *American Manufacturer* in 1829. Whittier earned his living for many years as an editor, but he also wrote prolifically and worked actively for the anti-slavery and temperance movements. He even ran for the Massachusetts legislature in 1835.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

WHYDAH. Europeans began buying slaves at Whydah in the Bight of Benin during the late 16th century, and Europeans had forts there by 1670. Originally a small kingdom, Whydah was conquered by **Dahomey** in 1727 and became Dahomey's preferred port, and for long periods also a port for **Oyo**. Already an important slave port, it was for most of the 18th century the most important single port for the export slave trade. The major European slave-trading companies had forts there. The king of Dahomey was represented by an official called the *yevogan*, who traded the king's slaves and collected customs. Over the years, at least a million slaves were shipped out of Whydah. During the 19th century, **Felix Francisco de Souza** became the most important slave trader and an agent of the king of Dahomey with the title of *chacha*.

See also ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE; WEST AFRICA.

WILBERFORCE, WILLIAM (1759–1833). William Wilberforce was the parliamentary leader of the struggle to end the slave trade. The son of a merchant from Hull, Wilberforce was first elected to the House of Commons in 1780. After a conversion to evangelical Christianity in 1784, he was convinced that Christian ideals should be implemented in everyday life. He became the leader of the anti-slave trade bloc in the House and in 1787 was one of the founders of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade. To a movement dominated in its early years by **Quakers**, he was valuable because he was an Anglican. He was also charming, an eloquent orator, and a fine propagandist.

Wilberforce started by trying to introduce anti-slavery clauses into a treaty being negotiated with France. During the next decade, he introduced abolition bills five times, and each time there were bitter and acrimonious debates. The **French** and **Haitian Revolutions** aroused fears and the opposition of King George. His allies, however, were perfecting the techniques of using petitions and mass meetings to bring pressure on Parliament. In 1807, both

houses of Parliament finally approved the bill, which went into effect on 1 January 1808. This victory did not end slavery. In 1823, abolitionists created the Anti-Slavery Society and launched a new campaign, this time to end slavery. Wilberforce was once again the leader, but by 1825, ill health forced him to yield to **Thomas Fowell Buxton**. He died in 1833, three days after being assured that the bill had the votes to pass.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN.

WILLIAMS, ERIC (1911–1981). A historian and politician, Eric Williams spent most of his adult life as prime minister of Trinidad. As a historian, he is best known for his controversial doctoral dissertation, published as *Capitalism and Slavery* in 1944. Born in Trinidad, the son of a postal clerk, he was an outstanding student and received a fellowship to Oxford, where he completed his Ph.D. in 1938. From 1939 to 1955, he taught at Howard University in Washington, D.C., but when the process of decolonization began, he returned to Trinidad, organized the People's National Movement, and was elected chief minister in 1956. He was prime minister from independence in 1962 to his death. He also wrote *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean* (1970).

In *Capitalism and Slavery*, he made three arguments: (1) that American slavery resulted from economic interests and thus that racism was a consequence of slavery and not a cause, (2) that the English Industrial Revolution was financed by profits from the American plantation economy, and (3) that the slave trade was ended not because of British humanitarianism, but because of changing social and economic conditions that resulted from the Industrial Revolution. The Williams thesis provoked a great deal of debate and much further research in the subsequent 50 years. This research has disproven some of Williams's detailed statements, but much of his broader argument is accepted. Thus, most writers would agree that slavery is an economic institution. Racism is seen not as a cause, but as a result of slavery. Most writers would accept that the plantation economies of the New World were central to the development of the Americas and to European industrialization, though not necessarily in the direct way pictured by Williams. His argument on the roots of abolition is weak. Many scholars have presented persuasive evidence that at the time of abolition, the slave economies were very prosperous, though few would go back to earlier arguments that abolition was simply a triumph of human decency. The argument that the slave-based economies were declining can no longer be supported, though it is clear that the importance of the West Indies in relation to other areas like India was shifting.

See also ABOLITION, GREAT BRITAIN; DRESCHER, SEYMOUR (1934–).

WILMOT PROVISIO. In 1846, during the **Mexican-American War**, a Pennsylvania congressman named David Wilmot moved an amendment to a military appropriations bill that slavery should be prohibited in all territories acquired as a result of the war. Almost all Northerners voted for the amendment. Almost all Southerners opposed it. It passed in the House of Representatives but was defeated in the Senate. The Wilmot Proviso was supported by Northern congressmen who had not previously been responsive to abolitionist appeals but who were alienated by President James Polk's expansionism and his pro-slavery agenda. For the next 15 years, the extension of slavery to new territories was a central issue in American political life, and the polarization that marked the discussion deepened and grew more intense.

See also COMPROMISE OF 1850.

WOOLMAN, JOHN (1720–1772). John Woolman was an early **Quaker** abolitionist. Born to a Quaker farming family, Woolman turned early to shopkeeping, tailoring, and teaching school. He prospered in business, but he was from very young a pious man and a believer in putting Christian ideals into practice. He became a lay minister when only 22 and spent much of his life traveling in the service of the Quakers. He writes in his journal that he was troubled when an employer asked him to write a bill of sale for a slave woman. Visits to the South further aroused his conviction that slavery was incompatible with Quaker beliefs in equality. At a time when many Quakers had slaves, he advocated a prohibition against Quakers owning slaves. In 1754, he submitted to the Philadelphia Annual Meeting an essay titled "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes; Recommended to the Professor of Christianity of Every Denomination." He was a key figure in the Quakers eventually closing membership to slave owners. Another essay, "A Plea for the Poor," published posthumously, argues that monetary compensation should be paid to former slaves or their heirs. He also wrote on many other issues: conscription, injustice toward the Indians, and taxation for military purposes. In 1772 he died of smallpox on a visit to New York.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

WRIGHT, FRANCES (1795–1852). Fanny Wright was a reformer and abolitionist born in Scotland who tried to develop an alternative to slave labor in the South. She visited the United States and described her visit in *Views of Society and Manners in the United States* (1821). Conversations about the book with the Marquis de Lafayette persuaded her to try to put her ideas into practice. In 1825, she bought land near Memphis and eight slaves, and with them founded Nashoba plantation. To earn their freedom, slaves had to perform enough labor to reimburse the plantation for their purchase price plus 6 percent interest and the cost of food and clothing. The slaves were all taught

a trade and how to read, do arithmetic, and write. Children were to receive a full education. While Wright was on the plantation, there was no corporal punishment. When Wright left the area in 1827, her managers abandoned her ideas about corporal punishment and began using harsh punishments. Wright also wanted equality between men and women on the plantation, but it soon ran into trouble. The soil was poor and the area was malarial. By 1830, the plantation had failed, but Wright kept her promise to the slaves, freeing them and taking them to Haiti. Wright continued to lecture about the emancipation of women and slaves and to advocate the ideas that led her to create Nashoba.

See also ABOLITION, UNITED STATES.

Y

YEVOGAN. The *yevogan* was the official who represented the king of **Dahomey** in the slave-trading port of **Whydah**. He was also known as the “chief of the white men.” The custom was that the king’s slaves were sold first. The *yevogan* traded for the king and collected customs on the rest of the trade. After the ascension of King Ghezo in 1818, his power was superseded by a Brazilian merchant, **Francisco Felix de Souza**, for whom the office of *chacha* was created. Other slave-trading kingdoms had similar institutions, which were important if the rulers were to maintain control of the trade.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

YORUBA. The Yoruba of western Nigeria are one of the largest ethnic groups in West Africa. The Yoruba were never united before colonial rule, but the powerful kingdom of **Oyo** was one of the most powerful slaving kingdoms in West Africa and controlled northern Yorubaland. The origins of Oyo are shrouded in myth, but in the 17th century, it expanded, using cavalry to impose tribute on its neighbors to both north and south. The Oyo cavalry were widely feared but were unable to conquer areas in the forest not suitable to horses. Oyo was, however, able to collect slaves through warfare and tribute and to send large numbers of slaves to different coastal ports.

In the 19th century, the Oyo empire broke down in a series of civil wars. While different Yoruba factions struggled for power, northern Yorubaland fell under the ascendancy of the Muslim **Sokoto Caliphate**. Like Oyo, the caliphate failed in its efforts to extend itself into the forest zone. As a result, the Yoruba went from being predators to being the major source of slaves during the last half century of the transatlantic slave trade. One result was the importance of Yoruba religious movements in the Americas: *candomblé* and *shango* in Brazil and **santeria** in Cuba. After the end of the slave trade, Yoruba shrines in the Americas often reestablished contact with those in Nigeria.

See also AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; SLAVE RELIGION.

Z

ZANJ. Zanj is a word used by Arabs and Iranians for the East African coast and for black slaves coming from that area. Zanj slaves were responsible for one of the greatest slave revolts in history. During the period from the seventh to the ninth centuries, many slaves from eastern and northeastern Africa were imported into southern Mesopotamia. It is now believed that most came from northeastern Africa, not the **Swahili** coast. Drainage canals in the southern Mesopotamia had silted up in previous centuries, and what had been fertile farmland became swamps and salt flats. Large slave gangs were used to re-dig drainage canals, eliminate saline soils, and prepare the land for cultivation. Life for the slaves was harsh and brutish, and not surprisingly there were a series of slave revolts. There were two during the seventh century, but the most important began in 869 and was led by an Arab known as Ali ben Sahid al-Zanj (Master of the Zanj). The Zanj armies occupied the Iraqi port of Basra and the Iranian port of Abadan and came within 70 miles of Baghdad. Finally, in 881, the armies of the Abbasid Caliphate began pushing the Zanj back and blockaded the Zanj in their capital, Mukhtara, which fell in 883 after a three-year siege. Tens of thousands of Zanj soldiers were massacred. One effect of the revolt was a limitation on the import of Africans. The revolt ended efforts to restore the fertility of the southern Iraqi salt flats. African slaves were henceforth used more as household slaves than as agricultural labor. The term *Zanj* is still used within the Arab world to refer to blacks.

See also ANCIENT MIDDLE EASTERN SLAVERY; EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

ZANZIBAR. Lying off the coast of East Africa, Zanzibar and Pemba were long popular anchorages for ships in the Indian Ocean trade. Zanzibar became the preferred port for Arab traders from Oman during the 18th century. During the 19th century, the two islands became a major center of clove production and the base for trade with the interior of East Africa for slaves and ivory. In 1806, **Said Sayyid** became sultan of Oman. Said had a three-pronged development program. First, he gradually extended his control over

most of the Swahili-speaking towns on the East African coast. Second, he encouraged his fellow Arabs to develop clove plantations on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. They were so successful that by 1840, Zanzibar was the world's largest clove producer and the most important market for slaves from the interior of East Africa. Third, he also encouraged Omani Arabs to develop trade with the far interior. Since most of the Arabs lacked capital, he encouraged Indian financiers to settle in the towns along the coast, often giving them lucrative contracts to collect taxes. The caravans that penetrated into central Africa traded in both ivory and slaves.

Said's program was dramatically successful. By 1837, Zanzibar was so much wealthier than Oman that Said relocated there. Zanzibar also controlled a coastal strip on the mainland, within which slave-worked plantations produced grain, copra, and sesame, and it controlled commercial bases as far inland as Lake Tanganyika. The British, Americans, French, and later the Germans established embassies in Zanzibar. When Said died in 1856, the British controlled the succession and blocked the efforts of Omani Arabs to reestablish control over the islands. Dependent on the British, one of Said's sons, Sultan Barghash, abolished the slave trade in 1873, though slave labor remained the basis of the plantation economy. In 1885, the Germans claimed Zanzibar's mainland domains. In 1890, Britain proclaimed a protectorate over Zanzibar, and in 1897 they abolished slavery, though they tried to help the planters maintain control over their labor supply.

See also EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE; TIPPU TIP (c. 1837–1905).

ZAR. A northeastern African spirit-possession cult that was taken to the Middle East and Iran by slaves. It resembles *bori* in Tunisia and *gnauwa* in Morocco.

See also SLAVE RELIGION.

ZARIBA. The *zaribas* were fortified bases created in the 19th century by slave traders operating in the southern Sudan. They were inhabited by traders and their slave soldiers, many of whom came from the area. These slave soldiers lived off the land and were generally fed by other slaves, who worked the land around each of the *zaribas*. The trade was both in slaves and in ivory. The *zaribas* were the basis of a large penetration of a hitherto isolated area by the slave trade.

See also NILOTIC SUDAN; RABIH AZ ZUBAYR (c. 1842–1900); ZUBAYR PASHA (1830–1913).

ZONG CASE. The *Zong* was a slave ship that left West Africa in September 1781 with a cargo of 470 slaves. On its passage to America, the ship was struck by an epidemic that killed 60 slaves and 17 crew members. Running

low on water, Captain Luke Collingwood decided to throw the sick slaves overboard. One hundred thirty-one slaves drowned after being thrown into the sea. Many of them went voluntarily, jumping into the sea with their shackles to end their suffering. Collingwood's assumption was that the insurance would pay for the lost slaves. By the time the ship made it back to England, Collingwood was dead, but the owners sought to collect their insurance. The insurance underwriter refused to pay. His lawyers argued that there was no crisis and that Collingwood had the slaves tossed overboard because he was afraid he would have a hard time selling them. The owners won in the original court, but the case was appealed. Chief Justice Mansfield, who had been judge in the **Somerset** case, decided to order a new trial. It is not known how that trial turned out, but the case was much publicized and gave a strong boost to the abolitionist cause. **Granville Sharp** unsuccessfully asked that murder charges be brought against those responsible. In 1791, Parliament prohibited reimbursement of insurance costs in cases where slaves were thrown overboard.

ZOROASTRIANISM. Zoroastrianism is a monotheistic religion that was founded in Persia about 1700 BCE. The founder, Zarathustra, preached about a conflict between good and evil. It was the official religion of several Persian dynasties, most recently the Sassanids, who ruled Persia from 224 to 651 CE. Zoroastrianism was also important in the Roman Empire but eventually yielded to Christianity. Zoroastrians held that only a foreign captive could be a slave. If a slave converted to Zoroastrianism, he was allowed to purchase his freedom. Like Islam, Zoroastrianism taught that the freeing of a slave was a good deed. It also prohibited violence against a slave, particularly against a female slave. A master did not have the right to take a slave's life. After being conquered by Arab armies, many Zoroastrians fled to India, where the Parsees of Bombay are the largest remaining Zoroastrian community.

ZUBAYR PASHA (1830–1913). Zubayr Pasha was a soldier and slave trader in the southern Sudan. Born in the Sudan and educated in Khartoum, he served as an officer in the Turco-Egyptian army. In 1856, after leaving the army, he moved to Bahr al-Ghazal in the southern Sudan, part of a group of Khartoum-based traders who went south looking for profits from the ivory trade. The local people often had little interest in trading with the newcomers, but they were not capable of resisting the armed forces of the traders. Many of the traders moved into raiding, incorporating some of the men they took prisoner as soldiers in their private armies. Within a short time, Zubayr controlled Bahr al-Ghazal and began extending his control over adjacent areas. Operating out of fortified bases called *zaribas*, his power was based on his use of slave soldiers armed with the latest rapid-firing rifles. Other slaves

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produced the food that fed his army. In 1872, Egypt accepted his power by recognizing him as governor of Bahr al-Ghazal. In 1874, he conquered the powerful emirate of Darfur, but a year later, when he went to Egypt for political discussions, he was not allowed to return to the southern Sudan. Other military leaders used Zubayr's methods to extend the slave trade further east.

See also NILOTIC SUDAN; RABIH AZ ZUBAYR (c. 1842–1900).

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INTRODUCTION

Slavery and abolition have been the subject of prolific research since the mid-1950s. The latest version of Joseph C. Miller's *Slavery and Slaving in World History* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998) contains over 14,200 items, most of them published since 1960. The maintenance of the bibliography has been taken over by Thomas Thurston of the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition. Supplements are published annually in the December issue of *Slavery and Abolition*, the major comparative journal in the field. Most other bibliographies cover regions or subtopics. The *Oxford Bibliographies* published by Oxford University Press cover many aspects of the history of slavery and the slave trade. Other major bibliographies are John David Smith's *Black Slavery in the Americas: An*

Interdisciplinary Bibliography, 1865–1980 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982) and Norbert Brockmeyer's *Bibliographie zur antiken Sklaverei* (Bochum: Buchhandlung Brockmeyer, 1971).

The amount of material available on slavery has multiplied dramatically since the 1950s and now deals with all parts of the world. This outpouring has largely been a product of the struggle of peoples of slave descent for full equality and of the efforts of the Atlantic nations to define their own identities and the role of African peoples in their national cultures and political systems. This explains why the literature has been so great for the nations of the Atlantic world and so limited for most of Asia. In much of Asia, slavery played an important role in the past, but few see the heritage of slavery as a pressing political or social problem. The questions historians ask are posed by the situations they live in. The literature on slavery has been most prolific in the United States, not only because the full integration of Africans into the promise of American democracy has been high on the political agenda there, but also because the resources for research there are extensive. There are scholars with the funds, but there also is extensive source material. Planters kept records, government departments preserved archives, visitors wrote descriptions, and the abolitionist movement produced a prolific literature, some of it from fugitive slaves. Later researchers have tapped the memories of slaves freed after the Civil War. Most important here are the interviews conducted by the New Deal's Work Projects Administration (WPA) during the 1930s. A major problem historians face in many other areas is the absence of a slave voice, though an increasing number of primary sources are being published or made available on the Internet.

The publication of Elizabeth Donnan's *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1930–1935) began efforts to publish and make available the rich fund of documentation available on slavery. Numerous scholars have either published WPA interviews or used them to develop a fuller picture of the slave experience. The only other area where a significant effort has been made to tap slave sources has been Africa, where Philip Curtin's *Africa Remembered* stimulated an effort to find slave sources. Researchers working in the 1970s and 1980s found persons who remembered slavery, and others have found many sources in the missions that received many runaway slaves and in court cases. Some of these sources have been published by Alice Bellagamba, Sandra Greene, and Martin Klein. Another important thread of research began with Philip Curtin's *African Slave Trade: A Census*, which explored shipping records and customs archives to produce estimates of the number and directions of the Atlantic slave trade. This research culminated with the production in 1999 of a CD-ROM by the W. E. B. Du Bois Center of the data on 27,000 slave voyages. Further research led to a revised version based on 35,000 voyages, made available through a website. A year later, Gwendolyn

Midlo Hall brought out in CD-ROM form with the Louisiana State University Press, *Louisiana Slave Database and Louisiana Free Database*. This is now available online. Hall has also collaborated with Walter Hawthorne in coordinating and making available through Michigan State University a number of databases.

While slavery in its classical form no longer exists, many kinds of coerced labor still exist. The writing of Kevin Bales, Jonathan Derrick, and Suzanne Miers has called attention to the continued problem of modern forms of slavery. Non-governmental organizations like Anti-Slavery International, Human Rights Watch, and the International Catholic Child Bureau produce books and publicize such activities. These and other similar groups testify regularly at hearings held by the Working Group of Experts on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, part of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. There has also been newspaper coverage of the persistence of slavery in Mauritania, its recurrence in Sudan, and the struggles against bonded labor in India.

An increasing number of sources on slavery are being made available on the Internet. I have tried to include in this bibliography some of the more important websites. They will clearly increase in importance during the coming years.

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