

man's he shall pay unto the owner of the Negro double the value and into the public Treasure five thousand pounds of Muscavado sugar. And he shall further by the next Justice of the peace be bound to the good behaviour during the pleasure of the Governor and Council and not to be liable to any other punishment or forfeiture for the same, neither is he who kills another man's Negro by accident liable to any other penalty but the owner's Action at Law. But if any poor small freeholder or other person kill a Negro by night out of the Common path and stealing the provision, swine, or other goods he shall not be accountable for it, any Law, Statute or ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding.

And to the intent it may be certainly known what Negroes are out in rebellion to their Masters to the public peace.

CLAUSE 21:

It is by the authority aforesaid enacted and ordained that all owners of Negroes within this Isle do within ten days after publication hereof send an account to the Secretary for the time being in writing what Negroes he hath fled and Runaway and of the time they have been gone, and so for the time to come within ten days after any Negro shall absent himself from his service under penalty of paying of one thousand pounds of Muscavado sugar whereof the one half to be to the Informer, the other to the public Treasury, to be recovered by him that shall sue for it in any Court of Record by Action of debt of information in which no essoin, protection, Injunction or wager of Law shall be permitted or allowed.

And because the Negroes of this Isle in these late years past are very much increased and grown to such a great number as cannot be safely or easily governed unless we have a considerable number of Christians to balance and equal their Strength and the richest Men in the Island looking for the present profit, stock themselves only with almost all Negroes neglecting Christians Servants and so consequently their own and public safety.

CLAUSE 22:

Be it therefore enacted and ordained by the President, Council and Assembly and it is enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, that within twelve Months after publication hereof every freeholder provide himself of one Christian Servant for every twenty Acres of Land that he enjoys or possesses. And from the said twelve Months forward that every freeholder possessed of thirty Acres of land or more keep no less than one Man Servant for twenty Acres of Land he is Master, owner or occupier of, upon the penalty of forfeiting three thousand pounds of Muscavado sugar, one

thousand to be to the Informer, one thousand to the Governor or Superior officer of this Island for the time being, and one thousand pounds to the Church wardens and overseers of the poor for the use of such poor where and in what parish such default is made, to be recovered against the refusing or neglecting obedience therein in any Court of Record by the party which shall sue for it and the fine to be new laid upon every person every three Months that he Continue his contumacy or refuse or neglect to perform obedience hereunto, Provided that in case Christian Servants cannot possibly be gotten that then those that want the proportion of this Act named to supply themselves with the like number of hired Men which are to be hired for six months at least that then they be not liable to the aforesaid forfeiture;

Lastly to the intent of this Act and every Clause and branch thereof may receive full Execution and no person plead Ignorance therein;

CLAUSE 23

It is ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid that this Act be read and published in all the respective parish Churches in this Isle the first Sunday in February and the first Sunday in August every year ensuing the date and first publication hereof. Given under my hand, September 27th 1661

Signed: Humphrey Walrond

[From 'An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes', *Barbados 1661* (Public Record Office, Kew, CO 30/2/16-26), 25-8, 32-3.]

44 Code Noir (1685) in Louisiana

[In 1724] Louis [XV], By Grace of God, King of France and Navarre: . . . The Directors of the Company of the Indies having shown us that the Province and Colony of Louisiana is well established by a great number of our subjects who use Negro Slaves for the cultivation of the soil; we have decided . . . to establish law and certain rules to uphold the discipline of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church; and in order to regulate that which relates to the condition of Slaves in the said islands. . . . For these and other causes which prompt us, and on the advice of our Council, and by our knowledge, power and Royal Authority, we have said, decreed and ordained and desire what follows:

First article

... We enjoin the Directors General of the said Company ... to expel from the said country all Jews who may have established residence ... who, as declared enemies of the Christian name, are commanded to leave in three months time ... under penalty forfeiting their bodies and goods.

II

All slaves who will be in our Province will be instructed in the Catholic, Roman and Apostolic Religion, and baptized. We order inhabitants who will buy newly arrived immigrants to have them instructed and baptized within a reasonable time, under penalty of fine ...

III

We forbid the exercise of any other Religion than the Catholic ... We desire those who contravene be punished as rebels, disobedient to our commands. We forbid all [religious] assemblies ... the same penalties will be applied against Masters who allow them. ...

IV

No overseers will be put in charge of Negroes, who do not profess the Catholic Religion ... under penalty of confiscation of said Negroes. ...

V

We enjoin all our Subjects, whatever their quality and condition, to observe Sundays and Holidays; We forbid them to either work or to make their Slaves work, from midnight to midnight, at tilling the soil or any other tasks under penalty ... of the confiscation of the Slaves. ...

VI

We forbid our white Subjects, of either sex, to contract marriage with Blacks, under penalty of punishment and fine ... or any [clergy] to marry them. We also forbid our white Subjects as well as Blacks, whether freed or born free, from living in concubinage with Slaves. We wish those who will have had one or more children from such a union, including Masters who allowed it, to be punished with a fine of 300 livres, ... and if Slave Masters are parents of the said children, we wish that in addition to the fine, they forfeit both Slave and children ... who will be placed in a hospital, never to be freed. (This will not be applicable if the free black man ... will wed the said slave, who will be freed by this means, and the children rendered free and legitimate).

VII

The prescribed solemnities ... [of marriage] ... will be observed as much as for Slaves as for free persons, except that only the Master's, not the parents', consent will be necessary.

VIII

We forbid *Curés* to marry Slaves without the consent of their Masters; We also forbid Masters to coerce their slaves into marrying against their inclination.

IX

Children born of Slave marriages will be slaves, who will belong to the Masters of the females, and not to their husband's [master] if the Slaves belong to different masters.

X

We desire, if the slave husband has wed a free woman, that the children, males as well as females, follow the condition of their mother, being free like she is, regardless of the servitude of their father; and, similarly, that if the father is free and the mother slave, the children will be slaves.

XI

Masters will be bound to bury their baptized slaves in holy ground within Cemeteries designated for this purpose. Those who die unbaptized will be interred at night in a field near the spot where they died.

XII

We forbid slaves to carry any offensive arms or large batons, under penalty of whipping and confiscation of their arms to whoever will find and seize them, excepting those [slaves] sent hunting by their Masters and who are bearers of passes.

XIII

We similarly forbid Slaves belonging to different masters, to assemble, by day or night, under the pretext of marriage or otherwise, be it in the habitation of their Masters, or elsewhere, still less in main roads or remote places, under penalty of corporal punishment [whipping]. ... Cases of repeat offenders, or with aggravating circumstances, can be punished by death.

XIV

Masters convicted of having allowed or tolerated such assemblies, composed of others' Slaves, will be condemned to make restitution for all damages to their neighbors occasioned by the said assemblies ... with double fines for recidivists.

XV

Slaves are forbidden to market or carry for sale, any kind of commodities, even fruits, vegetables, wood, greens, forage for beasts, grain, any other merchandise, or old clothes without the express written permission of their masters . . . under penalty of resale of their goods without restitution, and fines against buyers . . . [and in the case of selling old clothes] with extraordinary damages as receivers of stolen goods.

[...]

XVII

Any Subject is permitted to seize anything they find on Slaves moving without tickets from their Masters . . .

XVIII

We desire that the officers of our [Colonial] Superior Council send the quantity of provisions and the quality of clothes that they deem suitable for the Masters to furnish their Slaves. The provisions must be furnished weekly and the clothes annually . . . Masters are forbidden to give any kind of distilled spirits to slaves instead of said subsistence and clothing.

XIX

It is similarly forbidden [for Masters] to dispense with the maintenance of their slaves, by allowing them to work certain days of the week on their own account.

XX

Slaves who are not nourished, clothed and provided for by their Masters, can inform the *Procureur General* . . . Masters will be prosecuted at the request of the said prosecutor without payment of costs for Masters' barbaric and inhuman treatment towards their slaves.

XXI

Slaves disabled by age, sickness, incurable or not, will be nourished and provided for by their masters; case of abandonment, the Slaves will be moved to the nearest Hospital, to which Masters will be condemned to pay eight *sols* for each . . . Slave. . .

XXII

We declare that slaves can have nothing not belonging to their Masters; anything [acquired] by their own industry or the generosity of others, by whatever means, is the complete property of their Masters; including all [slaves'] rights of inheritance. All Slave wills we declare null . . . being made by people incapable of depositing or contracting. . .

[...]

XXIV

Slaves cannot undertake any public office, nor be constituted Agents by their Masters, nor become Arbitrators, or witnesses, unless their testimony be taken in default of white witnesses. In no case may they serve as witnesses for or against their Masters.

[...]

XXVII

The Slave who will have struck his Master, his Mistress, the spouse of his Master, or their children, with consequent contusion, or flow of blood, or in the face, will be punished with death.

[...]

XXXII

Fugitive Slaves in flight for more than a month . . . will have their ears severed and marked with a *Fleur-de-Lys* [Royal Symbol] branded on a shoulder. For absences of another month, he will have his hamstring severed, and branded on the other shoulder. On the third time he will be punished with death.

[...]

XXXVIII

We forbid all Subjects to practice or authorize torture on their Slaves, under any pretext, or to mutilate a Slave's member, under penalty of confiscation of their Slaves . . . except, when their Slaves will have merited it, to have [the slaves] chained and whipped with wooden switches.

XXXIX

Judicial officers . . . are enjoined to undertake criminal prosecutions against Masters and overseers who will have killed their Slaves or mutilated their limbs . . . They [officers] are to punish the murder according to circumstances, and, in case of judicial absolution, to permit both Masters and Overseers to return [to their positions].

[...]

XLII

The Formulas prescribed by our Ordinances and by the Custom of Paris for seizures of mobile property, will be observed for seizures of Slaves . . . ; generally, the condition of Slaves will be regulated in all suits in accord with those over other movable property.

XLIII

We desire nevertheless, that the husband, his wife and their pre-pubescent

children can not be seized and sold separately, if they are all under the power of the same Master. . . .

[. . .]

L

Masters aged twenty-five will be able to free their Slaves during their lifetimes or at death. However, as one may encounter Masters mercenary enough to price the freedom of their Slaves so high as to encourage theft and brigandage, we forbid any persons of whatever quality or condition they may be, to [set conditions for] their Slaves, without having obtained consent of our Superior Council.

[. . .]

LII

We declare that [freed persons] manumitted according to prescribed forms . . . have no need of letters of Naturalization, enjoying the advantages of our Natural born Subjects in our Kingdom, lands and countries owing us obedience.

[. . .]

LIV

We transmit to the freed the same rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by the free born; We desire that the merit of acquired liberty may produce within them . . . the same effects that the happiness of natural liberty causes in our other Subjects, subject to the exceptions noted in Article LII.

[From *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*,
Vol. 4 (1908), 75-90. Trs. Seymour Drescher.]

An act concerning Servants and Slaves

I. *Be it enacted, by the governor, council, and burgesses, of this present general assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same*, That all servants brought into this country without indenture, if the said servants be christians, and of christian parentage, and above nineteen years of age, shall serve but five years; and if under nineteen years of age, 'till they shall become twenty-four years of age, and no longer.

II. *Provided always*, That every such servant be carried to the country court, within six months after his or her arrival into this colony, to have his or

her age adjudged by the court, otherwise shall be a servant no longer than the customary five years, although much under the age of nineteen years; and the age of such servant being adjudged by the court, within the limitation aforesaid, shall be entered upon the records of the said court, and be accounted, deemed, and taken, for the true age of the said servant, in relation to the time of service aforesaid.

III. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That when any servant sold for the custom, shall pretend to have indentures, the master or owner of such servant, for discovery of the truth thereof, may bring the said servant before a justice of the peace; and if the said servant cannot produce the indenture then, but shall still pretend to have one, the said justice shall assign two months time for the doing thereof; in which time, if the said servant shall not produce his or her indenture, it shall be taken for granted that there never was one, and shall be a bar to his or her claim of making use of one afterwards, or taking any advantage by one.

IV. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That all servants imported and brought into this country, by sea or land, who were not christians in their native country, (except Turks and Moors in amity with her majesty, and others that can make due proof of their being free in England, or any other christian country, before they were shipped, in order to transportation hither) shall be accounted and be slaves, and as such be here bought and sold notwithstanding a conversion to christianity afterwards.

V. *And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That if any person or persons shall hereafter import into this colony, and here sell as a slave, any person or persons that shall have been a freeman in any christian country, island, or plantation, such importer and seller as aforesaid, shall forfeit and pay, to the party from whom the said freeman shall recover his freedom, double the sum for which the said freeman was sold. To be recovered, in any court of record within this colony, according to the course of the common law, wherein the defendant shall not be admitted to plead in bar, any act or statute for limitation of actions.

VI. *Provided always*, That a slave's being in England, shall not be sufficient to discharge him of his slavery, without other proof of his being manumitted there.

VII. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That all masters and owners of servants, shall find and provide for their servants, wholesome and competent diet, clothing, and lodging, by the discretion of the county court; and shall not, at any time, give immoderate correction; neither shall, at any time, whip a christian white servant naked, without an order from a justice of the peace: And if any, notwithstanding this act, shall presume to whip a christian white servant naked, without such order, the person so offending, shall forfeit and pay for the same, forty shillings sterling, to the party injured: To be recovered, with costs, upon petition,

without the formal process of an action, as in and by this act is provided for servants complaints to be heard; provided complaint be made within six months after such whipping.

[...]

XI. And for a further christian care and usage of all christian servants, *Be it also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That no negros, mulattos, or Indians, although christians, or Jews, Moors, Mahometans, or other infidels, shall, at any time, purchase any christian servant, nor any other, except of their own complexion, or such as are declared slaves by this act: And if any negro, mulatto, or Indian, Jew, Moor, Mahometan, or other infidel, or such as are declared slaves by this act, shall, notwithstanding, purchase any christian white servant, the said servant shall, *ipso facto*, become free and acquit from any service then due, and shall be so held, deemed, and taken: And if any person, having such christian servant, shall intermarry with any such negro, mulatto, or Indian, Jew, Moor, Mahometan, or other infidel, every christian white servant of every such person so intermarrying, shall, *ipso facto*, become free and acquit from any service then due to such master or mistress so intermarrying, as aforesaid.

[...]

XXXV. *And also be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That no slave go armed with gun, sword, club, staff, or other weapon, nor go from off the plantation and seat of land where such slave shall be appointed to live, without a certificate of leave in writing, for so doing, from his or her master, mistress, or overseer: And if any slave shall be found offending herein, it shall be lawful for any person or persons to apprehend and deliver such slave to the next constable or head-borough, who is hereby enjoined and required, without further order or warrant, to give such slave twenty lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on, and so send him or her home: And all horses, cattle, and hogs, now belonging, or that hereafter shall belong to any slave, or of any slaves mark in this her majesty's colony and dominion, shall be seized and sold by the church-wardens of the parish, wherein such horses, cattle, or hogs shall be, and the profit thereof applied to the use of the poor of the said parish: And also, if any damage shall be hereafter committed by any slave living at a quarter where there is no christian overseer, the master or owner of such slave shall be liable to action for the trespass and damage, as if the same had been done by him or herself.

XXXVI. *And also it is hereby enacted and declared*, That baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage; and that all children shall be bond or free, according to the condition of their mothers, and the particular directions of this act.

XXXVII. And whereas, many times, slaves run away and lie out, hid and lurking in swamps, woods, and other obscure places, killing hogs, and committing other injuries to the inhabitants of this her majesty's colony and

dominion, *Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted*, That in all such cases, upon intelligence given of any slaves lying out, as aforesaid, any two justices (*Quorum unus*) of the peace of the county wherein such slave is supposed to lurk or do mischief, shall be and are empowered and required to issue proclamation against all such slaves, reciting their names, and owners names, if they are known, and thereby requiring them, and every of them, forthwith to surrender themselves; and also empowering the sheriff of the said county, to take such power with him, as he shall think fit and necessary, for the effectual apprehending such out-lying slave or slaves, and go in search of them: Which proclamation shall be published on a Sabbath day, at the door of every church and chapel, in the said county, by the parish clerk, or reader, of the church, immediately after divine worship: And in case any slave, against whom proclamation hath been thus issued, and once published at any church or chapel, as aforesaid, stay out, and do not immediately return home, it shall be lawful for any person or persons whatsoever, to kill and destroy such slaves by such ways and means as he, she, or they shall think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime for the same: And if any slave, that hath run away and lain out as aforesaid, shall be apprehended by the sheriff, or any other person, upon the application of the owner of the said slave, it shall and may be lawful for the county court, to order such punishment to the said slave, either by dismembering, or any other way, not touching his life, as they in their discretion shall think fit, for the reclaiming any such incorrigible slave, and terrifying others from the like practices.

XXXVIII. *Provided always, and it is further enacted*, That for every slave killed, in pursuance of this act, or put to death by law, the master or owner of such slave shall be paid by the public:

XXXIX. And to the end, the true value of every slave killed, or put to death, as aforesaid, may be the better known; and by that means, the assembly the better enabled to make a suitable allowance thereupon, *Be it enacted*, That upon application of the master or owner of any such slave, to the court appointed for proof of public claims, the said court shall value the slave in money, and the clerk of the court shall return a certificate thereof to the assembly, with the rest of the public claims.

[From 'The Virginia Slave Code 1705,' in William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Philadelphia: Thomas Desilver, 1823), Vol. III: 447, 460-1.]

inhabitants of those regions, for since the traders who bring those negroes bring them in good faith, those inhabitants can very well buy from such traders without any scruple, and the latter on their part can sell them, for it is a generally accepted opinion that the owner who owns anything in good faith can sell it and that it can be bought. Padre Sánchez thus expresses this point in his Book of Marriage, thus solving this doubt of your Reverence. Therefore, we here are the ones who could have greater scruple, for we buy these negroes from other negroes and from people who perhaps have stolen them; but the traders who take them away from here do not know of this fact, and so buy those negroes with a clear conscience and sell them out there with a clear conscience. Besides I found it true indeed that no negro will ever say he has been captured legally. Therefore your Reverence should not ask them whether they have been legally captured or not, because they will always say that they were stolen and captured illegally, in the hope that they will be given their liberty. I declare, moreover, that in the fairs where these negroes are bought there are always a few who have been captured illegally because they were stolen or because the rulers of the land order them to be sold for offenses so slight that they do not deserve captivity, but these are few in number and to seek among ten or twelve thousand who leave this port every year for a few who have been illegally captured is an impossibility, however careful investigation may be made. And to lose so many souls as sail from here—out of whom many are saved—because some, impossible to recognize, have been captured illegally does not seem to be doing much service to God, for these are few and those who find salvation are many and legally captured.

[From Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade* [1930] to America (New York: Octagon, 1969), Vol. I: 123-4.]

57 Voyage of the James, 1675-6

1675. March. A journall of my intended voyage for the gold Coast kept by mee Peter Blake Commandr of the Royall Companys Ship *James* in the searvis of the Royall Affrican Company of England. . . .

27. *Saturday*. the Committee came downe consisting of three persons viz: Mr. William Roberts Esqr. Capt. Abraham Holditch and Mr. William Stevens. . . .

April, Thursday 1. . . . sent a pylott a shore with my lett to the company and ordered him to ride through for London. . . . rec'd a packett from Mr. Heron by ordr of the royall company directed to Agent Generall Mellish Esqr. at Cape Corsoe. . . .

An acct of the mortality of slaves aboard the ship *James*.

1675	DAY	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS
Abbsence [September]	6	1			
Temenn October	28				
Agga December	20	1			
Cape Corso January 1675/6	20	1			
Ditto	26		1		
Suckingdee February 1675/6	8	1			
Thwort of Butteren	23		1		
Ditto	24			1	
Dirkenys Cove—March	26		1		
Ditto	5			1	
Art Sea	13		1		
Ditto	15		1		
Ditto					
Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and fell into a flux and soe Continued untill his death.					
Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe Continued untill hee departed this life.					
Miscarryed and the Child dead within her and Rotten and dyed 2 days after delivery.					
Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe Continued Untill Death					
Received from Wyembah with a dropsy and departed this life of the same disease.					
Consumption and Wormes.					
bought to Windward and departed this life of a					
Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and dropscall and soe departed this life.					
Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and wasted to Nothing and soe dyed					
Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and Consumed to Nothing and soe dyed					
Departed this life of a feavour					
Departed this life of Convulsion Fits					
Departed this Life suddenly.					

1676	DAY	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS
Att Sea	18	1			
Ditto	30	1			
Ditto	31				1
Ditto April	6	1			
Ditto	14	1			
Ditto	15		1		
Ditto	16	1			
Ditto	17	2			
Ditto	20		1		
Ditto	21				1
Ditto	26		1		
<p>Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe fell into a Consumption and dep'ted this life</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and soe Continued Wasting untill death.</p> <p>Very sick and fell overboard in the night and was lost.</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah thin and Consumed very low and after dyed of a Great Swelling of his face and head.</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah thin and dyed of a flux</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah Sickned and would not eat nor take anything.</p> <p>bought by mee and dyed of a flux</p> <p>The one rec'd from Wyembah and dyed of a flux.</p> <p>The other rec'd ditto who Leaped Over board and drowned himself.</p> <p>rec'd thin at Wyembah and dyed of a Consumption.</p> <p>rec'd from Weyembah with a dropsy and soe dyed.</p> <p>bought by myselfe and being very fond of her Child Carrying her up and downe wore her to nothing by which means fell into a feavour and dyed.</p>					

Att Sea May	1	1			
Ditto	2		1		
Ditto	3	1			
Ditto	4	1			
Ditto	5		1		
Ditto	6	1			
Ditto	8		1		
Ditto	9	1			
Ditto	12		1		
Ditto	13	1			
Ditto					1
					1
<p>Rec'd from Anamabooc departed this life of a flux.</p> <p>Rec'd from Agga and departed this life of a flux.</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah and dep'ted this life of a dropsy.</p> <p>Rec'd of Mr. Balliwood att Army Sea and dyed of a feavour by Lying in the Long boat, in the rain in the night which noe man knew of for hee went into her privately.</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah very thin and old and dep'ted this Life of the flux.</p> <p>Rec'd from Annamabooc and dep'ted this life of a flux.</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah with a Dropsey and departed this life of the same disease.</p> <p>bought by mee att Anamabooc and departed this life of the flux.</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah thin and Consumed away untill life departed from her.</p> <p>Rec'd from Wyembah thin and dep'ted of a flux.</p> <p>Rec'd from Anamabooc and dyed of the Cramp in all his Joynts and all over his body being lately recovered of the flux.</p> <p>bought by mee dyed of the Cramp.</p>					

Monday 5. . . . off Cows road . . . sent a letter to bee conveyed to the African howse according to the Direction, and I made saile. . . .

Friday 30th. . . . made the Land of Bonevis

Maie, Saturday 1. . . . easternmost pointe of Saintiaugoo I halled in for Appaia roade . . . went ashoare to the Govern'r whome . . . informed mee that Geo: Parris had ben—but was gone—for Saintiaugoo roade, upon which I returned aboard and fynding that hee was und'r commaund of the Portingall foarte wee thought it most convenient to saile for Cape Mount and waite his coming there. . . .

Monday 30. [August]. . . . came in sight of the towne of Assenee . . . sent my pinase with six of my passeng'rs to Cape Corso with all the lett'rs and pap'rs belonging to the Agent. . . .

Tuesday 31st. . . . severall canoes came aboard from this towne to whom I sold severall goods for gold and slaves.

Sept'r 1675, Wednesday 1st. . . . severall canoes came . . . to whome I sold severall goods for gold and slaves. . . .

Thursday 2d. . . . severall canoes aboard of wich I tooke but littell gold and bought 3 slaves. . . .

Friday 3d. . . . I bought two slaves and tooke two ounces of gold. . . .

Monday 6th. . . . a neaggerman dep'ted this life whoe died suddenly. . . .

[From Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade* [1930] to America (New York: Octagon, 1969), Vol. I: 199, 206–9.]

58 Voyage of the Hannibal, 1693–4

[Feb. 27.] The castle of Cabo Corce is the chief of all those our African company have upon this coast, and where their agents or chief factors always reside, to which all the other factories are subordinate. This castle has a handsome prospect from the sea, and is a very regular and well contriv'd fortification, and as strong as it can be well made, considering its situation, being encompass'd with a strong and high brick wall, thro' which you enter by a well-secur'd and large gate facing the town, and come into a fine and spacious square wherein 4 or 500 men may very conveniently be drawn up and exercis'd. It has four flankers which have a cover'd communication with each other, and are mounted with good guns. . . .

In this castle the agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings; and as to the soldiers, I believe there are not better barracks anywhere than here, each two having a handsome room allow'd them, and receive their pay duly and justly in gold dust once a week for their subsistence. The castle has in all

1676	DAY	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	
Att Sea	May	14	2			the one rec'd from Wyembah very thin departed this life of the flux the other recd from Annambooe and departed this life of the flux.
		16	1			Rec'd from Annambooe and departed this life of a flux.
		20	1			bought by mee and departed this life of Convulsions.
		21	1			Rec'd from Agga and departed this life of a flux.
		22	1			Rec'd at Wyembah and departed this life of a flux.
		23	1			The woman bought by mee dyed of Convulsions the man rec'd att Annambooe dyed of the flux.
		29	1			Rec'd from Wyembah and dyed of a Consumption.
		31	1			Rec'd ditto and dyed of a dropsy.
June 1	ditto	1				
		4	1			
		6	2			
		19			4	
		23				

about forty guns mounted, some of them brass, and commonly 100 white men in garrison, with a military land officer to discipline and command them under the agents. . . .

I also carried there on account of the African company, muskets, nicones, tapseals, baysadoes, brass kettles, English carpets, Welsh plains, lead bars, firkins of tallow, powder, etc. None of which did answer expectation, being forc'd to bring back to England a great part of them; and those we sold were at a very low rate. . . .

When we were at the trunk, the king's slaves, if he had any, were the first offer'd to sale, which the cappasheirs would be very urgent with us to buy, and would in a manner force us to it ere they would shew us any other, saying they were the Reys Cosa, and we must not refuse them, tho' as I observ'd they were generally the worst slaves in the trunk, and we paid more for them than any others, which we could not remedy, it being one of his majesty's prerogatives: then the cappasheirs each brought out his slaves according to his degree and quality, the greatest first, etc. and our surgeon examin'd them well in all kinds, to see that they were sound wind and limb, making them jump, stretch out their arms swiftly, looking in their mouths to judge of their age; for the cappasheirs are so cunning, that they shave them all close before we see them, so that let them be never so old we can see no grey hairs in their heads or beards; and then having liquor'd them well and sleek with palm oil, 'tis no easy matter to know an old one from a middle-age one, but by the teeth decay; but our greatest care of all is to buy none that are pox'd, lest they should infect the rest aboard. . . .

When we had selected from the rest such as we liked, we agreed in what goods to pay for them, the prices being already stated before the king, how much of each sort of merchandise we were to give for a man, woman, and child, which gave us much ease, and saved abundance of disputes and wranglings, and gave the owner a note, signifying our agreement of the sorts of goods; upon delivery of which the next day he receiv'd them; then we mark'd the slaves we had bought in the breast, or shoulder, with a hot iron, having the letter of the ship's name on it, the place being before anointed with a little palm oil, which caus'd but little pain, the mark being usually well in four or five days, appearing very plain and white after.

[. . .]

The negroes are so wilful and loth to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats, which pursued them; they having a more dreadful apprehension of Barbadoes than we can have of hell, tho' in reality they live much better there than in their own country; but home is home, etc: we have likewise seen divers of them eaten by the sharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ships in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to

Barbadoes, for the dead negroes that are thrown over-board in the passage. I am certain in our voyage there we did not want the sight of some every day, but that they were the same I can't affirm.

We had about 12 negroes did wilfully drown themselves, and others starv'd themselves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again.

I have been inform'd that some commanders have cut off the legs and arms of the most wilful, to terrify the rest, for they believe if they lose a member, they cannot return home again: I was advis'd by some of my officers to do the same, but I could not be perswaded to entertain the least thought of it, much less put in practice such barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of christianity and true religion (their misfortune more than fault) are as much the works of God's hands, and no doubt as dear to him as ourselves; nor can I imagine why they should be despis'd for their colour, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleas'd God to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinsic value in one colour more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think so because we are so, and are prone to judge favourably in our own case, as well as the blacks, who in odium of the colour, say, the devil is white, and so paint him.

[. . .]

When we come to sea we let them all out of irons, they never attempting then to rebel, considering that should they kill or master us, they could not tell how to manage the ship, or must trust us, who would carry them where we pleas'd; therefore the only danger is while we are in sight of their own country, which they are loth to part with; but once out of sight out of mind: I never heard that they mutiny'd in any ships of consequence, that had a good number of men, and the least care; but in small tools where they had but few men, and those negligent or drunk, then they surpriz'd and butcher'd them, cut the cables, and let the vessel drive ashore, and every one shift for himself. However, we have some 30 or 40 gold coast negroes, which we buy, and are procur'd us there by our factors, to make guardians and overseers of the Whidaw negroes, and sleep among them to keep them from quarrelling; and in order, as well as to give us notice, if they can discover any caballing or plotting among them, which trust they will discharge with great diligence; they also take care to make the negroes scrape the decks where they lodge every morning very clean, to eschew any distempers that may engender from filth and nastiness; when we constitute a guardian, we give him a cat of nine tails as a badge of his office, which he is not a little proud of, and will exercise with great authority. We often at sea in the evenings would let the slaves come up into the sun to air themselves, and make them jump and dance for an hour or two to our bag-pipes, harp, and fiddle, by which exercise to preserve them in health; but notwithstanding all our

endeavour, 'twas my hard fortune to have great sickness and mortality among them.

[From Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* [1936] (New York: Octagon, 1969), Vol. I: 395-6, 401-3, 407-4]

JOHN NEWTON

59 **Journal of a Slave Trader, 1750-4**

The nature and effects of that unhappy and disgraceful branch of commerce which has long been maintained on the coast of Africa, with the sole avowed professed design of purchasing our fellow creatures, in order to supply our West India islands and the American colonies, when they were ours, with slaves, is now generally understood. So much light has been thrown upon the subject by many able pens, and so many respectable persons have already engaged to use their utmost influence for the suppression of a traffic which contradicts the feelings of humanity, that it is hoped this stain of our national character will be soon wiped out.

[...]

For the sake of method, I could wish to consider the African trade—first, with regard to the effect it has upon our own people; and secondly, as it concerns the blacks, or, as they are more contemptuously styled, the negro slaves, whom we purchase upon the coast. But these two topics are so interwoven together, that it will not be easy to keep them exactly separate.

1. The first point I shall mention is surely of political importance, if the lives of our fellow-subjects be so; and if a rapid loss of seamen deserves the attention of a maritime people. This loss, in the African trade, is truly alarming. I admit, that many of them are cut off in their first voyage, and consequently, before they can properly rank as seamen; though they would have been seamen if they had lived. But the neighbourhood of our seaports is continually drained of men and boys to supply the places of those who die abroad; and if they are not all seamen, they are all our brethren and countrymen, subjects of the British government.

The people who remain on ship-board, upon the open coast, if not accustomed to the climate, are liable to the attack of an inflammatory fever, which is not often fatal, unless the occurrence of unfavorable circumstances makes it so. When this danger is over, I think they might probably be as healthy as in most other voyages, provided they could be kept from sleeping in the dews, from being much exposed to the rain, from the intemperate use of spirits, and especially from women.

[...]

But slaves are the staple article of the traffic; and though a considerable number may have been born near the sea, I believe the bulk of them are brought from far. I have reason to think that some travel more than a thousand miles, before they reach the sea-coast. Whether there may be convicts amongst these likewise, or what proportion they may bear to those who are taken prisoners in war, it is impossible to know.

I judge, the principal source of the slave trade, is, the wars which prevail among the natives. Sometimes these wars break out between those who live near the sea. The English, and other Europeans, have been charged with fomenting them; I believe (so far as concerns the Windward coast) unjustly. That some would do it, if they could, I doubt not; but I do not think they can have opportunity. Nor is it needful they should interfere. Thousands, in our own country, wish for war, because they fatten upon its spoils.

Human nature is much the same in every place, and few people will be willing to allow, that the negroes in Africa are better than themselves. Supposing, therefore, they wish for European goods, may not they wish to purchase them from a ship just arrived? Of course, they must wish for slaves to go to market with; and if they have not slaves, and think themselves strong enough to invade their neighbours, they will probably wish for war.—And if once they wish for it, how easy it is to find, or to make, pretences for breaking an inconvenient peace; or (after the example of greater heroes, of Christian name) to make depredations, without condescending to assign any reasons.

I verily believe, that the far greater part of the wars, in Africa, would cease, if the Europeans would cease to tempt them, by offering goods for slaves. And though they do not bring legions into the field, their wars are bloody. I believe, the captives reserved for sale are fewer than the slain.

[...]

With our ships, the great object is, to be full. When the ship is there, it is thought desirable she should take as many as possible. The cargo of a vessel of a hundred tons, or little more, is calculated to purchase from two hundred and twenty to two hundred and fifty slaves. Their lodging-rooms below the deck, which are three (for the men, the boys, and the women), besides a place for the sick, are sometimes more than five feet high, and sometimes less; and this height is divided towards the middle, for the slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, on each side of the ship, close to each other, like books upon a shelf. I have known them so close, that the shelf would not, easily, contain one more. And I have known a white man sent down, among the men, to lay them in these rows to the greatest advantage, so that as little space as possible might be lost.

Let it be observed, that the poor creatures, thus cramped for want of room, are likewise in irons, for the most part both hands and feet, and two together, which makes it difficult for them to turn or move, to attempt either to rise or to lie down, without hurting themselves, or each other. Nor is the

motion of the ship, especially her heeling, or stoop on one side, when under sail, to be omitted; for this, as they lie athwart, or cross the ship, adds to the uncomfortableness of their lodging, especially to those who lie on the leeward or leaning side of the vessel.

Dire is the tossing, deep the groans.—

The heat and smell of these rooms, when the weather will not admit of the slaves being brought upon deck, and of having their rooms cleaned every day, would be almost insupportable to a person not accustomed to them. If the slaves and their rooms can be constantly aired, and they are not detained too long on board, perhaps there are not many die; but the contrary is often their lot. They are kept down, by the weather, to breathe a hot and corrupted air, sometimes for a week: this, added to the galling of their irons, and the despondency which seizes their spirits when thus confined, soon becomes fatal. And every morning, perhaps, more instances than one are found, of the living and the dead, like the captives of Mezentius, fastened together.

Epidemical fevers and fluxes, which fill the ship with noisome and noxious effluvia, often break out, and infect the seamen likewise, and thus the oppressors, and the oppressed, fall by the same stroke. I believe, nearly one-half of the slaves on board, have, sometimes, died: and that the loss of a third part, in these circumstances, is not unusual. The ship, in which I was mate, left the coast with two hundred and eighteen slaves on board; and though we were not much affected by epidemical disorders, I find by my journal of that voyage (now before me), that we buried sixty-two on our passage to South Carolina, exclusive of those which died before we left the coast, of which I have no account.

I believe, upon an average between the more healthy, and the more sickly voyages, and including all contingencies, one fourth of the whole purchase may be allotted to the article of mortality: that is, if the English ships purchase sixty thousand slaves annually, upon the whole extent of the coast, the annual loss of lives cannot be much less than fifteen thousand.

[From *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (London: J. Buckland, 1788), 98, 100–1, 110–11.]

OTTOBAH CUGOANO

60 The Evil of Slavery

Next day we travelled on, and in the evening came to a town, where I saw several white people, which made me afraid that they would eat me, according to our notion as children in the inland parts of the country. This made me rest very uneasy all the night, and next morning I had some victuals brought, desiring me to eat and make haste, as my guide and kid-napper told me that

he had to go to the castle with some company that were going there, as he had told me before, to get some goods. After I was ordered out, the horrors I soon saw and felt, cannot be well described; I saw many of my miserable countrymen chained two and two, some hand-cuffed, and some with their hands tied behind. We were conducted along by a guard, and when we arrived at the castle, I asked my guide what I was brought there for, he told me to learn the ways of the *browsow*, that is the white faced people. I saw him take a gun, a piece of cloth, and some lead for me, and then he told me that he must now leave me there, and went off. This made me cry bitterly, but I was soon conducted to a prison, for three days, where I heard the groans and cries of many, and saw some of my fellow-captives. But when a vessel arrived to conduct us away to the ship, it was a most horrible scene; there was nothing to be heard but rattling of chains, smacking of whips, and the groans and cries of our fellow-men. Some would not stir from the ground, when they were lashed and beat in the most horrible manner. I have forgot the name of this infernal fort; but we were taken in the ship that came for us, to another that was ready to sail from Cape Coast. When we were put into the ship, we saw several black merchants coming on board, but we were all drove into our holes, and not suffered to speak to any of them.

[...]

These, and all such, I hope thousands, as meet with the knowledge and grace of the Divine clemency, are brought forth quite contrary to the end and intention of all slavery, and, in general, of all slave holders too. And should it please the Divine goodness to visit some of the poor dark Africans, even in the brutal stall of slavery, and from thence to instal them among the princes of his grace, and to invest them with a robe of honor that will hang about their necks for ever; but who can then suppose, that it will be well pleasing unto him to find them subjected there in that defected state? Or can the slave-holders think that the Universal Father and Sovereign of Mankind will be well pleased with them, for the brutal transgression of his law, in bowing down the necks of those to the yoke of their cruel bondage? Sovereign goodness may eventually visit some men even in a state of slavery, but their slavery is not the cause of that event and benignity; and therefore, should some event of good ever happen to some men subjected to slavery, that can plead nothing for men to do evil that good may come; and should it apparently happen from thence, it is neither fought for nor designed by the enslavers of men. But the whole business of slavery is an evil of the first magnitude, and a most horrible iniquity to traffic with slaves and souls of men; and an evil. Sorry I am, that it still subsists, and more astonishing to think that it is an iniquity committed amongst Christians, and contrary to all the genuine principles of Christianity, and yet carried on by men denominated thereby.

[From *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*, 1787 (London: Dawsons, 1969), 8–9, 23–4.]