



MARCUS REDIKER



THE  
SLAVE SHIP



A HUMAN HISTORY





*'The Slave Ship is a tour de force . . . Never before has the reality of the trade been so comprehensively and subtly conveyed'*

ROBIN BLACKBURN



*'I admire this book more than I can easily say. In range and scope and fullness of treatment and in the humaneness of its scrutiny, this account of the Atlantic slave trade is unlikely ever to be superseded'*

BARRY UNSWORTH



*'The Atlantic's foremost historian from below has written a masterpiece'*

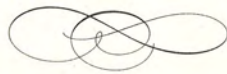
PETER LINEBAUGH



*The*  
SLAVE  
SHIP



*A Human History*



MARCUS REDIKER

JOHN MURRAY

STOCKPORT LIBRARIES

C2001540814

Bertrams	16.10.07
306.362096RE	£30.00
BRA	

First published in Great Britain in 2007 by John Murray (Publishers)

An Hachette Livre UK company

1

© Marcus Rediker 2007

The right of Marcus Rediker to be identified as the Author of the Work has been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Designed by Carla Bolte

Maps by Jeffrey L. Ward

All rights reserved. Apart from any use permitted under UK copyright law no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means without the prior written permission of the publisher, nor be otherwise circulated in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

A CIP catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-7195-6302-7

Typeset in Granjon

Printed and bound by Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

John Murray policy is to use papers that are natural, renewable and recyclable products and made from wood grown in sustainable forests. The logging and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

John Murray (Publishers)

338 Euston Road

London NW1 3BH

[www.johnmurray.co.uk](http://www.johnmurray.co.uk)

<b>STOCKPORT LIBRARIES</b>	
<b>C2001540814</b>	
<b>Bertrams</b>	<b>16.10.07</b>
<b>306.362096RE</b>	<b>£30.00</b>
<b>BRA</b>	

First published in Great Britain in 2007 by John Murray (Publishers)

An Hachette Livre UK company

1

© Marcus Rediker 2007

The right of Marcus Rediker to be identified as the Author of the Work has been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Designed by Carla Bolte

Maps by Jeffrey L. Ward

All rights reserved. Apart from any use permitted under UK copyright law no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means without the prior written permission of the publisher, nor be otherwise circulated in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

A CIP catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-7195-6302-7

Typeset in Granjon

Printed and bound by Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

John Murray policy is to use papers that are natural, renewable and recyclable products and made from wood grown in sustainable forests. The logging and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

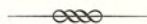
John Murray (Publishers)

338 Euston Road

London NW1 3BH

[www.johnmurray.co.uk](http://www.johnmurray.co.uk)

# CONTENTS



Introduction 1

*Chap.*

- 1 ∞ Life, Death, and Terror in the Slave Trade ∞ 14
- 2 ∞ The Evolution of the Slave Ship ∞ 41
- 3 ∞ African Paths to the Middle Passage ∞ 73
- 4 ∞ Olaudah Equiano: Astonishment and Terror ∞ 108
- 5 ∞ James Field Stanfield and the Floating Dungeon ∞ 132
- 6 ∞ John Newton and the Peaceful Kingdom ∞ 157
- 7 ∞ The Captain's Own Hell ∞ 187
- 8 ∞ The Sailor's Vast Machine ∞ 222
- 9 ∞ From Captives to Shipmates ∞ 263
- 10 ∞ The Long Voyage of the Slave Ship *Brooks* ∞ 308

Epilogue: Endless Passage ∞ 343

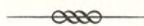
*Acknowledgments* ∞ 357

*Notes* ∞ 361

*Index* ∞ 417

*Illustration Sources and Credits* ∞ 433

# INDEX



- Abington* (ship), 249  
 able seamen, 60  
 abolition movement  
   on African wars as kidnapping, 98  
   Cugoano and, 6  
   D'Wolf trial and, 345-46  
   in end of slave trade, 10, 340  
   Equiano in, 108, 109  
   iconographic vocabulary of, 335  
   Newton joins, 158  
   Riland influenced by, 66-67, 374n.48  
   Robinson attempts to counter, 20  
   sailors' experiences in, 321, 325-26  
   on sharks as terror of slave trade, 39  
   shipbuilding politicized by, 54  
   slave resistance emphasized by, 300, 331  
   slaves as first abolitionists, 11-12  
   slave ships made real by, 8, 308-9  
   Society for Effecting the Abolition of the  
     Slave Trade, 132, 308, 337  
   Stanfield influenced by, 132, 383n.2  
   Trotter's testimony and, 334-35  
   workers in, 12  
   *Zong* trial in development of, 241  
*Abyeda*, 146-47, 385n.23  
*Achebe*, Chinua, 118  
*Adams*, John, 385n.15  
*Adinyés*, 102, 103  
*Adlington* (ship), 171, 370n.18  
*Adventure* (ship), 63, 182  
 Africa  
   African slave-ship sailors, 229, 349  
   commodities traded in, 193  
   as graveyard for sailors, 198, 244  
   slave trade in, 75-78  
   Stanfield on slave trade's effect on,  
   144-48  
   in triangular trade, 46  
   *see also* Bight of Benin; Bight of Biafra;  
   Gold Coast; Senegambia; Sierra  
   Leone; West-Central Africa;  
   Windward Coast; *and peoples by  
   name*
- Africa* (ship), 27-29, 193, 197, 291, 320  
*African* (ship), 174-84  
*African Trade, the Great Pillar and Support  
 of the British Plantation Trade in  
 America, The* (Postlethwayt), 46  
 Agaja, King, 90  
 Akan, 87  
*Albion* (ship), 261  
 alcohol  
   brandy, 32, 58, 195, 196, 208, 216, 232,  
   238, 269, 328  
   grog, 31, 200, 232, 249  
   sailors' consumption of, 137-38, 155, 164  
*Alfred* (ship), 322  
 Angola  
   captains' stereotype of slaves from, 213,  
   267  
   Fraser on slaves from, 29  
   Laurens on slaves from, 36  
   Lunda Empire, 95, 97  
   as source of slaves, 6  
*Ann* (ship), 297  
*Anne* (ship), 283  
*Antelope* (ship), 247-49  
*Antigua*, 33, 172, 173-74, 215  
*Antonio*, Manuel, 182  
*Appleby*, George, 36  
*Arabella* (ship), 78, 79  
*Ardra* (Allada), king of, 25-26  
 armorers (gunners), 57, 60, 165, 233  
*Arnold*, James, 284  
*Aro*, 94, 110, 113, 118  
*Arthur*, Robert, 174  
 articles of agreement, 138  
*Asa-Asa*, Louis, 102-4, 106, 274, 379nn. 35,  
   37  
*Asante*, 77, 87, 88, 98, 267  
*Asiento*, 6  
*Aspinall*, Edward, 91  
*Aspinall*, William, 188, 189  
*Atkins*, John, 98, 100, 297  
*Aubrey*, T., 287  
*Austin & Laurens*, 36

## INDEX

- Bagshaw, William, 88, 90  
 Baker, Richard, 125–26, 130  
 Baker, Thomas, 193–94  
 Balante, 81  
 Bambara, 79  
 Bance Island, 44, 168  
 Bannister, John, 50, 371n.19  
 Barbados  
     Bridgetown, 123, 253  
     as destination for slaves, 9  
     Equiano in, 122–24  
     Gronniosaw taken to, 105  
 Barber, Miles, 251–52  
 barks, 63, 373n.45  
 barricado, 70, 165, 169, 282, 297  
 Bartholomew, Perato, 57  
 Beard, James, 249–50  
*Bee* (ship), 184  
 Behrendt, Stephen D., 11, 190, 373n.41, 388n.6  
 Bellamy, Joseph, 248  
 Benezet, Anthony, 341, 385n.22  
*Benin* (ship), 258  
*Benson* (ship), 270  
 Bermuda sloop, 53  
*Bess* (ship), 197  
*Betsey* (ship), 65  
 Bight of Benin, 88–91  
     as deadly for whites, 244  
     foods from, 237  
     mortality of slaves from, 274  
     slaves from interior markets purchased  
         in, 99  
     as source of slaves, 6  
     Stanfield in, 140, 144–48  
 Bight of Biafra, 91–94  
     belief in going home to Guinea after  
         death in, 301  
     as deadly for whites, 244  
     foods from, 237  
     magnitude of slave trade in, 110–11  
     mortality of slaves from, 120, 274  
     as source of slaves, 6  
     see also Bonny  
 Bijagos Islanders, 81  
 Billinge, Henry, 258  
 Billinge, James, 181  
 Birch, Peter, 194  
 Bird, Japhet, 289  
 Black Bart (Bartholomew Roberts), 22–23, 33, 250  
 Blackburn, Robin, 44  
     “black cook,” 60  
*Black Joke* (ship), 286, 326  
*Black Prince* (ship), 233, 250  
 black trade, 78  
 Blake, William, 46  
*Blayds* (ship), 191  
 Blundell, Thomas, 258  
 “Boatswain, The” (slave), 16  
 “Boatswain Bess” (slave), 280  
 boatswains, 57, 60, 165–66, 216, 232  
 boat trade, 78, 206  
 Bobangi, 94–95  
 bondage, hardware of, 72, 154, 202  
 Bonny  
     burial ground for sailors at, 246  
     canoemen transport captive woman, 1  
     Crow trades at, 211  
     Equiano arrives at, 116  
     Fraser on slaves from, 30  
     Jenkins trades at, 208–9  
     *Parr* explosion, 63  
     sharks at, 38  
     slaves from interior markets purchased  
         in, 99  
     as slave-trading center, 93, 110  
 Bosman, Willem, 38–39  
 Bostock, Robert, 194, 197, 198  
 Boulton, Thomas, 199–201, 215, 241, 384n.8  
 Bowen, James, 220, 272, 305, 306–7  
 Bowen, Josiah, 245  
 Bowen, Richard, 293, 295  
 Bowes, Christopher, 402n.26  
 Branagan, Thomas, 384n.8  
 branding, 34, 72, 268  
 brandy, 32, 58, 195, 196, 208, 216, 232, 238, 269, 328  
 Bridgetown (Barbados), 123, 253  
 Bridson, John, 172  
 Bristol  
     Clarkson’s research in, 29, 319–22  
     Jenkins sails from, 208, 392n.43  
     Liverpool overtakes in slave trade, 50, 53  
     mortality rate for sailors from, 244  
     slave-ship captains from, 190  
     Society of Merchant Venturers, 245, 397n.48  
     trend toward larger vessels in, 64  
     “Bristol voyage,” 206  
*Britain’s Glory; or Ship-Building Unvail’d* (Sutherland), 55  
*Briton* (ship), 88, 246  
 Brooke, Richard, 399nn. 69, 76



## INDEX

- Brooks* (ship), 308–42  
 ambiguity of image of, 337–38  
 barbarism as key to understanding image of, 337–40  
 coffinlike shape of, 274, 339  
 continues sailing, 340–42  
 in debates over slave trade, 326–31  
 diagram of, 8, 274, 308–9, 311–19  
 French Revolution influenced by image of, 329–31  
 impact of image of, 335–40  
 London image of, 316–19  
 main ethnic groups aboard, 334  
 number of slaves carried by, 311  
 in parliamentary debate on slave trade, 331–35  
 Parrey's report on, 310, 318  
 Philadelphia and New York images of, 314–15  
 Plymouth image of, 311–14, 336  
 reproduction of image of, 327  
 rigorous economy of, 339  
 sailors' interviews compared with image of, 325  
 slave commits suicide on, 17–19  
 slave insurrection associated with, 330, 331  
 why it was featured in abolitionist propaganda, 310–11
- Brooks, Joseph, Jr., 310, 322, 340
- Brothers* (ship), 321
- Brownlow* (ship), 163, 187–88, 217, 218–19, 221
- Bruce Grove* (ship), 229, 246  
 "building house," 143  
 bullying, 204–5, 251  
 Bundy, John, 245–46  
 Burges, Richard, 29  
 burial at sea, 38, 246
- Butterworth, William  
 as amazed by ships, 381n.13  
 becomes slave-ship sailor, 226, 227  
 on bonding among slaves, 306  
 on captains, 201–2, 210  
 discharged in Kingston, 253  
 on fights among slaves, 271  
 on guard duty, 236–37  
 on lack of sleep on shipboard, 232  
 on officers' hard hearts, 220–21  
 on slave communication, 278, 279–82  
 on slave insurrection, 293  
 on slave "Sarah," 19  
 on slaves' arrival at ship, 363n.1
- Buxton* (ship), 249–50
- Byam* (ship), 210
- Cabinda, 97  
 cannibalism, 108, 117, 266–67  
 cannon, cast-iron, 42  
 canoe houses, 1, 93, 210  
*Canterbury* (ship), 235  
 Cape Coast Castle, 44, 78, 85, 106, 250, 298  
 Cape Mount Jack, 278  
 capitalism  
   *Brooks* image and violence of, 338–39  
   captains' role in, 188  
   deep-sea sailing ships in development of, 41, 42–43, 44  
   plantation system, 5, 43–44, 46, 122, 338, 347  
   slave ships in Atlantic system of capital and labor, 348–50  
   slave trade in development of manufacturing, 46  
   *see also* merchants
- captains of slave ships, 187–221  
 as aloof and remote, 213  
 backgrounds of, 188–90  
 Boulton on, 199–201  
 as bullies, 204–5, 251  
 cabin of, 203  
 cat-o'-nine-tails reserved for, 238  
 characteristics of, 6–7  
 Clarkson and, 8, 320, 323, 338  
 command isolation of, 203  
 as craftsmen, 188  
 crew recruited by, 137, 139, 200–202, 222  
 Crow, 188–90  
 dead slave bodies abused by, 303  
 D'Wolf, 343–47  
 experience offered by, 191  
 "favorites" of, 19, 203, 215  
 as foremen, 44–45  
 Fox, 56–61  
 Fraser, 29–31  
 fraudulent trading practices of, 212  
 functions of, 57–58  
 as investors or shipowners, 390n.18  
 Jackson, 187–88  
 letters of instruction to, 190–99  
 mortality of, 197–98  
 Newton, 157–86  
 Norris, 31–32  
 officers recruited by, 199–200  
 power of, 157–58, 188, 202–6  
 relations with one another, 209–12

- captains of slave ships (*continued*)  
   as representatives of merchants, 57–58,  
     190–91, 349  
   savage spirit of, 217–21  
   selling items to crew, 206, 392n.41  
   sharks used to terrorize slaves by,  
     39–40  
   and slaves, 212–17  
   Snelgrave, 25–27  
   Stanfield on, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144,  
     155  
   as traders, 206–9  
   wages of, 193–94  
   watches taken by, 232  
   Watkins, 27–29  
   wealth acquired by, 388n.6  
 Captain Tomba, 14–16  
 Carey, Mathew, 314, 315, 337  
 carpenters, 57, 59–60, 165  
 Carretta, Vincent, 109, 380n.3  
 Carter, Joseph, 29  
 cat-o'-nine-tails, 16, 142, 154, 202, 205, 216,  
   235, 236, 238, 240, 332, 348  
 Chadwick, Richard, 194  
 chains, 72, 154, 202, 234, 267–68, 296  
 Chamba (Dunco), 267, 272, 295, 334,  
   401n.8  
 Chapman, Fredrik Henrik ap, 55  
 Charles, James, 290–91  
 Charleston (South Carolina), 36, 65, 253,  
   307, 327, 367n.18  
 Charleston (ship), 73, 74, 203, 375nn. 1, 3  
 Charles-Town (ship), 269  
 Chesapeake, 6  
 Christian, David, 63  
 Christopher, Emma, 45, 228, 231, 239, 250  
 City of London (ship), 286–87  
 Clannen, Henry, 344, 345, 346, 413n.6  
 Clare (ship), 298  
 Clarkson, Thomas  
   on Abyeda, 385n.23  
   on African belief in transmigration of  
     souls, 302  
   aids sailors in bringing prosecutions,  
     323–24  
   attempt on life of, 323, 338  
   on *Brooks* image, 309, 310, 317, 335–36,  
     409n.29  
   *Brooks* image distributed to Parliament  
     by, 335  
   *Brooks* image given to emperor of Russia  
     by, 410n.37  
   and destitute sailors, 414n.15  
   *Essay on the Comparative Efficiency of  
     Regulation of Abolition as applied to  
     the Slave Trade*, An, 324, 336, 338  
   *Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave  
     Trade*, An, 324, 331  
   on Haitian Revolution, 331  
   *History of the Rise, Progress, and  
     Accomplishment of the Abolition of  
     the African Slave-Trade by the British  
     Parliament*, 317  
   on mortality rate for sailors, 244  
   in Paris, 329  
   research on slave trade, 8, 29, 319–26  
   retires from public life, 340  
   on slave resistance, 300–301  
   on slave women singing, 284  
   and Stanfield, 132, 383n.2  
   *Substance of the Evidence of Sundry  
     Persons on the Slave-Trade*, 324–25  
   on variety of slaving vessels, 61–66,  
     374n.52  
 Claxton, Ecroyde, 239, 277  
 Clemens, James, 195, 196  
 Cocket, Thomas, 254  
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 327  
 Collingwood, Luke, 240–41, 290, 345–46  
 Comte du Nord (ship), 275  
 confidence slaves, 214  
 Connolly, James, 73  
 Connor, John, 204–5  
 Cooke, Captain, 245  
 cooks, 57, 60, 71  
 Cooney, William, 176, 179  
 Cooper, Thomas, 309, 335  
 coopers, 57, 60  
 copper-sheathed hulls, 71, 374nn.53, 55  
 Cornwall (ship), 167  
 Coromantees, 213, 295, 343, 345, 346–47,  
   348  
 Cowan, Alexander, 20  
 Cranston, John, 343–45, 346, 352, 412n.2,  
   413nn.4, 5  
 Cremer, Jack, 381n.13  
 Crescent (ship), 20  
 crews of slave ships, 222–62  
   abolition movement and, 321, 325–26  
   Africans among, 229, 349  
   blacklisting of seamen, 211  
   as brother tars, 231  
   burial at sea of, 38  
   captains entertain themselves by  
     tormenting, 218  
   Clarkson interviews, 8, 320–25

## INDEX

- complaints that slaves are better treated, 261
- composition of, 57
- conditions on *Brooks*, 319
- contradictory class position of, 259–62
- culture of, 230–32
- desertion by, 171, 250–51, 270, 321
- at end of voyage, 251–53, 350–52
- food for, 205–6, 228, 232, 261
- of Fox's *Peggy*, 56–61
- as jolly jack-tars, 155, 224
- Liverpool insurrection of 1775, 253–59
- merchants concerned about resistance by, 196
- mortality of, 244–47, 397n.45
- mutiny by, 175–77, 197, 247–50
- nationality and ethnicity of, 229
- of Newton's *Duke of Argyle*, 163–64
- Newton's opinion of, 164, 227
- Owen, 23–26
- as prison guards, 234–39, 260
- private trade by, 228
- reasons for joining slave ships, 225–30
- recruitment of, 137–40, 155, 200–202, 222–25
- relationship with captain, 6–7
- Robinson, 20–22
- sexual exploitation of female slaves, 241–43
- sickness among, 171–72, 252, 261, 270, 351
- social background of, 227
- Stanfield on, 137–40, 155, 227, 239
- suicide by, 245–46
- violence against slaves by, 239–44
- wages of, 193–94, 203, 222, 228, 253, 254, 395n.18, 400n.84
- as “white” men, 10, 260–61
- as “white slaves,” 348
- as workers, 45
- work of, 232–39
- see also* discipline
- crime, slavery as punishment for, 75, 99
- crimps, 137, 140, 224, 227, 391n.32
- Cropper, Robert, 175, 181
- Crow, Hugh, 188–89
- cooperation with other captains, 211
- on desecrating dead slave bodies, 303
- on Ibibio, 294–95
- on Igbo sharing, 101
- King Holiday of Bonny and, 43
- on reparations, 353
- severity and cruelty distinguished by, 197
- on sharks, 39
- on slave-ship sailors, 227
- on slaves jumping overboard, 289
- slaves rewarded for good behavior by, 216
- as trader, 206–7
- Cruikshank, Isaac, 327
- Cugoano, Ottobah, 6, 340
- Currie, James, 323, 405n.53
- Curtin, Philip, 11
- “dab-a-dab,” 58, 238
- Dagge, John, 33
- Dahomey, 31, 77, 90, 293
- Dalziel, Alexander, 336
- “dancing,” 7, 19, 61, 164, 170, 237–38, 260, 267, 325, 332
- dashee* (*comey*), 207, 208
- Davis, Howell, 22
- dead list, 247, 397n.53
- Dean, John, 321
- death, *see* mortality
- Deborah* (ship), 64
- debt
- in recruitment of crews, 138, 139, 223, 225, 226
- selling into slavery for, 82, 99
- Delight* (ship), 199
- Derby* (ship), 253–54
- desertion, 171, 250–51, 270, 321
- Dickinson, Dr., 281, 282
- “Dicky Sam,” 204, 239
- discipline
- as brutal, 7, 205
- dialectic of resistance and, 264
- merchants’ concern about, 196–97
- Newton’s strict, 158
- see also* punishment
- disease, *see* sickness
- “Dizia, an *African Lady*” (Boulton), 215
- doctors (surgeons)
- cat-o’-nine-tails used by, 238
- conflict with captain, 210–11
- eat with captain, 203
- functions of, 59, 237
- slaves examined by, 4, 59, 212, 265
- in slave-ship division of labor, 57
- wages of, 193, 194
- Dolben, Sir William, 329
- Dolben Act (Slave Carrying Bill) of 1788, 59, 68, 291, 313, 317, 336, 337, 341
- Donnan, Elizabeth, 52, 371n.19
- “door of no return,” 106
- DuBois, W. E. B., 4, 348, 363n.2

- Duke, Antera, 91, 93, 377n.20  
*Duke of Argyle* (ship), 163–74  
 Dunbar, Charles, 215  
 Duncan, Captain, 167, 168  
 Duncan, John, 399n.65  
 Dundas, Sir Henry, 340  
 Dunfry, Peter, 57  
 Dunn, John, 9  
 D'Wolf, James, 343–47, 348, 352–53,  
 412n.2, 413nn.4, 5, 414n.9  
 D'Wolf family, 190, 343, 346, 371n.21  
 dysentery, 120, 271, 274  
 Dyula merchants, 81
- Eagle* (ship), 44, 135–36, 140, 385n.14  
*Earl of Halifax* (ship), 177, 178  
 Edwards, Captain, 269  
 Edwards, Richard, 283  
 Efik, 91, 93, 117  
 Ekpe (Leopard) Society, 91, 93  
 Elford, William, 308, 310, 311, 409nn.17,  
 29  
*Eliza* (ship), 9, 65–66, 270  
*Elizabeth* (ship), 245, 277, 290  
 Ellery, William, 196  
 Ellis, Thomas, 255  
 Ellison, Henry  
   on captain as trader, 207  
   on education and advancement for  
   sailors, 229  
   on sailors entering slave trade, 226–27  
   on separation of slaves, 306  
   on slave insurrections, 27, 28, 29, 292  
   on superfluous sailors in West Indies,  
   252, 351, 352  
 Eltis, David, 11  
*Emilia* (ship), 278  
*Endeavor* (ship), 249  
 English language, 130, 206, 278, 293  
*Enterprize* (ship), 192  
 Equiano, Olaudah, 108–31  
   African home of, 110–13  
   autobiography of, 109, 325  
   in Barbados, 122–24  
   controversy over origins of, 109, 380n.2  
   father as slaveholder, 110  
   as Gustavus Vassa, 109, 129–30  
   kidnapping of, 113–16  
   in Middle Passage, 120–22  
   new connections with his countrymen,  
   117–18, 304  
   passage to England of, 124–27  
   personal names in account of, 129  
   purchases his freedom, 121  
   on the slave ship, 116–19  
   on white people, 128–29  
*Essay on Colonization, An* (Wadstrom), 331  
*Essay on the Comparative Efficiency of  
 Regulation of Abolition as applied to  
 the Slave Trade, An* (Clarkson), 324,  
 336, 338  
*Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave  
 Trade, An* (Clarkson), 324, 331  
*Essay on the Study and Composition of  
 Biography, An* (Stanfield), 384n.7  
*Essex* (ship), 246–47  
 ethnogenesis, 118  
*Europe Supported by Africa & America*  
 (Blake), 46  
 Evans, Jenkin  
   dispels rumor about long voyage, 282  
   as hypocrite, 202  
   “Sarah” as “favorite” of, 19–20  
   slave plot on ship of, 279, 280  
   stations guard in male captives’ quarters,  
   236  
 Ewe, 90  
 exemplary punishment, 216–17  
*Expedition* (ship), 21
- Fage, J.D., 375n.3  
 Falconbridge, Alexander  
   on cat-o-nine-tails, 205, 238  
   Clarkson and, 323  
   on Fraser, 29, 30–31  
   on Gold Coast slaves, 294  
   on necessary tubs, 235  
   on separation of slaves, 306  
   on sexual relations on slave ships, 242–43  
   on sharks in Bonny, 38  
   on slave ships and slaughterhouses, 150,  
   274, 319  
   on violence among slaves, 271  
 Falconer, William, 55, 65, 374n.50  
 Fante, 87–88  
   on *Brooks*, 334  
   chaining of, 267  
   Chamba as enemies of, 272, 295  
   knowledge of Europeans and sailing,  
   105, 293–94  
   in slave trade, 143, 155, 229, 272  
   “favorites,” 19, 203, 215  
 Fellowes, Joseph, 175  
 Fentiman, Edward, 287  
*Ferrers Galley* (ship), 213, 287  
*Ferret* (ship), 258

## INDEX

- fever, 172, 244, 275  
 fictive kinship, 8, 231, 304  
 fire, 195–96  
 firearms, *see* guns (firearms)  
 Fisher, John, 255  
 Fisher, Thomas, 199  
 Fitzpatrick, Sir Jeremiah, 65  
 flogging (whipping)  
   adding salt to the wound, 142  
   cat-o'-ninc-tails, 16, 142, 154, 202, 205,  
   216, 235, 236, 238, 240, 332, 348  
   Equiano on, 118  
   for insurrection, 299  
   Noble on his use of, 333  
   for refusal to eat, 117, 118, 286  
   for songs of resistance, 284  
   Stanfield on, 141, 142, 148  
   unmerciful, 218  
*Florida* (ship), 273, 288  
*Fly* (ship), 61  
 Fon, 90, 98  
 food  
   for captain, 203, 269  
   for crew, 205–6, 228, 232, 261  
   Igbo, 111  
   short allowance, 205–6, 232  
   for slaves, 58, 237, 238, 261, 238, 328  
   women slaves in preparation of, 269  
 Foreign Slave Trade Bill of 1806, 341  
 Forrester, John, 176, 177  
 Fort James, 44, 79  
 Fort Komenda, 84, 85  
 fort trade, 78, 206  
 Fountain, John, 401n.8  
 Fousha, Henry, 136  
 Fox, Anthony, 56–61, 66  
 Fox, Charles James, 329  
 Fox, John, 215  
 Fraser, James, 29–31, 274, 366n.13  
*Free Love* (ship), 241  
 Freeman, Captain, 171  
 free traders, 33, 47  
 French Revolution, 329–31, 340  
 Fryer, James, 197  
 Fulbe, 79, 84  
 Fuse, Arthur, 7  
 Futa Jallon, 78, 81, 84  
  
 Gamble, Samuel, 198, 273  
 Georgia, 6, 341  
 ghost ships, 72, 245, 298–99  
 Glover, George, 246–47  
 Gola, 73–74, 84, 98, 106, 293  
  
 Gold Coast, 84–88  
   belief in going home to Guinea after  
   death in, 301  
   Cape Coast Castle, 44, 78, 85, 106, 250,  
   298  
   foods from, 237  
   Fraser on slaves from, 30  
   health of slaves from, 274  
   insurrections among slaves from, 294  
   Lauren on slaves from, 36  
   as relatively healthy for whites, 244  
   slave insurrection off, 298  
   slaves from interior markets purchased  
   in, 99  
   as source of slaves, 6  
   Stanfield on hiring Fante workers on,  
   143  
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 39–40  
 Gomez, Michael, 382n.18  
 Goodboy, John, 57  
 Gordon, Thomas, 41, 44, 45, 55  
 Goree Island, 106  
 Grafton, Joseph and Joshua, 198, 199  
 Green, Peter, 323  
*Greyhound* (ship), 72, 162, 182  
 grog, 31, 200, 232, 249  
 Gronniosaw, Ukawsaw, 104–5, 106  
 grumettoes, 229  
 Guerard, John, 371n.22  
 Guinea casks, 69  
*Guinea Voyage: A Poem in Three Books, The*  
   (Stanfield), 132, 133, 154, 383n.5,  
   384n.6  
 Guinea worm, 252, 351  
 gunners (armorers), 57, 60, 165, 233  
 gun room, 71, 295, 297  
 guns (firearms)  
   African ruling groups possess, 77, 87  
   Aro use of, 94  
   in Benin, 90  
   for guarding captives, 234  
   slaves traded for, 77, 102, 113  
   slaves using in insurrections, 294  
   for terrorizing captives, 169  
  
 Haitian Revolution, 10, 331, 340, 341  
 Hall, John Ashley, 270  
 Hamilton, John, 171  
 Harding, Richard, 15  
 Hardingham, John, 55  
 hardware of bondage, 72, 154, 202  
 Hardwicke, Eustace, 249–50  
 Harms, Robert, 11

- Harris, Charles, 269  
 Harrison, David, 245  
*Hawk* (ship), 227, 229  
 Hawkins, Joseph, 73-74, 302, 375nn.1, 3  
 health care  
   as lacking for slaves, 274  
   sailors complain about, 261  
   *see also* doctors (surgeons)  
 Henderson, David, 284  
*Hesketh* (ship), 62  
 Hewlett, Captain, 321  
 Hilgrove, Nicholas, 9  
 Hill, George, 258  
*Hind* (ship), 210  
*History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament* (Clarkson), 317  
 Hobhouse, Isaac, 196  
 Hogg, James, 288  
 Holiday, King of Bonny, 42-43  
 Holmes, Captain, 248  
 House of Slaves (Goree Island), 106  
*Hudibras* (ship), 19-20, 202, 236, 279-82, 283, 295, 363n.1  
 Humbe, 97  
 Humble, Michael, 54  
 Hurry, William, 54  
 Hutchinson, William, 55  
  
 Ibau, 73-74, 84, 98, 302  
 Ibibio, 4, 93, 116, 117, 267, 294-95  
 Igala, 93, 117  
 Igbo  
   cannibalism feared by, 266-67  
   decentralized social organization of, 93, 94  
   egalitarian practices on slave ships, 101  
   Oludah Equiano, 108, 110-12  
   female slave from, 3  
   Ibibio as enemies of, 295  
   language as widely understood, 117-18, 127, 277  
   Laurens on, 36  
   as product of slave trade, 118  
   suicide by, 212-13, 382n.18  
 Ijo, 93-94, 117  
*Industrious Bee* (ship), 125, 129  
 insurance, 240-41, 291, 345  
 insurrection on slave ships, 291-301  
   on *Africa*, 27-29  
   barricado for defense against, 70  
  
*Brooks* image and, 330, 331  
   on *Brownlow*, 163, 218-19  
   causes of, 299  
   on *Delight*, 199  
   on French slaver, 168-69  
   on *Hudibras*, 19-20, 279-80, 295  
   on *New Britannia*, 290, 293  
   outcomes of, 298-99  
   punishment for, 240  
   on *Unity*, 32, 293  
   on *Wasp*, 288, 293, 295  
*Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (Equiano), 325  
 interpreters, 206  
 Ireland, Jonathan, 181  
 Islam, 77, 79, 81, 84, 99, 302  
  
 Jackson, Richard  
   Newton makes alliance with, 183  
   Newton sails with, 163, 187-88, 217  
   "Now, I have a hell of my own," 187-88, 217  
   punishes slaves for attempted insurrection, 218-19, 221  
   terror used by, 348  
 Jamaica  
   Captain Tomba delivered to, 16  
   as destination for slaves, 6  
   Kingston, 17, 39, 253, 352  
   Laurens trades in, 35  
   Riland returns to, 66  
   Stanfield sails to, 136  
   Tacky's Revolt, 345  
 James, C.L.R., 43  
 James, William, 257  
 Jasper, Captain, 171  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 341  
 Jeffreys, Ninian, 352  
 Jenkins, William, 208-9, 392n.43  
 jihad, 81, 84  
 Jillett, Thomas, 246  
 Job Ben Solomon, 78-79, 81, 101  
 Joe-men, 146, 155  
*John* (ship), 72  
 judicial punishments, 75, 99  
  
 Kabes, John, 84-85, 87, 377n.15  
 Kasanje, 97  
*Katherine* (ship), 33, 34  
 Kelsal, James, 240  
 Kennelly, John, 250  
 Kettle, James, 286-87

## INDEX

- kidnapping  
 African merchants and, 349  
 African war as, 98, 146, 334  
 Bobangi on, 95  
 of Equiano, 113-16  
 of Gronniosaw, 104-6  
 Newton on, 168  
 resistance to, 100
- King, Thomas, 307
- Kingston (Jamaica), 17, 39, 253, 352
- kinship, fictive, 8, 231, 304
- Klein, Herbert S., 11, 363n.4, 388n.6
- Kongo, 6, 77, 94, 95, 97
- Konny, John, 87
- Kru, 84, 229, 293-94
- Lace family, 190
- Lady Neilson* (ship), 20-21
- landsmen, 57, 61, 164, 227
- languages, 117-18, 127, 206, 276-78
- Lapsansky, Philip, 408n.11
- Lapworth, Will, 170-71
- Laroche, James, 193
- Laurens, Henry, 35-37, 353
- Lawson, Caesar, 192
- Lawson, Edward, 171
- Leadstine, John, 15
- Lees, William, 166
- Leigh, William, 221, 242, 243
- Lemma Lemma, Captain, 88, 90
- Lewis, Job, 181, 182, 183
- Leyland, Thomas, 191, 192, 193, 195-96
- Liberty* (ship), 67-72, 285-86, 374n.47
- Lines, William, 322
- Littleton, William, 235
- Liverpool  
 becomes leading slave trading port, 50,  
 53  
 Bight of Biafra trade of, 93  
*Brooks* sails from, 310, 342  
 Clarkson's research in, 8, 319-20, 322-23  
 delegates to parliamentary hearings  
 from, 327-28, 336-37  
 farewells to slave ships in, 187  
 first recorded voyages from, 9  
 Manesty, 50, 52  
 mortality rate for sailors from, 244  
 Newton sails from, 163-64, 174, 181  
 Noble family of, 190, 410n.40  
 Norris, 31-32  
*Parr* built at, 63  
 recruiting slavers' crews in, 137-40,  
 222-25
- "Bully" Roberts sails from, 204  
 sailors' insurrection of 1775, 253-59  
 slave-ship captains from, 190  
 slave ships built in, 53-54  
 specialized slaving vessels built at, 66  
 Stanfield sails from, 135  
 trend toward larger vessels in, 64  
 wage reduction in, 253, 254, 400n.84
- Loango, 95, 97
- London  
 Liverpool overtakes in slave trade, 50,  
 53  
 Morice, 33-35  
 trend toward larger vessels in, 64
- longboats, 59, 69, 70, 196, 233-34, 247
- Lopez, Aaron, 191
- Louis XVI, 329-31
- Lovejoy, Paul, 363n.4, 380n.2
- Loyal George* (ship), 202, 226, 263-64, 287
- Luanda, 97
- Lunda Empire, 95, 97
- McBride, Captain, 210
- McGaughey, James, 207
- McIntosh, William, 278
- Mackdonald, Peter, 176-77
- Magnus, John, 58
- Malinke, 79, 81
- manacles, 72, 154, 202, 234, 267-68, 296
- Manchester, Isaac, 414n.9
- Manesty, Joseph  
*Adlington* owned by, 171, 370n.18  
 Newton employed by, 50, 163, 164, 175,  
 181, 183, 184  
 slave ships built by, 50-53, 66, 71
- Mane Wars, 84
- Mann, Luke, 253-54
- Manning, Patrick, 363n.4
- Mansfield, Judge, 291
- maritime tongues, 277-78
- Marjoribanks, John, 384n.8
- Marshall, Thomas, 286, 326
- Mary* (ship), 189, 268
- Massachusetts, 52, 53
- Matamba, 97
- mates, 58-59  
 cat-o'-nine-tails used by, 216  
 eat with captain, 203  
 learning required of, 229  
 in slave-ship division of labor, 57  
 wages for, 193, 194  
 watches taken by, 232
- Matthews, John, 98, 198, 266, 305, 336

- Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahádee, King of Dahomy, and Inland Country of Guiney* (Norris), 31
- Mende, 84
- Mendoss, John, 208
- merchants
- African, 77, 78, 81, 95, 97, 104, 110, 167–68, 207–8, 349
  - captain as representative of, 57–58, 190–91, 349
  - captains employed by, 190–99
  - Clarkson and, 8, 320, 323, 338
  - Laurens, 35–37
  - in Liverpool insurrection of 1775, 254–59
  - Morice, 33–35
  - Norris, 31–32
  - Postlethwayt, 45–50
  - receiving, 349
  - “ship’s husband,” 202
  - slave ships as factories for, 44–45
  - slave trade controlled by, 47
  - Stanfield on, 136–39, 154
  - in top tier of slave trade, 14, 353
  - violence of, 338–39
  - see also* Royal African Company
- Mercury* (ship), 270
- Merrick, George, 197–98
- Messervy, Francis, 213
- Middle Passage
- abolitionist depictions of, 8.
  - crew mortality on, 246
  - emphasis on mortality of, 354
  - Equiano’s experience of, 120–22
  - as linking expropriation and exploitation, 75, 127, 375<sup>n.4</sup>
  - Newton’s *Duke of Argyle* makes, 170–73
  - Norris on, 31–32
  - number of slaves in, 5
  - Stanfield on, 148–52
  - superfluous crew members after, 251–53, 261
- Middleton, Thomas, 258
- Millar, George, 235
- Miller, Joseph, 11, 363<sup>n.4</sup>
- Miller, William, 233
- Molembo, 97
- Molineux, Captain, 239
- Molly* (ship), 208–9, 392<sup>n.43</sup>
- Moore, Francis, 99
- Moore, Henry, 191, 388<sup>n.7</sup>
- More, Hannah, 327
- Morice, Humphry, 33–35
- instructions for his captains, 193, 196, 197
  - insulates himself from consequences of his actions, 353
  - Laurens compared with, 36
  - trades in Whydah, 199
- Morley, James, 286
- mortality
- of captains, 197–98
  - of crews, 244–47, 397<sup>n.5</sup>
  - main causes of death, 244, 274–75
  - of slaves, 5–6, 274–76, 347, 363<sup>n.4</sup>
- Murdock, William, 342
- Murray, Mungo, 55
- Murray, Robert, 57
- mutiny, 175–77, 197, 247–50, 398<sup>n.56</sup>
- Nancy* (ship), 64–65, 124
- Nassau* (ship), 290
- necessary tubs, 43, 169, 235, 267, 271–72, 318
- neck irons, 28, 72, 154, 178, 202, 205, 267–68
- Nelly* (ship), 71
- Neptune* (ship), 270
- New Britannia* (ship), 290, 293
- New Calabar, 93, 99, 110, 273
- Newport (Rhode Island), 50, 64, 191, 343
- Newton, John, 157–86
- on African coastal traders, 105
  - African wife of, 161
  - “Amazing Grace” written by, 158, 185
  - as bred to the sea, 159, 190
  - Christian paternalism of, 185
  - as Church of England minister, 158
  - communicates with other captains, 209–10
  - on cruelty of slave-ship captains, 217–20
  - enslavement of, 160–61
  - enters slave trade, 160–61
  - and Equiano, 382<sup>n.25</sup>
  - first voyage, 1750–51, 163–74
  - on fraudulent trading practices of captains, 212
  - illness on third voyage, 183–84
  - Manesty as employer of, 50, 163, 164, 175, 181, 183, 184
  - as mate on the *Brownlow*, 163, 187–88, 217
  - mutiny against, 175–77
  - from rebel sailor to Christian captain, 159–63
  - religious conversion of, 162–63, 174
  - religious manual for sailors proposed by, 387<sup>n.20</sup>



INDEX

- second voyage, 1752–53, 174–81  
on sexual exploitation of female slaves,  
241, 242  
on slave-ship captaincy as godly calling,  
185  
on slave-ship sailors, 164, 227  
spiritual diary of, 158, 174, 175, 178, 179  
stroke ends slaving career of, 184  
third voyage, 1753–54, 181–84  
on Tucker, 82  
as writer, 158
- Nightingale* (ship), 16, 27, 28, 29, 292
- Noble, Clement, 331–35  
as captain of *Brooks*, 18, 338, 340, 411n.45  
family of, 410n.40
- Noble family, 190, 410n.40
- Norris, Robert, 31–32  
on captain going belowdecks, 393n.53  
on close stowing of slaves, 328  
on guarding captives, 396n.32  
*Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahádee,  
King of Dahomy, and Inland Country  
of Guiney*, 31  
on paying careful attention to captives,  
237  
on regulation of slave trade, 336  
on sexual abuse of slave women, 242  
*Short Account of the African Slave Trade,  
Collected from Local Knowledge, A,  
31*  
on war as source of slaves, 98
- Observations on a Guinea Voyage* (Stanfield),  
132, 133, 382n.25, 383nn.2, 5, 384n.6
- officers of slave ships  
captains discuss, 210  
cat-o'-nine-tails reserved for, 238  
recruitment of, 199–200  
sexual exploitation of female slaves by,  
203, 243  
wages of, 193–94  
*see also* doctors (surgeons); mates
- Ogden* (ship), 117, 120
- Ogle, Challenor, 23
- Ogoni, 94
- Old Calabar, 91, 93, 99, 110, 235, 283, 288,  
302
- Oldfield, J.R., 384n.6, 409n.29
- Oliver, George, 256
- ordinary seamen, 60
- Oriji, John, 111
- Osei Tutu, 87
- Ovimbundu, 97
- Owen, Nicholas, 23–26, 82, 276
- Oyo Empire, 77, 90
- Pain, Samuel, 7
- Park, Mungo, 105, 269
- Parker, Isaac, 98, 286, 326
- Parr, Edward, 88
- Parr, Thomas and John, 63
- Parr* (ship), 63
- Parrey, Captain, 310, 318
- Pascal, Michael Henry, 125, 126, 129
- Pearce, Jeremiah, 196
- Pearl Galley* (ship), 249–50
- Pearson, Thomas, 258
- Peggy* (ship), 56
- Pemberton, Captain, 171
- Penny, James, 194, 227, 251–52, 336,  
408n.15
- Perkins, John, 370n.18
- Philmore, J., 275, 340
- pidgins, 206, 277
- Piggot, Mr., 336
- Pike, Stephen, 78, 79
- pirates, 22–23, 33, 250
- Pitt, William, 310, 408n.5
- plantation system, 5, 43–44, 46, 122, 338,  
347
- Pocock, Nicholas, 54
- Polly* (ship), 343–45, 412n.2
- Pope, Francis, 252
- Portuguese explorers, 41–42
- Postlethwayt, Malachy, 45–50, 66
- Potter, Peter, 246–47
- press-gangs, 224
- Priestly, Joseph, 327
- Prince* (ship), 189
- Prince Henry* (ship), 171
- Prince of Orange* (ship), 289
- Princess* (ship), 22
- Principles of Naval Architecture* (Gordon),  
41
- privilege slaves, 194, 389n.17
- punishment  
exemplary, 216–17  
for insurrection, 28, 218–19, 240, 299  
judicial, 75, 99  
for jumping overboard, 289  
for refusal to eat, 118, 177, 216,  
263–64  
for resistance to “dancing,” 332  
*see also* flogging
- Quakers, 320, 341

INDEX

- race, "production" of, 10, 260, 307  
*Racehorse* (ship), 182, 183  
 Radcliffe, Thomas, 255, 257, 399n.76  
 raiding, 95, 100, 102-4, 349  
*Ranger* (ship), 195  
 rape, 7, 152, 179, 215  
 Rathbone, William, 54  
 rats, 170  
 Rawlinson, John, 269  
 Rearden, John, 250  
 Redwood, Abraham, 252  
 refuse slaves, 124, 252  
 Rendall, William, 194  
 reparations, 353-55  
 resistance by slaves, 284-301  
     to African slavers, 74, 81  
     by "The Boatswain," 16  
     captains assist one another during, 211  
     captains concerned about, 212, 213-14  
     by Captain Tomba, 15-16  
     culture of, 121, 130, 350  
     to "dancing," 332  
     dialectic of discipline and, 264  
     forms of, 7, 100-101  
     jumping overboard, 33, 120, 240, 288-90, 405n.53  
     Laurens on, 35-36  
     merchants concerned about, 196  
     during Middle Passage, 121  
     on Newton's *African*, 177-78, 180  
     on Newton's *Duke of Argyle*, 169, 172-73  
     refusal to eat (hunger strike), 17, 30, 100, 114, 118, 151, 216, 238, 263-64, 284-88, 326  
     by Sarah, 19-20  
     songs of, 284  
     suicide, 17-19, 120, 121, 151, 212-13, 240, 289-91, 382n.18  
     on Tucker's *Loyal George*, 263-64, 287  
     see also insurrection on slave ships  
 Rhode Island  
     *Brooks* image reproduced in, 327  
     deaths of crew of *Elizabeth*, 245  
     doctors rarely carried on ships from, 59  
     D'Wolf family of, 190, 343, 346, 371n.21  
     first recorded slaving voyage from, 8-9  
     Newport, 50, 64, 191, 343  
     slave ships built in, 50, 52, 53  
 Richardson, David, 11, 300  
 Richardson, John, 226, 394n.7  
 Richardson, William, 226  
 Rigby, James, 277  
 Riland, John, 66-72, 267, 284, 285-86, 374n.8  
 Rivera, Jacob, 191  
 Robe, Edward, 322  
*Robert* (ship), 15  
 Roberts, Bartholomew, 22-23, 33, 250  
 Roberts, Thomas "Bully," 204  
 Robertson, William, 385n.28  
 Robinson, Samuel, 20-22  
     on cleaning lower deck, 235-36  
     on crews stealing slave food, 261  
     on sailors, 230, 231  
     on sharks, 37-38  
     as ship's boy, 21, 61  
     on slave communication, 278  
 Rodney, Lord, 251  
 Rodney, Walter, 77, 99, 339  
 Royal African Company  
     branding by, 268  
     free traders' opposition to, 33, 47  
     Job Ben Solomon repatriated by, 79  
     Kabes as employee of, 85, 377n.15  
     Moore as employee of, 99  
     old man Plunkett of, 192  
     Postlethway as employee of, 45, 47  
     Smith as employee of, 209, 276, 294  
     Tucker as employee of, 82  
 Rushton, Edward, 384n.8  
 Sadler, John, 176  
 sailors, see crews of slave ships  
*Sailor's Farewell* (Boulton), 199-201, 241  
 St. Kitts, 180-81, 184, 252, 289  
*Sally* (ship), 62-63  
 Sanderson, Thomas, 247-49  
*Sandown* (ship), 100, 273  
 Sandys, Samuel, 136  
     sangaree, 292  
 Sarah (slave), 19-20  
     schooners, 63, 65  
     scramble, 152  
     scurvy, 275  
*Seaflower* (ship), 269  
     seaman, common, 57, 60-61  
     seamen, see crews of slave ships  
 Seaton, William, 227  
 Senegambia, 78-81  
     belief in going home to Guinea after death in, 301  
     foods from, 237  
     languages of, 276-77  
     Laurens on slaves from, 36

## INDEX

- slaves from interior markets purchased  
     in, 99  
     as source of slaves, 6  
 Sereer, 81  
 Setarakoo, William Ansa, 167  
 sexual services, 19, 203, 215, 218, 241-43  
 shackles, 72, 154, 202, 234, 267-68, 296  
 sharks, 37-40, 151, 250, 289, 348, 368nn.23,  
     24  
 Sharp, Granville, 241, 339  
 Shearer, William, 64-65  
 Sheffield, John Lord, 47, 252  
*Shipbuilder's Assistant, The* (Sutherland), 55  
 shipbuilding, 54-56  
 ships (ship type), 63  
 ship's boys, 57, 61  
 "ship's husband," 202  
 shipworm, 71  
 shipwreck, 195-96  
*Short Account of the African Slave Trade,  
     Collected from Local Knowledge, A*  
     (Norris), 31  
 short allowance, 205-6, 232  
 sickness  
     among crews, 171-72, 252, 261, 270, 351  
     main causes of death, 244, 274-75  
     among slaves, 120, 172, 271-72, 273-76,  
     319  
     Stanfield on, 150  
     see also health care  
 Sierra Leone, 82-84  
     Bance Island, 44, 168  
     facility for forming new bonds in, 305  
     languages spoken in, 278  
     Newton trades in, 175  
     as source of slaves, 6  
     wars in, 98  
 Simmons, John, 258  
 Simson, Richard, 276  
 singing, 278, 282-84  
 Skinner, Samuel, 167  
 Slave Carrying Bill (Dolben Act) of 1788,  
     59, 68, 291, 313, 317, 336, 337, 341  
 Slave Carrying Bill of 1799, 341  
 Slave Coast, 25  
 slaves, 263-307  
     arrival aboard slave ship, 1-4  
     arrival in New World, 152-54  
     belowdeck communication by, 279-82  
     boarding slave ship, 265-68  
     "The Boatswain," 16  
     bonding among, 303-7  
     captains' relations with, 212-17  
     Captain Tomba, 14-16  
     "civilizing" effect attributed to slavery,  
     46, 266, 411n.48  
     communication among, 7-8, 276-84  
     confidence slaves, 214  
     crew as guards of, 234-39, 260  
     crews' violence against, 239-44  
     cultural differences among, 117-18, 272,  
     381n.14  
     "dancing" by, 7, 19, 61, 164, 170, 237-38,  
     260, 267, 325, 332  
     death of, 274-76  
     destinations for, 6  
     Equiano, 108-31  
     expressive culture of, 278-79  
     fighting among, 270-73  
     as first abolitionists, 11-12  
     food for, 58, 237, 238, 261, 328  
     geographical sources of, 6  
     on going home to Guinea after death,  
     301-3  
     hardware of bondage, 72, 154, 202  
     incentive for treating well, 32, 149-50,  
     197, 198, 339  
     kidnapping as source of, 95, 98, 100,  
     104-6, 113-16, 146, 168, 334, 349  
     kinfolk on slave ships, 304-5  
     languages of, 276-78  
     leadership among, 16  
     merchants' preferences regarding, 193  
     numbers assigned to, 213, 268  
     precautions against enslavement, 112-13  
     preparing for sale, 238-39, 350  
     privilege slaves, 194, 389n.17  
     as "produced," 9-10, 45  
     productivity of, 347-48  
     raiding as source of, 95, 100, 102-4, 349  
     refuse slaves, 124, 252  
     reparations for wrongs done to,  
     353-55  
     Sarah, 19-20  
     separation of relatives and friends,  
     123-24, 153-54, 306-7  
     sharks as terror of, 38-40  
     as shipmates, 8, 304, 305-6, 350  
     sickness among, 120, 172, 271-72,  
     273-76, 319  
     singing of, 278, 282-84  
     social characteristics of, 98-101  
     spoonways packing of, 120, 332  
     stripping of, 265-66  
     war as source of, 75, 94, 98-99, 146, 168,  
     334, 349

- slaves (*continued*)
- women forming relationships with
    - sailors, 241-43
    - work on board ship, 268-70
    - see also* resistance by slaves
  - slave ships, 41-72
    - after abolition, 371n.22
    - arrival of slaves aboard, 1-4
    - in Atlantic system of capital and labor, 348-50
    - Brooks*, 308-42
    - "building house" on, 143
    - as class-riven, 230, 242, 326
    - construction of, 50-56
    - copper-sheathed hulls of, 71, 374nn.53, 55
    - cost of, 52
    - Equiano's experience of, 116-19
    - evolution of, 9
    - as factories, 9-10, 44-45
    - as Guineamen, 22, 43
    - human relationships on, 6-8
    - main goal as to be full, 174
    - men's and women's quarters on, 68-69
    - netting to prevent escape, 169, 288, 303
    - pirates terrorize, 22-23
    - as prisons, 9, 44, 45, 60-61, 72
    - Riland's description of, 66-72
    - sailor-slave relations on, 7
    - sharks follow, 37-40
    - sickness on, 120, 150, 171-72, 271-72, 273-76, 319
    - sizes of, 61-65, 373n.41
    - sounds of, 120, 150
    - standardization of, 52-53
    - Stanfield on, 44, 135, 154
    - stench of, 4, 69, 120, 170
    - terror used on, 118, 205, 211, 217-21
    - as torture tools, 348
    - varieties of, 61-66
    - as war machines, 9, 270
    - see also* captains of slave ships; crews of slave ships; officers of slave ships; and ships and captains by name
  - slave trade
    - abstraction as violence regarding, 12-13, 338-39
    - in Africa, 75-78
    - African paths to Middle Passage, 73-107
    - average rate of profit in, 50
    - Brooks* image in debates over, 326-31
    - DuBois on, 4, 348
    - ending of legal, 10, 340-41
    - first recorded voyages from Rhode Island and Liverpool, 8-9
    - "humane" regulation of, 337
    - justifications of, 46, 327-29
    - mortality rate in, 5-6, 347, 363n.4
    - Newton on horrors of, 158
    - number of slaves in, 5, 347
    - as "nursery for seamen," 313, 319, 325
    - parliamentary investigation into, 18, 29-30, 31, 158, 228, 251, 271, 286, 306, 324, 326, 331-35, 340-41
    - participants in, 14-40
    - peak period of, 5
    - in political arithmetic of British empire, 45-50, 328-29
    - Portuguese explorers in, 41-42
    - scholarship on, 10-11, 364n.13, 365n.15
    - as social murder, 339-40
    - Stanfield on horrors of, 132-56
    - those who benefited most from, 14, 353
    - trans-Saharan, 77, 90
    - triangular trade, 46-47
    - violence required in, 10, 354
    - see also* abolition movement; merchants; Middle Passage; slave ships
  - sloops, 53, 63, 64
  - Smale, John, 229
  - Smith, John Samuel, 243-44
  - Smith, William, 209, 276-77, 294
  - Smyth, Richard, 194
  - Snelgrave, William, 25-27
    - on captains' relations with slaves, 213-14
    - collective judgment of captains sought by, 211
    - on desecrating dead slave bodies, 303
    - instructions for his first mate, 58-59
    - Morice as employer of, 33
    - on sailors' violence against slaves, 243
    - on slave communication, 277
    - on slaves helping manage ship, 214-15
    - on slaves refusing to eat, 287
    - slaves sing song of praise to, 283
    - on trading plans gone awry, 199
    - on "white" men's status, 260
  - Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 132, 308, 337
  - Society for the Improvement of Naval Architecture, 55-56, 318
  - Society of Merchant Venturers, 245, 397n.48
  - South Carolina
    - Charleston, 36, 65, 253, 307, 327, 367n.18

INDEX

- on Declaration of Independence on slave trade, 341  
 as destination for slaves, 6, 367n.18  
 Gola captives sent to, 74-75  
 Laurens, 35-37  
 slave ships built in, 53  
 Southey, Robert, 327  
 South Sea Company, 268, 287  
*speculum oris*, 17, 151, 202, 216, 238, 286, 348  
*Speedwell* (ship), 248  
 Speers, William, 195  
*Squirrel* (ship), 199  
 Stalkartt, Marmaduke, 55  
 Stanfield, Field, 384n.9  
 Stanfield, James Field, 132-56  
   as actor, 132, 134-35  
   on Africans, 155-56  
   on arrival on African coast, 142-44  
   becomes a sailor, 134-35  
   common sailor's perspective of, 133-34, 135  
*Essay on the Study and Composition of Biography, An*, 384n.7  
*Guinea Voyage: A Poem in Three Books, The*, 132, 133, 154, 383n.5, 384n.6  
   on merchants, 136-39  
   on Middle Passage, 148-52  
*Observations on a Guinea Voyage*, 132, 133, 382n.25, 383nn.2, 5, 384n.6  
   on recruitment of crews, 137-40  
   on slaves' arrival in New World, 152-54  
   on slave ship as floating factory, 44, 135  
   on slave-ship sailors, 137-40, 155, 227, 239  
   on slave trade's effect on Africa, 144-48  
   on voyage to Africa, 141-42  
   "Written on the Coast of Africa in the year 1776," 133, 139-40  
 Staniforth, Thomas, 255  
 Starke, Thomas, 198  
 Steel, David, 55  
 Steele, William, 248  
 Stephens, Thomas, 194  
 Stockman, Isaac, 345, 346, 413n.6  
 Street, Captain, 210  
 strikes, 259  
 Strong, Mathew, 194  
*Substance of the Evidence of Sundry Persons on the Slave-Trade Collected in the Course of a Tour Made in the Autumn of the Year 1788* (Clarkson), 324-25  
 sugar, 6, 43, 122, 251, 346, 347  
 suicide  
   by sailors, 245-46  
   by slaves, 17-19, 120, 121, 151, 212-13, 240, 289-91, 382n.18  
 surgeons, *see* doctors (surgeons)  
 Susu, 81, 84, 183  
 Sutherland, William, 55  
 Swain, Richard, 176, 177  
 Swansea (Massachusetts), 52  
*Swift* (ship), 227  
 Tacky's Revolt, 345  
 Tarleton, John, 336  
*Tartar* (ship), 229  
 Taylor, Anthony, 258  
 Teast, Sydenham, 54  
 Temne, 84  
*Tewkesbury* (ship), 250  
*Thetis* (ship), 270  
*Thomas* (ship), 293, 294, 322  
 Thomas, Hugh, 11  
*Thomas and John* (ship), 9  
 Thompson, Thomas, 226, 228, 277-78  
 Thomson, Daniel, 177  
*Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (Newton), 158, 218, 219, 241  
 thumbscrews, 72, 178, 202, 219, 286, 348  
 Tio, 97  
 Tittle, John, 215  
 tobacco, 32, 58, 195, 216, 238, 269, 328, 347  
 Todd, Hinson, 35, 36  
 Told, Silas  
   on captains, 201-2, 221  
   enters slave trade, 226  
   on insurrection on *Loyal George*, 287  
   promotion of, 228-29  
   on punishment of slave resistance, 263  
   on sharks, 38, 367n.21  
   on suicide by sailor, 246  
 "tormentor, the," 28, 217  
 Towne, James, 253, 299  
 transatlantic chain, 153, 154  
 trans-Saharan slave trade, 77, 90  
*Triumph* (ship), 71  
 Trotter, Thomas, 17-18, 278-79, 294, 306, 331-35, 338  
*True Blue* (ship), 136, 148  
 Tucker, Henry, 82, 84, 167, 169  
 Tucker, Peter, 82  
 Tucker, Thomas, 245  
 Tucker, Timothy, 202, 226, 263-64  
 Tuohy, David, 191, 196, 388n.7  
 Turner, John, 247, 248

- Unity* (ship), 32, 293  
*Universal Dictionary of the Marine*  
 (Falconer), 55, 65, 374n.50  
 Unsworth, Barry, 12
- Vassa, Gustavus, *see* Equiano, Olaudah  
 Vernon, Samuel and William, 399n.65  
 Vili, 97  
 violence  
   captains using, 6-7, 158-59, 204-5, 264  
   as cascading downward, 239  
   coming to grips with, 354  
   fighting among slaves, 270-73  
   of merchants, 338-39  
   merchants concerned about excessive,  
     196-97  
   Newton employs terror, 185  
   as pervasive on slave ships, 220  
   of sailors against slaves, 239-44  
   slave trade depends of, 10  
   Stanfield on shipboard, 142, 148-52  
   terror used aboard slave ships, 118, 205,  
     211, 217-21  
   *see also* flogging  
 Virginia, 53, 94, 124, 130
- Wadstrom, Carl Bernard, 331  
 wages, 193-94, 203, 222, 228, 253, 254,  
   395n.18, 400n.84  
 Wainwright, Captain, 171  
 Wallis, Richard, 124  
 Wanton, Captain, 241  
 war  
   mobilization of military labor for, 224  
   slaves armed during, 269-70  
   slave ships as war machines, 9, 270  
   as source of slaves, 75, 95, 98-99, 146,  
     168, 334, 349  
 Ward, John, 21  
*Wasp* (ship), 288, 293, 295  
 watches, 232  
 water  
   controlling use of, 206  
   as critical on slave ships, 202  
   dehydration as cause of mortality, 275  
   rainwater, 170  
 Watkins, William, 27-29  
 Watt, Charles, 191  
 Webster, John, 136  
 Welsh, Alexander, 181, 183
- Welsh (Welch), John, 88  
 Wesley, John, 412n.51  
 West-Central Africa, 94-97  
   Kongo, 6, 77, 94, 95, 97  
   as source of slaves, 6  
   *see also* Angola  
 West Indies  
   Antigua, 33, 172, 173-74, 215  
   Morice trades in, 33  
   St. Kitts, 180-81, 184, 252, 289  
   superfluous sailors in, 252, 351, 352  
   in triangular trade, 47  
   *see also* Barbados; Jamaica  
 Westmore, James, 198, 392n.41  
 wharfingers, 253, 350  
 whipping, *see* flogging (whipping)  
 Whitfield, Peter, 269-70  
 Wilberforce, William, 67, 326, 327, 328, 335  
 Williams, Joseph, 284  
 Williams, Thomas, 249  
 Wilson, David  
   Stanfield sails with, 135, 136, 385n.16  
   violence used by, 148-49, 151-52, 156  
 Wilson, Isaac, 238  
 Windham, Lord, 329  
 windsails, 71-72  
 Windward Coast, 82-84  
   belief in going home to Guinea after  
     death in, 301  
   foods from, 237  
   Fraser on slaves from, 30  
   longboat and yawl in trade on, 59  
   Newton trades on, 166-70, 175, 180, 181  
   as source of slaves, 6  
 Winterbottom, Thomas, 305, 407n.81  
 Wolof, 79  
 Wood, Samuel, 314  
 Woodward, Robert, 136  
 Wright, John, 63  
 "Written on the Coast of Africa in the year  
   1776" (Stanfield), 133, 139-40  
 Wroe, John, 249
- Yates, Thomas, 254, 258, 399n.70  
 yawls, 59, 70, 171, 196, 233-34  
 yaws, 252  
 Yoruba, 90, 91  
*Young Hero* (ship), 239
- Zong* (ship), 240-41, 290, 339, 345-46