PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH UNIVERSITY ABDELHAMID IBN BADIS MOSTAGANEM



FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Master

"LITERATURE AND CIVILIZATION"

Theme:

Goree: The Role of Slave House in The departure of slave from Africa to America

Submitted by: Mrs. DIOUF Fatou

Board of Examiners:

Supervisor: Mr. LARBI Youcef Abdeldjalil University of Mostaganem

Chairperson: Mrs. BENMAATI Fatima Zahra University of Mostaganem

Examiner: Mrs. ABDELHADI Nadia University of Mostaganem

Academic year 2016-2017

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to God Almighty my creator, my strong pillar, my source of inspiration, wisdom, knowledge and understanding. I also dedicate this work to my adored parents Mr OUSMANE DIOUF and Mrs ANTA SENE DIOUF and the entire family my brothers, sisters, uncle and cousins. To my sisters which whom I spend all my 5 years in Algeria AWA, SOKHNA, KHADIDJATOU, IDIYA and MARTIINE. Thank you. My love for you all can never be quantified. God bless you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My special and sincere thanks go Mr. LARBY YOUCEF who has helped me despite his busy timetable with his helpful advice all along this research. To my mother, ANTA SENE, and my father OUSMANE DIOUF who has been a source of encouragement and inspiration to me throughout my life. I am also very grateful to my entire family my cousins and uncles for their financial and moral support without forgetting my sisters of another family for their help throughout my sojourn in Algeria. My thanks also go to the board of teaching profession of the department of English studies of the University of Mostaganem, especially to the head of the department, Pr. Abbes Bahous, Dr. Hammerlain Mrs. Abdelhadi Nadia Mrs. Benmaati Fatima Zohra theirs encouragements and avaibility have been very helpful to my success during my University courses. My thanks go further to all my classmates, especially to Mounkoro Kone, Christian Yaro, and Rock Balaya who have encouraged me throughout the research work.

I would also thanks my second family here in Algeria who are Awa Sokhna, Assane Khadidjatou Idiya, also to my brothers Malick, Mathioune, Ablaye, Moustapha, and Abdou. I am very grateful to the entire community of Senegalese of Algeria in general and those of Mostaganem in particular. I would thank the foreign student community of Mostaganem and special thanks to the embassy of Senegal in Algeria for all efforts made towards students. I could not finish without thanking Oumou Sall the person who has done everything so that I come to study in Algeria.

ABSTRACT

The slave house of Goree played an important role in the transatlantic slave trade. The transatlantic slave trade was a triangle trade of human being that lie Africa, Europe, and America. This transatlantic trade occurred more than 400 years in Africa in general and in West Africa in particular. During the transatlantic slave trade more than 12million of African were transported by force to America and Europe and more than fifteen to twenty million were departed from Goree Island. Senegambia that was a huge supplier of slave, after their capture they were gathered in the slave house of Goree in which they were living in precarious conditions before their send to the new world. Once in this house those belong in the family was separated and men women and children was separated one another. Slave were chained in their small house and have the right to get out from this house once in a day. The island of Goree at that time was occupied by French but before the French there was the presence Portuguese, Dutch and was one of the important supplier of slave. After the phase of the slave house place to the transportation of slave from tis island in West Africa to America. The slave voyage can take more than four month the duration of the voyage depend on weather conditions. However during the voyage many things happen some slave commit suicide the others refuse to eat or they refuse to take their medicine knowing that the slave price depend to their strongest their form and their weight so this refusal of eat not good for the seller. And this was one of the cause in which they were maltreated during the voyage they were beaten some time. Those who were seriously ill was throw in the ocean because they cannot be sold. The transportation of slave was manage by Europeans and American they themselves but they were help by some African who came from all part of the continent. Because of this transatlantic trade it is possible to found the presence of many black people in America Europe and many country through the continent but particularly from the country are in coast like Senegambia Sierra Leone Ghana. When they arrive to the new world they were sold and they were given a new name given by their master and they were send to the plantation for forced labor without rest nor limited time. The transatlantic slave trade have a great impact in the continent and tis impact was not favorable to the continent because the best children of Africa were send to developed another country that was not theirs. Nowadays the slave trade is seen as a crime against humanity and the sites in which slave were gathered that was built by white people are preserved as a world patrimony. And people from all over the world are coming in Africa to visit these sites like the Slave House of Goree, Elmina Castle of Ghana and the Bunce Island's Slave Castle of Sierra Leone. These memorial sites receive the visit of important personality through the world, like the slave house of Goree that receive the visit of the ancient presidents of the United States George Bush and Barack Obama and also the house receive the visit of the pope Jean Paul II. And during their visit through theirs speech they condemn what happen to Africa at that and at the same time they ask African to forgive for the past. The analysis of this part of history was to show and to highlight some hidden point of the real history at the same time to show to the new generation that did not about history.

TABLE OF CONTENT

GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: PRESENTATION OF GOREE ISLAND AND THE SLAVE HOUSE.	
I-1 The island and the cartography	
I-2 The house of the slave	10
I-3 Slave's capture	14
I-4 The exchange	18
Conclusion	21

CHAPTER TWO: THE TRIPS	22
II-1 The of no return	24
II-2 The slaves life in the ship.	25
II-3 The suicide during the trips	30
Conclusion	34
Chapter THREE: THE TRANATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE	35
III-1 Historical background of the Slave trade in West Africa	37
III-2 Slave trade in West Africa.	41
III-3 Senegambia: regional origins of slave	43
Conclusion	47
GENERAL CONCLUSION	48
Bibliography	51

LITS OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Island of Goree	8
Figure 2: house of slave.	12
Figure 3: Picture of Chain	14
Figure 4: Picture of the door of no return.	24
Figure 5: Picture of slave in the ship	26
Figure 6: Picture of slave suicide.	
Figure 7: Map of the Transatlantic slave trade	39
Figure 8: Map of Senegambia.	4

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Between the early 1500 and the late 1868, an estimated twelve million African men, women, and children were forcibly transported across the Atlantic Ocean. According to enforced trade statistics records millions of west Africans were displaced though the Island of Goree and the Indian ocean in a movement that started in the seventh century and the lasted until the twentieth Know as Senegambia at the time and located at the western most point in west Africa, Goree island used to serve as a strategy trading post for the transatlantic slave trade .If the idea that the deported Africans walked quietly into servitude has lost ground in some intellectual circle ,it is still going strong in popular culture, as are the supposed passivity or complicity of the rest of their lack of remorse for having allowed or participated in this massive displacement .

In 1500, approximately 20 to 25 million persons lived in relative stability in West Africa. This urged population, was divided into different ethnics different languages and in multiple political communities. This population were at the same time interconnected with ties of the trade ,migration and religious affiliations .For thousands of years ,this west African populations had developed their society in many social institutions and structures existed some could called slavery, in that war captives, pawns and others dependents were held in subservience by individuals, families and states .

Many historians share the same idea about these early antecedents of west African slavery, it is clear that the small scale of slavery in the west African contrasts with the far more developed systems of slavery in the regions of the Mediterranean, the black sea ,and the middle east .Indeed slavery was developed only with the connected to significant demand for captives labor brought about by the ability of the monarchy to extract service labor or by the existence of markets for slaves produced goods. And also some purchasers who would carry captives a distances to be these conditions could be obtained.

The Senegambia, the Bight of Benin and the gold coast were the first region in which the slave trade develop in the mid-seventeenth century. The French English Dutch merchants were present in West Africa for the expansion of this slave trade. The East Indian Company founded in 1602 was a Dutch company that was based on the Indian Ocean. The expansion slave trade in Senegambia have problems at the beginning compared to the others regions. From the 1621 the Dutch was already in island of Goree and the French merchants were establish in the island of saint Louis in the mouth of Senegal and the Portuguese were establish in the island of Cape Verde and were also purchasing Senegambian slaves.

Indeed the number of slave purchases increase in Senegambia but the opposition of slave trade began especially in the north of Senegal River among Moors. Mostly this opposition develop with the war of Marabouts from 1657 to 1679, the Islamic leaders gained the support of the population and want to create a theocratic state. But they did not succeed in their mission because of the help of French to Wolof's kings and enable them to regain their thrones and the French continue their slave trade.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The resistance to capture and deportation was an integral part of the Africans' actions, but their strategies against the slaves trade did not necessarily translate into acts of resistance. However, many of their mechanisms were ground in the manipulation of the trade for the protection of oneself or one's group. The exchange of two captive for the freedom of one or the sale people to acquire weapons were strategies intended to protect specific individuals, groups and states from the slave trade.

Slave did not attack against the capture, still, they were directed against its very effects, some strategies thus may appear more accommodation than resistance. The strategic accommodation does not mean that people who had redeemed a relative by giving two Slaves in exchange were not at some other point involved in burning down a Factory, or that the guns acquired through the sale of abductees were not turned directly against the trade.

The resistance, accommodation, participated in the trade and attacks against it were often intimately linked. The transatlantic movement of enslaved Africans to the different parts of the Americas was the defining migration of the Western Hemisphere after 1492, influencing all parts of the Atlantic world, from Western Europe to the Pacific shores of the Americas. The settlement of Africans and the history of their descendants included many people who were in fact of mixed racial background, incorporating people of European and Amerindian background, and more recently people of Asian background as well.

THE RESEARCH MOTIVATION

My motivation to choose this topic is to show the way enslaved Africans were capture, sold and transported from African to the new world .However I am motived to highlight the special role play by during this time the house of slave of Goree island .To explain to those who did not know about the existence of this house and also to show the atrocities during this transatlantic trade. And the conditions of the trade and how the exchange happen.

I motivated also to show the Senegambia were important at specific period during this trade. Whereas to show which great company dominated the trade in Senegambia and how much time did hey occupied the trade in West Africa .Also I will try to show the life of slave in the ship and cause of their death during the voyage. I also wanted to show the different ways of slaves resisted during the voyage.

THE OBSERVATION OF THE RESEARCH

Why the island of Goree was so important for the slave trade?

Throughout reading some historical documents we can remark that the Island of Goree was so important for the trade. Because of his position in the Atlantic sea, it facilitate the transport of slave from Africa to America. And also the island was important because of the urge region of Senegambia that was an important supplier of slave. This countryside of Senegambia present a richly many others variety aspects that make it important for the trade. As example it was a main route to penetrate others regions in African and to get more slaves.

THE OBJECTIVE OF RESEARCH

The main objective of this research is to highlight some hidden point of history of the slave trade. For instance to show the real events that happen during this time. Indeed in my work I will try to analyze the role of the house of slave during the slave trade ,also the way slave were capture and sold to western people. I will describe the way the exchange happens and what was the materials of exchange. The way others African were helping the traders by capturing their brothers or showing their brothers to western traders. Throughout my work I will also show how the traders was organized in company.

I will describe the trips from Africa to America and how was the slave's life in the ship. The slave house of Goree play an important role in this trade and is today an historical patrimony and people from all over the world came to visit this place will show the construction of this house the way slaves were living there before going to America .And the specific role of the house in the slave trade and why it is so important nowadays for historians and others people. Another point that make Goree so important for the trade was that the island is isolate from the other part of the city. So it is calm and most of people at that time did not know what was happening there at that time.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Why Europeans chose Africa for the slave trade?
The role of the Atlantic ocean to the slave trade?
How was the trip from Africa to America?
What was the principal cause of the slave suicide during the trip?
Did the slave trade benefic for Africans?

THE HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEACH

As a hypothesis, I can say that many factors make the role of the Atlantic Ocean in general and the role of Goree in particular important in the departure of the slaves from Africa to America. The Atlantic Ocean was the route that tie Africa to Europe and also Africa to America .So the most important movement of the trade happen in this Atlantic Ocean. And the most important place of departure of the slave was on the Atlantic Ocean like the house slave of Goree (Senegambia) the gold coast, Sierra Leona and the Bight of Benin. The particularity of all these places was there connection with the Atlantic Ocean.

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The methodology of my research is a qualitative research it is based mostly on reading books, journal newspapers and some others documents of the house of slave itself. And also through some research make on the internet. I will adopt a descriptive and analytic approach to reach the goal of my research. As such the fact that, this topic would consulted and restated in the research.

THE DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

My research will be based on two phases

Phase one: academic research

This research will include the selections of materials such as books, articles, reading designed memoir on the same topic and on others topic to understand how to write a memoire and literature review which will include readings analysis and drafting on the first paper.

Phase two: the work

It will consisted on library work that will be on readings topic to get more information and to design the research proposal and at last have the first contact with my supervisor.

TABLE OF CONTENT

DEDICATION
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
ABSTRACT
TABLE OF CONTENT
LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES
LIST OF ACRONYMS
GENERAL INTROCDUTION

Chapter one: Presentation of Goree Island and the Slave House

Introduction

I-1) The Island and the cartography

I-2The House of the Slave

I-3) Slave's Capture

Conclusion

Chapter two: The trips

Introduction

II-1) The Door of no Return

II-2) The Slaves life in the Ship

II-3) The Suicide during the Trips

Conclusion

Chapter three: The Transatlantic Slave Trade

Introduction

III-1) Historical Background of the Slave Trade in West Africa

III-2) Slave trade in West Africa

III-3) Senegambia: Regional Origins of Slave

Conclusion

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Goree Island is situated less than 4 kilometers from Dakar¹, in the center of the roadstead formed by the south of coast of the Cape Verde peninsula. Since the fifteenth century it was a prize dispute between different European nations used successively as a port of call and as a slave trading post. In the late eighteenth century it presented a twofold aspect of a prosperous crossroad where traders solders and officials lived in idyllic surrounding and a warehouse of black ivory all its attendant suffering and misery.

The island is a haven of tranquility compared to rest of Dakar. The island is small enough to found a way of your destination; there are no cars there. The main attraction of the island is of course the sea and the famous house of slaves. There are some others museums that are source of visit by tourists like the IFAN² historical museum situated in the north of the island and one of the symbols of the history of Senegal.

The rampart from the sea in this distance you can see Dakar. It is built in the fort of estrées, a citadel built by the French between 1854 to 1856 and which bears the name of the Vice-admiral Jean II d'estrées who removed the island to the Dutch in 1677. The boats coming from the capital bypassed the rampart before entering the port. Another attractive museum related to history is the women's museum (musée de la femme). In Goree, there is a colonial house built in 1777, having belonged to a rich signare Victoria Albis which until 1962 was the property of Angrand family, in particular Armand Pierre Angand descendant of Signare.

This house was once a court and then a museum of black African fundamental institute which succeeded in 1966 to the French institute of black African. In this museum we can find usual object agricultural tools and basketry poetry as well as photography to understand the everyday life of women in this country, Senegal. The great women figures in Senegal are also celebrated in this museum. The maritime museum, another attraction in the island, offers all information about Senegal's seafaring history. In the jetty area of the island of Goree there many little restaurant in which it is possible to eat fish.

A defining feature of the Island of Goree is its geographical location in Senegal (Dakar) and in the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese navigator, Diniz Diaz, reached the island of Goree in 1444 and gave it the name of "Palma." Indeed the Island was occupied by Portuguese from this year but in 1617 the Dutch seized Goree and renamed it geode reed "the good harbor" that is the ancient of the current name many years after the French settled on the island on 1 November 1677. But the British disputed the position they occupied from 1804 to 1817 before returning it the French. From this time the island was occupied by French, until 1960 the date in which Senegal was granted independence.

¹ Dakar : capital of Senegal

² IFAN: institut fondamentale d'Afrique noire

This island of Goree is one of the first places in Africa that was settled by Europeans. And most of the Europeans powers at that time were present in the island. The preference of the island by Europeans was because of this connection with the Atlantic Ocean. Also the island was a route that helped to many others places and country. Knowing that the means of transportation at that time was the ship, so any place in the ocean or in the sea was a good route for the Europeans.

The Island of Goree was one of the most important trading posts in Senegal in particular and in Senegambia in general. The slaves were brought from all sides of Senegal and from others counties like Gambia, Mali, and Mauritania. The citizens of the Island of Goree were institutionalized as French in the first African deputy elected in the French National Assembly was born in Goree and the city of Goree was a French township. At that time Goree was one of the cities that had schools and was also a city in which education was possible. Many of the leaders who fought for the independence of Senegal graduated from these schools.

I.1. The Island's Cartography

The Island of Goree is today one of the most important places in the history of Senegal but also in the history of the Atlantic slave trade in Africa. The island is famous today because of its geographical position and also because of its shape. The island was at the same time a port of call and a commercial port. It is easily accessible and can also be a route for the rest of West Africa. Isolated to the rest of Dakar by the stretch of water the island is at the same time close and distant it can be a good refuge. The life in the island is quiet calm without noise and breathing pure air. The island is connected to the mainland by few minutes in a ferry transport. Indeed the island is listed as a UNESCO³ heritage in 1978 and is today the first touristic site in Senegal.

The most of the buildings and construction in the island date during the colonial period and most of them serve as a memory of the slave trade. In the past, most of people saw Goree from Dakar or from the African coast only the marine and travelers went until the island. The short crossing in the island of Goree is a precious interlude of peace and quiet a brief but expansion of detachment. On the landing one is a another world that belongs to the past like Ahmadou Matar Mbow who said "The story of the Goree island is the story of how millions of men, women, and children from all over West Africa were sold off into slavery, never to return again to lives in family" (Mbow).

_

³ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organization

The history of the Island of Goree is related to the history of many blacks living in America today and is also related to many others living all over the world. In the past, there had always been an indirect link between European and African and also between Arabs and Europeans. And this indirect link changed when Europeans began to explore the coast of Africa and became a direct link. The west coast of Africa was explored by Portuguese and Spanish.

Since antiquity European are in Africa to exploit their population and to profit to their natural resources. As example the presence of Diniz Diaz in 1444 in the island Goree was not for helping the population of the Senegambia but for exploiting their resources. Europeans wanted also to profit to the richness and the fertility of Guinea and other countries in the west coast.

The Island of Goree was a port and a route for Europeans to join the rest of West Africa and a route to adventure. Many Europeans explorers and missionaries explored Goree, the island was for them a place of rest and a place for preparation for the unknown places. The most famous explorers and missionaries like Vasco Da Gama, Francois Xavier, Fernando Po, had set out of guest in the orient because of the most of time past in Africa. At Goree the ship was prepared for looking to others places to explore. But contact was already being established with the nearby mainland and the Island was becoming the outpost of the Europeans in Africa.

The Island excellent position was important on the major shipping route was a bound to attract European attention.

The Island was located in the bay off Cape Verde peninsula the largest bay in West African Coast. The Island was a major shipping route and the shortest route to join west India. This is the cause of the attachment of the European to the island and the cause of its importance in Europeans eyes. Because the presence of many western country we can see a great change in Goree between 1678 to 1814, and France gave the control of the island following the fall of Napoleon and under the treaty of Paris. The island of Goree was a theater in which all Europeans wanted to be present because of its geographical position.



Figure 1 Island of Goree

This picture of the island of Goree shows its position at the middle of the ocean. The turbulent phase of the story of Goree was the heyday of the major trading companies. Many companies were present in the island and the purpose of each company was to secure a monopoly of the trade for which Goree was a fortified warehouse. Indeed among these companies present in the island at that time, the Dutch East Indian company, the merchant ventures company, and the Companie Française du Cap-Vert et du Sénégal. With the presence of all these companies certainly there was a kind of opposition.

But after the victory of Admiral d'estrées the Compagnie Française du Cap-Vert was the principal dominant of the island. It is also possible to notice the presence of another French company that is the French East Indian company which was the master of Goree until 1763 when it came under the control of the king of France.

The French were present in the Island during two centuries and the French East Indian Company secured itself the trade with the help of African themselves. This company secured the trade in African mainland particular in Africans kingdom like in sine Saloum⁴ and kayor⁵. The friendship with African princes was very important for Europeans and for their wars between themselves. There was a kind of rivalry between Europeans each would occupy the island. Each of these kingdoms had a special place supplier of slaves to the western people for example in the kingdom of sine there were three point of supplier located in Rufisque Joal and Portudal.

On the others hand there were some regions that were supplier of slaves like Casamances the bissagos island and also countries that were supplier of slave like Gambia from where the name of Senegambia, and Sierra Leone. The rivers as natural highways was into the mainland link the trading post to Goree. Most of foods for the island was coming from the mainland and it was merchandise by European. Goree was a special place for Europeans during the slave trade because of its potential and it missing that was also transform as a benefits.

French and Portuguese were the big power of the slave trade in the island and before the coming of French the Portuguese were the first in the island and their appetite were insatiable in term of slaves. So they looking for others places to find thing that they did not find in the Island. They were looking for others post for slave but for others supplier of slaves. Europeans brought slaves along and one by one with the help of Africans. The purchasers examine their muscles the line of their legs the length of their arms and the number of their witness of their teeth. After the capture of Africans and the verification of their body they were another verification before they were send to America.

The second verification was their healthy, to make sure that they did not suffer from any illness, they were made to run jump and speak in addition moving all their joints. The island of Goree was the principal depot of slaves of the Senegambia zone and slaves before they were send to the depot, slaves were divided into ethnic group. And all details were verified in the depot. Once on the island, slaves were put to work with their chained but they could walk and use their arms. Slaves were doing home works everyday under the control of translators who were translating their discussions. Their work consist of taking care of the buildings do earthwork and to roll water. And the women's work was to cook, and children were doing the others household.

In the depot Goree at night, all slaves were gathered in one place even they belong to the companies or others private sellers. They were passing their night in very bad conditions, the air was insignificant and they practically did not have light. Their spelling conditions was very bad and very critical. At the morning they return to their work and the masters and the others black African go for the capture of others slaves. This was their everyday life before the day of their embarkation for the new world. The post of Goree was a place of atrocity for the slave, the place where their life began ordeal

4

⁴ Kingdom in Senegal during before and during the colonial period

⁵ Another kingdom

They did not have any possibility to escape because the companies the local dealers and the merchant did not neglect any details all parameters was taken into account. Despite all efforts made by these companies, despite the clones of the supervisor sometimes slaves were organized to rise their masters. Most of the times they were trying to regain their freedom by revolting. There were specific ethnic group who did not like to be slave. Most of the time the revolt was organize by these ethnic group who was never appreciate as slaves by the traders.

These ethnic group refuse to bear the dishonor of being slave and they want to save their dignity. This was the cause of the terrible slave revolts matched by the cruelty of company agent by dealing with them. As example of revolt, they are the revolt of 1724 in which fifty-five slaves brook out in the island and attack their guard. It's happen about four in the afternoon their master were not there, slaves attacks the guard and by surprise and stabbing him several times.

Because of his shout the others agents of the company come to save him but they found him covered by the blood and the slaves were armed by sticks sniffs and two axes. To oblige them to lay down their arms the agents fired at them at point blank range and killing some of them and wounding the others. This was one of the first slaves revolt in the post of Goree that make the masters to reinforce the guard of the slaves and to prepare themselves in the case of another revolt. It was clear for the masters that this kind of revolt can happens every moment so it was time to take it into serious.

I.2. The house of the slaves

In 1450, the first recorded European explorers from Portugal arrived in Senegal. It was the start of five centuries of pillage of the country's wealth and its people. At first the Europeans came for gold and other precious metals but quickly a more lucrative trade in human lives began. In the mid-eighteenth century the trading posts on Senegal's coast was the site of constant warring between the British and French. Goree Island was an ideal place for Europeans seeking to control the trade along the coast. It has a good harbor and protective cliffs. The island changed hand many times between the Portuguese, Dutch, and English before the French secured possession in 1764.

By the eighteenth century as a result of a long-term association with the Europeans, signares⁶ (free African and Afro-European women) intermarried with European men. These families were very wealthy, owning both property and slaves. House of slaves was built in the early 1780s under French rule. Records indicate that the original owners were a mixed-race family of a French navy surgeon named Nicolas Pepin. It is believed that the family occupied the upper floor with large rooms and balconies, while the ground floor was the site for kitchens, pantries, and cells for transit slaves.

For forty years, since the museum's inception, Boubacar Joseph Ndiaye was curator of the slave house and oversaw the memorial on Goree Island until his death in 2009. "He was the main architect of the defense of the memory of the Atlantic slave trade, the man most fervent and unrelenting against any revisionism," said Hamady Bocoum, director of Cultural Heritage at Senegal's Culture Ministry. The house of slaves was one of the important building of the history of Goree. The house belonged to a Senegalese metis trader whose name was Anna Colas Pepin. The house was built by the Dutch and it is the last slave house in the island that serve as museum now. The house of slaves was reconstructed and opened as museum by Boubacar Joseph Ndiaye in 1962.

Thank to him the house of slave is today a memorial for African and black American history. The number of slave who cross tie this house for going to the new world cannot be estimated to an exact number. This why the house is seen today more than a memorial but as an historical of the transport of African to French Dutch and to America. Goree was the center during the slave trade the most important place for the departure of slave from Africa to America.

The island used to host around 28 slave houses. Today most have disappeared and turned into private houses," notes Eloi Coly, current chief curator of house of slaves. "This one was chosen by the Senegalese state to keep the memory and remind all the people about the fragility of the liberties. It's a place of memory and reconciliation." Coly believes that the small dark rooms underneath the staircases were used as punishment rooms, and that the damp little rooms kept young girls and children separately from men for sale or the pleasure of the traders. According to Mr. Ndiaye, slaves were led to the "Door of No Return," leaving Africa forever.

It is located at the back of the House facing the Atlantic Ocean; the door leads to a wharf made of palm wood, where a ship would be waiting to take the Africans across the ocean, never to return to their homes. Slaves that had fallen ill or died were also thrown into the ocean. The safeguarding of the house of slaves has been placed under Senegal's Law No. 71.12 of 1971, which established the regulations for historical monuments and excavation finds. The Island was inscribed a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1978 and house of slaves was restored in 1990 with the support of the Senegalese Government.

-

⁶ Signare: are the young Métis women, born from the Portuguese marriage with Wolof

The development of international tourism, the inscription of the island on the UNESCO World Heritage List, popular narratives, and tourists shape the history of Goree Island. The UNESCO website states The Island of Goree testifies to an unprecedented human experience in the history of humanity. It is a memorial to the African diaspora. It continues to serve as a reminder of human exploitation and as a sanctuary for reconciliation. The country's tourism department reports that, Senegal hosts more than 200,000 people that travel to the island off the coast of Dakar each year to step inside the dark, dungeon, like holding rooms at house of slaves to hear details of how twenty million slaves were chained and mistreated.



Figure 2 slave house (photo yek voyage)

Most of these children were born to strong parent so he said that when they grow up they will be as strong as their parents. The young girls had the choice for breast quality and breasts symbolized virginity according to African custom a virgin girl could not be seine and when the breasts are perfectly firm and all those whose breasts were not firm were regarded as not virgin and brought alongside the women. But the sale simply ended up in the form of a gold exchange of the barter plan a child had been exchanged for a small mirror but a man of more than 60 Kilograms and 60 kilograms was the minimum weight.

A man of 60 kilo had been exchanged at the same price or equal value the equivalent of a barrel of life. The woman, she had been sold four times cheaper. The cell of the temporary unfit, that of the men who were Come here at less than 60 kilos to be fattened like cattle and fertilized with beans but after three months or three and a half months the time that the slaves put here to wait for the arrival of the boats if, nevertheless, the slave did not increase in weight to the point of reaching the 60 kilo then he did not leave for America.

But it was not him of a free man for so he remained then always a slave and was sold less expensive to serve locally as a servant. And well the cell from under the stairs was reserved for those who revolted or refused to obey orders, to punish them at the time they were locked in the cellule below Stairs, the guards had not had to this preoccupied to know the number of slaves who then could contain themselves in a small cell like that there their only preoccupation had been to be able to close the door.

After the slaves because at the time the slaves had not been considered as human beings but rather as merchandise. And right to the same thing another cell but the difference were the two windows located on both sides, Another one dating from 1848 reference year the abolition of the slave in France and in the French colonies to note that the exact date was the 27th of April 1848 it was then at that date that was signed the decree by Victor When entering the door of the house of the slave, we are in front of us a door that leads to the sea, and is called the door of the journey without return.

The reason is that the slaves when they are paving is through this corridor They were transported in boats whenever one of them had then crossed that door which is in front of the sea he could tell god to Africa. Pass the door, the slave should climb on a bridge Built with wood it is the palm wood that under the tree at the bottom. The bridge then allowed the slaves to pass any good house in small parks that is made of rocks, they are brought in the boats to the tide. But going to the exit, there are two corridors to the right and left the waiting room for the slaves in departure.

The last corridor of right to the left had been those of the guards at the time chosen among the slaves but whose presence finally ended up being perfectly useless. The slaves at the time left chained from the ankles and two to two even if they had Hung an iron ball of 10 kilo 300 in the middle of the cheek, so that every time one of them tried to escape by throwing himself into the sea, he immediately sinks Weight of the ball and it was drowned.



Figure 3 Picture of chain

Sometimes one could find a family in the house the father the mother and the children but it was always separated in the different cells. When they were going for the Americas their destinations were also different that is to say the father could be found in the United States The mother in Brazil and the child in the Caribbean is how the family was dispersed. The slaves at the time systematically classified their no and classified them by their numbers number. They arrived at destination in the plantations they were given the names of their owner.

Then history tells us that in the united states for example the slaves had English names most of their owner of the Anglophones all the more as the United States Was a former English colonist. In Brazil for the same reasons they bore Portuguese names in Cuba of the Spanish names and the French Antilles the slaves had French names. This means that today most of the blacks descended from slaves are at the on the other side of the Atlantic and their names are not of African origin but rather the names they inherited from the slave trade. (Gorée island of memories Published in 1985 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris Printed by L. Vanmelle, Ghent, Belgium pages 12 to 58)

I.3. Slave's Capture

Slaves were capture in many forest in Africa, the others was given to Europeans by their brothers Africans. For example criminals were sold by their chief or kings as punishment free African were capture during raids by African and European gangs domestic slaves were resold to European and the prisoners of war were also sold on. Many others slaves were capture from their villages. The capture Africans were marched to the Atlantic coast where they would be exchanged for good such as muskets, clothes and alcohol. During this march they would be bound together at the neck in what was known as a coffle in two or three or in lines as many as 30 or 40 individuals.

The enslaved people became a major product of war in Africa as different societies expanded trough military conflicts. In cases, one side would be deliberately sponsored by European nation, it would be favorite side to win between to African societies at war and supply that side with guns. The victorious side rounded up captives from the other side, who were given to the Europeans to pay for the arms and exchanged for more guns or barter.

These particular captives were often used raids. They often held grudges against the groups they were ordered to raid, having previously been sold into slavery themselves in inter-African territorial wars. This deliberately created chaos ensured the continuation of slaving activities. Some African societies, such as Benin in southern Nigeria, refused to sell slaves. Others, like Dahomey⁷ now the modern nation also called Benin, appear to have specialized in enslavement. Drought, famine or periods of violent conflict might cause a ruler or a merchant to sell slaves.

In addition, many rulers sold slaves rulers sold slaves to acquire the trade goods such as textiles, alcohol and other rare imports that were necessary to secure the loyalty of the subject. The loss of population in Africa as a result of the transatlantic trade had a devastating effect on local community and national life, disrupting economic and financial order, agricultural production, political organization and the social and psychological well-being of its inhabitants. One historians has described as essentially a defended warehouse within with goods and people could be temporarily stored.

Once the captured Africans arrived at the Atlantic, they were taken to one of the many slave forts that could be found along the coastline, where they would wait to be transported by ship to the Americas. Held in the most deplorable of conditions, they would languish in these dungeons, sometimes for months, waiting for slave ships to come and collect them. Many died there, and all of them left mentally distressed.

These forts, many of which still stand, were built by the politically and economically dominant European nations of the period: Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Denmark, France and England. Heavily fortified against attacks from pirates and from any European nations with which they may have been at war, the forts allowed these slave-trading nations to increase their shipments, develop strong commercial networks in Africa and provide their colonies with a continuous supply of slave labor.

15

⁷ Dahomey: a historic kingdom of W Africa centered in Edo-speaking regions W of the Niger river

The ground level was taken up with warehouses containing vast quantities of imported goods such as brandy, tobacco, muskets, knives and gunpowder. There was also a hospital, cook-house and barracks. Also on this level were the dungeons, with a single entrance. Kept in constant near-darkness, they were known as "slave holes". Anthony How, a botanist who came to this part of the coast in 1785/6 to examine the local plants, was later asked if he had observed how the enslaved were treated. He replied, 'They were chained day and night, and drove down to the sea twice a day to be washed.' More than 2,000 miles away were other British forts – in Gambia, in Sierra Leone and, for a time, on Goree Island in Senegal.

With Cape Coast Castle, they were all integrated into a network of ships and shore settlements that formed the African end of the British slave trade. Portugal was the first nation to capture and trade in enslaved Africans and quickly developed a commercial network in the region. It sold enslaved Africans in Europe and on the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Canaries, Cape Verde and the Azores. In 1482, the Portuguese built Fort São Jorge da Mina – now most commonly known as Elmina Castle – to protect their gold trade from their rivals, the Dutch.

The first trading post built on the Gulf of Guinea, Elmina made the Portuguese the dominant force on the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana). The new fort had a considerable effect on Africans living in the region. Elmina declared itself an independent state at the urging of the Portuguese, whose governor then took control of the town's affairs. The people were offered protection against attacks from neighboring coastal communities with whom the Portuguese had much less genial relations.

If any community attempted to trade with a nation other than Portugal, the Portuguese reacted with aggressive force, often forming alliances with their enemies. Hostilities therefore increased, and the traditional organization of society suffered, especially following the introduction of guns, which made easier the domination of stronger kingdoms over weaker states. After years of unsuccessful attempts to acquire the fort the Dutch took possession of Elmina in 1637 maintaining possession until 1871, it was then transferred by treaty to the British.

In 1763, after five years of British occupation, the return of the French, coinciding with the introduction of direct administration by the government, provided a further spur to building. Since the forts had been badly damaged, the officers and employees were lodge in private homes and the central administration set up the residence of the rich Signare, the pavilion saint jean. Building proceeded everywhere, even at the expense of the fortification. It sufficed that the houses built along the shore were fitted with loopholes commanding the sea.

The Island, which in 1763 had possessed only seven stone building, had fifteen in 1770 and eighty-one by 1784. Flat roofs of argumasse, a lime and sand mortar, and tiled roofs replaced thatched roofs throughout Goree. From 1500 onwards, maritime changes made possible access to, and control over, distance corners of the Atlantic (and even further afield) with the result that European rivalries were now projected on a global stage. Henceforth, Europeans fought each other, competed against each other and maneuvered to take advantage of each other right round the shores of the Atlantic.

Generally when the grown people in the neighborhood were gone far in the fields to labor, the children assembled together in some of the neighbors premises to play; and commonly some of them used to get up a tree to look out for any assailant or kidnapper that might come upon them, for they sometimes took these opportunities of their parents' absence to attack and carry off as many as they could seize.

I.4. The Exchange

A ship going to Africa to buy slaves carried a large cargo of mixed goods, such as cotton, brass pans and guns. These were exchanged for enslaved Africans, who were shipped across the Atlantic Ocean to north and South America and the Caribbean. Here they were set to work on the plantations (large areas of land owned by Europeans where crops were grown). The ships' captains would buy goods to take back to Europe. These would be goods produced by slave labor on the plantations. They were tobacco, sugar, indigo (a plant used for dye), rice, rum and cotton.

The trade goods used for buying enslaved Africans were often produced and sold locally around Bristol. Pictured here is an entry in the catalogue of stock in a Bristol shop selling cutlery and hardware, it reads 'Articles suitable to the African Trade'. But local industries did not always produce the goods which African buyers wanted. Traders in Bristol therefore had to buy products from elsewhere to trade with Africa. For example they bought cotton cloth from India (from a trading company, the East India Company, in London), or from traders in Manchester. Guns were mostly bought from the makers in Birmingham, but gunpowder was made in Bristol.

The African traders, with whom the Bristol traders were doing business, wanted goods which were not available in Africa. They would have particular requirements for different types of fabric, for example, and would find a trading partner who could provide it. Copper was highly prized by West Africans: it has been called the 'red gold of Africa'. African traders therefore happily accepted brass items, brass being an alloy or mix of copper and zinc.

They would buy it from European traders in blocks, which could be melted down to make decorative items. Europeans made brass 'manilas', which was brass molded into a bracelet shape. Became a form of money in West Africa. African traders would also buy items made from these brass for everyday use, such as the one pictured here. Bristol had an important bras industry. Most of these brassware produce in Bristol was sold be to slave trade for the African market. Glass bead such as, such as those shown here, were used to trade with Africans. The beads had to be bought abroad for sale to Africa.

The main suppliers were the city of Venice in Italy and Bohemia (in what is today Czechoslovakia). Beads were available in many sizes, shapes and colors. A European slave trader could be caught out by a change in fashion and find that the beads he had chosen were no longer wanted by his African trading partner.

The Bristol ship the Africa in 1774 was left with a large quantity of unsold beads. The involvement of Bristol in the Africa trade boosted industry in and around the city Gunpowder, glass, pottery, woolen cloth, iron and brass pans went to Africa and all were produced locally. Without the transatlantic slave trade, local industry would not have had such a big market and been so profitable.

"You have a Cargo on board on our Account amounting to £4,648 [about £370,000 today] which you are to Barter for good healthy young Negroes & Ivory, and we desire you'll be very careful in that Purchase of the Negroes not to buy any Old Slaves or Children, but Good Healthy Young Men and Women, and buy all the Ivory you can get". These words were part of the written orders given to George Merrick, master or captain of the ship the Africa for her first slaving voyage in 1774.

The accounts book of the ship the Africa gives a good insight into a slaving voyage. The crew, their jobs, and their wages are listed, along with all the 'outset' costs of fitting up the voyage (repairs to the ship, port charges, customs fees, food and stores for the voyage, petty cash).

The ship's cargo is listed item by item and the value of everything is given. On the first voyage, the ship carried a large stock of cotton cloth from India and Manchester, brass pots, hats and waistcoats, brandy and rum, iron bars and pots, guns, gunflints and gunpowder, copper rods and manilas (both types of currency), glass beads, lead bars and lead shot (for the guns). All these items would be used to exchange with the African traders in West Africa where the ship was headed. These traders would then sell them on.

The tobacco, brandy, rum, jugs, beads, trunks and some of the cloth in the Africa's Pictured here is a page from the accounts book of the ship the Africa. It lists the cloth taken to Africa on the 1774 voyage. Cloth was an important part of any trade cargo as it was so valued by the African traders. It usually made up about a third of the whole cargo. This first voyage was not a great success for her eight owners, as they made very little profit. On her second voyage, the trade goods on board the ship the Africa were more varied than on the first. Perhaps the owners realized that their choice of trade goods on the first voyage was too limited.

The principal goods of trade sent to Africa in exchange for slaves can be divided into three groups: items used as money, such as cowries, strips of cloth, iron bars, copper bracelets called "manilas," and even silver coins and gold; consumer goods, especially textiles, alcohol, and a great range of items used as jewelry; and military wares. In general, these imports did not replace African production but rather supplemented output. The import of money increased circulation in the market and therefore tended to promote trade in all goods, not just slaves.

Since many of the monies were in fact commodities that had other uses as well, their commodity value could also be realized. Hence, cloth strips, imported via Europe from India, were used as currency in Senegambia, along with gold and other mediums, but the cloth could be and was made into clothing. Local textile production was not undermined; people just had more cloth.

The demand for textiles seems to have been virtually inexhaustible, and the more variety the better. Similarly, iron was fashioned into small hoe-shaped pieces of money in the interior of Sierra Leone, but the money could be combined and used to make real hoes or any other iron implement. Even cowries could be strung into necklaces and used to adorn hair, costumes, and baskets. But their principal use remained the role as money, which was acquired through the exchange for slaves.

The 1776 cargo of the ship the Africa consisted of cloth from India and Manchester, caps and hats, waistcoats and jackets. In many African cultures, different cloths show rank and social position of the owner. Although beautiful cloths were made in Africa, to own imported cloth would show the wealth and connections of the person who owned it. Many different types of cloth were taken. For example, 'nicanees' and 'chelloes' were a coarse cotton cloth, 'romalls' were a finer silk or cotton fabric.

The cargo also contained brass and copper rods, which the Africans could use to make other items. Brandy and rum were traded or given as gifts to African trading partners. Alcohol was also given to the crew. Stoneware (pottery) jugs and bottles and pewter (metal) jugs and bowls all made sturdy items for use in the kitchen. Tobacco pipes and tobacco were in the cargo. Glasses, decanters and glass lamps were taken, as glass was not made in West Africa, but was valued for its attractive qualities.

Glass beads were taken, as Africans used them for decorating clothing and ceremonial items and making jewelry. Guns, gunflints, lead shot and gunpowder were in the cargo. There were also small, usually low-value items, that were either useful or attractive and would be accepted as part of a mixture of goods in payment for a boxes for holding a type of tobacco). Trunks and a 'Wilton carpet' were also listed in the 1776 cargo going from Bristol to Africa.

Cargo were exchanged for rice. This rice was to feed the enslaved Africans (once bought) slave. These included cutlery, razors, fishhooks, penknives, rings and snuff boxes (on the rest of the voyage from Africa to the Caribbean. The better quality beads were to be traded for African gold and ivory, which the Europeans were keen on. The rest of the cargo was for buying people.

This detail is from a picture of a slave ship called the *South well* Frigate, shown off the coast of West Africa. The captain can be seen being carried ashore in a hammock, whilst Africans help the sailors to unload goods from the smaller boats. The long crate, which probably holds guns, is marked 'Bristol'. The captains of slaving ships had to establish a good relationship with the local chiefs and traders in Africa. They would often give presents, such as alcohol and clothes, to help the trading relationship.

CONCLUSION

The island of Goree geographical position play an important role in the slave trade. And the house of slave where captives were waiting to board ships and to be send to the new world. The important signification of this house in slave's trade history attract many personalities to visit the island like the Pop John Paul II the president Barack Obama, George bush and many others. During his visit of the Pop john Paul II ask pardon to African people "the horrible aberration of those who had reduced to slavery the brothers and sisters whom the Gospel had destined for freedom." (Jean Paul II).

This quotation was the show the place of the house of slave in the history. Also, during the president Barack Obama in the island of Goree he quoted this "this is a testament to when we are not vigilant in defense of human rights, what can happen!" Yet, while drawing attention to the slave trade that was outlawed over 200 years ago, he was silent on the much larger, ongoing, Arab slave trade that still plagues Africa.

Archival and documentary sources for statistical evaluation cannot tell the true impact of the trans-Atlantic slave trade on African groups and societies in and around Goree Island. The statistical evaluation to a certain extent gives the number of slaves exiting from the island but not the number that remained. The socio-cultural, economic, psychological, and political effects caused by slave deportation are just as significant. "Censuses on the Atlantic slave trade are too often controversial as their evidence is generally scant and dispersed.

However, censuses on populations residing on Goree at a specific time offer better estimates thanks to the small size of the island." A series of censuses are available on Goree from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, which colonial authorities most likely collected for administrative purposes. The island of Goree is a famous destination for people interest in the Atlantic slave trade.

CHAPTER TWO: THE TRIPS

The slave ship was a means of transport in the so called "triangular trade" or three continent trade. It departed from a harbor in a European country that had a colony overseas. Loaded with provisions and articles needed by the staff in the forts on the Gold Coast, and for barter trade, the ship made a stop in Africa. There, the purchased cargo of slaves, ivory and gold was put on board and the ship embarked on the "middle passage" across the Atlantic to the Americas. This was the most strenuous part of the journey both for the crew, who lived in constant fear of tropical diseases and a rebellion on board, and the captives, many of whom perished along the way.

The Middle Passage was the stage of the triangular trade in which millions of Africans were shipped to the New World as part of the Atlantic slave trade. Ships departed Europe for African markets with manufactured goods, which were traded for purchased or kidnapped Africans, who were transported across the Atlantic as slaves; the slaves were then sold or traded for raw materials, which would be transported back to Europe to complete the voyage. Voyages on the Middle Passage were large financial undertakings, generally organized by companies or groups of investors rather than individuals.

The enforced migration of Africans to the Americas in conditions of slavery lasted from the middle of the sixteenth century until the 1860s and constituted the largest movement of people across the Atlantic until the middle of the nineteenth century. Referred to as the notorious "Middle Passage" because of the terrible conditions on board slave ships, this migration involved at least 12 million people and was a major factor in the economic and demographic development of the colonies in the Americas, including the Caribbean region and Latin America, as well as North America.

Merchants from Europe and the Americas were responsible for transporting and otherwise subjugating the enslaved Africans, who came from many parts of Africa, but mostly from the coastal regions of Sierra Leone and Guinea, modern Ghana, Nigeria, Angola and Congo regions known as the upper Guinea coast, the Gold Coast, the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and west central Africa. The enslaved population included large numbers of specific ethnic groups, especially Akan, Gbe, Yoruba, Igbo, Ibibio, Congo, and other Bantu speaking people from west central Africa.

Because of this concentration, many features of African culture, including religion, cuisine, and music, were transferred to the Americas and had a profound impact on the cultural amalgamation and transformation that occurred in the Americas, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the transatlantic trade in slaves came to an end as a result of international pressure and the eventual emancipation of the enslaved population.

Many British ships made the journey to West Africa to trade for enslaved African people. Once on board, the enslaved Africans would be taken across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas where they would be sold to the plantation owners who needed them to work on the plantations there. The ships would then load up with new cargo for the last leg of the journey back to Europe. They would be taking back goods (such as sugar and tobacco) that were grown

by the slaves on the plantations. Life on board the slave ships was harsh. The captains were often cruel.

The enslaved Africans and the crew suffered from the poor conditions and treatment. Disease was common and many could die on the journey. There are many accounts that tell us about the journey taken by slave ships across the Atlantic Ocean from Africa to the Americas. Some are the records of the voyage kept by the captain in the ship's logbook. This records everything about life aboard the slave ship. It tells us about the weather throughout the day, the ship's course, punishments handed out to crew or enslaved Africans, the rations given out to the slaves, and any deaths or sickness.

Other accounts include those written by individuals telling of their own experiences on board the ship. Two famous and important individual accounts are those written by Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cuguano, Africans who had been enslaved. It is rare to hear a first-hand account from an enslaved African. Few of the slaves had the opportunity to learn to read and write, and so few could tell their story to the wider world.

Often the members of the crew were also unable to read or write, which means that few individual accounts written by sailors exist. Many sailors wrote their will before setting out for Africa and were usually unable to sign their own name to it. They might have put a cross instead as a signature. Pictured here is the will of a sailor called Edward Mapham from Bristol. Unable to read or write he 'signed' his will with a cross. There are, however, a few first-hand accounts written by sailors, describing their experiences in the slave trade.

The accounts in the sections below come from different people who experienced life at sea on the slaving voyages. Pieced together, these accounts can tell us a lot about life aboard the slave ships. The more educated members of the slave ship's crew could often read and write. One of the accounts below, of how slaves were purchased, comes from someone who was working in the slave trade as a ship's surgeon.

European merchants began trading directly with West Africa in about the late 14th or 15th century. Traders from Bristol were amongst the Europeans who made the long voyage to the west coast of Africa with their goods. Items such as cloth, beads, brass kettles, and guns made up part of the cargo on board their ships. The goods were a mixture of items that were produced at home and items that were bought elsewhere. Europeans were using their goods to buy mainly gold, spices and ivory from the West African traders. Pictured here are some glass beads bought from manufacturers in Italy to trade with Africa.

The crossing was arduous and for natural causes such as weather, we cannot be held accountable. The water became short through no fault of ours or Captain Collingwood and it was

not a voluntary act but one of necessity that brought about the difficult decision to dispose of those 130-odd slaves.

II.1. The Door of No Return

The Slaves House (Maison des Esclaves) and its Door of No Return is a museum and memorial to the Atlantic slave trade on Goree Island, 3 km off the coast of the city of Dakar Senegal. The living conditions of the slaves were atrocious on Goree Island. Human beings were chained and shackled. As many as 30 men would sit in an 8-square-foot cell with only a small slit of window facing outward. Once a day, they were fed and allowed to attend to their needs, but still the house was overrun with disease.

"Of this door, for a journey without return they would go eyes fixed on the infinite of the suffering." (Joseph Ndiaye)



Figure4 picture of the door of no return

They were naked, except for a piece of cloth around their waists. They were put in a long narrow cell used for them to lie on the floor, one against the other. The children were separated

⁸ By Joseph Ndiaye the ancient curator of the slave house

from their mothers. Their mothers were across the courtyard, likely unable to hear their children cry. The rebellious Africans were locked up in an oppressive, small cubicle under the stairs; while seawater was shipped through the holes to step up dehydration.

Above their heads, in the dealer's apartments, balls and festivities were going on. But even more poignant and heart wrenching than the cells and the chains was the small "door of no return" through which every man, woman and child walked to the slave boat, catching a last glimpse of their homeland. It is in the same perspective that Adu Boahen et al asserted that:

"All these slaves were bartered for European merchandise such as guns, gun powder, textiles, rum, tobacco, beads, iron and copper bars, and the total cost of a slave increased with the years. It was between £3 and £4 between 1660 and 1690, £10 by 1700, £18 by1730 and £27 by 1800. The net sale price of a slave in the West Indies during the second half of the 18th century was about £40" ⁹

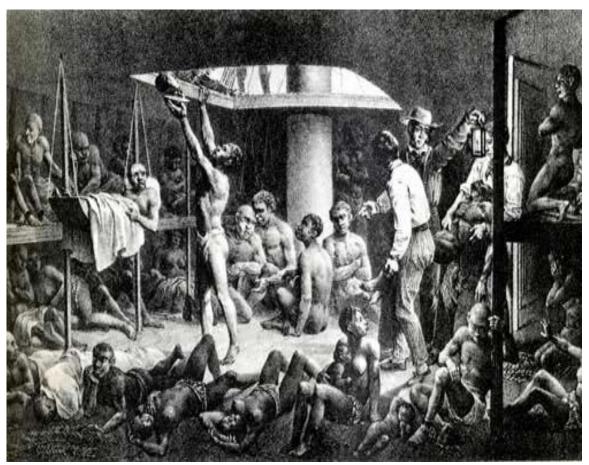
Today, people from all over the world, many of African descent, come to places such as Ghana's Elmina Castle or Senegal's Goree Island to reflect upon the fate of those long perished, nameless victims. Tourists and pilgrims walk silently through dark corridors that have kept the ominous atmosphere. Then, they pause on the threshold of a symbolic gate the door of no return.

II.2. The Slaves Life in the Ship

Slave ships spent several months travelling to different parts of the coast, buying their cargo. The captives were often in poor health from the physical and mental abuse they had suffered. They were taken on board, stripped naked and examined from head to toe by the captain or surgeon. Conditions on board ship during the Middle Passage were appalling. The men were packed together below deck and were secured by leg irons. The space was so cramped they were forced to crouch or lie down.

=

⁹ By Boahen, Adu et al, Opcit., pp. 108-9



Picture 5 Picture of slaves in the ship

Women and children were kept in separate quarters, sometimes on deck, allowing them limited freedom of movement, but this also exposed them to violence and sexual abuse from the crew. The air in the hold was foul and putrid. Seasickness was common and the heat was oppressive. The lack of sanitation and suffocating conditions meant there was a constant threat of disease. Epidemics of fever, dysentery (the 'flux') and smallpox were frequent. Captives endured these conditions for about two months, sometimes longer.

In good weather the captives were brought on deck in midmorning and forced to exercise. They were fed twice a day and those refusing to eat were force-fed. Those who died were thrown overboard. The combination of disease, inadequate food, rebellion and punishment took a heavy toll on captives and crew alike. Surviving records suggest that until the 1750s one in five Africans on board ship died.

Some European governments, such as the British and French, introduced laws to control conditions on board. They reduced the numbers of people allowed on board and required a surgeon to be carried. The principal reason for taking action was concern for the crew and not the captives. The surgeons, though often unqualified, were paid head-money to keep captives alive. By about 1800 records show that the number of Africans who died had declined to about one in eighteen.

Many accounts describe the horrors of the notorious "Middle Passage." Conditions onboard ship were usually crowded; sickness was a major problem, killing many of the enslaved and the crews of the slave ships as well, and shortages of food and drinking water were chronic.

Misjudgments in rations, weather problems, and slave resistance onboard ships could affect the length of the passage and the conditions of the people onboard. The conditions of the Middle Passage are best described by contemporary accounts, including the testimonies for the British Parliamentary Enquiry into the conditions of the slave trade in 1789.

The heat of these horrid places was so great and the odor so offensive that it was quite impossible to enter them, even had there been room. They were measured as above when the slaves had left them. The officers insisted that the poor suffering creatures should be admitted on deck to get air and water. This was opposed by the mate of the slaver, who, from a feeling that they deserved it, declared they would murder them all. The officers, however, persisted, and the poor beings were all turned up together.

It is impossible to conceive the effect of this eruption 517 fellow creatures of all ages and sexes, some children, some adults, some old men and women, all in a state of total nudity, scrambling out together to taste the luxury of a little fresh air and water. They came swarming up like bees from the aperture of a hive till the whole deck was crowded to suffocation front stem to stern, so that it was impossible to imagine where they could all have come from or how they could have been stowed away. As one slave said "The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave-ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo". Olaudah Equiano, Sold as a Slave, 1789

On looking into the places where they had been crammed, there were found some children next the sides of the ship, in the places most remote from light and air; they were lying nearly in a torpid state after the rest had turned out. The little creatures seemed indifferent as to life or death, and when they were carried on deck, many of them could not stand. It was not surprising that they should have endured much sickness and loss of life in their short passage.

They had sailed from the coast of Africa on the 7th of May and had been out but seventeen days, and they had thrown overboard no less than fifty-five, who had died of dysentery and other complaints in that space of time, though they had left the coast in good health. Indeed, many of the survivors were seen lying about the decks in the last stage of emaciation and in a state of filth and misery not to be looked at. Even-handed justice had visited the effects of this unholy traffic on the crew who were engaged in it.

Eight or nine had died, and at that moment six were in hammocks on board, in different stages of fever. This mortality did not arise from want of medicine. There was a large stock ostentatiously displayed in the cabin, with a manuscript book containing directions as to the quantities; but the only medical man on board to prescribe it was a black, who was as ignorant as his patients.

Conditions aboard the slave ships were wretched. Men, women and children crammed into every available space, denied adequate room, food or breathing space. The stench was appalling - the atmosphere inhumane to say the least. The Reverend Robert Walsh served aboard one of the ships assigned to intercept the slaves off the African coast. On the morning of May 22, 1829, a suspected slaver was sighted and the naval vessel gave chase.

The next day, a favorable wind allowed the interceptor to gain on its quarry and approach close enough to fire two shots across her bow. The slaver heaved to and an armed party from the interceptor scrambled aboard her. In the second half of the seventeenth century, it took an average of 133 days to cross the Atlantic from Africa, while in the first half of the eighteenth century it usually took 75–80 days, and then only 50–65 days in the last part of the century. In the period 1820–1850, the time was reduced to 40–50 days.

The voyages from the Bight of Biafra in the period 1730s–1750s took almost 120 days, while traveling from southeastern Africa in the second half of the eighteenth century could take up to 146 days. The longer individuals were on the slave ships, in the terrible conditions that prevailed, the more likely they would die for a discussion of mortality.

The percentage of slaves onboard ship who died fluctuated considerably, depending upon the fortunes of individual ships, the part of the African coast from which the enslaved came, and the period under consideration. In general, death rates declined over time, as European slaving firms introduced some measures to lower the incidence of death in the interest of profits, of course, because dead slaves were worth nothing. Death rates declined from approximately 26 percent of the people on the ships in the first half of the seventeenth century to 15 percent or so for much of the eighteenth century, declining to 10 percent or less at the height of the trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Death rates increased again at the end of the slave trade because of efforts to stop the trade and the extra pressure that put on slave merchants to get their human cargoes to the Americas. The Bight of Biafra and southeastern Africa sustained the highest death rates, in part because of the much longer voyages that were necessary to take slaves from these regions to the Americas. As can be seen, the length of voyages varied considerably, but again, trips became shorter as time passed, and there were improvements in ship design and construction that made for faster sailing times.

Turning slavery into a profitable business was the result of growing involvement of European policy in Africa, the accessibility of weapons and demand for a workforce on overseas plantations. Researchers estimate the number of slaves who were sent from Africa at about 13million. In this huge-scale trafficking in persons as we call it today, the slave ship played an invaluable, if infamous, role.

After the hardships of the crossing, there was a week or so to rest, eat, and heal the sores that resulted from chafing against the slave platforms on board the ship. This period of relief had economic, not humanitarian, grounds. When the slaves' stomachs were full with cooked porridge and meat, their skin looked healthy and shone from the rubbed-in palm oil, and their spirits heightened with some rest and even a little rum, they were likely to bring more money in the auction, for which they had been brought all the way from the African continent.

The humiliation of the slave train - men, women and children strapped in a neck yolk as they stumbled towards the coast - was usually followed by imprisonment for as much as eight months until a slave ship arrived and collected a full cargo - whereupon they were marched out, stripped, examined, haggled over and finally given a number by which they would be known throughout the voyage.

Some of the slave who were transported along the middle passage attempted to rebel against the captain and the crew .The African would make crude weapon out of their chains and shackles and attempts to kill crew members during the time when they were on dock. However, these uprisings were usually put down quickly by the crew, which used advanced weapons such as pistols and rifles to slaughter numerous slaves.

Although there were some successful slave mutinies along the middle passage, most Africans who attempted to revolt were killed in the process and thus put out of the misery.

One of the few successful, and certainly the most celebrated, slave revolts along the middle passage occurred on the Amistad. In this incident, a group of captive African, were able to kill the captain and most of the crew, completing a successful mutiny. They left a few members alive to sail them back to Africa, but the remaining sailors tricked the Africans, and landed in the United States instead. A long legal battle ensued, as many men championed their cause for freedom. Eventually the Supreme Court ruled that the Amistad passengers were legally free and allowed them to return to Africa.

Because many more female Africans crossed the Atlantic than European women, the "new" societies of the Americas, sometimes called "creole," were largely African in demographic structure. Even when the African component was not dominant, it was usually strong. In North America, the settlement of Europeans and Africans overlapped and were complementary with each other, but even so, the number of African women was still significant in terms of the impact on how they gave birth to the new generations.

And it must be remembered that the Native American population, although suffering demographic loss of enormous proportions, nonetheless also contributed to the "new" societies of the Americas.

Furthermore, people of African and Native American origins intermingled, generating composite and dynamic communities that owed little if anything to European influence. Most important, these migrations and the intermingling of populations involved individuals; they were

people whose history, sometimes even on the individual level, can be known. The scale of the migration, and the tremendous suffering and the terrible destruction it entailed, should not disguise the importance of the individual experiences that went into the construction of the African diaspora and hence the development of the countries and societies of the Americas.

II.3. The Suicide during the Trips

Death in the Middle Passage has long been at the center of the moral attack on slavery, and during the past two centuries estimates of the death rate and explanations of its magnitude have been repeatedly discussed and debated. The transatlantic slave trade represented a major international movement of persons, and, although only one part of the movement of slaves from the point of enslavement in Africa to their place of forced labor in the Americas, shipboard mortality was its most conspicuous and frequently discussed aspect.

Of the more than 27,000 voyages included in the Du Bois Institute dataset, more than 5,000 have information on shipboard mortality. Information is provided on African ports of embarkation; American ports of disembarkation; nationality of carrying vessels; numbers of slaves leaving Africa, arriving in the Americas, and dying in transit; ship size; numbers of crew and their mortality; and length of time at sea.

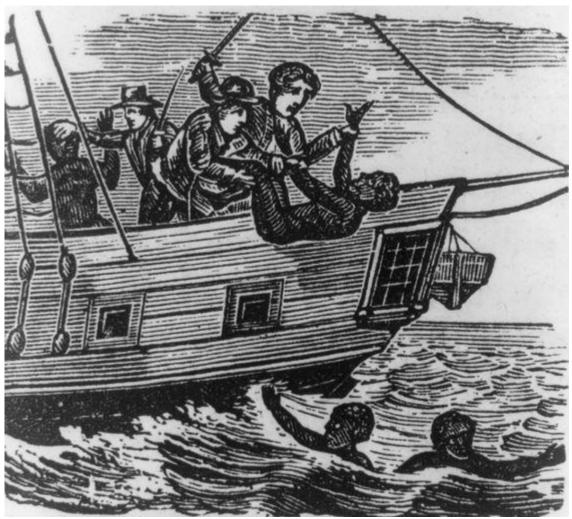


Figure6 picture of slave's suicide

The dataset also permits, with subsequent collecting, the linking of this information to government and private documents containing data on sailing times from Europe to Africa and time on the coast while purchasing slaves. Not all pieces of data are provided for all voyages, but enough are given to allow examination of traditional issues in greater detail. With more detailed analysis, still other problems are generated, and the answers to older questions can be seen more clearly.

A key element in projecting the costs of the slave trade is connecting estimates of deaths in the Middle Passage to the overall deaths due to the trade. The first systematic discussion of the distinctions between deaths in the Middle Passage and deaths to be attributed to the slave trade as a whole is different. The allocation of this mortality to the slave trade depends on the attribution of motive for African warfare, an issue to which there is no single clear-cut answer, since, as warfare and slavery both took place in Africa before major European contact.

CHAPTER TWO: THE TRIPS

Nor are the economic factors in allocating captives among the transatlantic, the trans-Saharan, and the internal African slave trade fully understood. The march to the sea, which often was conducted in stages, with sales to various intermediaries, would have had varying death rates depending on distance, diet, and disease environments as well as whether the enslaved were also made to carry goods to the coast. Losses on the coast before sale and departure reflected the length of the waiting time until the cargo was completed and the vessel sailed.

Changing efficiencies in marketing and the frequency of voyage arrival could affect mortality by their impact on the length of the period in coastal barracoons or on board vessels prior to sailing. After arrival, the persisting effects of the Middle Passage or the African background-or both-could influence deaths in the immediate interval of adjustment and the first year or so on shore, although the mix of prior conditions and New World circumstances makes precise estimates problematic.

It is difficult to form generalizations about each of these stages. Mortality is affected especially by the age and sex composition of the enslaved, the economic, social, and political circumstances in the various areas in which their enslavement occurred, their disease and climatic environments, and changing shipboard conditions over time as more knowledge of the conditions of successful operation in the trade emerges. Moreover, the specific nature of routes through various climatic regions and shifting disease environments could mean that distance by itself does not provide a satisfactory explanation for mortality.

These variations in disease zones affect not only movements in Africa; even seemingly short-distance migrations within Europe or the Americas also appear to have varying mortality outcomes. Nevertheless, these may not be as great as were the changes in going from Africa to the Americas, particularly to temperate mainland North America. Besides actual treatment on board ship, many other factors influenced shipboard mortality. First, the period from capture to sailing significantly exceeded the period of sailing from Africa to the New World, although the density of population was greater on board ships than at earlier stages of the movement to the Americas.

At present, too little is known about the relations among economics, climate, disease, and mortality both because knowledge concerning the interconnections of the specific factors in Africa is limited and because the information about how rapidly such changes in African conditions might modify human behavior has not been adequately determined. The high rates of mortality on slave ships greatly exceeded the customary death rates of populations on land, even considering those of the great human disasters such as the Black Death, the decimation of Native Americans in the settlement of the Americas, and the Irish Famine, as well as mortality on other types of sea voyages, such as those carrying indentured workers and free migrants.

The attention given to this one part of the mortality experience of the enslaved may seem surprising, since it is probably neither the longest component in terms of time nor the largest in terms of mortality. While of interest as a historical issue, the Middle Passage is the most easily measured part of the slave movement to the New World. For no other aspect of the enslavement process, in Africa or in the Americas, is the mortality information as extensive or as complete. The attention given the Middle Passage may also reflect the distinctions made, in the eighteenth and

CHAPTER TWO: THE TRIPS

nineteenth centuries, between the slave trade and slavery. Almost all nations legally ended the slave trade seen as the great evil about two decades before slavery was ended.

That the transatlantic shipment was the first stage in the large-scale transfer of ownership of slaves from Africans to Europeans permitted the abolitionists to focus on the sins of the Europeans rather than on the behavior of the African suppliers. Shipboard mortality was presumably controllable by the shippers, with or without state regulation, and deaths could be regarded as the responsibility of Europeans, without the possible ambiguity found in the discussion of all steps in the trade, including the initial capture and transit within Africa.

The focus on voyage mortality is misleading for an understanding of the full demographic costs of the process of enslavement, or even for the satisfactory analysis of death in the Middle Passage. The voyage was only one part of the movement from a slave's capture to a slave's laboring on a plantation. Deaths occurred at every stage from capture to acclimatization in the Americas; and the total mortality rates were a multiple of deaths in the Middle Passage.

Second, variations in the internal conditions in Africa had a marked, direct impact on mortality, not to mention a significant indirect effect on the strength of the slaves at the start of the Middle Passage. Care and treatment on slave vessels could correlate with significant differences in shipboard mortality for slaves and for crew. Third, because the numbers of those enslaved and entering into the transatlantic trade varied with internal African political and economic conditions, such as warfare and famine, there should be some obvious link between such conditions and mortality in the transatlantic crossing.

Mortality in the slave trade can be measured directly or indirectly. Direct measurement refers to the number of deaths at each stage. Indirect measurement would, for example, consider those deaths during the Middle Passage that had been influenced by physical conditions and diseases present prior to boarding the ship. Obvious parallels exist to the varying conditions of European migration to ports, explaining in part the presence of passage mortality variations from different ports. In Africa, famines and malnutrition influenced both the probability of enslavement and the subsequent mortality prior to, as well as during, the voyage.

Longer marches to the coast or marches through assorted disease environments may have led to more deaths in transit as well as, by weakening the slaves, higher shipboard mortality. That not all slaves entered the transatlantic voyage with equal probability of dying on board is, of course, an important reason for comparing African ports of departure. It is equally important to try to determine the precise sources of slaves, even when actual sailing times were similar, or, if voyages came from the same port, when trying to understand why mortality rates fluctuated so frequently.

Slave trade mortality tended to be high relative to that of other traffics, as well as to mortality rates in land-based settlements and overland migration. This higher mortality is observed whether

CHAPTER TWO: THE TRIPS

the basic measure is per voyage, per day at sea, or per unit of ship size. Occasional voyages in other trades did exceed the average rates in the slave trade, but unusual circumstances such as disease outbreaks or extreme length of time at sea account for these exceptions. Many slave ships had mortality rates as low as those in other trades, since only a limited number of ships suffered from high mortality, but average slave ship mortality was usually above that of the other voyages.

Mortality rates in the American ports of arrival varied much less than in African ports of origin. Thus the range in mortality rates throughout the transatlantic slave trade was based primarily on African ports of departure. Environmental and economic conditions among various parts of Africa thus become of central importance for understanding the slave trade and its mortality experience. Perhaps most striking is the skewed distribution of ship mortality rates at any moment of time, appreciable even for ships sailing from the same port in Africa and going to the same American port. Very few ships had the high mortality rates that attracted abolitionist's attention; many more ships tended to have low rates. (Transoceanic Mortality: The Slave Trade in Comparative Perspective by Herbert S. Klein, Stanley L. Engerman, Robin Haines, and Ralph Shlomowitz* Published in the William & Mary Quarterly, LVIII, no. 1 (January 2001), pp. 93-118.)

Conclusion

The slave's trips length from Africa to America depend on weather conditions, slaves' conditions of life in the ships were so precarious, this was the cause of their suicide during the voyage. The transportation of enslaved Africans constituted the largest single forced migration of Africans to the new world. The enslaved Africans who crossed the Atlantic ocean by board to the new world is inestimable in term of number. In the ship slaves were packed bellow the deck. Slaves were separated in sex men were shackle together and women also between them.

The door of no return was the last passage of the slaves to join the ship was the voyage with no return. This door was so significant for the story of the slave house of Goree and it show at the same time the atrocities that happens in this house. The life in the ship so hard for the slaves that we cannot imagine people were packed so close that they could not get to the toilet buckets, and so lay in their own filth.

A few ships crossed the Middle Passage without any deaths. Some ships lost most of their cargo. The average losses were between 10 and 20%, through sickness, suicide and even murder at the hands of the slave crew and captains. 10% means over 1,000,000 Africans died on board the ships, 20% represents over 2,000,000 deaths.

Before West Africa and Europe had their first contact in the early 15th century which began with the Portuguese in the early 1440s, African states already had contact with foreign civilizations such as the Arab world. This relationship between Africans and Arabs was based on gold and slave trade and it was during this epoch that the trans-Saharan trade impacted the present day's West Africa in terms of religion and education. However, African gold would draw the attention of Europeans who used to trade long before with the Arabs in the Mediterranean Sea.

As such, in search for the source of the Arab gold, Prince Henry decided to conquer the source of African gold. He therefore sent out explorers to the African coast in disguise to search for shorter sea routes to East India and the spread of Christianity as his prime reasons behind this expedition. Though, his interest was only in gold trade, the trade in slave also captured the Portuguese attention after his death. As the gold taken from the Gold Coast was enriching the Portuguese crown, other Europeans such as the Danes, Germans, Dutch, and the British precipitated to the region to trade in gold during the late 16th century.

By the early 18th century, European forts were found everywhere on the coastline of Africa. Christopher Columbus' discovery of the Americas and the creation of plantations by companies and gold mining pushed the European trade companies in today's West Africa to deal in slaves with the local states. All the European companies which were present on the coast were very active in the slave trade. Their activeness in this trade began few decades later. This kind of trade which became the main source of income for both the European companies trading into West Africa and the local states hereafter resulted in trade competition within the European merchants themselves.

The Transatlantic Slave Trade, in which European states forcibly transported millions of African captives to the colonies, began in earnest in the early seventeenth century and lasted nearly 200 years. It was a systemized and brutal form of slavery on a scale not seen before or since and was based upon a new form of racist ideology that championed white supremacy. Slavery has existed since ancient times and continues in the modern world. A slave was defined by the United Nations in 1927 as someone 'over whom any or all of the powers attached to the right of ownership are exercised'.

This was a triangular trade of three stages, each of which offered the possibility of a full cargo and a profit. During the first leg, European manufactured goods, including guns, pots and pans, cloth, beads and nails, were shipped to Africa and exchanged at coastal trading posts for slaves, many of whom had been captured during inter-tribal wars. On the second leg, known as the Middle Passage, the slaves were carried in cramped and unsanitary ships across the Atlantic Ocean to North and South America and the Caribbean, where they were sold.

For the final leg, the plantation goods of sugar, cotton, coffee, tobacco, cocoa and rum that were dependent on slave labor were loaded on the ships and sent to Europe to be sold. A round trip from a British slaving port such as Bristol or Liverpool to Africa, the colonies and home again would take about a year to complete. Most ships left Britain between July and September to avoid the treacherous rainy season off the African coast when many British sailors came down with fever. They would aim to reach the Caribbean by the end of April the following year at sugar making time.

The first Africans forced to work in the New World left from Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, not from Africa. There were few vessels that carried only slaves on this early route, so that most would have crossed the Atlantic in smaller groups on vessels carrying many other commodities, rather than dedicated slave ships. Such a slave route was possible because an extensive traffic in African slaves from Africa to Europe and the Atlantic islands had existed for half a century before Columbian contact, such that ten percent of the population of Lisbon was black in 1455, and black slaves were common on large estates in the Portuguese Algarve.

The first slave voyage direct from Africa to the Americas probably sailed in 1526. Before midcentury, all trans-Atlantic slave ships sold their slaves in the Spanish Caribbean, with the gold mines in Cibao on Hispaniola emerging as a major purchaser. Cartagena, in modern Columbia, appears as the first mainland Spanish American destination for a slave vessel in the year 1549. On the African side, the great majority of people entering the early slave trade came from the Upper Guinea coast, and moved through Portuguese factories initially in Arguim, and later the Cape Verde islands. Nevertheless, the 1526 voyage set out from the other major Portuguese factory in West Africa - Sao Tome in the Bight of Biafra – though the slaves almost certainly originated in the Congo.

The slave traffic to West Africa, eventually accounting for about more than forty percent of the trade, got underway around 1560. Sugar drove this traffic, as Africans gradually replaced the Amerindian labor force on which the early sugar mills (called engenhos) had drawn over the period 1560 to 1620. By the time the Dutch invaded Brazil in 1630, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro were supplying almost all of the sugar consumed in Europe, and almost all the slaves producing it were African.

Consistent with the earlier discussion of Atlantic wind and ocean currents, there were by 1640 two major branches of the trans-Atlantic slave trade operating, one to Brazil, and the other to the mainland Spanish Americas, but together they accounted for less 7,500 departures a year from the whole of sub-Saharan Africa, almost all of them by 1600 from west-central Africa. The sugar complex spread to the eastern Caribbean from the beginning of the 1640s. Sugar consumption steadily increased in Europe, and the slave system began two centuries of westward expansion across tropical and sub-tropical North America.

In Africa, the Bights of Benin and Biafra and Senegambia became major sources of supply, in addition to Angola, and were joined later by the more marginal provenance zones of Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, and South-east Africa. The volume of slaves carried off reached thirty thousand per annum in the 1690s and eighty-five thousand a century later. More than eight out of ten Africans pulled into the traffic in the era of the slave trade made their journeys in the century and a half after 1700.

In the second half of the eighteenth century six imperial systems straddled the Atlantic each one sustained by a slave trade. The English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish all operated behind trade barriers (termed mercantilist restrictions) and produced a range of plantation

produce - sugar, rice, indigo, coffee, tobacco, alcohol, and some precious metals - though with sugar usually the most valuable.

It is extraordinary that consumers' pursuit of this limited range of exotic consumer goods, which collectively added so little to human welfare, could have generated for so long the horrors and misery of the Middle Passage and plantation slavery. Given the dominance of Portuguese and British slave traders, it is not surprising that Brazil and the British Americas received the most Africans, though both nations became adept at supplying foreign slave systems as well.

Throughout the slave trade, more than seven out of every ten slaves went to these regions. The French Americas imported about half the slaves that the British did, with the majority going to Saint-Domingue. The Spanish flag, which dominated in the earliest phase of the trade before retreating in the face of competition, began to expand again in the late nineteenth century with the growth of the Cuban sugar economy.

III. 1. Historical background of the Slave trade in West Africa

In the early sixteenth century, the Spanish established a huge colonial empire in the West Indies and America. In the process of seizing new lands they massacred nearly all of the native Indian population. To obtain cheap manpower they began to bring African slaves, who had proved their worth in Europe as capable and handy workers, to the New World. By exporting Africans to America the Spanish were not trying to save what was left of the Indians. They were eager to preserve their colonies where there was no manpower to work the mines and plantations.

In 1510, the first large group of African slaves, 250 in all, was brought to the Hispaniola gold mines. After that, the Spanish Government regularly concluded other countries for the right to sell African slaves in Spain's American colonies. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Portugal began to lose its monopoly in Africa, and Spain in the New World. The development of capitalism in Europe prompted an active colonial policy. Holland, Great Britain and then France began conquests in America, Asia and Africa, where they built up their colonial empires.

Having considerably squeezed out Portugal, these countries settled on Africa's western coast where they built forts and established settlements. By the mid-seventeenth century, the main colonies where African labor was soon to be employed were founded. Following the essential organizational period in the colonies the development of plantation economies began. The rapid development of the West Indies and the American colonies would have been impossible in that period without the mass employment of cheap manpower.

Evidence of the European countries' huge interest in African trade as a whole, and particularly in the slave trade, was the founding of numerous trade companies. This put an end to the first period of development of the slave trade. Two phases are distinguished within this period; different as they are, they form a continuation. The first is the transportation of African slaves from Africa to Europe, mainly to Portugal and partly to Spain.

The appearance of Africans in the European slave markets was not merely the continuation of the Mediterranean slave trade. Never before had Europeans indulged in the seizure of slaves on such a huge scale. Never before had the hunt for slaves been so systematic nor had it been carried on solely for the sake of procuring slaves. Never before had Europeans come into contact with such a huge number of slaves belonging to another race and differing from their European masters not only by their outward appearance but also by their inner make-up and their perception of the surrounding world, for the distinctions between European and African reality were drastic.

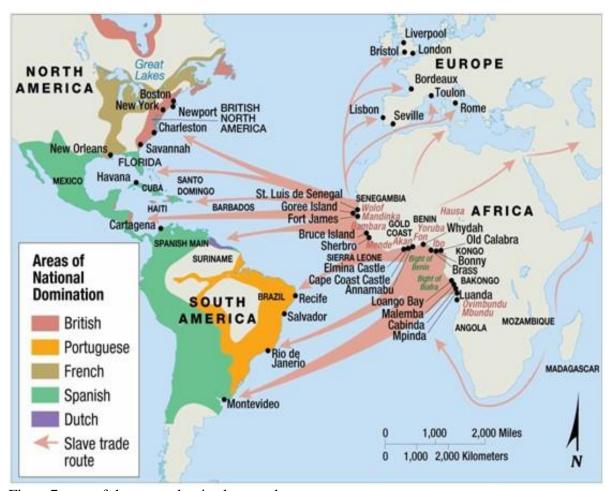


Figure 7 map of the transatlantic slave trade

The second phase is the granting of the first a siento and the delivery of slaves to the New World, first from Europe, and later direct from Africa. This was only the beginning of the European-American slave trade. Formally, the second period of the slave trade began in the late seventeenth century and continued to 1807-08, when Great Britain and the United States of America, the world's two biggest slave-trading powers, abolished the export of slaves from Africa. Actually the borderline was set by the French Revolution of 1789, during the campaigns of Napoleon that followed, the transport of slaves from Africa was insignificant.

Despite the attempts of monopoly companies to limit the slave trade in one way or another, it was conducted within that period on an unrestricted scale. It was regarded at the time as a branch of trade conducive to the nation's welfare, as 'the first principle and foundation of all the rest, the mainspring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion'. And it is to the eighteenth century that Karl Marx's statement that Africa had been turned into a warren for hunting blacks, refers first of all.

In the late eighteenth century, when a campaign was already in progress to ban the transport of slaves from Africa, defenders of the slave trade produced numerous arguments in favor of its continuation. Here we shall dwell only on the climatic theory advocated by all adherents of the slave trade. The theory alleged that the climate of the West Indies, both Americas and other parts where African slave labor was widespread, was unbearable to Europeans and prevented them from working their plantations.

It was claimed that the plantations of European colonists would inevitably fall into decline were it not for the import of Africans, who were used to the tropical climate and, moreover, proved to be splendid agricultural workers. The climatic theory has survived to our day. It has, however, been refuted by the history of the European colonies in America. After exterminating the American Indians, the British and the French began to employ white slaves to work their plantations.

At that time political prisoners and criminals were exiled to the West Indies. The system of indentured servants was also widespread. In Europe, particularly in London and Bristol, people were kidnapped and sold into slavery to the New World. In the 1640s, when sugar-cane was introduced on a wide scale in the West Indies, and crop areas were extended, the number of white slaves fell short of the demand for manpower. Beginning with the late seventeenth century the import of African slaves into the colonies of the New World rose sharply.

Thus the reason for replacing white slaves by Africans had nothing to do with the hot climate. At that time Europe simply could not supply the colonies with a sufficient amount of cheap manpower. As admitted by all contemporaries, without the enslavement of Africans the colonies of the New World could not have continued to exist. One of the documents of the Royal African Company, founded in 1672, reads: "The slaves are sent to all His Majesty's American Plantations which cannot subsist without them.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the slave trade became notorious as one of the most profitable branches of trade, and each European country, provided it had the opportunity, sought to snatch a profitable share of the slave trade for itself. Great Britain, Holland and France were the leading slave-trading powers of the time. From the late seventeenth century, the British North American colonies, the future United States of America, also sent slave ships to the American coast. Even Denmark and Sweden built several forts on the western coast of Africa with the aim of taking part in the slave trade.

Therefore, by the early 17th century there was little debate in colonial societies regarding the rights and wrongs of African slavery. Slavery had now become both a system of trade in itself and a means of generating trade through commodity production. Slave traders and slave owners, together with merchants and producers, were linked in a system that was supported both by the governments of the European countries involved and also by influential elements of European society.

As had been the case on the East-Atlantic islands in the Old World, the expansion of African slavery in the New was directly linked to the development of the sugar industry. With the growth of large-scale sugar production in Brazil in the late 16th century, and in the West Indies in the early 17th century, demand for African slaves increased at a phenomenal rate. Everywhere the relationship between sugar production and the use of Africans as slaves was the same, with slavery becoming the mainstay of sugar and coffee production in Brazil and the Caribbean, as well as, in the 19th century, of tobacco and cotton in the United States. Mining and logging in Central America also relied heavily upon African slaves, as did some early manufacturing enterprises and urban service sectors.

In the eighteenth century, the interests of European society were closely linked with the slave trade, which had a great impact on the growth of European ports and promoted the emergence of manufacturers processing raw materials cultivated by Africans. In 1796, during debates held in the British Parliament on the question of abolishing the slave trade, Tarleton and Young, members of the House of Commons, who represented the interests of shipbuilders and slave-traders, claimed that the abolition of the slave trade would ruin London, Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow.

Undoubtedly, the greatest profits from the slave trade went to both Americas. No one denies the fact that for several centuries Brazil was actually integrally linked with Africa and that the greatest number of slaves were imported into Brazil. But less is written of the significance of the African slave trade for the United States of America, or of the fact that 'it was the sale of Africans in the New World the slave trade that laid the financial foundation of the United States'. Nevertheless, history has preserved the testimony of contemporaries on the importance of the slave trade for the United States economy: when the Declaration of Independence was put up for discussion at the Continental Congress the article denouncing the slave trade was exempted from the text.

III.2. Slave Trade in West Africa

The Europeans built forts along the West African coast to designate a place for themselves in the slave-trading region. The building materials for the forts were brought from Europe to Africa by boat. Conflicts between the Dutch, British, Spaniards, French, Germans, Danish, Belgians, and Swedish along the coast began as a result of rivalry for control of the trade in West Africa. The forts were concentrated most densely along the coast to protect and expand trade. Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries over eighty castles and forts were built along Ghana's gold coast alone. A great number of forts were built along the West African coat. "For almost four centuries fort and port were synonymous in West Africa.

Along the coast Europeans found tribal states, which typically included a small coastal town that provided land and labor to construct the forts. The forts were not evenly distributed along the coast. The lack of forts along the 700 miles on the coast between Sherbro and Assinie is due to the lack of potential trade. The scarcity of the population in that area and lack of sizable coastal indentation limited the trade potential. There were few trading forts inland because there were large and powerful African empires of great extent formed. There was also less chance of escape if attacked inland as opposed to the coast where boats are accessible.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade led to the devastation and depopulation of Africa throughout the sixteenth to late nineteenth centuries, but contributed to the development and wealth of Europe and other parts of the world. Many European nations took advantage of the natural and human resources of West Africa. The forts are tangible proof that slavery existed and gives insight to past life in Africa relating to slavery. The forts' evidence are more than remains of buildings and structures; they also reveal the tools used to control and dominate the Africans.

There are neck, wrist and ankle shackles, and also the branding iron used to sear a mark into the skin of a newly captured African at the forts. The storerooms originally used for goods were used to store African people. The Europeans built dungeons for men, women, and children where they slept, ate, and relieved themselves in the same place. The slave forts are the most enduring physical structure of the European expansion on the West African coast that provided their countries and colonies with slaves. West Africa and its people were an integral part of the drastic transformations that shaped the world during the fifteenth to twentieth centuries.

It is impossible to speak of the slave trade as a single event that occurred long ago since it created an African diaspora in all over the world. The European slave forts are numerous and hold significant history of European trade that affected African culture and daily life. Some forts are in ruins and some have not been identified.

In essence this is that economic and commercial slavery and slave-trading were not natural features of West African society, but that they developed, along with the growth of states, as a form of labor mobilization to meet the needs of a growing system of foreign trade in which, initially, the demand for slaves as trade goods was relatively insignificant.

What might be termed a 'slave economy' was generally established in the Western and Central Sudan by about the fourteenth century at least, and had certainly spread to the coasts around the Senegal and in Lower Guinea by the fifteenth century. The European demand for slaves for the Americas, which reached its peak from about 1650 to about 1850, accentuated and expanded the internal growth of both slavery and the slave trade. But this was essentially only one aspect of a very wide process of economic and political development and social change, in West Africa. The data recently assembled and analyzed by Curtin for the volume and distribution of the export slave trade do not suggest that the loss of population and other effects of the export of labor to the Americas need have had universally damaging effects on the development of West Africa.

Rather, it is suggested, West African rulers and merchants reacted to the demand with economic reasoning, and used it to strengthen streams of economic and political development that were already current before the Atlantic slave trade began.

All the West African states along the Atlantic coast were linked by a southern trade route covering modern Senegal to modern Nigeria. Ghana, again because of its wealth in gold, exchanged gold for slaves, beads, cotton, cloth and palm oil from the Benin state in modern Nigeria. From Dahomey and Ivory Coast, Ghana exchanged gold for the famous cloth. Shama on the Ghana coast was the depot of trade.

The African trade declined, being barely sustained by a few private traders or interlopers. The slave trade came almost to a standstill and virtually ceased in Senegal whose inhabitants, being little sought after by slave-traders, supplied barely more than a few hundred slaves a year. No regular slave trade existed between France, Africa and the Caribbean islands. From Cape Verde to the Congo, the whole of the coastline was in the clutch of agents of governments hostile to France or of commercial rivals not only Portuguese, English and Dutch, but also Germans established at Cape Three Points. The Swedes built the fort of Christiansburg but were ousted by the others.

The Atlantic slave trade was supported by virtually all the coastal states of the West Africa as well as by many people in the hinterland. It received vigorous support especially from the African ruling class whose collaboration with the foreign trades was indispensable to the development and the perpetuation of the trade. Many African rulers became so engrossed with slave trading that they were extremely annoyed bitterly disappointed when European governments finally outlawed the trade in the nineteenth century, and try to continue to cling to it as their principal economic and activity. Several of them went to make as far as to written the presentations to these governments in an unsuccessful effort to secure reversal of their decision to abolish and suppress the trade.

III.3. Senegambia: Regional Origins of Slave

The regional origins of the enslaved population in Africa were numerous. The enslaved population came from all parts of the Atlantic coast of Africa, from Senegambia to southern Angola, and some enslaved people came from southeastern Africa, especially in the nineteenth century but our study are interested by Senegambia. Of the approximately 388,000 Africans who landed in America, almost 92,000 (24 percent) were Senegambians. In the early decades of immigration to the Chesapeake region before 1700, there were more immigrants from Senegambia (almost 6,000) than from the Bight of Biafra (about 5,000), and they totaled about 31,000 by the end of the migration, representing almost a third of all arrivals from Senegambia.

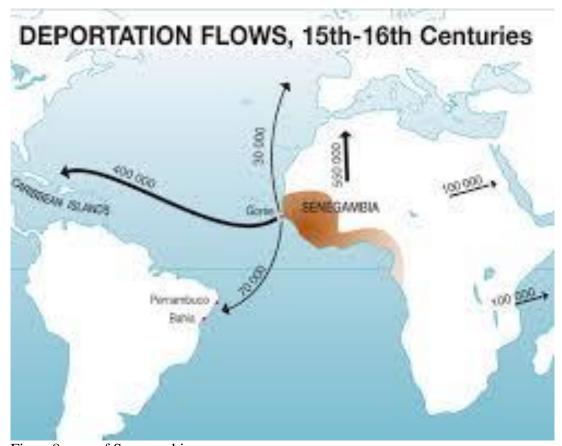


Figure8 map of Senegambia

About 45,000 Senegambians were settled in the coastal Low Country of the Carolinas and Georgia, where they constituted 21 percent of African immigrants. Senegambians were also prominent among African immigrants in the northern colonies, accounting for about 28 percent of arrivals, or over 7,000 people. Almost 9,000 Senegambians often identified as Bambara¹⁰ or Mandingo¹¹ went to the Gulf region, especially to Louisiana, where they constituted about 40 percent of the population arriving from Africa.

The African immigration to the thirteen colonies occurred in several stages, which affected each receiving area. The earliest movement was centered on the Chesapeake, with the northern colonies also receiving a substan Of the Africans who reached the United States, 90 percent came from Senegambia (Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali), the Upper Guinea Coast (Sierra Leone, Guinea), the Gold Coast (Ghana), the Bight of Biafra (eastern Nigeria, Cameroon), and west-

¹⁰ Bambara :west African dialect

¹¹ Mandingo :another dialect

central Africa (Angola, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon). Almost half of the arriving Africans came from two areas Senegambia and west central Africa

Based on records for about eight million people, there are some clear patterns that help to explain the probable cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the displaced population. The most important feature of the demographic structure is the central role played by the west-central African regions of Angola and the Kingdom of Congo. This region was important very early in the trade, when the numbers of Africans were relatively small by comparison with the period after the late seventeenth century, and west central Africa remained an important source of people until the end of the trade in the nineteenth century.

Together, perhaps as many as 40-45 percent of all enslaved Africans came from this region, and since people in this area spoke one or another of the closely related Bantu languages, they shared many cultural features. The second most important source of slaves was the region of the Bight of Benin, stretching westward as far as the Gold Coast. But this area, unlike west central Africa, only became important at the end of the seventeenth century and was associated with the political history of various states in the interior of the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin, including the Akan states and the states (Ouidah, Allada, and Dahomey).

Moreover, by the end of the eighteenth century, large numbers of Yoruba also came from this region, especially as a result of the consolidation of Oyo in the interior. The Bight of Biafra the region of the Niger River delta and the Cross River estuary became important in the 1730s and remained a significant source of immigrants for the slave trade for about 100 years. Most of the people of this area were Igbo or spoke Igbo as a second language, although a significant minority of the people were Ibibio.

Other areas of the coast Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast between Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast were important at specific periods, usually relating to political events in the interior and along the coast. However, the total number of enslaved persons from these parts of western Africa was relatively small by comparison with the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and west central Africa. Finally, the enslaved population from southeastern Africa was culturally and linguistically similar to other parts of Bantu Africa. It should be noted that the coastal origins of a large percentage of the enslaved population is unknown. However, circumstantial evidence allows for a reasonably accurate understanding of the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the enslaved population.

As noted above, the proportion of males and females among the deported population is known with some precision, the ratio of two males for every female being the standard aim of many European slaving firms, although the proportions changed over time and by coastal region. Moreover, it is also possible to know the approximate age composition of the enslaved population. There were many children meaning those below the age of puberty but very few infants. As already, the number of children, and especially boys, increased over time, and many of the enslaved during the last decades of the trade were children

Africans were heavily concentrated in two areas that accounted for about 87 percent of their numbers: the Low Country of the Carolinas and Georgia, and the Tidewater region of Virginia and

Maryland. The Carolinas and Georgia received more than 210,000 people, or 54.2 percent, while the Chesapeake accounted for more than 127,000 people, or 32.8 percent of all arrivals. About 28,000 people (7.0 percent) went to the area north of the Chesapeake; and the region south and west of Georgia, including Florida and Louisiana, received about 22,000 people (5.6 percent).

Hence, people from Senegambia were prominent everywhere in the United States, much more so than virtually anywhere else in the Western Hemisphere, although there were also considerable numbers of Senegambians in the French Caribbean islands and in French Guiana. Senegambia was strongly influenced by Islam, more so than any other region of origin, which means that many enslaved Africans in the United States had been exposed to Islam, more so proportionately than in the rest of the Americas.

There were many Muslims in Brazil in the nineteenth century, mostly in Bahia, but they came from the central Sudan (northern Nigeria and adjacent areas), unlike those who were sent to the United States. Muslims were clearly present in both the low country of Carolina and Georgia and in the Tidewater region of Virginia and Maryland. Adult Muslim males stand out prominently, while there are very few references to Muslim women. This reflects what is known about the slave trade originating in the interior of West Africa, which was composed almost entirely of males.

Some parts of Africa were important in the overall transatlantic slave trade to the Americas but were under-represented in the United States. Noticeably absent or of minor importance were Yoruba, Ewe/Fon/Allada/Mahi (people who spoke the so-called languages), and other people, including Muslims, brought from the far interior of the "Slave Coast" or Bight of Benin. This region was one of the most important sources of Africans for the Atlantic crossing, and people from the Bight of Benin were particularly prominent in the French Caribbean, Cuba, Trinidad, and Brazil.

Although the demographic figures are revealing, the statistics can disguise and undertaken by each individual forced to cross the Atlantic on a slave ship. Ethnic and regional categories can provide a window through which to examine the slave trade, but the personal histories of individuals are essential in examining the impact on society, both in Africa and in the Americas, of this forced migration and enslavement.

Biography reveals the experience of Africans and their descendants as they were integrated into the Diaspora in the Americas. It is fortunate that autobiographical and biographical accounts have been recorded for several thousand individuals, and while most relate the experiences of people in the nineteenth century, some accounts of individuals born in Africa in the eighteenth century inform our understanding of the defining period of the African Diaspora

Conclusion

In order to guarantee that commercial contracts would be honored, European merchants resorted to a variety of measures, some of them experimental and sometimes tied to African institutions and practices that shaped the commercial exchange in ways that were not recognized in other parts of the Atlantic world. There were local taxes and customs that had to be honored. For example, in some places, such as Old Calabar and in the minor ports of the upper Guinea coast, European ship captains accepted human beings, often relatives of local merchants and officials, as collateral for credit; these were human pawns that could be enslaved if debts were not paid (Lovejoy and Richardson, 2001).

In other places, such as in Angola and Senegambia, European merchants married or otherwise cohabited with local women, who sometimes amassed considerable fortunes as agents and merchants in their own right. Their offspring, mulatto and sometimes using Portuguese or other European names, became an intermediate class of merchants along the coast, especially concentrated along the upper Guinea coast as far as Senegambia and in Luanda, Benguela, and their commercial outposts in the interior of Angola.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Because of its geographical position the island of Goree was a temple of almost all Europeans countries during the slave trade. In this island a huge house was constructed called the slave house, this house serve as a point to gather slaves before their departure to the new word. After many long and tough days in the house place to the voyage a long voyage by the ship in worst conditions. The slave house was directed by white people and the mixed race nobility, the black was the servants and at the same time they were the monitor of the slaves. The island of Goree was the most important center of the Senegambia region and Goree also was the most important trading center that lie West Africa to the rest of the world.

Between 1400 and 1900 the continent Africa was the theater of the transatlantic slave trade, West Africa was one of the biggest supplier of slaves. Many characteristics make the transatlantic slaves trade different from the others slave trade in Africa before the coming of Europeans. The slaves way of transportation from Africa to America Europe was one of difference of the others slave trade. For the transatlantic slave trade the slave was transported by a ship that can make three or four month to arrive in the new world. Slaves were capture in villages in Africa without their approval or the approval of their family. They were taken by force and send to America or to Europe.

According to the historian Herbert Klein, the business culture of the transatlantic slave trade "fitted into traditional trading networks" from the perspective of the African suppliers, was not only a simple extension of the internal and external slave markets that already existed in Africa and that was created by Europeans. From the European perspective, however, the trade required major investment in start-up costs, as well as a concerted effort at cultural preparation. The ideas that facilitated the trade that blacks were inferior ,could be reduced to chattels had to be accepted and they should to be civilized and promoted in order that the slavers could continue to engage in trade that many within their own societies considered odious.

The trade attracted the rich and famous from all the major European commercial nations, since it offered the possibility of quick fortunes for both investors and managers, and monarchs, merchants, aristocrats, politicians, priests, farmers, soldiers and others who had capital to invest contributed to its financing. Slave-trade companies invested in ships in Europe and in forts on the African Coast, employing brokers and agents in Europe, Africa and the Americas to make ever higher profits.

It is unacceptable to see people who ought to be considered as the most civilized people in the world conducting the most unjust, the most barbarous and the cruelest atrocity in history that is the slave trade. Slave were capture and their hands and feet were chained and they gathered in the slave house as they were not human being. After the phase of the slave house place to the slave ship in which the living condition was not the best one. Once in American slaves was sold as a merchandises and their price was an article or a goods.

As it is said in the TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE AND ABOLITION an archive for education:

"It was very common in several of the islands, particularly in the St Kitts, for the slaves to be branded with the initial letters of their master's name, and a load of heavy iron hooks hung around their necks...I have seen a negro beaten till some of his bones were broken, for only letting a pot boil over". Olaudah Equiano, Sold as a Slave, 1789

Even after their arrival in the new world their life was not easy and they were not treated as human but as an animal.

The transatlantic slave trade was so benefit for Europeans and Americans that was the cause they did not want end it. European opposition to the abolition of Transatlantic Slave Trade developed slowly, and for a long time it was not effective because of the economic interests involved.

There had always been individuals in Europe, and among the European settlers in the Americas, who had voiced their opposition to the abolition of the trade and to the institution of abolition.

As in America the abolition of slavery raise a huge discussion because many slave masters was not accordant concerning the decision of abolition. Because also the slave trade was one of source of richness for some and a business for the others. The slave house is considered as a patrimony because many Africans and blacks Americans cannot forget the slave trade they considered this slave trade as crime against humanity and also a crime against blacks people.

Because of the slaves trade we have the presence of black people in many country of American continent and since the end of the trade they are living any kind of racism. And this because they were send by force somewhere they were send in a country that was not theirs. As it was happing in America the same scenario was also happening in Europe especially in Britain. It is estimated that there were more than 14,000 Black people in Britain in the eighteenth century. It had been fashionable for wealthy merchants to own Black servants and even to give them as gifts. Despite being referred to as servants, many were in fact slaves. The conditions under which Black servants lived varied enormously.

In addition despite the fact that the blacks people way of life was not the best Europeans continue to bring slaves from Africa to Europe and America. The condition of voyage from Africa to America was so precarious that anyone cannot imagine living in such conditions. The transatlantic slave trade consequence in black people and African continent was inestimable. It consequences was numerous and varied as example the under development of African continent was one of the consequences of the transatlantic slave trade. Because the men who should develop, the continent at that time was send to new world and in the continent only those who were unable to work was not send.

And finally what was unforgivable in the transatlantic slave trade was that Europeans was helped by black people, who capturing their brothers and sold them or exchange to things. The states and chiefdoms of West Africa controlled trading activities centuries before the European demand for slaves began. European traders essentially gave African political leader's means, and wealthy slave merchants a new economic choice.

They could retain their slaves, and keep human capital, but they did not do this they are preferred to trade slaves to Europeans for new technologies, or for something that did not have a value such as guns, and other commodities. Slave trading in West Africa was therefore an arms race, each state maintained its political authority by mobilizing slave labor and increasing the number of people within powerful lineages.

Therefore during the transatlantic slave trade, there were some resistance against the trade, it mean that some African ethnics were fighting against the presence of white people in the continent and also they refuse to sold there brothers to Europeans. Some ethnic form a kind of rebellion against the slave trade. During our research we make the remark that historians cannot talk about the transatlantic slave trade in Africa without mentioning the slave house of Goree or Senegambia. This is to show the important play by the house during the trade and also the important place of West Africa in the trade.

When conducting this research paper, the founding of some data that deny the role of the slave house in the transatlantic slave trade was not surprising know that they will try to hide the real history that happen in this house during the slave trade. As it is said in the preservation of slave sites in West Africa's coast: an analysis of how the atrocities of the transatlantic slave trade are remembered by

"Stephanie Johnson A thesis submitted to the Graduate School-New Brunswick Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts Graduate Program in Art History Written under the direction of Katharine Woodhouse-Beyer, PHD, RPA and approved by New Brunswick, New Jersey May 2002 page 22"

"Curtin argued that the popular estimates of fifteen to twenty million slaves departing from Gorée Island are fallacious. According to Curtin, Gorée Island was never a key departure point for slaves; rather, it functioned as a commercial center. Most Africans sold into slavery in the Senegal region would have departed from thriving slave depots at the mouths of the Senegal River to the north and the Gambia River to the south, he notes. Curtin examined published literature on the slave trade as a point of reference and came up with a total estimate of 9.566 million African slaves exported during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which is significantly less than the fifteen to twenty million estimation from the past."

Knowing the real history of the slave house we know that these information are unacceptable and unreliable. The region of Senegambia was a huge region and a huge supplier of slave and most of these slave of Senegambia was gather in the slave house of Goree. Through this analysis the important role the slave house was show and was highlighted and many others aspects related to the transatlantic slave trade was also show.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Angele, Luis On the causes of the African Slave Trade.

Barry Boubacar, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* University of Cambridge in English .1998.

Ball, Jeremy, *The Atlantic Slave Trade prepared for: America's History in the Making*. Oregon Public Broadcasting. Regents University of California. 2000.

Beckles, Hilary McDonald United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Slave voyage The Transatlantic Trade in Enslaved Africans University of the West Indies, 2002.

Diouf, Sylviane *The Atlantic Slave Trade*; University of Wisconsin Press, Madison. 1969.

Eltis, David and Paul, F Lachance *Estimates of the Size and Direction of Transatlantic Slave Trade.* 2010.

Fage J.D, Slavery and Slave trade in the context of West in Africa history volume10 Issue3 July 1969.

Gordon Mc, Winston African Resistance to the Atlantic Slave Trade in West Africa 13juin 2008.

Herbert S. Klein, Stanley L. Engerman, Robin Haines, et Al *Transoceanic Mortality: The Slave Trade in Comparative Perspective* the William & Mary Quarterly, LVIII, no. 1 January 2001.

Journal of African History / Volume 50 / Issue 01 / March 2009, 14 April 2009.

L. Vanmelle, Ghent, *Katherine Lamie: Gorée Island of Memories* The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1985.

Manning, Patrick Slavery and Slave trade in West Africa 1450-1650.

Nathan Nunn and Leonard, Wantchekon *The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa* American economic review 2011.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NUN, NATHAN the long-term effects of African's slave trade The Quarterly Journal of Economics, February 2008

National Humanities Center Resource the Making of African American Identity: Vol. I, "One day a big ship stopped off the shore" CAPTURE SELECTIONS FROM THE NARRATIVES OF FORMER SLAVES 1500-1865.

Olaudah, Equiano The Interesting Narrative of the Life of, Or Gustavus Vassa, 1789.

Unesco *The African slave trade from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century Reports and papers of the meeting of experts organized by at Port-au-Prince, Haiti,* 31 January to 4 February 1978.

Whatley, Warren C. *The 18th century British Slave Trade in Africa* University of Michigan, 2008.