

CHAPTER 20

Africa and the Africans in the Age of the Atlantic Slave Trade

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Much of Africa followed its own lines of development between the beginning of the 15th and 19th centuries. The rise of the West and the Western-dominated economy, however, was a powerful force in influencing the course of African history. The Atlantic slave trade predominated in economic affairs after the middle of the 17th century. The forced removal of Africans had a major effect in some African regions and was a primary factor contributing to the nature of New World populations. African culture became one of the important strands in the development of American civilizations. Despite the rise of the West and the slave trade, nearly all of Africa remained politically independent and culturally autonomous. Among the important trends, Islam consolidated its position in sub-Saharan and east Africa, while in many parts of Africa, independent states formed and expanded.

The Atlantic Slave Trade. The Portuguese inaugurated the pattern for contacts along the African coast. They established trading forts (factories); the most important, El Mina, received gold from the interior. Most forts were established with the approval of African authorities desiring trade benefits. Some of the forts allowed trade to interior states. Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese traders (*lançados*) followed routes to the interior to open new markets. Missionary efforts followed, particularly to the powerful states of Benin and the Kongo. King Nzinga Mvemba of the Kongo accepted Christianity and, with Portuguese assistance, sought to introduce European influences to his state. The ravages of the slave trade were a major reason for the limited success of the policies. Africa, in general, tried to fit the European concepts they found useful into their belief structures. The Europeans regarded Africans as pagan savages who could adopt civilized behavior and convert to Christianity. The Portuguese continued their southward ventures, in the 1570s establishing Luanda on the Angolan coast among the Mbundu. In the Indian Ocean, they established bases on Mozambique Island and other towns in an effort to control the gold trade coming from Monomotapa. On both coasts, few Portuguese settled permanently. Other Europeans followed Portuguese patterns by creating trading stations through agreement with Africans. In almost all instances, slavery eventually became the principal focus of relationships. Added impetus came from the development of sugar plantations on Portuguese and Spanish Atlantic islands and their subsequent extension to the Americas.

Trend Toward Expansion. Between 1450 and 1850, about 12 million Africans were shipped across the Atlantic; about 10 or 11 million arrived alive. A number equal to one-third of those shipped might have died in the initial raiding or march to the coast. The volume of the trade increased from the 16th to the 18th centuries, with 80 percent of the total coming in the latter century. Brazil received more than 40 percent of all slaves reaching the Americas. The continued high volume was necessary because of high slave mortality and low fertility. Only in the southern United States did slaves have a positive growth rate. Other slave trades—trans-Saharan, Red Sea, and east African—under Muslim control, added another 3 million individuals to the total.

In Depth: Slavery and Human Society. Slavery has existed in both complex and simpler societies from the earliest times. Coerced labor took different forms: indentured servants,

convict laborers, debt peons, chattel slaves. The denial of control over an individual's labor was the essential characteristic of slavery systems. It was easier to enslave people outside one's own society, to exploit differences in culture, language, and color. The attitude of Europeans and non-African Muslims thus contributed to the development of modern racism. The campaign against slavery that grew from Enlightenment ideas was an important turning point in world history. Slavery has persisted in a few societies until the present, but few individuals openly defend the institution. African slavery was important in shaping the modern world. It was one of the early international trades, and it assisted the development of capitalism. Vociferous debate continues about many interpretations of the effect of the trade on African and American societies.

Demographic Patterns. The Saharan slave trade to the Islamic world carried mostly women for sexual and domestic employment. The Atlantic trade concentrated on young men fit for hard labor in the Americas. African societies who sold slaves might keep women and children for their own uses. The Atlantic trade had an important demographic effect on parts of western and central Africa; the population there in 1850 might have been one-half of what it would have been without the trade. The women and children not exported skewed the balance of the sexes in African-enslaving societies. The introduction of American crops, such as maize and manioc, helped suffering regions to recover from population losses.

Organization of the Trade. Control over the slave trade reflected the European political situation. Until 1630, the Portuguese were the principal suppliers. The Dutch became major competitors after they seized El Mina in 1630. By the 1660s, the English worked to supply their plantation colonies. The French became major carriers in the 18th century. Each nation established forts for receiving slaves. Tropical diseases caused both resident Europeans and the crews of slave-carrying ships high mortality rates. The Europeans dealt with local rulers, calculating value in currencies composed of iron bars, brass rings, and cowry shells. The Spanish had a system in which a healthy man was considered a standard unit called an "Indies piece." Slaves arrived at the coast as a result of warfare and of purchase and movement by indigenous traders. Dahomey had a royal monopoly on slave flow. There have been arguments about the profitability of the slave trade. It has been suggested that its profits were a key element for the rise of commercial capitalism and the Industrial Revolution. Individual voyages certainly did bring profits to merchants and specializing ports. But considerable risks were involved. English profitability in the late 18th century was about 5 percent to 10 percent, about equal to other commercial ventures. The full economic importance is difficult to determine because of its direct links to the plantation and mining economies of the Americas. Goods were exchanged among Europe, Africa, and the Americas in complex patterns. The slave trade surely contributed to emerging Atlantic capitalism, while at the same time making African economies dependent on European trade and linked to the world economy.

African Societies, Slavery, and the Slave Trade. The Atlantic trade transformed African patterns of slavery. Africans had developed many forms of servitude in their nonegalitarian societies. With land controlled by the state, slaves were an important way for individuals and lineages to gain wealth and status. Slaves held many occupations. Their treatment ranged from the relatively benign, when they were incorporated into kinship systems, to severe economic and social exploitation, when ruling hierarchies exercised power. The Atlantic trade opened new opportunities to slaveholding societies for expansion and intensification of slavery. Enslavement of women was central to African society. The Sudanic states had introduced

Islamic concepts of slavery. The existence of slavery allowed Europeans to mobilize commerce in slaves by tapping existing structures with the assistance of interested African rulers.

Slaving and African Politics. Most of the states of western and central Africa were small and unstable. The continuing wars elevated the importance of the military and promoted the slave trade. Increasing centralization and hierarchy developed in the enslaving societies; those attacked reacted by augmenting self-sufficiency and anti-authoritarian ideas. A result of the presence of the Europeans along the western coast was a shift of the locus of African power. Inland states close to the coast, and thus free from direct European influence, through access to Western firearms and other goods, became intermediaries in the trade and expanded their influence.

Asante and Dahomey. Among the important states developing during the slave trade era was the empire of Asante among the Akan people. Centered on Kumasi, Asante was between the coast and the inland Hausa and Mande trading regions. Under the Oyoko clan, the Asante gained access to firearms after 1650 and began centralizing and expanding. Osei Tutu became the asantehene, the supreme civil and military leader, of the Akan clans. By 1700, the Dutch along the coast were dealing directly with the new power. Through control of gold-producing regions and slaves, Asante remained dominant in the Gold Coast until the 1820s. In the Bight of Benin, the state of Benin was at the height of its power when Europeans arrived. The ruler for a long period controlled the trade with Europeans; slaves never were a primary commodity. The kingdom of Dahomey among the Fon peoples had a different response to the Europeans. It emerged around Abomey in the 17th century; by the 1720s, access to firearms led to the formation of an autocratic regime based on trading slaves. Under Agaja (1708-1740), Dahomey expanded to the coast, seizing the port of Whydah. The state maintained its policies into the 19th century. Too much emphasis on the slave trade obscures creative processes occurring in many African states. The growing divine authority of rulers paralleled the rise of absolutism in Europe. New political forms emerged that limited the power of some monarchs. In the Yoruba state of Oyo, a council and king shared authority. Art, crafts, weaving, and wood carving flourished in many regions. Benin and the Yoruba states created remarkable wood and ivory sculptures.

East Africa and the Sudan. On Africa's east coast, the Swahili trading towns continued a commerce of ivory, gold, and slaves for Middle Eastern markets. A few slaves went to European plantation colonies. On Zanzibar and other islands, Arabs, Indians, and Swahili produced cloves with slave labor. In the interior, African peoples had created important states. Migrants from the upper Nile valley moved into Uganda and Kenya, where they mixed with Bantu-speaking inhabitants. Strong monarchies developed in Bunyoro and Buganda. In western Africa, in the northern savanna, the process of Islamization entered a new phase, linking it with the external slave trade and the growth of slavery. Songhay broke up in the 16th century and was succeeded by new states. The Bambara of Segou were pagan; the Hausa states of northern Nigeria were ruled by Muslims, although most of the population followed African religions. Beginning in the 1770s, Muslim reform movements swept the western Sudan. In 1804, Uthman Dan Fodio, a Fulani Muslim, inspired a religious revolution that won control of most of the Hausa states. A new and powerful kingdom developed at Sokoto. The effects of Islamization were felt widely in the west African interior by the 1840s. Cultural and social change accelerated. Many war captives were dispatched to the coast or across the Sahara for the slave trade. The level of local slave labor also increased in agricultural and manufacturing enterprises.

White Settlers and Africans in Southern Africa. By the 16th century, Bantu-speaking peoples occupied the eastern regions of southern Africa. Drier western lands were left to the indigenous Khoikhoi and San. Migration, peaceful contacts, and war characterized the relations between the groups. The Bantu peoples practiced agriculture and herding, worked iron and copper, and traded with neighbors. Chiefdoms of various sizes, where leaders ruled with popular support, were typical. New chiefdoms continually emerged, resulting in competition for land and political instability. In the Dutch colony at Cape Town, established in 1652, the settlers developed large estates worked by slaves. Colonial expansion led to successful wars against the San and Khoikhoi. By the 1760s, the Afrikaners crossed the Orange River and met the Bantu. Competition and war over land resulted. Britain occupied the Dutch colony in 1795 and gained formal possession in 1815. British efforts to limit Afrikaner expansion were unsuccessful, and frequent fighting occurred between the Afrikaners and Africans. Some Afrikaners, seeking to escape British control, migrated beyond colonial boundaries and founded autonomous states.

The Mfecane and the Zulu Rise to Power. By 1818, a new leader, Shaka, gained authority among the Nguni people. He created a formidable military force of regiments organized on lineage and age lines. Shaka's Zulu chiefdom became the center of a new political and military organization that absorbed or destroyed rivals. Shaka was assassinated in 1828, but his successors ruled over a still-growing polity. The rise of the Zulu and other Nguni chiefdoms marked the beginning of the Mfecane, a time of wars and wandering. Defeated peoples fled into new regions and created new states—among them the Swazi and Lesotho—by using Zulu tactics. The Afrikaners' superior firepower enabled them to hold their lands. The Zulus remained powerful until defeated during the 1870s by the British. The basic patterns of conflict between Europeans and Africans took form during this era.

The African Diaspora. In the Americas, slaves came in large enough numbers to become an important segment of the New World population. African cultures adapted to their new physical and social environments. The slave trade linked Africa and the Americas; it was the principal way in which African societies joined the world economy. Africans participating in the commerce dealt effectively with the new conditions, using the wealth and knowledge gained to the advantage of their states.

Slave Lives. The slave trade killed millions of Africans; family and community relationships were destroyed. As many as one-third of captives may have died on their way to shipping ports; shipboard mortality reached about 18 percent. The trauma of the Middle Passage, however, did not strip Africans of their culture, and they interjected it into the New World.

Africans in the Americas. African slaves crossed the Atlantic to work in New World plantations and mines. The plantation system developed on Atlantic islands was transferred to the Americas. Africans quickly replaced Indians and indentured Europeans as agricultural laborers. Slaves also mined gold and silver and labored in many urban occupations. In early 17th-century Lima, Africans outnumbered Europeans.

American Slave Societies. In all American slave societies, a rough social hierarchy developed. Whites were at the top, slaves at the bottom. Free people of color were in-between. Among the slaves, owners created a hierarchy based on origin and color. Despite the many pressures, slaves retained their own social perceptions: Many slave rebellions were organized on ethnic

and political lines. Slave-based societies varied in composition. Africans formed the overwhelming majority of the population on Caribbean islands; high mortality ensured a large number of African-born individuals. Brazil had a more diverse population. Many slaves were freed, and miscegenation was common. Slaves made up 35 percent of the population; free people of color were equal in number. The southern British North American colonies differed in that a positive growth rate among slaves lessened the need for continuing imports. Manumission was uncommon, and free people of color were under 10 percent of Afro-American numbers. Thus, slavery was less influenced by African ways.

The People and Gods in Exile. Africans worked under extremely harsh conditions. The lesser numbers of women brought to the New World limited opportunities for family life. When a family was present, its continuance depended on the decisions of the owner. Despite the difficulties, most slaves lived in family units. Many aspects of African culture survived, especially when a region had many slaves from one African grouping. African culture was dynamic and creative, incorporating customs that assisted survival from different African ethnicities or from their masters. Religion demonstrates this theme. African beliefs mixed with Christianity, or survived independently. Haitian vodun is a good example of the latter. Muslim Africans tried to hold their beliefs; in 1835, a major slave rising in Brazil was organized by Muslims, Yoruba, and Hausa. Resistance to slavery was a common occurrence. Slaves ran away and formed lasting independent communities; in 17th-century Brazil, Palmares, a runaway slave state under Angolan leadership, had a population of 10,000. In Suriname, runaway slaves formed a still-existing community with a culture fusing west African, Indian, and European elements.

The End of the Slave Trade and the Abolition of Slavery. The influences causing the end of the slave trade and slavery were external to Africa. The continued flourishing of slave-based economies in Africa and the Americas makes it difficult to advance economic self-interest as a reason for ending the slave trade. Africans had commercial alternatives, but they did not affect the supply of slaves. Enlightenment thinkers during the 18th century condemned slavery and the slave trade as immoral and cruel. The abolitionist movement gained strength in England and won abolition of the slave trade for Britons in 1807. The British pressured other nations to follow course, although the final end of New World slavery did not occur until Brazilian abolition in 1888.

Global Connections: Africa and the African Diaspora in World Context. Africa entered the world economy in the slave-trade era. Its incorporation produced differing effects on African societies, but many societies had to adapt in ways that placed them at a disadvantage that facilitated later loss of independence during the 19th century. The legacy of the slave trade, as European rulers practiced forced labor policies, lingered into the 20th century.

KEY TERMS

Factories: Trading stations with resident merchants established by the Portuguese and other Europeans.

El Mina: Important Portuguese factory on the coast of modern Ghana.

Lançados: Afro-Portuguese traders who joined the economies of the African interior with coastal centers.

Nzinga Mvemba: Ruler of the Kongo kingdom (1507-1543); converted to Christianity and was renamed Alfonso I; his efforts to integrate Portuguese and African ways foundered because of the slave trade.

Luanda: Portuguese settlement founded in the 1520s; became the core for the colony of Angola.

Royal African Company: Chartered in Britain in the 1660s to establish a monopoly over the African trade; supplied slaves to British New World colonies.

Indies piece: A unit in the complex exchange system of the west African trade; based on the value of an adult male slave.

Triangular trade: Complex commercial pattern linking Africa, the Americas, and Europe; slaves from Africa went to the New World; American agricultural products went to Europe; European goods went to Africa.

Asante: Akan state centered at Kumasi on the Gold Coast (now Ghana).

Osei Tutu: Important ruler who began centralization and expansion of Asante.

Asantehene: Title, created by Osei Tutu, of the civil and religious ruler of Asante.

Benin: African kingdom in the Bight of Benin; at the height of its power when Europeans arrived; active slave-trading state; famous for its bronze-casting techniques.

Dahomey: African state among the Fon or Aja peoples; developed in the 17th century and centered at Abomey; became a major slave-trading state through use of Western firearms.

Luo: Nilotic people who migrated from the upper Nile regions to establish dynasties in the lakes region of central Africa.

Uthman Dan Fodio: Muslim Fulani leader who launched a great religious movement among the Hausa.

Great Trek: Movement inland during the 1830s of Dutch-ancestry settlers in South Africa seeking to escape their British colonial government.

Shaka: Ruler among the Nguni peoples of southeast Africa during the early 19th century; developed military tactics that created the Zulu state.

Mfecane: Wars among Africans in southern Africa during the early 19th century; caused migrations and alterations in African political organization.

Swazi and Lesotho: African states formed by peoples reacting to the stresses of the Mfecane.

Middle Passage: Slave voyage from Africa to the Americas; a deadly and traumatic experience.

Obeah: African religious practices in the British American islands.

Candomble: African religious practices in Brazil among the Yoruba.

Vodun: African religious practices among descendants in Haiti.

Palmares: Angolan-led, large runaway slave state in 17th-century Brazil.

Suriname Maroons: Descendants of 18th-century runaway slaves who found permanent refuge in the rain forests of Suriname and French Guiana.

William Wilberforce: British reformer who led the abolitionist movement that ended the British slave trade in 1807.

Polygyny: The practice of having more than one wife at a time.

Oba: Term used for king in the kingdom of Benin.

Fulani: Pastoral people of western Sudan; adopted purifying Sufi variant of Islam; under Usman Dan Fodio in 1804, launched revolt against Hausa kingdoms; established state centered on Sokoto.

Afrikaners: Another term used for the Boer.

Voortrekkers: Boer farmers who migrated further into South Africa during the 1830s and 1840s.

Zulu wars: War fought in 1879 between the British and the African Zulu tribes.

Diaspora: The dispersion of a group of people after the conquest of their homeland.

Saltwater slaves: Slaves transported from Africa; almost invariably black.

Creole slaves: American-born descendants of saltwater slaves; result of sexual exploitation of slave women or process of miscegenation.

LESSON SUGGESTIONS

Peoples Analysis Sudan, whites in South Africa

Conflict Analysis Zulus and white settlers

Change Analysis Effects of slavery

Societal Comparison Effect of Slave Trade on Various Groups (Asante and Dahomey)

Document Analysis An African's Description of the Middle Passage

Inner/Outer Circle In Depth: Slavery and Human Society

LECTURE SUGGESTIONS

Compare the political, social, and economic organization of the Americas with those of Africa. African countries remained independent, while in the Americas, Europeans governed colonies. Plantation economic organization was more typical of the Americas, although elites in both areas used coerced labor. Because of racial mixture, American society was less homogeneous than African society was, and the mixture produced a social hierarchy dependent on race and place of birth. Although slavery was present in Africa, the absence of racial mixture left untouched the traditional social relationships based on nobility, land, and priesthood.

Trace the Western effects on the political development of Africa and how slavery was a component in the nature of state formation in sub-Saharan Africa. It still is argued whether the political development of Africa in the early modern period was the result of Western intervention or of strictly internal African development. Slavery existed in Africa before the European arrival, but Western nations seem to have accelerated the slaving process. The exchange of firearms for slaves tended to unbalance the political situation in favor of slaving rulers trading with the West. In general, slaving states were autocratic and tended toward expansion and centralization. New states rose because of the trade; many were in the region south of the savanna that was the home of earlier states (Ghana, Mali, and Songhay).

CLASS DISCUSSION SUGGESTIONS

Trace the stages in the Portuguese exploration and penetration of Africa.

The Portuguese established trading posts/forts along the coast. The forts were with the blessing of local tribal chiefs. Once established, the traders would venture further inland in search of gold and silver. These traders were followed by missionaries. This pattern was followed along the entire western coast.

Trace the changes in the volume of the Atlantic slave trade between 1450 and 1850.

Between 1450 and 1850, it is estimated that 12 million Africans were shipped across the Atlantic; about 10 or 11 million arrived alive. It is estimated that another 4 million died in the initial raiding or march to the coast. The volume of the trade increased from the 16th to the 18th centuries, with 80 percent of the total coming in the latter centuries. Brazil received more than 40 percent of all slaves reaching the Americas. The continued high volume was necessary because of high slave mortality and low fertility.

Describe the demographic effect of the African slave trade on the sub-Saharan region.

The Saharan slave trade to the Islamic world carried mostly women for sexual and domestic employment. The Atlantic trade concentrated on young men fit for hard labor in the Americas.

African societies who sold slaves might keep women and children for their own uses. All three had a demographic effect on the region. However, the Atlantic trade had the most significant demographic effect on parts of western and central Africa; the population there in 1850 might have been one-half of what it would have been without the trade. The women and children not exported skewed the balance of the sexes in African-enslaving societies.

Discuss the arguments concerning the profitability of the slave trade.

It has been widely thought that the profitability of the slave trade was quite high. However, research indicates that the profitability was no more or less than other commercial endeavors for that period. The argument is furthered skewed by the fact that all parts of the trade routes contributed and therefore had an impact on profitability.

Describe the effects of the slave trade on African state formation.

The slave trade and the accompanying byproducts of weapons directly helped to solidify state formation. Along the coast where contact with Europeans was commonplace, the states were small and unstable, while the farther away from the coast, the states tended to yield more influence.

Define the Mfecane and its effects on southern Africa.

Wars among Africans in southern Africa during the early 19th century caused migrations and alterations in African political organization, which created the states of Swazi and Lesotho.

Summarize the social structure of American slave-based societies.

In all American slave societies, the social hierarchy that developed placed white at the top and the slaves at the bottom. Free people of color were in-between. Among the slaves, owners created a hierarchy based on origin and color, as well. Despite the many pressures, slaves retained their own social perceptions: Many slave rebellions were organized on ethnic and political lines.

Trace how the slave trade come to an end.

The key influences leading to the end of the slave trade and slavery were external to Africa. The continued flourishing of slave-based economies in Africa and the Americas made it impossible to support ending the slave trade. Enlightenment depots during the 18th century condemned slavery and the slave trade as immoral and cruel. The abolitionist movement gained strength in England and won abolition of the slave trade for Britons in 1807. The British pressured other nations to follow course, although the final end of New World slavery did not occur until Brazilian abolition in 1888.

MULTIPLE CHOICE. Choose the one alternative that best completes the statement or answers the question.

1. What European nation first established direct contact with black Africa?
 - A) Spain
 - B) England
 - C) Italy
 - D) Portugal
 - E) Holland

2. King Nzinga Mvemba of Kongo was noteworthy because he
 - A) was the first African monarch converted to Christianity.
 - B) successfully defeated the Portuguese at the battle of Kuwezi.
 - C) was one of the most powerful advocates of the African slave trade.
 - D) eventually conquered the Boers of southern Africa.
 - E) was able to exploit trade with the Europeans.

3. How did the Portuguese method of obtaining slaves change in the 15th century?
 - A) The Portuguese soon discovered that the military might give them power over large numbers of people who could be reduced to slavery.
 - B) Due to the natural increase in slave populations, the demand for slaves dropped, and the trade volume declined.
 - C) As a result of reaching the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese were able to obtain slaves from the already established Muslim sources.
 - D) The Portuguese began to utilize the trans-Saharan trade route to extract slaves from sub-Saharan Africa.
 - E) After initial raids, the Portuguese discovered that trade was a more secure and profitable way to get slaves.

4. The British controlled their share of the Atlantic slave trade through the
 - A) East India Company.
 - B) Royal African Company.
 - C) royal navy.
 - D) Virginia Company.
 - E) parliament.

5. What was the impact of the slave trade on Europeans sent to Africa?
 - A) Most died of tropical diseases.
 - B) Europeans established wealthy colonies that expanded through the 17th century.
 - C) Europeans were rapidly dispersed throughout the African nations of the interior, frequently intermarrying with the native population.
 - D) Europeans sent to Africa often remained for many years, absorbing the African cultures.
 - E) A new culture was produced through syncretism and it was transmitted to Europe by those returning.

6. Which of the following was NOT part of the system of “triangular trade”?
- A) Shipment of slaves to the Americas
 - B) Exportation of European manufactured goods to Africa
 - C) Shipment of North American manufactured products to the Caribbean
 - D) Transport of plantation products to Europe
 - E) Use of slaves in the Caribbean
7. Where did most of the centralizing states of central and western Africa form in response to the Atlantic slave trade?
- A) Along the coast near the European trade forts
 - B) In the savanna region
 - C) In the interior along lines of trade to the trade forts, but outside European zones of influence
 - D) Near the Swahili trade cities
 - E) In the Kongo region
8. What was the African contribution to the “Columbian Exchange”?
- A) Large mammals
 - B) Tapioca
 - C) Slaves
 - D) Manioc
 - E) Small pox
9. In what area of Africa was a plantation economy based on slave labor established?
- A) The savanna
 - B) The coastal region of east Africa
 - C) The Gold Coast
 - D) Dahomey
 - E) Madagascar
10. The “Middle Passage” refers to
- A) the journey from captivity to the coastline of Africa.
 - B) the sale of slaves in the Americas and subsequent transportation to plantations.
 - C) the group of slaves permanently in rebellion in Suriname.
 - D) the voyage from Africa across the Atlantic to the Americas.
 - E) the existence of a slave prior to the inevitable attempt to escape.

SHORT ANSWER. Write the word or phrase that best completes each statement or answers the question.

1. The most important of the Portuguese trade forts along the east African coast was _____, in the heart of the gold-producing region.
2. The Spanish developed a complicated system in which a healthy adult male slave was called a(n) “_____,” while children and women were valued at fractions of that value.
3. During some periods in Africa, there did exist a(n) _____ trade in which slaves were carried to the Americas, sugar and tobacco to Europe, and European products to the coast of Africa.
4. A purifying Sufi variant of Islam had an intense impact on the _____ people, pastoralists who were spread across a broad area of the western Sudan.
5. The rise of the Zulu and other Nguni chiefdoms was the beginning of the _____, or wars of crushing and wandering.
6. _____ successfully resisted the Zulu example by combining Sotho and Nguni speakers and defending itself against Nguni armies.
7. The slave voyage to the Americas, the “_____” as it was called, was a traumatic experience for the slaves.
8. In the Brazilian _____ and in Haitian Vodun, rather fully developed versions of African religion flourished.
9. During the 17th century in Brazil, _____, an enormous runaway slave kingdom with numerous villages, resisted Portuguese and Dutch attempts to destroy it.
10. Under the leadership of _____, an abolitionist movement gained strength in Britain against its opponents made up of merchants and the “West Indies interests.”

TRUE/FALSE. Write 'T' if the statement is true and 'F' if the statement is false.

1. Port missionaries achieved a major success in Skoto, where they converted the ruler and his family to Christianity.
2. The triangular trade consisted of exchanges of goods traded between Latin America, Europe, and Asia.
3. With control of the gold-producing zones and a constant supply of prisoners to be sold as slaves for more firearms, Asante remained the dominant state of the Gold Coast until the 1820s.
4. The rise of Usuman Dan Fodio precipitated the Mfecane in southern Africa.
5. Europeans did establish some plantation-style colonies on islands such as Maritius.
6. Perhaps the most remarkable story of African resistance is found in the forests of Suriname, a former Dutch plantation colony.
7. Each American slave society recognized distinctions between African-born "mother country" slaves, who were invariably black, and their American-born descendants, the "creole" slaves.
8. After 1834, the Boers staged a great trek far to the north to be free of government interference.
9. Christian missionaries achieved a major success in Kongo, where the ruler and the royal family were converted.
10. The American Slave Company was chartered to supply a source of slaves for the growing British colonies in Barbados, Jamaica, and Virginia.

ANSWER KEY

Multiple Choice

- | | |
|------|-------|
| 1. D | 6. C |
| 2. A | 7. C |
| 3. E | 8. C |
| 4. B | 9. B |
| 5. A | 10. D |

Short Answer

1. Answer: El Mina
2. Answer: Indies piece
3. Answer: triangular
4. Answer: Fulani
5. Answer: Mfecane
6. Answer: Lesotho
7. Answer: Middle Passage
8. Answer: candomble
9. Answer: Palmares
10. Answer: William Wilberforce

True/False

- | | |
|------|-------|
| 1. F | 6. T |
| 2. F | 7. T |
| 3. T | 8. T |
| 4. F | 9. T |
| 5. T | 10. F |

CHAPTER 20

TIMELINE

Insert the following events into the timeline. This should help you to compare important historical events chronologically.

Portuguese fort at El Mina established
British slave trade abolished
reform among Hausa
Dutch establish colony at Cape of Good Hope
British seize Cape Colony from Dutch
death of Shaka

___ 1481

___ 1652

___ 1795

___ 1804

___ 1815

___ 1828

TERMS, PEOPLE, EVENTS

The following terms, people, and events are important to your understanding of the chapter. Define each one on a separate sheet of paper.

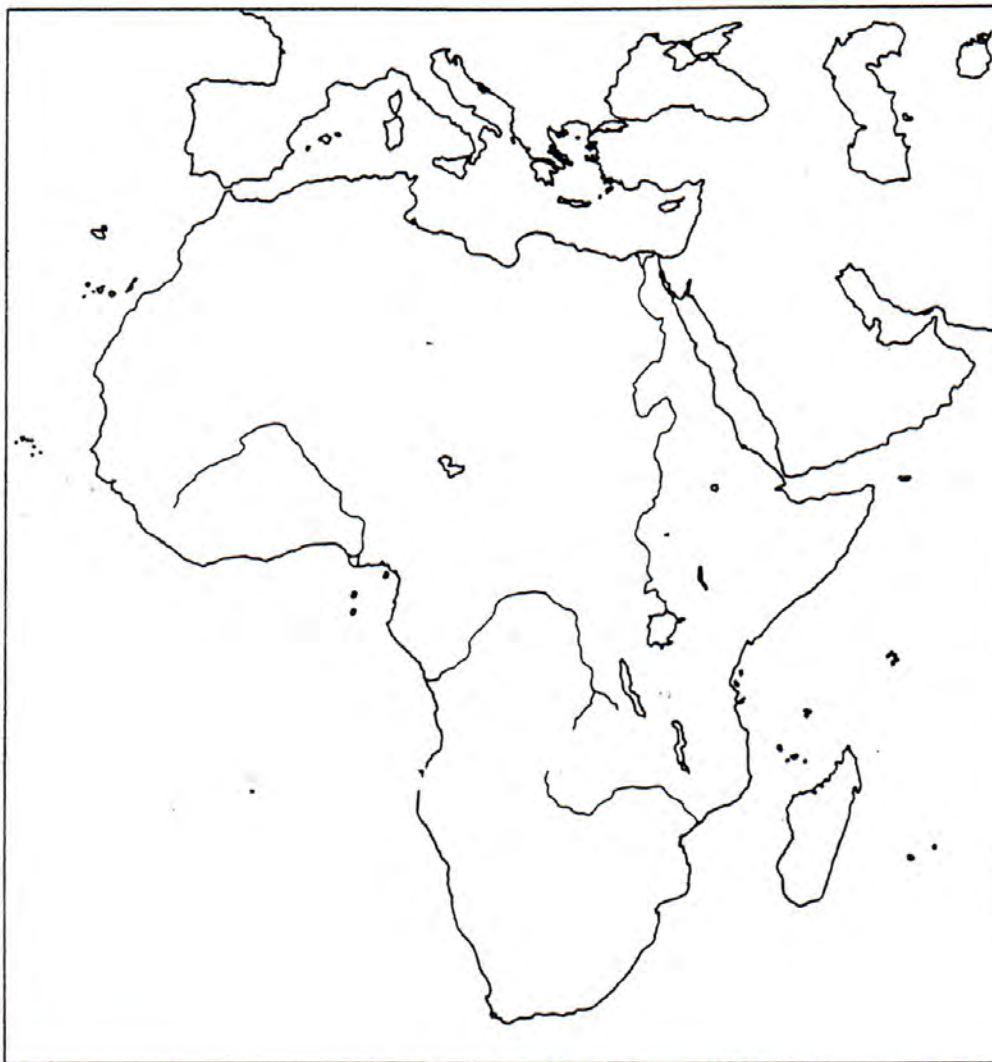
Ahmad Baba of Timbuktu	oba	King Agaja
Angola	Monomotapa	polygyny
Boer	Afrikaners	Voortrekkers
Creole slaves	obeah	candomble
factories	El Mina	lançados
Fulani	Jean Jacques Rousseau	Khoikhoi
Indies piece	triangular trade	Asante
Lesotho	Middle Passage	Luo
Suriname	Great Trek	Fulani
Maroons	William Wilberforce	Kongo kingdom
Nzinga Mvemba	Luanda	Royal African Company
Osei Tutu	asantehene	Dahomey
Oyo	Cushitic	Nilotic migrations
saltwater slaves	Creole slaves	John Wesley
Shaka	Mfecane	Swazi
Zulu	diaspora	Cape Colony
vodun	Palmares	

MAP EXERCISE

The following exercise is intended to clarify the geophysical environment and the spatial relationships among the important objects and places mentioned in the chapter. Locate the following places on the map.

Locate the region of the following African kingdoms: Kongo, Asante, Dahomey, Benin, and Sokoto.

What does the location of the emerging states of Africa during the era of the slave trade suggest about the geographical reorientation of African trade? Where were the emerging states located in comparison to the previous kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay?



Chapter 20
Africa and the Africans in the Age of the Atlantic Slave Trade

I. Introduction

- A. Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua – symbol of slavery
 - 1. Muslim trader > African slavery > African slave trade > Missionary
- B. Impact of outsiders on Africa
 - 1. Islam first, then African developed at own pace, West had big impact
- C. Influence of Europe
 - 1. Path of Africa becomes linked to European world economy
 - 2. Diaspora – mass exodus of people leaving homeland
 - 3. Slave trade dominated interactions
 - 4. Not all of Africa affected to the same degree
- D. Effects of global interactions
 - 1. Forced movement of Africans improved Western economies
 - 2. Transfer of African culture > adapted to create new culture
 - 3. Most of African still remained politically independent
- E. Trends
 - 1. Islam increased position in East
 - 2. Christianity stayed in Ethiopia
 - 3. Growth of African kingdoms

II. The Atlantic Slave Trade

- A. Introduction
 - 1. Portuguese voyagers
 - 1. Set up forts – fairly low scale – not huge impact initially
 - 2. Traders
 - 1. Ivory, pepper, animal skins gold for slaves initially
 - 2. Mulattos and Portuguese gradually spread inland
 - 3. Commerce leads to political, social, religious relations
 - 1. Impressed by power of many interior kingdoms – Benin
 - 2. Attempts at Christian conversion
 - a. Kongo most successful – king and kingdom converted
 - b. Ambassadors/exchange of ideas
 - c. Oddly, relationship ends when Kongo people get enslaved
 - 4. First contact – preconceptions, appreciation, curiosity
 - 1. Portuguese looked strange, some tribes started portraying them artistically
 - 5. Portuguese exploration
 - 1. Set up Portuguese settlements on the West coast
 - 2. Goal primarily commercial/military, but also missionary
 - 6. Patterns of contact – shared ideas
 - 1. fortified trading stations
 - 2. combination of force and diplomacy
 - 3. alliances with local rulers
 - 4. predominance of commercial relations - \$ uniting factor – that's odd
 - 7. History of African slave trade
 - 1. Slavery existed in Rome, replaced by serfdom in Middle Ages
 - 2. Brought to Mediterranean intermittently by Iberian peninsula
 - 3. After 1441, became common trading item
 - a. trade more effective than raids

8. Added impetus
 1. sugar plantations in Atlantic islands off Africa creates need
 2. Later adapted to Americas
- B. Trend Toward Expansion
 1. Numbers of slave
 - a. 1450-1850 – 12 million slaves shipped
 - b. Mortality rate 10-20% on ships
 - a. Millions more die in capture process/resulting wars
 - c. Largest period in 18th century – 7 million
 2. Reason for high volume
 - a. Mortality rates high
 - b. Fertility low
 - c. Reproduction level higher in S. USA
 - a. Different labor – not sugar plantations, mining
 - b. Reproduction encouraged
 - c. Milder climate
 - d. More concentration - 80-90% of pop in L. America, 25% in Brit America
 3. Reasons for shifts in volume
 - a. Sugar made Caribbean major terminal
 4. Regions of concentration
 - a. Brazil/Caribbean major destinations
 - b. 3 million slaves also as part of Red Sea, Muslim trade, trans-Sahara
- C. Demographic Patterns
 1. Types of captives
 - a. Trans-Saharan focused on women
 - b. Atlantic slave trade focused on men
 - a. Heavy labor
 - b. High mortality of children – didn't want
 - c. W/ capture – African tribes liked to keep women/children for self
 2. Demographic effects
 - a. Population cut by 50%
 - b. Becomes skewed toward more women
 - c. New crops – maize/manioc allowed numbers to recover
- D. Organization of the Trade
 1. Relation to European power
 - a. As Dutch/British emerge as power in Europe – want control of slave trade
 1. British – Royal African Company
 - b. Each has agents and forts
 2. Merchant towns
 - a. Mortality rates quite high – tropical diseases - malaria
 3. Connections between Europeans and African traders
 - a. Indies piece – basis of currency = adult male, everything related to that
 - b. Brought to coast
 1. African/mulatto agents purchased captives interior
 2. Some taxed movement of slaves
 3. Some states tried to establish monopolies
 - c. Collaboration – European or African domination
 4. Profitability of slave trade
 - a. Yes, profitable
 - a. Up to 300% for slaving voyage

- b. But...still dangerous, with risks
 - a. On average 5-10% growth, better than other ventures
 - b. Didn't contribute a ton to \$ for Industrial Revolution
- c. However...a huge part of triangular trade
 - a. Led to increased production
 - b. Economies needed cog in the cycle
 - c. Huge part of increasingly integrated world economy

III. African Societies, Slavery and the Slave Trade

A. Introduction

1. African forms of servitude

- a. Variety of forms of servitude from peasant status to chattel (property) slavery
- b. Method of increasing wealth – land owned by state
- c. Variety of uses – servants, concubines, soldiers, administrators, field workers
- d. Some slaves part of lineage system
- e. Some exploited
- f. Denied choice about lives/actions
- g. Enslavement of women central feature
 - a. Used to extend lineage
 - b. Led to polygamy/harems
- h. Sudanic states - Muslim
 - a. Slavery legal for nonbelievers, illegal for Muslims
 - 1. But...still some Muslims were enslaved
- i. Rarely enslaved own people, usually neighboring tribes
 - a. Expanding states major suppliers

2. Relation between preexisting slavery and new slave trade

- a. Pre-existing condition could be readily tapped by Europeans

B. Slaving and African Politics

1. Intensified enslavement and altered nature of slavery

2. Many competing city-states

- a. Military importance
- b. Some historians argue that slavery led to more wars

3. Results

- a. Europe blocked coastal states from gaining too much political/economic power
- b. Interior kingdoms gained more power – turned to cycle of guns for slaves

C. Asante and Dahomey

1. Asante on Gold Coast – example of empire that benefited from slave trade

- a. Controlled gold and slave trade
- b. Osei Tutu – 1717 – asantehene – supreme religious/civil ruler

2. Benin – controlled slavery, but never let dominate

3. Dahomey – controlled slavery by royal court – 1.8 million slaves

4. Creativity emerges with centralized states

- a. Leaders challenged by local officials
- b. Art flourished – oftentimes patronized by royal courts
 - 1. Some art purchased by nobles

D. East Africa and the Sudan

1. Swahili Coast – East Coast

- a. Commercial centers come under control of Ottomans and Portuguese

2. Slave trade existed

- a. Most to harems of Arabia

- b. Some to Portuguese plantations
- 3. Some island plantations emerged off coast of Africa
- 4. Interior area not as affected
- 5. Islamization enters violent phase in 18th century
 - a. Reform movement
 - b. Effects
 - 1. New political units
 - 2. New Islam eliminated pagan practices
 - 3. Literacy spread

IV. White Settlers and Africans in Southern Africa

A. Introduction

- 1. Southern Africa barely affected
- 2. Politically chiefdoms
 - a. Process of expansion as relatives spread
- 3. Dutch East India Company creates plantations in the South – Cape Colony
 - a. As Dutch farmers, Boers/Afrikaners, pushed further inland – conflict
 - b. In great trek – Boers moved far north to be free of Dutch rule

B. The Mfecane and the Zulu Rise to Power

- 1. Shaka Zulu – iron discipline + new tactics takes over surrounding areas
 - a. Erratic, cruel behavior brought region under control – created enemies
- 2. Mfecane – wars of crushing and wandering
 - a. Forced migrations and campaigns led to conflicts
- 3. Pattern of conflict in the South
 - a. competition between settlers and Africans for land
 - b. expanding influence of European government control
 - c. desire of Europeans to use Africans as laborers

V. The African Diaspora

A. Introduction

- 1. Trade
 - a. Imports: European firearms, Indian textiles, Indonesian cowrie shells, American tobacco
 - b. Exports: ivory, gold, slaves
 - 1. Price of these items steadily grew – benefited traders

B. Slave Lives

- 1. Separation from friends/family
- 2. Forced march to coastal pens
- 3. Middle Passage – traumatic – up to 20% mortality
 - a. Poor hygiene
 - b. Dysentery
 - c. Disease
 - d. Bad treatment
 - e. Reaction – suicide/mutiny
- 4. Retained languages, beliefs, traditions, memories

C. Africans in the Americas

- 1. Large plantations – sugar, rice, cotton, tobacco
- 2. Mining
- 3. Replaced indigenous people/indentured servitude
- 4. Most agricultural, but some artisans, street vendors, household servants

D. American Slave Societies

1. Saltwater slaves – African-born
2. Creole slaves – American-born
 - a. Mulattos
 - b. Sexual exploitation
 - c. Miscegenation
3. Hierarchy based on skin color – race
 - a. Free whites down to darkest slaves
 - b. Creoles/mulattoes given more freedom
4. Variety of slavery in Americas
 - a. Peru – blacks outnumber
 - b. Caribbean – vastly outnumbered
 - c. Brazil – large population
 1. More diverse
 2. tradition of manumission
 3. More miscegenation
 - d. USA South – depended more on reproduction less on imports
 1. less dependent on Africa
 2. reduced degree of African cultural reinforcement

E. The People and Gods in Exile

1. Family problems
 - a. Males outnumber females – maybe 3 to 1
 - b. Families sold away at whim
 - c. Marriages not legally/religiously sanctioned
2. Afro-American roots – African culture + new reality
3. Religion
 - a. Converted to Catholicism in Spain/Portugal
 - b. But...maintained old
 1. obeah - English islands – maintain African practices
 - c. Adaptation of old
 1. Don't have all the priestly class immigrate
 2. Held both beliefs
 - d. Harder for Muslim Africans to maintain
4. Resistance and Rebellion
 - a. Running away
 1. Some create runaway kingdoms
 - b. Direct confrontation
 1. Most famous – Suriname – former Dutch plantation colony
 - c. Feigned laziness

F. The End of the Slave Trade and the Abolition of Slavery

1. Result of economic, political and religious changes
2. Based on factors beyond Africans control
 - a. Enlightenment, age of revolution, Christian revivalism, Industrial Revolution
3. Africans begin to trade other items – peanuts, cotton, palm oil
4. Enlightenment – seen as backward and immoral – slave trade symbolized cruelty
5. England led change – William Wilberforce – abolitionist
 - a. Pressured other countries
 - b. 1888 finally abolished in Brazil

VI. Global Connections

A. Africa and the African Diaspora in World Context

1. Africa placed at a disadvantage in world markets
2. Movement of millions of people
3. Created vibrant new cultural forms
4. Altered political, economic structures

Chapter

20

A woman in traditional African attire, including a striped top and a large, flared, light-colored skirt, is captured in a dynamic dance pose. She has her arms raised and a joyful expression. In the background, a group of people, including men and women in various traditional clothing, are watching the performance. The setting appears to be an outdoor village square with palm trees and traditional buildings in the background.

Africa and the Africans in the Age of the Atlantic Slave Trade

(1450 – 1750)

Africa's Slaves

Written Source Document 5

Ibn Khaldun's theory about Africans

“They are found eager to dance whenever they hear a melody. They are everywhere described as stupid. The real reason for these [opinions] is that, as has been shown by philosophers in the proper place, joy and gladness are due to expansion and diffusion of the animal spirit. Sadness is due to the opposite, namely, contraction and concentration of the animal spirit. It has been shown that heat expands and rarefies air and vapors and increases their quantity.”

- ***Ibn Khaldun seems to be saying it is the environment that determines differences in basic human nature of one group compared with another. Apart from his specific views about Africans, do you agree or disagree with him on this? Why?***
- ***Do you think Johannes de Grevenbroek would agree with Ibn Khaldun? Why or why not?***

Portuguese in Africa

- In 1487, Portuguese ships sailed down the west African coast and rounded the Cape of Good Hope and began establishing trading outposts in Africa. **El Mina**, in the heart of the gold-producing region, was the most important of these.
- Africans acquired goods from the Portuguese, who sometimes provided slaves from other regions along the coast. In return, the Portuguese were supplied with ivory, pepper, animal skins, and gold.
- Eventually, the Portuguese mulatto traders followed the existing trade routes into the interior to trade directly with Mande and Soninke merchants from Mali and Songhai.
- Missionary efforts were made to convert the rulers of Benin, Kongo, and other African kingdoms. **Nzinga Mvemba** of Kongo, with the help of Portuguese missionaries brought the whole kingdom to Christianity and sought to “Europeanize” the kingdom.
- Eventually, the Portuguese established an outpost on Mozambique and bases at Kilwa, Mombasa, and Sofala to control trade in the Indian Ocean & Red Sea.

The African Slave Trade

- The Atlantic slave trade was started in the 1500s to fill the need for labor in Spain's American empire.
- Each year, traders shipped tens of thousands of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic to work on tobacco and sugar plantations in the Americas.
- Europeans relied on African rulers and traders to seize captives in the interior and bring them to coastal trade posts and fortresses.
- The slave trade intensified as the demand for slaves increased in the Americas and the demand for luxury goods increased in Africa.
- The slave trade led to the fall of some African states and the rise of others.

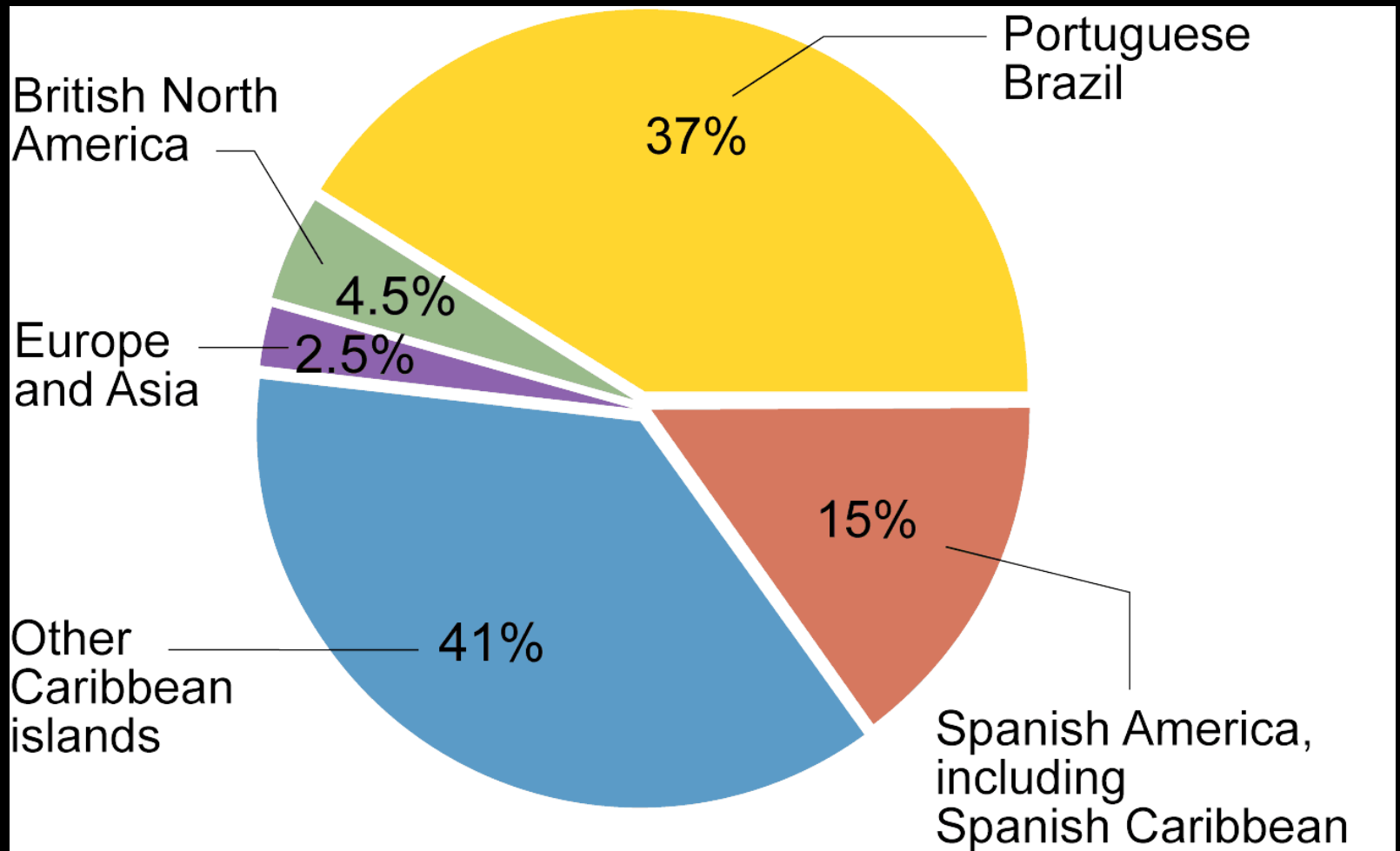


The Atlantic Slave Trade



- A three legged trade network known as the **triangular trade** developed.
- Merchants brought goods from Europe to Africa to trade for slaves.
- Then slaves were transported to the West Indies along the **Middle Passage**, and exchanged for goods such as sugar, molasses, and other goods.
- Finally, this goods were transported back to Europe.

Destinations of Enslaved Africans, 1500–1870



Source: Albert M. Craig, *World Civilizations*

Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade

By the 1800s, an estimated 11 million enslaved Africans had reached the Americas. Another 2 million probably died during the Middle Passage.

The slave trade caused the decline of some African states. In West Africa, the loss of countless numbers of young women and men resulted in some small states disappearing forever.

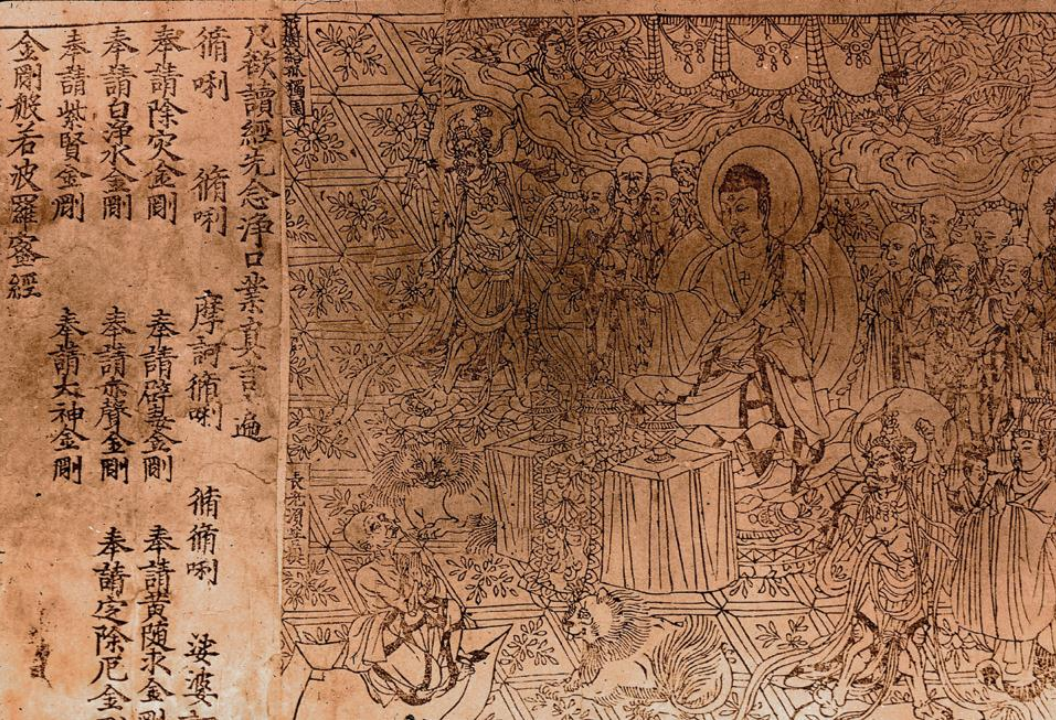
At the same time, new African states arose whose way of life depended on the slave trade. The rulers of these new states waged war against other Africans in order to gain control of the slave trade in their region.

The Impact of the Printing Press

Visual Source Documents 1 & 2



Document 1



Document 2

African Leaders Resist

- King **Affonso I** or **Nzinga Mvemba**, ruler of the Kongo, had solicited the Portuguese to help him turn his country into a modern, Christian state.
- He later appealed to the king of Portugal to end the slave trade, but it had no affect.
- In 1788, the **Almamy of Futa Toro** in northern Senegal, tried to halt the slave trade in his lands by outlawing the transportation of slaves through his land.
- Slave traders soon found other routes to by pass his country.



Congo-Bowmen, the bulk of Kongo's infantry forces, consisted of archers equipped and attired similar to these found by the Dr. Livingston expedition.

An image depicting Portuguese encounter with Kongo Royal family



Rise of New African States

- **Osei Tutu** won control of the trading city of Kumasi and created the **Asante** empire in the late 1600s by controlling the gold-producing zones and trading slaves for fire arms with the Dutch.
- Officials chosen by merit managed royal **monopolies** on gold mining and the slave trade.
- By the end of the 17th century, the slaves comprised 2/3s of his trade.



Rise of New African States (cont.)

- The kingdom of Benin was at the height of its power when the Europeans arrived and traded textiles, pepper, and ivory, rather than slaves.
- Nearby the kingdom of **Dahomey** developed and traded slaves from Benin for firearms, allowing them to create an autocratic and sometimes brutal regime by the 1720s which lasted well into the 19th century.
- The growing divine authority of African rulers paralleled the rise of absolute monarchies in Europe leading to new political forms with the power to limit the king.
- In the Yoruba state of Oyo a governing council shared power with the ruler.

African Art

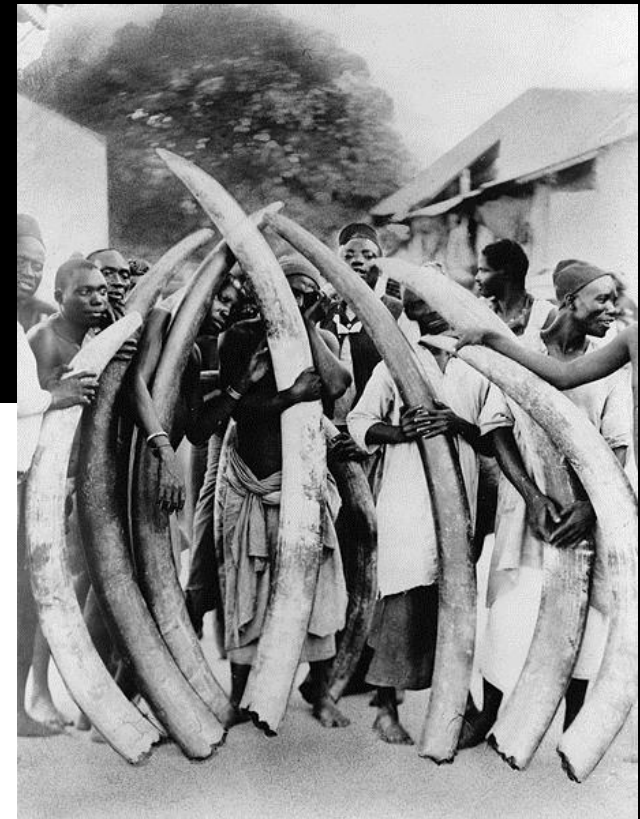
- African art also became popular and skilled artisans were commissioned to produce decorative objects for Europeans, including sculpture and textiles.



Carving in ebony



One edge of Mammoth Ivory tusk carved with Elephants & Lions.



Men with ivory tusks, Dar es Salaam, c. 1900.

Islamic Crusades

- **Usman dan Fodio** in northern Nigeria, denounced corruption of local Hausa rulers and called for religious and social reforms based on Sharia, or Islamic law.
- He inspired Fulani herders and Hausa townspeople to rise up against leaders.
- He and followers set up a powerful Islamic state in West Africa.
- Literacy increased, local wars quieted, trade increased.
- Other Muslim reform movements led to new Islamic states in western Sudan.



The entrance to the Sultan's palace, Sokoto, Nigeria

Battles for Power in Southern Africa

- The Zulus had migrated into southern Africa in the 1500s.
- In the 1800s, they emerged as a major force under a ruthless and brilliant leader, **Shaka**.
- In 1652, Dutch immigrants arrived setting up Cape Town to supply ships sailing to or from West Indies.
- Dutch farmers, called **Boers**, settled around Cape Town and enslaved Khoisan herders living there.
- In 1815, the Cape Colony was taken over by the British, so the Dutch Boers migrated north coming into contact with the Zulus.
- Between 1818 and 1828, the Zulus under Shaka waged relentless war. Shaka's wars disrupted life across southern Africa. Displaced groups migrated north, conquering other peoples and creating their own powerful states.
- In the late 1830s, the Boers came into contact with the Zulus and fighting broke out.
- At first, the Zulu regiments held their own. But in the end, they were defeated by the Boers' superior military technology.

The Impact of the Printing Press

Visual Source Documents 3 & 4

**Ein schönes tractetlein von dem
Göelichen/vñ römischen Abblas.vffs gegewür-
tig Jübel jar/verzt zu Rom/gemacht durch
ein vngelärten Leyen. XV. XXV.**



A briefe and true re-
port of the new found land of Virginia: of
the commodities there found and to be vsed, as well mar-
chantable, as others for victuall, building and other necessa-
rie vses for those that are and shalbe the planters there; and of the na-
ture and manners of the naturall inhabitants : Discovered by the
English Colony there sated by Sir Richard Greinuite Knight in the
yeere 1585. which remained vnder the gouernment of Rafe Lane Esqui-
er, one of her Maiesties Equieres, during the space of twelue monethes : as
the speciall charge and direction of the Honourable SIR
WALTER RALEIGH Knight, Lord Warden of
the stanneries ; who therein hath bene fauou-
red and authorized by her Maiestic and
her letters patents:

Directed to the Aduenturers, Fauourers,
and Welwillers of the action, for the inhabi-
ting and planting there:

By Thomas Hariot; seruant to the abouenamed
Sir Walter, a member of the Colony, and
there employed in discouering,



Imprinted at London 1588.