The Diola living along the lower Casamance River in Greater Senegambia, “Falupos” and “Arriatas” were characterize by Father Alvarez as “. . . the mortal enemies of all kinds of white men. If our ships touch their shores they plunder the goods and make the white crew their prisoners, and they sell them in those places where they normally trade for cows, goats, dogs, iron-bars and various cloths. The only thing these braves will have nothing to do with is wine from Portugal, which they believe is the blood of their own people and hence will not drink”\textsuperscript{i}
CHAPTER II

CLUSTERING OF AFRICAN ETHNICITIES IN THE AMERICAS

Despite the overwhelming numbers of Africans introduced into the Americas during the Atlantic slave trade and their crucial role in creating its wealth and forming American cultures, their origins in Africa remain obscure. There is still a widespread belief among scholars as well as the general public that Africans dragged in chains to various places in the Americas were so fractionalized, diverse and divided among themselves culturally and linguistically that very few of the newly arrived Africans could communicate with each other and there was therefore little or no basis for transmission of elements of the cultures of specific African regions and ethnicities to specific places in the Americas. (ADD endnote about Mintz-Price thesis and refer to discussion below; from Morgan about Equiano, hundreds of African languages) This assumption is based upon anecdotal evidence as well as more complex errors in methodology. Over several generations, historians have cited statements by European and American observers at various times and places in Africa and the Americas that new Africans were deliberately fragmented by slave traders and masters to prevent communication among them in order to prevent revolts. Studies of the coastal origins of Atlantic slave trade voyages to particular places in the Americas often collapse time. Nevertheless, they have been relied upon to demonstrate great diversity in the origins of enslaved Africans. Monolingual Anglophone historians have relied
excessively on English language documents and publications which contain much less information about African ethnicities than documents in Portuguese, Spanish, and French.

We now know for certain that Atlantic slave trade ships did not meander along several African coasts collecting enslaved Africans and bringing them to many different places in the Americas. Atlantic slave trade ships collected Africans overwhelmingly from the same coast, usually from only one or two ports on each coast, and brought them largely to the same American port or region. Why? Because the longer enslaved Africans remained aboard slave trade ships, the higher was the death rate among them. It is hard to believe that humanitarian concerns were a significant influence on decisions made by the maritime slave traders. But spoilage of the “cargo” seriously compromised the profitability of the voyage.

If we count all the peoples of the huge African continent and the many languages they speak, we might conclude that Africans brought to the Americas were an extraordinarily diverse population. If we limit ourselves to the regions of Africa from which slaves were brought in significant numbers, this diversity is substantially reduced. If we total the African coastal origins of slave trade voyages to particular regions in the Americas over several centuries and collapse time, we conceal the fact that Africans from the same regions and ethnicities arrived at various places in the Americas in waves. If we look at the changing ethnic composition of slaves exported from various African coasts over time, what we know about the patterns of the
transshipment trade of Africans within the Americas, and the distribution of new Africans after their final sale, we see further evidence of clustering of ethnicities and speakers of mutually intelligible languages on Atlantic slave trade voyages as well as after they arrived at their final destinations. We discern clustering of Africans from the same regions and ethnicities in local districts and at times on estates, especially on small estates. Enslaved Africans were often quite mobile and sought out their fellow countrymen living nearby. ADD cite Gomez, Pierson, see calculations in Appendix?

If we look at the bewildering variety of African ethnic designations recorded in documents in the Americas, we might come down, again, on the side of great diversity. Although a large variety of particular African ethnic designations can be identified, relatively few African ethnicities can be found with significant frequency in documents in various times and places in the Americas. Even when we find the greatest diversity of African ethnic designations in collections of documents, we can, in fact, pinpoint only a handful of African ethnicities truly significant in numbers. Thus, although Africa is a huge continent with a great variety of peoples, only some of them were involved in the Atlantic slave trade and relatively few African ethnicities were brought to the Americas in significant numbers.

There are multiple reasons for the clustering of Africans from the same regions and ethnicities in the Americas. Various African coasts were drawn into substantial involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in sequence over several centuries. During its early stages, European maritime trade with Africa
often did not focus heavily on buying slaves to ship to the Americas. European ships bought gold, copper, gum, ivory, textiles, wax, musk, rice, fish, grains, pepper, indigo, dye woods and other dyes, cowry and other valuable shells, oils, kola nuts, meats, hides, leather goods, tools, fine woods as well as wood and water for their ships. They often named African coasts after the major trade goods they purchased there: for example, the Gold Coast, the Grain Coast, the Pepper Coast, the Ivory Coast. During the first 150 years of the Atlantic slave trade, enslaved Africans were at first shipped mainly to Portugal, to Atlantic islands off the coast of Africa, or to the Gold Coast in West Africa. The Portuguese demand for slaves for labor in Africa, including her Atlantic Islands, impinged sharply on the number of slaves available for the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Neither the Cape Verde Islands nor the Island of São Tomé was populated when the Portuguese first colonized them. In 1493, São Tomé was first populated by about 2,000 Jewish children under the age of eight, both male and female. They were taken away from their families and baptized. Most of them died shortly after they arrived. Only about 600 survived. Some of these survivors married and formed families among themselves. Most of them mated with African slaves. Some of them married Africans in the Church. Their African mates were described as very rich and intelligent. Their descendants became the Afro-Portuguese of Lower Guinea and Southwest Africa. iv

These Atlantic islands off the African coast were launching pads for trade and colonization on the mainland. They were primary markets for
importing enslaved Africans to produce very valuable trade goods. The Portuguese produced salt, cotton and textiles in the Cape Verde Islands. Cape Verde textiles made by slaves brought from the mainland, cotton, and salt became the main products exchanged for slaves and other goods in Greater Senegambia. Throughout the centuries *panos* (lengths of luxury cloth) produced in the Cape Verde Islands continued to be in very high demand. As late as 1805, ships en route to Greater Senegambia stopped in Santiago, Cape Verde Islands, to purchase *panos* “in great estimation as an article of trade.” These Atlantic islands became the major site for exchange of domesticated plants and animals, techniques of cultivation, construction of buildings, ships, and docks, and manufacture of a variety of goods familiar in Europe, Africa, and the Americas. During the sixteenth century, the Island of São Tomé was the world’s leading sugar producer and was not overtaken by Brazil until the 1590s. During the first half of the 17th century, the sugar industry of São Tomé was undermined by slave runaways and revolts and by Dutch raids, invasions, and occupations. These two Atlantic island groups evolved into major entrepots for the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Enslaved Africans from nearby coasts were landed, refreshed with food and water and then transshipped across the Atlantic, often working to produce valuable trade goods while awaiting ships to take them to Portugal, to the Gold Coast, or to the Americas.

Portuguese settlers of these Atlantic Islands moved onto the African Coast and established trading posts and settlements. They were called
lanzados, sometimes tagomaes.  ADD explain terminology. Cite Costa y Silva. Many of the lanzados were New Christians or conversos: Jews fleeing religious persecution in Portugal. Many of them moved to African communities on the mainland where religious differences were better tolerated and they reconverted to Judaism. With the exception of the Jewish female children sent to settle the Island of São Tomé in 1493, the lanzados were almost entirely males. They mated with and married African women, often elite women. Their mixed-blood descendants were skilled traders, mariners, and linguists who enjoyed the great advantage of being resistant to African diseases. They played a major role in extending Portuguese trade and influence to the African continent. São Tomé developed an important shipbuilding industry. The Portuguese relied heavily on the skilled mariners of São Tomé and the ships built there to penetrate and conquer West Central Africa.

The lanzados and their descendants created the earliest Creole languages. Cape Verdean Creole was the first Portuguese based Creole language introduced into Greater Senegambia. São Tomé Creole was introduced into Lower Guinea and West Central Africa. These Portuguese based Creoles were no doubt the seed for subsequent Creole languages based on French, Spanish, and English vocabularies. The Portuguese lanzados, their dependants, grumetes and their descendants became part of the widespread and influential Afro-Portuguese communities located along the coasts of West Africa and the rivers used as trade routes into the interior. They were
established in enclaves, gradually influencing the surrounding areas. It is probably an exaggeration to describe the early generation of African slaves introduced into the Americas as a Creole generation, especially if this implies heavy European cultural influence among a significant number of Africans introduced as slaves. The Afro-Portuguese lived in enclaves on the African continent in places close enough to the Atlantic coast to permit them to engage in maritime trade. Many enslaved Africans were brought from the interior. Even in coastal regions, African cultural influences based upon interpenetration of various African ethnic groups dominated the process of creolization. vii (ADD see pp. ADD below for a more detailed discussion) (ADD G. Ugo Nowokeji discusses the absorption into the Igbo population of immigrants from other ethnicities, for example, the Yoruba, in his “The Atlantic Slave Trade, Ethnicity, and Population.” ADD ref, put in FN.)

The Gold Coast was a primary market for the sale of enslaved Africans within Africa. As early as 1486, the export of enslaved Africans from the Edo Kingdom of Benin to the Fortress of Elmina on the Gold Coast was important enough for the Portuguese to establish a factor in this kingdom to regularly supply slaves to be shipped to Portugal as well as to the Gold Coast. They worked in the gold mines, transported gold to the coast, and loaded it aboard ships. Indeed, the Akan rulers on the Gold Coast insisted that the Portuguese supply them with slaves as a condition for supplying them with gold. viii Because of the strong west to east winds and currents along the coast, the ocean voyages from the Gold Coast to the Kingdom of Benin were rapid, but the voyages returning with slaves was very slow and difficult. The Mina gold
trade greatly expanded after 1500 and the direct slave trade between the Bight of Benin and Elmina was insufficient. By 1515, the direct slave trade between these two African coasts had ceased. Slaves were shipped at first mainly via the Island of Principe and then via the Island of São Tomé. By 1540, the slave trade to Elmina had greatly diminished. Nevertheless, until 1700, more slaves continued to be imported into than exported from the Gold Coast. ADD ix
The King of Benin ended the Atlantic slave trade in 1516, mainly because the Portuguese refused to supply him with arms. The Portuguese were only allowed to purchase cloth, pepper and ivory, but no slaves. But some Edo peoples continued to be enslaved and sold by the neighboring kingdom of ADD. After 1516, enslaved Africans shipped to São Tomé came mainly from the Slave Coast and the Bight of Biafra, along with some West Central Africans. After the Portuguese founded Luanda, Angola in 1575, the vast majority of West Central Africans were shipped directly from Luanda to the Americas, mainly to Brazil. Many of the Portuguese *asiento* slave trade voyages to Spanish America (1595-1649) also came from Luanda. But there were very few voyages from São Tomé.

Another reason why the early Atlantic slave trade focused on relatively few coasts is because it was very effectively resisted in various places, forcing the Atlantic slave traders to concentrate on a limited number of places. During the first two centuries of the Atlantic slave trade, few enslaved Africans were collected east of Sierra Leone and west of the Slave Coast beginning at the Kingdom of Popo east of the Volta River basin. European ships trading along the coast between Sierra Leone and the Slave Coast bought gold, ivory, grain, pepper and supplied themselves with wood, food and water to continue their voyages. Before 1650, the Grain Coast, the Pepper Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, the Volta River basin, and Gabon (ADD check) were largely excluded from the Atlantic slave trade.
trade partially because of effective resistance from the peoples living along these shores. They fought against the capture and enslavement of their peoples for export to the Americas. Some peoples along other shores resisted as well. Near the end of the sixteenth century, the Felupos or Diola living along the lower Casamance River in Greater Senegambia refused to trade with the Portuguese. At night, they cut the ropes anchoring the Portuguese ships, causing them to founder and then they attacked. They refused to accept ransom for the Portuguese they captured and killed them instead. At the end of the sixteenth century, Father Andre Alvares d’Almada described the “Falupos” and “Arriatas” as:

. . . the mortal enemies of all kinds of white men. If our ships touch their shores they plunder the goods and make the white crew their prisoners, and they sell them in those places where they normally trade for cows, goats, dogs, iron-bars and various cloths. The only thing these braves will have nothing to do with is wine from Portugal, which they believe is the blood of their own people and hence will not drink. xii

We have seen that at least figuratively, they were quite right about the alcohol introduced into Africa by the European maritime slave traders. At the very end of the nineteenth century, two Felupos living in Guinea-Bissau said, “We never were slaves. We never enslaved or sold our fellows.”
From the earliest years of the Atlantic slave trade, the Kru, Akan language group speakers who lived along the Ivory Coast, refused to supply enslaved Africans to the maritime slave traders. They were highly skilled navigators, boatmen, and swimmers. They provoked and assisted revolts among Africans imprisoned aboard Atlantic slave trade ships anchored along their shores. The Kru were called *mala gente* (bad people) and were considered very dangerous by the slave trade captains. In order to obtain slaves, they had to send their crews in small boats to surprise, assault, and kidnap their victims. These raids were dangerous to the raiders and unproductive of slaves. (Add cite Aguirre Beltran) When European slave traders had to raid directly for slaves it usually meant there was no existing market. They surely would have preferred to purchase them than run the risks involved in raiding along the shore. Over time, a small but growing stream of war captives was exported from coasts previously closed to the Atlantic slave trade. Well into the nineteenth century, the British relied mainly on Kru mariners along the inhospitable shores of the Ivory Coast for help in suppressing the illegal slave trade, although some Krumen became involved in the maritime slave trade as well.\textsuperscript{xiii}
As late as the 1820s, after three and a half centuries of Portuguese presence in Mozambique, the Portuguese were confined to the coast and were not allowed to enter the Makua or Yao territories. In 1857, when the slave trade involved so-called contract workers, the Makua beat off Portuguese traders trying to enter their territory and threatened to attack Portuguese coastal settlements. The Portuguese Governor General agreed not to seek “contract laborers” from their country and thereby avoided war. This did not necessarily mean opposition to the Atlantic slave trade as much as the desires of these African coastal polities to control it and set the terms for it.

Opposition to the maritime slave trade was less effective in West Central Africa. The Atlantic slave trade began there very early, continued unabated, and lasted very late. The Atlantic slave trade continued to be legal below the Equator until 1830. Thus it remained legal in West Central Africa and in Mozambique long after it was outlawed in Greater Senegambia and Lower Guinea. (ADD check date 1808?) Indeed, it has been estimated that 40% of enslaved Africans brought to the Americas were Bantu language group speakers from West Central Africa with a much smaller number from Mozambique. ADD cite Heywood book.

In 1622, the Portuguese began a war against the Kingdom of Kongo for resisting the slave trade. Aside from using her own troops, Portugal organized and subsidized the Jaga: ruthless, cannibalistic mercenaries in the pay of the Portuguese. (ADD quote from Sandoval describing them.) The
Kingdom of Kongo was forced to seek protection from the Jaga by appealing to the Portuguese for help. The price for this help was abandoning opposition to the Atlantic slave trade. See chapter below for details. After the Portuguese founded Luanda in 1575, she invaded its hinterland to obtain captives from the wars she provoked. Warfare among Portuguese and Dutch traders and their African clients escalated during the first half of the seventeenth century. The Portuguese invasion of the hinterland of Luanda, Angola was forcefully resisted for decades, notably by the famous Queen Njinga and her northern neighbors, sometimes with assistance from the Dutch. Many captives of these wars were sold to the Portuguese slave traders at Luanda and ended up in Spanish and Portuguese America as well as in Dutch Brazil.

Throughout West Africa, armed resistance to enslavement continued along the coasts, in the interior, along the rivers, in runaway communities, in slave pens, aboard slave trade ships docked along the West African coasts as well as at sea. But European strategies of divide and rule ultimately triumphed. African resistance on land and sea was treated as an inevitable cost of this extremely lucrative trade.

In West Africa, the Dutch played the major role in undermining Portuguese control, spreading the Atlantic slave trade to new regions. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the crowns of Spain and Portugal were merged and the Netherlands declared its independence. The Dutch were in revolt against the Iberian kingdoms. They
challenged Portuguese rule all along the Coast of Africa as well as in Brazil. ADD Dutch activities in Greater Senegambia from Brooks. They captured Elmina on the Gold Coast in 1637. But Elmina never became an important slave exporting port. (ADD refer to chapter below). The Dutch Atlantic slave trade continued to involve mainly piracy. Between 1630-54, the Dutch captured and held the sugar-producing province of Pernambuco in Brazil. They captured and held Luanda, Angola between . (ADD dates) Although the African coastal origin of slaves brought to Dutch Brazil is not well documented, it is likely that the vast majority were shipped from West Central Africa, especially from Luanda while it was held by the Dutch. Indeed, Luanda was captured by the Dutch mainly to supply slaves to their sugar plantations in Brazil. ADD refs. See chapter below. The Dutch were driven out of Brazil in ADD and Luanda in ADD by a Brazilian fleet led by Salvador de Sá. Thereafter, the Atlantic slave trade between Brazil and Angola increasingly bypassed Portugal and was carried out directly between Luanda and Brazil. Indeed, Angola became to a great extent a Brazilian rather than a Portuguese colony. The Dutch slave trade to the Americas was sharply reduced until they developed and finance the sugar industry in the British and French Caribbean. ADD dates, and Emmer and Vanden Boogaart chapter. They supplied enslaved Africans and sugar producing equipment on credit and taught the British and French planters how to use it. They bought raw sugar in the Caribbean for the refineries of Amsterdam and marketed refined sugar throughout Europe. By ADD, France and Britain began to suppress Dutch
commercial control of their Caribbean colonies through the British Navigation
Acts and the French Exclusive. Dutch trading posts in the Caribbean, mainly
Curacao and Aruba, continued to sell new Africans to the Caribbean colonies
of other nations. The Dutch slave trade also focused on Suriname, her only
remaining sugar producing colony in the Americans. Make calculations from
Eltis DB.

Other European and American slave traders destroyed Portuguese
control of the Atlantic slave trade. During the seventeenth century, the
British, the French, and the Spanish after 1640 when Portugal separated from
Spain displaced the Portuguese in many regions and became competitors
among themselves as well as with the Portuguese and the Dutch. Various
European factions bought and armed African clients, spreading the trans-
Atlantic slave trade to new regions.xvii

Before the Portuguese monopoly of the Atlantic slave trade was
destroyed around 1650, there were only two African regions producing and
sending large numbers of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic: Greater
Senegambia and West Central Africa. Africans from these two regions were
clustered in the Americas. Although West Central Africans were brought to
Spanish America in increasing numbers, they were clustered mainly in Brazil.
Some Greater Senegambians were brought to Brazil as well, but
Senegambians were most heavily clustered in the circum-Caribbean and along
the West Coast of South America, mainly in Peru. More African regions
became deeply involved after 1650, especially the Gold Coast and the Slave
Coast, when the British and the French established trading companies operating in West Africa to purchase slaves. (ADD patterns of purchase during last half of 17th century: Gold Coast, Slave Coast) But piracy at sea remained pivotal because of nearly unabated warfare among the European powers. Even in peacetime, large numbers of armed, unemployed seamen and former privateers were everywhere. Estimates of the Atlantic slave trade to the Americas remain uncertain. Surviving and researched documents alone tell us only part of the story and give only some of the numbers.

Study of the patterns of introduction of West Central Africans into the Americas is far from simple. Many of these peoples came from acephalous rather than stratified societies and identified with their villages rather than with a higher polity. The geographic and ethnic identifications of these peoples is complicated by the use of broad and conflicting terminology by European slave traders as well as by slave masters in the Americas. British slave traders generally referred to all of West Central Africa as Angola and British colonists generally called all West Central Africans Angolans. French and Spanish documents tended to list all West Central Africans as Congo. Except for Mary Karasch’s study of nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro, we have relatively little information about specific ethnicities brought to the Americas from West Central Africa. ADD see chapter below. Nevertheless, is it reasonably safe to conclude that, regardless of the terminology used by the British as opposed to the French and Spanish, most of the Bantu speakers brought to the American colonies of the Northern European powers after 1700
were ba-Congo speakers brought from the Loango Coast and most of those brought to Brazil were Barundi speakers brought from Luanda, Angola. John Thornton assures us that the Bantu language group speakers of West Central Africa shared closely related languages and cultures. (ADD confirmation for early 17th century by Alonso de Sandoval)

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, then the British, and then the French gradually managed to open up the slave trade along the Loango Coast north of the Congo River. This was a slow process which began mainly with the purchase of ivory. There was evidently no pool of slaves available to sell. Raids to produce slaves were eventually extended inland both north and south of the tumultuous Congo River. The Vili became the major slave raiders and sellers. During the eighteenth century, the Loango Coast was the major source of West Central Africans in the British, French, and Dutch colonies, including those who were called Angolans by the British. While there was some overlap between ba-Congo speakers shipped from the Loango Coast and Barundi speakers shipped from Portuguese Luanda, “Angolans” in the British colonies as well as “Congo” in the French and Spanish colonies were likely ba-Congo speakers.

Aside from timing, there were other factors clustering Africans from the same regions and ethnicities in the Americas. Particular African and American regions were linked by propinquity and by winds and tides affecting the length of voyages from various African coasts to various places in the
Networks were established between African and European traders along coasts involving the shortest voyages to American markets. The North Atlantic system linked Greater Senegambia/Upper Guinea with the United States, the Caribbean, and far northeast Brazil (Maranhao and Para). The South Atlantic system linked Central Africa, especially Angola and Mozambique, with southeast Brazil and the Rio de la Plata (now Argentina and Uruguay). Proximity as well as winds, tides, and ocean currents minimized travel time between Angola and southeast Brazil. Hugh Thomas wrote that ships leaving Portugal for Angola had “virtually to pass by Brazil, and those leaving Angola had to sail close to Rio” (ADD ref Manolo Forentino Garcia’s database about length of voyages. Also, travel days at sea between Upper Guinea and the Caribbean. From Vila Vilar? TASLDB?)

SEE TABLE BELOW. MOVE?) African slavery thrived in all regions of Brazil during four centuries. Brazil was by far the greatest consumer of slaves in the Western Hemisphere.

The African market for the goods brought in by Atlantic slave traders also linked African and American regions. We have seen that New England rum and Virginia tobacco were very popular in Greater Senegambia for over 100 years. Africans from Greater Senegambia were prized in the United States where rice was an important crop and social control was a less serious problem than in the Caribbean. New England rum also linked the Gold Coast with British colonies. Among the 245 slave trade voyages leaving from Providence, Rhode Island whose African coastal buying regions were
identified, 80% collected their “cargoes” on the Gold Coast where these highly addictive United States products were obviously prized as well. The taste for tobacco was more specialized. In Brazil, the Coast of Mina meant the coast east of Mina and referred mainly to the Slave Coast. Cheap, strong, sweetened tobacco produced in Bahia, Brazil was in great demand. Africans called “Mina” were prized in Minas Gerais, the gold and diamond zone of Brazil. Neither tobacco nor gold were important export products to West Central Africa. But Brazilian rum ruled the market there. ADD cite Curto.

The preference of slave owners for particular African ethnicities was another factor clustering Africans in the Americas. There were several important reasons for these preferences. Slave owners were motivated to purchase Africans with the knowledge and skills they needed the most. The clearest example is rice growing regions in the Americas. Several prominent historians have argued cogently that early slave trade voyages from Madagascar first introduced rice and the complex technology for its cultivation to the Americas. Their conclusions have been bolstered by calculations made on the TASLDB demonstrating a substantial number of voyages from Madagascar to Barbados during the last quarter of the 17th century. (ADD 10 direct voyages to York, VA cited by Lovejoy but not in TASTDB) Many of them were probably transshipped to Carolina. Lorena S. Walsh has convincing argued that most slaves arriving in the British Atlantic mainland colonies from the Caribbean were new Africans, not Creoles of the Caribbean and this fact has been consistently ignored by prestigious
historians. If she is correct, the percentage of Africans among slaves in the United States during the eighteenth century has been minimized. ADD ref.

The slave trade from Madagascar was largely a British operation. Among 47 voyages of ships with national registry recorded 42 (89.4 real percent) were of British registry. Voyages from ships of other national registry, especially Portuguese, no doubt went uncounted. The contrast with Mozambique is sharp. The Atlantic slave trade from Mozambique developed late. ADD see p. There were no voyages by ships of British registry from Mozambique. French voyages from Mozambique went mainly to St. Domingue during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. They were 39.7 valid percent (n=60) of all recorded voyages from Mozambique throughout the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Another wave of voyages from Mozambique were the legal Portuguese and Brazilian voyages to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil between 1811 and 1830. ADD ref Manolo Florentino Garcia.

Voyages from Madagascar Arriving in Barbados

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1683</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ADD other tables.

Greater Senegambia/Upper Guinea was a major cradle of domestication and cultivation of rice as well as of many other food crops. Its rice was
domesticated independently of the Asian variety. Generations of rice growers experimented with mini environments, developing and adapting their techniques to varied and changing climatic conditions. Wet rice was widely cultivated using complex irrigation techniques. ADD ref UNESCO.

Africans from Upper Guinea were prized in Carolina and Georgia because of their skills in rice cultivation. Voyages recorded in The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database allow us to generalize findings to other rice cultivating regions in the Western Hemisphere as well. Although only 12.9% of voyages entered into this database brought Africans from Senegambia and Sierra Leone, they were 46% of voyages to rice growing regions. The high proportion of missing voyages from Greater Senegambia in this database allows us to tilt towards an even higher number. (NOTE: We must also take into consideration that voyages from Greater Senegambia carried a significantly smaller numbers of slaves than voyages from other regions. ADD ref Eltis DB Intro. Calculate numbers based on voyages listing numbers of slaves landed and extrapolations based upon African region of origin.

Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Voyages Bringing Enslaved Africans to Rice-Growing Regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TO:</th>
<th>All:</th>
<th>From Senegambia/Upper Guinea:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>230 (44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37 (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss. Delta</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21 (68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6 (86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE Brazil</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>47 (54%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Calculated from 13,072 Voyages recorded in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade
Database Indicating Both Major Buying and Selling Regions.
(Three voyages to the Mississippi Delta missing from this database were added.)

Aside from preferences for Africans with especially needed skills, specific African ethnicities were preferred for other reasons. Atlantic slave trade and transshipment voyages tended to bring Africans from particular regions directly to places where there was the highest demand for them. It has become a false truism that masters always preferred to fractionalize new Africans so they could not communicate with each other, thereby minimizing revolts among them. While this was certainly true in some cases, most masters preferred Africans with whom they were familiar and who spoke languages understood and spoken by the slaves they already owned. There was a certain logic to bringing in Africans from “nations” who were already present in substantial numbers. The up side of creating a Tower of Babel on estates was probably outweighed by the ability of partially resocialized Africans who had arrived earlier to communicate with and help resocialize newcomers. Thus, some masters preferred Africans with whom they were familiar and who spoke languages the slaves they already owned could speak and understand. For example, in Louisiana in 1730, a master sent “un nègre de son pays” (a black from his country) to talk to his slave whom he suspected of malingering. LePage du Pratz, who left Louisiana in 1734, advised Louisiana slaveowners to encourage their slaves to teach and help newcomers
from their “nations” ADD, check his exact language, cite him)xxv Moreau de St-Mery wrote that while some St. Domingue planters hesitated to buy Igbo slaves because of their suicidal tendencies, others preferred them because they were very attached to each other and “the newly arrived find help, care, and example from those who have come before them.”xxvi A chain migration pattern has been identified for free immigrants. Those who arrived early attracted more immigrants from the same places of origin in the old world. A modified pattern of chain migration applied to African slaves as well. Some masters preferred Africans of ethnicities who arrived earliest and purchased slaves from these same African regions or ethnicities.

After they arrived on Atlantic slave trade voyages, new Africans were often transshipped to other regions and colonies. Patterns of this transshipment trade must be better known and understood before we can draw firm conclusions about the distribution of Africans from particular coasts and ethnicities in many places in the Americas. This is especially true for major transshipment places for new Africans as they arrived on trans-Atlantic voyages. With a few outstanding exceptions, very little research has been done about this trade and little is known about it. Although at first blush the transshipment slave trade from the Caribbean seems likely to have fragmented Africans of the same regions and ethnicities because of the large numbers of ships arriving from a variety of African coasts, there was a countervailing trend indicating that preferences among both sellers and buyers tended to cluster rather than fragment Africans. Some masters sent their own ships to
purchase enslaved Africans from preferred coasts on Atlantic slave trade ships as they arrived in Caribbean ports. Some of them sent their ships directly to preferred African coasts, cutting out the very expensive Caribbean middlemen. Daniel Littlefield made very convincing links between the British Atlantic slave trade and the transshipment trade from the Caribbean. He demonstrated careful patterns in marketing which tended to cluster Africans transshipped from the British Caribbean to places where they were preferred.\textsuperscript{xxvii} Colin Palmer also discussed preferences for African ethnicities in the transshipment trade from the British West Indies to the United States and to Spanish America between 1700 and 1740. Between 1702 and 1714, before the British asiento contract to supply new Africans to the Spanish colonies began, at least 18,180 new Africans were transshipped from Jamaica. Fully 59.2\% (n=231) of British voyages (1714-1740) bringing new Africans to Spanish American colonies were transshipments from Jamaica.\textsuperscript{xxviii} Most recently, ADD Eltis, including his quote. ADD. Preference for Akan Africans in Jamaica probably explains why the stated preferences of British mainland masters for Akan Africans was not reflected in the trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages to the 13 original colonies of the US. Ships of United States registry brought Africans they collected on the Gold Coast mainly to Jamaica and Barbados. ADD check, and \%. (ADD reword after calculations: The tendency to keep Akan Africans in Jamaica probably limited the trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages from the Gold Coast to the United States (ADD \%) and
diminished the numbers of Akan transshipped the Caribbean to the British mainland colonies/United States as well.

We know very little about where Africans transshipped from the Caribbean were born or socialized or their African coastal or ethnic origins. But we know that they were not likely to be either born or socialized in the Caribbean. Masters were reluctant to buy them, and for good reasons. They often had hidden illnesses or were uncontrollable slaves whose masters and the colonial authorities were trying to get rid of. The evidence for Louisiana is absolutely clear. Lorena S. Walsh has discerned the same pattern for the Chesapeake. She argues that the number of Caribbean-born slaves brought into the British mainland colonies and states has been highly exaggerated. xxix

Our newest and most systematic data about the trade in new Africans transshipped from Caribbean ports is from Spanish Louisiana. It is certain that almost all slaves shipped to Louisiana from the Caribbean were new Africans purchased from trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages as they arrived in various Caribbean ports. There were both push and pull factors clustering rather than fragmenting transshipped Africans. As these voyages arrived in the Caribbean from Africa, choice among Africans from various coasts was made at the transshipment point. Africans arriving on ships coming from preferred coasts were chosen and Africans coming from forbidden coasts were rejected. For example, a document dating from 1765 indicates that the Bight of Biafra was a forbidden coast for maritime slave traders bringing new Africans from Caribbean Islands to Louisiana. xxx

This document explains
why Peter Hill, Captain of the sloop Little David which left New York for Barbados failed to carry out instructions to purchase between 80 and 100 newly arrived enslaved Africans to bring to the Iberville coast on the west bank of the Mississippi River opposite Baton Rouge. Capt. Hill explained:

On my arrival at Barbados after doing everything in my power to fulfill the directions given me . . . and finding no probability of succeeding . . . I proceeded (in accordance with previous instructions) for the Island of Jamaica .

. . . But after waiting there till the 16th of August and to that day there having but three ships arrived from Africa, two of which were of the countries excepted against and the other cargo in so bad condition that I could not Pick out the number wanted in Tolerable Order . . .
Captain Hill could not fulfill the contract under litigation. His failure was very costly to the sponsors of this voyage, demonstrating a very high markup price on slaves transshipped from the Caribbean. Evidence from trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages arriving in Jamaica during this time period indicate that the two ships bringing in Africans from “the countries excepted against” came from Bonny, Coast of Calabar. During this time period, these “cargoes” were probably mainly Igbos. Enslaved Africans from the Calabar Coast/Bight of Biafra were under represented in Louisiana although a high proportion of voyages from the Bight of Biafra arrived in both Jamaica and Cuba (ADD check for Martinique and St. Domingue too): both major Caribbean transshipment points for Africans brought to colonial Louisiana. One slave sale document explained that the seller did not know the nation of this newly arrived African, but he guaranteed that he was not an Igbo.
Going beyond this one very informative, but still anecdotal document, there is significant information in the *Louisiana Slave Database* about slaves arriving on transshipment voyages. 2,920 records describe individual slaves who arrived on ships from the Caribbean during the Spanish period (1770-1803). The origins of 967 of them were identified. Among them, 941 (97.3%) were Africans. Among these Africans, 913 (97%) were listed as *brut* or *bozal*, meaning new arrivals from Africa. 796 (87.2%) had no other information about their origins. More specific origin information was given for 136 of them: 115 specific African ethnicities and 21 whose coastal origins only were given. Evidence at the point of sale of these new Africans arriving on transshipment voyages from the Caribbean indicates clustering rather than fragmenting or randomizing of Africans of the same ethnicity. For example, among the slaves transshipped to Louisiana from the Caribbean, there were Africans identified as Mandingo, Congo, and Makua. They were brought over in groups on the same transshipment voyage. Many of these slaves of the same ethnicity were sold to the same buyer in Louisiana. Only one of these buyers Hilario Boutte, can be identified as a jobber or reseller. In 1785, 13 Mandingo arrived from Jamaica on the *Cathalina*. They were sold to four different buyers in lots of 6, 5, 1 and 1. In 1787, 10 Mandingo brought in from Martinique on the ship *Nueva Orleans*. They were all sold to the same buyer. Nine Congo slaves brought in from St. Domingue in 1786 on the *Rosaria* were all sold to the same buyer. Ten Congo slaves who arrived from Martinique on the *Nueva Orleans* in 1787 were sold to the same buyer as well.
The 39 Congo slaves arriving on the *Abentura* from Havana in 1796 were sold to various buyers in lots ranging between 1 and 8. The 17 Makua arriving from St. Domingue on the Maria Magdalena in 1785 were sold as follows: 3 lots of 4; one lot of 3, and 2 lots of 1.
Information about transshipment voyages also comes from those listed in Spanish customs documents, but they are very far from complete. By 1782, slaves entered Louisiana duty-free and therefore the Spanish authorities were not motivated to keep track of them. Except for the year 1786, information in Spanish Customs documents about slaves imported into Louisiana is very sparse. The information for 1786, however, claimed to be complete, but it was not. Some voyages arriving from the Caribbean in 1786 sold slaves in Louisiana but were not listed in this document. Nevertheless, it is quite revealing about patterns of the transshipment slave trade to Louisiana from the Caribbean and has implications for other places in the Americas as well. It reveals a whole world of voyages, some of them bringing in substantial numbers of new Africans as they arrived in the Caribbean on trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages. These transshipment voyages were not part of a large, reasonably well-documented, international network of slave trade voyages. Nor were they small, insignificant voyages either in number of voyages or numbers of slaves brought in by each shipment. For each voyage, the document includes the number of slaves landed, the name of the ship, its captain and/or owner, the island of embarkation and the date of arrival in Louisiana. It reveals that these voyages were initiated and carried out entirely by Louisiana merchants, ship captains, and slave masters, usually overlapping categories, to fulfill their own need for slaves rather than to sell them to others in Louisiana. The captain was overwhelmingly the owner of the ship and the sponsor of the voyage. These
numerous voyages, and no doubt similar ones initiated in other colonies, fall under the radar screen of historians studying large, centralized, mainly European archives containing commercial voyages. A significant number of such voyages no doubt went directly to Africa, cutting out the very expensive Caribbean middlemen and going to preferred coasts, especially to Greater Senegambia where the voyages were shorter and the slave trade often firmly in the hands of Afro-Europeans. Most of these voyages were probably never documented at all. More studies of private papers and maritime documents housed in ports throughout the Americas might find traces of them.
### Spanish Custom House List of Slaves Arriving in Louisiana from Caribbean Islands

During 1786

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin Of Voyage</th>
<th>Slaves Landed</th>
<th>Captain Was Owner</th>
<th>Total From Each Island</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guadeloupe</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinique</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>481 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Domingue</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>162 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>274 (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain/Owner</td>
<td>Yes 765 (80%)</td>
<td>No 192 (20%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relacion que manifiestan el numero de Negros llegados a esta Ciudad que con expresion de nombres de capitanes, consignatarios, Buques Puentes de su Salida, y dias de su llegada, Estados mensuales de derechos de entrada y salida, Correspondencia de la Intendencia con la Aduana, 1786-87, Legajo 575, folio 89, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Archivo de Indias, Seville, Spain.
Records in the Louisiana Slave Database contain 248 slaves transshipped from the Caribbean in 1786 and sold in Louisiana: 26% of the slaves listed in the customs house document for the same year. Although some sale documents might be missing, these figures still support the conclusion that most of these slave owners/ship owners kept the vast majority of the slaves they bought abroad for themselves. During the entire Spanish period we have records for 1,125 individual slaves shipped to Louisiana from the Caribbean. (ADD: Check these numbers). These figures cannot be extrapolated over time. The trans-Atlantic slave trade as well as the transshipment trade in slaves waxed and waned with prosperity, conditions in Africa, warfare among the European powers, levels of privateering and piracy, and with considerations of social control, especially after the Haitian Revolution began in 1791. Importation of slaves to Louisiana was restricted or outlawed throughout much of the 1790s. Nevertheless, much smuggling no doubt took place. ADD ref LaChance article.
Thus, there was another world of slave trade voyages organized by slave owners who sent their own ships to the Caribbean or to Africa to collect slaves for their own use. These newly arrived Africans do not normally appear in sales documents in the Americas. If the captain was not the ship-owner, he was given a few slaves from the “cargo” to sell as partial compensation for his services. Nevertheless, we find significant traces of them in Spanish documents in Louisiana after Spain required that sellers of slaves indicate how they acquired any slave they sold under penalty of confiscation. The master often explained that he had brought the slave he was selling over in his own ship usually giving its name. They had often been purchased in a Caribbean port. But sometimes, these documents indicate an African port: eg., Guinea La Cayana, a location which remains unidentified. We have seen from Table ADD that 80% of these enslaved Africans arrived on voyages in which the owner and the captain was the same person. Sales documents indicate that they were rarely sold when they arrived in Louisiana.
The main Caribbean transshipment points for Spanish Louisiana were Jamaica, St. Dominigue, Martinique and, after 1790 Cuba. Africans in Louisiana documents do not at all reflect the African coastal regions of trans-Atlantic slave trade voyages arriving in these islands during the relevant time period. Clustering of African ethnicities during the transshipment trade from the Caribbean is evident from the heavy concentration of Africans from the Bight of Benin in Spanish Louisiana (1770-1803), especially along the Mississippi upriver from New Orleans. The last documented trans-Atlantic slave trade voyage from the Bight of Benin arrived in Louisiana in 1728. During the Spanish period in Louisiana (1770-1803) the trans-Atlantic slave trade to Martinique had evidently greatly diminished. There were only 23 Atlantic slave trade voyages recorded in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database before 1795, the year the slave trade to Louisiana was outlawed. Only three of these voyages (11.5%) arrived in Martinique from the Bight of Benin, only one during the 1780s when the transshipment trade from the Caribbean to Louisiana was most active. St. Domingue/Haiti was still importing Africans from the Bight of Benin, but the African coast of origin had shifted heavily to West Central Africa. Jamaican imports were heavily Gold Coast, and Gold Coast slaves were extremely rare in Louisiana. The Bight of Biafra was important in the Atlantic slave trade to Cuba as well as to Jamaica during the 1780s and 1790s and much less important in Louisiana. Linking the dates of arrival of Atlantic slave trade voyages in these islands with transshipment
voyages to Louisiana reveals that the Bight of Benin did not figure at all prominently as the major buying region during these years.\textsuperscript{xxxviii} We can only account for the clustering of Africans from the Bight of Benin in Louisiana through vigorous choice during the course of the transshipment trade from the Caribbean. They were selected from among the voluminous voyages arriving in St. Domingue and Jamaica during the 1780s when the transshipment trade to Louisiana escalated or from voyages arriving in Cuba after 1790 as the transshipment trade shifted towards that island. Africans from the Bight of Benin were heavily clustered in parishes upriver from New Orleans: a region where they were present since the earliest years of colonization.
After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Congo of West Central Africa became heavily clustered in Orleans and in St. Charles Parishes where sugar production was rapidly growing. The two documented Atlantic slave trade voyages arriving in Louisiana after the Louisiana Purchase were British ships bringing Congo from West Central Africa. ADD check port of origin.

During the early American period (1804-1820), slaves transshipped to and sold in Louisiana arrived mainly on maritime voyages from East Coast United States ports: Baltimore, Charleston and Norfolk. They were overwhelmingly newly-arrived Africans. In 1808, 30 Congo arrived on the transshipment voyage of the ship *Ana*. Between 1804 and 1809, 72.0% (n=172) of slaves arriving by sea and sold in Louisiana with recorded birthplaces were new Africans listed as *brut*. A surprisingly small number of slaves sold from ships arriving from East Coast ports were born or socialized in the United States. In sales documents dating between 1810 and 1820, very few birthplaces of slaves arriving by sea were recorded. (ADD #s)
BIRTHPLACE OF SLAVES ARRIVING IN LOUISIANA BY SHIP FROM EAST COAST UNITED STATES PORTS, 1804-1809

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carolinas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manding</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolof</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mina</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brut</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>81.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ADD RECALCULATE GIVING REAL %, ADD 1810-1820)
Many American-born slaves no doubt accompanied their masters by land, downriver, or by sea and were therefore not sold in Louisiana. Some documents record slaves who were probably sold down the Mississippi River by slave traders from Kentucky and Tennessee. ADD note re Berlin’s new book about transshipment trade from the East Coast to the Deep South. We know where these slave traders lived, but not where the slaves they sold came from. ADD calculate their birthplace information.

There was substantial smuggling of new Africans into Louisiana after the Louisiana Territory was acquired by the United States in 1803. The documentation for illegal voyages is, of course, thin. ADD reference to Hugh Thomas chapter. But young Africans of various ethnicities who were listed in Louisiana documents between 1804 and 1820 throw considerable light on the African ethnicities of smuggled slaves. ADD AGE BY ETHNICITY OVER TIME TABLE. ADD Eltis and Hugo’s recent articles.
A comparison of the mean age of various African ethnicities recorded in Louisiana documents between 1800 and 1820 makes it abundantly clear that massive smuggling of new Africans was taking place. Very few ethnicities reflected a significant rise in mean age which would indicate that these Africans were aging survivors of the legal slave trade. The African slave population was being renewed by young Africans. The table below, calculated from the *Louisiana Slave Database*, is a selection of Africans of the most numerous ethnicities:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1800-1809</th>
<th>1810-1820</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mean Age</strong></td>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mean Age</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL AFRICANS</td>
<td>2,840</td>
<td>30.05</td>
<td>3,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAMBARA</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>38.68</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANINGA</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>33.12</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARD (MOOR)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39.89</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PULAR (FULBE)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36.07</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOLOF</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>29.14</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUINEA</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>35.91</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KISI</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43.14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANGA</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>30.67</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJA/FON/ARADA</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36.48</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINA (EWE?)</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>31.61</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAMBA</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>38.46</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAUSA</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34.55</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAGO/YORUBA</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>40.49</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGBO</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>31.69</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBIBIO/MOKO</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27.03</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALABAR</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>31.87</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONGO</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>26.53</td>
<td>1,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANDONGO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30.60</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKUA</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35.24</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>37.77</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIDENTIFIED</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34.12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRUT</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>18.66</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table reveals certain trends. The most significant is that there was massive smuggling of Africans into the Lower Mississippi Valley after the foreign slave trade was outlawed and these ethnicities were clustered. It shows which ethnicities were most heavily victimized by this illegal slave trade and which were not. Judging by the substantial rise in their mean age over time, the Pular (Fulbe) and the Nard (Moor) seemed to be the least affected. Those with dropping or nearly stable mean ages: Wolof, Kisi, Chamba/Konkomba, Nago, Hausa, Mondongo as well as those categorized simply as African or of unrecognized African nation were most likely to be the most victimized since they were evidently being rapidly renewed by younger people. The majority of the most numerous African ethnicities show a slight increase in mean age: about 2 years which would indicate that they, too, were being substantially renewed from Africa. The British outlawed the Atlantic slave trade in 1808 (ADD check) and set up active patrols to suppress it. But it remained legal below the equator until 1830, facilitating the continued, untrammeled import of enslaved West Central and Southeast Africans into the Americas. (ADD more about the illegal period from UNESCO Hist of Africa, new Eltis-Nwokoji articles. Seek chapter. Impact on clustering.)

This chapter has argued that, although at some times and places, newly arrived Africans were deliberately or randomly fragmented as they arrived at their final destinations, there were important countervailing patterns which tended to cluster new Africans from the same ethnicities and regions. The next chapter will
discuss the meanings and significance of African ethnic designations found in
documents throughout the Americas.

ENDNOTES

\(^1\) P.E. H. Hair, trans. and ed., Manuel Alvarez, Ethiopia Minor and a Geographical
Account of the Province of Sierra Leone (c. 1615), (Liverpool: Department of History,
University of Liverpool, 1990), cited in Brooks, Eurasians in Western Africa, 75.

\(^\text{ii}\) (CALCULATE), ADD to fn Elltis book, Robin Law’s Ports of the Atlantic Slave Trade
Refer to David Eltis’s new book.

\(^\text{iii}\) This was a basic mistake of the Mintz and Price study which concluded that ethnic
diversity among Africans arriving in Suriname was greater than it was, then extrapolated
this flawed finding to everywhere in the Americas, concluding that the impact of
particular African ethnicities on the formation of Afro-Creole cultures in the Americas
was insignificant.

\(^\text{iv}\) Da Costa y Silva, p. 318.

\(^\text{v}\) ADD cite Da Costa, 320-21 Brooks, p. 292.

\(^\text{vi}\) ADD refs from Brooks about synagogue, Jews, see his index.

\(^\text{vii}\) ADD ref to Berlin, put in note. For the best recent study of the lanzados see
Da Costa y Silva, 229-280.

\(^\text{viii}\) ADD cite daCosta. ADD gender preference from Ryder from BIB and notes.
Refer to chapter below, or Mina chapter. Get citations from Vogt. ADD see map on page ADD. Get citation from Mina chapter.

ADD Ref Ryder, Joe Miller’s chapter in Heywood book, p. 24.)

ADD number and percent from Via Vilar, Mwe.


ADD Senegambia from Boubacar Barry, Eltis re slave revolts aboard ships coming from Senegambia, Quilombos in West Central Africa from Mwe.) ADD resistance in Gabon.
ADD ref Brooks.

ADD Thornton on Stono.

ADD cite. ADD languages here. Perhaps long quote from Thornton.

ADD ref to Bantu chapter below.

Hugh Thomas, Slave Trade, 134-5.


The accuracy of these figures needs to be qualified. Voyages from Upper Guinea generally involved smaller ships bringing fewer Africans than voyages from other regions of Africa. But others were often transshipped from the Cape Verde Islands,
especially before 1650. Guinea or Guinea Coast were coded as of unknown origin in this
database and cannot be disaggregated from voyages with no information about their
African provenances. But Guinea often meant Upper Guinea, As we shall see, voyages
from Upper Guinea were undercounted for other reasons as well.

xxiv October 7, 1720, Document #1. This slave had arrived on the Duc de Noailles on
March 15, 1728. Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, Louisiana Historical
Center, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans.

this book was published 28 years after the author had left Louisiana.

xxvi Translated in Hall, Social Control, 20-21.

xxvii Daniel C. Littlefield, Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial
xxviii Colin Palmer, Human Cargoes: the British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700-
xxix See Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, “Myths About Creole Culture in Louisiana: Slaves,
Africans, Blacks, Mixed Bloods, and Caribbeans,” Cultural Vistas, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 78-
89, summer, 2001); Hall, Africans in Colonial Louisiana., 58, 179, 180, 284; Lorena S.
Walsh, “The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some

xxxi. May 6 and May 10, 1768. Contract between Evan Jones of Pensacola and Durand Brothers; declaration by Captain Peter Hill. 1768.05.10.02. Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans.


xxxvi. See page ADD below.

xxxvii. LaChance, Politics of Fear. Prohibition of the import of slaves to Louisiana was, indeed, enforced, as reflected in the growing mean ages and evening out gender balances among slaves in Louisiana during the 1790s.

xxxviii. Calculated from the Louisiana Slave Database and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.