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A NEWSLETTER FOR THE CAUX ROUND TABLE FOR MORAL CAPITALISM
NETWORK LOOKING AT BUSINESS ABOVE THE CLUTTER AND CONFETTI



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Introduction

To paraphrase the old Chinese double-edged proverb, “May you live in interesting times.” We are indeed.

The novel coronavirus pandemic has brought sickness and death to almost every corner in the world, with millions infected by this highly contagious zoonotic virus and rising rates of both death and suffering and the traumatic disruption of economic activity in many nations. In the U.S., unemployment rates have soared to heights not seen since the Great Depression. Meanwhile, thousands of retail businesses have been forced into bankruptcy because of the quarantine imposed in most states and countless other enterprises, both large small, struggle to survive. Most troubling of all, there is no definitive end in sight for this catastrophe, with labs around the world scrambling to create an effective vaccine. While this effort is sure to escalate, there is also no clear idea of when this pandemic will subside. It could surge again in the fall, perhaps winter or next spring. The sad fact is nobody knows for certain.

As if this disruption of day-to-day life were not sufficient, there was the killing, caught in all its horror on video, of a black individual, George Floyd. His life was literally snuffed out by a Minneapolis police officer, as onlookers vocally warned the cops that Floyd was dying, which he did after one officer knelt on Floyd’s neck for almost nine minutes, ignoring the crowd, as Floyd gasped that he could not breathe, moaned and called out to his late mother until he passed out and ultimately suffered cardiac arrest and died. Over the next weeks, demonstrations condemning Floyd’s killing took place not just in the U.S, but cities around the world. In America, some of those demonstrations erupted into violence, looting and arson. No doubt such events were likely to occur in any case, although it is even more likely that the tension and anxiety triggered by coronavirus added fuel to the fire.

This issue of Pegasus contains a very detailed and comprehensive study on the history of slavery and its continuing affects on contemporary political, social and economic structures, from its origins in the ancient world right up to today’s precarious state of affairs. Its author is our Global Executive Director, Stephen B. Young.

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Slavery: A Widespread Affliction from the Middle Ages to 19th Century Abolition

Stephen B. Young

**Global Executive Director
Caux Round Table for Moral Capitalism**

I write this commentary using the Caux Round Table for Moral Capitalism's (CRT) moral inquiry approach, but primarily as an American to consider for our international network in a more comprehensive historic context the current narrative recently generating here remarkable protest but, for some, also condoning violence.

That narrative purports to reveal why so many African Americans still do not enjoy parity with other Americans in: wealth, income, educational achievement, employment, health, rates of being victimized by crime (including murders and gun violence), rates of criminality (including murder) and incarceration.

The narrative offered to explain these disparate life experiences is one of pervasive and unyielding white racism thriving for 400 years at the core of American identity, culture, economy, society, politics and law enforcement. This narrative explains the current disparities as resulting from unremitting historic oppression of one race by another. At the center of the narrative is the historic reality of chattel slavery of Africans brought to America to toil in agriculture and on plantations in our southern states. But a more truthful telling of American history cannot justify using the morality of collective guilt for our current travails.

The CRT Principles for business, government, civil society organizations and ownership of wealth look to individual responsibility – to personal leadership in our various roles, positions, statuses – high or low – for just stewardship in all our relationships and responsible agency working in community. Organizations act through individuals; laws are made by individuals working in concert; markets pass on to society the consequences of decisions made by self-actualized buyers and sellers.

In the United States, chattel slavery was a fact and so was its abolition. After our Civil War, in which, as Lincoln said, each drop of blood drawn by the lash was repaid with one drawn by the sword, legal racial segregation in our southern states and private acts of similar discrimination in other states became a fact and so was abolition of such practices in the 1960s through the political victory of the Civil Rights Movement, in which I participated.

Wondering how best to respond to our current contested narratives and curious about what I did not know about the facts of slavery, both in the United States and globally, I

turned to Wikipedia for at least a superficial discussion of the topic. I was stunned by the amount of information to be found there – easily accessible in the public domain, though only partially filtered for reliability and depth by the Wikipedia editorial reviewers. I decided to pull relevant information from those articles and organize it here. I have left in numbered footnotes to mark where the Wikipedia contributors had used other published sources as grounds for their statements.

I have always believed that the core American identity, shaping the core of American culture, economy, society and politics was Calvinism, a school of Protestant belief took hold in Holland, England and Scotland. These Calvinist beliefs were held by the families from whom I descend, who came from England, some in the later 1600s and the rest in the 1700s, but all before the Revolution of 1776. I was raised primarily in a modern version of that tradition, New England Unitarianism.

This Protestant Ethic, as German sociologist Max Weber called it, gave rise to both capitalism and constitutional democracy. In those Calvinist societies and their colonies in North America – principally the colonies surrounding Boston, New Haven, New York and Philadelphia.

Capitalism began in these cultures in the late 1500s. Constitutional democracy with elected representatives serving in offices of public trust, checks and balances and the rule of law evolved in those cultures, formalized most expressly by the Puritans in the English Civil War of the 1640s and again in the settlement of 1688, making William of Orange, the Stadholder of Holland, King of England and Scotland by the assent of Parliament.

Calvinists from those European societies crossed the Atlantic to found new communities in what would become New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Most of the Puritan settlers came from counties to the north east of London around Cambridge. The Quakers who founded Philadelphia were a sect arising out of Calvinism, many of modest means living in the north of England.

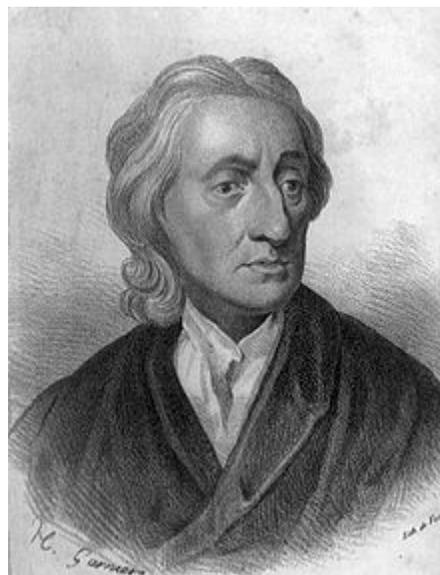
In a sermon of October 30, 1555, John Calvin himself affirmed: “There is no more servitude as existed back then amongst the Jews and all the Pagans: in some lands, such as the countries of the Orient, Greece and the Barbary Coast this type of servitude still exists: however, it is for the best that its usage be altogether abolished, as it has been amongst us; and this is most praiseworthy.” (Sermon XCV on Deuteronomy (15:11–15) preached on Wednesday 30th October 1555)



John Calvin

In another sermon, Calvin again insisted that it was unthinkable to return to a cruel system which had already fallen into disuse: “(...) but they were slaves, of the kind that are still used in some countries, in that after a man was bought the latter would spend his entire life in subjection, to the extent that he might be treated most roughly and harshly: something which cannot be done amidst the humanity which we keep amongst ourselves. Now it is true that we must praise God for having banished such a very cruel brand of servitude.” (Sermon XLVI on 1 Timothy 6:1–2, CO 53, 546)

John Locke had summarized the Calvinist practice of constitutional democracy and its ethical norms in his *Second Treatise on Civil Government* of 1689. In chapter 4 of that essay, Locke explicitly held slavery to be contrary to natural right. His proposal for just governance was adopted in 1776 as the justification for the American colonies rebelling against the monarchy of Great Britain and becoming an independent nation.



John Locke

The system of chattel slavery came to America not with the Calvinists, but rather as a contagion brought from different cultures - Catholic Portuguese trading in captured Africans. It did not take root in any Calvinist community.

But in 1641, Massachusetts became the first colony to authorize slavery through enacted law.^[20] Massachusetts passed the Body of Liberties, which prohibited slavery in many instances, but allowed people to be enslaved if they were captives of war, if they sold themselves into slavery or were purchased elsewhere or if they were sentenced to slavery as punishment by the governing authority.^[20] The Body of Liberties used the word “strangers” to refer to people bought and sold as slaves; they were generally not English subjects. Colonists came to equate this term with Native Americans and Africans.^[21]

In 1667, Virginia lawmakers provided that “Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom,” quoted in Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, Yale University Press, 1972, p. 191. Buswell, *op. cit.*, pp 30-35 discusses the dilemma felt by many slaveholders that if they evangelized their slaves, they would then be obliged to free them. Maryland, Virginia and New York passed laws similar to the Virginia statute in part so that their slaveholders would feel free to evangelize their slaves without fear of losing them to freedom.

Later, the descendants of Calvinists would be abolitionists demanding the end of slavery in southern states and Unionists determined to defeat the Confederacy in the Civil War. The Quakers were the first activists demanding an end to chattel slavery.

The Calvinists were not the only colonists coming to North America. Catholics from England settled Maryland. Royalist gentry families (“cavaliers”) from counties west of London, who opposed the Calvinists during the English Civil War and supported the Stuart monarchy, established their own colonies along the Atlantic coast south of the Calvinists – in the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia. The flat expanse of land found there was most suitable for agriculture growing cash crops for export – first tobacco and then cotton.



A Stuart Royalist Cavalier

The first Africans enslaved within the continental United States arrived via Santo Domingo in the San Miguel de Gualdape colony (most likely located in the Winyah Bay area of present-day South Carolina), founded by Spanish explorer Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón in 1526.^[8] The ill-fated colony was almost immediately disrupted by a fight over leadership, during which the enslaved people revolted and fled the colony to seek refuge among local Native Americans. De Ayllón and many of the colonists died shortly afterwards of an epidemic and the colony was abandoned. The settlers and the enslaved people who had not escaped returned to Santo Domingo.^[8]

On August 28, 1565, St. Augustine, Florida was founded by the Spanish conquistador Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles and he brought three enslaved Africans with him. During the 16th and 17th centuries, St. Augustine was the hub of the trade in enslaved people in Spanish colonial Florida and the first permanent settlement in what would become the continental United States to include enslaved Africans.^[9]

Over the course of the slave trade from Africa to the Americas from 1525 to 1866, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database estimates that of the 12.5 million Africans shipped to the New World, some 10.7 million survived to disembark in North America, the Caribbean and South America. Of those 10.7 million sent to slavery, only about 388,000 were shipped directly to North America.

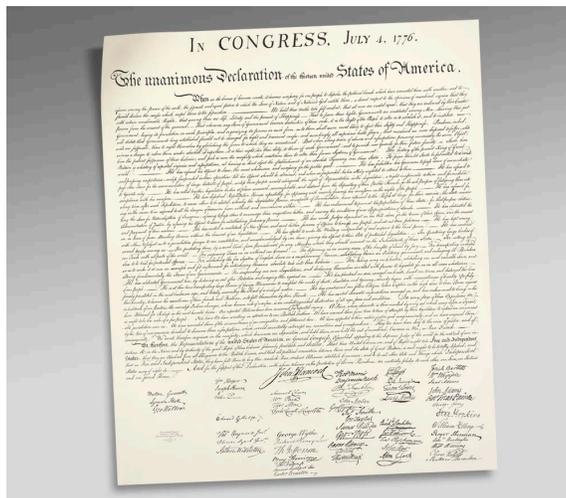
The first persons now considered to have been “slaves” in the English colonies came from Portuguese and Spanish systems of slavery and slave trading. On August 20, 1619, “20 and odd” Angolans arrived in Jamestown, the English settlement in what would become the state of Virginia. They had been captured by Portuguese soldiers, placed on the slave ship San Juan Bautista to be sent to Veracruz in New Spain, today’s Mexico, and then taken prisoner by privateers on the ship White Lion. The privateers turned the Angolans over as indentured servants in exchange for food. Some of the Angolans were later released from their servitude.

Slaves were usually baptized in Africa before embarking. As English custom then considered baptized Christians exempt from slavery, colonists treated these Africans as indentured servants and they joined about 1,000 English indentured servants already in the colony. The Africans were freed after a prescribed period and given the use of land and supplies by their former masters.

In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson included a denunciation of slavery:

“He [King George III] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain.

Determined to keep open a market where Men should be bought & sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the Liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.”



Jefferson later recorded that this passage was deleted due to objections from delegates from South Carolina and Georgia and from some northern states with strong merchant interest in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

During and immediately following the Revolutionary War, abolitionist laws were passed in most northern states and a movement developed to abolish slavery. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 adopted by the Continental Congress, affirmed by the Federal Congress in 1789, organized territory west of the original English colonies as part of the new United States. The Ordinance prohibited slavery in the territory in its article 6, which said: “There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: provided, always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.”^[16]

All northern states then abolished slavery in some way by 1805.

The Calvinist belief system worked as an immune system within the American body politic, providing antibodies to fight and ultimately reject the transplant of a foreign economic practice with its demeaning social appendages. There were two stages in the rejection process: the Civil War from 1861 to 1865 in which some 250,000 white men gave their lives and the Civil Rights Movement (in which I participated) from 1963

through 1965. There was a pause after the Civil War in which the northern states backed off from enforcing on the former slave states equal educational, political and economic opportunities for former slaves, their children and grandchildren. The southern states then implemented a legal system of Jim Crow or racial segregation, justified by a social Darwinist narrative about white supremacy. With impeccable rationality, the narrative went so far as to generate the so-called “one drop rule” that a person with even “one drop” of African American blood could not be accepted as a “white” person.

The Civil Rights Movement later arose to terminate once and for all Jim Crow segregation, which it did.

The Origins of Slavery in Europe, the Middle East and Africa The Roman *Servus*

We use the word “slave” in English to describe the subordinate status of some under Roman law, during the Republic and the Empire. The Latin word for one under the legal dominion of another was *servus*, related to our English word “servant.” But the circumstances of a *servus* under Roman law and practices was not as grievous as being a slave in a system of chattel slavery. (*Sohm’s Institutes on Roman Law* (Ledlie, trans.) 1892) It was a mixed status under the law where the *servus* shared the condition of a thing or a beast in living under the arbitrary power of another person, even to control of the body, but where the *servus* also had rights of natural personhood.

Under religious practices, a *servus* could bind himself or herself to a god and join religious associations. The grave of a *servus* was religious ground.

The *servus* could take actions valid under the law, having management of property allocated by the master (*patronus*), enter into contracts and being held personally responsible for wrongful actions. Thus, the *servus* had agency which could have legal effect. But in general, the will and the abilities of the *servus* were for the benefit of the master.

Under the empire, laws were adopted to protect male slaves from cruel treatment and female slaves from prostitution. The status of *servus* was imposed on those born to a mother who was a *servus*, captured in war or convicted of a crime. *Servus* status could be ended by a grant of release, a manumission. A person given manumission became a Roman citizen, but with voting rights limited to only some elections.

Early Rome also recognized the personal status of *clientes* – dependency on a master or patron. *Clientes* were bound to certain payments and services and to personal attendance in times of war. They were subject to the discipline and family power of the master (*patronus*), but the master’s will and actions were limited by fiduciary duties to the *clientes* under religious law.

The Rise of Slavery at the End of the Middle Ages

Our English word “slave” comes from Slav, referring to the Slavs captured and sold into

lifelong slavery in Muslim societies. This slavery arose in the middle ages, after the collapse of the Roman Empire.

Records of long-distance Jewish slave merchants date at least as far back as 492, when Pope Gelasius permitted Jews to import non-Christian slaves into Italy at the request of a Jewish friend from Telesina.^{[27][28][29]} By the turn of the 6th to the 7th century, Jews had become the chief slave traders in Italy and were active in Gallic territories. Pope Gregory the Great issued a ban on Jews possessing Christian slaves, lest the slaves convert to Judaism.^{[29][30]} By the 9th and 10th centuries, Jewish merchants, sometimes called Radhanites, were a major force in the slave trade continent-wide.^{[11][31][32]}

By the reign of Pope Zachary (741–752), Venice had established a thriving slave trade, buying in Italy, amongst other places, and selling to the Moors in Northern Africa (Zacharias himself reportedly forbade such traffic out of Rome).^{[19][20][21]} When the sale of Christians to Muslims was banned (*pactum Lotharii*^[15]), the Venetians began to sell Slavs and other Eastern European non-Christian slaves in greater numbers. Caravans of slaves traveled from Eastern Europe through Alpine passes in Austria to reach Venice. A record of tolls paid in Raffelstetten (903–906), near St. Florian on the Danube, describes such merchants. Some are Slavic themselves, from Bohemia and the Kievan Rus.’ They had come from Kiev through Przemyśl, Kraków, Prague and Bohemia. The same record values female slaves at a *tremissa* (about 1.5 grams of gold or roughly ⅓ of a dinar) and male slaves who were more numerous, at a *saiga* (which is much less).^[11] ^[22] Eunuchs were especially valuable and “castration houses” arose in Venice, as well as other prominent slave markets to meet this demand.^{[18][23]}

In the *pactum Lotharii* of 840 between Venice and the Carolingian Empire, Venice promised not to buy Christian slaves in the Empire and not to sell Christian slaves to Muslims.^{[11][15][16]} The church prohibited the export of Christian slaves to non-Christian lands, for example in the Council of Koblenz in 922, the Council of London in 1102 and the Council of Armagh in 1171.^[17]

During the Viking age (793 – approximately 1100), the Norse raiders often captured and enslaved militarily weaker peoples they encountered. The Nordic countries called their slaves *thralls* (Old Norse: *Þræll*).^[43] The thralls were mostly from Western Europe, among them many Franks, Anglo-Saxons and Celts. Many Irish slaves travelled in expeditions for the colonization of Iceland.^[44] Raids on monasteries provided a source of young, educated slaves who could be sold in Venice or Byzantium for high prices. Scandinavian trade centers stretched eastwards from Hedeby in Denmark and Birka in Sweden to Staraya Ladoga in northern Russia before the end of the 8th century.^[23]

This traffic continued into the 9th century, as Scandinavians founded more trade centers at Kaupang in southwestern Norway and Novgorod, farther south than Staraya Ladoga and Kiev, farther south still and closer to Byzantium. Dublin and other northwestern European Viking settlements were established as gateways through which captives were traded northwards. In the Laxdæla saga, for example, a Rus merchant attends a fair in the Brenn Isles in Sweden selling female slaves from northwestern Europe.^[23]

In Iberia, from the 5th to the early 8th century, large portions of the peninsula were ruled by Christian Visigothic kingdoms, whose rulers worked to codify human bondage. In the 7th century, King Chindasuinth issued the Visigothic Code (*Liber Iudiciorum*) to which subsequent Visigothic kings added new legislation. Although the Visigothic Kingdom collapsed in the early 8th century, portions of the Visigothic Code were still observed in parts of Spain in the following centuries. The Code, with its pronounced and frequent attention to the legal status of slaves, reveals the continuation of slavery as an institution in post-Roman Spain.

The Code regulated the social conditions, behavior and punishments of slaves in early medieval Spain. The marriage of slaves and free or freed people was prohibited. Book III, title II, iii (“Where a Freeborn Woman Marries the Slave of Another or a Freeborn Man the Female Slave of Another”) stipulates that if a free woman marries another person’s slave, the couple is to be separated and given 100 lashes. Furthermore, if the woman refuses to leave the slave, then she becomes the property of the slave’s master. Likewise, any children born to the couple would follow the father’s condition and be slaves.^[77]

Unlike Roman law in which only slaves were liable to corporal punishment,^[78] under Visigothic law, people of any social status were subject to corporal punishment. However, the physical punishment, typically beatings, administered to slaves was consistently harsher than that administered to freed or free people. Slaves could also be compelled to give testimony under torture. For example, slaves could be tortured to reveal the adultery of their masters and it was illegal to free a slave for fear of what he or she might reveal under torture.^[79] Slaves’ greater liability to physical punishment and judicial torture suggests their inferior social status in the eyes of Visigothic lawmakers.

Slavery remained persistent in Christian Iberia after the Muslim Umayyad invasions in the 8th century and the Visigothic law codes continued to control slave ownership.

As European peoples Christianized, the church worked more actively to reduce the practice of holding coreligionists in bondage. St. Patrick, who himself was captured and enslaved at one time, protested an attack that enslaved newly baptized Christians in his letter to the soldiers of Coroticus. The restoration of order and the growing power of the church slowly transmuted the late Roman slave system of Diocletian into serfdom. Another major factor was the rise of Bathilde, queen of the Franks, who had been enslaved before marrying Clovis II. When she became regent, her government outlawed slave-trading of Christians throughout the Merovingian empire.^[8]

From the 11th century, in Europe, semi-feudal relations largely replaced slavery, seen as “an evil contrary to nature, created by man’s selfishness,” although slavery was permitted by the law.^[3] In feudal Europe, the dependent class consisted of persons with the status of serf. The word serf evolved from the proto-Indo-European stem word *serw” with the meaning of protect, guard, conserve, preserve, reserve, a reservoir.

About 10% of England’s population entered in the Domesday Book (1086) were slaves,^[9] despite the chattel slavery of English Christians being nominally discontinued after the 1066 conquest. William the Conqueror banned the exporting of slaves from England, limiting the nation’s participation in the slave trade.^[56]

Demand from the Islamic world dominated the slave trade in medieval Europe. Most Christian slave merchants focused on moving slaves from non-Christian areas to Muslim Spain, North Africa and the Middle East and most non-Christian merchants, although not bound by the church's rules, focused on Muslim markets, as well.^{[11][12][13]}
^[14] Arabic silver dirhams, presumably exchanged for slaves, are plentiful in eastern Europe and Southern Sweden, indicating trade routes from Slavic to Muslim territory.
^[18]

Sending slaves to Egypt, for example, was forbidden by the papacy in 1317, 1323, 1329, 1338 and, finally, 1425, as slaves sent to Egypt would often become soldiers and end up fighting their former Christian owners.

Slavery in Muslim Societies

Similarities existed between the practice of Islamic slavery in the early Middle Ages and the practices of early medieval Byzantines and western Europeans. The status of freed slaves under Islamic rule, who continued to owe services to their former masters, bears a strong similarity to ancient Roman and Greek institutions. However, the practice of slavery in the early medieval Near East also grew out of slavery practices in currency among pre-Islamic Arabs.^[111]

Like the Old and New Testaments and Greek and Roman law codes, the Quran takes the institution of slavery for granted, though it urges kindness toward slaves and eventual manumission, especially for slaves who convert to Islam.^[112] In the early Middle Ages, many slaves in Islamic society served as such for only a short period of time—perhaps an average of seven years.^[113] Like their European counterparts, early medieval Islamic slave traders preferred slaves who were not co-religionists and hence focused on “pagans” from inner Asia, Europe and especially from sub-Saharan Africa.^[114] The practice of manumission may have contributed to the integration of former slaves into the wider society. However, under Sharia law, conversion to Islam did not necessitate manumission.^[115]

Slaves were employed in heavy labor, as well as in domestic contexts. Because of Quranic sanction of concubinage,^[116] early Islamic traders, in contrast to Byzantine and early modern slave traders, imported large numbers of female slaves.^[117]

The very earliest Islamic states did not create corps of slave soldiers. Later, Islamic governments extensively relied upon professional slave soldiers and were known for having them compose the core of armies.^[125] Slave units were desired because of their unadulterated loyalty to the ruler, since they were imported and therefore could not threaten the throne with local loyalties or alliances.

Mamluk is a term most commonly referring either to non-Muslim slave soldiers, freed slaves, Muslim converts assigned to military and administrative duties and Muslim rulers of slave origin.



Mamluk

The most enduring Mamluk realm was the knightly military class in Egypt in the Middle Ages which developed from the ranks of slave soldiers. These were mostly enslaved Turkic peoples,^[1] Egyptian Copts,^[2] Circassians,^[3] Abkhazians^{[4][5]}^[6] and Georgians.^{[7][8][9]} Many Mamluks were also of Balkan origin (Albanians, Greeks, and South Slavs).^{[10][11]} The “Mamluk phenomenon,” as David Ayalon dubbed the creation of the specific warrior class,^[12] was of great political importance. For one thing, it endured for nearly 1,000 years, from the 9th to the 19th centuries.

Over time, Mamluks became a powerful military knightly class in various societies that were controlled by Muslim rulers. Particularly in Egypt, but also in the Levant, Mesopotamia and India, Mamluks held political and military power. In some cases, they attained the rank of sultan, while in others, they held regional power as emirs or beys. Most notably, Mamluk factions seized the sultanate centered on Egypt and Syria and controlled it as the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517). The Mamluk Sultanate famously defeated the Ilkhanate at the Battle of Ain Jalut. They had earlier fought the western European Christian Crusaders in 1154–1169 and 1213–1221, effectively driving them out of Egypt and the Levant. In 1302, the Mamluk Sultanate formally expelled the last Crusaders from the Levant, ending the era of the Crusades.^[13]

While Mamluks were purchased as property, their status was above ordinary slaves who were not allowed to carry weapons or perform certain tasks. In places such as Egypt, from the Ayyubid dynasty to the time of Muhammad Ali of Egypt, Mamluks were considered to be “true lords” and “true warriors,” with social status above the general population in Egypt and the Levant. In a sense, they were like enslaved mercenaries.^[2]
^[14]

By the 9th century, use of slaves in Islamic armies, particularly Turks in cavalry units and Africans in infantry units, was a relatively common practice.^{[119][120]}

In Egypt, Ahmad ibn Tulun imported thousands of black slaves to wrestle independence from the Abbasid Caliphate in Iraq in 868.^[121] The Ikhshidid dynasty used black slave units to liberate itself from Abbasid rule after the Abbasids destroyed ibn Tulun's autonomous empire in 935.^[122] Black professional soldiers were most associated with

the Fatimid dynasty, which incorporated more professional black soldiers than the previous two dynasties.^[122] It was the Fatimids who first incorporated black professional slave soldiers into the cavalry, despite massive opposition from Central Asian Turkish Mamluks who saw the African contingent as a threat to their role as the leading military unit in the Egyptian army.^[122]

In the latter half of the Middle Ages, the expansion of Islamic rule further into the Mediterranean, Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula established the Saharan-Indian Ocean slave trade.^[123] This network was a large market for African slaves, transporting approximately four million African slaves from its 7th century inception to its 20th century demise. ^[124] A rigid Islamic code, coupled with crystallizing frontiers, favored slave purchase and tribute over capture as lucrative slave avenues.^[125]

Patterns of preference for slaves in the Near East, as well as patterns of use, continued into the later Middle Ages with only slight changes. Slaves were employed in many activities, including agriculture, industry, the military and domestic labor. Women were prioritized over men and usually served in the domestic sphere as menials, concubines or wives.^[127] Domestic and commercial slaves were mostly better off than their agricultural counterparts, either becoming family members or business partners rather than condemned to a grueling life in a chain gang. There are references to gangs of slaves, mostly African, put to work in drainage projects in Iraq, salt and gold mines in the Sahara and sugar and cotton plantations in North Africa and Spain. References to this latter type of slavery are rare, however.^[127] Eunuchs were the most prized and sought-after type of slave.

The most fortunate slaves found employment in politics or the military. It is a bit of a misnomer to classify these men as “slaves” because in the Ottoman Empire, they were referred to as *kul* or slaves “of the Gate” or Sultanate.^[130] While not slaves per se under Islamic law, these *Devşirme* alumni remained under the Sultan’s discretion.

Slavery was an important part of Ottoman society. The Byzantine-Ottoman wars and the Ottoman wars in Europe brought large numbers of Christian slaves into the Ottoman Empire.^[132] In the middle of the 14th century, Murad I built his own personal slave army called the *Kapıkulu*. The new force was based on the sultan’s right to a fifth of the war booty, which he interpreted to include captives taken in battle. The captive slaves were converted to Islam and trained in the sultan’s personal service.^[133]

In the *devşirme* (translated “blood tax” or “child collection”), young Christian boys from Anatolia and the Balkans were taken away from their homes and families, converted to Islam and enlisted into special soldier classes of the Ottoman army. These soldier classes were named Janissaries, the most famous branch of the *Kapıkulu*. The Janissaries eventually became a decisive factor in the Ottoman military conquests in Europe.^[133]

Most of the military commanders of the Ottoman forces, imperial administrators and *de facto* rulers of the Ottoman Empire, such as Pargalı İbrahim Pasha and Sokollu Mehmet Paşa, were recruited in this way.^{[134][135]} By 1609, the Sultan's *Kapıkulu* forces increased to about 100,000.^[136]

The concubines of the Ottoman Sultan consisted chiefly of purchased slaves. Because Islamic law forbade Muslims to enslave fellow Muslims, the Sultan's concubines were generally of Christian origin. The mother of a Sultan, though technically a slave, received the extremely powerful title of *Valide Sultan* and at times, became effective ruler of the Empire (see Sultanate of women). One notable example was Kösem Sultan, daughter of a Greek Christian priest who dominated the Ottoman Empire during the early decades of the 17th century.^[137] Another notable example was Roxelana, the favorite wife of Suleiman the Magnificent.

The Slave Trade

The Norse also took German, Baltic, Slavic and Latin slaves. The 10th century Persian traveller Ibn Rustah described how Swedish Vikings, the Varangians or Rus terrorized and enslaved the Slavs taken in their raids along the Volga River.^[45] Slaves were often sold south to Byzantine or Muslim buyers via paths such as the Volga trade route. Ahmad ibn Fadlan of Baghdad provides an account of the other end of this trade route, namely of Volga Vikings selling Slavic Slaves to Middle Eastern merchants.^[46] Finland proved another source for Viking slave raids.^[47] Slaves from Finland or Baltic states were traded as far as central Asia.^{[48][49]}

Jews were one of the few groups who could move and trade between the Christian and Islamic worlds.^[32] Ibn Khordadbeh observed and recorded routes of Jewish merchants in his *Book of Roads and Kingdoms* from the South of France to Spain, carrying (amongst other things) female slaves, eunuch slaves and young slave boys. He also notes Jews purchasing Slavic slaves in Prague.^{[11][29][33]} Letters of Agobard, archbishop of Lyons (816–840),^{[34][35][36][37]} acts of the emperor Louis the Pious^{[38][39]} and the seventy-fifth canon of the Council of Meaux of 845 confirms the existence of a route used by Jewish traders with Slavic slaves through the Alps to Lyon, Southern France and Spain.^[11] Toll records from Walenstadt in 842–843 indicate another trade route through Switzerland, the Septimer and Splügen passes to Venice and from there to North Africa.^[11]

Venice was far from the only slave trading hub in Italy. Southern Italy boasted slaves from distant regions, including Greece, Bulgaria, Armenia and Slavic regions. During the 9th and 10th centuries, Amalfi was a major exporter of slaves to North Africa.^[11] Genoa, along with Venice, dominated the trade in the Eastern Mediterranean beginning in the 12th century and in the Black Sea beginning in the 13th century.

They sold both Baltic and Slavic slaves, as well as Armenians, Circassians, Georgians, Turks and other ethnic groups of the Black Sea and Caucasus to the Muslim nations of the Middle East.^[24] Genoa primarily managed the slave trade from Crimea to Mamluk Egypt until the 13th century when increasing Venetian control over the Eastern Mediterranean allowed Venice to dominate that market.^[25] Between 1414 and 1423, at least 10,000 slaves were sold in Venice.^[26]

As German rulers of Saxon dynasties took over the enslavement (and slave trade) of Slavs in the 10th century, Jewish merchants bought slaves at the Elbe, sending caravans

into the valley of the Rhine. Many of these slaves were taken to Verdun, which had close trade relations with Spain. Many would be castrated and sold as eunuchs, as well.^{[11][23]}

The Jewish population of Crimea was a very important factor in the trade in slaves and captives of the Crimean Khanate (Tatars) in the 16th to 18th centuries.^[40]

From the 7th century until around the 1960s, the Arab slave trade continued in one form or another. Historical accounts and references to slave-owning nobility in Arabia, Yemen and elsewhere are frequent into the early 1920s.^[51]

The Arab slave trade across the Sahara desert and across the Indian Ocean began after Muslim Arab and Swahili traders won control of the Swahili Coast and sea routes during the 9th century (see Sultanate of Zanzibar). These traders captured Bantu peoples (Zanj) from the interior in present-day Kenya, Mozambique and Tanzania and brought them to the coast.^{[3][8]} There, the slaves gradually assimilated in the rural areas, particularly on the Unguja and Pemba islands.^[9]

In 641, during the Baqt in a treaty between the Nubian Christian state of Makuria and the new Muslim rulers of Egypt, the Nubians agreed to give Arab traders more privileges of trade, in addition to a share in their slave trading.^[52]

The Indian Ocean slave trade was multi-directional and changed over time. To meet the demand for menial labor, Bantu slaves bought by Arab slave traders from southeastern Africa were sold in cumulatively large numbers over the centuries to customers in Egypt, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, European colonies in the Far East, the Indian Ocean islands, Ethiopia and Somalia.^[1]

The Arab slave trade in the Indian Ocean, Red Sea and Mediterranean Sea long predated the arrival of any significant number of Europeans on the African continent south of the Sahara.^{[51][63]}

Slave labor in East Africa was drawn from the *Zanj*, Bantu peoples that lived along the East African coast.^{[8][16]} The Zanj were for centuries shipped as slaves by Arab traders to all the countries bordering the Indian Ocean. The Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs recruited many Zanj slaves as soldiers and as early as 696, there were revolts of Zanj slave soldiers in Iraq.^[17] A 7th century Chinese text mentions ambassadors from Java presenting the Chinese emperor with two *Seng Chi* (Zanj) slaves as gifts in 614 and 8th and 9th century chronicles mention Seng Chi slaves reaching China from the Hindu kingdom of Sri Vijaya in Java.^[17]

The Zanj were needed to take care of the Tigris-Euphrates delta, which had become abandoned marshland as a result of peasant migration and repeated flooding, which could be reclaimed through intensive labor. Wealthy proprietors “had received extensive grants of tidal land on the condition that they would make it arable.” Sugar cane was prominent among the products of their plantations, particularly in Khūzestān Province. Zanj also worked the salt mines of Mesopotamia, especially around Basra.^[22]

Their jobs were to clear away the nitrous topsoil that made the land arable. The working conditions were also considered to be extremely harsh and miserable. Many other people were imported into the region, besides Zanj.^[23]

In Somalia, the Bantu minorities are descended from Bantu groups that had settled in Southeast Africa after the initial expansion from Nigeria/Cameroon. To meet the demand for menial labor, Bantus from southeastern Africa captured by Somali slave traders were sold in cumulatively large numbers over the centuries to customers in Somalia and other areas in Northeast Africa and Asia.^[1] People captured locally during wars and raids were also sometimes enslaved by Somalis, mostly of Oromo and Nilotic origin.^{[53] [54][55]}

Ibn Battuta, who visited the ancient African kingdom of Mali in the mid-14th century, recounts that the local inhabitants vie with each other in the number of slaves and servants they have and was himself given a slave boy as a “hospitality gift.”^[25]

In the Central African Republic during the 16th and 17th centuries, Muslim slave traders began to raid the region as part of the expansion of the Saharan and Nile River slave routes. Their captives were enslaved and shipped to the Mediterranean coast, Europe, Arabia, the Western Hemisphere or to the slave ports and factories along the West and North African coasts or south along the Ubanqui and Congo rivers.^{[61][62]}

While in Wadi Safra during WWI, T.E. Lawrence wrote, “...these blacks were originally from Africa, brought over as children by their nominal Takruri fathers and sold during the pilgrimage, in Mecca. Some became house or body servants with their masters, but the majority were sent out to the palm villages...and did all the manual work of the holding.”^[64]

An early economic pillar of the Islamic empire in Iberia (Al-Andalus) during the 8th century was the slave trade. Forming relations between the Umayyads, Khārijites and ‘Abbāsids, the flow of trafficked people from the main routes of the Sahara towards Al-Andalus^[72] served as a highly lucrative trade configuration.

Muslim Spain imported an enormous number of slaves, as well as serving as a staging point for Muslim and Jewish merchants to market slaves to the rest of the Islamic world.^[32] During the reign of Abd-ar-Rahman III (912–961), there were at first 3,750, then 6,087 and finally 13,750 Saqaliba or Slavic slaves at Córdoba, capital of the Umayyad Caliphate. Ibn Hawqal, Ibrahim al-Qarawi and Bishop Liutprand of Cremona note that the Jewish merchants of Verdun specialized in castrating slaves, to be sold as eunuch saqaliba, which were enormously popular^[clarification needed] in Muslim Spain.^{[11] [23] [42]}

A ready market, especially for men of fighting age, could be found in Umayyad Spain, with its need for supplies of new mamelukes.

Although the primary flow of slaves was toward Muslim countries, Christians did acquire Muslim slaves; in Southern France in the 13th century, “the enslavement of Muslim captives was still fairly common.”^[57] There are records, for example, of Saracen slave girls sold in Marseilles in 1248,^[58] a date which coincided with the fall of Seville and its surrounding area, to raiding Christian crusaders, an event during which a large number of Muslim women from this area were enslaved as war booty, as it has been recorded in some Arabic poetry, notably by the poet al-Rundi, who was contemporary to the events.

Christians also sold Muslim slaves captured in war. The Order of the Knights of Malta attacked pirates and Muslim shipping and their base became a center for slave trading, selling captured North Africans and Turks. Malta remained a slave market until well into the late 18th century. One thousand slaves were required to man the galleys (ships) of the Order.^{[59][60]}

Although the repeated bans indicate that such trade still occurred, they also indicate that it became less desirable.^[11] In the 16th century, African slaves replaced almost all other ethnicities and religious enslaved groups in Europe.^[61]

In the early period after the fall of the Visigothic kingdom in the 8th century, slaves primarily came into Christian Iberia through trade with the Muslim kingdoms of the south.^[94] Most were Eastern European, captured in battles and raids, with the heavy majority being Slavs.^[95] However, the ethnic composition of slaves in Christian Iberia shifted over the course of the Middle Ages. Slaveholders in the Christian kingdoms gradually moved away from owning Christians in accordance with church proscriptions. In the middle of the medieval period, most slaves in Christian Iberia were Muslim, either captured in battle with the Islamic states from the southern part of the peninsula or taken from the eastern Mediterranean and imported into Iberia by merchants from cities such as Genoa.^[96]

After the Muslim invasions, slave owners (especially in the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia) moved away from using slaves as field laborers or in work gangs and did not press slaves into military service.^[82] Slaves tended to be owned singly, rather than in large groups. There appear to have been many more female than male slaves and they were most often used as domestic servants or to supplement free labor.^{[83][82]} In this respect, slave institutions in Aragon, especially, closely resembled those of other Mediterranean Christian kingdoms in France and Italy.^{[84][85]}

In the kingdoms of León and Castile, slavery followed the Visigothic model more closely than in the littoral kingdoms. Slaves in León and Castile were more likely to be employed as field laborers, supplanting free labor to support an aristocratic estate society.^[86] These trends in slave populations and use changed in the wake of the Black Death in 1348, which significantly increased the demand for slaves across the whole of the peninsula.^[87]

Christians were not the only slaveholders in Christian Iberia. Both Jews and Muslims living under Christian rule owned slaves, though more commonly in Aragon and Valencia than in Castile.^{[88][89]} After the conquest of Valencia in 1245, the Kingdom of Aragon prohibited the possession of Christian slaves by Jews, though they were still permitted to hold Muslim or pagan slaves.^[90] The main role of Iberian Jews in the slave trade came as facilitators: Jews acted as slave brokers and agents of transfer between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms.^[91]

This role caused some degree of fear among Christian populations. A letter from Pope Gregory XI to the Bishop of Cordoba in 1239 addressed rumors that the Jews were involved in kidnapping and selling Christian women and children into slavery while their husbands were away fighting the Muslims.^[91] Despite these worries, the primary role of Jewish slave traders lay in facilitating the exchange of captives between Muslim

and Christian rulers, one of the primary threads of economic and political connectivity between Christian and Muslim Iberia.^{[92][91][93]}

Towards the end of the Reconquista, however, this source of slaves became increasingly exhausted. Muslim rulers were increasingly unable to pay ransoms and the Christian capture of large centers of the population in the south made wholesale enslavement of Muslim populations impractical.^[100] The loss of an Iberian Muslim source of slaves further encouraged Christians to look to other sources of manpower.

The Atlantic slave trade or transatlantic slave trade took place across the Atlantic Ocean from the 15th through to the 19th centuries. According to Patrick Manning, the Atlantic slave trade was significant in transforming Africans from a minority of the global population of slaves in 1600 into the overwhelming majority by 1800 and by 1850, the number of African slaves within Africa exceeded those in the Americas.^[81]

The modern European slave trade in Africa began in 1441 when 12 men from Cabo Branco in northern Mauritania^[108] were captured and taken to Portugal. The maritime town of Lagos was the first slave market created in Portugal. The sale of imported African slaves, the *Mercado de Escravos*, opened in 1444.^{[107][108]}

With the development of the trans-Saharan slave trade and the economies of gold in the western Sahel, a number of the major states became organized around the slave trade, including the Ghana Empire, Mali Empire and Songhai Empire.^[58] However, other communities in West Africa largely resisted the slave trade. The Jola refused to participate in the slave trade up into the end of the 17th century and didn't use slave labor within their own communities until the 19th century. The Kru and Baga also fought against the slave trade.^[59] The Mossi Kingdoms tried to take over key sites in the trans-Saharan trade and when these efforts failed, the Mossi became defenders against slave raiding by the powerful states of the western Sahel. The Mossi would eventually enter the slave trade in the 1800s with the Atlantic slave trade being the main market.^[58]

In early Islamic states of the western Sahel, including Ghana (750–1076), Mali (1235–1645), Segou (1712–1861) and Songhai (1275–1591), about a third of the population were enslaved. In Sierra Leone in the 19th century, about half of the population consisted of enslaved people. Among the Vai people, during the 19th century, three quarters of people were slaves. In the 19th century, at least half the population was enslaved among the Duala of the Cameroon and other peoples of the lower Niger, the Kongo and the Kasanje kingdom and Chokwe of Angola. Among the Ashanti and Yoruba, a third of the population consisted of enslaved people. The population of the Kanem (1600–1800) was about one-third enslaved. It was perhaps 40% in Bornu (1580–1890). Between 1750 and 1900, from one to two-thirds of the entire population of the Fulani jihad states consisted of enslaved people. The population of the Sokoto caliphate formed by Hausas in the northern Nigeria and Cameroon was half-enslaved in the 19th century. Slavery was widespread among Taureg peoples and lasted until at least 1975. Among the Adrar, 15 percent of people were enslaved and 75 percent of the Gurma were enslaved.^[64]

When British rule was first imposed on the Sokoto Caliphate and the surrounding areas in northern Nigeria at the turn of the 20th century, approximately 2 to 2.5 million people there were enslaved.^[65] Slavery in northern Nigeria was finally outlawed in 1936.^[66]

Slaves were an expensive commodity and traders received a great deal in exchange for each enslaved person. At the peak of the slave trade, hundreds of thousands of muskets, vast quantities of cloth, gunpowder and metals were being shipped to Guinea. Most of this money was spent on British-made firearms (of very poor quality) and industrial-grade alcohol. Trade with Europe at the peak of the slave trade—which also included significant exports of gold and ivory—was some 3.5 million pounds Sterling per year. By contrast, the trade of the United Kingdom, the economic superpower of the time, was about 14 million pounds per year over this same period of the late 18th century. As Patrick Manning has pointed out, the vast majority of items traded for slaves were common rather than luxury goods. Textiles, iron ore, currency and salt were some of the most important commodities imported as a result of the slave trade and these goods were spread within the entire society, raising the general standard of living.^[20]

The Atlantic Slave Trade

The Atlantic slave trade peaked in the late 18th century when the largest number of people were bought or captured from West Africa and taken to the Americas.^[89] The increase of demand for slaves due to the expansion of European colonial powers to the New World made the slave trade much more lucrative to the West African powers, leading to the establishment of a number of actual West African empires thriving on slave trade. These included the Oyo empire (Yoruba), Kong Empire, Imamate of Futa Jallon, Imamate of Futa Toro, Kingdom of Koya, Kingdom of Khasso, Kingdom of Kaabu, Fante Confederacy, Ashanti Confederacy and the Kingdom of Dahomey. These kingdoms relied on a militaristic culture of constant warfare to generate the great numbers of human captives required for trade with the Europeans.^[90] It is documented in the Slave Trade Debates of England in the early 19th century: “All the old writers concur in stating not only that wars are entered into for the sole purpose of making slaves, but that they are fomented by Europeans with a view to that object.”^[91]

Originally interested in trading mainly for gold and spices, the Portuguese set up colonies on the uninhabited islands of São Tomé. In the 16th century, the Portuguese settlers found that these volcanic islands were ideal for growing sugar. Sugar growing is a labor-intensive undertaking and Portuguese settlers were difficult to attract due to the heat, lack of infrastructure and hard life. To cultivate the sugar, the Portuguese turned to large numbers of enslaved Africans. Elmina Castle on the Gold Coast, originally built by African labor for the Portuguese in 1482 to control the gold trade, became an important depot for slaves that were to be transported to the New World.^[86]

Towards the middle of the 15th century, the Catholic Church, in particular the Papacy, took an active role in offering justifications for the enslavement of Saracens, pagans, infidels and “other enemies of Christ.” In 1452, a papal bull entitled *Dum Diversas* authorized King Afonso V of Portugal to enslave any “Saracens” or “pagans” he encountered. The Pope, Pope Nicholas V, recognized King Alfonso’s military action as

legitimate in the form of the papal bull and declared the “full and free power, through the Apostolic authority by this edict, to invade, conquer, fight and subjugate the Saracens and pagans and other infidels and other enemies of Christ and ... to reduce their persons into perpetual servitude” ...^{[173][174]}

In a follow-up bull released in 1455 and entitled *Romanus Pontifex*, Pope Nicholas V reiterated his support for the enslavement of infidels in the context of Portugal’s monopoly on North African trade routes.^[175]

Between 1489 and 1497, almost 2,100 black slaves were shipped from Portugal to Valencia.^{[103][104]} By the end of the 15th century, Spain held the largest population of black Africans in Europe, with a small, but growing community of black ex-slaves.^[105] In the mid-16th century, Spain imported up to 2,000 black African slaves annually through Portugal and by 1565, most of Seville’s 6,327 slaves (out of a total population of 85,538) were black Africans.^{[105][106]}

By 1552, black African slaves made up 10% of the population of Lisbon.^{[109][110]} In the second half of the 16th century, the Crown gave up the monopoly on slave trade and the focus of European trade in African slaves shifted from import to Europe to slave transports directly to tropical colonies in the Americas, especially Brazil.^[108] In the 15th century, one-third of the slaves were resold to the African market for gold.^[111]

In 1519, Hernán Cortés brought the first modern slave to Meso-America.^[193] In the mid-16th century, the second Viceroy to Mexico, Luis de Velasco, prohibited slavery of the Aztecs. A labor shortage resulted, as the Aztecs were either killed or died from disease. This led to the African slaves being imported, as they were not susceptible to smallpox. In exchange, many Africans were afforded the opportunity to buy their freedom, while eventually others were granted their freedom by their masters.^[193] Friar Bartolome de Las Casas suggested to the Spanish King a plan where the system of plantations worked by indigenous Americans – *encomienda* - would be abolished and Indians would be congregated into self-governing townships to become tribute-paying vassals of the King. He suggested that the loss of Indian labor for the colonists could be replaced by allowing importation of African slaves.



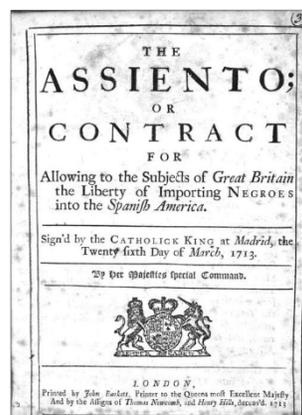
Bartolome de Las Casas

The *asiento* was a short-term loan or debt contract. In exchange for a set of scheduled payments, merchants and financiers were given the right to collect relevant taxes or oversee the trade in those commodities that fell under the monarch's prerogative and included after peace treaties were signed. In this way, a set of merchants received the monopoly on tobacco, salt, sugar and cacao on a trade route from the West Indies, accompanied by licenses to export silver from Spain to Northern Europe.^[4]

A specific example, the *Asiento de Negros*, was the right to import and sell a fixed number of enslaved Africans in the Spanish colonies. They were usually obtained by foreign merchant banks, in the beginning by Portuguese and Genovese and later by Dutch and English, who cooperated with local or foreign traders, who specialized in shipping. The *asiento* specified the places of importation and the points of delivery, as well as navigation routes.

The original impetus to import enslaved Africans was to relieve the indigenous inhabitants of the colonies from the labor demands of the Spanish colonists.^[6] Spain gave individual *asientos* to Portuguese merchants to bring slaves to South America. In 1575, the decree of bankruptcy ruined almost all the Spanish "asentistas." From 1577 until the bankruptcy of 1627, Genovese bankers played a major role in financing Spanish imperialism.^[7] The first major *asiento* involving Portuguese financiers was concluded in 1625 and before 1647, they provided roughly half of the *asientos* made in Spain for The Netherlands.^[9]

After the Treaty of Münster, Dutch merchants became involved in the *Asiento de Negros*. In 1713, the British were awarded the right to the *asiento* in the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession. The British government passed its rights to the South Sea Company.^[10] The British *asiento* ended with the 1750 Treaty of Madrid between Great Britain and Spain.



Admiral Sir John Hawkins of Plymouth, a notable Elizabethan seafarer, is widely acknowledged to be the "Pioneer of the English Slave Trade." In 1554–1555, Hawkins formed a slave trading syndicate of wealthy merchants. He sailed with three ships for the Caribbean via Sierra Leone, hijacked a Portuguese slave ship and sold the 300 slaves from it in Santo Domingo. During a second voyage in 1564, his crew captured 400 Africans and sold them at Rio de la Hacha in present-day Colombia, making a 60% profit for his financiers. A third voyage involved both buying slaves directly in Africa and

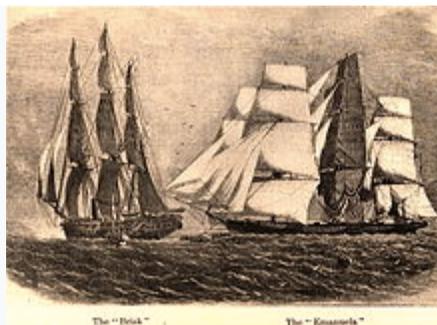
capturing a Portuguese ship with its cargo. Upon reaching the Caribbean, Hawkins sold all the slaves. On his return, he published a book entitled *An Alliance to Raid for Slaves*.^[29] It is estimated that Hawkins transported 1,500 enslaved Africans across the Atlantic during his four voyages of the 1560s, before stopping in 1568 after a battle with the Spanish in which he lost five of his seven ships. The English involvement in the Atlantic slave trade only resumed in the 1640s after the country acquired an American colony (Virginia).^[30]

British merchants were among the largest participants in the Atlantic slave trade and British owners living within the British isles, as well as within its colonies, owned African slaves. Ship owners transported enslaved West Africans, as well as British natives, to the New World to be sold into slave labor.

By the 18th century, the slave trade became a major economic mainstay for such cities as Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow, engaged in the so-called “Triangular Trade.” The ships set out from Britain, loaded with trade goods which were exchanged on the West African shores for slaves captured by local rulers from deeper inland. The slaves were transported through the infamous “Middle Passage” across the Atlantic and were sold at considerable profit for labor in plantations. The ships were loaded with export crops and commodities, the products of slave labor, such as sugar and rum and returned to Britain to sell the items.

In 1772, English judges in the *Somerset* case, endorsing the ancient disappearance of slavery from Christendom, ruled that any West Indian slave setting foot in England was automatically free because England, as a Christian country, was free soil. New World slavery was a bold innovation in Christendom.

After a long campaign for abolition led by an Evangelical Protestant, William Wilberforce, Parliament prohibited the practice by passing the Slave Trade Act of 1807 which was enforced by the Royal Navy’s West Africa Squadron. The West Africa Squadron was credited with capturing 1,600 slave ships between 1808 and 1860 and freeing 150,000 Africans who were aboard these ships.^[100]



Capture of slave ship *Emanuela* by HMS *Brisk*.

Efforts by Europeans against slavery and the slave trade began in the late 18th century and had a large impact on slavery in Africa. Portugal was the first country in the continent to abolish slavery in metropolitan Portugal and Portuguese India by a bill issued on February 12, 1761, but this did not affect their colonies of Brazil and

Portuguese Africa. France abolished slavery in 1794. However, slavery was again allowed by Napoleon in 1802 and not abolished for good until 1848. In 1803, Denmark-Norway became the first country from Europe to implement a ban on the slave trade. Slavery itself was not banned until 1848.^[96] Britain followed in 1807 with the passage of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act by Parliament. This law allowed stiff fines, increasing with the number of slaves transported, for captains of slave ships. Britain followed this with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 which freed all slaves in the British Empire. British pressure on other countries resulted in them agreeing to end the slave trade from Africa. For example, the 1820 U.S. Law on Slave Trade made slave trading piracy punishable by death.^[97] In addition, the Ottoman Empire abolished the slave trade from Africa in 1847 under British pressure.^[98] In 1850, the last major Atlantic slave trade participant, Brazil, outlawed slavery.

The British took an active approach to stopping the illegal Atlantic slave trade during this period. Action was also taken against African leaders who refused to agree to British treaties to outlaw the trade. Anti-slavery treaties were signed with over 50 African rulers.

According to Patrick Manning, internal slavery was most important to Africa in the second half of the 19th century, stating “If there is any time when one can speak of African societies being organized around a slave mode production, [1850–1900] was it.” The abolition of the Atlantic slave trade resulted in the economies of African states dependent on the trade being reorganized towards domestic plantation slavery and legitimate commerce worked by slave labor. Slavery before this period was generally domestic.^{[62][3]}

Who is to Blame?

The arson and lootings which broke out in 44 American cities after the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis brought to me similar incidents in Watts in 1965, Detroit in 1967 and Washington, D.C. after the murder of Martin Luther King in 1968.

The new round of destruction also brought back to mind H. Rap Brown who, back then, said: “Violence is as American as cherry pie” and that “If America don’t come around, we’re gonna burn it down.”

His justification for destruction was the morality of retaliation and retribution: a society infected to its core with white racism deserves to be assaulted until it “comes around.”

The slogan then was “Burn, baby, burn.”

That moral logic was renewed last month.

The “karma” associated with slavery in a country founded to secure the “lives, liberties and the pursuit of happiness” for all is a continuing, compelling force in our culture.

Last year, such moral logic was defended by the New York Times in its 1619 Project, purporting to show that America was really founded on slavery and white racism and has never cleansed either its soul or ended its repression of African Americans.

Believing that the 1619 Project just twists the truth, I took out my copy of John Locke's *Second Treatise on Civil Government*, the moral vision of human rights which was used to found this country in 1776.

There, Locke discussed slavery in chapter 4. He rejected it as immoral, saying "The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but to have only the law of nature for his rule."

Thus, according to Locke, each of us has "a liberty to follow my own will in all things, where [the law] prescribes not; and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of another man: as freedom of nature is to be under no other restraint but the law of nature."

So, for Locke, the death of George Floyd cannot be justified. It was not occasioned by nature. Nor was it sanctioned by public law. In his death, George Floyd was, in Locke's words, subject to the arbitrary will of another man.

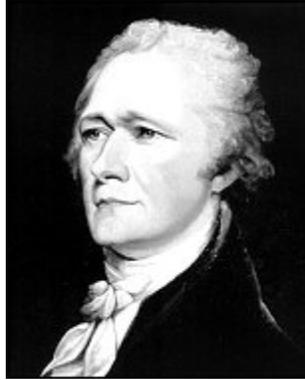
Locke, as one must, had to recognize that slavery was a reality in many cultures. Locke, therefore, considered slavery as a state of war between the master and the slave, a state of subjugation which the slave could fight to terminate at any time. In this, Locke was followed in 1758 by Emmerich de Vattel, author of the noted book on international law.

But Locke made a concession to the reality of slavery in the world around him, arguing that one could enter into a contract giving another a "limited" power of command over one's person. Under such mutual agreement, the state of war and slavery would end and an indentured servitude would begin.

But no such contract was ever offered to those Africans captured in what were really acts of war and subjugated to slavery in violation of the law of nature or to their descendants.

I then decided to look up what the *Federalist Papers* had to say about slavery since our Constitution accepted the laws of Southern states creating chattel slavery contrary to natural law.

In *Federalist Paper 54*, likely written by Alexander Hamilton, southern slavery was accepted, but a loophole was created through which the system could later be overthrown. The moral logic of southern slavery was that slaves were only property, not persons with rights. But southern leaders also demanded authority to count slaves along with citizens when seats in the House of Representatives were apportioned among the states according to population.



Alexander Hamilton

Hamilton accepted this Southern argument on counting slaves to some extent as persons, but twisted it to open up a road to the termination of slavery. He first agreed that those held in southern slavery had the legal character of property, but cleverly added also that of personhood.

He followed Locke in saying that “chastised in his body by the capricious will of another, the slave may appear to be degraded from the human rank and classed with those irrational animals which fall under the legal denomination of property.” But he noted that under southern laws, slaves were protected from bodily injury and could be punished for harming others, which gave them rights and obligations as persons.

Then, Hamilton brilliantly noted that the character of slaves as both property and persons was created only by the laws of the southern states. So, he said, if the laws were to change, slaves would lose their status as property and have the natural rights which had been taken away from them by force restored.

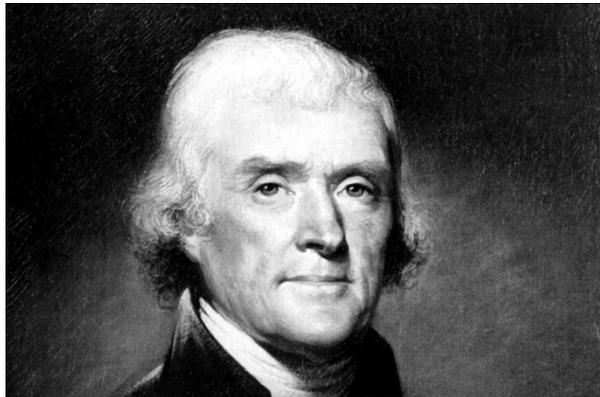
And this is what happened in America. Lincoln obtained passage of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, changing the laws and ending slavery. Then, the 14th Amendment was adopted to guarantee citizenship rights as proposed by Locke. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 changed the law again to repress the Ku Klux Klan and other oppressions of former slaves. The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 changed the laws yet again to terminate segregation.

Yet, with all this, the pain and anger of being held in contempt has not gone away and may never do so. Hard treatment that wounds the soul deeply is not easily forgotten.

There may be a plausible explanation for the contradiction, on one hand, between the ideals of Locke and the American Declaration of Independence and the foresight of Hamilton and, on the other, the reality of chattel slavery in the southern colonies, later states of the Federal Union. There were, in fact, two very different theologies operating with respect to the status of Africans brought to the southern colonies as slaves: one which considered them as fully human within the Christian faith and another which did not.

Ironically, Thomas Jefferson, the leading drafter of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, later found a way to evade the Christian and Calvinist moral ideal rejecting slavery so that slave holding could be justified within a democratic republic. He fashioned an

argument to take those Africans enslaved out from under the human rights protections set forth in the Declaration. But his solution was most cruel and has caused much pain over the generations.



Thomas Jefferson

In 1781, Jefferson wrote a superficially objective description of the natural setting of his state of Virginia – its flora, fauna, rivers, soils, natural resources and inhabitants. He called it *Notes on the State of Virginia*. It was privately published in 1785.

Here, he, evidently without second thoughts, regret or good conscience, described African inhabitants of Virginia as inherently inferior to whites. He wrote:

“ [1] The first difference [between whites and blacks] which strikes us is that of color. . . . The difference is fixed in nature and is as real as if its seat and cause were better known to us. And is this difference of no importance? Is it not the foundation of a greater or less share of beauty in the two races? Are not the fine mixtures of red and white, the expressions of every passion by greater or less suffusions of color in the one, preferable to that eternal monotony, which reigns in the countenances, that immoveable veil of black which covers all the emotions of the other race? Add to these, flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, their own judgment in favor of the whites, declared by their preference of them, as uniformly as is the preference of the orangutan for the black women over those of his own species. The circumstance of superior beauty, is thought worthy attention in the propagation of our horses, dogs and other domestic animals; why not in that of man? . . .

[2] They seem to require less sleep. A black, after hard labor through the day, will be induced by the slightest amusements to sit up till midnight, or later, though knowing he must be out with the first dawn of the morning. They are at least as brave, and more adventuresome. But this may perhaps proceed from a want of forethought, which prevents their seeing a danger till it be present. When present, they do not go through it with more coolness or steadiness than the whites. They are more ardent after their female: but love seems with them to be more an eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation. Their griefs are transient. Those numberless afflictions, which render it doubtful whether heaven has given life to us in mercy or in wrath, are less felt, and sooner forgotten with them. In general, their existence appears to participate more of sensation than reflection...

[3] Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason and imagination, it appears to me, that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one [black] could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation. We will consider them here, on the same stage with the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be formed. It will be right to make great allowances for the difference of condition, of education, of conversation, of the sphere in which they move. Many millions of them have been brought to and born in America. Most of them indeed have been confined to tillage, to their own homes and their own society: yet many have been so situated, that they might have availed themselves of the conversation of their masters; many have been brought up to the handicraft arts and from that circumstance have always been associated with the whites. Some have been liberally educated and all have lived in countries where the arts and sciences are cultivated to a considerable degree and have had before their eyes samples of the best works from abroad. The Indians, with no advantages of this kind, will often carve figures on their pipes not destitute of design and merit. They will crayon out an animal, a plant or a country, so as to prove the existence of a germ in their minds which only wants cultivation. They astonish you with strokes of the most sublime oratory; such as prove their reason and sentiment strong, their imagination glowing and elevated. But never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never see even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture. In music they are more generally gifted than the whites with accurate ears for tune and time. Whether they will be equal to the composition of a more extensive run of melody or of complicated harmony, is yet to be proved. Misery is often the parent of the most affecting touches in poetry. — Among the blacks is misery enough, God knows, but no poetry. ***

[4] To our reproach it must be said, that though for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and of red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history. I advance it therefore as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind. It is not against experience to suppose, that different species of the same genus, or varieties of the same species, may possess different qualifications.”

Here, in Jefferson’s pseudo-Enlightened and supposedly objective prose, may be the source of America’s systemic shortcoming with respect to those forced into chattel slavery under our laws and practices: an arrogant state of mind, a cognitive bias limiting the scope of human fellowship, a prejudicial discrimination, an invented inequality of potential, a socially constructed narrative terrible in its consequences, a psychological invitation to oppression and worse.

If the harm and the hurt to be overcome was caused by this cognitive bias, then it is not at all clear to me what the remedy should be for the wrong initially done so long ago, but passed on over the years from some persons to other persons. Who is responsible for hurtful states of mind – the individual, the parents, neighbors and friends, teachers? Who is responsible for what others think, for a culture?

If my inference is correct or close to being correct that the debasing narrative of Thomas Jefferson about Africans as emulated and passed on by others was in itself a harmful wrong along the lines perhaps of what we today call “hate” speech, then offsetting and overcoming the internalized impact of such speech and thought, occurring generation after generation and culminating in persons alive today is urgently needed.

If we are to look at other internalized harms passed down over a long history, we might also consider the findings of “The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa” by Nathan Nunn and Leonard Wantchekon in *American Economic Review* 101 (December 2011). Nunn and Wantchekon asked if slavers caused cultures of mistrust to develop in Africa. Their study observed that as slaving expanded, ubiquitous insecurity became the norm for many. Individuals turned on others for their own profitable advantage. Some ethnic groups were continuously exploited by others as sources of slaves to be sold. Under such conditions, having norms of mistrust was of more advantage for personal wellbeing than being trusting. Nunn and Wantchekon, in looking at the results of the 2005 Afrobarometer on levels of trust, found that ethnic groups exposed to slavers have lower levels of trust norms today than do other groups.

One might reasonably infer that those taken as slaves and then sold into slavery in the United States brought to their new subjugation low levels of trust which would not be alleviated by such subjugation. And, further, that low levels of trust would be passed down to new generations, which would experience conditions of life confirming the practical relevance of low trust norms.

Thus, it should not surprise us that a 2007 national survey of whites, blacks and Latinos showed that blacks are less trusting, in general, than other groups of people are and that a lack of trust affects their political behavior, inter-group relations and even whether or not they vote.

Living over the generations in conditions of relative deprivation would further induce the adoption of mistrust, as people with higher family incomes are more trusting than those with lower family incomes. Those who are unmarried are generally less trustful than those who are married.

Replacing social and individual norms and expectations of low trust with confidence in trusting others may not happen with application of only external interventions. What is internal to a person, a family, a community seems most amenable to change from developments which are also internal to that person, family or community.

Providing reassurance and being a friend would seem to be two ways in which the general community can be of genuine assistance in replacing mistrust with confidence in oneself and others.

When we think of the unfairness of a system itself, its invidious discriminations in power, prerogative and privilege, its carelessness with respect to others - justified by its ideals and understandings, what is the appropriate moral response – reform, revolution, compensation, new laws, new officials, better education, religious revival, new ethics?

When the cause of what is wrong is a deficit of spirit and open-heartedness in persons, perhaps most necessary would be something spiritual - reconciliation with mercy and forgiveness. As Lincoln advised in his Second Inaugural: “With malice toward none with charity for all with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right let us strive on to finish the work we are in ... to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”



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