History 278: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade
Spring 2015
Professor Lisa Lindsay
with Teaching Assistants Dasa Mortensen, Ben Reed, and Larissa Stiglich

Lectures: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 2:00-3:15pm in Stone Center 103

How to contact Dr. Lindsay:
Office hours: Tuesdays 3:30-4:30, Wednesdays 2:00-3:00pm, and by appointment
Office: 521 Hamilton Hall
Email: lalindsa@email.unc.edu

Discussion Sections:
600 Friday 9:05-9:55am, Hamilton 150
601 Monday 9:05-9:55, Hamilton 423
602 Friday 12:20-1:10pm, Murphey 115
603 Tuesday 11:00-11:50am Hamilton 570
604 Friday 1:25-2:15, Phillips 224
605 Monday 11:15-12:05, Hamilton 523
606 Monday 12:20-1:10, Hamilton 570
607 Monday 1:25-2:15, Hamilton 523
608 Monday 2:30-3:20pm, Hamilton 423

Additional information: I have set up a website for this course on Sakai. The site contains the syllabus and information about assignments, as well as links to useful resources, ways to communicate with your instructors and classmates, and up-to-the-minute announcements.

COURSE OVERVIEW

This course concerns one of the most tragic and horrifying phenomena in the history of the western world: the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Over sixteen weeks, we will repeatedly encounter people’s inhumanity to each other. Why would anyone want to spend so much time on a topic so grim? I propose two reasons that work for me, and I also encourage you to think for yourself about why you are interested in this and what the history of the slave trade can tell us.

First, the Atlantic slave trade was foundational to the development of the Americas and indeed the entire western world. If we want to understand how the US (and not only the South), Western Europe, parts of Latin America, and much of Africa got to be how they are now, we need to know something of the human commerce that profoundly shaped them. Related to this, and as the eminent historian W.E.B. DuBois famously argued, “The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line.” By tracing the origins of modern racial categories and the economic/social/political structures built upon them, this course can help us to understand as well as work against racism even in the 21st century.
A second reason for studying the Atlantic slave trade is that this topic teaches us to be better historians and, more generally, sharper thinkers. In terms of content, we will have to grapple with the histories of four continents and roughly four centuries. Methodologically, we will confront both what historians have determined about the trade (and what is still in question) as well as how they have reached their conclusions. Our subject matter requires us to keep in mind that historical works are written in specific contexts and must be read with those contexts in mind. Finally, we will be dealing with some unpleasant truths about what people have done to other people and how they have justified their actions. Thus, we will have to see how people’s understandings of morality have been influenced by their subjective positions and historical circumstances.

By examining first-hand accounts by slaves and slavers, works of fiction and film, and analyses by historians, we will trace the origins, expansion, and decline of the trade in addition to its impact on four continents. We will seek to answer, among others, the following questions: Why were Africans enslaved? Why did (some) African societies sell slaves? Which came first, European racism or slavery? How many enslaved people were involved in this trade, where did they come from, and where did they end up? How were societies in Africa, the Americas, and Europe transformed by the trade? How did slaves recast or maintain aspects of their home cultures in their new circumstances? In what ways were they involved in the making of American cultures?

In addition to treating the above questions, I intend to return often to three major content themes. First, we will treat Africa not as some undifferentiated point of origin, but as the home to varied and complex societies which must be understood on their own terms. Second, we will trace the historical contours of slavery, noting its similarities and yet important variations over time and place. Third, we will explore the changing meanings of race and racism. I want you to end this semester knowing that race is neither an objective biological reality nor something fixed and certain. The slave trade and slavery have fundamentally affected Western understandings of human variation and these understandings—along with the relations and institutions that accompany them—have shifted over time.

**STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES**

For most weeks of the semester, you can expect to attend two lectures (on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons) and then a discussion section (which will meet on Fridays, Mondays, or Tuesday mornings). In other words, the course is organized into "weeks" that are conceptualized as "Tuesday lecture; Thursday lecture; Discussion Section," even though your discussion section may meet on the following Tuesday. **Discussion section meetings will begin in Week 3.**

Lectures and discussion sections serve different but complementary purposes in this course. Inevitably, lectures will involve the presentation of facts and interpretations about the slave trade from your professor, although I will try to involve you in some discussion and activities as well. Your
**discussion sections**, led by Teaching Assistants, will be much more interactive. Because people learn better when they involve more than one of their senses in processing information, discussion sections are designed to get you talking, writing, and moving as well as listening. They are also intended to involve you in the practice of history by interpreting primary sources (i.e. those produced at the time of the action by participants or observers) as well as assessing the various (and sometimes conflicting) interpretations produced by professional historians. To get the most out of both lectures and discussions, you must do the **reading assignments**. Please come to class meetings having done the readings listed for that day on the syllabus, and with a copy of the readings with you.

The required books for this class are Philip Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* 2d ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1998); David Northrup (ed.), *The Atlantic Slave Trade* 3rd ed. (Wadsworth, 2010); and Barry Unsworth’s magnificent novel, *Sacred Hunger*. (Please note that *Sacred Hunger* is a very long book. You would do well to start reading it today.) A textbook that I wrote, *Captives as Commodities: The Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Prentice Hall, 2008), is an optional supplement; in it you will find the maps, charts, and graphs from lecture, among other things. All of these books are available for purchase at Student Stores, and copies have also been placed on Reserve. Be sure to get the 3rd edition of the Northrup book.

In addition to these books, we will read articles and book chapters that are available on the course website (sakai.unc.edu) as .pdf files. You may read them online and take your own notes or print them out. Other articles are available on the internet. You can get to these sites on your own (see the addresses listed below) or via links provided on the syllabus on the course webpage. Copies of these materials will **not** be placed on Reserve.

While gathering your materials for this course, please register to use Poll Everywhere, an interactive format that allows you to use smartphones or laptops to participate more actively than usual in lecture. I’ll explain more in class, but if you are not already registered for Poll Everywhere, please go right away to [http://help.unc.edu/CCM3_033949](http://help.unc.edu/CCM3_033949) for instructions and to get set up. All students should follow the registration instructions on this page. You should NOT sign up at polleverywhere.com. Registration is free of charge.

**GRADING**

The best strategy for earning a good grade in this class is to **show up** to lectures and discussion section meetings, **keep up** with your readings and other assignments, and **speak up** when you have a question or an idea to contribute. Expectations for this class are intended to be transparent, so if they are not, please let a member of the teaching staff know.

Your Teaching Assistants do all of the grading in this course, in consultation with the professor and each other. They will base your course grade on effective completion of the following assignments:

- Map exercise, due in discussion sections in Week 3, worth 5% of your grade.
• Four short (1-2 pages) answers to the reading response question(s) posed for each discussion section meeting. Provide a thoughtful, coherent narrative answer to the question(s), based on the reading for that discussion section as well as your own analysis. Your answer should be in the form of paragraphs, typed, and submitted to your TA (in the manner s/he specifies) by the start of the relevant discussion section. Your responses will be graded on a scale of 1-5 and, together with an evaluation of your class participation, will account for 20% of your overall grade. (Please note that there are eight possible reading response questions. Since you must answer four, you can skip four. I suggest you plan ahead.) Further instructions are on Sakai, under Resources—Assignments.

• Mid-term exam on Thursday, Feb. 19, worth 20% of your grade. Exam grades will be based on your ability to use sources to make a thoughtful interpretation or analysis of major historical ideas, change or events.

• Assignment on the movie Amistad, which you will need to watch on your own. This is due in discussion section during Week 14 and worth 10% of your grade.

• A 6-8 page research paper on a topic of your choice (approved by your TA). The paper should entail a critical analysis of one or more primary sources, such as a memoir by a participant in the slave trade, informed by at least two of the secondary sources on the syllabus. Instructions are posted on Sakai. A brief prospectus outlining the sources you plan to use and the issues you plan to explore must be approved by your TA by the end of Week 13. A rough draft is mandatory and must be brought to recitation on Week 15. The paper is due on Friday, April 24 and is worth 20% of your grade. Deadlines are firm: lateness will result in a reduction of your grade. Also be aware that all suspected cases of plagiarism will be turned over to the Honor Court for assessment.

• Final exam on May 4 at 12:00pm, worth 25% of the course grade.

Writing is essential. The official policy of the College of Arts and Sciences specifies that “Instructors should help students realize the integral relationship between thinking clearly and writing clearly…. Faculty in all disciplines should require their students to write well.” Here’s how your TA and I will evaluate (i.e. grade) your writing:

• Focus (does the writing deal with the problem or question?)
• Evidence (does it support its position with adequate information?)
• Coherence (does the argument make sense logically?)
• Scope (does it deal with all aspects of the question?)

Please see Sakai, under “Resources—Assignments” for more detailed information about your writing assignments.

Academic Support Services: The College of Arts and Sciences has developed several support programs to assist students. Accessibility Resources & Service provides individual support to students
with learning or other challenges (https://accessibility.unc.edu/, 919-962-8300). The Learning Skills Center offers free instruction in a variety of academic learning strategies (http://learningcenter.unc.edu/, 962-3782, 962-6389). The Writing Center--which fills up quickly--provides free tutorial services (http://writingcenter.unc.edu/, 962-7710, 962-4060).

HONORABLE AND COURTEOUS BEHAVIOR

THE HONOR CODE: It shall be the responsibility of every student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to obey and to support the enforcement of the Honor Code, which prohibits lying, cheating, or stealing when these actions involve academic processes or University, student, or academic personnel acting in an official capacity. (See http://studentconduct.unc.edu/sites/studentconduct.unc.edu/files/documents/Instrument.pdf, pp. 5-6)

I encourage you to study together; however, you are bound by the Honor Code in taking exams and in writing your papers. Please consult with me if you have any questions about the Honor Code.

THE CAMPUS CODE: It shall be the further responsibility of every student to abide by the Campus Code; namely, to conduct oneself so as not to impair significantly the welfare or the educational opportunities of others in the University community.

The Campus Code asks us to be courteous to each other. In a large class, manners are especially important.

Courtesy during Classes: It is disruptive to others to arrive late to class or to leave early. If you must do it (which I discourage), please try to be unobtrusive. Also, please turn off all cell phones. Finally, and I know you’re not going to like this, do not open your laptop in this class unless specifically asked to do so. It’s already hard to stay engaged with the course when we have 165 students in a large room; it’s nearly impossible when laptops are open to Facebook and sports highlights. Less use of laptops for note-taking has also been correlated with better learning outcomes (see http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/a-learning-secret-don-t-take-notes-with-a-laptop/ for one summary of this). I will post an outline of the lecture on Sakai before each class meeting. It may be helpful to you to print it and write your notes (by hand) directly onto your printout. In any case, please do plan not to use your laptop for note-taking unless you clear it with me in advance.

Courtesy in Debate: Disagreement is an important part of intellectual discussion, and arguing about issues is critical to a university education. Therefore, you should expect to disagree with the ideas or opinions of others, especially in your discussion sections. Please always disagree in a respectful manner. Treat others as you would like to be treated.

Deadlines: In the event that you cannot turn in an assignment on the due date, you must request an extension and arrange an alternate due date with your TA before the date of the assignment. However, Teaching Assistants will never accept late Reading Response Questions (RRQs) under any circumstances. Generally, late papers will be marked down one grade increment (A to A- to B+,
etc.) for each day past the due date. Make-up exams will be accommodated if there is documentation for your illness or emergency and should be arranged as quickly as possible.

**SCHEDULE OF COURSE MEETINGS AND READINGS**

Please note: Each "week" is conceptualized as "Tuesday lecture, Thursday lecture, and Discussion Section" even though your Discussion Section may meet on the following Monday or even Tuesday morning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overview and Background of the Slave Trade</th>
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<td>In the first week, I will introduce the course and give a broad overview of the slave trade based on recently compiled statistics. During the next two weeks, we will examine worldwide slavery before 1492, what West Africa was like before the slave trade, the initial contacts between Europeans and Africans, and the emergence of the slavery-based “plantation complex.”</td>
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**Weeks 1-2: Introduction and Background**

Th 1/8: Introduction to the Course

Tu 1/13: The Numbers and Overall Structure of the Slave Trade

*Please plan to use your laptops in class this time.*

- Optional: Lindsay, *Captives as Commodities* (hereafter “Captives”), pp. 1-10

Tu 1/15: Slavery in the Western World before 1492

- Curtin, “Mediterranean Origins,” chapter 1 of *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex* (hereafter “Plantation Complex”)
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 10-14

**Week 3: Beginnings**

Tu 1/20: Introduction to Western Africa

- Curtin, “Africa and the Slave Trade,” Chapter 3 of *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*
Th 1/22: The Maritime Revolution; or Christopher Columbus Goes to Africa
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 14-21

F, M, Tu (1/23-1/27) Discussion Section #1: Early Modern Slavery
- Introductions
- Map assignment due in discussion section (find this assignment on Sakai, under “Resources” and then “Assignments”)
- Read, analyze, and be ready to discuss the following reading on Sakai: ”The Pope grants to the Portuguese a monopoly of trade with Africa,” from *Africa and the West: A Documentary History from the Slave Trade to Independence*, edited by William H. Worger et al (2001), pp. 13-16.

**Reading Response Question (RRQ):** What, according to Pope Nicholas V, are the potential benefits of the explorations sponsored by Prince Henry the Navigator? What does this document suggest about the relationship between Christianity and slavery in the 15th century?

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### The First Two Centuries of the Slave Trade

The period from roughly 1500 to the early 1700s saw the foundation of the Atlantic slave system. Yet in many ways New World slavery differed during this era from our typical notions of plantation-style bonded labor. During the next three weeks, we will examine the emergence of labor demand in the Americas and the developments in Africa related to filling that demand. We will also look at the early years of the European slaving business. Finally, we will examine slave culture and resistance during these “charter generations.”

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### Week 4: The Plantation Complex

Tu 1/27: The Plantation Complex Comes to the Americas
- Curtin, “Sugar Planting: From Cyprus to the Atlantic Islands,” chapter 2 of *Plantation Complex*
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 22-30; Curtin, *Plantation Complex*, chs. 4-5

Th 1/29: NO CLASS—reading day
- Start reading *Sacred Hunger*, as it is long but important

F, M, Tu (1/30-2/3) Discussion #2: Slavery and Culture in Spanish America
- S: Sara Vincuña Guengerich, “The Witchcraft Trials of Paula de Egiluz, a Black Woman, in Cartagena de Indias, 1620-1636,” in Kathryn Joy McKnight and Leo J. Garofalo, eds., *Afro-

RRQ: What was Paula de Equiluz accused of doing? How did she respond to those accusations? What evidence is there about the extent to which the cultural traditions on which she was drawing were African, European or Indian in origin? What can you infer from this document about African slavery in 17th century Spanish America?

Week 5: Africans and the Slave Trade

Tu 2/3: Why did Africans sell slaves? General Answers
- Review Curtin, chapter 3 of Plantation Complex
- Optional: Captives, pp. 54-65

Th 2/5: Why did African sell slaves? Specific Cases

F. M. Tu (2/6-2/10) Discussion #3: Slavery in Africa
- S: excerpt from Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354
- S: Letter from Afonso I of Kongo to João III of Portugal, 1526 in Lindsay, Captives, pp. 78-79

RRQ: On the basis of these primary and secondary sources, how would you describe the nature and extent of slavery in Africa before, or in the early stages of, the Atlantic slave trade? To what extent does the evidence in the primary source documents (Ibn Battuta and Alfonso I) confirm or contradict the arguments made in the secondary source documents (Thornton, Meirs and Kopytoff)?

Week 6: Slavery, Race, and Culture in the English Americas

Tu 2/10: Beyond Pocahontas: the English Colonies in the 1600s
- Curtin, Plantation Complex, chapter 6, “The Sugar Revolution and the Settlement of the Caribbean” and chapter 7, “Anarchy and Imperial Control”
- Optional: Captives, pp. 30-34

Th 2/12: Cultures of Slavery in the “Charter Generations”
- Optional: Captives, pp. 96-105
F, M, Tu (2/13-2/17)  Discussion #4: Why African Slaves?
- Selections by Williams, Eltis, and Davis in Northrup, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 1-20
- S: Excerpts of accounts by Richard Ligon and Moreau de Saint-Méry in Lindsay, *Captives*, pp. 48-50
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 41-47

**RRQ:** According to these primary and secondary sources, what factor(s) best explain European reliance on African slaves? Was slavery based on racial or economic foundations? Both? Neither? What do you think?

**Week 7: Resistance and the Midterm**

Tu 2/17: Race and Resistance in the “Charter Generations”
- Curtin ch. 8 of *Plantation Complex*, “Slave Societies on the Periphery”

Th 2/19: **Midterm Exam**

**No Discussion Sections:** A Midterm Break
Continue reading *Sacred Hunger*; you’ll need all the time you can get!

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**The Plantation Generations**

We’ll now devote three weeks to studying the peak years of the Atlantic slave trade, roughly during the 1700s and into the 1800s. Far more slaves were brought from Africa to the Americas during this century than during the previous 200 years, and, as we will see, slavery during this period was in general at its most rigid and oppressive. We will look not only at the plantation system in the Americas, but at the vast commercial networks based in Europe and Africa that supplied millions of people to it. Memoirs from, and a novel about, this period tell us not only of the conditions for slaves and slavers, but also of the ways they understood their individual positions in this global commerce.

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**Week 8: The Plantation Generations**

Tu 2/24: The Plantation Generations; or the Slave Trade at its Peak
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 34-40

Th 2/26: European organization of the trade
- Curtin ch. 10 of *Plantation Complex*, “Atlantic Commerce in the Eighteenth Century”
**Th, F, M (2/27-3/3)  Discussion #5 on the workings of the slave trade**

- Unsworth, *Sacred Hunger*, Book 1 (pp. 1-391)

I think this is a fascinating and profound book, and I encourage you to read all of it. However, if you find it utterly necessary to skimp on some parts, you may probably omit the following chapters without compromising our purposes too much: 5, 7, 9, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 36. On the other hand, chapters 24, 27, 32, and 35 are absolutely key for our discussions and must be read.

**RRQ:** What is the “sacred hunger” of the title? Why does the author use religious overtones to describe this hunger? Who has the “sacred hunger”?

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**Week 9: The Slave Trade in Africa**

Tu 3/3 and Th 3/5: African Dynamics at the Trade’s Peak

- Curtin, ch. 9 of *Plantation Complex*, “The Slave Trade and the West African Economy in the 18th Century”
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 65-74

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**No Discussion Sections — A Spring Break**

Keep reading *Sacred Hunger* to catch up on what you should have done for last week, or to make progress on what we will discuss in week 12.

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**Week 10: Spring Break, March 9-13**

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**Week 11: Experiences of the Enslaved**

Tu 3/17: The Middle Passage

- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 84-96

Th 3/19: African Life in the Diaspora

- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 96-106
F, M, Tu (3/20-3/24): Discussion #6 on the Middle Passage

- S: Stephanie Smallwood, “The Living Dead aboard the Slave Ship at Sea,” from *Saltwater Slavery*, pp. 122-154
- Revisit Unsworth, *Sacred Hunger*, chapter 35

**RRQ:** What do you think were the most difficult features of the Middle Passage for enslaved captives? What were the most significant effects of those hardships?

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The Meaning of Freedom in the Age of Revolution

The time period including the American Revolution and the European revolutionary movements of the mid-19th century has been called the “Age of Revolution.” As we will see over the next three weeks, slaves also carried out revolutions during this period, sometimes in conjunction with other revolutions and sometimes on their own. Slaves' rebellions helped to propel the movements some Europeans and Americans launched against the slave trade and slavery itself. But paradoxically, the Age of Revolution also saw an expansion of slavery in those areas where it was not abolished and a further hardening of the white supremacy that underpinned it, as we will see in our treatment of 19th century slavery across the Americas. Moreover, even where slavery was abolished, what freedom would actually entail was very much an open question. Did freedom mean political citizenship, physical safety, and access to land, as many freedpeople hoped, or did it provide a new context for disfranchisement and subservience?

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Week 12: Revolutions and the Slave Trade

Tu 3/24: Slavery and the American Revolution

- Curtin, ch. 11 of *Plantation Complex*, “The Democratic Revolution in the Atlantic Basin”
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 114-118

FYI: March 25 has been designated the International Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Slavery and the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

Th 3/26: The Haitian Revolution

- Curtin, ch. 12 of *Plantation Complex*, “Revolution in the French Antilles”
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 123-128

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F, M, Tu (3/27-3/31) Discussion #7: The Ambiguities of Antislavery

- Unsworth, *Sacred Hunger*, Book 2, especially Part 9

**RRQ:** Contrast the ideals of freedom held by Paris and Kereiku. What kind of system did each of them think would replace African slavery on their island?
Week 13: British Antislavery

Tu 3/31: Britons against the Slave Trade
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 118-123

Th 4/2: Slavery Abolition in the British Colonies

M, Tu (4/6-4/7) Discussion #8: Why did lawmakers abolish Britain’s slave trade?
(Please note: Friday, April 3 is a university holiday. See below for how the Friday sections will make up for their missed meeting time.)
- David Brion Davis, “Morality, Economics, and Abolition,” in Northrup, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 139-146
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 132-135
- Paper prospectus, with sources, due

RRQ: If British lawmakers abolished the slave trade largely because they determined that it was immoral, why hadn’t they done so twenty, fifty, or a hundred years earlier? What was new in the early 19th century that facilitated slave trade abolition?

Week 14: Ending the Atlantic Slave Trade

Tu 4/7: No class for students in Monday and Tuesday discussion sections. Students in Friday discussion sections should come to class as scheduled. They will use this time for the section meetings that they missed on the Friday, April 3 holiday.

Th 4/9: The Suppression—and Expansion—of the Atlantic Slave Trade
- Curtin, ch. 13 of *Plantation Complex*, “Readjustments in the Nineteenth Century”
- Optional: *Captives*, pp. 128-132

F, M, Tu (4/10-4/14) Discussion #9: The Politics of the Illegal Slave Trade
*Amistad*, directed by Stephen Spielberg (Dreamworks Productions, 1987): Watch the video on your own, complete worksheet to turn in, and come to class ready to discuss the video and its historical context.

No RRQ this week.
Legacies of the Slave Trade

For the last two weeks of the class, we will assess the effects of the slave trade in Europe, the Americas, and Africa. To do so helps us to come to grips with African agency in the trade. Although African individuals and groups participated in and benefited from the trade, overall Africa suffered losses while Europe and Euro-America gained. Do you think these differential effects warrant reparations in the contemporary era? Finally, we will link the slave trade to the racism and imperialism of the nineteenth century as well as persistent effects today.

Week 15: Slavery and Emancipation in the 19th century

Tu 4/14: Slavery in the Americas after the Slave Trade
- Optional: Captives, pp. 149-160

Th 4/16: Emancipation in the US, Cuba, and Brazil
- Curtin, ch. 14 of Plantation Complex, “The End of Slavery in the Americas”

F, M, Tu (4/17-4/21)   Discussion #10: Writing Workshop
- Come to section with a rough draft of your paper for peer editing
- Your rough draft and peer edits must be attached to your final draft when it is submitted
No RRQ this week.

Week 16: How the Slave Trade Shaped the Western World

Tu 4/21: Effects on Africa and Europe
- Selections by Rodney and Manning in Northrup, Atlantic Slave Trade, pp. 89-110
- Optional: Captives, pp. 74-77 and pp. 144-49


FINAL PAPERS (with edited rough drafts attached) ARE DUE TO YOUR TA BY FRIDAY, APRIL 24.

FINAL EXAM: Monday, May 4, 12:00pm