

INTERROGATING ADELL PATTON'S DATA ON SHIPMENT OF NEGRO SLAVES FROM AFRICA TO THE AMERICAS BETWEEN 1755 AND 1867 (BY PERIOD)

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ABSTRACT : *This is an interrogative study that queries the 5Ws and H of where, when, which, what, why and how Africans were being captured, transported, maltreated and sold into slavery by the European slavers who combed the nook and cranny of African region in search of human commodities for their trading and labour activities in the Americas. Archival materials were gathered and analyzed using descriptive statistics like tabulation, graphical representation and measures of central tendency to describe and summarize the way the European slavers operated their transatlantic slavery business. The study investigates and interrogates the number and percentage given by Patton (1998) in a graphical representation of the number of Africans exported to the Americas between 1755 and 1867 and it examines the measures used by the slave traders in obtaining the black slaves and assesses the parts of the New World (Americas) that these human beings, captured from Africa, were taken to. It is revealed that large percentage of the black slaves exported from Africa were taken to Brazil and that a great number of them got missing on the journey to the Americas as a result of stress and hardship, but reports in Patton's graphical representations did not give adequate account of the slaves that got lost in the peregrination and voyage.*

KEYWORDS: African Regions, Human Commodities, Slavery Business, Slave Traders, New world

INTRODUCTION

To date, the estimated figures for the number of black Africans exported to the Americas vary widely. The scholars who engage in the study of how black Africans were carted away to the Americas have divergent views on the academic discourse that is relating to transatlantic slave trade and this has made it difficult to arrive at accurate number of slaves exported from the shores of African continent to the Americas. It is this inaccuracy in number that this present study is trying to interrogate in Patton's (1998) graphical representation.

The specific objectives of this study are to: (1) investigate the percentage of Africans exported to the Americas between 1755 and 1867 (2) assess the parts of the New World the captives from Africa were taken to in the Americas (3) trace the circumstances that accounted for the great loss of these enslaved Africans and (4) ascertain which of the New World countries received the highest number of black African slaves.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Some Scholars have written extensively on the subject: *Transatlantic Slave Trade*. Such scholars include: Edwards (1794), Mathieson (1926), Simmons (1955), Duffy (1959), Bovill

(1958), Jones (1958), Boahen (1964), Lugard (1965), Anene (1966), Omer-Cooper et al (1968) and Buah (1969). Some of them have recorded that close to 30,000,000 Negroes were transported to North and South America and that Brazil alone had 3,000,000 to 18,000,000. Conservative estimates of some of these scholars have suggested that the figure lies somewhere between 14 and 20 million. While some estimated that Brazil absorbed the largest number of slaves of any colony in the Americas to the tune of 3.5 million of the 10-15 million slaves brought to the New World. Others were, however, not specific, but concluded that there are no doubts that the figure would run into many millions. For an example, Buah (1969) estimated that West Africa lost nothing less than thirty-five million of its population as a result of this drudgery trade.

Despite these scholars' estimations, the entire toll of the slave exportation and distribution could not be established because some exiting records have it that greater number of the black slaves perished during the wars initiated by some belligerent captives or died from stress and/or hardship while being driven from the African hinterland to the coast. Because of these divergent views of history scholars it has become difficult to arrive at an accurate figure. It is, therefore, imperative to interrogate Patton's (1998) graphical representation of *African Diaspora* in order to appraise, validate, accept or reject his estimated number of black slaves exported from the shores of Africa to the Americas between 1755 and 1867.

Seven theories have been adopted as basic narrative structures to get down to the nitty-gritty of this interrogative study. They are Plato and Aristotle, Cynic, Sophist and Stoic as well as Hegel and Moral sentiment theories. The Plato and Aristotle theories provide an argument for slaves-masters' relationship. For instance, Plato, in his theoretical postulation, refers to a slave as "the body of human being" and to his master as "the soul of a body". However, his statement that: "Slaves incarnated the irrationality and chaos of the material world", as opposed to master-like *demiurge*, has been used to justify the Aristotle's saying that: "From the time of their birth some human beings are marked out for subjection, and others for rule".

Aristotle has also postulated that "the true slave could have no will or interests of his own". Why? This is because a slave is seen as a mere tool or instrument and extension of his master's physical nature. This is the reason why he as a theorist has assigned a lower form of virtue to slaves in the perfect fulfillment of their servitude. Although metaphysicians have recognized the fact that slaves are conscious human beings, but "a slave", according to Aristotle, "could only affirm his consciousness by partaking of his master's consciousness and by becoming part of his master's desires". To support Aristotle's consciousness belief system, it can be declared here and now that a perfect slave could be likened to a donkey who submits to the whims and caprices of its owner. This brings us to secular inference that a slave can be referred to as automatic agent of his or her creator's will, but not to biblical inference of autonomous Adam who freely disobeyed the God's commands through satanic deception in the Garden of Eden.

The Cynic, Sophist and Stoic theorists provided an argument for slaves' self consciousness. These theorists state that: "externally, the slave is a tool of his master's will, but internally, he is a free soul". These theoreticians further stress that "a slave could affirm the truth of the subjective reality by denying the importance of the world of flesh and human convention". Their latter statement has confirmed the popular saying that: "Physical constraint could never bar a man from true virtue". The statement has been espoused further by these theoreticians when they reiterate that "a master who is imagining himself to be free and omnipotent, could be the real slave in the eyes of the slave"

The Hegel theory has provided an argument for the problem of slave masters. It observes that “the more perfect the slave, the more enslaved the slave master”. According to Hegel, the postulator of this theory, “the master’s identity depends on having a slave who recognizes him as a master...the truth of the master’s independent consciousness then lies in the dependent and supposedly unessential consciousness of his slave”. Hegel has, however, made scholarly efforts to trace the problem of slavery to a rash of anti-slavery books, sermons, poems, plays and to the initiatives taken by groups and individual reformers whose international communication created awareness of shared concerns and expectations.

The proponents of Moral Sentiment theory propose that “the man of sensibility needs to objectify his virtue by alleviating the sufferings of poor and innocent victim of servitude”. They claim that “a slave was both innocent and victim of servitude, because he or she had no control over his or her unfortunate condition”. According to them, “a slave represents an innocent nature and therefore his or her condition is psychologically aligned to the natural and spontaneous impulses of human being who has feelings...The key to his or her consciousness lies in the freedom of his or her nature as found both in the objective slave and in the subjective reformers”. The Morel sentiment theoreticians have avowed that the latter’s compassion would evoke compassion in the slave and the exchanged affection would gradually free the universe from corruption and self-seeking social grandeur.

All these theories that have been configured above have clearly shown that the word “slavery” has acquired metaphoric stigmas that mean ultimate dependency, disability, powerlessness, sinfulness and negation of autonomous self-consciousness. It is, however, worthy of mention that all these encompassing narrations of black servitude by these theoreticians can not merely be limited to their theoretical postulations alone, but they can be firmly rooted ultimately from historical angle of how the European slavers scramble to own and control slaves, who have been loyal and faithful to them, but occasionally these slaves have been so courageous to rebel. Above all else, it significant to proceed with the utmost caution that in some cases the female slaves had been subjected to sexual molestations. History has it that some of these black slaves at one time or the other outnumbered their European slavers and subdued them in violent revolt. The slave trade has, therefore, brought to western world spasmodic cries of warning, anxiety and racial repugnance. The truth is that those black slaves of yesteryear have become an intrinsic part of the American experience today.

METHODOLOGY

Archival materials were gathered through exiting records on ‘African markets’ in the saga about 18th century transatlantic slave trade. The most significant of all these data were those assessed in the research repertoires of Behrendt (1997) through the graphical representation of a lecture delivered by Adell Patton under the title: *African Diaspora* at the Nigerian Society of information, Art and Culture (NSIAC), Jericho Ibadan in February 1998 on the occasion of *Annual Black History Festival*. This researcher had used descriptive data analysis approach to describe, summarize and organize the tallying and enumeration of the frequencies in the slave market sequence of events and to interrogate the theses and findings of the two aforementioned American historians and scholars. The tools which were used for the data analysis are descriptive statistics that include tabulation, graphical representation of data (e.g. bar chart, pie chart, cross breaks and percentage comparison), and measures of

central tendency. In the example of *cross breaks* the researcher presented data in terms of frequencies and percentage, the *bar charts* are parallel rectangular shapes he used to represent changes in the sizes, value, or rate of exportation and distribution of slaves and to compare the amount of slavery activities relating to a number of different groups and *pie charts* are circles divided into sections that he used to show the relative proportions of a set of things in the exportation and distribution of African slaves. In this study of facts and figures the manifest contents of Patton's (1998) graphical representations were objectively, systematically, but qualitatively analyzed, through the usage of *numbers*, to indicate the percentage of slaves exported at a particular period and to display as well as describe the section or proportion of the same category of slavery chain. Most importantly, the *Percentage Comparison* was used to show numerical exportation and distribution of slaves from regions of Africa to the Americas.

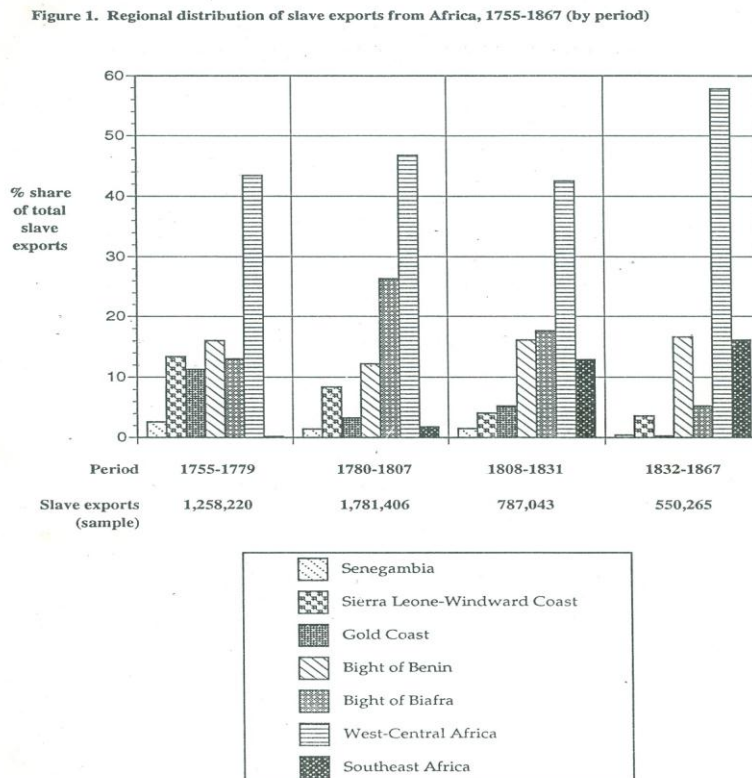
DATA ANALYSIS

Distribution and Shipment of Negro Slaves

BAR GRAPH

FIGURE: 1. A Bar graph showing the Regional Distribution of Slave Exports from Africa (1755 to 1867) by

**Period. Source:
Patton (1998)**



RESULTS

The bar graph shows that regions of Africa where slaves were exported from 1756 to 1867 include Senegambia, Sierra-Leone Windward Coast, Gold Coast, Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra, West-Central Africa and Southeast Africa.

(1) The total number of slaves exported from African regions in 1755-1779 was 1,258,220 and out of this figure 37,747 slaves were brought from Senegambia; 163,569 from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast; 138,404 from Gold Coast; 201,314 from the Bight of Benin; 163,569 from the Bight of Biafra; 553,617 from West Central Africa and no slave was exported from Southeast Africa. Below is the percentage comparison of the slave exports from 1755-1779.

Table 1 First Period: No of Slaves by Region (1755-1779)

Region	Number	% of Total
Senegambia	37, 747	3
Sierra-Leone Windward Coast	163, 569	13
Gold Coast	138, 404	11
Bight of Benin	201, 314	16
Bight of Biafra	163, 569	13
West Central Africa	553, 617	44
Southeast Africa	-	-
Total	1, 258,220	100

(2) The total slave exports from 1780-1807 was 1,781,406. The distribution as reported on the table below includes 17,814 from Senegambia; 142,513 from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast; 71,256 from Gold Coast; 231,583 from the Bight of Benin; 463,166 from the Bight of Biafra; 819,447 from West Central African and 35,627 from Southeast Africa. Below is the percentage comparison of the slave exports from 1780-1807.

Table 2 Second Period: No of Slaves by Region (1780-1807)

Region	Number	% of Total
Senegambia	17, 814	1
Sierra-Leone Windward Coast	142, 513	9
Gold Coast	71, 256	4
Bight of Benin	231, 583	12
Bight of Biafra	463, 166	26
West Central Africa	819, 447	46
Southeast Africa	35, 627	2
Total	1,781, 406	100

(3) The total number of slave exports from 1808-1831 was 787,043. The distribution as recorded on the table below shows that, out of the total were 7,870 slaves from Senegambia; 31,482 from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast; 39,352 from Gold Coast; 125,927 from the Bight of Benin; 141,667 from the Bight of Biafra; 338,429 from West Central Africa and 102,316 from Southeast Africa. Below is the percentage comparison of the slave exports from 1808-1831.

Table 3 Third Period: No of Slaves by Region (1808-1831)

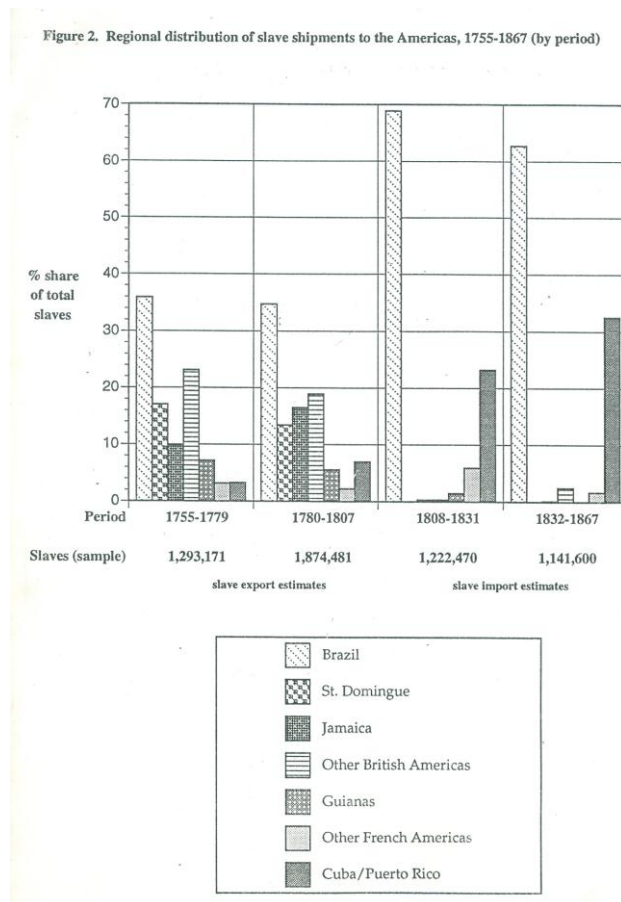
Region	Number	% of Total
Senegambia	7, 870	1
Sierra-Leone Windward Coast	31, 482	4
Gold Coast	39, 352	5
Bight of Benin	125, 927	16
Bight of Biafra	141, 668	18
West Central Africa	338, 429	43
Southeast Africa	102, 315	13
Total	787, 043	100

(4) There were 550,265 slave exports from 1832-1867. The total slave exports sampled on the table below comprises 22,011 from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast; 93,545 from the Bight of Benin; 27,513 from the Bight of Biafra; 319,154 from the West Central Africa and 88,042 from the Southeast Africa. The record shows that from 1832-1867, there were no slaves exported from Senegambia and Gold Coast regions. Below is the percentage comparison of slave distribution and shipment from 1832-1867.

Table 4 Fourth Period: No of Slaves by Region (1832-1867)

Region	Number	% of Total
Senegambia	-	-
Sierra-Leone Windward Coast	22, 011	4
Gold Coast	-	-
Bight of Benin	93, 545	17
Bight of Biafra	27, 513	5
West Central Africa	319, 154	58
Southeast Africa	88, 042	16
Total	550, 265	100

FIGURE: 2. A Bar graph Showing Regional Distribution of Slave Shipments to the Americas from 1755- 1867 Source: Patton (1998)



RESULTS

The regions of America where the slaves were shipped to include Brazil, St. Dominguez, Jamaica, other British Americas, Guiana, other French Americas and Cuba/Puerto Rico.

(1) The total shipment by export to the Americas from 1755-1779 was 1,293,171. The result on the table below shows that the distribution of the shipment was 465,542 to Brazil; 219,839 to St. Dominguez; 129,317 to Jamaica; 297,429 to other British Americas; 103,454 to Guiana; 38,795 to other French Americas and 38,795 to Cuba/Puerto Rico. Below is the percentage comparison of the slave shipment by export to the Americas from 1755-1779.

Table 1 First Period: No of Slaves Shipped to the Americas (1755-1779)

Region	Number	% of Total
Brazil	465, 542	36
St. Dominguez	219, 839	17
Jamaica	129, 317	10
Other British Americas	297, 429	23
Guiana	103, 454	8
Other French Americas	38, 795	3
Cuba/Puerto Rico	38, 795	3
Total	1, 293, 171	100

(2) The total slave shipment by exports to the Americas from 1780-1807 was 1,874,481. The result on the table below shows that the distribution was 656,068 to Brazil; 262,427 to St. Dominguez; 318,662 to Jamaica; 356,151 to other British Americas; 112,429 to Guiana;

37,490 to other French Americas and 131,214 to Cuba/Puerto Rico. Below is the percentage comparison of the slave shipment by exports from 1780-1807.

Table 2 Second Period: No of Slaves Shipped to the Americas (1780-1807)

Region	Number	% of Total
Brazil	656, 068	35
St. Dominguez	262, 427	14
Jamaica	318, 662	17
Other British Americas	356, 151	19
Guiana	112, 469	6
Other French Americas	37, 490	2
Cuba/Puerto Rico	131, 214	7
Total	1, 874, 481	100

(3) The total slave shipment to the Americas from 1808-1831 was 1,222,470. The result on the table below shows that slaves shipped by import were 843,504 to Brazil; 12,225 to Guiana; 73348 to other French Americas and 281,168 to Cuba/Puerto Rico. No slave was shipped to St. Dominguez, Jamaica and other British Americas. Below is the percentage comparison of slave shipment to the Americas from 1808-1831.

Table 3 Third Period: No of Slaves Shipped to the Americas (1808-1831)

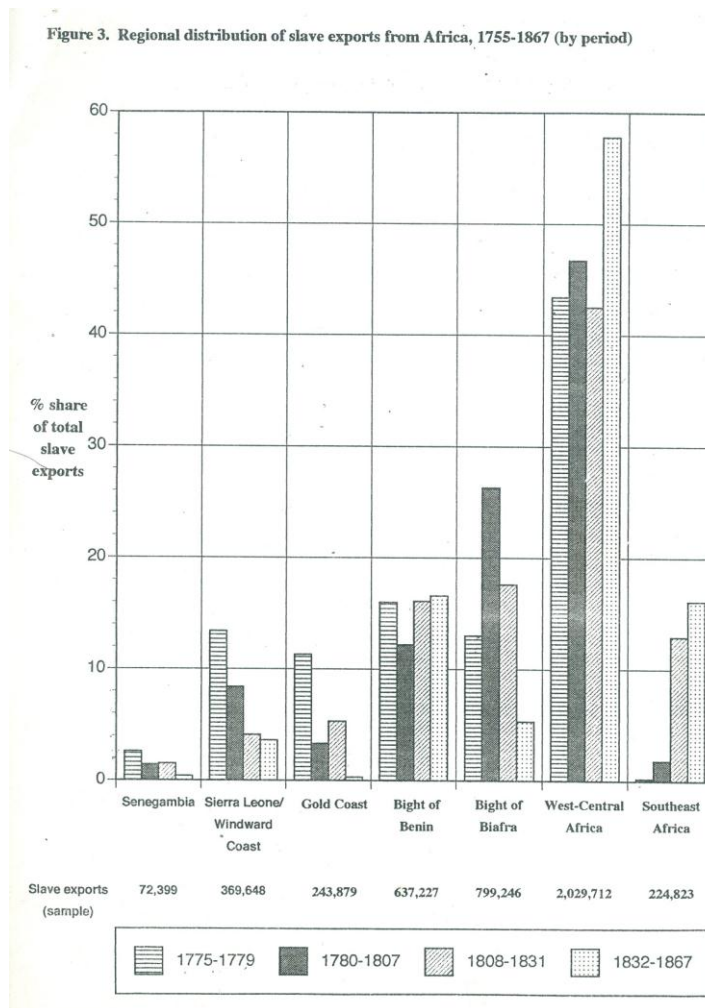
Region	Number	% of Total
Brazil	843,504	69
St. Dominguez	-	-
Jamaica	-	-
Other British Americas	-	-
Guiana	12,225	1
Other French Americas	73,348	6
Cuba/Puerto Rico	293,393	24
Total	1,222,470	100

(4) The total slave shipment by import to the Americas from 1832-1867 was 1,141,600. The result on the table below shows that the shipment by import was 707,792 to Brazil; 34,248 to other British Americas; 22,832 to other French Americas and 376,728 to Cuba/Puerto Rico. No slave was shipped by import to St. Dominguez, Jamaica and Guiana. Below is the percentage comparison of slave shipment by import to the Americas from 1832-1867.

Table 4 Fourth Period: No of Slaves Shipped to the Americas (1832-1867)

Region	Number	% of Total
Brazil	707, 792	62
St. Dominguez	-	-
Jamaica	-	-
Other British Americas	34, 248	3
Guiana	-	-
Other French Americas	22, 832	2
Cuba/Puerto Rico	376, 728	33
Total	1, 141, 600	100

FIGURE: 3. a Bar graph Showing Percentage Share of Total Slave Exports from different Regions of Africa Source: Patton (1998)



RESULT

The total slave exported from Senegambia between the periods of 1755-1867 was 72,399.

SENEGAMBIA

(1) It is reported that the slaves exported from the region was 2,172 from 1755-1779; 1,448 from 1780-1807; 1,448 from 1808-1831. The slave exports from 1832-1867 was not accounted for. This gives missing estimates of 67,331 slaves out of the total slave exports of 72,399. Below is

the percentage comparison of slave exports from Senegambia and those of slaves missing during the period between 1755-1867.

Table 1 First Period: Number of Slaves Exported from Senegambia (1755-1867), Number reported, Number missing and the Deficit.

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	2, 172	3
1780-1807	1, 448	2
1808-1831	1, 448	2
1832-1867	Not Accounted for	0
Total	5, 068	7
Total Exported	72, 399	
Total Reported	5, 068	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	67, 331	93

(2) Shipment of Slaves from Sierra-Leone/Windward Coast (1755-1867)

The total slaves exported from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast from 1755-1867 was 365,648. Report on the table below shows that the slave exports was 51,751 from 1755-1779; 29,572 from 1780-1807; 18,482 from 1808-1831 and 14,786 from 1832-1867. The overall result of 114,591 recorded in this study is in contrast with the total slave exports of 369,648 recorded on the bar graph. This implies that the missing slave exports' estimate from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast was 255,057. Below is the percentage comparison of reported slave exports from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast from 1755-1867.

Table 2 Second Period: Number of Slaves exported from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	51,751	14
1780-1807	29, 572	8
1808-1831	18, 482	5
1832-1867	14, 786	4
Total	114, 591	31
Total Exported	369,648	
Total Reported	114, 591	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	255, 057	69

(3) Shipment of Slaves from Gold Coast (1755-1867)

The total slaves exported from Gold Coast from 1755-1867 was 243,879. The distribution is reported on the table below to be 29,266 from 1755-1779; 9,755 from 1780-1807; 14,633 from 1808-1831 and there is no account for slaves exported from 1832-1867, as indicated on the bar chart. The total number of slaves reported for exports out of 243,879 was 53,653. This implies that an estimated number of 190,226 slaves exported from Gold Coast during this period were missing. Below is the percentage comparison of Slaves exported from Gold Coast, by periods.

Table 3 Third Period: Number of Slaves Exported from Gold Coast (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	29, 266	12
1780-1807	9, 755	4
1808-1831	14, 633	6
1832-1867	Not Accounted for	-
Total	53, 653	22
Total Exported	243, 879	
Total Reported	53, 653	
Missing Slave (Deficit)	190, 226	78

(4) Shipment of Slaves from the Bight of Benin (1755-1867)

The total slaves exported from the Bight of Benin from 1755-1867 was 637,227. The distribution over the period of exportation was 101,956 from 1755-1779; 76,467 from 1780-1807; 101,956 from 1808-1831 and 108,329 from 1832-1867. The reported number of slaves exported on the table below, which was 388,708 is in contrast with the estimation: 637,227, given on the bar chart. This shows that 248,519 slaves were missing. Below is the percentage comparison of Slaves exported from the Bight of Benin by periods.

Table 4 Fourth Period: Number of Slaves Exported from the Bight of Benin (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	101, 956	16
1780-1807	76, 467	12
1808-1831	101, 956	16
1832-1867	108, 329	17
Total	388, 708	61
Total Exported	637, 227	
Total Reported	388, 708	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	248, 519	39

(5) Shipment of Slaves from the Bight of Biafra (1755-1867)

The total slaves exported from the Bight of Biafra from 1755-1867 was 799,246. The distribution of the slaves exported over the period of exportation was 103,902 from 1755-1779; 207,804 from 1780-1807; 143,864 from 1808-1831 and 39,962 from 1832-1867. The distribution estimate on the table below is 495,533 contrary to the total slave exports of 799,246 given on the bar chart. This indicates that 303,713 slaves exported from the Bight of Biafra were missing. Below is the percentage comparison of slave exports from the Bight of Biafra.

Table 5 Fifth Period: Number of Slaves Exported from the Bight of Biafra (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	103, 902	13
1780-1807	207, 804	26
1808-1831	143, 864	18
1832-1867	39, 962	5
Total	495, 533	62
Total Exported	799, 246	
Total Reported	495, 533	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	303, 713	38

(6) Shipment of Slaves from the West Central Africa (1755-1867)

The total slaves exported from the West Central Africa from 1755-1867 were 2,029,712. The distribution of the slaves as recorded on the table below by periods was 893,073 in 1755-1779; 953,965 in 1780-1807; 872,776 in 1808-1831 and 1,177,233 in 1832-1867. The distribution results in total estimate of 3,897,047 contrary to 2,029,712 recorded on the bar graph. This accounts for a surplus of 1,867,335 slaves exported from the region. Below is the percentage comparison of slave exports in this period.

Table 6 Sixth Period: Number of Slaves Exported from the West Central Africa (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Added and the Surplus

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	893, 073	44
1780-1807	953,965	47
1808-1831	872,776	43
1832-1867	1, 177, 233	58
Total	3,897,047	192
Total Exported	2,029,712	
Total Reported	3,897,047	
Surplus	1,867,335	

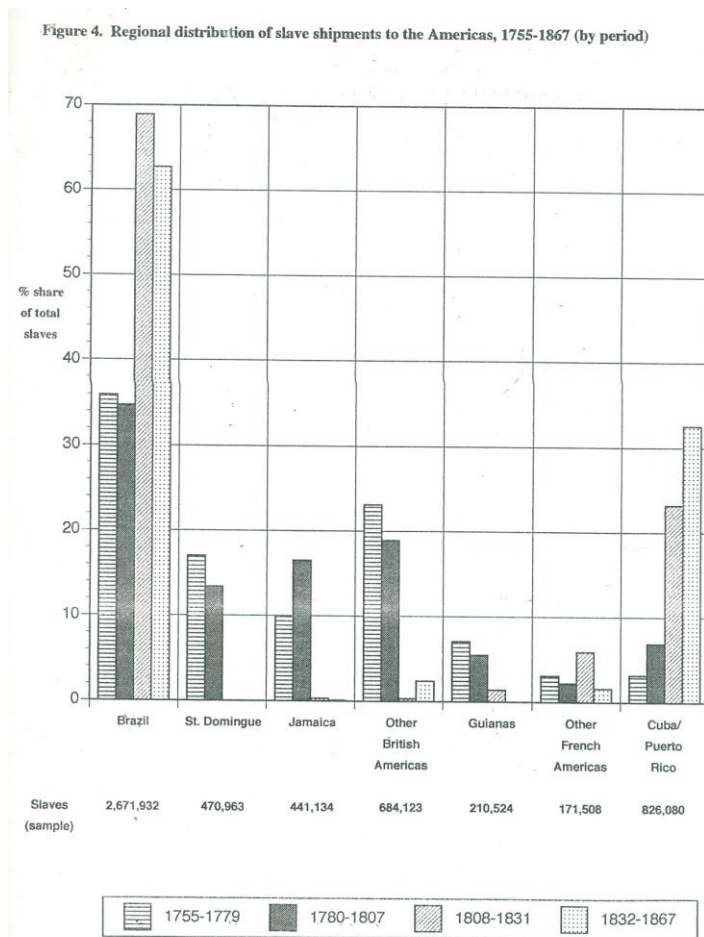
(7) Shipment of slaves from the Southeast Africa (1755-1867)

The total slaves exported from Southeast Africa in 1755-1867 were 224,823. The distribution of the slaves in 1755-1779 was not recorded on Table 15. However, 4,497 slaves were recorded in 1780-1807; 29,227 in 1808-1831 and 35,972 in 1832-1867. This gave a total estimate of 69,696 slaves exported from Southeast, a negation to total figure of 224,832 recorded by Adell Patton. This is an indication that 155,128 slaves were missing. Below is the percentage comparison of slaves exported in 1755-1867.

Table 7 Seventh Period: Number of Slaves Exported from Southeast Africa (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	Not Accounted for	0
1780-1807	4, 497	2
1808-1831	29, 227	13
1832-1867	35, 972	16
Total	69,696	31
Total Exported	224,823	
Total Reported	69,696	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	155,127	69

Figure 4: A Bar graph Showing Regional Distribution of Slave Shipments to the Americas (1755-1867) Source: Patton: (1998)



RESULTS

Shipment of Slaves to Brazil

Brazil

The total slave shipment to Brazil in 1755-1867 was 2,671,932. The distribution by periods as indicated on the table below shows 961,896 from 1755-1779; 908,457 from 1780-1807; 1,843,633 from 1808-1831 and 1,683,317 from 1832-1867. The slave shipment to Brazil by this distribution amounts to 5,397,303. This is contrary to total slaves reported by Patton (1998), which were 2,671,932. This implies that there is surplus of 2,725,271 in the slaves exported to Brazil in this period. Below is the percentage comparison of slave shipment to Brazil by periods

Table 1 First Period: Number of Slaves Exported to Brazil (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Added and the Surplus

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	961, 896	36
1780-1807	908, 457	34
1808-1831	1, 843, 633	69
1832-1867	1, 683, 317	63
Total	5, 397, 303	192
Total Exported	2, 671, 932	
Total Reported	5, 397, 303	
Surplus	2, 725, 371	

(2) Shipment of Slaves to St, Dominguez

The total Slaves shipment to St, Dominguez in 1755-1867 was 470,963. The distribution of slaves as recorded on the table below was 80,064 in 1755-1779 and 61,225 in 1780-1807. However, the distribution for 1808-1831 and 1832-1867 was not reported by Patton (1998) on the bar graph. With the available reports, there was a disclosure of only 141,289 slaves out of the total slave shipment of 470,963. The estimates from the distribution reported on the table indicate that 329,674 slaves were missing during the sailing to St, Domingue. Below is the percentage comparison of slave shipment to St, Dominguez, by periods

Table 2 Second Period: Number of Slaves Exported to St. Dominguez (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	80, 064	17
1780-1807	61, 225	13
1808-1831	Not Accounted for	0
1832-1867	Not Accounted for	0
Total	141, 289	30
Total Exported	470, 963	
Total Reported	141, 289	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	329, 674	70

(3) Shipment of Slaves to Jamaica

The total slaves shipped to Jamaica in 1755-1867 were 441,134. The distribution by periods on Table 18 shows 44,113 in 1755-1779; 74,993 in 1780-1807 and 4,411 in 1808-1831. However, the distribution for the period 1832-1867 was not given by Patton (1998) on the bar graph. The total estimates for distribution made available on the table were 123,517 contrary to the total number: 441,113 given on the bar graph, presupposing that 317,617 slaves were missing during the shipment to Jamaica. Below is the percentage comparison of Slaves shipped to Jamaica, by periods.

Table 3 Third Period: Number of Slaves Exported to Jamaica (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	44, 113	10
1780-1807	74, 993	17
1808-1831	4, 411	1
1832-1867	Not Accounted for	0
Total	123, 517	28
Total Exported	441, 134	
Total Reported	123, 517	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	317,617	72

(4) Shipment of Slaves to other British Americas

The total slaves exported to other British Americas in 1755-1867 were 684,123. The distribution by periods shows that the shipment was 157,348 in 1755-1779; 129,983 in 1780-1807; 6,841 in 1808-1831 and 13,683 in 1832-1867. The estimated total slaves by distribution on the table below were 307,855 contrary to 684,123 given on the bar graph. The amounts of missing slaves on the way to other British Americas, therefore, were 376,268. Below is the percentage comparison of Slaves exported to other British Americas.

Table 4 Fourth Period: Number of Slaves Exported to other British Americas (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	157, 348	23
1780-1807	129, 983	19
1808-1831	6, 841	1
1832-1867	13, 683	2
Total	307, 855	45
Total Exported	684, 123	
Total Reported	307, 855	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	376, 268	55

(5) Shipment of Slaves to Guiana

The total slaves exported to Guiana in 1755-1867 were 210,524. The distribution by periods as shown on the table below was 14,737 in 1755-1779; 12,631 in 1780-1807 and 2,105 in 1808-1831. The amount of slaves exported for the period 1832-1867 was not given on the bar chart. The total slaves reported for exportation were 29,473 contrary to 210,524 given on the bar chart. This is an indication that 181,051 slaves were missing. Below is the percentage comparison of slaves shipped to Guiana, by periods.

Table 5 Fifth Period: Number of Slaves Exported to Guiana (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	14, 737	7
1780-1807	12, 631	6
1808-1831	2, 105	1
1832-1867	Not Accounted for	-
Total	29, 473	14
Total Exported	210, 524	
Total Reported	29, 473	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	181, 051	86

(6) Shipment of Slaves to other French Americas

The total slaves shipped to other French Americas in 1755-1867 were 171,508. The distribution by periods shows on the table below that the shipment was 5,145 in 1755-1779; 3,430 in 1780-1807; 10,291 in 1808-1831 and 3,430 in 1832-1867. This distribution resulted in a total of 22,296 slaves shipped to other French Americas contrary to 171,508 figures given on the bar chart. This means that 149,212 slaves were missing. Below is the percentage comparison of slaves exported to other French Americas, by periods.

Table 6 Sixth Period: Number of Slaves exported to other French Americas (1755-1867), Number Reported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1779	5, 145	3
1780-1807	3, 430	2
1808-1831	10, 291	6
1932-1867	3, 430	2
Total	22, 296	13
Total Exported	171, 508	
Total Reported	22, 296	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	149, 212	87

(7) Shipment of Slaves to Cuba/Puerto Rico

The total slaves exported to Cuba/Puerto Rico in 1755-1867 was 826,080. The distribution by periods on the table below shows that the slave shipment was 24,782 in 1755-1779; 57,826 in

1780-1807; 189,998 in 1808-1831 and 272,606 in 1832-1867. The distribution amounts to 545,213 showing significant difference to the 826,080 recorded on the bar chart. This implies that 280,867 slaves were missing in the course of exportation. Below is the percentage comparison of slaves exported to Cuba/Puerto Rico.

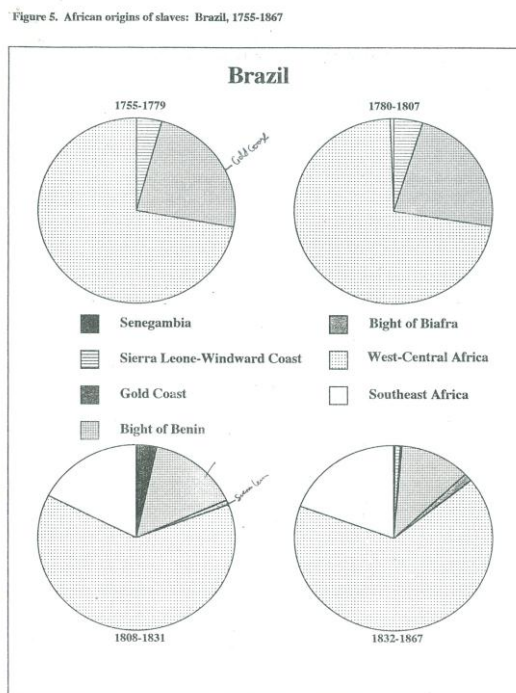
Table 7 Seventh Period: Number of Slaves Exported to Cuba/Puerto Rico (1755-1867), Number Exported, Number Missing and the Deficit

Periods	Number	% of Total
1755-1799	24, 782	3
1780-1807	57, 826	7
1808-1831	189, 998	23
1832-1867	272, 606	33
Total	545,213	66
Total Exported	826, 080	
Total Reported	545, 213	
Missing Slaves (Deficit)	280, 867	44

PIE CHARTS SUMMARY

The pie charts in figures 5 to 7 below are the summation of the numerical discourses and the concise statements of the main points that have been made in the bar graphs of figures 1-4. The results are indicated as follows:

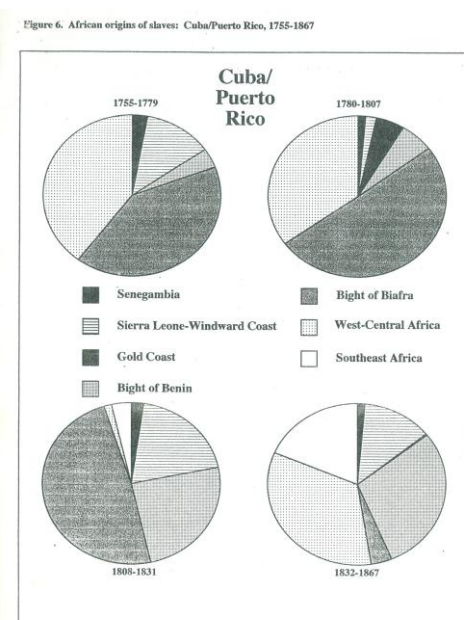
Figure 5: Pie Chart showing African origins of Slaves imported to Brazil (1755-1867). Source: Patton (1998)



RESULT

The result of the analysis in the Pie-Chart indicates that slaves imported to Brazil from the year 1755 to 1867 were predominantly from West-Central African. It also shows that a considerable number of slaves were imported from the Bight of Benin, while slaves imported from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast were the least numerically. The distribution of slaves origin in Brazil from 1755-1779 was similar to that of 1780-1807, except for the inclusion of few slaves from Southeast Africa. From the year 1808-1831, the slaves in Brazil remained predominantly those from the West Central Africa with little decrease compare to what was found in the years 1755-1779 and 1780-1807. The slaves from the Bight of Benin and Southeast Africa were at that period equal in numerical strength. There were also few slaves from Gold-Coast and Bight of Biafra. Also, in the period, 1832-1867 slaves from the West Central Africa were still most populous in Brazil follow by slaves from Southeast Africa and Bight of Benin respectively. At this period, there was also an inclusion of slaves from the Bight of Biafra and Sierra-Leone Windward Coast, but they were few in numerical strength. The final analysis shows that slaves from Senegambia were not found in Brazil in the year 1755 to 1867. The origins of slaves in Brazil at this period were from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast, West Central Africa, Gold Coast, Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra and Southeast Africa.

Figure 6: Pie Chart Showing African Origins of Slaves in Cuba/Puerto Rico (1755-1867). Source: Patton (1998)

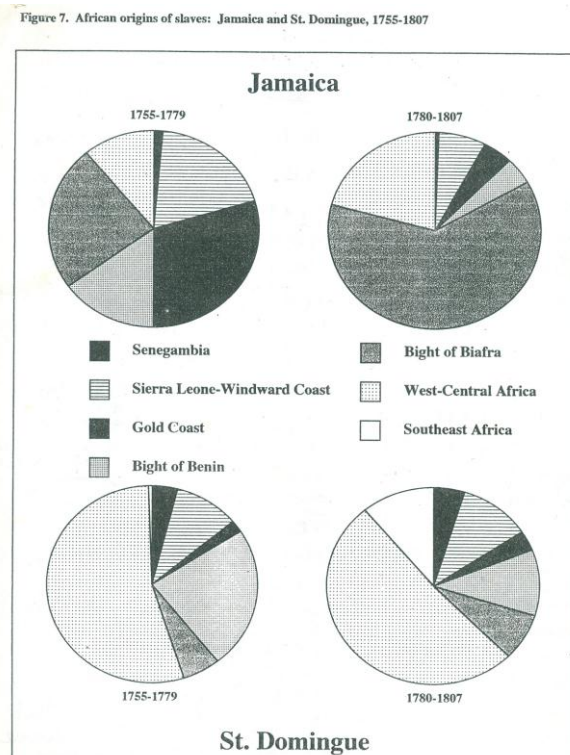


RESULT

The result in the Pie Chart shows that the slaves in Cuba/Puerto Rico from 1755-1779 were mostly imported from West Central Africa and Bight of Biafra. The number of slaves from

the Sierra-Leone Windward Coast was next to the above-mentioned regions, but slaves from Senegambia and Bight of Benin were minimal in numerical strength at the period. There was an increase in the population of slaves from the Bight of Biafra to Cuba/Puerto Rico between 1780 and 1807. At the period, slaves from the West Central Africa remained the same as was in the period 1755-1779 in numerical strength. Also, there were equal numbers of slaves from Gold Coast and Bight of Benin. The slaves from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast and Senegambia were the least in numerical strength at the period. From 1808-1831, slaves in Cuba/Puerto Rico were predominantly from the Bight of Biafra with the Bight of Benin and Sierra-Leone Windward Coast being the second largest in population at the period. There were also slaves from the Southeast Africa, Gold Coast and West Central Africa but they were few in number compare to those from other African regions mentioned earlier. From 1832-1867, the slaves in Cuba/Puerto Rico were predominantly from West Central Africa, Bight of Benin, Southeast Africa and Sierra-Leone Windward Coast. Also, there were slaves from Bight of Biafra and Gold Coast but they were small in number. Observably, slaves were not imported from Senegambia to Cuba/Puerto Rico at this period.

Figure 7: Pie Chart Showing African Origin of Slaves to Jamaica and St. Dominguez (1755-1867) Source: Patton (1998)



RESULT

The result in the Pie Chart indicates that the greater number of slaves in Jamaica in the period 1755-1779 were from Gold Coast, Sierra-Leone Windward Coast, Bight of Benin, Bight of

Biafra and West Central Africa in order of numerical strength. However, there were few numbers of slaves imported from Senegambia to Jamaica, but none was brought from Southeast Africa at this period. The number of slaves from the Bight of Biafra in 1780-1807 was more than the half of the total aggregate of slaves found in Jamaica. Those from the West Central Africa ranked second in numerical strength, while the slaves from Sierra-Leone Windward Coast, Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin ranked third in slaves' population. Little number of slaves was, however, imported from Senegambia at this period, but none was imported from Southeast Africa. Noticeably, Jamaica did not receive slaves from any region of Africa in 1808-1831 and 1832-1867. The slaves to St. Dominguez in 1755-1779 were predominantly from the West Central Africa follow by the Bight of Benin and Sierra-Leone Windward Coast respectively. The remaining aggregate is in this order: (1) Bight of Biafra, (2) Senegambia (3) Gold Coast and (4) very few from Southeast Africa. Similarly, the slaves brought to St. Dominguez in 1780-1807 were mostly from the West Central Africa. Others were imported from Southeast Africa, Sierra Leone Windward Coast, Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra, Senegambia and Gold Coast respectively. St. Dominguez did not receive slaves from Africa in the period, 1808-1831 and 1832-1867.

CONCLUSION

The overall conclusion is that the highest number of slaves that were carried out of Africa was from West Central Africa while Brazil received the highest number in the Americas. A summing up of the bar graphs indicates that in figure 1 the total numerical size of slaves exported from Africa to the Americas between 1755 and 1867 is **4,376,934** and the greater percentage accounted for between the period is derived from *West Central Africa* with total estimation of 44% between 1755 and 1799; 46% between 1780 and 1807; 43% between 1808 and 1831 and 58% between 1832 and 1867.

In figure 2 the total numerical size of slaves shipped to the Americas between 1755 and 1867 is given as **5,531,722** this is an indication of a surplus as against that of 4,376,934 indicated in figure 1: if the cumulative value of 4,376,934 accounted for as export from Africa in figure 1 is removed from that of 5,531,722 accounted for as import to the Americas in figure 2 the deficiency in amount will arrive at **1,154,788**. In this figure 2 there is also an indication that out of the total number of slave-import Brazil has the greatest share with total estimation of 36% between 1755 and 1799; 35% between 1780 and 1807; 69% between 1808 and 1831 and 62% between 1832 and 1867.

In figure 3 the figure-sum distributions of slaves from Africa between 1755 and 1867 indicate that a total number of **4,376,934** slaves were exported as is in figure 1, but Patton's (1998) graphical table is finally summed up by this researcher to arrive at **5,024,296** in excess of what was reported; with deficit of **3,087,308** slaves: an implication that some of them were missing on this journey to the Americas. In this instance the estimation of Patton (1998) is contradictory and confusing. It should be stated clearly that if two or more facts are at variance, the implication is that opposite things are true. The summative individual distribution in this figure 3 shows that (1) Senegambia had about 72,399 slaves exported, but only 5,068 were reported with 67,331 missing (2) Sierra Leone/Wind Coast jointly had about 369,648 slaves exported, but only 114,591 were reported with 255,057 missing (3) Gold Coast had about 243,879 slaves exported, but 53,653 were reported with 190,226 missing. (4) Bight of Benin had about 637,227 slaves exported, but only 388,708 were reported with

248,519 missing (5) Bight of Biafra had about 799,246 slaves exported, but only 495,533 were reported with 303,713 missing (6) West Central Africa had about 2,029,712 slaves exported, but excess of 3,897,047 were reported given surplus of 1,867,335 and (7) Southeast Africa had about 224,823 slaves exported, but only 69,696 were reported with 155,127 missing.

In figure 4 the distributions of slaves to the Americas between 1755 and 1867 indicate that a total number of **5,476,264** slaves were exported, but the record shows **6,565,946** in excess of what was reported while there are **2,725,371** surpluses and **1,634,689** deficits. The individual distributions indicate that (1) Brazil had about 2,671,932 slaves imported, but excess of 5,397,303 were reported with 2,725,371 in surplus (2) St. Dominguez had about 470,963 slaves imported, but only 141,289 were reported with 329,674 missing (3) Jamaica had about 441,134 slaves imported, but only 123,517 were reported with 317,617 missing (4) British Americas had about 684,123 slaves imported, but only 307,855 were reported with 376,268 missing (5) Guiana had about 210,524 slaves imported, but only 29,473 were reported with 181,051 missing (6) French Americas had about 171,508 slaves imported, but only 21,296 were reported with 149,212 missing and (7) Cuba/Puerto Rico jointly had 826,080 slaves imported, but only 545,213 were reported with 280,867 missing. It is revealed in this analysis that many of the slaves exported from Africa got missing during the journey to the Americas probably as a result of stress and/or hardship, but deficits reported in Patton's graphical representations are without adequate account of this occurrence of missing slaves.

From the above conclusive analysis it is clearly evident that Patton's (1998) numerical estimations of slaves exported to the Americas are at variance with those of other scholars mentioned earlier, but there is an agreement in the fact that Brazil absorbed the largest number of slaves of any colony in the Americas. Also it is noticeable that Patton has made a series of contradictory estimations about the exportation and distribution of the slaves in his figure-sums and the graphs.

Above all these inadequacies in numerical estimations is a clear demand amongst Africans for some sort of reparation from Europe and the Americas for the damage, injuries, loss and suffering that they have caused the black race. It is, however, apposite to peep into Herskovits' (1966) record of reaction of an Old Dahomean to this issue of reparation. The answer of this Old man to Herskovits' question is a requital tendency towards the abolished outmoded slavery act in this pristine primordial African *call and response* approach:

The Old man calls out: *Oh, ancestors do all in your power that Princes and Nobles who today rule Africa never be sent away again as slaves to Ame'ica, to Togbome, to Gbulu, to Kankanu, to Gbuluvia, to Rarira. We pray you do all in your power to punish the people who bought our kinsmen whom we shall never see again. Send their vessels to Whidah harbour. When they come, drown their crews, and make all the wealth of their ships come back to Dahomey...And is that not a just payment for what they have taken?*

All Responses: *Yes, yes, yes! And it is not enough. The English must bring guns. The Portuguese must bring powder. The Spaniards must bring the small stones which give fire to our fire-sticks. The Americans must bring the cloths and the rum made by our kinsmen who are there for these will permit us to smell their presence (Herskovits, 1966:87)*

These requisitions are a sort of challenge to those Africans who have not succumbed to thrall here and now to demand for compensation for damages caused during slavery activities in African continent.

The overall conclusion of this present study is that the aggregate of slaves carted to the Americas has been sorted after by many scholars for myriads of centuries, but there is no consensus on the ultimate number. It is observed that lack of direct evidence has made the discovery of accurate number difficult and one of the most difficult challenges for the students of slave trade has been to collect accurate data relating to the traffic in the interior of the African continent. This is one of the reasons why most scholars have been hypothesizing and drawing many inferences from existing records of other scholars with scarcely agreement about the implications and directionality of their conclusion.

It is therefore recommended that efforts should be made in the fora of historical society worldwide to form a common ground in how to envision the numerical exportation of slaves from Africa and their distributions in the Americas in order to avoid further speculations. This recommendation may sound trait and naive, but it is true to say that this area of scholarship will become more validated when history scholars get down to the specifics.

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