

***NOVA VIRGEM: THE STORY OF A NINETEENTH-CENTURY  
BRAZILIAN SLAVE SMUGGLER***

A Thesis

by

MASON DANIEL MILLER

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

May 2001

Major Subject: Anthropology

**NOVA VIRGEM: THE STORY OF A NINETEENTH-CENTURY  
BRAZILIAN SLAVE SMUGGLER**

A Thesis

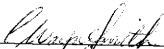
by

MASON DANIEL MILLER

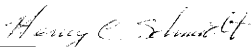
Submitted to Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

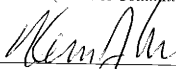
Approved as to style and content by:



C. Wayne Smith  
(Chair of Committee)



Henry C. Schmidt  
(Member)



Kevin J. Crisman  
(Member)



David L. Carlson  
(Head of Department)

May 2001

Major Subject: Anthropology

**ABSTRACT**

*Nova Virgem: The Story of a Nineteenth Century*

Brazilian Slave Smuggler. (May 2001)

Mason Daniel Miller, B.A., The University of Texas at Austin

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. C. Wayne Smith

With the close of the legal transatlantic slave trade in 1807 agricultural markets of the New World were reluctant to relinquish their dependence on free labor from Africa. British insistence on the opposite eventually caused most of those who held out to give in and end the traffic, but not for some time. Brazil held a unique privilege during the early stages of the abolition of the slave trade. Through treaty with Great Britain, Brazilians were allowed to continue the trade provided they met a number of conditions. Among these were a limit of five slaves per two ship tons, the mandatory presence of a surgeon on all slaving voyages, and most importantly the restriction of all slaving voyages to ports south of the Equator.

This thesis will examine the story of one Brazilian slaver, the *Nova Virgem*, which was captured in July 1828 off the coast of Nigeria by HMS *Primrose*. Taken 300 miles north of the Equator, with more than 350 slaves aboard, the ship was declared a legal prize of Britain and sent to Sierra Leone for trial and later condemned. As this vessel's tale unfolds it is soon evident that the slavers had broken the law in almost every aspect of their voyage, from the tonnage calculation to the clearance papers signed by Bahian officials. This thesis will examine the voyage of this Brazilian slaver in order

to ask a very important question: Why was this ship breaking laws virtually every step of the way?

In the end, the *Nova Virgem* will be shown as a raindrop in a storm of slave smugglers being stopped by the umbrella of the British government and navy. These laws were being broken because it was well known that slavers could do so with little fear of the consequences. With the potential for tremendous profits the negligible slap on the wrist that might, under remote possibilities, be awaiting them was almost something to be laughed at. This story reflects the battle of morality and “civilization” versus the desire to reap a profit.

Like any commerce, the slave trade was simply the product of shrewd businessmen providing their customers with what they wanted. As long as there is someone willing to purchase a commodity, there will be someone there to sell it. The story can be seen as almost identical to modern drug smuggling. No matter how hard the authorities may wish to end the traffic, they will never achieve their goals unless the people of the nation cooperate. Without the aid of the country’s citizens, the traffic will continue simply because the police are bound by the law and the smugglers are not.



To my parents, Greg and Cathy Miller.

Thank you for being my direction in the past, my motivation  
in the present, and my inspiration for the future.

I love you both.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

From the start, I wanted to make this thesis as much an interesting yarn as it is an informative piece of scholarship. The story of the *Nova Virgem* proves to be a perfect platform for this. It is an amazing account of human suffering, frustrating immobility, and dastardly ingenuity. I hope the reader will enjoy reading and learning from it as much as I loved researching and writing it. This could not, however, have been written without the assistance of a great number of people.

Many thanks go out to all of the members of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology. Without their funding, I would not have been able to travel to Europe to conduct my research. I would like to thank Mr. (hopefully Doctor by the time this thesis is in print) Filipe Vieira de Castro who spent many hours translating the documents written in Portuguese and straining his eyes while deciphering the (to put it mildly) challenging penmanship of those who wrote them. Without his help, I would not have been able to interpret much of this voyage. Dr. Henry Schmidt was also an inspiration to me, though he may not have known it, as he helped me to turn my attention to Portuguese America and its rich history when exploring this topic. Without his discussion I may not have even stopped to read any of the documents concerning a Brazilian slaver at the PRO. I would like to thank all of my friends, Travis, Mike, T.R., Jo, Mark, Katie, Glenn, the Saras, Jana, Sam, Erika, Erkut, and Matthew for encouraging me to keep pushing myself, assisting me with “real quick” duties that I’m sure they would rather not have done, and helping when I wanted to unwind.

A special thank you goes out to Ms. Amanda Sargent who was there for me whenever I needed her. Thank you for listening to me ramble on and on and on about this ship and every detail that accompanied it. Thank you for at least feigning interest as I told you its story for the twentieth time. And thank you for understanding whenever I had difficult times. I would also like to thank my parents, sister and brother-in-law for all that they have done to encourage and inspire me to do my absolute best. Thank you to my extended family all over for listening to the tale over and over and lifting me up with your words of support.

Two people were absolutely invaluable in the writing of this thesis. Dr. Kevin Crisman assisted me tremendously as he graciously and generously provided me with a number of rare books on ship construction and seafaring from his personal library. I would like to thank him for applying his twenty years of experience in ship construction as he studied and evaluated my illustrations in progress. Though I may have been disappointed whenever you found an error on a drawing, I was encouraged with the knowledge that the correction would be true to life. The final product reflects his gentle nudges in the right direction.

Finally, I must thank Dr. C. Wayne Smith for all that he has done to push this project along. It was a technology dependent endeavor (as most theses nowadays are) and much of the work was done on his equipment and with his direction. Thank you, Wayne, for allowing me to pursue a study that is so important to me. Thanks for reading manuscripts over and over when you were up to your neck in your own work. Thanks for being such a great boss.

I hope, that in the end this thesis will be worth all that all of you have done for me. I believe that it is.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT .....	iii
DEDICATION .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xii
LIST OF TABLES .....	xiv
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION .....	1
II HISTORICAL BACKGROUND .....	6
The Eighteenth Century Slave Trade and British Domestic Abolition .....	6
A “Judicious Mixture of Bullying and Bribery” .....	12
Brazilian Independence and the Abolition of the Slave Trade .....	15
III LEGALITIES OF ILLEGALITY .....	19
British Presence on the African Coast .....	19
The Capture of Slavers without the <i>Equipment Clause</i> .....	22
The Cases of the <i>Alexander</i> and the <i>La Jeune Eugenie</i> .....	27
The Flag .....	29
The American Flag: A Special Situation .....	33
Timing is Everything .....	36
Discussion .....	39

CHAPTER	Page
IV	THE <i>NOVA VIRGEM</i> ..... 41
	Background: The Pre-Nineteenth Century Slaver ..... 41
	The Illegal Era Slave Ship ..... 44
	Arqueação or Lotação: How Big Was this Ship? ..... 47
	The Hull of the <i>Nova Virgem</i> ..... 52
	The Rig of the <i>Nova Virgem</i> ..... 58
	A Quick Tour: The Outfit of the <i>Nova Virgem</i> ..... 65
V	TO AFRICA ..... 73
	Bahia ..... 73
	Departure ..... 75
	Boarded ..... 77
	Sao Tomé and Príncipe ..... 79
	Lagos ..... 85
	Loading and Escape ..... 89
	Capture ..... 97
VI	ADJUDICATION ..... 100
	Background of Sierra Leone and the Mixed Commission Courts ..... 100
	The Voyage of the <i>Nova Virgem</i> to Sierra Leone ..... 104
	Adjudication ..... 109
	Aftermath: The Slaves ..... 112
	Aftermath: The <i>Nova Virgem</i> ..... 114
	Aftermath: The Crew ..... 117
VII	CONCLUSION: A YOUNG, REBELLIOUS NATION ..... 119
	The Slave of Bahia ..... 120
	Anti-British Sentiment in Brazil ..... 126
	The <i>Nova Virgem</i> Rides the Flood of Urgency and Pride ..... 128
	NOTES ..... 132
	BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 166
	APPENDIX A ..... 173

APPENDIX B.....	186
APPENDIX C.....	189
APPENDIX D.....	200
VITA.....	228

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	Page
1 The Atlantic Slave-Trading Grounds .....	3
2 Prominent British Abolitionists .....	9
3 Throwing Slaves Overboard .....	25
4 Reconstruction of the <i>Henrietta Marie</i> .....	42
5 Reconstructed Lines of the <i>Nova Virgem</i> .....	55
6 Construction Drawing of the Reconstructed <i>Nova Virgem</i> .....	56
7 Reconstructed Sail Plan of the <i>Nova Virgem</i> .....	63
8 Windsails of Danish Slaver <i>Fredensborg II</i> .....	67
9 West African Coast .....	76
10 Reconstruction of the Route Taken by the <i>Nova Virgem</i> as Described by Rodrigues .....	80
11 The Proposed True Route of the <i>Nova Virgem</i> .....	86
12 A Slaving Coffle .....	88
13 A Slave-Loading Boat .....	93
14 Two Slavers Loading Human Cargo .....	94
15 Loading a Fresh Cargo of Slaves .....	95
16 HMS <i>Primrose</i> Engages the Spanish Slave Brig <i>Veloz</i> <i>Passagera</i> .....	99
17 Rescued Slaves Aboard a Royal Navy Cruiser .....	106
18 Slaves Sitting in Freetown Hospital .....	108



FIGURE	Page
19 Planting Sugarcane on a Brazilian Plantation.....	121
20 Slaves Clearing a Brazilian Forest.....	122
21 Gender Distribution Onboard the <i>Nova Virgem</i> .....	130

**LIST OF TABLES**

TABLE	Page
1 Scantling List of the Reconstructed <i>Nova Virgem</i> .....	57
2 Spar Dimensions of the Reconstructed <i>Nova Virgem</i> .....	64

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

It was mid-morning on Thursday, July 28, 1828. Commander Thomas Saville Griffinhoofe of HM Sloop *Primrose* was patrolling the waters off the West African coast when he noticed a small, fast schooner on the horizon. Griffinhoofe suspected that this ship was not there for standard trade; this vessel had much more insidious intentions. There was little doubt that this was a slave ship, conducting commerce that had been illegal for over twenty years. *Primrose* fired her cannon and gave chase while the small schooner made all sail away. The two speedy vessels raced across the waves for more than seven hours until late in the evening when the *Nova Virgem*, a Brazilian slaver from Bahia, was brought to and boarded. Below decks on the captured vessel, Griffinhoofe's men counted 354 men, women and children crammed into the tiny hold and on her deck. Being a Brazilian slave ship, the *Nova Virgem* was not allowed to conduct trade in these waters and was thus there illegally. *Primrose's* chase was now her prize.

Engagements such as these had become a standard practice for Griffinhoofe and other officers stationed in the Royal Navy's African Squadron throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. During the twenty years since the slave trade had been abolished in Great Britain and an increasing number of other nations, naval enforcement of anti-slave smuggling laws was slowly becoming more effective. Hundreds of slave ships were being sent to the courts for condemnation and thousands of Africans were

---

This thesis follows the style and format of *American Neptune*.

rescued from their holds. Despite these efforts, the Royal Navy could do little to stop a trade that many countries felt was essential to their economic well-being. For every slave ship captured, tens would slip away. Any and every effort was made to continue the trade as merchants were lured away from legal commerce by the prospect of astronomical profits with minimal risk. The Royal Navy, in 1828, was a small dam against the torrential flood of the slave trade. The naval police were fighting a pitched battle and they were losing badly.

*Primrose's* encounter with the *Nova Virgem* poses a number of questions. Most importantly, why was the ship captured so far to the north? During this time, the transatlantic slave trade was still legal for Brazilians provided they stayed south of the Equator. The *Nova Virgem* was taken 300 miles north of the Line near Lagos, a considerable distance from the safety of the southern hemisphere (Figure 1). Why did the slave ship's master, Cosme Ruiz Rodrigues, venture into these waters when it was perfectly legal to conduct his trade elsewhere? Did he veer off course? Did he intentionally head for this area in spite of the risks? Why did he hazard losing his ship, his crew and his way home?

Court documents and ship's papers taken as evidence show that from the onset this voyage was planned and executed with little regard for the law as though the slave trade was still completely legal and unregulated. Bahian and Brazilian officials knew that Rodrigues, along with countless other merchants, was breaking the law and they did nothing to stop them; in fact it will be seen that they assisted him.

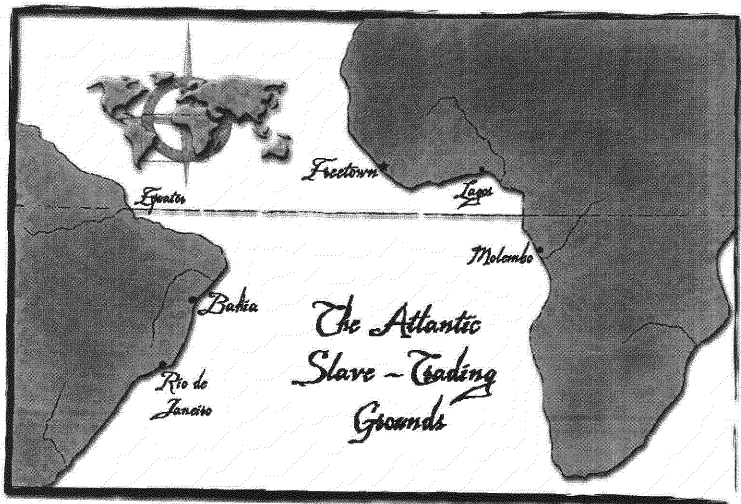


Figure 1: The Atlantic Slave-Trading Grounds.

As the story unfolds it will be found that this slaver was merely the tip of the iceberg in a thriving industry that prided itself on getting around the legal and naval efforts of Great Britain. The *Nova Virgem* was the product of a young country that embraced its new-found independence and frowned upon any outside meddling in what it felt were its personal affairs. British and Brazilian treaties were seen as oppressive obstacles to move around and not agreements to be honored.

Fueled by an economy based upon sugar and tobacco plantations, which in turn was wholly dependent upon slave labor, Brazil refused to follow any legislation that threatened to hinder its agricultural output. Slaves were considered essential to the economy, and their trade would continue no matter what British officials thought. Part of the problem was that Brazil did little to maintain its own stock of slaves. Notoriously harsh treatment made the days of a once-healthy slave very short, and the disproportionate ratio of sexes meant the population was unable to maintain its numbers. Brazil simply *needed fresh African slaves to keep its head above water.*

At the time of the capture of the *Nova Virgem*, Brazilian planters could still rely on the slave trade as long as it was conducted south of the Equator (a right only allowed to Brazil at this time), but the clock was ticking. In 1830 the trade was to be outlawed for all of Brazil, and Great Britain was not entertaining requests for extensions. As a result, the late 1820s saw a mad scramble to bring in as many slaves as possible. Prices skyrocketed as did slave trafficking. Brazil's procrastination in finding a remedy to its labor woes turned to desperation, and desperation turned the Brazilian slave-smuggling industry into one of the largest and richest illicit marketplaces in the world. The story of

the *Nova Virgem* is a microcosm of this unusual time when a uniquely-privileged nation was about to lose its advantage.

This thesis will tell the story of the voyage of the *Nova Virgem* from start to finish in an effort to illustrate this period in history. The ship's design and outfit will be reconstructed in order to illustrate the Bahian slave industry's immense expenditures on vessels, all made in an effort to procure the fastest, most advanced, and most elusive merchant fleet on the sea. The route taken by the slaver will be examined to understand just how and why this slaver, along with many others like her, traded where they did despite British naval efforts to suppress their activities. The *Nova Virgem's* trial will illustrate the legal means Great Britain had at her disposal for dealing with slave smugglers such as Rodrigues and his men. Furthermore, the story will show just how difficult it was for the Royal Navy to even enforce the laws that were designed to help them, while they made things easier for slavers. Finally, the slave registry, a listing of the names, ages and sizes of every one of the emancipated African men, women and children, will be used to illustrate the horrific, diseased conditions aboard this ship.

This thesis will present a picture of two opposing entities fighting over a third. Britain desperately wanted the slave trade to end while Brazil pushed for the opposite. In the middle were 354 Africans who lay sick, dying and dead as they awaited the victor.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the chapters to come, the reader will learn of the lengths to which the crew of the *Nova Virgem*, as well as the Bahian authorities, went in an effort to carry as many slaves across the ocean as was possible. As the story of the *Nova Virgem* is told, it is clear that the Brazilian people were rushing against time in an effort to continue their prosperity by means that had in recent times become increasingly unpopular in the international world. Why was there this rush? Why couldn't the Brazilian people simply continue the slave trade as they had for nearly two and a half centuries? This chapter will better set the stage of the voyage of the *Nova Virgem* by illustrating the changing international sentiment toward the monstrosities of the slave trade.

### THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SLAVE TRADE AND BRITISH DOMESTIC ABOLITION

They who go out as pirates, and take away poor Africans, and make them Slaves and sell them, are the worst of robbers, and ought to be considered the Common enemies of mankind; and that they who buy them and make use of them As mere beasts of burden are fitter to be called Demons than Christians.

Goodwin and Baxter 1673<sup>1</sup>



At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the world was rapidly assuming a more modern air. The industrial revolution was beginning to take its hold in Europe and North America. The people who had once lived along the rural countryside of Europe and worked its fields were now being drawn to the machines of the cities. As this new generation of workers, particularly in Great Britain, focused more on the city and less on the rural lifestyle of an earlier generation, many 'enlightened' men and women found one key aspect of the old ways to be particularly distressing, indeed sickening: slavery. It was in the streets of London, and in the fields of the British West Indies that the first steps toward universal abolition of the slave trade would be taken.<sup>2</sup>

What once controlled much of the way Europeans thought and acted, was now an embarrassment to be erased from the British way of life. While Europeans shipped an estimated 100,000 slaves a year to the New World, Englanders read the stories of emancipated slaves like Olaudah Equiano and winced at the horrors of the slave trade.<sup>3</sup> One legendary tale was of a slave who ran away from his master, but was eventually caught. In a fit of rage over his escape, the slave's master took him to a surgeon and demanded that the slave's leg be cut off. When the surgeon refused, the slave's master grabbed a stick and hit the slave's leg, breaking it severely. At this the owner declared, "Now you must cut it off; or the man will die."<sup>4</sup> Slaves held aboard ships as they crossed the Atlantic did not fare better. The already poor conditions aboard slave ships grew even worse as greedy slave merchants filled their holds to beyond capacity while providing miniscule provisions.<sup>5</sup> One slave merchant was noted to have thrown 132 slaves overboard simply for fear of running out of water, while another packed enough

provisions based on the self-fulfilling estimation that only half of his cargo would survive the “Middle Passage” to the New World.<sup>6</sup>

Disgust on the part of what was at first a small minority of Britons brought about the formation of “Friends of the Abolition” in the late 1780s (Figure 2). Abolitionists Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce were the leaders of the group and traveled across Britain speaking to government officials and citizens about the horrors of the slave trade and the necessity of its eradication.<sup>7</sup> Their words had some effect on the people, although perhaps not as quickly as the Friends had anticipated. Much of the high society of London initially presented great hindrance to the abolition of the trade as most had investments in the West Indies’ plantations and markets. Abolition was invariably thought to mean the end of commerce to and from these islands, and the end of their fortunes.<sup>8</sup> What was begun by Wilberforce as a four-year plan for the eradication of the slave trade in England turned out to be a twenty-year battle.<sup>9</sup>

The first great step toward abolition came with the trial of a Jamaican slave named *Summersett*. Brought over to England with his master in 1769, he refused to return to the ship and tried to escape but was captured and taken aboard. The news of this event quickly spread through the nascent abolitionist community and they pressed for, and eventually received, a writ of *habeas corpus* in order discredit the owner and ask why the slave should not be considered free when he reached England. After three years and as many different trials, the case was finally decided by a judge, Lord Mansfield, who set legal precedent by declaring that *Summersett* was indeed a free man once he



Figure 2: Prominent British Abolitionists. These five men primarily operated in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. (From Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 140)

reached England. From then on, it was British law that slaves were free men once they set foot on English soil.<sup>10</sup>

The British government did not take much notice of the case and colonial slave policy remained as it was before the *Summersett* case until 1788. The wretched conditions aboard slave ships would not go unnoticed. As a Sir W. Dolben walked past a slave ship docked in London, he was disgusted by the revolting conditions aboard the vessel.<sup>11</sup> He immediately pressed the House of Lords and the House of Commons for legislation to alleviate some of the horrors of the slave trade. Merchant opposition to the passage of any regulations reached a surreal pitch when one protester described the “Middle Passage” as “one of the happiest periods of a negro’s life.”<sup>12</sup> Dolben’s efforts proved fruitful. On July 11, 1788, an act named for him was passed as a temporary measure to limit the suffering of the Africans on the “Middle Passage” until a bill marking the total abolition of the trade could be ratified.<sup>13</sup> Among the stipulations of the Dolben Act was a limitation of no more than five slaves per every two tons burden of each British slaver. Surgeons were required to be placed aboard all slavers and an accurate record of the medical conditions was to be recorded at all times for later review by government officials.<sup>14</sup> Finally, to control the spread of disease, the law insisted that slaves were to be given a minimum of eight square feet of deck space each aboard the slave vessels.<sup>15</sup> The next notable legislation came in 1799 with the passage of a law that set an absolute limit to the number of slaves brought aboard a slave ship of any tonnage at 400.<sup>16</sup>

Public opinion finally began to sway in the favor of the abolitionists. Officials were soon being flooded with petitions for the ending of the slave trade. One office reportedly received more than 600 in a period of two days.<sup>17</sup> With all of their support now gathered, the Friends pushed for a final abolition of the slave trade in Great Britain and all her colonies. Entitled “An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade” the bill was written, debated and eventually passed in both Houses in 1807. As of January 1, 1808, the slave trade was illegal in all ports controlled by the British crown. The abolition of the legal American slave trade occurred on the same date.<sup>18</sup>

As all of this legislation was being brought to bear on the British slaving trade, merchants and manufacturers began to worry. Letters written by frustrated gun founders in 1754 indicate the industrial demands created by the increased pace of slave trading, for British slavers were purchasing guns to trade in Africa faster than gunsmiths could produce them. As one gunsmith wrote, “Lately [I] sit up a whole night to compleat an order which could not otherways be done... to execute the orders now under hand would require far more attendance than I am capable.” By the 1790s, well into the abolition era, British slavers were placing their orders for trade goods well ahead of time to ensure that they had enough goods for later voyages.<sup>19</sup> The slavers had good reason to increase their orders. As English troops took over Dutch Guiana on the Windward Coast of South America in 1794, British slaving approached its zenith, trading some 55,000 Africans per year.<sup>20</sup> Slaving continued at a fevered pitch, no doubt based on the fear of what looked like an inevitable end to the trade. This trend reached such a peak that as

the Abolition Act of 1807 was passed, British slavers in Africa handled more than half of the world's slave trade.<sup>21</sup>

With the trade in slaves now abolished in British Colonies, planters and manufacturers feared that British goods would fall by the wayside as other nations who still traded slaves continued production at increased rates. In fact, for some industries, this did come true. As an example, Great Britain supplied seventy percent of its cotton from its West Indian colonies from 1796 to 1800. By 1820, that production had fallen to just seven percent. British officials did not want this trend to get out of hand, so other nations were then pressed to end their slaving practices in an effort to place everyone on even footing.<sup>22</sup>

### **A “JUDICIOUS MIXTURE OF BULLYING AND BRIBERY”**

As the British slave trade was brought to a close - at least officially - on New Year's Day 1808, the country turned its attention to the rest of the Christian world to promote universal abolition. In fact, Denmark had beaten England to the punch, ending the traffic four years earlier in 1804. Sweden, and Holland would voluntarily follow England's example and abolish the trade in 1813 and 1814, respectively.<sup>23</sup> These nations were not the main focus of British efforts, as greater interest and effort was placed on the abolition of the trade in France, Spain, the United States, and Portugal.

Of these nations, France offered the greatest overt resistance to the abolition of the trade. The trade was providing the French government a tremendous amount of

income, essential to a nation that was rebuilding following the Napoleonic Wars. The slaving port of Nantes reportedly brought French merchants 90,000,000 francs profit in 1815 alone.<sup>24</sup> Much of this money found its way into Parisian coffers. With the close of combat, it was England's intention to use the Napoleonic War as a bargaining chip. France had already agreed in 1813 to end the trade in 1818, but Britain was not satisfied and pushed for abolition at the European Assembly in Vienna in 1814. French officials resisted any further concessions, stating "that opinions in France were by no means what they were in England." Upon hearing this, one British official noted, "morality could not be taught to France at the point of a bayonet."<sup>25</sup> French resistance proved strong enough to delay the total abolition of the trade for two years until it was finally brought to an end in 1820.<sup>26</sup>

Spain's reluctance to end its trade is also of note. Rebuilding after the Napoleonic Wars, Spanish authorities were in need of any and all assistance its neighbors could spare. Britain offered Madrid £80,000 for ending the slave trade north of the Equator. Spain, already losing control over its colonies in the New World, felt that any change to the current status of the trade would only have negative result and refused the offer.<sup>27</sup> Great Britain continued to hound the Spanish ministry until 1817 when they finally relented and abolished the trade north of the equator with the condition that the trade be completely halted by 1820 in exchange for a payment of £ 400,000. As 1820 approached, Spain asked for an extension, but none was granted and in 1820, Spanish slave trading was officially outlawed. Two years later, Spain was the first

nation to sign a treaty with England granting the Royal Navy the right to capture and condemn slavers caught without any slaves but obviously fitted out for such a service.<sup>28</sup>

Portugal dragged its feet the most in the effort to curb the trade. Lisbon's efforts seemed genuine initially, as Portugal was the first nation to enter into treaty with Great Britain in 1810. Though only a small part of a much larger free trade treaty with Portugal and its largest colony Brazil, the tenth article limited the Portuguese slave trade to the dominions of the Portuguese Crown with the understanding of a future total abolition.<sup>29</sup> The cooperative action of Portugal was the direct result of Great Britain's assistance during the recent Napoleonic Wars in which, among other operations, British naval vessels escorted the Portuguese Crown across the Atlantic to its temporary court in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>30</sup>

Portugal again stepped to the bargaining table with Great Britain in 1814. The Prince Regent "resolved to cooperate with His Britannic Majesty in the cause of humanity and justice and by adopting the most efficacious means for bringing about gradual abolition of the Slave Trade throughout the whole of his Dominions."<sup>31</sup> The law that was written was much more restrictive to the trade. Portugal was no longer allowed to trade north of the equator. Also, much like Dolben's Act, a limit of 5 slaves per two tons was required as well as the presence of a surgeon on all voyages and the banning of all slave branding. Britain also agreed to compensate all Portuguese slave vessels captured wrongfully on the African coast until such time as the trade was totally abolished. As will be shown in the following chapter, this concession proved to be a tremendous thorn in the side of British naval efforts to control the slave trade as it placed



all of the burden of proof on the navy and no repercussions on the smugglers.<sup>32</sup> All of these conditions were granted by the Portuguese crown on the condition that Britain award Portugal with £300,000 in cash and the remittance of a loan of £600,000 Britain had given some time earlier.<sup>33</sup>

## **BRAZILIAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE**

As stated above, the Crown of Portugal was temporarily located in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, a move that helped to raise the Brazilians' sense of worth and identity in the Iberian world. Growth of the economy also aided in the colony's wealth and influence. With its newly-granted access to a large share of British trade, Brazil was becoming a powerful entity in the New World and the Portuguese Empire.<sup>34</sup> Leslie Bethell describes the scene well as she explains:

Brazilian ports had been open to world, and especially British trade, and the influx of "new people, new capital, new ideas" had stimulated economic development and modernization; Brazil, indeed the whole of the Portuguese Empire, had been governed from Rio de Janeiro, not Lisbon, and in 1815 Brazil had been elevated to the status of a kingdom equal with Portugal.<sup>35</sup>

With this rising national pride, Brazil's last intention was to return to the subjugation *from afar that existed before the transfer of the Crown*. When the Portuguese king returned home to Lisbon in 1820, he quickly attempted to do just this. Brazilians would not go back and on September 7, 1822, they declared their independence.<sup>36</sup>

With the declaration of independence of Brazil, British Foreign Secretary pressed Portugal for the total abolition of the traffic. In its diplomacy of earlier years, Portugal repeatedly claimed that the only reason for the continuation of the slave trade was because of the needs of its colonies, particularly Brazil. Now that Brazil was independent, this excuse was no longer valid. Furthermore, the Treaty of 1810 stipulated that Portugal could only trade with those regions subject to Portuguese rule, and now that Brazil had shed the crown, Portugal had no legal place to trade below the equator. Portugal was in no position, however, to enter into any agreement regarding slaving as the signing of any law based on these points would admit Brazil's independence, something Portugal did not recognize.<sup>37</sup>

British officials knew that this could be a tremendous opportunity for curbing the trade if they could convince Brazil to end the slave trade in exchange for an official recognition of its independence.<sup>38</sup> British Foreign Secretary George Canning stated that England would "put Brazil at our mercy as to the continuation of the slave trade."<sup>39</sup> This proved to be a very difficult proposition for the Brazilian people to accept as slavery was so integral to their economy and society. Wilberforce concluded, "[Brazil is] the very child and champion of the slave trade, nay the slave trade personified."<sup>40</sup> Britain moved on the opportunity, stating that recognition was only granted "by a frank surrender of the slave trade."<sup>41</sup>

Brazil was reluctant to agree to any restrictions on its trade. But the necessity of official recognition of Brazilian independence outweighed the presumably dire economic horizon. Following five years of back-and-forth diplomacy, Brazil signed the treaty of

1827 which allowed the trade to continue for exactly three more years at which time it would be deemed illegal. At the last moment, the Brazilian government asked for an extension of another three years, but it was too late. Great Britain stuck to its original agreement and they expected the same from Brazil.<sup>42</sup> As of March 13, 1830, the Brazilian slave trade was officially illegal.<sup>43</sup> This did not, of course, mean that the trade was at an end. British naval influence on the ending of the trade was rather limited, and Brazilians continued to conduct the trade and even encouraged the deception of naval vessels until the 1850s.

This was all for a good reason to the Brazilian people: the slave trade was tremendously important to their economy. The country imported 30,000 slaves per year. As the American and French Revolutions, the Napoleonic Wars and the Saint Domingue Revolt raised prices of tropical produce and crippled foreign rivals, Brazil's plantations thrived.<sup>44</sup> Slavery was the only option most Brazilians saw to maintain progress and prosperity. Many of the large cities did not want the traffic to end. Rio de Janeiro, for example, reportedly pocketed more than £ 240,000 in profits per year directly from the slave trade. Some Brazilians, however, feared for the future of their nation as slave populations continued to swell. Slave revolts were a very real concern in cities like Bahia, where the slave population outnumbered the white inhabitants two to one.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, slave imports into Brazil, despite British efforts to curb the traffic were on the rise throughout the late 1820s as abolition of slaving was being discussed in Brazil and pushed by the British.<sup>46</sup>

The British had begun to slowly influence the slave trade across the globe. Spain, the United States and France had agreed to end the traffic, while Portugal had theoretically had its door to the trade closed by the stipulations of the treaty of 1818. Brazil was the only major nation still permitted to carry on the traffic without molestation by the British Navy. Despite its special status in the international abolition theater, Brazil continued to promote the slave trade to every extent available by law and beyond the law. With this stage now set, we can examine the story of the *Nova Virgem*, understand its prominence in international law and the profit-hungry patriotism of the Brazilian slavers who piloted her.

### CHAPTER III

#### LEGALITIES OF ILLEGALITY

As Great Britain's influence in the international abolition theater grew, so did its role in the enforcement of the newly-created anti-slavery laws. To dissuade the trade, the British Royal Navy and, to a much lesser extent, the French and American Navies, sent squadrons of ships to patrol the African coast and capture illegal slavers. The men commanding these opposing groups of ships, the patrols and the slavers, had a great deal at stake with each new voyage. This chapter will examine the actions of these men and the legal options each had at their disposal during the early stage of the prohibition, when ambiguous laws favored the slavers. What perils did the crew of the *Nova Virgem* have facing them when they arrived on the African coast? It will be clear that *Nova Virgem* risked very little when she set sail.

#### BRITISH PRESENCE ON THE AFRICAN COAST

All *profitable* trade, -illicit, contraband, or what not,  
-*will* be carried on by avaricious men, as long as the temptation continues.

Accordingly, whenever a trade becomes *forced*, the only and  
sure result is to imperil still more both life and cargo.

Theodore Canot<sup>1</sup>

Much like the efforts of the “Friends of the Abolition”, British Government estimations for the time and money required for the total suppression of the slave trade were dramatically lower than what would prove to be reality. It was hoped that with the ratification of the abolitionary treaties discussed in Chapter II, the trade would be stopped in relatively short order with only minor naval intervention. What actually resulted from these regulations was a rise in the traffic. It is estimated that in the entire eighteenth century, 100,000 slaves per year were exported from the coast of Western Africa. According to one 1825 estimate, the trade was up to 106,060 per year with no indication of a decline in sight.<sup>2</sup> How could this happen?

Upon close examination of the proceedings surrounding the abolition of the slave trade, it is quickly apparent that, through no fault of their own, the policing parties along the “Slave Coast” (Great Britain, France, the United States and others) were fighting a losing battle. Slavers began using vessels of a type called *Baltimore Clippers* that were revered by naval officer and slaver alike for their beauty, speed, and maneuverability.<sup>3</sup> Extensive networks of spies were positioned all along the African and American coasts to give the smugglers ample warning of any naval activity, while signal lights often cautioned incoming vessels of patrols in the area.<sup>4</sup> Most of the slavers also carried local government officials, at both their ports of origin and destination, in their collective pockets.<sup>5</sup> Sir Thomas Buxton describes the scene best when he explains: “... everything that artifice, violence, intimidation, popular countenance, and official connivance can do, is done, to conceal the extent of the traffic...”<sup>6</sup>

Problems were evident in the Royal Navy's African Squadron too. From the very start, vessels sent into action were often too few, and those that were sent were considered to be less than effective. Upon ratification of the Abolition Act of 1807, the Royal Navy was engaged in the Napoleonic wars and could only afford to send two vessels to patrol the area. Those chosen, HMS *Solebay* (Commander. E.H. Columbine) and *Derwent* (Lieutenant E. Parker), were quite old and ill suited for the service.<sup>7</sup> The number of ships would not increase for another ten years; even then they reached only seven. In fact, a sufficient force would not be put in place until well into the 1840's.<sup>8</sup> Parliamentary reports on the progress of the so-called "African Institution," as late as the 1850's, describe the ships employed as "unfit and ill-equipped for that peculiar service."<sup>9</sup> Until 1824, those ships that were employed in the squadron were sent back to London during the rainy season, leaving the coast open and unobserved for long periods.<sup>10</sup>

Despite all of this, the African Squadron was examining a number of suspected slave ships. As an example, from July 5<sup>th</sup> through November 4<sup>th</sup> 1822, Lieutenant T. H. Rothery, commanding HMB *Snapper*, boarded some 28 ships, most of which carried slaves or were equipped to do so.<sup>11</sup> It would appear, from *Snapper* alone, that the African Squadron was quite effective from the beginning, and to a limited extent it was. By 1814, the Royal Navy had cut the traffic virtually in half encouraging abolitionists to believe that the trade was at an end. However, this decline was immediately followed by a tremendous rise, meeting (and eventually far surpassing) previous records within a few years.<sup>12</sup>

The shortcomings and difficulties of curtailing the slave trade were only one aspect of the growing problem. First-hand accounts of captures by slave ship captains and commanders of the European and American navies' African Squadrons, and the court cases that would follow, can give us definite insight into one component of this problem, maritime law.

It is evident that, through legal inconsistencies and loopholes, the law proved to be the embargo's greatest hindrance in its early stages. Irresolute and confusing legislation involving everything from the right of search, to the questionable indications of national origin, proved to be tremendous stumbling blocks for the fledgling efforts of those who wished to end the traffic, and simultaneously forged impenetrable legal armor for those who strove for its continuance.

#### **THE CAPTURE OF SLAVERS WITHOUT THE *EQUIPMENT CLAUSE***

"...that the cruelties are practised in violation of the laws of many of the nations of Europe and that the slave dealers in their attempts to elude the operations of the law, have recourse to fresh acts of oppression to accomplish their wicked designs."

Josiah Forster<sup>13</sup>

From 1807 until the mid-1830s the efforts of the African Squadron were hampered by legal issues whose crippling effects on the cruisers were, no doubt, unforeseen in both Europe and America. One of these setbacks in the war against



slavery involved the squadron's right to capture suspected slave vessels prior to the passage of the *Equipment Clause*. Before this law was enacted in 1835, naval craft were only allowed to capture slavers that had undeniable proof that the vessel was an active slaver.<sup>14</sup> The only evidence that provided this "proof" was the presence of slaves on board at the moment of capture- *nothing* else would do. Without this confirmation, a capture would not hold up in the courts.<sup>15</sup>

From naval officer and slaver accounts, it is evident that this legal loophole was utilized and exploited to a point that tied the hands of the navy so tightly that their work never reached its full potential, and, occasionally, did more harm than good. It was not uncommon for slavers to load their cargo in full view of naval patrols. If a cruiser would move toward them, they would immediately unload the cargo back on shore. Without the slaves on-board, the cruiser had no legal grounds to make the capture and was forced to turn back. This would often continue into the night until the slaver, under cover of darkness, would slip past the patrols on a favorable wind and into the open sea.<sup>16</sup>

The case of the *Aviso* is one example of such a situation with an outcome that is, however, unusual. The court proceedings of the 1824 capture explain:

Captain Courtenay [of HMS *Bann*] examined a Portuguese ship, which was suspected of carrying on [the slave] trade, but which, at the time of the inquiry had no slaves on board... [Bann was thus forced to patrol elsewhere. Later, HMS *Maidstone*]... captured a slave ship containing 400 slaves... the *Bann* soon after came up and recognized her as the very same vessel which she had examined a few days before, when she was empty of cargo.<sup>17</sup>

It has been said that only one in five vessels involved in the traffic was ever intercepted and the cruisers involved in this case were quite lucky in making the capture.<sup>18</sup> The

general trend, though, is evident in this instance: slavers were immune to capture without the actual human cargo on board. Most often the African Squadron was not as lucky as *Bann* and *Maidstone*, and slavers were free to carry their cargo with little regard to the authority of the navy. Without the Equipment Clause, enforcement of the abolition laws was virtually impossible, and the smugglers knew it.

Once at sea, the situation proved to be an exercise in frustration on behalf of the officers, and barbarity on the part of the slavers. In the eyes of a pursued slave ship captains, all that stood in the way of his freedom was the human cargo. An exchange between a captured Portuguese slave ship captain and a Captain Wouchoppe of the Royal Navy summed up this cruelty quite well: "If no slaves were on board, could I have been taken?"

"No."

"Then if I had known it, I would have thrown *every one* overboard."<sup>19</sup>

On a slaver, like any merchantman, when the crew or ship was in danger, the cargo was dumped. As this exchange indicates, this option was practical and viable in the minds of the slavers. Throwing the slaves overboard completed two objectives at once: it removed the sole body of damning evidence present on the pursued ship; and it distanced the chase, as compassionate captains of the cruisers would often heave their vessels to and pick up any survivors.<sup>20</sup> The navy, without proper legislation, could do virtually nothing to prevent this, and captors were often forced to send a captured slaver that had just jettisoned its slaves on its way (Figure 3).<sup>21</sup>

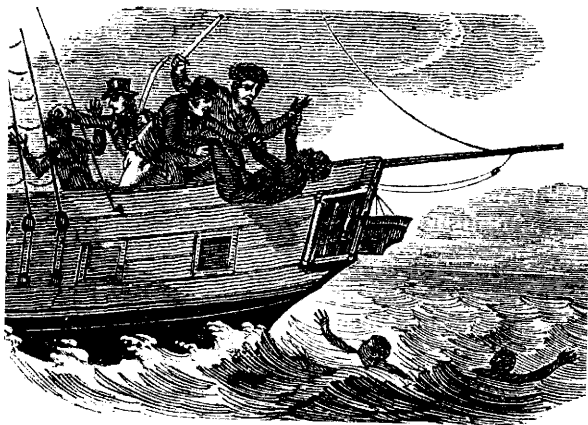


Figure 3: Throwing Slaves Overboard. (From Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 58)

In one instance, Admiral George Collier, R.N., spotted and pursued the suspected slaver *La Jeune Estelle* in 1820. In the chase, he noticed a number of casks drifting past them, but paid them no notice. He eventually overhauled the slaver and boarded it. The captain happily showed Collier around the ship, which was free of slaves. Though *La Jeune Estelle* carried every other piece of slave ship equipment, the smuggler anticipated a quick return to his voyage. The admiral soon noticed, however, a tapping coming from one of the casks. Upon opening it, he saw two slaves crammed inside. The rest of the slaves had been dumped in the very casks, now at the bottom of the sea, that Collier had passed earlier. These two slaves, fortunately, were all that were necessary to convict the captain and crew.<sup>22</sup>

Upon pursuing the slaver *Rapido*, Captain Ramsay of HMB *Blackjoke* saw the thrashing of sharks just behind the slave ship. *Blackjoke's* boat swept in to investigate and found that the sharks were feeding on slaves who had been jettisoned by the slavers in order to escape capture. Though they tried to save all that they could, only two survived. As in the case of *La Jeune Estelle*, these two slaves were the evidence that allowed for *Rapido's* full conviction.<sup>23</sup>

More often than not, the outcomes of these two instances proved to be *exceptions* to engagements, not the norm. If slaves were “cleanly” jettisoned (“cleanly” meaning that no slaves were recovered) the slavers invariably went free. In one particularly disturbing instance, four British cruisers surrounded the slaver *Brillante* (under the

command of a man by the name of Homans) on its quarters when the wind died and night fell. While the boats of the cruisers were approaching, Homans grabbed every slave he had on board and tied their manacles to the ship's anchor, then cast it loose, pulling some 600 slaves to their death. Here we see the inherent problem with the system of enforcement that was present at the time:

The cries of the slaves had been heard by the British sailors; the smell of the slaves clung heavily to the vessel; the huge kettles for cooking their food, and the food itself, and some of their manacles, were still on board, but there was no slave left to serve as evidence. Homans, jeering in the faces of the boarders, went free.<sup>24</sup>

#### **THE CASES OF THE *ALEXANDER* AND *LA JEUNE EUGENIE***

In 1823, a case was brought before the Florida courts concerning the capture of a slave brig by the name of *Alexander*. When captured by an American patrol ship, *Alexander* did not carry any slaves on board, but was fully equipped to do so. The slaver was brought to America for trial, even though a law allowing the seizure of suspected slave ships based on equipment alone was not enacted in America for another twenty years.

One would expect that an acquittal would be in order considering the evidence and the laws in place at the time, but the judge actually found *Alexander* guilty. In his judgment, he stated:

...every vessel fitted out for the purpose of the slave trade may be truly and accurately said to be employed in that business, and carrying it on... It matters

not at what point of the voyage she is captured, her enterprise is the slave trade, and every act done on such a voyage is an act of carrying it on.<sup>25</sup>

This was a truly unique verdict; perhaps the first of its kind.

A case had been brought before the courts a year earlier involving the capture of *La Jeune Eugenie*. This French slaver was suspected of actually being an American ship flying under false colors and was caught by USS *Alligator* with no slaves on board. As evidence, the navy described the ship as having "...a moveable deck... a main hatchway [that] was very large, and grated with three iron bars... [a water supply] that was sufficient to supply two hundred men for a month, and... provisions... enough for her crew for a twelve month." Every indication of the court documents was that the judge would decide against the slavers.<sup>26</sup> Massive French protest over the "illegal" capture however, forced the case to be turned over to French authorities without a final verdict.<sup>27</sup>

In the case of the *Rapido*, discussed earlier, it is evident that the courts were already interpreting laws with a degree of leeway. In that capture and subsequent conviction, the slaves used as evidence were not actually on board, but pulled out of the water. The cases of *Alexander* and *La Jeune Eugenie* indicate a continuance of this trend as British and American leaders looked upon the trade with greater frustration and disgust. Laws were interpreted by the judge in such a way as to allow the conviction of the undoubtedly guilty slavers using evidence that was strictly inadmissible in American as well as British courts from 1807 until 1835 (twelve years after the convictions).

These cases are thus seen as the beginning of the end for the virtual immunity that had been enjoyed by the slavers for some time. In light of the obvious problems

surrounding the rights of cruisers to capture slave ships based on the evidence officers had at hand, changes were necessary. These changes would not come for some time, leaving cases such as these as more exceptions to the general rule. The first step toward supporting the efforts of the African Squadron did not come until 1835 with Spain agreeing that slaving equipment was admissible in court. With time all countries that entered into treaty with Great Britain also allowed this concession. The passage of the Equipment Clause, as it was known more generally, was a step in the right direction, giving the African Squadron a stronger hand in their operations on the African coast.

The Equipment Clause was not, however, a panacea for the illness-ridden body of the embargo, ridding it of all of its problems. Other significant legal issues were also present at the time. One ruse involving “proof” of nationality was widespread on the slave coast, posing its own unique set of obstacles.

## THE FLAG

“That Americans, and others, who cannot use the flag of their own nation, carry on this criminal and inhuman traffic under the flags of other countries, is a fact of... general notoriety.”

Justice C. Marshall<sup>28</sup>

According to maritime law, any national legislation that does not incorporate international treaties only pertains to ships flying the colors of that country. This important stipulation applied to vessels participating in the slave trade as well as with

any other commerce. After the very early stages of the embargo, English naval craft were only allowed to search and seize those vessels that were under the Union Jack or the colors of nations that carried treaties with England.<sup>29</sup> With this rule in place, slavers could - and did - *change* their nationalities from a country that was subject to the treaties with England, such as France, to one that was immune to British capture, such as the United States.

This obviously difficult situation is summed up well by Sir William Scott, the Royal Admiralty judge: “[there is] no restriction arising either from treaty with Spain or from any principle of law which this country has asserted that prevents the subjects of that crown from carrying on this trade (evil as it may be) from any country where they can purchase to any country where they are permitted to sell.”<sup>30</sup> The same strict regulation applied to American ships, as well as those of any other nation whose navy was patrolling the waters off the Slave Coast.

During the Napoleonic Wars, Britain had a much broader range of potential targets, as many nations fell into the category of enemy or ally thereof.<sup>31</sup> With the close of this war, new steps were taken, in the form of treaties, to allow the continuance of more universal seizure rights. The subsequent web of interwoven and overlapping treaties was undoubtedly confusing to those implementing them.<sup>32</sup>

What was left was a group of slavers who could superficially change their national identity whenever the need warranted by simply raising the flag and displaying papers of an immune nation. There was nothing to stop a slave ship captain from



purchasing (or fabricating for that matter) the colors of another nation.<sup>33</sup> As will be seen from numerous accounts, this simple trick proved invaluable for the smugglers.

In 1808, an English cruiser captured *Amedie*, the first American slave ship to be taken after the Abolition Act. When seized, *Amedie* was sailing under Spanish colors. Once he boarded, the naval officer found the entire crew to be American, save the captain who was Spanish. The British officer deemed the vessel to be Spanish and sent the ship to adjudication in Sierra Leone on the African Coast, as was typical of all British captures.<sup>34</sup> *Amedie* was found to actually be an American vessel and the case brought immediate protests from the United States. Despite the fact that the ship was captured with a complement of human cargo on board, the American courts demanded the immediate release of *Amedie* and its crew with full reimbursement for any losses.<sup>35</sup> At this time, British cruisers did not have the right to search American vessels, making it an illegal capture.

In his book *Revelations of a Slave Smuggler* (1860), Captain Richard Drake describes a run-in with two French patrol vessels. Drake's vessel *Coralline* was chased for a short time until the colors of the pursuers were discovered. "Once the French colors were visible... the American flag was raised. The French [soon] boarded, saw the American papers and had a brief hobnobbing with the slavers before leaving."<sup>36</sup> Drake later avoided 14 years of hard labor after being captured by a British cruiser by reporting that he was a Brazilian by the name of Don Felipe Drax.<sup>37</sup> Recall that at the time, the trade was open for Portuguese and Brazilian vessels south of the Equator, so Drake was allowed to go free.<sup>38</sup>

Naturally, smugglers were not limited to claiming a single false nationality. Many carried multiple “proofs” of citizenship on any voyage, providing immunity against any number of independent patrols. Captain Canot, describes one such instance in his *Twenty Years on an African Slaver*. He illustrates the scene of a chase:

[The Captain] pointed to one of his drawers and told me to take out its contents. I handed him three flags, which he carefully unrolled, and displayed the ensigns of Spain, Denmark, and Portugal, in each of which I found a set of papers for [our ship] *San Pablo*.<sup>39</sup>

Initially, the predominant flags used by slavers were Iberian. They replaced nearly all others on the African coast by 1810, but this did not mean that they were actually crewed by Spanish or Portuguese citizens.<sup>40</sup> One British Commissioner's report from 1810 explained, “... very few real Spanish ships are employed, the great masses of vessels under the Spanish flag... are actually Americans; several are supposed to belong to British merchants.”<sup>41</sup> Sir William J. Scott reported on the capture of *Fortuna*, initially named *William and Mary*, by saying that “...no doubt can be entertained that she is an American vessel... only colourably transferred to a Portuguese for purposes of deception.”<sup>42</sup> Subsequently, due to the problems surrounding Anglo-American relations of the time, the flag of choice became that of the United States. A brief discussion of this interesting arrangement will better illustrate the delicate situation through which the British Navy had to wade concerning all nations slaving illegally, including Brazil.

## THE AMERICAN FLAG: A SPECIAL SITUATION

In the aftermath of the War of 1812 Americans still retained a degree of ill will toward England and regarded British searches of their vessels, a right initially granted by the United States and others in the very beginning of the embargo, with a high degree of suspicion.<sup>43</sup> The wounds of impressment were still fresh and the actions of Americans reflected both animosity and apprehension. In 1818 the American Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, explained, “a right in the officers of foreign ships of war to enter and search the vessels of the United States in time of peace would meet with universal repugnance in the public opinion of this country...”<sup>44</sup> He would later write that by allowing the British right to search “...[we] would be making slaves of ourselves.”<sup>45</sup>

This attitude left American smugglers free to work virtually unhindered.<sup>46</sup> With the market thus opened, the flag of choice of slave smugglers became the stars and stripes. Under the protection of these colors, the traffic flourished while it raised the tempers of the other patrolling nations. Abolitionist and historian Sir Thomas Buxton described America’s reluctance and the potential futility of the African Squadron’s operations, saying, “it will avail us little that ninety nine doors are closed, if one remains open. To that outlet, the whole slave trade of Africa will rush.”<sup>47</sup> A Governor Buchanan of the American territory of Liberia concurred, stating:

The chief obstacle to the success of the very active measures pursued by the British government for the suppression of the slave trade... is the *American flag*. Never has the proud banner of freedom been so extensively used by those pirates upon liberty and humanity as this season.<sup>48</sup>

The solution to this problem was for the United States to commit a naval force, and in 1820 American cruisers were sent into the area to capture American slavers. Initially, those that were sent were very small in number, and stayed on the coast only for a very brief time.<sup>49</sup>

Personal opinion concerning the slave trade caused certain American commanders on patrol to look the other way when spotting the American flag. Despite the tremendous scale of the illegal use of the American flag, officers from the southern states routinely averted their attention when on patrol, and drastically downplayed the numbers of American vessels involved. One such report reads, "...the American flag, which heretofore covered so large a portion of the slave trade has wholly disappeared from the coast of Africa...[it is unknown] whether those American merchants... which heretofore aided in this traffic have abandoned it altogether or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations."<sup>50</sup> Another report, this one from Captain M. C. Perry, agreed: "I could not even hear of an American slaving vessel; and I am fully impressed with the belief that there is not one at present afloat..."<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, these reports arrived in Washington at the same time as another statement by a different American naval officer that described some 300 American slave ships on the coast.<sup>52</sup>

American legislators, hoping to instill a sense of determination in the international community, led the way by passing the Act of May 15, 1820 which declared the slave trade an act of piracy, a capital offense; the British would follow suit in 1824.<sup>53</sup> Other slave trading nations did not allow this punishment, leaving only British and American citizens subject to execution. Also at this time, the Americans did

not allow the capture of vessels unless there were actual slaves on board, while other nations tentatively tested the legal waters surrounding the Equipment Clause issue discussed above.

The American flag received yet another benefit in favor of the smugglers. In his *Journal of an African Cruiser*, Horatio Bridge of the US Navy dedicated the final chapter to express his frustration with the difficult circumstances in which American sailors were forced to work. During his time on patrol, he was unable to make even a single capture over a period of months, a problem that he blamed on the compromised state of the American flag in the quest for abolition. He explained:

Denying the privilege to others, we must, of course, allow the same inviolability to a foreign flag, as we assert for that of our own country. Hence, our national ships can detain or examine none but American vessels, or those which they find sailing under the American flag. The laws of the United States declare the slave trade, if exercised by any of its citizens, to be piracy, and punishable with death; the laws of Spain, Portugal and Brazil, are believed to be different, or, at least, if they threaten the same penalty, are certain never to inflict it. Consequently, all slave[r]s are careful to sail under the flag of these latter nations, and thus avoid the danger of losing life as well as property, in the event of capture. ...In some instances, [American slave ships] have been sold, with stipulations in the contract, binding the seller to deliver them at slave stations on the coast of Africa; they have been sent out to those stations under American colors, and commanded by American captains; and there being transferred to new masters, they have immediately taken on board their cargoes of human flesh. But how is an American cruiser to take hold of a vessel so circumstanced? On her departure from the United States, and until the transfer takes place, she is provided with regular papers, and probably sails for her destined port with a cargo which may be used in lawful, as well as unlawful trade. After the transfer, she appears under foreign colors, is furnished with foreign papers, and managed by a foreign crew... How then can such a vessel be taken or molested, so long as the present treaties and laws continue in force?<sup>54</sup>

His complaint is quite valid. On outward voyages, Spanish, Portuguese or Brazilian slavers, like the *Nova Virgem*, presented American colors and papers that made

them immune to the right to search by suspicious equipment alone. Once they had arrived in Africa and the cargo was loaded, they would raise their true colors and simply make a run for it. If caught they merely had to prove that they were Brazilian (or whatever other nationality) and they would be out of the grasp of the captors and not subject to the piracy act.<sup>55</sup>

### **TIMING IS EVERYTHING**

“Millions of money and multitudes of lives have been sacrificed;  
and in return for all, we have only the afflicting conviction that the  
slave trade is as far as ever from being suppressed.”

Thomas Buxton<sup>56</sup>

The abolition of the slave trade proved to be a much more difficult endeavor than any of the nations involved could have imagined. Early dramatic declines in the number of slave imports painted the false picture of a swift end to the trade for most Europeans and Americans. This fast decline was only natural. In 1807 trade practices of the slavers were, at least initially, relics of the free market that was present before the Abolition Act. The cruisers sent to Africa thus dealt with the newly titled “criminals” with relative ease, as there had been no need for stealth and speed up to that point. The market understandably plummeted.<sup>57</sup>

Facing the possibility of realizing nearly 1000 percent net profit for a single journey, it is understandable that the trade flourished.<sup>58</sup> With this prospect, one

successful voyage in three proved a success for the slavers and promoted repeated treks.<sup>59</sup> Much like the modern drug war, the smugglers soon found numerous avenues to maneuver around the cruisers and reach the buyers in the Americas, exemplifying the phrase, “where there’s a will, there’s a way.”

In fact, the slavers were so effective in eluding capture that contemporary abolitionists developed conspiracy theories postulating that the governments involved did not actually want the trade to be fully eradicated. According to Horatio Bridge with each capture of a slaver, “the English government has more ‘emigrants’ [to labor at] its West Indian possessions.”<sup>60</sup> The steady stream of these “emigrants,” was no doubt desirable to British interests in the West Indies.

The unforeseen and dramatic surge in the traffic that would follow the brief early success of the African Squadron demonstrates the shortcomings of the international maritime community as they fought to strike the final nail into the coffin of the trade. The inability of governments to legislatively adapt to the changing shape of the trade proved to be a great contributor to this rise. Simply put, the abolition effort suffered due to very poor timing at its onset. The early nineteenth-century saw the end of many decades of bloody war throughout Europe and North America, and with the close of these wars, the countries enforcing the Abolition Act were placed in the delicate position of doing everything they could to avoid starting another conflict. As a result of this tense political climate, existing laws were too weak and lacking in conviction when combating the problem as cruisers were sent to the African coast with specific

instructions to avoid “interference with the foreign trade, except within given latitudes, and under special circumstances.”<sup>61</sup>

These “special circumstances” were very difficult to discern and patrolling officers were often confused as to their powers and objectives. The result was a force that had the *potential* to end the trade, but through national apprehension, it lacked many of the means with which to do it. Without universal cooperation, trust and conviction, the trade was never going to end. Evidence of this inevitability surfaced all around the African continent and the Americas. In 1815 the African Squadron’s British commodore described the solution quite simply by saying:

Let me have their Lordships orders to capture every vessel carrying slaves or fitted for the carrying of slaves without any regard to country or flag and I will answer with my commission that in three years there shall be no more slave vessels to be found on this Coast.<sup>62</sup>

Quite simply, policing nations feared another outbreak of war and avoided that possibility by compromising their goals and drafting weak laws.

Even with the strictest of regulations, conviction was extremely difficult. Any capture that deviated from the inflexible regulations of seizure and search were immediately thrown out of court, especially if the incident involved citizens of another nation. Certain trials, such as the case of the *Alexander*, showed strides toward a stronger judicial net with which to capture slavers and keep them, but it is important to note that all parties involved in these proceedings were from a single nation. Therefore, controversies that arose were contained within the national borders.

Slaving nations that complained were quickly pacified monetarily without objection. These payments, some of them in the form of loans, were often excessive,



reaching an estimated £181,000 per annum from 1815 to 1823, a figure that greatly exceeded the cost of the African Squadron itself.<sup>63</sup> National governments were not the only parties to be vulnerable to suit, for individuals were often subject to legal consequences for their actions. With their own countries unwilling to support them, officers repeatedly faced trial for captures of obvious slavers under conditions that were strictly viewed as illegal. Captain J. Denman of the Royal Navy was put on trial for burning a slave holding facility called a *barracoon*. His actions were taken with the best intent, but violation of law forced the legal proceedings. A Captain Nixon, R.N., wrote upon his capture of *Vincendora*, a slaver, that “they (the slavers) will be liberated and I may be prosecuted.” Unfortunately for Nixon, that is exactly what did ensue as he was later sued by the freed slavers for damages.<sup>64</sup>

The fear of prosecution was widespread among all patrols. A British report explained: “It appears to us that the gallantry of our officers and men have been further impeded by... [their] apprehension of exposing themselves to be harassed afterwards by legal proceedings.”<sup>65</sup> An American letter concurs almost exactly, saying that the men would not act for fear of “not being moderately supported by the courts and juries at home.”<sup>66</sup>

## DISCUSSION

As can be seen, the weight placed on the shoulders of the African cruisers in the early stage of the slave embargo was clearly too much to bear. Stronger laws would later aid officers in their fight against the slave trade, but until that time, the law acted

more as an enemy. Fearing extreme repercussions, nations rarely took a controversial position in ending the slave trade, yet they looked to their officers for explanations as to why it proliferated. The legal ambiguities surrounding the right to search and capture created a slaver's playground in which they could carry on with little worry. The slavers knew exactly what it took to get away from the cruisers and deliver their goods across the Atlantic and, with all of the legal red tape present at the time, it did not take much.

It is now clear what kind of political climate surrounded the crew of the *Nova Virgem* and her captors. Huge profits combined with little serious threat from the navy gave slavers little to fear when they set sail. The voyage they were about to make was seen more as a routine venture than a dangerous trek into enemy territory. If problems arose, the law was, in most respects, too strictly enforced to be a problem for them. So it can be assumed that, in the mind of Captain Rodrigues of the *Nova Virgem*, this journey was similar to any other legitimate merchant voyage. The profits, though, were very different.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE *NOVA VIRGEM*

To understand the voyage of this ship, it is essential that we first understand what the *Nova Virgem* looked like and how she performed on the ocean. What was it like to be a captive aboard this vessel, or to work aboard as a crew member? In this chapter, the physical structure of the ship and her furniture will be discussed and analyzed in order to present a better understanding of the voyage as a whole.

#### BACKGROUND: THE PRE-NINETEENTH-CENTURY SLAVER

For European traders, slavery had been a profitable occupation since the early sixteenth century when the first African slaves reached the New World, and the industry was quite strong by the time of its abolition. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the slave ship differed little from merchant shipping vessels involved in other trades as they were most often merchantmen converted for use in the slaving industry.<sup>1</sup> One of the best examples we have of an archaeologically-excavated slaver of the legal era is the *Henrietta Marie*, which wrecked off the coast of Key West, Florida in late 1701 or early 1702 (Figure 4). The three-masted ship was probably a typical slaver, with a 141 ton displacement.<sup>2</sup>

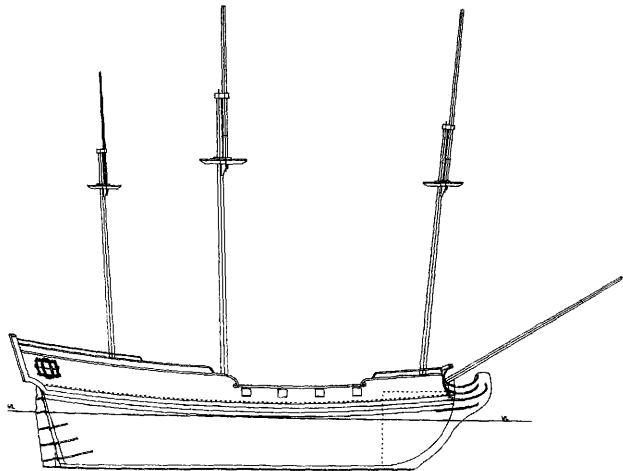


Figure 4: Reconstruction of the *Henrietta Marie*. (From Moore, "*Henrietta Marie*," Figure 23)

Licit slavers were not necessarily large, as the *Henrietta Marie* demonstrates, but they were fast. In a trend that would be accentuated greatly in the nineteenth century, slave ships were so noted for their speed that many were chosen and captured by pirates for use on the high seas. Among these was the pirate ship *Wydah*, which was captured by Black Sam Bellamy after unloading slaves in Jamaica in the spring of 1717 only to be lost in a storm a few months later off the coast of Cape Cod.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that the dubious nature of the pirate ship made an easy transfer into the illicit slaver of a century later.

Before we can move on to the nineteenth century slaver, we must first note from the drawing of the *Henrietta Marie* a few key design elements that were typical of slavers of the time. First one can denote that the keel did not drop very deep in the water, but instead ran more or less parallel with the waterline. This ship also had a moderate amount of superstructure including a quarterdeck and forecastle, increasing windage but decreasing how wet she would be on the open ocean. Finally, from the depiction, the *Henrietta Marie* appears to have had a gallery, indicating that the officers were given a cabin in which to sleep and work. Ships like these would soon fall by the wayside as the needs of the merchants changed. With the close of the legal slaving era in 1807, all but the most economically beneficial aspects of the slaver were cast off, creating a distinct class of vessels capable of eluding authority and delivering their cargo as fast as possible.

## THE ILLEGAL ERA SLAVE SHIP

My nautical eye and taste were struck by the trim rig of the sharp built 'slavers' ... These dashing slavers, with their arrowy hulls and raking masts, got complete possession of my fancy.

Captain T. Canot<sup>4</sup>

As the slave trader's business was declared illegal, prices in the Americas rose sharply while those in Africa did not.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the profit potential for slaving voyages greatly increased, despite the best efforts of the British, French, and American Navies. As has already been discussed, the slave trader a great advantage in the illegal era due to the precarious legal position of the patrolling parties in the eyes of the law. One of the greatest advantages of the slaver, however, at least in the early stages of the embargo, was the ship herself. Small and nimble, these vessels were able to sail circles around the patrolling warships. Part of the Royal Navy's problem was that it sent large, slow ships to patrol the West African Coast. The African Squadron simply was not prepared, at least initially, for the changing shipping conditions of the trade. They employed large heavy vessels designed for hard use in tumultuous northern latitudes, hardly the ideal vessel types for the calms of the tropics. The result was a patrolling fleet that had to rely on surprise and ambush to capture its prey.<sup>6</sup> Conditions were so

bad that one officer noted that they might as well have been stationed off of Spithead for all of the good that they did.<sup>7</sup>

The nineteenth century slaving vessel was a direct answer to the naval patrols. Shortly after the close of the legal slaving era, captures by naval vessels were numerous and the number of slavers that successfully landed their cargoes was low. Soon the slaver, mostly through the creativity of the draftsman, turned the trade back in his favor.<sup>8</sup> One British official noted "Instead of the large and commodious vessels which it would be the interest of the slave trader to employ, we have by our interference [changed their preference] to use a class of vessels, (well known to naval men as American Clippers)."<sup>9</sup> The relatively slow and spacious vessels of the past simply did not work in this new game. Ships had to be hard to see, hard to identify, and most importantly hard to catch. Given the high profits - Captain Theodore Canot noted that he made a net profit of \$41,438.54 in one voyage alone while the first venture of the slaver *Henriquetta* compensated for a slaving firm's previous three lost ships - all was sacrificed to attain these goals.<sup>10</sup> Ships soon became small, sleek, and elusive while their outward beauty was unmatched throughout the naval world.<sup>11</sup>

The Atlantic slave ship was now being specifically designed to carry out her duty as most slave merchants abandoned standard merchantmen and bought ships that were designed and fitted for the specific needs of a tropical Atlantic crossing.<sup>12</sup> They were to sail across the ocean in deep waters with light breezes and good weather. In order to sail faster in weaker wind conditions, the slavers had to carry a tremendous press of sail. To combat stability problems that would invariably occur with such a large amount of

rigging, slavers had increased deadrise and hard bilges, which deepened the keel and widened the hull. The ship could now hold its course and right herself more quickly than with the older, more rounded designs of the previous century. Though they were not good sailers under a wide array of weather conditions, like the patrolling naval vessels, the slaver being chased could sail in the manner and direction that suited her best, often leaving pursuers in her wake.<sup>13</sup> Slavers would buy their ships from the best builders in the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula, though the premier slaving ships were purchased from shipwrights in the United States.<sup>14</sup>

Given the fact that Brazilian slave ships were still carrying on their traffic under the protection of the law, were they any different from Spanish and American smugglers? In some respects they were. Brazilian slavers were typically smaller than ships of other slave markets like Cuba and the United States. This is attributed to a number of factors. Brazilian slavers tended to conduct their traffic north of the Equator. In these regions, transactions were preferably made in the interior, with slave ships sailing upriver. Only the smallest vessels could afford this luxury while the larger ones were forced to conspicuously loiter on the coast attracting the eye of the African Squadron.<sup>15</sup> Also the coastline of Brazil is shadowed by a reef that can be crossed by smaller craft, but which is too shallow for large merchantmen to traverse. As a result, Brazilian slavers were very small.<sup>16</sup> A modern study has shown that these small sizes, though definitely detrimental to the well-being of the slaves below decks, were ideal for the Brazilian trade. With lower tonnages, the slave trader could spread out his resources, while making each of his ships more difficult to apprehend and if caught the losses were



less severe to investors. In time, it was found that the ideal size of the slaver ran from 100 to 199 tons. In fact, this industrial stereotype was quite different from virtually all other shipping vessels of the era.<sup>17</sup>

Ships sailing from Bahia, the home of the *Nova Virgem*, were the smallest of all that sailed from Brazilian ports, with a lower limit of about 104 tons. Their diminutive size should not be misinterpreted as the product of an impoverished port. Bahian slavers were known for their tremendous speed and beauty. The firms there had a high income and could afford to purchase the best ships on the market, which at this time invariably came from the United States, the primary source of slave ships worldwide in the 1820s. Averaging \$38.5 per ton, the Bahian slave ships were among the most sophisticated sailing vessels available at the time.<sup>18</sup> One can assume that the *Nova Virgem* was a ship that could have easily fit into these ranks, however this is not clear unless the actual records of the vessel are consulted.

### **ARQUEAÇÃO OR LOTAÇÃO: HOW BIG WAS THIS SHIP?**

To visualize the *Nova Virgem* we must first look at the ship's passport, which was taken into British custody as evidence during her trial. In this document, Bahian officials rated the ship at 169 3/4 tons. This is well within the size range of the average Bahian slaver. With such a rating, the Alvará of 1818 would have allowed the *Nova Virgem* to carry a maximum of 396 slaves at one slave for every 2.5 tons.<sup>19</sup> In light of

this number, it is peculiar to note that when captured, the *Nova Virgem* only housed 354 slaves.<sup>20</sup> Why would Rodrigues leave the coast only partially full?

One possibility is that the ship was in fact full but weaker slaves died before the ship was caught. This is unlikely, however, for the ship was probably not at sea for very long. In the court proceedings, all evidence suggested that the full load of slaves was at sea for no more than three days. It is thus very unlikely that any slaves died in such a short time at sea. One of the crew even swore that none had died by the time they were taken by *Primrose*.<sup>21</sup> It must therefore be assumed that for some reason or another, Rodrigues knew that he was not going to be able to fill his ship. The captain knew that his profits would not be as high as the books had predicted. But why?

One likely reason for this is that the ship was possibly much smaller than her official tonnage. On what is assumed to be her first voyage in March of 1826, the *Nova Virgem* was registered at 103 ½ tons. With this figure, the ship was only allowed to carry a maximum of 258 slaves. However, five months later on June 28, 1826, the *Nova Virgem* returned to Bahia with 305 slaves stowed aboard, almost fifty more than permitted.<sup>22</sup> Given average Brazilian slave mortality of twenty- or thirty-percent during the Middle Passage, the number originally embarked must have been close to, if not more than, the number found on the *Nova Virgem* when she was captured.<sup>23</sup> Bahian authorities allowed this overloaded slaver into port without incident, but British officials nearby caught the discrepancy a short time later. In numerous letters to the Bahian government, Britons protested the allowance of the ship into harbor, but little else could

be done about it.<sup>24</sup> Still the raised British brow must have been somewhat inconvenient Silva and his slaving firm that owned the *Nova Virgem*.

Could the *Nova Virgem* have been refit, gaining more than sixty percent on her original tonnage? Though it was a common practice for slavers to undergo a thorough refit following a successful, sixty tons is a lot to add in the refurbishment of such a small vessel.<sup>25</sup> I believe that a refit was unlikely with the *Nova Virgem* as the profits would have made this process unnecessary. If the merchant wanted a larger ship, he could have bought one. He had two years to do so before the *Nova Virgem* set sail on what would be her final voyage. I believe that the *Nova Virgem* was brought in and repaired, but not enlarged in any way. Instead, the tonnage *measurement* was probably inflated by the active efforts of the harbor officials in Bahia, providing the illusion of a larger ship.

The British government first took notice of a tonnage measurement process that “differ[ed] entirely from” the normal method and was uniquely associated with Brazilian slave ships in the early 1820s.<sup>26</sup> In January of 1824, Consul-General Christopher Chamberlain noted “... a custom among the owners of *Brazilian Ships*, employed legally in the Slave Trade, to rate those Ships at a greater bulk for this commerce than they in fact possess...” With this higher rate slavers could load more slaves aboard their vessel than was officially allowed. As an example of this practice, Chamberlain cited the *Faroës* that was entitled to carry 1106 slaves at 446 ½ tons. However, the vessel’s papers showed that the *Faroës* was measured at more than 672 tons, allowing the transport of more than 1677 slaves, or 560 more than her legally sanctioned limit of 1106 individuals.<sup>27</sup>

After further inquiry into the question of tonnage, the British government soon found that this practice was quite common throughout Brazil. The Brazilians argued that a ton of cargo took up much less space than a ton of people, making the standard system inaccurate for the measurement of slavers, so a new system was devised. One mode of measurement was called *Arqueação*, or Measure of Capacity. This method was used solely for the admeasurement of slave vessels. The other was called *Lotação*, or Measure of Tonnage. This system was more or less the standard tonnage measurement of the time and was used to calculate the tonnage of all other forms of merchant craft. The two were "perfectly distinct."<sup>28</sup> The *Arqueação* allowed the slavers to have their capacity measured in terms of surface area occupied by the slaves.<sup>29</sup> Using an elaborate set of measures, the harbor authorities went through a slave ship and recorded every possible inch of deck on the vessel. This measure was then divided by the number of slaves who could be fit into the space. If "halves" of slaves remained in the calculations, they were combined with other "halves" of slaves on other decks to get a whole number even though this was physically impossible. Finally these were combined to get a new and supposedly more accurate estimation of a slaver's carrying capacity.<sup>30</sup> Creating deliberately deceptive measures of capacity, harbor authorities expressed the new figure on passports using the same units as a standard capacity measure: tons. With this system the slaver was rated thirty to sixty percent larger than it actually was and it was now allowed to carry slaves at a proportion of nearly four for every ton.<sup>31</sup>

Amid massive British protest, the Brazilian government agreed to take into consideration the possibility of ending this practice.<sup>32</sup> Eventually Brazil agreed to end

the *Arqueação*, but in a pattern that will be repeated later, the slave traders proved their power and overturned the ruling with complaints from only one merchant. Despite the assurance from Bahia, Great Britain did not feel that there was any likelihood that the *Arqueação* would ever be abolished. In the words of one British official, the Brazilian government would invariably, "...[shut] its eyes to the practice, if it were to become known; and that even if legal measures were instituted against them, it would be done with great leniency; in other words, that no punishment would follow."<sup>33</sup> In fact, their assumptions were correct and it continued "as before" until the trade was officially abolished in 1830.<sup>34</sup>

What was the actual tonnage rate of the *Nova Virgem*? Before the *Nova Virgem* sailed on her maiden voyage, the ship was measured using the standard tonnage measurement system based on specific dimensions on the vessel. Registered at 103 ½ tons, the ship reached the African coast and loaded too many slaves. When she returned, Silva noted the unwelcome attention he received from the British consulate and had the *Nova Virgem* re-measured using the *Arqueação* system, which gave him a sixty percent increase in tonnage. This new measure of 169 tons would put his legal slave limit higher than what he could actually carry, reducing his chances of falling in with British authorities again. Therefore, it is clear that the *Nova Virgem*'s actual capacity was the former of 103 ½ tons. But how does this tonnage equate to our understanding of the dimensions of this vessel?

## THE HULL OF THE *NOVA VIRGEM*

As one may gather from reading the previous section, the records of the *Nova Virgem* do not present any linear measures for the hull, or any other element of the ship for that matter. A discussion of the slaver would have been a lot easier if they had. In order to interpret the basic dimensions and scantlings, we must work backwards, taking the ship's tonnage and using it to calculate the measures of the hull. This is not an easy task and it must be stressed that the following is a hypothetical representation of the *Nova Virgem*. Only the discovery of the actual dimensions or lines of the vessel can shed more light on the subject. Given that these probably do not exist, the *Nova Virgem* in this thesis will be based on a number of contemporary and modern treatises on nineteenth century naval architecture. It is one representation open to review and revision. This theoretical *Nova Virgem* is, however, as educated an estimation as is possible.

At 103 ½ tons, the *Nova Virgem* was indeed a small vessel, on the low end of the 100-199 ton range of ideal slavers discussed earlier. However, to what does this measure equate in terms of her length and beam? To answer this, we must apply the British equation of tonnage used to estimate the size of merchant craft for taxation purposes which was very similar to the formula used in Brazil.<sup>35</sup> This equation had changed numerous times during its history, but the 1773 formula in use when the *Nova Virgem* was built is represented below:

$$\text{Tonnage} = \frac{(K - \frac{3}{5}B) \times B \times \frac{1}{2}B}{94}$$

In this equation “K” is the length of the inside of the keel and the “B” is the beam of the ship to the outside of the planking.<sup>36</sup> Though this system lacked accuracy, it was all that they had. It was not until the adoption of the Moorsoom system in the mid nineteenth-century that tonnage was calculated more precisely.<sup>37</sup>

If the tonnage is applied to the equation, any number of possibilities arises for the measure of the *Nova Virgem*. To counteract this uncertainty, I have consulted an invaluable set of plans originally drafted in the early 1820s by a M. Marestier of France (included in Howard Chapelle’s *The Baltimore Clipper*). In his work on steamships entitled *Memoire sur les bateaux a vapeur des Etats-Unis d’Amerique* was a short chapter on American pilot schooners and clippers. Marstier provided dimensions for seventeen of these swift sailers and lines and sail plans for eight of them. Also included were a series of proportions for the measure of these vessels.<sup>38</sup> Using these proportions it is possible to work backward from the tonnage equation above, eventually finding a likely set of dimensions for the *Nova Virgem*. Using an average derived from similar examples in the text, we can say that the *Nova Virgem* most likely measured 76.2 feet (23.2 meters) in length and 21.3 feet (6.5 meters) in beam with a depth of hold of 10.7 feet (3.3 meters). For a full description on how I arrived at this estimation, please consult the endnote.<sup>39</sup> At about 76 feet in length, the *Nova Virgem* was quite small for travel across the open ocean and miniscule for her purpose of transporting 380 people.

Borrowing elements from the plans of Marestier and Chapelle, I have applied these dimensions and produced a set of conjectural lines and a construction drawing of the *Nova Virgem* (Figures 5 and 6).<sup>40</sup> With this interpretation, the hypothetical *Nova Virgem* would have been well within the form of other Baltimore Clippers. If similar to the representation, the *Nova Virgem* was quite fast with smooth and sharp waterlines allowing her to cut through the water easily. Her keel was likely deep and the increased deadrise allowed for higher speeds and greater control under sail, while the proposed light frames and planking decreased the ship's weight, further promoting increased velocity (See Table 1 for a list of Scantlings). One of the more dangerous aspects of Baltimore Clippers like the *Nova Virgem* was her low freeboard. Though it decreased windage and topside weight, it brought the sea much closer to those on the deck. With a freeboard of just over four feet, this vessel would have been very wet in any kind of rough weather. Indeed the crew and slaves aboard vessels like the *Nova Virgem* would have faced miserable conditions if they encountered storms at sea.<sup>41</sup> Theodore Canot described one incident when his slave schooner *Aerostatico* ran into some rough weather on her way to the Slave Coast:

By this time the forward deck was always under water, and the men gathered abaft the trunk to keep as dry as possible. Officers and crew were huddled together pell-mell [and] joined in the conversation and counsel... Each wave swept over us, but our buoyant craft rose on the succeeding swell, and cleft its crest with her knife-like prow. It was now too late to attempt bringing her to the wind; still it became more urgent to do something to prevent us from being submerged by the huge seas, which came thundering after us like avalanches on our quarters.<sup>42</sup>



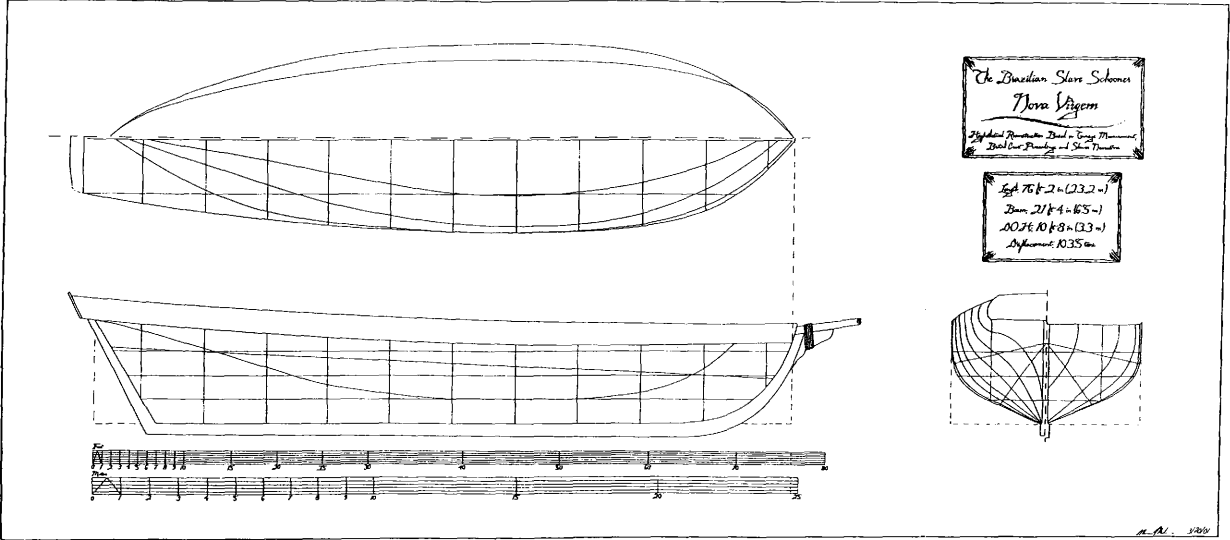


Figure 5: Reconstructed Lines of the *Nova Virgem*.

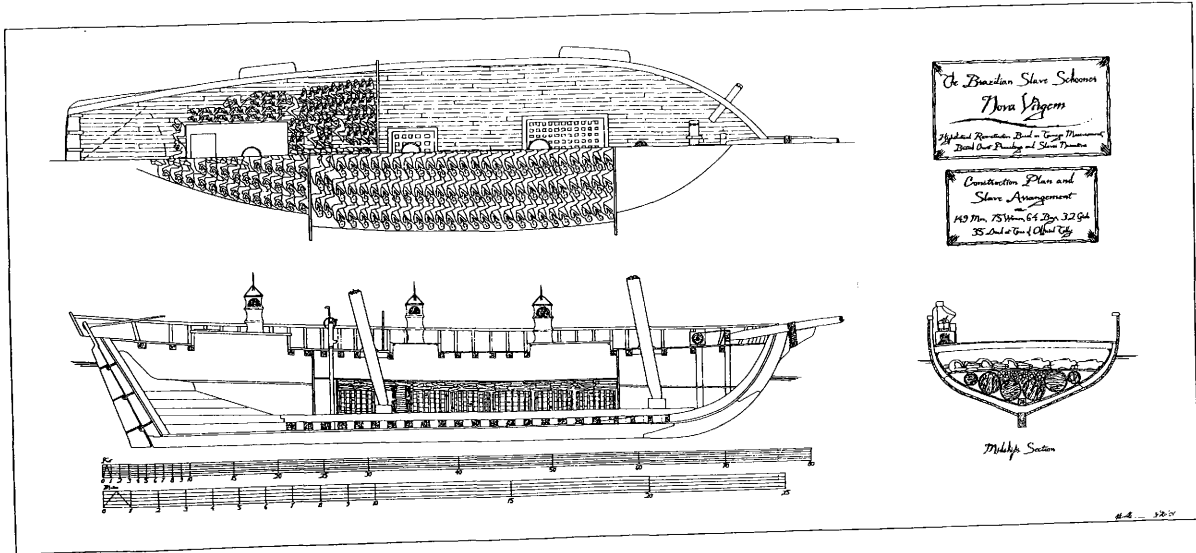


Figure 6: Construction Drawing of the Reconstructed Nova Virgem.

Table 1: Scantling List of the Reconstructed *Nova Virgem*

Timber	Molded in (cm)	Sided in (cm)
Keel (forward)	22" (56.0 cm)	10" (25.0 cm)
Keel (aft)	17.5" (44.5 cm)	10" (25.0 cm)
Keelson	10" (25.0 cm)	10" (25.0 cm)
Apron	12" (30.5 cm)	10" (25.0 cm)
Stem (at WL)	19" (48.0 cm)	10" (25.0 cm)
Stempost (at WL)	12" (30.5 cm)	10" (25.0 cm)
False Stempost	8" (20.0 cm)	10" (25.0 cm)
Floor (at amidships)	9" (23.0 cm)	5.5" (14.0 cm)
Futtock (at amidships)	6" (15.0 cm)	4" (10.0 cm)
Deck Planking	5" (12.5 cm)	2" (5.0 cm)
Outer Planking	8" (20.0 cm)	4" (10.0 cm)
Ceiling Planking	4" (10 cm)	2" (5.0 cm)

Spacing of Staggered Frames: 24" (61 cm)

Fortunately for slavers their route was rarely plagued with rough conditions as the equatorial waters are typically calm with only occasional squalls and storms.<sup>43</sup> In the event that one should be encountered, speed, as *Canot* would demonstrate, aided in the ship's ability to avoid rough spots, but once caught, things aboard could get bad very quickly. Though the sleek lines of the hull provided an excellent method for slavers to deliver their extremely perishable goods quickly, the sails were what provided the ship with her speed and reliability in a great number of situations.

### **THE RIG OF THE *NOVA VIRGEM***

Now that we have a general idea of what the *Nova Virgem's* hull looked like, let us turn to her rig. It was the ship's sails that were her biggest asset and placed her in the greatest peril when facing the British Navy. Like other clipper-type slavers, they were probably designed with long spars and larger-than-normal light sails to handle the gentle breezes of the Equatorial Atlantic. But these same features made them immediately recognizable to the naval patrols in the area, and the longer spars could be seen on the horizon at a greater distance than vessels with shorter masts and spars. According to one record, slavers of later times seem to have developed a way of side-stepping the sail-height problem by "bending their sails broad" or making them wider than they were high. With this design the slavers still flew the same amount of canvas, but it was closer to the horizon. Keeping the sails lower moved them farther from the faster winds that blew higher above the water. However, this innovation has not been substantiated with

records other than those of one naval officer, and therefore it may have been simply an embellishment.<sup>44</sup>

Slave ships also racked a great deal of line aloft.<sup>45</sup> With such a high degree of reinforcement, the light spars could withstand the occasional storm without breaking and falling onto the deck, causing injury. Unfortunately, this made the ships much less stable if they encountered a sudden gust of wind. The *Pride of Baltimore*, a modern replica of an early nineteenth-century clipper like the *Nova Virgem*, was knocked on her beam ends by a sudden stiff wind, swamping and sinking her almost instantaneously. This probably wouldn't have happened if spars were allowed to break away under unusually high stresses.<sup>46</sup> There was another reason for carrying so much line in the rig, however. In the event that a slaver was chased and fired upon, the cruiser would invariably aim for the rigging (the only easy target on such low vessels). When the rig fell, the slaver's advantage was gone and the chase would quickly be over. By over-rigging their masts, slavers could withstand a barrage of shot without losing their press of sail. Theodore Canot described one incident when the foremast of his slaver was hit by shot from a pursuing cruiser. The mast held and they continued to pull away, eventually escaping.<sup>47</sup> A Captain Forbes described a similar incident when he chased a smuggler, stating "... after a cannonade of sixty shot, in which upwards of fifty had taken effect, not one sail was lowered."<sup>48</sup>

With such generalities in mind, it is now time to turn to specifics concerning the *Nova Virgem's* rig. According to the ship's passport and the proceedings of her trial, the *Nova Virgem* was a schooner. This rig was very common for slavers of the time.

According to Howard Chappelle, the majority of slavers were either brigs or schooners.<sup>49</sup> Brazilians especially seemed to prefer the schooner. An examination of a Bahian slave clearance log from 1826 reveals that more than half of all slavers setting sail for Africa were of this type.<sup>50</sup> The captain's log of HMS *Blackjoke* from February 5 to October 10, 1828 also shows a majority of Brazilians sailing schooners.<sup>51</sup> It is clear that the *Nova Virgem* was not unusual in this respect, but why was the schooner so popular in the Brazilian slave trade?

As noted earlier, the best slave ships were built in the United States of America. At this time, the U.S. was gaining such a reputation for the excellence and popularity of their schooners that by the nineteenth century it was regarded as the national rig of the United States and Canada.<sup>52</sup> Schooners were prevalent in illicit slaving because they carried a number of advantages over their square-rigged counterparts. Firstly, they did not require a large crew. With a fore-and-aft rig fewer crewmen were needed to climb aloft to loosen or furl the square sails, simply because there were few or none. This left more of the crew available to handle the throngs of captive Africans held below and on the main deck. With a gaff and boom, the sails could be raised, lowered or adjusted from the safety of the deck. Secondly, the schooners could tack easily and sail much closer to the wind, making them better sailers in a wider array of wind and weather conditions. Coastal travel, which was often a necessity as slavers moved from slave port to port filling their holds, required a handy, weathery rig, something that the square sail was not in under these circumstances.<sup>53</sup> It is clear that the schooners handiness and ability to sail close to the wind was most pleasing to slave smugglers, as their crews

were most often very large (the *Nova Virgem* carried a complement of 23 men) and thus not requiring a simple rig for manpower reasons alone.<sup>54</sup>

Slavers did not spend their entire time sailing in the variable winds of the coasts. For much of their voyage the ships traversed the vast ocean where winds tend to shift less frequently while they maintain higher speeds. Fore and aft sails do not sail as well as square rigs under these conditions. Indeed square-rigged ships could physically catch more wind and make faster runs. Slave smugglers did not ignore this fact. The majority of slavers carried at least one square sail from their fore topmast or occasionally both the fore topmast and main topmast.<sup>55</sup> Vessels equipped with this topsail rig could sail well into and with the wind; they proved to be excellent sailers and slavers under almost any condition they might face.

Did the *Nova Virgem* also carry a square sail? None of the records denote specifically whether she did or did not, but one piece of evidence seems to suggest that she did. According to Basil Greenhill, British schooners most normally carried a topsail and the rig was so common that British sailors dropped the "topsail" prefix, as this was the understood arrangement. In The United States, the opposite was true. There solely fore and aft ships were called schooners while those with square topsails were specified as such.<sup>56</sup> A glance at all British records concerning this ship shows the *Nova Virgem* is referred to solely as a schooner. Given that one of those individuals who referred to the *Nova Virgem* as such was Commander Thomas Griffinhoofe of HMS *Primrose*, a British sailor with experience at sea, it is a fair assumption that this slaver was in fact a topsail

schooner and not solely fore-and-aft rigged. I have therefore reconstructed the sail plan to reflect this likelihood (Figure 7).

In order to accurately detail the spars of the *Nova Virgem*, I have referred to two works. My first source is the Marestier text I have discussed above. From there I was able to deduce the placement of the masts along the keel and their rake. Chapelle provided a number of proportions for the typical slave schooner's spars that I have employed for my depiction of the *Nova Virgem*. From these and the 1829 work of John Fincham, Master Shipwright of the Portsmouth Dockyard, I have recreated what this ship was likely to have carried aloft (See Table 2 for a complete listing of spar dimensions).<sup>57</sup> From the sail plan, one can see the typical slave ship's propulsion system, long spars and immense sails. Measuring more than seventy-nine feet (24 m) in length, the main mast is the tallest timber while the foremast is about three feet (0.9 m) shorter; both are longer than the ship herself. Given the dimensions of the topmasts, I have chosen to give the *Nova Virgem* a single square sail atop the foremast. That would have been sufficient to give her higher top speeds in the open ocean.

In attempting this reconstruction, I have attempted to make the hull and rig of the *Nova Virgem* as similar to those of the average slaver of the era. It is evident that the majority of these vessels were small and sleek with the ability to cut through the water with minimal resistance. Far above the decks, 5,167 square feet (480 m<sup>2</sup>) of canvas pushed the ship to high, sometimes dangerous, speeds. In a letter to the British Admiralty in the 1840s, Royal Navy officers warned against the use of these vessels because they could easily overwhelm any but the most attentive captains, causing



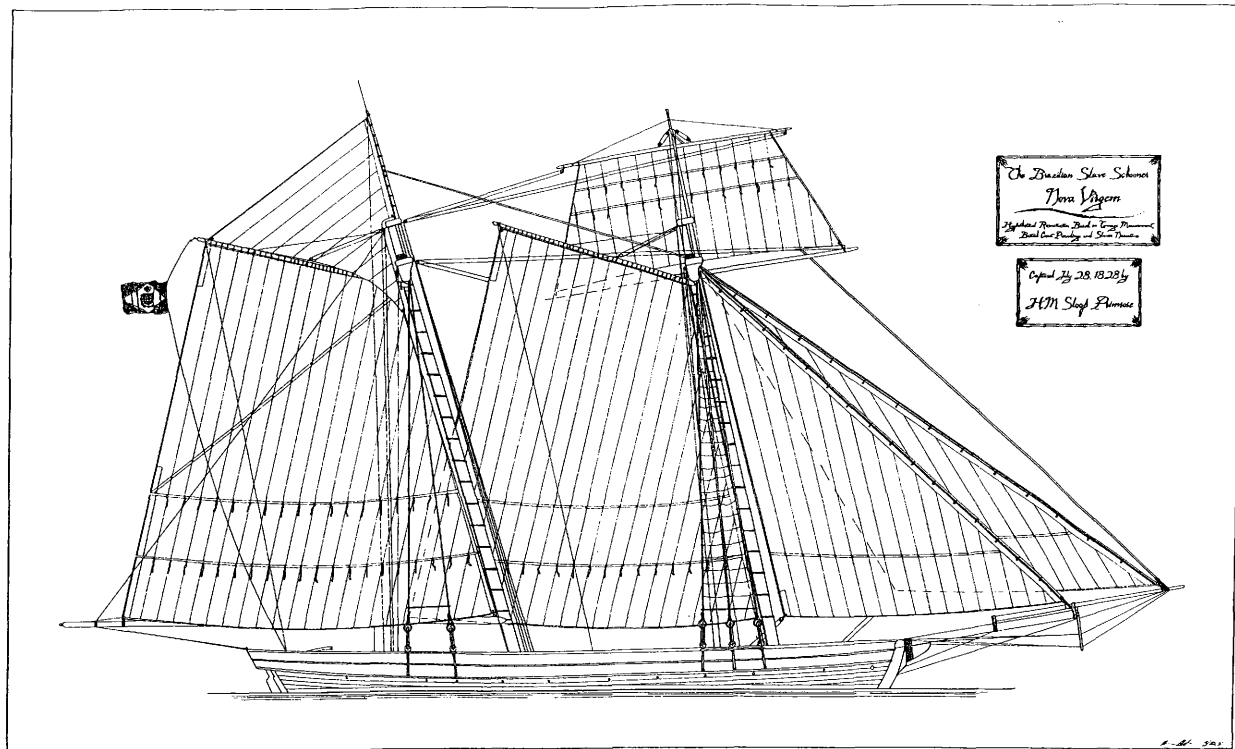


Figure 7: Reconstructed Sail Plan of the *Nova Virgem*.

Table 2: Spar Dimensions of the Reconstructed *Nova Virgem*

Spar	Length ft'in" (m)	Diameter in" (cm)
<b>Mainmast (from</b>		
Heel to Hound)	59' 5" (18.0 m)	20" (51 cm)
<b>Foremast (from Heel</b>		
to Hound)	56' 6" (17.0 m)	18" (45.5 cm)
<b>Heads of Lower</b>		
Masts	6' 0" (2.0 m)	12" (30.5 cm)
Topmasts	19' 9.5" (6.0 m)	7" (17.5 cm)
Bowsprit	28' 2.5" (8.5 m)	15.5" (39.5 cm)
Jibboom	24' 6" (7.5 m)	7.25" (18.5 cm)
Main Boom	53' 2.5" (16.0 m)	11.0" (28.0 cm)
Main Gaff	26' 7" (8.0 m)	6.5" (16.5 cm)
Fore Gaff	25' 3" (7.5 m)	6.25" (16 cm)
Fore Yard	36' 0" (11.0 m)	5.75" (14.5 cm)
Fore Topsail Yard	26' 0" (8.0 m)	5.25" (13.5 cm)
Nock of Main Gaff: 2' 8" (81.0 cm)		Nock of Fore Gaff: 2' 6" (76.0 cm)

calamitous results for those aboard.<sup>58</sup> Despite their true purpose, ships like this representation of the *Nova Virgem* must have been a beautiful sight to see. But what was life on the ship like for sailors or those taken aboard against their will? To understand this we must look at the ship's furniture and outfit.

### **A QUICK TOUR: THE OUTFIT OF THE *NOVA VIRGEM***

If modern scholars could stroll the decks of this *Nova Virgem* model, what would they see? Though this is a difficult question to answer with specifics, we can presume that it had a layout similar to other slavers of the time. From the main deck to the infirmary and slave hold below, this ship was designed to carry huge numbers of people crammed together over long distances as quickly as possible. It was the ship's appointments that made this ship not just a clipper, but a slaver. It is with these items that the ship can truly come to life (Please refer to Figure 6 throughout discussion).

One of the first, and most prominent elements of this *Nova Virgem* would have been the large number of deck openings. Given the fact that there were hundreds of people crammed below, air circulation was essential for disease control and even simply for the slaves' ability to breathe. Large hatches like the two shown amidships on the *Nova Virgem* were very common. Given the constant possibility of waves crashing onto the deck, the coamings were high to reduce the risk of any seawater pouring below and flooding the ship, possibly sinking her. For better air circulation and light, the hatches were covered with grates.<sup>59</sup> These hatches were not the only means of providing air to

the Africans below, for scuttles were often cut into the gratings. From representations of the eighteenth-century Danish slaver *Fredensborg II*, and accounts of Theodore Canot, it is clear that wrought iron grates were fitted to the scuttles and canvas tubes called wind sails were attached to catch the wind and force it into the hold below (Figure 8).<sup>60</sup> Wind sails were common in any trade where air circulation was important to maintain the cargo; they were essential to the slave smugglers. In the event of a chase all openings were sealed, making conditions unimaginably horrific for the African men in the hold.<sup>61</sup>

The ship's coppers and cooking stove were typically located near amidships. The stove had to be immense to handle its workload of feeding 380 people twice a day. The only stoves and pots that resembled these in scale were the try-works of whalers. I have therefore chosen to use try works as a model in this reconstruction of the *Nova Virgem*, along with the coppers recovered from the excavation of the *Henrietta Marie*.<sup>62</sup> The two- to three-foot-diameter (60-90 cm) cauldrons could handle up to 250 gallons (946 L) of rice, water and farina at a time.<sup>63</sup> Though they were not as common in the 1820s and 1830s, many whalers would later find work in the slaving business and their large fat-rendering try works proved perfect for this purpose.<sup>64</sup>

On slavers the crew was not given any particular space to sleep, but were instead expected to find a place on deck. The only exceptions to this rule were the captain and pilot who were given sleeping quarters on deck referred to as "kennels."<sup>65</sup> These were described by Forbes as simple covered sleeping places measuring six-feet (180 cm) long and three-feet (90 cm) wide.<sup>66</sup> It is not clear where the kennels would have been placed, but I have chosen to locate them just abaft the mainmast. If this hypothesis is correct,

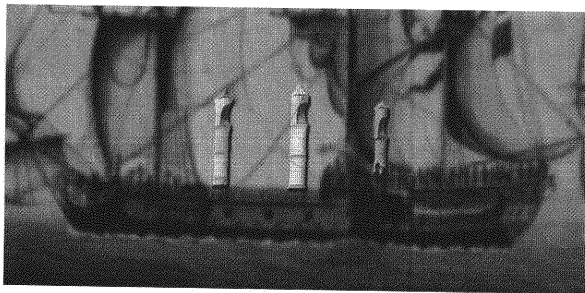


Figure 8: Windsails of Danish Slaver *Fredensborg II*. From a 1785 painting. The wind sails have been highlighted. (From Svalesen, *Fredensborg*, 104)

this is where the captain, Rodrigues, and his pilot, Antonio Ferreira, spent their nights, as nearly 100 slave children were left in the open air and exposed to the elements.<sup>67</sup>

As one moves aft, the trunk is visible leading down to the officers' cabin. With Brazilian slavers, this space was not used as intended (at least on the voyage back to Brazil) but was employed to house the women, separating them from the men in the main hold, and the children on the main deck (with the exception of a few women left on the main deck to look after them).<sup>68</sup> To separate the genders, bulkheads were erected with gratings for further air circulation. In this tiny cabin some seventy-five women were confined. The personal effects of some of the officers, the navigational instruments for example, would have been kept here. The cabin may have also been used to stow the crew's food and water, which would invariably have been kept separate from that of the slaves. These supplies could have also been lashed to the rail on the main deck as is indicated from the log of slave trader John Newton.<sup>69</sup> Wherever their location, the short duration of the *Nova Virgem's* return trip - about four weeks - the space required for the crew's provisions was probably fairly small.

Forward of the cabin was the hold. It is this space that seems to typify the slaver more than any other. Here all of *Nova Virgem's* 149 adult males were held.<sup>70</sup> They were potentially the most dangerous to the crew so their confinement to this single, large space allowed sailors to watch and control them with less fear of a revolt than if they were spread throughout the whole ship. The hold in this model of the *Nova Virgem* measured approximately thirty-seven feet (11 m) in length with a depth of about ten feet (3 m), with the keelson taking up an additional foot (30 cm) of space. At first glimpse

this area might have seemed quite large for its cargo, but it is important to note that its use was not solely for the housing of the slaves. It also held all of the provisions and water required by the slaves.

The feeding and watering requirements of a slave ship were massive and the space required to stow supplies was equally large. At the time of her capture, naval officers estimated that the slaves and crew aboard the *Nova Virgem* had used 494 gallons (1,870 L), or three days worth, of water.<sup>71</sup> If one multiplies this amount by the average length of a slaving return trip, four weeks, the volume becomes immense. For the purposes of outfitting this hypothetical example of the *Nova Virgem*, I propose that the ship carried a twenty-five-day supply of water; slightly less than the average Benin to Bahia voyage of thirty days calculated by Eltis for the 1820s.<sup>72</sup> Given the practice of Brazilian slavers of victualling their ships on the basis of a less than seventy-percent survival rate, the shorter assessment makes sense.<sup>73</sup> The amount of water supplied for the voyage is therefore calculated at 4117 gallons (15,585 L), which occupied 550 cubic feet (15.6 m<sup>3</sup>) of hold space.

All of this water was held in huge casks, called leaguers, which were so large that they were built and filled inside the hold of the ship. Atop these leaguers were placed the provisions and wood for the stove, also kept in casks.<sup>74</sup> All of this supply took up even more space of the hold and limited the room the males were given for their journey. Unfortunately, there are no records of the food supplies aboard this vessel so the space that they occupied can only be estimated at a quarter of the space taken up by the water,

or 137.5 cubic feet (4 m<sup>3</sup>). Indeed with these additions, the hold proved to be an incredibly tight place in which to live, especially for the length of time it was to be used.

Above the provisions, on a makeshift deck, the male slaves would live for what was expected to be one month. Normally made of thin planks of pine, this "slave deck" was left loose so that it could be lifted up whenever water, wood or food was needed. On the outward leg, these planks were left bundled up until the ship was well out to sea and then the crew set to work laying the pine as smoothly as possible across the supplies below.<sup>75</sup> The short-term nature of the slave deck probably had terrible consequences for the health of the slaves: with the planks lain as they were, it was not possible to make them water-tight. The slaves could rarely relieve themselves into the ocean but were forced to do so as they lay in place. This excrement, along with the bodily fluids of the slaves who had died or were dying, would have seeped down onto the food and water barrels, potentially contaminating the supplies and exacerbating the diseased conditions of the captives.<sup>76</sup>

Forward of the slave deck was the *Nova Virgem's* steerage and infirmary. Severely ill slaves, marked by some sort of tag around the neck, were removed from the others and placed in this small cabin under the care of a J. Escravo, a slave surgeon from Sao Tomé.<sup>77</sup> This separate infirmary was probably intended more to protect the other slaves than it was for the care of the sick. Here they would receive their medications, rest, and isolation as many or most awaited almost certain death. It is likely no coincidence that the surgeon was a slave, as this duty must have been perilous to his own



health as he attended to the sick, dying and dead, away from the relative safety of the open air.

In my interpretation of the *Nova Virgem*, I have chosen to place a small boatswain's and carpenter's locker close to the bow. In this compartment, tools, spare sails, cord, wood and other sundry items were kept as well as the ship's complement of small arms. Though much of the time they would be carried by the crew to maintain order, the arms could be kept here and locked for safety.<sup>78</sup> As for larger weapons such as cannon, it is difficult to say how the *Nova Virgem* was armed with artillery, if at all. Though early illegal slavers were heavily armed and tried to fight off their naval pursuers, it was soon found that speed was the greatest asset of the slaver and guns were abandoned for greater stability and better seaworthiness. If they carried anything it was typically a small carronade or long gun on a pivot close to amidships, but this was not the rule.<sup>79</sup>

Establishing the presence of guns on the *Nova Virgem* is difficult as there is no mention of armament in any document surrounding the voyage. Two papers in particular seem to suggest their absence. First, the sworn testimony of the crew of the *Nova Virgem* indicating an attack by a Spanish pirate makes no mention of the use of any large guns, while the log of HMS *Primrose* says nothing about returning fire as she made chase.<sup>80</sup> In both instances, one would think that if guns were available, they would have been used, at least enough to warrant a mention. Thus large guns were probably not present on this slaver. Instead the largest weapons were probably rail-mounted swivel guns intended for anti-personnel purposes in the event of a slave revolt or a

boarding attempt.<sup>81</sup> Though they could be loaded with musket balls, these guns were most often filled with dried peas, reducing the injury to slaves if they were fired upon.<sup>82</sup>

The ship must have been an elegant and sordid sight, combining the beauty of a sleek hull, raking masts, and immense sails with living conditions aboard that were profoundly squalid. While the gorgeous ship raced across the waves, men, women, and children lay in filth, exhaustion, sickness and terror as they awaited their fate. In this narrative, however, those destined to ride below had yet to see the *Nova Virgem*. From the piers of Bahia we must turn to the Atlantic and across to the African coast.

## CHAPTER V

### TO AFRICA

In recreating the voyage of the *Nova Virgem*, it is important to try to reconstruct not only the ship herself but also the route that she followed. Examination of the papers confiscated by the Royal Navy suggests a trek that from its inception was bent on the intention of breaking the law. Where did the *Nova Virgem* go and why was she captured so far to the north of the Line? This chapter will discuss the economical and intellectual factors that controlled the decisions of Rodrigues and his crew.

#### BAHIA

To follow the *Nova Virgem*'s trek, we must first look at her origins in the city of Bahia seated on the center of Brazil's Atlantic coast. During the early nineteenth-century, Bahian agriculture was seeing a tremendous boom with sugar and tobacco sales reaching all time highs. With all of the money received for this industry and the revenues from the sale of slaves, Bahia was fast becoming a metropolitan city. One visitor in 1805 noted that "Bahia [was] surely advancing in civilization: The European dress I see daily more generally adopted among the ladies."<sup>1</sup> Still, the underbelly of the new city was also quite apparent. Harbor authorities drew wealth from the prosperity and charged handsomely for the use of their facilities. Harbor fees cost ship owners close to £5 on arrival and an additional £3 per day to stay. While merchants sat in port, harbormasters constantly sought to extort money, and as the city grew and more foreign

vessels arrived in Bahia, all the locals were given ample opportunity to empty the pockets of their crews and passengers. Anyone who arrived there was left “entirely to the insolence of office, and the peremptory demands of a tyrannical government.”<sup>2</sup> A

British inhabitant warned:

I cannot too strongly recommend to all captains, pursers, and private individuals, to transmit their affairs themselves and trust as little as possible to the linguists and others, in their purchases, &c, who are sure to make them more or less their pray [*sic*].<sup>3</sup>

The above quote seems to be a perfect setting for the initial stages of this slaving voyage, as it will soon be shown that the deceptive nature of the port community was not limited to unsuspecting visitors, but also extended to the whole British government.

It was here at the harbor that the *Nova Virgem* sat awaiting her crew. Her owner, a man by the name of Vincente de Paulo Silva, was establishing himself in the slaving industry owning two vessels: the *Nova Virgem* and a 191 ton brig named *Victoria*.<sup>4</sup> Silva had hired a forty-two-year-old captain named Manuel Cosme Ruiz Rodrigues to command the *Nova Virgem*. To serve under Rodrigues, Silva had assembled a crew of 22 men including seven slaves who presumably belonged to investors in the *Nova Virgem*'s trip to Africa. Among them were the pilot, the boatswain, the cabin boy, and the legally-required surgeon. With his crew assembled, Silva established a final sailing date of June 16, 1828.<sup>5</sup>

Before departure, Silva and Rodrigues set about clearing away the bureaucratic burden of setting out on a slaving voyage. First Silva and Rodrigues needed to make sure that their ship would receive medical clearance. Being a slave ship which had

completed at least one slaving voyage before, the sanitary conditions on board had to be inspected to ensure the health of the crew. Antonio Figueredo examined the *Nova Virgem* and found that there was no “pest nor any other contagious disease.”<sup>6</sup> With the clean bill of health, Silva’s ship was cleared to depart from Bahia. For ten days, the crew worked stowing all of the supplies that would be needed for their cargo, including wood and carpentry tools, food, water, and weapons. On the sixteenth, Rodrigues, Silva, and his crew made the final arrangements for the open sea. A passport was prepared listing all of the regulations Rodrigues and his men were to follow. Port authorities measured the *Nova Virgem* and deceptively increased her dimensions. The maximum number of slaves allowed was calculated to be 396 people. To finish the documentation, names and brief descriptions of the crew were listed, and with that the ship was ready to sail.<sup>7</sup>

## DEPARTURE

Cosme Rodrigues, along with his crew, cast off the lines, weighed anchor and, according to his passport, set sail on a voyage to Molembo on the Angolan coast some five degrees south of the Equator (Figure 9).<sup>8</sup> This port was the largest Portuguese slaving zone south of the Equator, where the slave trade was still legal.<sup>9</sup> Virtually all vessels recorded departing from Bahia in the 1820s list Molembo as their destination. In 1823, for example, six of the eight slaving voyages reported to have returned to Bahia listed Molembo as their port of embarkation.<sup>10</sup> Three years later, as the trade increased,

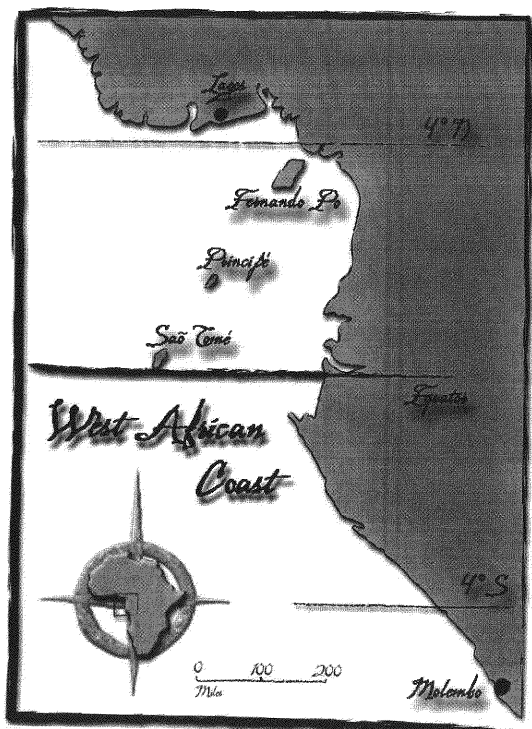


Figure 9: West African Coast. Note location of Sao Tomé and Príncipe in relation to Lagos and the Equator.

nine of fifteen vessels that returned to Bahia during the first half of 1826 also declared Molembo as their port of origin.<sup>11</sup> According to the research of David Eltis, this region was indeed a popular exportation point, shipping 17,000 to 18,000 slaves annually for the five years previous to the 1828 voyage of the *Nova Virgem*.<sup>12</sup>

Despite all of the official indications that these slavers did purchase their cargoes in Angola, British administrators felt that it was unlikely that they actually came from these ports. According to the 1823 report cited above, William Follett observed, "The greater portion of these Slaves are supposed to be imported from those parts of Africa prohibited by [law]."<sup>13</sup> Most consular officials in Bahia were in fact aware of this practice of visiting illegal ports despite their clearance to the south. As one official wrote, "It has been out of my power to ascertain accurately, what part of Africa these vessels actually come from, but I can state that they are chiefly from [northern ports] and that all are from prohibited areas."<sup>14</sup> It is clear from the records of HMS *Primrose* that the *Nova Virgem* was one of these vessels being captured just off the coast of Lagos well north of the Line.<sup>15</sup> But a question arises, did the *Nova Virgem* touch at Molembo at all?

## **BOARDED**

Among the papers confiscated as evidence in the trial of the *Nova Virgem* was the unnumbered "Account of the Return of Cosme José Ruiz" (Appendix A). This interesting document aids in our understanding of what truly transpired in the month and a half that passed between the departure of the *Nova Virgem* and its capture. The

document states that the *Nova Virgem* had arrived in Molembo then set out on a return voyage to Bahia on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July, exactly one month after the *Nova Virgem's* departure from Bahia.<sup>16</sup> One can assume from the passport that the ship must have been fully loaded with slaves by the time she departed as this was her legal obligation.<sup>17</sup>

Two days after the *Nova Virgem* left Molembo, she was stopped by "a Spanish Brigantine from Colombia," and boarded. The Spaniards, upon taking some victuals, furniture and the ship's papers, stated that "they only wanted Spanish from Havana or Cadiz and after this they told us that if they would find us again they would sink us."<sup>18</sup> Whether this ship was a naval vessel is unclear, but documentation from the *Nova Virgem's* subsequent trial indicates that this vessel was piratical.<sup>19</sup> Spanish pirates had been enough of a nuisance for Brazilian slavers in the region to warrant official Brazilian naval escorts on slaving voyages three years earlier.<sup>20</sup> However, aside from food, and the writing desk, nothing was taken from the vessel. This is peculiar considering that the ship was loaded with extremely valuable slaves. On the other hand, the Spaniards' search for "Spanish from Havana or Cadiz" indicates that the ship might also have been an official Spanish military vessel patrolling the slaving waters, however this is unlikely as Spain's naval effort to curb the slave trade was insignificant until 1865.<sup>21</sup>

Whatever the nature of their visitor, Rodrigues took their threatening words to heart and immediately began "running to find shelter." Continuing, it can be assumed that the safe harbor they found was a place they had left earlier that was not Molembo. Again, examination of the ship's passport indicates the likely origin of the "Account" document as the islands of Sao Tomé or Príncipe. These islands, located just north of



the Equator (the southern tip of Sao Tomé actually crosses the Equator) were listed as points where the *Nova Virgem* was allowed to touch (Figure 10).<sup>22</sup> A closer look at the historical record surrounding these islands, however, presents a completely different understanding of the voyage of the *Nova Virgem*.

### SAO TOMÉ AND PRINCÍPÉ

Sao Tomé and Príncipe were islands described by one historian as “a strange mixture of religious exiles, criminals, and adventurers.”<sup>23</sup> Examination of British records which discuss the islands indicates that their importance in the illicit slave trade certainly outweighed their meager expanse. As stated above, the *Nova Virgem* was “bound to the Ports of Molembo, to call at... St. Thomas’s and Prince’s Islands.” The islands were to be utilized by slave ships only in the case of emergency and legitimate trade while on their way to Molembo.<sup>24</sup> In fact, a number of ships did just this, calling at the islands to escape some danger on the high seas.<sup>25</sup> This safe harbor proved to be a bastion of legality in an illegal slaving zone. British opinion was that these islands were being used less as a safety net and more for illicit gains as the “facility their situation afford[ed] to ... slavers for evading the Treaty, and keeping within its actual limits [was] obvious.”<sup>26</sup>

Much like the *Nova Virgem* which came to the islands after being threatened by a Spanish ship, a number of vessels also came to Sao Tomé claiming duress.<sup>27</sup> The *Cerqueira*, for example, touched at one of the islands because she had run out of food

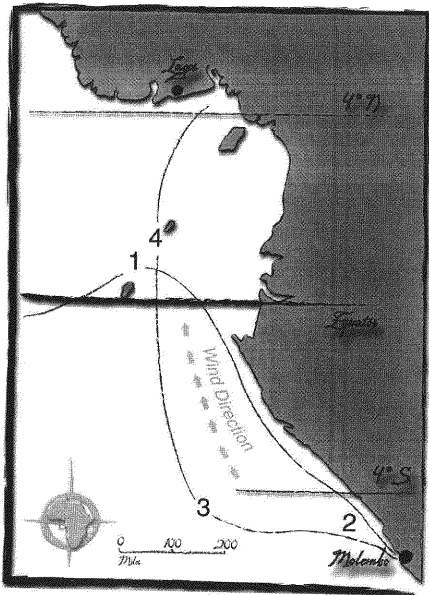


Figure 10: Reconstruction of the Route Taken by the *Nova Virgem* as Described by Rodrigues. The ship arrived at Sao Tomé and Príncipe (1) and traveled south to Molembo (2). With a full load of slaves, the ship set sail for Bahia but ran in with Spanish pirates shortly thereafter (3). Fearing for their safety, the crew of the *Nova Virgem* ran north for safety (4). Note wind direction. It would have been a difficult sail to Molembo from the islands.

and water on her outward voyage. Upon replenishing her stores, the ship continued on her way to ports unknown. The frequency of these 'close-call' stops solely amongst Brazilian slavers, along with the fact that prevailing winds did not lend themselves to a voyage to Molembo from Sao Tomé or Príncipe, began arousing strong suspicions in London. In the case of the *Cerqueira*, Secretary Chamberlain was noted to have asked, "Can it be believed... that the *Cerqueira*, after only 22 days at sea, should be in want of provisions?"<sup>28</sup>

The British suspicion was well-founded as slavers frequented the islands with unlawful intent. Brazil's granting of passports to the islands under the guise of legitimate trade was illegal as slavers were restricted "to enter solely such Ports on the coast of Africa where the Slave Trade is permitted," by the Alvará of 1818.<sup>29</sup> The numerous advantages of the islands made them too critical to the trade to discontinue visits. Their physical position was the first advantage. "In the same way that Cape Verde controlled the rivers of Guinea, San Thomé was the key [to] Trade... in the kingdom of Benin."<sup>30</sup> From the ports of these islands slavers were able to "obtain an excuse for being seen near the Slave Coast to the Northward of the Equator, and the opportunity is generally taken advantage of by them for procuring their Cargo in those Parts."<sup>31</sup> With elaborate signaling systems, the operations of the West African Squadron could be watched. When cruizers were absent, the slavers quickly sailed the 170 miles (274 km) to the mainland shores north of the Equator and loaded their cargo.<sup>32</sup>

Some slavers did not even bother stopping at these islands but just used their clearance papers to be seen near the islands. The Brazilian slaver *Estrella* cleared for

Molembo some time in 1825, and did not even bother to head in the direction of this port. Instead, the crew steered the *Estrella* directly for Benin, where she loaded her slaves only to be quickly captured. The same was done with the *Santo Antonio de Lisboa*, also of Brazil.<sup>33</sup> The key was that, if stopped, the smugglers had an excuse to be seen so close to the illegal slave ports of Benin.

Not only was their geographical position important, local agriculture made a stop at the islands very attractive to slave ship captains like Rodrigues. From these islands, ships could replenish their victuals not only with lush fruits, clean water, and fresh meats, but with other products that proved much more valuable.<sup>34</sup> Their true agricultural importance was in the supply of “Negro food” such as Maize, Manioc, Cassava, and Yams.<sup>35</sup> Though quite mountainous in some parts, the islands had a number of valleys that lent themselves to the production of these foods.<sup>36</sup> With this agricultural benefit, along with their close proximity to the Slave Coast, Sao Tomé and Príncipe became known as “the very strongholds of the Slave Trade.”<sup>37</sup>

British efforts to persuade Bahian officials to curb this practice of granting slavers visitation to ports north of the Line eventually led to what was expected to be a positive resolution. In October of 1825, the president of Bahia called a meeting with local merchants to discuss ending the use of the islands by slavers. British officials, however, did not believe that it would change anything. The meeting, fueled by Brazilian anti-British sentiment, ended with locals refusing to budge on the issue. Francisco Villela Barboza wrote to George Canning, “how indecorous it would have been [for Brazil], and even offensive to the rights of [her] subjects if, from the mere

apprehension of a contingent illicit Trade, they should have Prohibited their touching at those ports that are not forbidden to them."<sup>38</sup> The president of Bahia added, "It would be curious to see what the British Government would answer, had such or similar propositions been made by the government of [Brazil]. They have the Treaty; let them employ the means that are granted to them to prevent the illicit Trade which they Apprehend."<sup>39</sup> Despite such strong words, Bahian officials knew that the law was not on their side and they eventually backed down. By early January of 1826, Bahia notified Chamberlain that, "in [the] future such Licenses may not be permitted."<sup>40</sup> Shortly thereafter, they were officially outlawed.<sup>41</sup>

This was not the end of the story however. Six months after the ruling, Chamberlain reported to London his discovery of the clearance of the Bahian schooner *Arsenia* to the coast of Africa. Given the ship's large contingent of 22 men, Chamberlain knew that the vessel was likely to be engaged in the slave trade. It was rumored, however, that the *Arsenia* had cleared to touch at Sao Tomé and Príncipe. Chamberlain wrote, "... it seemed probable that the announcement... was a mistake... to my utter astonishment... the *Arsenia* had permission to touch at [Sao Tomé and Príncipe]... moreover, the Government had resolved, in compliance with the 'well-founded representations of Brazillian Slave Merchants,' to issue Licenses allowing Slave-vessels to touch at Places North of the Line."<sup>42</sup> In fact, four days before this letter was written, the president of Bahia did just this and again granted slavers the right to touch at illegal ports like Príncipe and Sao Tomé. The practice would continue, as in the

case of the *Nova Virgem*, unabated until the Brazilian slave trade was officially outlawed four years later.<sup>43</sup>

It is apparent that the *Nova Virgem* traveled along a much different route from what Rodrigues had reported. The "Account" document immediately lacks credibility simply because it was written solely based on the word of Rodrigues and his men. There are no official markings on it aside from the signature of a notary. According to Mr. Filipe Castro, the handwriting and grammar skills of the scribe were so poor that the person who wrote it could not have held such a position.<sup>44</sup> This document could have just as easily been written by Rodrigues or any other crewman who had the ability to write. Given the fact that it was very common for slavers to come to the dubious islands of Sao Tomé and Príncipe under fictitious duress, in this case a run-in with threatening Spaniards, one can not help but be wary of the story. The only document that could have proven that the slaver had in fact touched at Molembo, the ship's log, is missing from all court documents (conveniently perhaps?). Rodrigues may have claimed that the Spanish pirates took it. In all likelihood the log was never used on its final leg of the voyage.

Instead of the story that the *Nova Virgem's* crew so vividly created in their "Return" document, it appears that the slaver left Bahia for Sao Tomé and Príncipe and stayed there. While on the islands, the *Nova Virgem* victualled and gathered available intelligence on the Royal Navy's operations to the north. As he waited for a window in the British blockade, Rodrigues disposed of his log, thus removing any incriminating evidence that the slaves he was soon to acquire had come from prohibited ports.<sup>45</sup> When

the opportunity arose to move in, the *Nova Virgem*, along with at least two or three other slavers, set sail for Lagos (Figure 11).

## LAGOS

Why would Rodrigues risk capture in order to travel north to the Bight of Benin, particularly Lagos, in order to obtain his cargo of slaves? One must examine the region's importance in the trade as a whole. It is soon found, that the Bight was a very popular location for slave capture despite its status as an illegal slaving port.

The Bight of Benin, directly north of the islands of Sao Tomé and Príncipe, had long been a favorite location of slaving for the Portuguese virtually since the trade had begun in the early 1500s. From 1690 until the mid-nineteenth century, the region exported 70,000 to 150,000 slaves per decade. It was considered by one modern historian to be "the most dependable source of supply of slaves" in Africa.<sup>46</sup> At the time the *Nova Virgem* set sail, the region was fast approaching its all-time peak of slave exports, reaching 27,000 Africans in 1829.<sup>47</sup> Bahian slavers took great advantage of this abundance in the area and drew upwards of 90 percent of their human cargo from Benin from 1821-1843.<sup>48</sup>

The men, women and children taken aboard these Bahian vessels explain a great deal as to why the area was so heavily exploited despite its dubious reputation. The Yoruba wars, beginning a decade earlier supplied the African tribe leaders and slave merchants with massive numbers of prisoners of war. These captives were perfect for

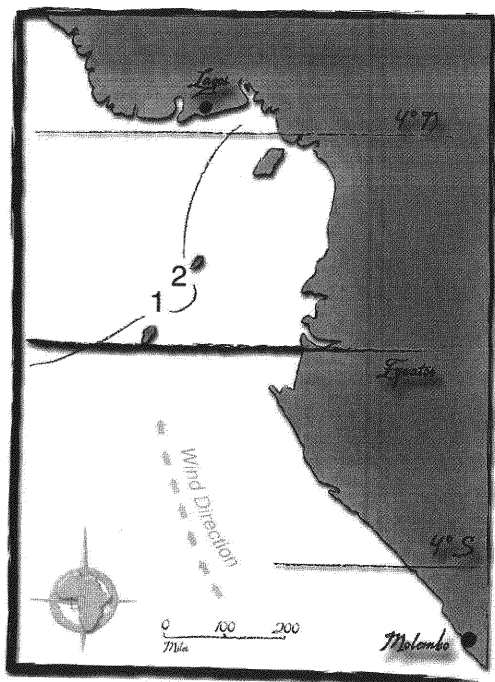


Figure 11: The Proposed True Route of the *Nova Virgem*. The ship sailed to Sao Tomé and Príncipe where she virtualled and prepared to take on slaves (1). She waited for the right opportunity and set sail to the north (2).



sale to the Brazilians.<sup>49</sup> Inter-tribal slave tribute also brought in many slaves for export. A Captain Allen describes the circumstances of their abduction stating, "All the tribes have to pay a certain sum [as tribute]. Frequently the sums are so great that they cannot pay, and then they seize the people as slaves."<sup>50</sup> Similar to many oracles in Benin, the Long Juju shrine of Bonny to the west brought in a large number of captured Africans that had been given to priests as payment for their visit. The worshipers were given to the priests believing that they would be devoured by the oracle when, in fact, they were hidden and later sold to the coastal merchants.<sup>51</sup>

Slaves of the region did not need to be captured from villages far inland. Unlike those in Angola, the overwhelming majority of slaves sold at the Bight of Benin were taken from within 200 km of the coast.<sup>52</sup> Being so close to the shore made the horrific treks in coffles from the interior much shorter (Figure 12).<sup>53</sup> This was likely to dramatically increase the number of healthy individuals that would reach the marketplace. To further promote a fit product, they could be shipped via the numerous rivers and lakes of the region to the factories at the water's edge.<sup>54</sup> It was said that a canoe could travel along the Volta River from great distances inland, all the way to Lagos and beyond.<sup>55</sup>

Lagos, the site likely chosen by the captain of the *Nova Virgem*, was quickly gaining prominence as a slaving center in the Bight of Benin in the late 1820s. Slave merchants were discovering the value of Lagos for economical and physical reasons. High harbor fees and taxes in ports like Old Calabar, some reaching as high as £250 per port visit, sent thrifty merchants to cheaper ports like Lagos, which cost £100 less.<sup>56</sup>

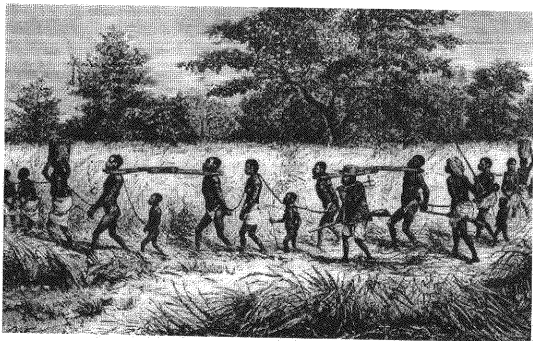


Figure 12: A Slaving Coffle. Used to bring captured Africans to the coast for trade. Men were bound with rope and large sticks around their necks while the women and children were held with rope alone. From untitled anonymous painting. (From Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 45).

A large sandbar that lay just outside the harbor, deep enough for small Brazilian schooners to pass over, kept the large British Naval ships at bay. The sizeable network of interconnected lagoons and creeks hidden by numerous rocks also made the potential for quick escape much easier.<sup>57</sup> Winds off the coast even lent themselves to illicit slaving. As one Royal Navy officer wrote, "At certain times of the year, when the fresh breezes set into the Bight... a well-equipped slave vessel will escape even from a steamer."<sup>58</sup> Finally, the Lagos slave carried great favor among the Bahians as they were thought to be "accustomed to hard work in their homelands."<sup>59</sup>

All these factors combined to make Lagos a teeming slaving port by the early 1830s. It is safe to say that its prominence was on the rise during the time that the *Nova Virgem* probably touched there.<sup>60</sup> Eventually Lagos and Whydah would account for 81 percent of all slaves exported from the Bight of Benin.<sup>61</sup> It then makes sense why Rodrigues chose to load his cargo of slaves there in Lagos: it was what most other Bahian captains did at the time.

## LOADING AND ESCAPE

The *Nova Virgem* probably set off as part of a group of two or three ships. It was a common practice among Brazilian slavers to travel in numbers. The reason for traveling like this was explained by one British officer: "Slave vessels often keep in the same tract with each other, at certain distances, so that if the vessel first approaching Africa should be discovered by any of our cruisers, she acts as a decoy, and the

subsequent chase removing the ship of war from the line of the others, leaves the desired opening for the rest."<sup>62</sup> A number of these trading decoys simply remained on the coast and assisted other slavers. One official noted that two of these ships had no intention of taking on slaves themselves but were there "to facilitate the operations of other slave-vessels, for the purpose of better eluding the increased vigilance which has lately been exercised by our squadron."<sup>63</sup> These decoy ships varied in size but were usually larger than the slave-carrying vessels like the *Nova Virgem*, and they tended to carry all of the goods to be traded for the slaves.<sup>64</sup> The going rate for a male slave at this period on the African coast was approximately £15 worth of merchandise.<sup>65</sup> As the larger decoy vessel moved in to the coast, the empty slavers would hold back and wait for the slaves to be readied for departure on shore. This was necessary because slave ship loitering along the coast was bound to quickly raise suspicion.<sup>66</sup>

The period of slave preparation had been greatly reduced by the refinement of the slave factoring process of the pre-abolition era. These slave factories, or barracoons, would lie just out of the line of sight of the coastal cruisers and house all of the slaves that awaited departure to the Americas. Their numbers would build as they awaited a slaver and when the time was right vast numbers of them would be loaded onto the ships via canoe in a matter of hours. In earlier times the process had taken days.<sup>67</sup> Though the time required to load the large number of slaves was reduced, the health of slaves was often compromised as they waited for weeks and even months for a slaver to arrive.<sup>68</sup> Poor conditions were often inadvertently made worse by the Royal Navy as their presence in waters near the barracoon would invariably drive away the slavers and force

those held prisoner inland to wait even longer.<sup>69</sup> “The misery endured by the slave during this time, can only be imagined. Constantly marched backwards and forwards, a distance of seventy and eighty miles... from the absolute want of provision they are half starved.”<sup>70</sup>

Before the slaves were allowed to leave the barracoon, though, they had to be properly identified for their landing and eventual sale in Brazil. If all of the slaves were not marked, ill-feelings and suspicion would surround every slave ship arrival as proprietors would scramble to pick out the best slaves of the lot. All of the Africans, including the women and children, were branded with a small piece of silver fashioned into the initials of their eventual owners. In an effort to prevent the flesh from adhering to the silver brand palm oil was first applied to the skin.<sup>71</sup> In the case of the *Nova Virgem* one can see what these brands looked like from the slave register taken upon the slaves’ emancipation (see Appendix D for the full register and illustrations of all of the slave brands). From this register one can see that the bulk of the slaves were going to two individuals. One owner used the **PV** brand while the other was identified by a **V**. The man represented by the **PV** owned the vast majority of slaves with 211 men, women, and children bearing his mark. By examining the actual brand and the number of Africans bearing it, these slaves were most likely going to the ship’s owner, Vincente Paulo de Silva.<sup>72</sup> The other brands are unidentified but some of them can be attributed to men listed in the crew register, including a Mr. Sabino, or a Mr. Jose, and a Mr. Manuel, who provided the *Nova Virgem*’s slave crew members (see Appendix A). More than likely they also provided some capital for the voyage entitling them to some of the

slaves, who would bear their insignia. However a number of these brands are still unaccounted for, as other financiers are unlisted in any of the documentation.

Nonetheless, with the slaves properly identified, they were ready for their walk to the shore and the waiting slaver.

Edward Manning, a sailor aboard one of these slave ships describes the scene when the slaves were finally loaded onto the ship (See Figures 13 and 14):

We tumbled into our boats and shoved clear of the ship. We had pulled but a short distance when a large surf-boat passed us, crammed full of naked Negroes... I found that we had arrived within fifty or sixty yards of the beach. Five or six more strokes would have put us in the breakers, then the order was given to lie on our oars. Looking toward the barracoon, I saw a long line of Negroes walking single file, toward the beach where a surf-boat was ready for launching... The Negroes were then seized, one by one, and tumbled in promiscuously. After loading her full, the crew jumped in and seized the paddles... She was brought safely out of the surf and her course directed toward our boat. The mate now gave us orders to receive the negroes and carry them to the ship... After they were all in we shipped the oars and started for our vessel, the surf-boat returning to the beach for another load... When we finally reached the ship, they were passed up the ladder... After discharging our freight we started for another load, which we obtained in the same manner and we landed them safely on board. In this way we went back and forth until the last Negro was put aboard ship, when the boats were hoisted.<sup>73</sup>

This was probably very similar to the scene that Rodrigues saw as he brought the *Nova Virgem* to anchor in the rough waters just off the Lagos coast. As the ship sat at anchor, the slaves were quickly shaved bare to lower health risks, brought to the beach, and ferried aboard and sent below.<sup>74</sup>

The stowing of the slaves was a very orderly process for the crew of the *Nova Virgem* involving every one of the 23 crewmen available (Figure 15). The bulkheads that had been erected earlier separated the slaves by sex, with the children being sent



Figure 13: A Slave-Loading Boat. From anonymous untitled woodcut. (From Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 53)

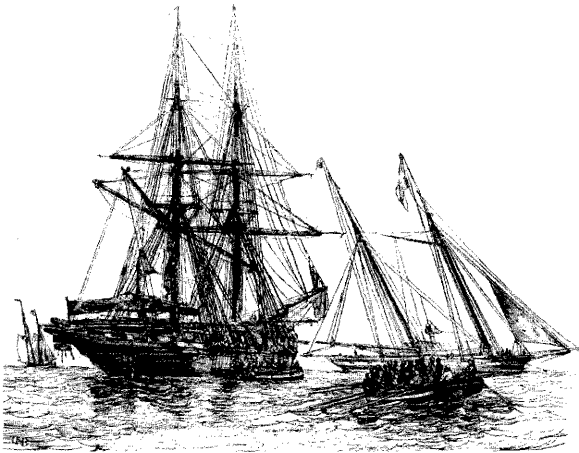


Figure 14: Two Slavers Loading Human Cargo. From untitled drawing. (From Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 53)



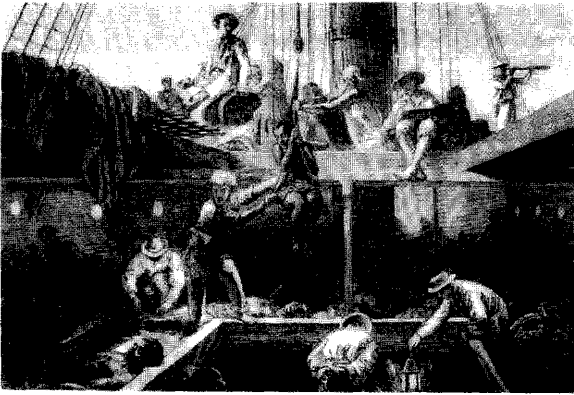


Figure 15: Loading a Fresh Cargo of Slaves. Though this vessel is larger than the *Nova Virgem*, many of the operations are the same. Large deck hatches are used to load quickly while a lookout (at the right) keeps a close eye on the horizon, vigilant for any cruisers. In the bottom right one can just make out one of the large males seated with his head between his knees. The port holes depicted were probably for circulation. They were probably absent on clippers like the *Nova Virgem*, as the limited freeboard did not make them safe. From anonymous untitled painting. (Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 54)

with the women. As was common, the men greatly outnumbered the women as they fetched a higher price in Brazil.<sup>75</sup> As the men were brought below first, they were divided into groups, or gangs, of ten to twenty. Each of these gangs was controlled by a headman. These headmen were the largest males that had been brought aboard. They placed the largest of the males not selected as headmen toward the center of the ship. They were stowed in this way so that they are kept from the ship's side, or anywhere where their strength might cause the suffering of weaker captives near them.<sup>76</sup>

There they were positioned on their right side with the slaves on the starboard side facing forward and those on the port side facing aft as this was thought to be "preferable to the action of the heart."<sup>77</sup> While they laid in the hold the slaves rested their heads on the legs and feet of the men just to their outside. Space allowed was at a minimum. Of the slave ships brought before the Mixed Commission courts from 1839-1852, the average deck space per slave was four square feet (929 cm<sup>2</sup>). This small number can be compared to the average seating space allotted per person on a Boeing 747, which is three times as much.<sup>78</sup> They were forced to stay in this position, "so close that when one moves, the mass must."<sup>79</sup> This lowered the risk of a dangerous revolt from the largest males but it was very unhealthy (For an illustration of how all slaves were stowed please consult Figure 6). In the words of David Eltis, "Clearly the occupant of the typical slave ship could neither lie full length nor stand upright for five weeks except for the limited time spent above deck each day."<sup>80</sup>

With the most hazardous individuals loaded, the others were hustled below and stowed on the main deck and the slave deck. In the case of the *Nova Virgem*, Rodrigues

probably loaded approximately 354 slaves.<sup>81</sup> Throughout the entire process, boats would wait beside the *Nova Virgem* in the event that a cruiser would come into view. If this were to happen, the slaves would be taken off as quickly as possible and taken back to shore, avoiding prosecution by the British officers as no slaves would be found on board.<sup>82</sup> As the slaves lay in the hold, their panic can only be imagined. Within a few hours of dropping anchor, the *Nova Virgem* was off for Bahia... or so the crew thought.<sup>83</sup>

## CAPTURE

Given the fact that the *Nova Virgem* was officially an outlaw the moment she crossed the Equator, it can be ascertained that Rodrigues' first action was to proceed as quickly as possible to legal waters that were approximately 300 miles (556 km) to the south. As Royal Navy Captain Collier would note, "... although a vessel [from Benin] is subject to seizure, she avoids this by her short run, until she is in security by passing south of the line; and then, if met with and boarded, the master has a ready answer."<sup>84</sup> This "ready answer" was that all of the vessel's cargo had come from legally sanctioned ports such as those in Angola. In the case of the *Nova Virgem*, the missing log book along with the excuse of their run-in with the Spanish brigantine would aid in giving naval officers reasonable doubt. Given the reluctance of officers to make captures at this time unless they were absolutely certain of a conviction, this was often quite sufficient for a slaver who just sailed from north of the Line to be sent on his way.

This technique worked very well *if* the slaver could make it south of the Equator. Rodrigues would soon realize that that was a very big “if.” On this day, the 28<sup>th</sup> of July, 1828, HMS *Primrose*, an eighteen-gun sloop under the command of Commander Thomas Saville Griffinhoofe was cruising the waters some 90 miles (145 km) south of Lagos. At 10.30 AM, Griffinhoofe observed the sails of the *Nova Virgem* to the north-north-west and made chase. Upon sighting *Primrose* on the horizon, the *Nova Virgem* reportedly “made all sail away” in an effort to escape.<sup>85</sup> Noted as a sloop with “a good turn of speed,” *Primrose* slowly made ground as his chase ran to the north.<sup>86</sup> The chase had continued for almost seven hours when Griffinhoofe mustered his men at their quarters in preparation for boarding. They still continued for another two and one-half hours until 7.40 PM, when the men of *Primrose* were ordered to fire their muskets at the *Nova Virgem* to bring the chase to (Figure 16).

Ten minutes later, the nine and one-half hour pursuit was over. Griffinhoofe, presumably with little or no resistance, boarded the *Nova Virgem* and took possession of all pertinent evidence including a final count of 354 slaves. He then claimed the vessel to be a legal prize of the Royal Navy. It was now up to Griffinhoofe to send the ship north for trial, and hopefully a conviction.

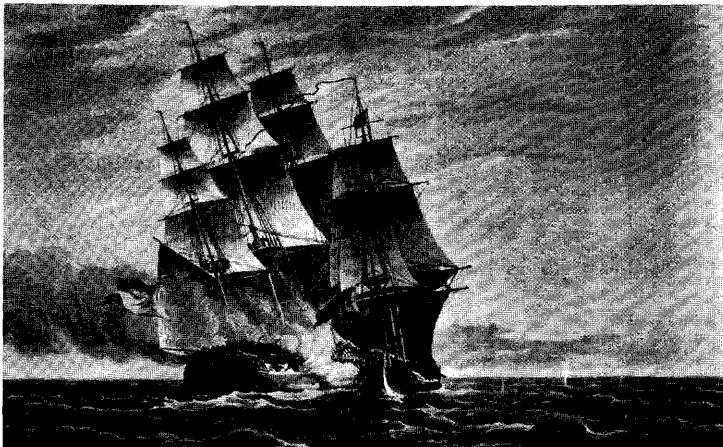


Figure 16: HMS *Prinrose* (right) Engages the Spanish Slave Brig *Veloz Passagera*. (From Ward, *Royal Navy*, 81)

## CHAPTER VI

### ADJUDICATION

Once captured, the *Nova Virgem* was considered to be the legal prize of the Royal Navy. It was not however, wholly subject to the laws of His Britannic Majesty. By the rules of engagement, the suspected slaver was to be tried before an international court of Mixed Commission. In these courts, the case of a ship was presented and its fate decided by representatives from both of the nations involved in the capture. It was in this venue that one can see the greatest injustice to the slaves held aboard the *Nova Virgem* and the most lax treatment of the slaver's crew.

### ~~CHAPTER VI~~ SIERRA LEONE AND THE MIXED COMMISSION COURTS

Sierra Leone, the site of the Mixed Commission court that tried the case of the *Nova Virgem*, was a mixed blessing to the abolition effort. Taken over by the British Government in 1808, Sierra Leone was the outpost of the British "Sierra Leone Company" which aided in the colonization of the African continent and controlled much of the trade to and from the region.<sup>1</sup> Sierra Leone's strategic potential in the war against the slave trade quickly became apparent to officials in London who moved to utilize the site to speed up the prosecution of suspected slave traders. By the end of the illicit slave

trade era, more than 600 slave vessels were condemned and some 80,000 slaves were to be emancipated on its shores.<sup>2</sup>

A small town was established to house the British government in the region. Called Freetown, this was noted by one British officer as being "the most ill-built town in the British colonies, with the most picturesque natural position."<sup>3</sup> From this outpost, the British Navy carried out its earliest campaigns for the abolition of the slave trade. During the Napoleonic Wars, Sierra Leone housed the vice-admiralty courts which tried the cases of British slave smugglers who tended to concentrate their commerce on the northwestern coast of Africa.<sup>4</sup> From this prime location, Sierra Leone and the Royal Navy were a commanding presence and illicit trade in the region, stretching from Senegal in the north to Cape Coast Castle in the south, was kept in check. Slave trade in the vicinity remained virtually eliminated throughout the rest of the era of abolition.<sup>5</sup>

It was found during the trials of captured British slavers, that the area lent itself to the relocation of emancipated slaves.<sup>6</sup> For one thing, there was a good deal of agriculturally viable land for the freed slaves to work around Sierra Leone. "The soil," it was said, "with little trouble, will yield large quantities."<sup>7</sup> Among the exports produced by these forced emigrants were palm-oil, ground nuts, timber, camwood, ginger, pepper, arrowroot and gum-copal. Furthermore, the gold panned from the local rivers also proved to be a valuable export.<sup>8</sup> There is little doubt that the emancipated Africans also benefited from the mercantile industries as well, as the colony would have been a hotbed of international commerce. The region was so heavily utilized for the relocation of the

slaves that the population of Sierra Leone grew from 1,500 in 1809 to more than 10,000 six years later.<sup>9</sup>

Though British presence had positive effects on the commerce of the region, it carried very negative consequences for other including the Bight of Biafra, the Bight of Benin ports south to the Equator. In these regions, British influence was much weaker and the trade continued as before, but at a much greater volume.<sup>10</sup> No doubt another British colony closer to this zone would have had a diminutive effect on the thriving slave trade off the Slave Coast, but thanks to Spanish reluctance to relinquish Fernando Po (see Figure 9 in Chapter V), Sierra Leone remained the lone British stronghold north of the Equator until the capture of Lagos in 1851.<sup>11</sup>

Though the vice-admiralty courts of the Napoleonic wars were sufficient for prosecuting slave ships that were legal prizes of war, they had no jurisdiction over foreign vessels taken during peacetime. This situation is interesting considering that Britain was the primary power in the capture of illicit slavers from all nations. The Royal Navy's efforts comprised 95 percent of all captures made throughout the anti-slavery embargo.<sup>12</sup> The British were unwilling to step their operations down, and at the same time, other nations expressed little interest in becoming more active in the endeavor. Mixed Commission courts were given the task of ensuring that both the captors and slavers were protected by international law.

These courts were first established on March 16, 1808, and were composed of equal representatives from both the British Government and that of the numerous other slave-smuggling nations.<sup>13</sup> By the time of the trial of the *Nova Virgem*, there were four



Mixed Commission courts. While Sierra Leone housed all of the courts of the Anglo-Portuguese, Anglo-Brazilian, Anglo-Spanish, and Anglo-Dutch commissions, courts at Rio de Janeiro, Havana, and Surinam were homes to similar adjudication offices for each individual commission respectively.<sup>14</sup> Captured ships were instructed to be taken either to the Mixed Commission of their respective nation or to the larger courts at Sierra Leone. The overwhelming majority, eighty percent, chose the latter, as this was simply the standard procedure at the time.<sup>15</sup>

Presiding over the trials were one judge and one arbitrator from each nation. They were given the duty to "uniformly endeavour to combine a fair and conscientious zeal for the prevention of the illegal traffic in slaves with the maintenance of the strictest justice towards the parties concerned."<sup>16</sup> This insistence was often downgraded as British commissioners tended to side with the captors while their counterparts defended the rights of the slavers. Typically the only remedy for this stalemate was the absence of one of the commissioners from the trial. This often occurred as many non-British commissioners simply did not appear at court.<sup>17</sup>

During each trial the commissioners would weigh the evidence and render their decision as to whether the vessel in question was engaged in the illicit trade of slaves and captured legally or not. If both commissioners agreed that it was, the ship was condemned, and the slaves emancipated. If found innocent, the vessel was immediately returned to the crew and the slaver was sent on her way, often with damages awarded.<sup>18</sup> In the event of a tie, lots were drawn and the winning nation's arbitrator rendered his decision, ending the deadlock. Once a verdict was found, either for condemnation or

release, it was final and not subject to appeal. It is important to note that the commissioners only held jurisdiction over the ship and its cargo and not the crew. The duty of dealing with the sailors fell on the home nations of the crew.<sup>19</sup>

### **THE VOYAGE OF THE *NOVA VIRGEM* TO SIERRA LEONE**

The site of the capture of the *Nova Virgem* lies about 1000 miles from the courts at Sierra Leone. Nonetheless, this was the primary adjudication point for prizes taken in the region, so the long trek was necessary. At some time around six in the morning on July 29, a prize crew of eight men was placed aboard the *Nova Virgem* under the command of Master's Assistant George Willier Morris.<sup>20</sup> Any unnecessary members of the slaver's crew were transferred to the *Primrose* for later release at the nearest and most convenient port along the coast.<sup>21</sup> With the captain, pilot, and cook still aboard, the *Nova Virgem* proceeded to the port of Freetown for trial.<sup>22</sup> Though the ship was a legal prize of the Royal Navy, the slaves were not permitted to leave their prison. Instead they were kept on board from the time of the capture until the trial.

At the time of the *Nova Virgem*'s capture, efforts were being made to acquire the small island of Fernando Po from Spain. Located on the Slave Coast, this stronghold would have no doubt been extremely detrimental to the slave trade as a British possession. The presence of a Mixed Commission court on the island would have also eased the suffering of the slaves as their trip would have been much shorter. Spain realized this as well. It grew possessive of Fernando Po and refused any offer by the

British government to take the land over. Eventually all efforts to move the Mixed Commission courts to Fernando Po were halted.<sup>23</sup> Slave ships were thus forced to sail the 1000 miles (1,600 km) to Sierra Leone for trial, and those held aboard would suffer dearly (Figure 17). As an example of these hardships one can examine the case of the *Clementina*. Following the capture of this vessel in 1828, 107 slaves died prior to reaching Sierra Leone, despite the prize officer affording “every means in the power of himself and [his] crew” for their health.<sup>24</sup> The Spanish schooner *Vicua* lost 150 slaves on the way to Sierra Leone while 194 died aboard the Brazilian slaver *Umbelina*.<sup>25</sup> Luckily for the slaves of the *Nova Virgem*, Morris’ prize crew made good time. From the court documentation and the log of HMS *Primrose* it is clear that the slaver reached Freetown quickly as the trial of the *Nova Virgem* began in a month’s time.<sup>26</sup>

Upon arrival in Freetown, the slaves’ suffering continued.<sup>27</sup> Bailiffs or customs officers placed in charge of the ship and its occupants were instructed to prevent the slaves from leaving their ship until such time as they were declared emancipated.<sup>28</sup> In the event that a ship was found innocent and restored to the slavers, the cargo of slaves needed to be intact, or the court was forced to pay compensation for the loss. It was therefore in the court’s and captors’ interests to avoid escape and keep the slaves in one place unless there was a dire medical emergency.<sup>29</sup> As Secretary Canning would explain in an 1827 letter to the Commissioners in Freetown:

1<sup>st</sup>, that slaves brought to Sierra Leone for Adjudication... do not... become free, in virtue of their landing on a British Possession, or of being put on board of a



Figure 17: Rescued Slaves Aboard a Royal Navy Cruiser. Most likely this vessel is on its way to Sierra Leone. In the case of the *Nova Virgem*, the slaves were kept aboard their original vessel and not transferred to *Primrose*.

(From Ward, *Royal Navy*, 176)

Government vessel...

2dly, You will perceive that such slaves may, on account of sickness or other sufficient cause, be lawfully disembarked and put on shore, pending adjudication, but that being so landed, the slaves must be kept and detained in their character of slaves, until sentence be pronounced whether they shall be restored or not.<sup>30</sup>

Arriving in ships wherein “generally sickness prevailed to a very great extent,” slaves would wait for their freedom with no end to their suffering in sight.<sup>31</sup> Though it was expected of courts to pass judgment within three weeks of arrival, trials often went on for months.<sup>32</sup> In the case of the *Nova Virgem*, the 354 slaves would wait in the dark hold almost two months from the time of their capture until the date of their emancipation.<sup>33</sup> Death slowly crept aboard the ship, claiming the anxious Africans as they watched the world outside and awaited their chance to debark (Figure 18).

Although commissioners were empathetic to the Africans’ plight, they could do little, and this poor treatment of the slaves was a sore subject for many British abolitionists of the era. Thomas Buxton would write, “The stopping of the Slave-vessel is only exposing the blacks to greater misery and a much greater chance of speedy death than if they were left to their original destination of slavery.”<sup>34</sup> John Denman pointedly added in his *Practical Remarks on the Slave Trade of the West Coast of Africa*, “Happy would it have been had [the slaves] never met the British Cruiser.”<sup>35</sup> Despite these criticisms, the maintenance of the slaves in ship holds was considered a necessary evil and the practice was not stopped throughout the century.



Figure 18: Slaves Sitting in Freetown Hospital. This representation is from a much later time in the abolition era when slaves were more likely to be allowed off their vessel. With the *Nova Virgem*, the slaves did not escape, but the general condition of those held captive was probably much worse than the men and boys shown here. (From Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 149)

## ADJUDICATION

On August 18, 1828, the trial of the *Nova Virgem* began. In the initial stage of the trial, the prosecution and defense were given the opportunity to present evidence that would later be weighed by the commissioners. In this case, the Brazilian commissioner was apparently absent. No doubt, this was disconcerting for the defendants, Rodrigues and his crew. With the Brazilian judge's absence, the sole decision of the trial would be made by commissioner George Jackson, a former diplomat who had that year begun what would be a thirty year legal career as a mixed commissioner.<sup>36</sup>

The proctor, or attorney, for the captors was a man by the name of John Lams. He presented prosecuting witnesses and documentation to the commissioners. His first witness, Master's Assistant Morris, presented the court with all of the papers relevant to the capture of the *Nova Virgem*. He then defended his capture describing the location of the ship when she was taken and her condition at the time of capture. It is apparent from registrar Joseph Reffell's notes that the prosecution did not feel the need to elaborately argue its case, as it was only stated that the ship was taken "by reason that the said Vessel was employed in the Traffic in Slaves, contrary to the Convention [of] the Twenty third day of November, 1826..."<sup>37</sup> This makes sense as the *Nova Virgem* was captured with slaves on board above the Equator. That was the only evidence that was necessary to provide a conviction.

In an effort to counter the evidence that would invariably be presented by the defense that the slaves had been acquired at Molembo, Lams called two of the slaves,

Ojoe and Laroquey, as witnesses. These men confirmed the prosecution's assurance that they had been taken from illegal ports by stating that they had only been at sea for three days when they were taken by *Primrose*. This was corroborated by the fact that about three days worth of water had been used at the time of the ship's capture.<sup>38</sup> The prosecution felt that this was all of the evidence that was needed to receive a guilty verdict.

Upon conclusion of Morris' statements, any individuals who wished to speak on behalf of the defendants were invited to come before the court and state their case. With the aid of interpreter Antonio Castro, Cosmé Rodrigues, Antonio Jose Gonzalez (the cook), and a ship's boy stood before the court and answered questions. The defendants stuck to their story of a run-in with Spanish pirates, stating that these men had come aboard and stolen their logbook. The logbook, it was said by the cook, "was in the writing desk, [which was] plundered by the Piratical vessel." As frightening as desk-thieving pirates might have been to Rodrigues and company, it was clearly unlikely to have been true. The prosecution used the testimony of Ojoe and Laroquey to rebut, stating that they had never fallen in with any vessel from the time they were embarked until the instant of their capture.<sup>39</sup>

Testimony of the defense was so weak that it most likely sealed their fate. In the words of Commissioner Jackson: "... the evidence of the Master, and of the Cook, is, in some instances, so improbably, and, in others, so positively contradicted by other testimony, as to make it impossible to place any reliance on it."<sup>40</sup> Following the testimony, these men were presented with a standardized list of questions they were to



answer for the commissioner and registrar.<sup>41</sup> With the crew's answers in hand, Commissioner Jackson adjourned the trial until the second stage, which would take place in three weeks on September 18. The crew was admonished to be present for the trial or their case was likely to be tried without them and their ship forfeited.<sup>42</sup> They were not, however, physically detained while they awaited the second stage of adjudication. In fact, Rodrigues and his men were given a one-shilling daily stipend until such time as the ship was condemned or restored to them.<sup>43</sup>

As the day of the second trial arrived the court was brought back into session, again without the Brazilian Commissioner. George Jackson sat as the lone judge of the case. This second trial was intended to be an opportunity for proctors to present the evidence gathered in the earlier stage of trial to the commissioners. Based on the proof thus given, the judges would render their final decision.<sup>44</sup> As one may note from the use of the term "was intended to be", the trial of the *Nova Virgem* was somewhat different.

In actuality, the crew did not appear at the trial. It is clear that Rodrigues and his men knew that the likelihood of their ship being returned to them was very small, given the damning evidence against them and the absence of a partial Brazilian judge. The second trial was thus a formal irritation that could be avoided. The registrar's notes describe the scene, stating that "In pain of Parties cited, thrice called and not appearing...Proctor on behalf of the Captors, prayed the [*Nova Virgem* and her] Cargo to be condemned and the Slaves to be emancipated."<sup>45</sup> The judge, upon weighing the one-sided evidence, duly followed Lams' suggestion and condemned the vessel along with all of her "...Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture and the Goods, Wares and Merchandize

laden therein." He later pronounced "... the said Slaves, Natives of Africa to be emancipated from Slavery."<sup>46</sup> After being held aboard the dark, diseased *Nova Virgem* for nearly two months, the slaves were free.

### **AFTERMATH: THE SLAVES**

As decreed by George Jackson, the slaves were immediately released from the *Nova Virgem* and placed on land on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September. Unfortunately, the time they had spent awaiting justice had taken its toll. Of the 354 slaves present at the time of the *Nova Virgem*'s capture, thirty-four never knew freedom, having died before their emancipation.<sup>47</sup> Though this number appears excessive, it is apparent that the Africans held on the *Nova Virgem* were very lucky. A report of the case of a different *Umbelino*, another Brazilian vessel condemned a few weeks after the *Nova Virgem*, produced a much more bleak alternative. At the time of their release, 163 slaves were permitted to disembark their prison. This was less than one half of the 377 individuals counted at the time of their capture by HMS *Sybilie*.<sup>48</sup> Deaths of this magnitude were not unusual as the inhibited efforts of the British to promote healthy conditions aboard the slavers often fell short. It is clear though that things could have been much worse for all of the Africans detained on the *Nova Virgem*.

As they exited their ship, the slaves were sent to the Liberated African Establishment, where "every comfort they can require is granted to them."<sup>49</sup> Here their names, ages and general descriptions were recorded for the British Foreign Office (see

Appendix D).<sup>50</sup> If any individual required medical attention, a hospital was available for their treatment.<sup>51</sup> From here, however, the slaves were basically on their own.

In his judgment, George Jackson declared that the slaves were “to be employed as Servants or free labourers.” Though this description is vague, a Commander Forbes provides an account of the likely subsistence of these slaves. In his portrait of Sierra Leone, he explains that many of the younger emancipated slaves began a two to five year apprenticeship with a resident of the area. This apprenticeship took the form of indentured servitude as the local was required to pay one pound for each of his indentures. From this point, the instructor was responsible for the well-being of his new student, taking care of their clothing, food and education.<sup>52</sup> Adults were given a small collection of farm tools and encouraged to turn to agriculture for their living. To supplement the inevitably limited starting income, these new farmers were given an allowance from the government of two pence daily for six months. These funds were most likely drawn from the *Nova Virgem*'s sale.<sup>53</sup>

Agriculture was not the only avenue of employment slaves could pursue. The British Army's Royal African Corps keenly recruited slaves while they awaited emancipation, sending soldiers to the docks in full dress uniform. The captive Africans still held aboard ship were so drawn to the apparent grandeur of military service that the Corps routinely conscripted fifteen to twenty individuals per visit.<sup>54</sup> Still more ex-slaves were drawn to the sea. Given their colonial status and location at one of the best deep harbors in the world, citizens of Freetown had frequent opportunity to join the ranks of

sailors that touched at their port. It was not uncommon for many former slaves to sign on as sailors aboard merchant vessels and men-of-war.<sup>55</sup>

Whatever their vocation, unity in the colony was stressed as the influx of a wide variety of languages and cultures made harmony a very difficult proposition. The market at Sierra Leone was said to have "... more languages spoken there than in any other market in the world; but broken English is the most common."<sup>56</sup> Houses in the territory were kept clean and encompassed with gardens of fruits and vegetables. As described by Forbes, "Everything about [the villages] wears an appearance of happiness and comfort."<sup>57</sup> Life, though in all likelihood difficult, was no doubt much better for the captives of the *Nova Virgem* than its alternative across the Atlantic.

#### **AFTERMATH: THE NOVA VIRGEM**

Once the slaves were released from bondage on their ship, it was the British government's job to rid itself of the *Nova Virgem*. The presence of a market for the equipment and rigging (often of top quality) of slavers, was rather large, with the United States purchasing the majority of goods. Often a ship like the *Nova Virgem* was left as an empty shell.<sup>58</sup> Once stripped, how did the admiralty rid itself of the slaver's hull? One option was that the *Nova Virgem* could be conscripted into service fighting in the war against slavery. As discussed earlier, slavers like the *Nova Virgem* were very fast and maneuverable and notoriously difficult for the Royal Navy to chase and capture. For some, this was a very positive suggestion. After all, what better weapon could one

possess for fighting the trade than an instrument specifically designed to defiantly carry it on?

A questionnaire sent from the British Admiralty to officers of ships stationed in the African Squadron asked about the viability of using former slavers in the fight for abolition. The answers (paraphrased by the Admiralty) indicate that many found the idea appealing.<sup>59</sup> Their first advantage was the element of surprise they would undoubtedly command.<sup>60</sup> A second, more practical aspect was their incredible sailing ability. Commander Charles Hall indicated that the best of the slavers could be used as cruisers “if [they were] strong enough to carry guns as they are remarkably fast...”<sup>61</sup> Most thought that if slavers were to be employed they should do so as tenders to the cruisers already on patrol. Tenders could land the captured crew quickly and possibly take aboard some of the slaves of the other ship, easing the terrible conditions if only slightly. As they aged the former slave ships could be disposed of much more easily than Royal Navy cruisers.<sup>62</sup> These numerous advantages made the former slavers a potentially valuable weapon in the war against slavery. In the words of Commander A. Mc Murdo, “There are no vessels better adapted to the suppression of [the] Slave Trade than the captured slaver of the best class, if armed with one 18 [pounder] on a Pivot...”<sup>63</sup>

Indeed, one of the greatest anti-slave ship cruisers of the Royal Navy, HMS *Blackjoke*, was a former slave ship. Initially the Brazilian brig *Henriqueta*, or *Hentiquetta*, *Blackjoke* was captured in 1827 and later condemned by HMS *Sybilie* on her return to Bahia from Lagos with 569 slaves aboard.<sup>64</sup> *Blackjoke* began a short, but successful, tour of service on the African coast six months after being condemned and on

numerous occasions worked alongside Griffinhoofe and HMS *Primrose*.<sup>65</sup> However, the rigors of military service soon wore the lightly built vessel out and in 1832 *Blackjoke* was burned by the Admiralty at Sierra Leone.<sup>66</sup>

For all of the advantages slavers had to offer, there were also a great number of disadvantages for the Admiralty. Their slight build and enormous press of canvas made them perilous to sail. Officers warned that if the ships were used in the African Squadron, they should "...always be commanded by a steady judicious Lieutenant... of discretion and judgment," as the ships "... would require great care when blowing fresh."<sup>67</sup> They were also ill equipped to carry a large compliment of cannon. As described earlier, their low freeboard often left their decks awash even in fair weather. The addition of heavy artillery would only have made this worse. Finally, prejudice amongst the officers made them less than appealing. As one officer responded to the query, "Certainly not; they... would cost more than they are worth before they were made fit for White People to live on board."<sup>68</sup> The negatives outweighed the positives most of the time and few slavers were ever employed in naval service. Furthermore, Admiralty records indicate that the *Nova Virgem* was probably not one of those pressed into service.

The *Nova Virgem* might have been sold back into the slave trade. Such specialized craft as slavers were rarely needed by legitimate merchants. Often, the only individuals who purchased these condemned vessels were slave merchants. Brazilian ships were commonly procured by British merchants and subsequently sent back to Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>69</sup> As an example of this practice, a Commodore Collier of

HMS *Sybil* reported the capture of the *Santa Effigina* in April 1828. Following her condemnation, the slaver was sold to a Mr. Savage of England. In the following October, the ship was captured again off the same coast of Africa with 300 slaves aboard.<sup>70</sup> The owner of the Brazilian slaver *Umbelina* reportedly bought his own ship back, sailed her to Brazil where he unloaded slaves he had purchased on the way home.<sup>71</sup>

One must remember, however, that this was the second voyage of the *Nova Virgem*. As was discussed earlier, that was considered old by slaver standards. The *Nova Virgem*, not only having held more than 350 slaves on the African coast, carried them for an additional month and a half while awaiting condemnation. No doubt the condition below decks would have been quite poor to say the least. As indicated by Forbes, "... it is by no means an uncommon thing to burn the vessel that has delivered a safe cargo; from the disgusting stench, even the starving would not clean her."<sup>72</sup> This would thus make for a very difficult sale. Unfortunately British records do not indicate whether the *Nova Virgem* was sold or not. Instead we are left with only speculation as to her final days.<sup>73</sup>

## AFTERMATH: THE CREW

Finally, what happened to Rodrigues and his men? This question is answered very easily... probably nothing. The Mixed Commission courts only had jurisdiction over the ship and the slaves held therein. The crew was immune to any of their sentencing. It was up to the crew's home country to prosecute and punish the men. In

the case of Brazil, it was agreed by the terms of the Alvará of 1818 that convicted slavers were to be sentenced to a five-year banishment to Mozambique. In reality this never happened.<sup>74</sup> In all likelihood, they simply left Sierra Leone, caught a ship heading to the Slave Coast or back to Brazil and returned to the slave trade. The frustration of Britain's legal situation is apparent in a letter from a Doctor Thompson. "In the case of one prize in which we took in the *Racer*, I saw the crew after they were supposed to have been put in prison; I saw several of them walking about and conversed with them..."<sup>75</sup>

Given the fact that the men did not even bother to be present for the second stage of their trial, it can be said that they were probably on their way home by the time the *Nova Virgem* was finally condemned. The crew returned to their illicit trade with new knowledge about the Royal Navy's operations and other impediments. The Earl of Aberdeen expressed his anger toward the immunity of Brazilian slaving crews in a letter to Lord Ponsonby in 1829:

It appears from the reports of His Majesty's Commissioners at Sierra Leone, that great encouragement is afforded to the illegal traffic in slaves, from the circumstance of Officers of Slave-vessels, under the Brazilian flag, convicted of illicit practices, (who are at liberty, after conviction, to proceed whither they please) returning to the same pursuit with perfect impunity; whereby a set of men is constantly furnished for the prosecution of the illegal Slave-trade, who are fitted, by past experience and local knowledge, to carry it on with the best chances of success.<sup>76</sup>

Records of the crew, though likely to be present in archives somewhere, were not found by this author. However, given the propensity of Brazilian slavers, indeed all slavers of the era, to return to the trade, it can be said with a high degree of certainty that these men would see the African coast again.



## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION: A YOUNG, REBELLIOUS NATION

There is a recurring theme in the story of the *Nova Virgem*. From virtually every phase of the ship's travels there was a sense of urgency and defiance. As the *Nova Virgem* sat at port awaiting her clearance to the African coast, harbor officials consciously measured her inaccurately in an effort to bend the rules that limited the number of slaves allowed aboard. Later, the ship's passport specified that Rodrigues could touch at the islands of Sao Tomé and Príncipe for supplies and legal trade. The true reason for sailing there was to watch the operations of the African Squadron more closely and to sneak past them when a juicy opportunity arrived. Finally, the *Nova Virgem* sailed north of the Line to purchase her slaves despite international regulations limiting Brazilian slaving to the southern hemisphere. If chased the ship stood a very good chance of escaping, as Bahian slavers were top-of-the-line clippers built for the sole purpose of eluding all pursuers, not for the safety of those held captive below. In all respects, the voyage of the *Nova Virgem* was an extension of the political and commercial climate of the Bahian world at that time. It is through the Brazilian nation as a whole that we can see exactly why all of these steps were taken, and why the people involved worked their hardest to defy the law and anger the British Government.

## THE SLAVE OF BAHIA

As the *Nova Virgem* made her final known voyage to the African coast in June 1828, Brazil was seeing a tremendous growth in its agriculture. Sugar, indigo, tobacco and cotton were all lucrative crops at the time, but for Bahia sugar and tobacco maintained the highest level of prominence. Indeed, during the late 1820s Bahia alone shipped one-half of all sugar exported from Brazil.<sup>1</sup> Huge numbers of workers were needed to manage the fields and later render the cane into sugar, or roll the tobacco leaves for sale (Figure 19). As in past centuries, slaves made up most of the labor force in these physically demanding industries. But this was not the only market requiring large masses of slave labor.

In fact, Brazil was known throughout the world as utilizing its slaves for a wider array of duties than anywhere else (Figure 20).<sup>2</sup> For example, the roads of Bahia were very rough and steep, and did not lend themselves to mechanical transportation. Instead of wagons, Bahians used slaves called *cadeiras* to carry goods and people from place to place around town.<sup>3</sup> Large numbers of African slaves were required to perform these duties as well. Slaves were considered essential to the well-being of the nation. They were so important to Brazilians that they were employed as servants in the British and Brazilian Court of Mixed Commission in Rio, the same court that was established to prosecute the illegal slaving industry. In all, cities like Bahia carried a population of slaves that outnumbered whites at a ratio of two to one.<sup>4</sup>

With their dependence on slave labor, one would presume that Brazilians did



Figure 19: Planting Sugarcane on a Brazilian Plantation. (From Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 77)

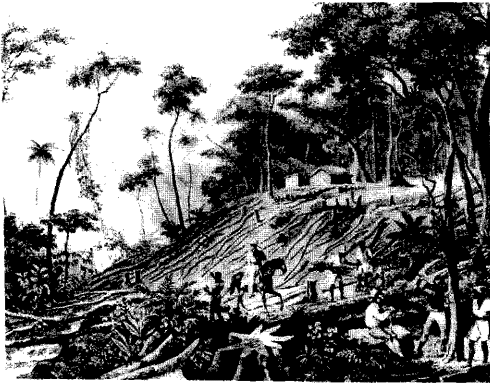


Figure 20: Slaves Clearing a Brazilian Forest. One of the many hard duties of a Brazilian slave. (From Walvin, *Illustrated History*, 64)

their best to maintain the slaves that they had, especially considering the looming embargo. In fact, the opposite was true. Brazilians felt that the African was a lesser human, and that the slaves were evil personified. In the words of a Brazilian miner, "... we whites are descended from Adam and the Negroes are descended from Cain, who was black, and who died cursed by God himself."<sup>5</sup> Indeed many Brazilians felt that it was their duty as Christians to subjugate Africans and expose them to European ways and the true religion. In their eyes a lifetime of toil was an even exchange for an eternity in heaven.<sup>6</sup> As a result of this self-justifying stance toward their slaves, whites felt little need to treat their property well, making conditions horrific for many who worked the Brazilian soil.

Plantation owners looked at slaves as farm equipment to be used hard and thrown away when broken. As described in previous chapters, the slave supply from Africa was in no danger of being cut off in the 1820s, and so it was simply easier to use fresh imports until their death and then buy new ones. One Brazilian owner calculated that "proceeds of the first year's labor of a slave were at least enough to cover his cost; that the second and following years were clear profit. Why then [should we bother keeping them healthy] when we can so easily get fresh ones at such a low price?"<sup>7</sup> This process of using the slaves hard until they died was called *working out* and was the norm for most slave masters of Brazil.<sup>8</sup> Economically it made sense. Slaves often worked fifteen- to sixteen-hour days for months straight. As they worked they were nearly naked and were never allowed to wear shoes, as this symbolized the low status of slaves

in Brazil. They were fed “boiled beans without any other seasoning, and this only once a day... and if now and then they may happen to give them meat, it is of animals killed by disease, or flesh spoiled by exposure.”<sup>9</sup> Every comfort was sacrificed.

Such poor treatment earned Brazil a reputation for being harsher on slaves than anywhere else in the world. They were treated worse than animals, one Brazilian sympathist noted, “I would rather... be a sheep, pig or ox, have freedom, food, and rest for a season, and then be knocked on the head, than be a [slave] on [a Brazilian] plantation.”<sup>10</sup> One local reporter, A. J. Lamoureux, when asked if there would be a Brazilian version of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, stated that there would be “no incidents lacking to fill it with horrors of which Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe never dreamed.”<sup>11</sup> Despite this dubious honor, Brazilians continued to treat their slaves poorly and did little to promote their health. As a result, life expectancy was very low. Reports indicate that the average male slave could expect to live about ten years from the moment he was let off the ship. Other estimations place life expectancy as low as six years. Throughout Brazil, the mortality rate was calculated at ten percent per annum and little was done about it.<sup>12</sup> As a result of this working out, the slave population was strained severely and something had to be done to maintain its numbers. Unfortunately, the Brazilian slaves were unable to look to themselves for the answer.

As was noted by one Brazilian historian, the plantation owners were looking for “workers, and not families.”<sup>13</sup> Males were needed in the fields as they could produce the most output per person compared to women. All over the country, surveys reflect the sexual dichotomy as males outnumbered females by more than two to one, or even three

to one in Rio. The smaller numbers of slave women in Brazil were treated just as poorly as the men, and as a result they were not particularly fecund. Slave children who were born in the New World were not given any preference either, resulting in astronomical infant mortality rates.<sup>14</sup> These factors combined to produce a Brazilian slave population that was simply unable to support itself. With the steady need for manual labor, the Brazilians desperately looked to their source for new slaves.

The Brazilian slaving industry was an extension of the problems facing the agricultural leaders of Brazil. Much like our modern American gasoline problems and the oil shortages that lie in the offing, Brazilians knew that the future for their slave supply was not bright. Eventually the slave imports would cease, but without knowing any other way to maintain their financial existence, the Brazilians held off for as long as possible without making any serious changes in their society. Whites did have a steady supply of slaves from Africa thanks to the efforts of the slave smuggling industry, but the window reluctantly left open by the British government was to be closed in less than two years, legally shutting Brazilians off from what they viewed as an essential cog in their economic works.

Imports reached fevered peaks in the periods just before the legal slaving era ended, but they did not actually stop for another twenty years. Poor treatment and gender preference did not cease in 1830, but continued into the 1850s. Slaves brought in clandestinely were, according to one British report, doing "little more than fill[ing] up the generations that pass away."<sup>15</sup> And those generations were huge. From 1829 to 1842, well into the age of illicit slaving, an average of forty- to fifty-percent of the slave

population still was born in Africa.<sup>16</sup> It must have been difficult for the whites to imagine what their economy would have been like with half of their labor force gone. Slave imports were thought to be essential to their economy and the nation as a whole, and anyone who tried to stop them was an enemy.

### **ANTI-BRITISH SENTIMENT IN BRAZIL**

The British Government made a concerted effort to combine “bullying and bribery” to wage a righteous war against the slave trade. Though much of the world still participated in human trafficking, Britain took the lead and imposed its enlightened views on those who still saw the African continent as something less than an equal. For much of England, slave-trading nations bore an immoral stigma that reeked from everything that they did. Britons did their best to present themselves as something better than their unethical opponents, but many others could not look past the fact that England had ended the very same trade that they had dominated just a short time earlier. Still London addressed the Americas with contempt and disgust. Much of this deprecation was directed toward first the Portuguese and later the Brazilians as they gained independence. This anti-Portuguese and Brazilian sentiment is evident in a number of British documents. In one exchange, Lord Palmerston states that “the Portuguese are the lowest on the moral scale and the Brazilians are degenerate Portuguese.”<sup>17</sup> In another, John Denman explains that “[Brazil’s] conduct... has... justly earned the abhorrence of mankind.”<sup>18</sup> It is easily apparent that the British government felt that there was a



definite good guy and bad guy in the slave trade debate, but across the ocean it was the other way around.

In the young South American nation of Brazil, the British were not seen as moral saviors of humanity, but something quite different. Many Brazilians did not trust the policies that were being thrust upon them, for they doubted the true intentions of the philanthropy coming from Great Britain. One Brazilian pointedly challenged British meddling by stating:

... it was from policy alone that [England] abolished the slave trade, because her colonies were fully stocked, and that now she wishes to accomplish that abolition among all other nations who are not so well provided with laborers, that they may not rival her transatlantic possessions, and ultimately surpass them by the increased number of workmen.<sup>19</sup>

Brazil was not the only nation that felt this way. Horatio Bridge, an officer in the American African Squadron, questioned Britain's sincerity, stating that a captured slaver does little to end the trade but with every captured slaver "the captor receives £5 per [slave] and the government has more 'emigrants' for its West Indian possessions."<sup>20</sup>

Naturally, Brazilians did not take the British efforts to curb the slave trade well. They felt it was none of England's business and did everything they could to slow the inevitable. Every step the British government made forward in policy, the Brazilians took back in action. They did not cooperate with British magistrates on their soil nor did they enforce many of the laws hindering the importation of slaves.<sup>21</sup> The slave trade was not seen as merely essential to the economy of the young nation, but, thanks to British interference, it was a matter of pride and patriotism. To speak out against the slave trade was seen as an act of disloyalty. One member of the Brazilian government, Juiz di

Direito, made this mistake and was rewarded with attempts on his life and dismissal from office.<sup>22</sup> Most officials basked in the bonuses of this renewed sense of allegiance as they partook in both the profits from slaving ventures and the bribes necessary to keep them from coming to light.<sup>23</sup> The Brazilians gathered together and defiantly sent their ships to Africa knowing full well that there was little that England was willing to do except call them names and write nasty letters. In fact, it was only when London threatened to move in and arrest Brazilian slave merchants on Brazilian soil in 1850 that the young nation cooperated. When Brazil did oblige, the trade ended quickly with the last slave smuggler arriving merely five years later.<sup>24</sup>

### **THE NOVA VIRGEM RIDES THE FLOOD OF URGENCY AND PRIDE**

With these two factors, the voyage of the *Nova Virgem* takes on a new meaning. It was the product of a country that faced an impending - and serious - economic problem. The ship was the personification of Brazil acting out against those who told its people to behave in any way other than what they wanted. Looking at some aspects of the journey this becomes very clear. With the admeasurement of the ship, the *Nova Virgem* was allowed to carry almost 100 more slaves than were allowed by British convention. On one side, the economy was aided by the importation of more slaves per ship than what would be allowed if the rules were followed. On the other, British suppression policy was ignored for what was thought to be the better interests of Brazil. The ship was measured wrong. Everyone knew it and nothing was done to prevent it.

With the ship's clearance to the illegal northern islands of Sao Tomé and Príncipe the Bahian Government consciously plotted against its British counterpart. By leaping through the legal loophole, the Bahian slaving fleet was given a tactically higher ground upon which to stand as it watched the operations of the Royal Navy just above the horizon. It was clear to the Bahians that northern ports provided more and healthier slaves than those sanctioned by England in Angola, making them much more profitable when they arrived back at port. These slaves were thought to be harder workers and more productive in the tobacco fields and sugar plantations than those procured in Molembo.

From the slave register of the *Nova Virgem*, it is clear that with less than two years left in the legal slaving era, Brazilians had little regard for the future. As described above, horrible treatment combined with a strong preference for males led to a population of workers that was unable to maintain itself. The number of slaves held on the *Nova Virgem* reflects this disparity clearly (Figure 21). The male to female ratio is almost exactly two to one, for both adults and children. This indicates little concern for the lack of reproductive potential of the slave population of Brazil. Bahians knew that they could continue to get inexpensive slaves easily with minimal harassment from the British Navy, and did little to conserve what they possessed at home.

Throughout the war on slave smuggling, it was clear that there was little that the British Government and the Royal Navy could do to stop the flood. In this respect, the *Nova Virgem* was an exception to the rule. It was widely known that the overwhelming majority of slave ships that went to Africa came home without incident. Though

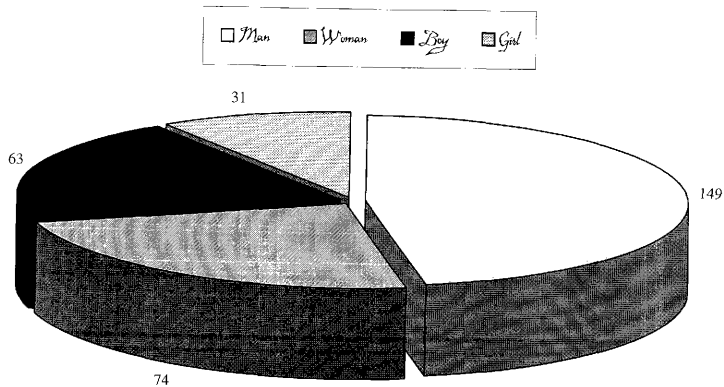


Figure 21: *Gender Distribution Onboard the Nova Virgin*

smugglers like Rodrigues flagrantly broke the law, it has been shown that the hands of England were sufficiently tied for the industry to continue and thrive under the nose of those who fought to end it.

In the end, the *Nova Virgem* was simply the product of a people whose minds were centered on money. This sleek ship was designed, built, and sailed with all focus upon the profits that could be realized. Revenue, not Rodrigues, was her real captain and the 354 African men, women, and children were seen as more milreis for the Brazilians' pockets. Money does not have feelings or needs so the captives were treated with little regard for their health or safety. The minimal space and provisions provided them speaks volumes about this. After all, if one expects to make tens-of-thousands of dollars, what is it to lose a few hundred along the way?

With the close of this discussion, it is important to note that the *Nova Virgem's* story is one of many. The ship, though reconstructed as accurately as possible, can be revised in the future along with any other vessels of the illicit slaving era. With each new ship comes a new story to tell and it is hoped that in the future some of these tales, perhaps even more interesting and illustrative than this, will come to light. From there we can learn not only about the people of our past, but of ourselves and our capabilities, both good and bad.

## NOTES

## CHAPTER II NOTES: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

<sup>1</sup> J. Bandinel, *Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa as Connected with Europe and America*, 2d ed. (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968), 67.

<sup>2</sup> J. Parry and P. Sherlock, *A Short History of the West Indies* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1978), 175.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the 18<sup>th</sup> century slave trade, it is imperative that one read Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Bandinel, *Some Account*, 86, 96.

<sup>5</sup> R. Steckel and R. Jensen, "New Evidence on the Causes of Slave and Crew Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Journal of Economic History* 46:1 (1986), 57.

<sup>6</sup> T. Buxton, *The African Slave Trade* (London: J. Murray, 1839), 104, 110.

<sup>7</sup> Bandinel, *Some Account*, 87-100; J. Adams, "The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade," *Journal of Negro History* 10:4 (1925), 607-608.

<sup>8</sup> Parry and Sherlock, *West Indies*, 178

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 185

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 178; Bandinel, *Some Account*, 70

<sup>11</sup> Parry and Sherlock, *West Indies*, 178

<sup>12</sup> Bandinel, *Some Account*, 82

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 81- 85

- <sup>14</sup> B. Nelson, "The Slave Trade as a Factor in British Foreign Policy 1815-1862," *Journal of Negro History* 27:2 (1942), 194.
- <sup>15</sup> C. Garland and H. Klein, "The Allotment of Space for Slaves Aboard Eighteenth-Century British Slave Ships," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 42:2 (1985), 239-240.
- <sup>16</sup> J. Inikori, "Market Structure and the Profits of the British African Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History* 41:4 (1981), 766.
- <sup>17</sup> Nelson, "Foreign Policy," 194; Bandinel, *Some Account*, 77.
- <sup>18</sup> Adams, "Brazilian Slave Trade," 608.
- <sup>19</sup> Inikori, "Market Structure," 753-755.
- <sup>20</sup> Bandinel, *Some Account*, 105.
- <sup>21</sup> Parry and Sherlock, *West Indies*, 180.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 181; L. Bethell, "The Independence of Brazil and the Abolition of the Brazilian Slave trade: Anglo-Brazilian Relations," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 1 (1969), 115.
- <sup>23</sup> Parry and Sherlock, *West Indies*, 181; Bethell, "Independence," 116; Nelson, "Foreign Policy," 194.
- <sup>24</sup> Parry and Sherlock, *West Indies*, 181.
- <sup>25</sup> Nelson, "Foreign Policy," 194-199.
- <sup>26</sup> Adams, "Brazilian Slave Trade," 609; Parry and Sherlock, *West Indies*, 181.
- <sup>27</sup> Nelson, "Foreign Policy," 196-197.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 199; Bandinel, *Some Account*, 159.

- <sup>29</sup> Bandinel, *Some Account*, 120; Bethell, "Independence," 126-129.
- <sup>30</sup> Adams, "Brazilian Slave Trade," 614.
- <sup>31</sup> Nelson, "Foreign Policy," 197.
- <sup>32</sup> Adams, "Brazilian Slave Trade," 609; Bandinel, *Some Account*, 151-152.
- <sup>33</sup> Nelson, "Foreign Policy," 197-198.
- <sup>34</sup> Adams, "Brazilian Slave Trade," 614.
- <sup>35</sup> Bethell, "Independence," 119, 121.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-122.
- <sup>38</sup> Adams, "Brazilian Slave Trade," 613-614.
- <sup>39</sup> Bethell, "Independence," 123.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 124.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>42</sup> Marquis of Arcatay to Lord Ponsonby, 15 Feb. 1829, in *British and Foreign State Papers 1829-1830*, Vol. 17 (hereafter *BFSP*, 17), 702.
- <sup>43</sup> Adams, "Brazilian Slave Trade," 617.
- <sup>44</sup> Bethell, "Independence," 118, 131-132.
- <sup>45</sup> Adams, "Brazilian Slave Trade," 624-625.
- <sup>46</sup> H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997) 629, Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 43.



### CHAPTER III NOTES: LEGALITIES OF ILLEGALITY

<sup>1</sup> Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 106.

<sup>2</sup> C. Lloyd, *The Navy and the Slave Trade* (London: Cass, 1968), 61; Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> R. Forbes, *Six Months' Service on the African Blockade* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969), 85; T. Canot and B. Mayer, *Captain Canot, an African slaver, American Negro, His History and Literature*. (New York, : Arno Press, 1968), 60; For a more in-depth study of the slave ships of this period consult H. Chapelle, *The Baltimore Clipper* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1930), 107-141.

<sup>4</sup> Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 206; Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 106: Lieutenant Forbes describes a set of warning signals as follows:

"... a single light means that the coast is clear and the vessel may venture in; two, that the whereabouts of the cruizer is doubtful; three lights indicate great danger, which, if it increase, is shewn by repeated flashes. Should the cruizer be off the port at the time a vessel is expected, a bonfire is lighted, and every half-hour a quantity of gunpowder is thrown into it..."; Adams, "Abolition," 620-621.

<sup>5</sup> Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 101, 107, 109: Theodore Canot provides an example of a trip's monetary accounts. In it he sets aside \$200.00 for "clearance and hush-money". He would later describe magistrates clandestinely requesting a slave from the cargo for their own use; Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 173-174.

<sup>6</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 13.

<sup>7</sup> Lloyd, *Navy*, 61.

<sup>8</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 92

<sup>9</sup> United Kingdom. House of Lords, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Consider the Best Means which Great Britain can Adopt for the Final Extinction of the Slave Trade* (London: Harrison, 1850), 7

<sup>10</sup> J. Denman, *The African Squadron and Mr. Hutt's Committee*, 2d ed. (London: J. Mortimer, 1850), 16; Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 119: To the Royal Navy's credit, Canot characterizes the rainy season as rarely being the time of slave embarkation. Thus, a significantly reduced number of slavers were in service at that time.

<sup>11</sup> J. Rose, "The Royal Navy and the Suppression of the West African Slave Trade (1815-1865)," *Mariner's Mirror* 22 (1936), 58.

<sup>12</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 63.

<sup>13</sup> Society of Friends, *An Address to the Inhabitants of Europe on the Iniquity of the Slave Trade, Issued by the Religious Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: n/a, 1822), 2.

<sup>14</sup> K. Reilly, "Slavers in Disguise: American Whaling and the African Slave Trade, 1845-1862," *American Neptune* 53:3 (1993), 177: The Equipment Clause actually was an addition to a treaty with Spain. It allowed the capture and adjudication of all vessels as slavers simply due to the equipment carried on board. These items included (but were not limited to) planks for a slave deck, excess bulkheads for cargo separation, extra large food preparation utensils, irons and enlarged hatches with gratings.

<sup>15</sup> "Case of *Le Louis*," Catterall, H. ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, Vol. 1 (Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926), 31:

The case of *Le Louis* is a perfect example of this stipulation. The French slaver was brought in to Sierra Leone for adjudication. The slavers were immediately released from all charges when the courts found that there were no slaves on board when overhauled.

<sup>16</sup> Lloyd, *Navy*, 68.

<sup>17</sup> "Case of the *Aviso*," Catterall, *Judicial Cases* 1, 33-34.

<sup>18</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 99.

<sup>19</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 130.

<sup>20</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 99.

<sup>21</sup> Rose, "Royal Navy," 59; Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 104: Throwing slaves overboard was not a phenomenon that arose surrounding the embargo. It could be a part of any voyage. One slave ship captain reportedly threw over some 132 slaves in order to save water. Insurance underwriters paid the slaver for those who were thrown overboard because of repayment stipulations based upon the proof of potential loss of the entire ship (i.e. lack of water).

<sup>22</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 114: The penalty for such atrocity would have only been a fine and loss of vessel.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 129-130; Lloyd, *Navy*, 32: Expectant sharks often followed slave ships on their journeys as they waited for slaves, live, ill, or dead, to be tossed overboard. Though quite morbid, they actually proved to be valuable assistants to the African Squadron as they marked the trail of slavers.

- <sup>24</sup> M. Cowley, "Introduction," *Adventures of an African Slaver* (Austin, TX: The Pemberton Press, 1928), xvi-xvii.
- <sup>25</sup> "Case of US vs. *La Jeune Eugenie*," Catterall, H. ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, Vol. 4 (Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1936), 499.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 497- 499.
- <sup>27</sup> H. Soulsby, *The Right of Search and the Slave Trade in Anglo-American Relations, 1814- 1862*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 51, no. 2 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), 139.
- <sup>28</sup> "Case of the *Antelope*," Catterall, H. ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, Vol. 3 (Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1932), 9-10.
- <sup>29</sup> Rose, "Royal Navy," 54; Soulsby, *Right of Search*, 128.
- <sup>30</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 53.
- <sup>31</sup> A Barrister, *Analysis of the Evidence Given Before the Select Committees Upon the Slave Trade, By a Barrister* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1850), 8.
- <sup>32</sup> House of Lords, *Report*, 8.
- <sup>33</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 55: Slave ships kept all of their incriminating evidence hidden, including their foreign papers and flags. British Captain Sneyd reported in 1811, "... the Spanish arms being made in England and sewn into the flag previous to their sailing..."; Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 173

- <sup>34</sup> D. Northrup, "African Mortality in the Suppression of the Slave Trade: The Case of the Bight of Biafra," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9:1 (1978), 47.
- <sup>35</sup> Lloyd, *Navy*, 62; "Case of the *Amedie*," Catterall, *Judicial Cases* 1, 27-28.
- <sup>36</sup> Drake, R., *Revelations of a Slave Smuggler* (New York: R.M. DeWitt, 1860), 23-24.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.
- <sup>38</sup> J. Denman, *Practical Remarks on the Slave Trade of the West Coast of Africa, with Notes on the Portuguese Treaty*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (London: Ridgway, 1839), 11; Drake, *Revelations*, 63.
- <sup>39</sup> Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 257.
- <sup>40</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 55.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>42</sup> "Case of the *Fortuna*," Catterall, *Judicial Cases* 1, 29.
- <sup>43</sup> Rose, "Royal Navy," 54.
- <sup>44</sup> J. Q. Adams to Messrs. Gallatin and Rush, 2 Nov. 1818, *American State Papers: Foreign Relations* 5:342; L. Cass, *An Examination of the Question, Now in Discussion, Between the American and British Governments, Concerning the Right of Search. By an American* (Paris: H. Fournier 1842): Mr. Cass wrote a fervent open letter to the British government, laying out arguments that are illustrative of this anger and suspicion toward Great Britain.
- <sup>45</sup> Soulsby, *Right of Search*, 132.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 121, 136.
- <sup>47</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 177.

<sup>48</sup> Soulsby, *Right of Search*, 160.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-137.

<sup>51</sup> G. Dow, *Slave Ships and Slaving*, 2d ed. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1969), 272.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 55, 85; Soulsby, *Right of Search*, 141: American and British vessels had international search rights only with "unquestionable suspicions" otherwise the search was illegal. One instruction from the period explains, "No particular exercise of the right could be justified but by the fact of the vessel so searched to be a pirate. It is the responsibility of the searching officer... [to be] unwilling to act except in cases of very clear and positive information."; Rose, "Royal Navy," 55: The southern delegation of the United States was so powerful, that the Piracy Act was not fully enforced for more than 40 years until 1862 with the execution of a slave ship captain.

<sup>54</sup> H. Bridge, *Journal of an African Cruiser* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), 177-178.

<sup>55</sup> Soulsby, *Right of Search*, 163.

<sup>56</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 171.

<sup>57</sup> Lloyd, *Navy*, 61.

<sup>58</sup> Barrister, *Analysis*, 6.

<sup>59</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 132.

<sup>60</sup> Bridge, *Journal*, 52.

- <sup>61</sup> Barrister, *Analysis*, 8.
- <sup>62</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 84.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.
- <sup>64</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 182-183.
- <sup>65</sup> House of Lords, *Report*, 8.
- <sup>66</sup> Reilly, "Slavers in Disguise." 178.

#### CHAPTER IV NOTES: THE *NOVA VIRGEM*

<sup>1</sup> D. Moore, "Anatomy of a 17<sup>th</sup> Century Slave Ship: Historical and Archaeological Investigations of 'The *Henrietta Marie* 1699,'" (M.A. thesis, East Carolina University, 1989), 1; C. Garland and H. Klein, "The Allotment of Space for Slaves aboard Eighteenth-Century British Slave Ships," *William and Mary Quarterly* 42:2 (1985), 240.

<sup>2</sup> Moore, "*Henrietta Marie*," 8, 109-111.

<sup>3</sup> E. Dethelfsen, *Whidah: Cape Cod's Mystery Treasure Ship* (Woodstock, VT: Seafarer's Heritage Library Ltd., 1984), 24-27: The *Whidah*, or *Whydah*, was a much larger ship measuring 300 tons. She was pierced for eighteen guns with a crew of fifty men. Once she was employed as a pirate ship, those numbers increased to twenty-eight guns and 200 crewmen. At the time of her capture the *Whydah* was on her way to Europe with a load of silver, gold, molasses and other goods. She had recently delivered a cargo of slaves in Jamaica. Bellamy used the ship for less than three months until she foundered on April 26, 1717.

<sup>4</sup> Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 60.

<sup>5</sup> Newbury, *Western Slave Coast*, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Ward, *The Royal Navy*, 101.

<sup>7</sup> Soulsby, "Right of Search", 244.

<sup>8</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 45.

<sup>9</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 132.

<sup>10</sup> Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 100-101; R. Conrad, *World of Sorrow* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 70.

<sup>11</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 85: Forbes eloquently states the appeal of the slave ship as he writes: "... those accustomed to naval affairs can at once single out a slaver from a number of vessels... for of all the ships employed in whatsoever capacity, none are more beautiful than the generality of slavers."

<sup>12</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 134.

<sup>13</sup> Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 109.

<sup>14</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 271-272: Any slaver purchased in the United States had another advantage aside from her speedy design. United States law required that all American-built ships be registered from the United States. If captured by a British cruiser the slaver could possibly be set free if he presented this "proof" of American citizenship. As has been shown, this was a tremendous setback for the British Navy's efforts to control the slave trade.; Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 109.

<sup>15</sup> Ward, *Royal Navy*, 47; Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 157-159.

<sup>16</sup> Adams, "Abolition", 620.



<sup>17</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 127, 130-131: In an interesting graph, David Eltis presents the idea that slaving vessels from Brazil that traveled to the West African coast were 100 to 150 tons smaller than the average tonnage of ships entering New York Harbor.

However, Brazilian vessels that headed for Africa's east coast, and invariably much more difficult sailing conditions, were more or less equal in size to those entering New York.

<sup>18</sup> D. Eltis, "Impact of Abolition", 158; Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 134, 271-272, 274-275.

<sup>19</sup> Passport of the *Nova Virgem*, June 1828, PRO, FO 315: 41 no. 1: This number was set from the Alvará of 1818, discussed earlier. With this legislation, the slaves were limited to five individuals for every two tons.

<sup>20</sup> Log of HMS *Primrose*, July 28, 1828, PRO, ADM 51:3346.

<sup>21</sup> Foreign Office, "Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*," *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1828-1829, *BFSP*, 16: 127.

<sup>22</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 11 Sept. 1826 and Chamberlain to Canning, n/d, *BFSP*, 14: 343, 370.

<sup>23</sup> Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 38.

<sup>24</sup> Pennell to Canning, 31 May, 1827 and Pennell to the Vice President of Bahia, 28 and 30 May, 1827, *BFSP*, 15: 417-419.

<sup>25</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 86

<sup>26</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 18 Sept. 1824, *BFSP*, 12: 289.

<sup>27</sup> Chamberlain to Carvalho e Mello, 26 Jan. 1824, *BFSP*, 12: 277-278

<sup>28</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 27 Aug. 1824, *BFSP*, 12: 283

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Carvalho e Mello to Chamberlain, 6 Dec. 1824, *BFSP*, 12: 294-295: Mr. Mello

reluctantly presents the British government with an explanation of how this measure is taken, though after much protest. Like a written explanation on how to build a Saturn Booster rocket, the instructions are incredibly difficult to follow. Perhaps that was the intention. He explains:

The ground or flooring of the quarter-deck, forecastle, deck and the middle deck from stem to stern are divided into partial lengths of six palms which are called *Rumos*... these breadths are added up on each flooring, or deck, and the sum multiplied by six in order to have the superficies of each deck in square palms: if it happen that there are any fractions of a *Rumo*, the breadth of the Ship is equally taken at the middle of it; and this is multiplied by the palms of the said fractions, and its product added to the before mentioned, the same is done with the other decks or floorings; afterwards the products or partial results are added up abating from the amount the reserved places, that is, of those spaces which are occupied by anything as for example the stem of the bowsprit, bits, top knight-head, mainmast, pumps, companion, binnacle, and rudder case, whose superficies are also measured in square palms, and dividing the remainder of 36, which is the number of square palms contained in a ton or two pipes, each of which is six palms in length and three in medium diameter, the number of superficial tons will be found, whereof taking the half and multiplying it by five, the quantity of Slaves which ought to be reckoned for every two tons, will give the number that the Ship may carry. The cabin and berths enter into the measurement, because on the return voyage, no person has any

particular place; and the steerage is not measured, because this is the place appointed for the hospital; however, if the Ships have berths for the Seamen... these do not come into the measurement.

<sup>31</sup> Carvalho e Mello to Chamberlain, 13 Aug. 1824, Chamberlain to Carvalho e Mello, 2 Sept. 1824 and Chamberlain to Canning, 18 Sept. 1824, *BFSP*, 12: 284, 289-292.

<sup>32</sup> Chamberlain to Carvalho e Mello, 26 Jan. 1824, Chamberlain to Canning, 18 Sept. 1824 and Chamberlain to Carvalho e Mello, 10 Sept. 1824, *BFSP*, 12: 277, 289, 291:

The British government not only opposed this admeasurement system due to the excess slaves it allowed but because it gave the slavers greater sums of money if they were captured and subsequently released. According to international law, the British government paid compensation to captured slave ships found innocent on a scale based on the ship's tonnage. With the inflated measures, the crew and ship's owner were given much more than their entitlement. Furthermore, taxes were assessed on a tonnage basis, but that was always measured by outside parties, so then the tonnage, or rather, the *actual* tonnage, would be less, therefore they paid less for taxation.

<sup>33</sup> Pennell to Canning, 10, Sept. 1825, *BFSP*, 13: 196; "Memorandum Relative to Brazilian Slave-trade," 17 Nov. 1826, *BFSP*, 15: 398.

<sup>34</sup> Pennell to Canning, 10, Sept. 1825, *BFSP*, 13: 196.

<sup>35</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 18 Sept. 1824, *BFSP*, 12: 289.

<sup>36</sup> J. McCusker, "Tonnage Measurement: Five Philadelphia Merchant Ships as a Sample," *Journal of Economic History* 27:1 (1967), 85; C. French, "Eighteenth-Century Shipping Tonnage Measurements," *Journal of Economic History* 33:2 (1973), 425.

<sup>37</sup> Garland and Klein, "Allotment of Space," 242.

<sup>38</sup> Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 111-130.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 112-126: The calculation of the *Nova Virgem*'s proportions is described below:

First, the tonnage calculation is presented with the tonnage of the *Nova Virgem* included.

$$103.5 = \frac{(K - 0.6B) \times B \times 0.5B}{94}$$

Next, B is replaced by the standard length to beam ratio which was calculated from Marstier's plans. In this case I have chosen to make the ratio  $B = 0.28L$ , or 28% of the total length of the ship. Though this is a bit beamy, considering the ships' notorious speed, it is necessary considering her small size. Only with large clippers could one build closer to a four to one ratio.

$$103.5 = \frac{[K - 0.6(0.28L)] \times 0.28L \times 0.5(0.28L)}{94}$$

The length to beam ratio is still useless unless the length of the keel can be represented in terms of L. This is done by finding the rake of the stern, and overhang of the bow and including them in the equation. With the *Nova Virgem*, the overhang of the bow is estimated as being 0.18 of the total length, or 0.18 L, and the rake of the stern is found to be 0.09 of the length or 0.09 L. Adding these two together and subtracting them from

the total length gives us the length of keel in terms of the total length ( $0.73L$ ). Now the equation is solvable as it contains only one variable:

$$9729 = [0.73L - 0.6(0.28L)] \times 0.28L \times 0.5(0.28L)$$

$$9729 = (0.73L - 0.168L) \times 0.28L \times 0.14L$$

$$9729 = 0.562L \times 0.28L \times 0.14L$$

$$9729 = 0.02203L^3$$

$$\sqrt[3]{\frac{9729}{0.02203}} = L = 76.2 \text{ feet}$$

$$0.28L = B = 21.3 \text{ feet}$$

<sup>40</sup> References cited directly for lines, construction, sail plan, and outfit drawings: G. Biddlecombe, *The Art of Rigging*, 2d. ed. (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1990); Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper and History*; T. Clarkson, *The Cries of Africa to the Inhabitants of Europe* (London: Harvey and Darton and W. Phillips, 1822); Cowley, *Adventures*; K. Crisman, *The History and Construction of the United States Schooner TICONDEROGA* (Alexandria, VA: Eyrie Publications, 1983); K. Crisman, Personal Notes of the Lake Champlain Schooner *Water Witch* (1983); K. Crisman, *The Eagle*,

(Shelburne, VT: New England Press, 1987); W. Crothers, *The American-Built Clipper Ship 1850-1856* (Camden, ME: International Marine, 1997); Dow, *Slave Ships*; R. Drake, *Revelations*; H. Estep, *How Wooden Ships are Built* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1918); J. Fincham, *A Treatise on Mastng Ships and Mast Making*, 2d. ed. (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1982); C. Gill, *Steel's Elements of Mastmaking, Sailmaking, and Rigging*, 2d. ed. (Largo, FL: Edward W. Sweetman Co., 1982); A.B.C. Whipple, *The Clipper Ships* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1980).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 110: Clipper-model slavers typically were so low that the Royal Navy was reluctant to use captured vessels in their service due to the heavy weight of their guns.

<sup>42</sup> Cowley, *Adventures*, 63-65.

<sup>43</sup> Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 109.

<sup>44</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 89.

<sup>45</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 89.

<sup>46</sup> K. Crisman, conversation with author, College Station, TX., 13 Jan. 2001.

<sup>47</sup> Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 240-241.

<sup>48</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 89.

<sup>49</sup> Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 111.

<sup>50</sup> "List of Brazilian Slavers Measured for Slaves in the Year 1826," *BFSP*, 14: 370.

<sup>51</sup> Log of HMS *Blackjoke*, 5 Feb. to 10 Oct. 1828, PRO, ADM 51:4090.

<sup>52</sup> H. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1935), 221.

<sup>53</sup> Fincham, *Masting Ships*, 66; Gill, *Elements of Mastmaking*, 184; *Ibid.*, 158.

- <sup>54</sup> Crew Register, June 1828, PRO, FO 315: 41 no. 1.
- <sup>55</sup> Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 111.
- <sup>56</sup> B. Greenhill, Introduction to *Sail's Last Century*, R. Gardiner ed. (London: Conway Maritime Press Ltd., 1993), 15.
- <sup>57</sup> Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 112-126, 161-164; Fincham, *Masting* 72-73, 200-201.
- <sup>58</sup> United Kingdom, Commander Chas Hall's answer to Query 3, Letter to Admiralty, 6 May 1850, PRO, ADM 123/173.
- <sup>59</sup> Reilly, "Slavers in Disguise," 177: Much of my interpretation of the appointments of the *Nova Virgem* are based on the Equipment Clause described in Chapter III. One of the condemnable items from this legislation was the presence of enlarged grated hatches.
- <sup>60</sup> Svalesen, *Fredensborg*, 100, 104, 172; Cowley, *Adventures*, 111.
- <sup>61</sup> Crisman, conversation; Cowley, *Adventures*, 111.
- <sup>62</sup> Moore, "Henrietta Marie," Appendix J: "Copper Cooking Cauldron."
- <sup>63</sup> J. Higgins, *The Whale Ship Book* (New York: Rudder Publishing Co., 1927), 9.
- <sup>64</sup> Reilly, "Slavers in Disguise," 180.
- <sup>65</sup> Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 110.
- <sup>66</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 87.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*; Court Documents of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*, 18 Sept. 1828, PRO, FO 315:17. 13.
- <sup>68</sup> Chapelle, *History*, Plate 6; Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 139; Crothers, *Clipper Ship*, 301; Cowley, *Adventures*, 107-108; Carvalho e Mello to Chamberlain, 8 Dec. 1824, *BFSP*, 12: 295.

<sup>69</sup> J. Newton, "Personal Journal," transcribed in "John Newton: Extracts from the Journal of a Slave Trader (1750-1754)," World Wide Web Page. Available URL:

[http://www.nmgm.org.uk/maritime/slavery/newton\\_ aboard.html](http://www.nmgm.org.uk/maritime/slavery/newton_ aboard.html): In this extract,

Newton describes an instance where captive slaves try to poison his water supply: Sunday 16th June. In the afternoon we were alarmed with a report that some of the men slaves had found means to poyson the water in the scuttle casks upon the deck, but upon enquiry found they had only conveyed some of their country fetishes, as they call them, or talismans into one of them, which they had the credulity to suppose must inevitably kill all who drank of it.

<sup>70</sup> Drake, *Revelations*, 43.

<sup>71</sup> "Case of *Nova Virgem*," *BFSP*, 16: 127.

<sup>72</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 133

<sup>73</sup> Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 38; Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 104, 110.

<sup>74</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 87; This researcher was unable to find any dimensional data for leaguers or other casks typically found on slavers. For the drawing of the *Nova Virgem* a double puncheon served as a comparable substitute for the leaguer and a quarter of flour for the provisions casks. Both are found in J. Boudriot, *The Seventy-Four Gun Ship*, Vol. 2: Fitting Out the Hull (Annapolis MD: Naval Institute Press, 1986) 113-114.

<sup>75</sup> E. Manning, "Six Months on a Slaver," *Slave Ships and Slaving*, G. Dow ed. (Port Washington NY: Kennikat Press, 1969), 283.



<sup>76</sup> Cowley, *Adventures*, 109: To combat this problem (as feeble an effort as it must have been), the slave deck was scraped and holystoned regularly while the slaves were on the main deck eating or getting their exercise.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-109; Moore, “*Henrietta Marie*”, 119; Crew Register, PRO, FO 315:41 no. 1.

<sup>78</sup> Cowley, *Adventures*, 108-109.

<sup>79</sup> Chapelle, *Baltimore Clipper*, 110; Chapelle, *History*, 161; Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 115.

<sup>80</sup> “Account of the Return of...,” PRO, FO 315:41 no. 1, doc. 4; Log of HMS *Primrose*, 28 July 1828, PRO, ADM 51:3346.

<sup>81</sup> Crisman, conversation.

<sup>82</sup> Svalesen, *Fredensborg*, 106.

## CHAPTER V NOTES: TO AFRICA

<sup>1</sup> P. Lindley, *Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil* (London: J. Johnson, 1805), 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 293.

<sup>4</sup> “List of Brazilian Vessels Measured for Slaves in the Year 1826”, n.d., *BFSP*, 14: 370.

<sup>5</sup> “Crew Register,” PRO, FO 315/17 no. 1.

<sup>6</sup> “Bill of Health,” PRO, FO 315/17 no. 1.

<sup>7</sup> “Passport”, PRO, FO 315/17, no. 1; “Crew Register,” PRO, FO 315/17 no. 1.

<sup>8</sup> “Passport,” PRO, FO 315/17, no. 1.

<sup>9</sup> D. Eltis, “The Export of Slaves from Africa, 1821-1843,” *Journal of Economic History* 37, no. 2 (1977), 431.

- <sup>10</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 31 March 1824, *BFSP*, 12, 279.
- <sup>11</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 11 Sept. 1826, *BFSP*, 14, 343.
- <sup>12</sup> Eltis, "Export from Africa," 413.
- <sup>13</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 31 March 1824, *BFSP*, 12, 279.
- <sup>14</sup> Eltis, "Export from Africa," 419.
- <sup>15</sup> Log of HMS *Primrose*, July 28, 1828.
- <sup>16</sup> "Account of return..." PRO, FO 315/41 no. 1.
- <sup>17</sup> "Passport," PRO, FO 315/41 no. 1.
- <sup>18</sup> "Account of return..." PRO, FO 315/41 no. 1.
- <sup>19</sup> "Case of *Nova Virgem*," *BFSP*, 16, 128.
- <sup>20</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 14 Dec. 1825, *BFSP*, 13, 234-235.
- <sup>21</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 95.
- <sup>22</sup> "Passport," PRO, FO 315/41 no. 1.
- <sup>23</sup> Duffy, J., *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1959) 12.
- <sup>24</sup> "Passport," PRO, FO 315/41 no. 1
- <sup>25</sup> Chamberlain to Carvalho e Melho, 10 Sept. 1825, *BFSP*, 13, 216-217.
- <sup>26</sup> "Report of Commodore Sir George Collier", 20 April 1823, *BFSP*, 12, 266.
- <sup>27</sup> Denman, *Practical Remarks*, 32.
- <sup>28</sup> Chamberlain to Carvalho e Melho, 10 Sept. 1825, *BFSP*, 13, 217-218.
- <sup>29</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 10 Oct. 1825, *BFSP*, 13, 226.
- <sup>30</sup> G. Beltran, "Tribal Origins of Slaves in Mexico," *Journal of Negro History* 31:3 (1946), 318.

- <sup>31</sup> Canning to Chamberlain, 6 Aug. 1824, *BFSP*, 12, 282.
- <sup>32</sup> Denman, *Practical Remarks*, 32; Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 364.
- <sup>33</sup> Chamberlain to Carvalho e Melho, 10 Sept. 1825, *BFSP*, 13, 217.
- <sup>34</sup> Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 364.
- <sup>35</sup> "Report of Commodore Sir George Collier," *BFSP*, 12, 266-267.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 267.
- <sup>37</sup> Denman, *Practical Remarks*, 32-33.
- <sup>38</sup> Barboza to Chamberlain, 1 Oct. 1825, *BFSP*, 13, 227.
- <sup>39</sup> Report of the President of Bahia, 6 Sept. 1825, *BFSP*, 13, 228.
- <sup>40</sup> Amaro to Chamberlain, 4 Jan. 1826, *BFSP*, 13, 238.
- <sup>41</sup> "Official Article: Department for Foreign Affairs," 8 Jan. 1826, *BFSP*, 14, 324-325.
- <sup>42</sup> Chamberlain to Canning, 19 July, 1826, *BFSP*, 14, 367.
- <sup>43</sup> Eltis, "Export from Africa," 418.
- <sup>44</sup> F. Castro, conversation with author, 10 Oct. 2000. The paper could potentially have been written by anyone with the ability to write. It may not have been any official scribe.
- <sup>45</sup> Ward, *Royal Navy*, 122: It was common for slavers who sailed north of the line to at least doctor their logs. In the event of a cruiser stopping them, they could state that the slaves came from the south. With logs that supported this claim, the officer had little grounds to make a seizure.
- <sup>46</sup> P. Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640-1960* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 27-29.

- <sup>47</sup> Eltis, "Export from Africa," 411; P. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria* 2d ed. (London: F. Cass, 1969), 87: During this era of immense exportation, the factories and barracoons were so full that any slaves that were ill were taken out to sea and drowned, freeing up space for more.
- <sup>48</sup> Eltis, "Export from Africa," 418.
- <sup>49</sup> R. Law, "Slave Raiders and Middlemen, Monopolists and Free Traders: The Supply of Slaves for the Atlantic Trade in Dahomey," *Journal of African History* 30: 1 (1989), 46; J. Hogendorn and H. Gemery, "Abolition and its Impact on Monies Imported to West Africa," D. Eltis and J. Walvin ed. *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Madison WS: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 241: Slave traders routinely frequented regions where there was a good deal of political instability as this invariably produced a high yield of slaves.; P. Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, 86.
- <sup>50</sup> Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 696.
- <sup>51</sup> A.J.H Latham, *Old Calabar 1600-1891* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 26-27.
- <sup>52</sup> Manning, *Dahomey*, 32.
- <sup>53</sup> Cowley, *Adventures*, 168-180.
- <sup>54</sup> Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, 79.
- <sup>55</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 168.
- <sup>56</sup> Latham, *Old Calabar*, 19.
- <sup>57</sup> Newbury, *Western Slave Coast*, 41; Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 696; Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 168-169.
- <sup>58</sup> Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 696.

- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., 630.
- <sup>60</sup> Newbury, *Western Slave Coast*, 36; Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, 86.
- <sup>61</sup> Eltis, "Export from Africa," 433.
- <sup>62</sup> Simpson to Hamilton, May 11, 1850 in PRO,ADM 123/173; Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 85.
- <sup>63</sup> Pennell to Canning, 9 June 1827, *BFSP*, 15: 421.
- <sup>64</sup> Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 348, 356, 631: Each slave ship would bring up to 80,000 weight of cowries for trade with the Africans. In the case of Bahian slavers, the goods most often being used were one-third molasses-dipped tobacco and spirits from Bahia, one-third Indonesian shells, or cowries, and one-third various English goods from Manchester; Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 33-34.
- <sup>65</sup> Hogendorn and Gemery, "Impact on Monies," 103-107: Among the trade items exchanged for slaves were cowrie shells, copper and even gold. Cowries were by far the most popular averaging about 160 metric tons per year traded to Africans. In Nigeria though, copper rods were the most common trade items.; Newbury, *Western Slave Coast*, 38.
- <sup>66</sup> Ward, *Royal Navy*, 120,123.
- <sup>67</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 180.
- <sup>68</sup> Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 712.
- <sup>69</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 84.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Cowley, *Adventures*, 107: In slaving ventures where all of the slaves were to be given to one owner, individuals were not branded; Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 396-397, 582, 689, 715: Portugal temporarily banned the *carimbo*, or branding, of slaves in the 1810s, but the lack of a comparably effective alternative brought it back by 1818. Silver was preferred because, according to one merchant, "it made a sharper scar.": H. Drewal, "Beauty and Being: Aesthetics and Ontology in Yoruba Body Art," *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformation of the Human Body*, A. Rubin ed. (Los Angeles CA: Museum of Cultural History, University of California at Los Angeles, 1988), 83: The *Nova Virgem's* register of slaves indicates all of the markings on each slave. Often slaves are noted as having "Cuts all over." These cuts, though quite possibly the result of two months on a slave ship, may have also been examples of "Kolo." This form of Yoruba body scarification was a symbol of courage and strength to the peoples of the Slave Coast.

<sup>72</sup> Mr. Silva definitely preferred the adult males as he was allotted almost all of them, while the women and children were divvied more or less evenly among the rest of the backers.

<sup>73</sup> Manning, *Six Months on a Slaver*, 290-291.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 715.

<sup>75</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 95; Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 256.

<sup>76</sup> Drake, *Revelations*, 43; Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 95-96.

<sup>77</sup> Cowley, *Adventures*, 110.

<sup>78</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 136.

<sup>79</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 96.

<sup>80</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 136.

<sup>81</sup> "Log of HMS *Primrose*", 28 July 1828: This conclusion is based on the fact that when captured, the ship had 354 slaves aboard; "Case of *Nova Virgem*," *BFSP*, 16, 127: The ship's cook swore that none of the slaves had died from the time they were taken to the time the ship was captured by *Primrose*.

<sup>82</sup> Lloyd, *Navy*, 68.

<sup>83</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 94.

<sup>84</sup> Ward, *Royal Navy*, 122.

<sup>85</sup> "Case of *Nova Virgem*," *BFSP*, 16, 127.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 129; "Log of HMS *Primrose*," 28 July 1828; "Log of HMS *Blackjoke*," 30 September 1828: While chasing a French slaver off the waters of the Bight of Benin, HMS *Blackjoke* with the aid of HMS *Primrose*, soon were overtaken by darkness. HMS *Primrose* was so fast that she could keep up with the chase while HMS *Blackjoke* was outrun and eventually lost sight of the two vessels until the next day when they finally caught up to the slaver and captured her.

## CHAPTER VI NOTES: ADJUDICATION

<sup>1</sup> J. Crooks, *A History of the Colony of Sierra Leone Western Africa* reprint (Northbrook IL: Metro Books, 1978) 70; L. Bethell, "The Mixed Commissions for the Suppression of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 1 (1966) 81.

<sup>2</sup> Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 79.

<sup>3</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 81; Rose, "The Royal Navy," 57.

<sup>5</sup> Rose, "The Royal Navy," 57; Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 81: It also proved to be a convenient place for the placement and replacement of British officials stationed on the promontory.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.; Fyfe, C., "1787-1887-1987: Reflections on a Sierra Leone Bicentenary" in Last, M. and P. Richards ed.s *Sierra Leone 1787-1987: Two Centuries of Intellectual Life* (Manchester U.K. 1987) 411-421: 411.

<sup>7</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Bandinel, *Account*, 147 .

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 81; Newbury, C., *The Western Slave Coast and its Rulers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) 49.

<sup>12</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 94; Ibid. 83.

<sup>13</sup> Crooks, *History of Sierra Leone*, 71.

<sup>14</sup> Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 80-81.

<sup>15</sup> *Eltis, Economic Growth*, 86.

<sup>16</sup> Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 85-87.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> House of Lords, *Report*, 8.



- <sup>19</sup> *Eltis, Economic Growth*, 86.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*; “Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*.”
- <sup>21</sup> Forbes, *Six Months’ Service*, 92.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*; “Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*.”
- <sup>23</sup> Bethell, “Mixed Commissions,” 81; “His Majesty’s Comments to the Earl of Dudley,” 12 Feb. 1828, *BFSP*, 16, 20; Butxon, *Slave Trade*, 147.
- <sup>24</sup> Jackson to the Earl of Aberdeen, 19 Sept. 1828, *BFSP* 16, 127.
- <sup>25</sup> N/A, *Case of the Vigilante, a Ship Employed in the Slave Trade* (London: Harvey, Darton, & Co., 1823) 10; Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 71.
- <sup>26</sup> “Log of HMS *Primrose*,” 28 July 1828; “Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*”: It is clear that the ship had to have arrived in Freetown before the 30<sup>th</sup> of August. What date is not apparent from the data available.
- <sup>27</sup> Stewart to Dudley, 11 Sept. 1827, *BFSP*, 15, 41.
- <sup>28</sup> Crooks, *History of Sierra Leone*, 71; Bethell, “Mixed Commissions,” 84-85.
- <sup>29</sup> Ward, *Royal Navy*, 122-123: Ward describes an 1826 incident where the Brazilian brig *Activo* was brought to trial by Captain Murray of HMS *Atholl*. The courts decided in favor of the *Activo*. The *Activo*’s 163 slaves, waiting weeks for the trial to end, naturally grew impatient and eventually escaped the ship. As compensation, the courts added the value of the slaves, estimated at more than £61 apiece, and billed Murray for their cost.
- <sup>30</sup> Canning to H.M. Commissioners, 26 Feb. 1827, *BFSP*, 15, 10.
- <sup>31</sup> Stewart to Dudley, 11 Sept. 1827, *BFSP*, 15, 41.

<sup>32</sup> Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 87.

<sup>33</sup> "Log of HMS *Primrose*" 28 July, 1828; "Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*."

<sup>34</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 148.

<sup>35</sup> Denman, *Practical Remarks*, 14.

<sup>36</sup> "Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*"; Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 85: Jackson would serve as Commissary Judge in four different locations. Sierra Leone (1828-1832), Rio de Janeiro (1832-1841), Surinam (1841-1845) and Luanda (1845-1859).

<sup>37</sup> "Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*."

<sup>38</sup> "The Case *Nova Virgem*" *BFSP*, 16, 127.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 85.

<sup>42</sup> "Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*."

<sup>43</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 93.

<sup>44</sup> Bethell, "Mixed Commissions," 85.

<sup>45</sup> "Case of the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem*."

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*; FO 315/32.

<sup>48</sup> PRO, FO 315/32, 182.

<sup>49</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 9.

<sup>50</sup> PRO, FO 315/32, 182.

<sup>51</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 9.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10: It is clear that though many masters taught their students well, many others did not. Forbes describes an incident where a newly trained carpenter was brought into service on HMS *Bonetta*. Before the ship set sail, he escaped and replaced himself with his brother, a man who "had never seen an adze before." From then on, the men often would use the term, "as lazy as the Sierra Leone carpenter."

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*; Kilbee to Canning, 16 Apr. 1823, PRO, FO 313/9, 42: H. T. Kilbee indicated to George Canning that the slaves were "... to receive 100 dollars each, provided half the value of the vessel shall be sufficient for that purpose, if not, such half is to be equally divided amongst them."

<sup>54</sup> Crooks, *History of Sierra Leone*, 72.

<sup>55</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 10.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 94.

<sup>59</sup> "Letter from the Admiralty," 6 May 1850, PRO, ADM 123/173: 1-48: "Query Three: Whether the Captured Slavers can be advantageously employed as cruisers."

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, "Comander G. Shipwith Captured slavers might be most advantageously employed as cruisers... the deception would be advantageous."

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Commander C. Hall.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Commander L. F. Birch, Captain J. Anderson, Commander H. Dunlop, Captain J. Bosanguet, Captain G. Mundy, Captain R. Yorke, Commander A. Morell, Captain J. Layton, Commander C. Hall.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, Commander A. Mc Murdo.

<sup>64</sup> "Abstract of Proceedings under the British and Portuguese Mixed Commission at Sierra Leone, from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1827, to the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1828," *BFSP*, 16, 17-18.

<sup>65</sup> "Log of HMS *Blackjoke*," January 12, 1828– August 15, 1830.

<sup>66</sup> Chapelle, *History*, 156-158.

<sup>67</sup> "Letter from the Admiralty," 6 May 1850, PRO, ADM 123/173: 1-48: Commander C. Hall, Captain J. Bosanguet, Captain G. Mansel.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, Commander W. Monnypenny, Captain H. Giffard: "... the difficulty of getting officers to command them would occasion squabbles."

<sup>69</sup> R. W. Hay to John Backhouse, 13 Feb. 1829, *BFSP*, 17, 684-685.

<sup>70</sup> Lieutenant Governor of Sierra Leone to R. W. Hay, *BFSP*, 17, 684-685.

<sup>71</sup> Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 71.

<sup>72</sup> Forbes, *Six Months' Service*, 86

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*: Forbes indicates that most slavers turned enough profit that they could afford to have single run ships. However, given their special legal situation, Brazilian slavers need not be concerned with maintaining the fastest vessels; Denman, *Practical Remarks*, 11; Canot and Mayer, *Captain Canot*, 107; Bandinel, *Some Account*, 236: This problem of slavers returning to their originally intended trade would continue for nine years after

the condemnation of the *Nova Virgem* until 1837. Holland signed an agreement with Great Britain that year that allowed condemned slave ships to be sawed in half upon sale.

<sup>74</sup> Earl of Aberdeen to Lord Ponsonby, 20 March 1829, *BFSP*, 17; “Alvará of His Most Faithful Majesty, for the Punishment of persons concerned in the Slave Trade”, 26 Jan. 1818, *BFSP*, 8: 19: “The officers of such vessels... the Captain or Master, the Pilot and Supercargo, shall be banished for five years to Mosambique, and each shall pay a fine equivilant to the pay or other profits which he was to gain by the adventure.”

<sup>75</sup> In Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 722-723.

<sup>76</sup> Aberdeen to Ponsonby, 20 March 1829, *BFSP*, 17: 698.

## CHAPTER VII NOTES: CONCLUSION: A YOUNG, REBELLIOUS NATION

<sup>1</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 32-35, 38, 44, 194; Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 33-34; Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 348.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 41.

<sup>3</sup> H. Koster, “Travels in Brazil 1809-1815” in G. Irwin ed. *Africans Abroad: a Documentary History of the Black Diaspora in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean During the Age of Slavery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 261-262; D. Kidder, “Sketches of Brazil” in G. Irwin ed. *Africans Abroad: a Documentary History of the Black Diaspora in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean During the Age of Slavery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 266-267.

- <sup>4</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 41.
- <sup>5</sup> N/A, "Who Shall Be a Slave, and Why?" in A. Pescatello ed. *The African in Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1975), 141.
- <sup>6</sup> C. MacLachlan, "Slavery, Ideology and Institutional Change: the Impact of Enlightenment on Slavery in Late Eighteenth-Century Maranhao" in *Journal of Latin American Studies* 11:1 (1979), 1-2.
- <sup>7</sup> R. Conrad, "Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Slavery" in R. Toplin ed. *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America* (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press 1974), 149.
- <sup>8</sup> Bethell, "Independence of Brazil", 118.
- <sup>9</sup> S. Stein, "A Nineteenth-Century Plantation" in A. Pescatello ed. *The African in Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1975), 179-184; Conrad, "Brazilian Slavery", 161; Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 17-19.
- <sup>10</sup> "Who Shall Be a Slave", 144; Conrad, "Brazilian Slavery", 162.
- <sup>11</sup> Conrad, "Brazilian Slavery" 166.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 162; Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 17.
- <sup>13</sup> Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 9.
- <sup>14</sup> Stein, "Nineteenth-Century Plantation", 175; Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 9-11; Bethell, "Independence of Brazil", 118.
- <sup>15</sup> Conrad, "Brazilian Slavery", 148.
- <sup>16</sup> P. Eisenberg, "Abolishing Slavery: The Process on Pernambuco's Sugar Plantations," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52:4 (1972), 581.
- <sup>17</sup> Eltis, *Economic Growth*, 85.

<sup>18</sup> Denman, *Practical Remarks*, 32.

<sup>19</sup> Nelson, "British Foreign Policy", 201; Adams, "Abolition", 619.

<sup>20</sup> Bridge, *Journal*, 52: He explains later that if Britain really wanted the trade to end it would send ships to the mouths of the rivers frequented by smugglers and prevent them from being used. Instead the naval ships are instructed to wait for full slavers off-shore. Of course, at the time of the *Nova Virgem's* capture the slaves were the only admissible evidence in Mixed Commission court, but at the time this text was written, the Equipment Clause was in effect, making the presence of slaves on captures helpful but unnecessary. Bridge questions why England's navy would use outdated capture methods unless the government really only wanted an easier way to procure slaves for itself. After capturing, an empty slaver does little more than create a headache with little benefit for anyone.

<sup>21</sup> Adams, "Abolition", 619.

<sup>22</sup> Buxton, *Slave Trade*, 6.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 634.

<sup>24</sup> Eisenberg, "Abolishing Slavery," 582-583.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, J. "The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade," *Journal of Negro History* 10: 4 (1925), 607-637.
- Bandinel, J., *Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa as Connected with Europe and America*. 2 ed. Vol. 5, *Cass Library of African Studies Slavery Series*. (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968).
- Barrister, A, *Analysis of the Evidence Given Before the Select Committees upon the Slave Trade, by a Barrister*. (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1850).
- Beltran, G. "Tribal Origins of Slaves in Mexico," *Journal of Negro History* 31: 3 (1946), 317-342.
- Bethell, L. "The Mixed Commissions for the Suppression of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 7: 1 (1966), 79-93.
- "The Independence of Brazil and the Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Anglo-Brazilian Relations, 1822-1826," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 1 (1969), 115-147.
- Biddlecombe, G., *The Art of Rigging*. (New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1925, 1990).
- Boudriot, J., *The Seventy-Four Gun Ship: A Practical Treatise on the Art of Naval Architecture*, translated by D. Roberts, Vol. 2 (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1986).
- Bridge, H., *Journal of an African Cruiser*. Vol. 1, *Wiley and Putnam's Library of American Books*. (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845).
- Buxton, T., *The African Slave Trade*. (London: J. Murray, 1839).
- Canot, T. and B. Mayer, *Captain Canot, an African Slaver, American Negro, His History and Literature*. (New York: Arno Press, 1968).
- Cass, L., *An Examination of the Question, Now in Discussion, Between the American and British Governments, Concerning the Right of Search*. By an American (Paris: H. Fournier, 1842).
- Catterall, H., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*. Vol. 1. (Washington D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926).



*Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*. Vol. 3. (Washington D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1932).

*Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*. Vol. 4. (Washington D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1936).

Chapelle, H., *The Baltimore Clipper*. (New York: Bonanza Books, 1930).

*The History of American Sailing Ships*. (New York: Bonanza Books, 1935).

Clarkson, T., *The Cries of Africa to the Inhabitants of Europe, Goldsmiths' Kress Library of Economic Literature*. (London: Harvey and Darton and W. Phillips, 1822).

Conrad, R., *World of Sorrow*. (Baton Rouge, LA and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1986).

Cottman, M., *The Wreck of the Henrietta Marie: An African-American's Spiritual Journey to Uncover a Sunken Slave Ship's Past*. (New York: Harmony Books, 1999).

Cowley, M., ed. *Adventures of An African Slaver*. Edited by J. Brewer. Vol. 2, *Negro Heritage Series*. (Austin, TX: The Pemberton Press, 1928).

Crisman, K., *The History and Construction of the United States Schooner TICONDEROGA*. (Alexandria, VA: Eyrie Publications, 1983).

"Personal Notes of Lake Champlain Schooner *Water Witch*," (1983) (M. Miller, personal collection).

*The Eagle*. (Shelburne, VT: The New England Press, 1987).

Personal Conversation, Dec. 2000- Feb. 2001.

Crooks, J., *A History of the Colony of Sierra Leone, Western Africa*. (Northbrook, IL: Metro Books, 1972).

Crothers, W., *The American-Built Clipper Ship 1850-1856; Characteristics, Construction and Details*. (Camden, ME: International Marine, 1997).

Denman, J., *Practical Remarks on the Slave Trade of the West Coast of Africa, with Notes on the Portuguese Treaty, Goldsmiths' Kress Library of Economic Literature*. (London: Ridgway, 1839).

*The African Squadron and Mr. Hutt's Committee, Goldsmiths' Kress Library of Economic Literature.* (London: J. Mortimer, 1850).

- Dethelsen, E., Whidah: *Cape Cod's Mystery Treasure Ship* (Woodstock, VT: Seafarer's Heritage Library Ltd., 1984)
- Dow, G. F., *Slave Ships and Slaving, Marine Research Society. Publication no. 15.* (Detroit, MI: Negro History Press, 1969).
- Drake, R., *Revelations of a Slave Smuggler.* (New York: R. M. DeWitt, 1860).
- Drewal, H. "Beauty and Being: Aesthetics and Ontology in Yoruba Body Art," *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformation of the Human Body*, A. Rubin ed. (Los Angeles CA: Museum of Cultural History, University of California at Los Angeles, 1988), 83-96.
- Duffy, J., *Portuguese Africa.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959).
- Eisenberg, P. "Abolishing Slavery: The Process on Pernambuco's Sugar Plantations," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 52: 4 (1972), 580-597.
- Eltis, D., "The Export of Slaves from Africa, 1821-1843," *Journal of Economic History* 37: 2 (1977), 409-433.
- "The Impact of Abolition on the Atlantic Slave Trade," *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, D. Eltis and J. Walvin eds. (Madison WS: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 155-176.
- Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- Estep, H., *How Wooden Ships Are Built.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1918).
- Fincham, J., *A Treatise on Masting Ships and Mast Making.* 2 ed. (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1829, 1982).
- Forbes, R., *Six Months' Service on the African Blockade.* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969).
- French, C. "Eighteenth-Century Shipping Tonnage Measurements," *Journal of Economic History* 33: 2 (1973) 434-443.

- Fyfe, C. "1787-1887-1987: Reflections on a Sierra Leone Bicentenary," *Sierra Leone 1787-1987 Two Centuries of Intellectual Life*, M. Last and P. Richards eds. (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press in Association with *Africa*, Journal of the International African Institute, 1987), 411-421.
- Garland, C., and H. S. Klein. "The Allotment of Space for Slaves Aboard Eighteenth-Century British Slave Ships," *William and Mary Quarterly* 42: 2 (1985), 238-248.
- Gemery, H., and J. Hogendorn. "The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Tentative Economic Model," *Journal of African History* 15: 2 (1974), 223-246.
- "Abolition and its Impact on Monies Imported to West Africa," *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, D. Eltis. and J. Walvin eds. (Madison WS: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 99-115.
- Gill, C., *Steel's Elements of Mastmaking, Sailmaking, and Rigging*. (Largo, FL: Edward W. Sweetman Co., 1932, 1982).
- Greenhill, B. "Introduction," *Sail's Last Century*, R. Gardiner ed. (London: Conway Maritime Press Ltd., 1993), 7-19.
- Schooners*. (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1980).
- Hankerson, F., *The Cooperage Handbook* (Brooklyn, NY: Chemical Publishing Co., Inc., 1947).
- Higgins, J., *The Whale Ship Book*. (New York: Rudder Publishing Co., 1927).
- Inikori, J. "Market Structure and the Profits of the British African Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History* 41: 4 (1981), 745-776.
- Kidder, D. "Sketches of Brazil," *Africans Abroad: a Documentary History of the Black Diaspora in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean During the Age of Slavery*, G. Irwin ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1845), 266-267.
- Koster, H. "Travels in Brazil 1809-1815," *Africans Abroad: a Documentary History of the Black Diaspora in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean During the Age of Slavery*, G. Irwin ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1817), 259-262.
- Latham, A. J. H., *Old Calabar 1600-1891: the Impact of the International Economy upon a Traditional Society, Oxford Series in African Affairs*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

- Law, R. "Slave Raiders and Middlemen, Monopolists and Free Traders: The Supply of Slaves for the Atlantic Trade in Dahomey c. 1715-1859," *Journal of African History* 30: 1 (1989), 45-68.
- Lever, D., *The Young Sea Officer's Sheet Anchor*. (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1918, 1998).
- Lindley, P., *Narrative of a Voyage to Brasil*. (London: J. Johnson, 1805).
- Lloyd, C., *The Navy and the Slave Trade*. (London: Cass, 1968).
- MacGregor, D., *Schooners in Four Centuries*. (Annapolis MD: Naval Institute Press, 1982).
- MacLachlan, C. "Slavery, Ideology and Institutional Change: The Impact of the Enlightenment on Slavery in Late Eighteenth-Century Maranhao," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 11: 1 (1979), 1-17.
- Manning, E. "Six Months on a Slaver," *Slave Ships and Slaving*, G. Dow ed. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1969), 281-317.
- Manning, P., *Slavery, Colonialism, and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640-1960*, *African Studies Series*. (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
- McCusker, J. "Colonial Tonnage Measurement: Five Philadelphia Merchant Ships as a Sample," *Journal of Economic History* 27: 1 (1967), 82-91.
- Moore, D. "Anatomy of a 17th Century Slave Ship: Historical and Archaeological Investigations of "The Henrietta Marie 1699,"" M.A. Thesis, East Carolina University, (Greenville NC, 1989).
- Nelson, B. "The Slave Trade as a Factor in British Foreign Policy 1815-1862," *Journal of Negro History* 27: 2 (1942), 192-209.
- Newbury, C., *The Western Slave Coast and its Rulers*, *Oxford Studies in African Affairs*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).
- Newton, J. *John Newton: Extracts from the Journal of a Slave Trader (1750-1754)* [World Wide Web Page]. Merseyside Maritime Museum, Feb. 2001 [cited 18 Jan. 2001]. Available from [http://www.nmgm.org.uk/maritime/slavery/newton\\_ aboard.html](http://www.nmgm.org.uk/maritime/slavery/newton_ aboard.html).
- Northrup, D. "African Mortality in the Suppression of the Slave Trade: The Case of the Bight of Biafra," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 9: 1 (1978), 47-64.

- Oertling, T., *Ships' Bilge Pumps: A History of their Development, 1500-1900, Studies in Nautical Archaeology* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1996).
- Parry, J. H., and P. M. Sherlock, *A Short History of the West Indies*. (London: MacMillan Press Limited, 1978).
- Pescatello, A., ed. *The African in Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1975).
- Reilly, K. "Slavers in Disguise: American Whaling and the African Slave Trade," *American Neptune* 53: 3 (1993), 177-189.
- Rose, J., "The Royal Navy and the Suppression of the West African Slave Trade (1815-1865)," *Mariner's Mirror* 22 (1936), 54-64.
- Society of Friends, *An Address to the Inhabitants of Europe on the Iniquity of the Slave Trade. Issued by the Religious Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: n/a, 1822).
- Soulsby, H. "The Right of Search and the Slave Trade in Anglo-American Relations, 1814-1862," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* 51st Series, no. 2 (1933) 115-299.
- Steckel, R., and R. Jensen. "New Evidence on the Causes of Slave and Crew Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Journal of Economic History* 46: 1 (1986), 57-77.
- Svalsen, L., *The Slave Ship Fredensborg*, translated by Shaw, P. and S. Winses (Bloomington and Indianapolis IN: Indiana University Press, 2000)
- Talbot, P., *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria; a Sketch of Their History, Ethnology and Languages, with an Abstract of the 1921 Census, by P. Amaury Talbot*. 2d ed. (London: F. Cass, 1926, 1969).
- Thomas, H., *The Slave Trade*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).
- Toplin, R., ed. *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*. Vol. 17, *Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974).
- United Kingdom, Foreign Office. *British and Foreign State Papers 1820-1821, 1824-1825, 1825-1826, 1826-1827, 1827-1828, 1828-1829, 1829-1830*, no.s 8, 12-17 (respectively).

- United Kingdom, House of Lords, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Consider the Best Means which Great Britain can Adopt for the Final Extinction of the Slave Trade*. (London: Harrison, 1850).
- United Kingdom, Public Record Office Documents, Foreign Office, PRO, FO 313:9, 315:17, 315:32, 315:41 no. 1.
- United Kingdom, Public Record Office Documents, Admiralty, PRO, ADM 51:3346, 51:4090, 123:173.
- Walvin, J. "The Public Campaign in England Against Slavery 1787-1834." *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, D. Eltis and J. Walvin eds. (Madison WS: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 63-79.
- Slavery and the Slave Trade: A Short Illustrated History*. (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1983).
- Ward, W., *The Royal Navy and the Slavers*. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969).
- Whipple, A., *The Clipper Ships. The Seafarers*. (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1980).

**APPENDIX A**

**PAPERS OF THE BRAZILIAN  
SLAVER *NOVA VIRGEM***

AS SEEN IN GREAT BRITAIN'S  
PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE DOCUMENT

PRO FO 315/41 No. 1

For Documents with both bold and standard type, bold lettering indicates handwritten portions of text.

In all of the following Appendices, I have attempted to recreate the layout of the original document on the page. Any unusual spacing or typesetting reflects the arrangement of the primary.

**Document 1:****Passport**



**Joseph Egidio Gardilho de Barbuda,**  
**Viador and Fidalgo Cavalleiro de sa Imperial**  
**Grand Cross of the Regional Order of the Cruseiro,**  
**Knight Commander of that of Christ,**  
**Decorated with the Golden medal of the Rest of 15.**

**Field Marshal.**

**President of the Province of Bahia**

Make known to those that shall see the present Passport that the Vessel

Called *Nova Virgem* of **one hundred**

**And sixty nine & three quarters tons** and carrying **twenty five**

**Men, and no, whereof Cosme José Rodriguez is now Master, and Vincente de Paulo**

**Silva Owner, both having given**

**Sufficient proof of their being**

Subjects of the Empire is bound to the Ports of **Molembo to call at \_\_\_\_\_**

**Gallinas, St. Thomas's & Prince's Islands** on the **Western Coast**

Of Africa, from whence she is to return to **this port of Bahia.**

The said Master and owner having previously taken the

Required oath before the **Acting Secretary of this Government**

And having legally proved that no

Foreigner has any share in the above Vessel and Cargo, as appears by the

Certificat of that **Secretary's Office**

Which is annexed to this Passport. *The*

**Said Cosme José Rodriguez** Master, and

**Vincente de Paulo Silva**

Owner of the said Vessel being under an

----- to enter solely such Ports on the Coast of Africa, where the Slave Trade is permitted to the subjects of the Empire, and to return from thence to any of the Ports of this Empire, where alone they shall be permitted to land the Slaves, whom they carry after going through the proper forms, to shew, that they have in every respect complied with the Provision of the Alvará of the 24<sup>th</sup> of November 1813, by which His Majesty was pleased to regulate the conveyance of \Slaves from the Coast of Africa to the Ports of Brasil, and should they fail to execute any of these conditions they shall be liable to the Penalties denounced by the Alvará of the 26<sup>th</sup> January 1818 against those who shall carry on the Slave Trade in an illicit manner, and as in going or returning she may either at Sea or in Port meet Officers of Ships and vessels of the same Empire, His Majesty Imperial orders them not to give her any obstruction, and His Majesty Imperial recommends to the Officers of the Fleets, Squadrons, and Ships of the Kings, Princes, Republics, and Potentates, The Friends and Allies of the Crown not to prevent her from prosecuting her Voyage, but on the contrary to afford her any aid and accommodation she may Want for continuing the same, being persuaded that those recommended by their Princes will on our part experience the same treatment. In testimony of which,

His Majesty Imperial has ordered her to be furnished by me with this Passport  
 Signed and sealed with the Great seal of the Imperial Arms, which shall have  
 Validity only for going and returning and for one voyage alone: Given in the Pa-  
 lace of **the Government of the Prince of Bahia** the **sixteenth**  
**Day of the month of June** in the Year after the Birth  
 Of Our Lord JESUS CHRIST, of one thousand **eight hundred and**  
**Twenty eight.**

By the Order of His Excellency

**Jonathan Abbott**

This Passport numbered **Fifteen**  
 Authorizes any number of Slaves not exceeding **three hundred and**  
**Ninety six** being five Heads per two Tons,  
 As permitted by the Alvará of the 24<sup>th</sup> November 1813 to be on board of  
 This Ship at one time, excepting always such Slaves employed as Sailors or  
 Domestic, and Children born on board during the voyage.

By the Order of His Excellency

-----

**Document 2:****List of Crew**

Register of the crew of the Schooner Nova Virgem belonging to this city, departing to Molembo. Proprietor Vicente de

Paulo Silva.

Position	Name	Native of	Nationality	Age	Stature	Facial Features	Wages
Master	Manuel Cosme J. Ruiz	Pernambuco	Brazil	42	Short	Round	N/A
Pilot	Antonio Jorge Ferreira	Pardo	Brazil	27	Common	Long	450\$
Boatswain	Antonio Joaquin	Lisboa	Portugal	36	Common	Round	250\$
Cabin Boy	Hemenegildo de Silva	Bahia	Brazil	15	Short	Round	N/A
Surgeon	J. Escravo (Slave)	Sao Tome	Africa	??	Common	Round	200\$
Sailor	Antonio Joaquin dos Santos	Braga	Portugal	38	Fat	Long	50\$
Sailor	Emanuel Joaquin do Nascimento	Lisboa	Portugal	32	Short	Round	50\$
Sailor	J. dos Anjos	Lisboa	Portugal	26	Short	Round	50\$
Sailor	Francisco Jose	Lisboa	Portugal	22	Common	Long	50\$

Position	Name	Native of	Nationality	Age	Stature	Facial Features	Wages
Sailor	Joaquin Moreira	Lisboa	Portugal	23	Short	Long	50\$
Sailor	Antonio Joaquin	Rio ?????	??	30	Common	Round	50\$
Sailor	Antonio Jose Maria	Cabo Frio	??	23	Short	Round	50\$
Sailor	Jeronimo da Roxa	Pernambuco	Brazil	31	Common	Round	50\$
Sailor	Jose Maria Cardin	Porto	Portugal	22	Short	Round	50\$
Sailor	Jose Ferreira	Bahia	Brazil	32	Fat	Round	50\$
Sailor	Antonio Jose -----	Porto	Portugal	38	Common	Long	N/A
Slave of Jose Bento	Manuel Tapa	??	??	??	Short	Long	50\$
Slave of Vicente de Paulo Silva	Francisco	Gige	??	??	Common	Long	50\$
Slave of Mr. Sabino	??	Sao Tome	Africa	??	Short	Round	50\$
Slave of Mr. Jose	??	Ampa	Africa	??	Common	Round	50\$
Slave of Mr. Manuel	??	Mina (Benin)	Africa	??	Short	Round	50\$

Position	Name	Native of	Nationality	Age	Stature	Facial Features	Wages
Slave of Jose dos Santos Fereira	??	Nangon	Africa	??	Short	Round	50\$
Slave of Mr. Ruiz	??	Nangon	Africa	??	Short	Round	50\$

By agreement of his Excellency the President of the Province of 17 April and the the ecclesiastical authority of the 27th of March of this year was this vessel exempt of carrying a priest. The salaries will be paid at this harbor upon the completion of the round trip in the way agreed upon. Before the commander signed respectively the master and proprietors of the Schooner.

Bahia June 16, 1828

Master

Cosme José Ruiz

Vincent de Paulo Silva

Manuel Pereira Ateitor de Masedo

**Document 3:****Bill of Health**



## ANTONIO TORQUATO PIRES DE FIGUEREDO,

Bachelor of Arts, Doctor of Medicine, Correspondent of Atheneum of Paris, Delegate Judge of the Medical Counselor of the Empire, Provider and Inspector of Health, Judge of this Harbor and Province of Bahia, by His Imperial Majesty, praise be to God. Etc. etc. etc.

I let all authorities and other people of all nations and States that see the present letter know that in this city and its surrounding by divine mercy there is not actually a pest nor any other contagious disease. I certify that from this port leaves

**To the Port of Molembo the Brazilian Schooner *Nova Virgem* with twenty five crewmen including the master Manuel Simoens da Silva with no passengers being taken aboard.**

And so that it is known that as it pleases him and no impediments are laid upon him, I ordered this letter to be written by the scribe of my office and it is signed by me and sealed with the seal of the Provedoria Mór da Sauda of this Province. Given and written in this city of Bahia on the **6 of May 1828.**

Francisco José de Silva Castro, Scribe that witnessed and wrote this:

On the \_\_\_\_\_ of the actual  
Governor  
Francisco Mercellina Pereira  
Registered in Book **4 Folio 39** and  
**Its following page.**

**Document 4:****Account of the Return of Cosmé José...**

Account of the return of Cosmé José Ruiz, Master of the Schooner  
*Nova Virgem* which left Molembo on the day 16th of July of 1828  
 in which is said the following:

We the undersigned swear and will swear over the Holy Scripture in court or outside it if necessary. That on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July left Molembo to the port of Bahia and on the 18<sup>th</sup> we met a Spanish Brigantine from Colombia which searched our vessel and took several victuals and also the men came aboard our vessel along with passengers they had gotten from other ships that they had found and said that they only wanted Spanish from Havana or Cadiz and after this they told us that if they would find us again they would sink us. Because of this, we have been running in search of refuge. And also they took from us all the papers that we had and the second pilot whose \_\_\_\_\_ remained broken broken because of this. This is the reason we don't lose our work and property and \_\_\_\_\_ of their owners, we have made this official account and signed it.

As scribe José Maria Lopes e Figueiredo.

Boatswain	Antonio Joaquim
Sailors	Francisco Jorge
	Antonio Jose dos Anjos
	Antonio José Maria

**APPENDIX B**  
**LOG OF HMS *PRIMROSE***  
**JULY 28-29, 1828**

AS SEEN IN GREAT BRITAIN'S  
PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE DOCUMENT  
PRO ADM 51/3346

Remarks HMS *Primrose* July 28, 1828

10.30 Obs'd a sail NNW Made Sail in Chase

Noon Mod't and fine

Chase Sch'r NNW 4 Leagues

3. Out 1<sup>st</sup> reefs

5.15 Mustered at Quarters

7.40 Shortened Sail fired several

Muskets to bring Chase too

7.50 Hove to and boarded the B'n

Sch'r Nova Vergem with 354 Slaves

9. Boat ret'd with Prize Crew

Remarks HMS *Primrose* July 29, 1828

AM Mod't and fine

Made and shortened sail as

nec'y Sch'r in Co.

6. D'o W[eather] Hove too recovered the remn. Of Crew

and sent Mr. Morris and 8 men to

take Sch'r to Sierra Leone & Made Sail

Noon Mod't and Cloudy

Sch'r in Co.

- PM Mod't and fine 2 Tacks
- parted Co. with Sch'r
  - D'o W
  - Lost sight of Prize...

**APPENDIX C**

**COURT DOCUMENTS OF**

**THE BRAZILIAN SLAVER**

**NOVA VIRGEM**

*AS SEEN IN GREAT BRITAIN'S*

**PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE DOCUMENT**

**PRO FO 315 17**

Pages 5-8, 12-13

**Document 1:**  
**First Appearance**



## British and Brazilian Court of Mixed Commission

### Sierra Leone

Before George Jackson Esquire His Britannic Majesty's  
 Commissary Judge, and Samuel Smart Esquire His  
 Britannic Majesty's Commissioner of Arbitration,  
 Acting in the absence of Commissioners on the part of  
 His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil.-

Present Joseph Refell Esquire Registrar.-

Saturday the thirtieth day of  
 August, in the year of Our  
 Lord 1828.-

Schooner "Nova Virgem"- Cosme Jose Rodrigues, Master

Our Sovereign Lord the King  
 against the Schooner or Vessel  
 called the "Nova Virgem"- whereof  
 Cosme Jose Rodrigues was Master  
 her Tackle, Apparel and Furniture  
 and all and singular the Goods,  
 Wares, Merchandize and Slaves on

board the same and therewith  
 seized and taken by His Majesty's  
 Ship "Primrose", Thomas Saville  
 Griffinhoofe Esquire Commander,  
 and brought to Sierra Leone, and  
 against all persons in General.-

On which day John Lams, Proctor on behalf  
 Of Captors exhibited for our Sovereign Lord the King

And

(Page)

and brought in attestation of George Willier Morris,  
 Master's Afsistant of His Majesty's said Ship "Primrose"  
 with Schooner's Papers annexed marked from No. 1 to  
 No. 4 inclusive.- That the said Schooner "Nova Virgem",  
 whereof Cosme Jose Rodrigues was Master, during her  
 Voyage was take and seized on the twenty eighth day  
 of July 1828, in Latitude 5° 50' North and Longitude  
 4° 05' East by reason that the said Vessel was -'-  
 employed in the Traffic in Slaves, contrary to the  
 Provisions of the Convention concluded at Rio de

Janeiro on the Twenty third day of November 1826  
between His Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of  
Brazil by which the High contracting Parties  
mutually adopt and renew the existing Treaties  
entered into with His Britannic Majesty and His  
Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal, and  
brought into this port for adjudication, wherefore he  
prayed and the said Commissary Judge and Commis-  
-sioner of Arbitration, at his Petition decreed, that  
all persons whatsoever, who have or pretend to have  
any right, title or interest in the said Schooner "Nova  
Virgem", and her lading so seized and take, be monished  
cited, and called to judgment, so that they appear  
before the said Commissary Judge and Commissioner of  
Arbitration named in the Mixed Commission --"  
established at this place on the Eighth day after service  
of the said Mention, to shew and allege in due form of  
law

law a reasonable and lawful cause, if any they have, why the said Schooner "Nova Virgem", and her lading so seized and taken should not be pronounced at the time of the seizure of the same to have been employed in an illegal traffic in Slaves; and further directed that it be thereby intimated unto the said persons, that if they do not appear at the time and place aforesaid, and shew a reasonable and just cause to the contrary, the Commissary Judge and Commissioner of Arbitration will proceed to adjudication on the said Capture, and may pronounce the said Schooner "Nova Virgem" and her Cargo, liable to be adjudged, forfeited, and to be disposed of as directed by the said Treaties, and may pronounce all and singular the Slaves found on board to be emancipated from Slaver, the absence or rather contumacy of the persons so cited and intimated, in any wise notwithstanding.-

---

John Lams, produced as Witnesses in preparatory in the above Cause, the said Cosme Jose Rodregues, the

Master, Antonio Jose Gonzalez the Cook, and Jose a  
Boy, who were duly sworn to give Evidence through the  
Interpretation of Antonio Castro who was first duly  
sworn faithfully to interpret between the Parties in  
this Cause, without Favor or affection to eight of them.-

**Document 2:**  
**Second Appearance**

**British and Brazilian Court of Mixed Commission  
Sierra Leone**

Before George Jackson Esquire His Britannic Majesty's  
Commissary Judge in the said court, and Samuel Smart  
Esquire His Britannic Majesty's Commissioner of  
Arbitration in the said Court – as associated with  
The Commissary Judge aforesaid, in the absence of  
Either of the Commissioners on the part of His Imperial  
Majesty the Emperor of Brazil.-

Present Joseph Refell Esquire Registrar.-

Thursday the Eighteenth day of  
September, in the year of Our Lord 1828.-

Schooner "Nova Virgem"- Cosme Jose Rodrigues, Master -

Our Sovereign Lord the King against  
the Schooner or Vessel "Nova Virgem"  
whereof Cosme Jose Rodrigues was Master  
her Tackle, Apparel and Furniture, and  
all and singular the Goods, Wares,  
Merchandize and Slaves on board the same  
and therewith seized and taken by

His Majesty's Ship "Primrose", Thomas  
Saville Griffinhoofe Esquire Commander,  
and brought to Sierra Leone, and  
against all persons in General.-

In pain of Parties cited, thrice called and not  
Appearing John Sams, Proctor on behalf of the Captors,  
Prayed the said Schooner and Cargo to be condemned,

And

(Page)

and the Slaves to be emancipated. The said Commissary  
Judge and Commifsioner of Arbitration having heard the  
Proof read, pronounced the said Schooner "Nova  
Virgem", her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture and the  
Goods, Wares and Merchandize laden therein to have  
been at the time of the Capture and seizure thereof  
engaged in the illicit treffic in Slaves and as such  
subject and liable to confiscation, and condemned  
the said Schooner, her Tackle, Apparel, and Furniture,  
and the Goods, Wares, and Merchandize laden therein,



as taken in such illicit Traffic by His Majesty's Ship of War "Primrose" – Thomas Saville Griffinhoofe Esquire Commander; and moreover pronounced the said Slave, Natives of Africa, to be emancipated from Slavery, and to be employed as Servants or free labourers, and also, that it had been proved, that at the time of passing the said sentence one hundred and forty nine Men, Seventy five Women, sixty four Boys, and Thirty two Girls, Children under fourteen years of age, did compose the whole of the Slaves so decreed to be emancipated; and that it had been further proved that at the time of the said Capture Three hundred and fifty four Slaves were seized and found on board of the said Schooner "Nova Virgem" and that Thirty four of the said Slaves had died between the time of the Capture and of the condemnation of the said Schooner. -

**APPENDIX D**  
**REGISTER OF SLAVES EMANCIPATED**  
**FROM BRAZILIAN SLAVER**  
**NOVA VIRGEM**

AS SEEN IN GREAT BRITAIN'S  
PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE DOCUMENT

PRO FO 315/32

Pages 26-35\*

---

\* Please see key at the end of the register for an illustration of the slave brands which are simplified in the Register's "Descriptions" column.

**Brazilian Schooner Nova Virgem- Register of slaves Natives of Africa captured on board the said Vessel by His Majesty's Ship Primrose- Thomas Saville Griffinhoofe Esquire Commander and Emancipated by decree of the British and Brazilian Court of Mixed Commission established in this Colony of Sierra Leone on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of September 1828. The said Schooner having on the day aforesaid been pronounced liable to confiscation and accordingly condemned by the said commission for having been at the time of Capture and Seizure thereof engaged in the illicit traffic in Slaves.**

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13192	Agolah	Male	26	5	3	C on right breast and cuts all over
13193	Fahloyre	Male	24	5	4	Cuts and Tattooed all over the body
13194	Allahsonkay	Male	29	5	4	V on right breast and Cuts all over
13195	Logahloo	Male	25	5	1	D'o D'o Cuts and Tattooed all over
13196	Lahbah	Male	30	5	6	Pitted with Small pox on the face and Cuts all over
13197	Alahbay	Male	22	5	3	V on right breast and Cuts all over
13198	Odaber	Male	28	5	4	PV on right breast and Cuts all over

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>			<u>Descriptions</u>
13199	Ahgessee	Male	29	5	8	D'o	D'o	Pitted with S. pox on the face and C'ts all over
13200	Ochoe	Male	19	5	0	D'o	D'o	Cuts on Right Cheek and on the breast
13201	Ocomoloo	Male	28	5	5	D'o	D'o	Cuts all over
13202	Adoo	Male	31	5	6	D'o	D'o	Cuts & Tatt'o all over
13203	Banetoo	Male	24	5	1	<b>V</b>	D'o	& Cuts all over
13204	Odoe	Male	21	5	4	<b>PV</b>	D'o	D'o D'o
13205	Okalaloo	Male	21	5	5	D'o	D'o	Cuts on the face
13206	Somahlah	Male	27	5	7	D'o	D'o	Cuts & Tattooed all over
13207	Addeah	Male	26	5	2	D'o	D'o	& Cuts all over
13208	Ajumenoo	Male	22	5	5	D'o	D'o	D'o
13209	Abedogong	Male	18	5	5	D'o	D'o	Pitt'd with Small pox on face & cuts down breast and belly

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>		
13210	Ashan	Male	20	5	5	D'o	D'o	
13211	Akolbee	Male	26	5	5	D'o	D'o	& Cuts all over
13212	Lahchelo	Male	26	5	6	D'o	D'o	& Cuts all over
13213	Ayobah	Male	17	5	4	D'o	D'o	D'o
13214	Geboloo	Male	19	5	7	D'o	D'o	Cuts & Tattooed all over
13215	Efotay	Male	28	5	1	D'o	D'o	D'o
13216	Cholah	Male	32	5	6	D'o	D'o	& Cuts all over
13217	Segyimboh	Male	24	5	3	Pitted with S.P. on the face, underneath right breast & cuts all over		
13218	Achoh	Male	27	5	2	V on right arm & Cuts all over		
13219	Achokoo	Male	18	5	4	D'o	D'o	D'o
13220	Sotahya	Male	34	5	10	H on left breast & Cuts all over		
13221	Yahmoh	Male	27	5	9	PV on right D'o Pitted with S.P. on the face & cuts all over		

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>		
13222	Yahkoo	Male	21	5	5	D'o	D'o	& Cuts all over
13223	Hahlanoo	Male	29	5	7	D'o	D'o	D'o
13224	Ahchokoo	Male	26	5	6	<b>PV</b>	on right breast & Cuts all over	
13225	Modee	Male	25	5	7	D'o	D'o	& Pitted with Smallpox on face
13226	Chogue	Male	29	5	10	Pitted with S. P. on face & Cuts all over		
13227	Bahwah	Male	23	5	2	<b>PV</b>	on right breast & Cuts all over	
13228	Achoa	Male	24	5	4	D'o	D'o	D'o
13229	Mahbokee	Male	22	5	2	D'o	D'o	D'o
13230	Ahyomee	Male	19	5	6	D'o	D'o	D'o
13231	Alolee	Male	28	5	8	D'o	D'o & Pitted with S.P. on face & Cuts all over	
13232	Ogah	Male	26	5	8	D'o	D'o, Cuts & Tattooed all over	
13233	Mochakaloo	Male	24	5	5	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over	
13234	Olechuboo	Male	27	5	1	D'o	D'o	D'o

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>		
13235	Ahlosono	Male	33	5	8	D'o	D'o	D'o
13236	Bokekec	Male	19	5	4	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face	
13237	Omahlagah	Male	26	5	4	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over	
13238	Ogomahday	Male	21	5	4	<b>H</b> above the Navel & Cuts all over		
13239	Ahotay	Male	18	5	3	<b>C</b> on left Breast & Cuts all over		
13240	Lahlobay	Male	28	5	1	<b>PV</b> on right D'o , Pitted with S. P. on face and Cuts all over		
13241	Osoom	Male	25	5	4	<b>C</b> on left D'o		
13242	Lahlayah	Male	29	5	5	<b>PV</b> on right D'o & Cuts all over		
13243	Aiahbay	Male	22	5	11	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over	
13244	Ahdoboloo	Male	25	5	6	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face	
13245	Dajumah	Male	31	5	7	D'o on	D'o, Cuts on face & lash(?) on breast	
13246	Achabay	Male	21	5	6	D'o on right D'o, Pitted with S. P. on face and ??? D'o		
13247	Ahmudo	Male	23	5	5	<b>J</b> above the Navel & Cuts all over		

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13248	Alaahjo	Male	24	5	7	Cuts all over
13249	Toloo	Male	26	5	4	<b>PV</b> on the breast & Cuts all over
13250	Majohdomee	Male	17	5	3	D'o D'o & Cuts on face
13251	Chanoo	Male	19	5	5	D'o D'o
13252	Aroomee	Male	22	5	8	D'o D'o & Cuts all over the body
13253	Adelahmee	Male	21	5	8	D'o D'o & Cuts all over
13254	Fahlolah	Male	27	5	8	D'o D'o & Pitted with S.P. on face
13255	Olubolay	Male	18	5	3	Cuts all over
13256	Ahlong	Male	24	5	4	<b>PV</b> on right breast, Cuts on face & breast
13257	Alahday	Male	21	5	3	D'o D'o
13258	Benoyoh	Male	24	5	9	<b>A</b> above the Navel & Cuts above the forehead, cheek & belly
13259	Ajoh	Male	30	5	4	<b>PV</b> on right breast & Pitted with S. P. on face
13260	Galay	Male	26	5	6.5	D'o D'o & Tattooed on the belly



<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13261	Oyadetah	Male	29	5	9	Cuts and Tattooed all over
13262	Hyenah	Male	17	5	2	<b>V</b> above the Navel and Cuts all over
13263	Chelopoh	Male	22	5	6	Cuts and Tattooed all over
13264	Moyelaloo	Male	20	5	5	<b>PV</b> on right breast and Cuts all over
13265	Nonomee	Male	32	5	8	D'o D'o D'o
13266	Dowoo	Male	27	5	8	D'o D'o D'o
13267	Agojovee	Male	23	6	1	D'o D'o D'o
13268	Ahdasakoo	Male	21	5	4	D'o D'o, Cuts & Tattooed on breast
13269	Danosee	Male	29	5	4	Cuts all over
13270	Ahjaj	Male	21	5	8.5	<b>PV</b> on right breast and Cuts all over
13271	Hyenah	Male	26	5	5	D'o D'o D'o
13272	Alojoo	Male	24	5	5	D'o D'o D'o
13273	Sammoh	Male	34	5	6	<b>j</b> D'o D'o
13274	Dowoo	Male	31	5	6	<b>V</b> underneath left breast & Cuts all over

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13275	Waloo	Male	36	5	9	<b>PV</b> on right breast and Cuts all over
13276	Ahbedogoo	Male	29	5	4	Cuts on face
13277	Lokogee	Male	29	5	5	<b>PV</b> on right breast and Cuts all over
13278	Ahdobay	Male	26	5	3	D'o D'o, Cuts and Tattooed all over
13279	Nekoloo	Male	25	5	5	D'o D'o, Cts on face, down left breast and belly
13280	Ahbassah	Male	18	5	4	D'o D'o & Cuts all over
13281	Achoe	Male	21	5	6	D'o D'o D'o
13282	Chomojay	Male	32	5	9	D'o D'o D'o
13283	Achokoo	Male	25	5	9	D'o D'o D'o
13284	Ajalah	Male	28	5	6	D'o D'o, Cuts and Pitted with S. P. on the face.
13285	Mykoo	Male	29	5	10	D'o D'o & Cuts all over
13286	Dowoo	Male	32	5	2	D'o D'o D'o
13287	Ahjai	Male	36	5	5	D'o D'o D'o
13288	Ahahlah	Male	27	5	7	Cuts on face, left breast and belly

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13289	Adaloo	Male	23	5	2	V underneath left breast & Cuts all over
13290	Anotayah	Male	36	5	7	PV on right breast and Cuts all over
13291	Alalah	Male	26	5	8	V on left D'o, Cuts and Pitted with S. P. on face
13292	Chahcholo	Male	28	5	1	PV on right D'o and Cuts all over
13293	Ohogoo	Male	35	5	6	D'o D'o D'o
13294	Ahkesetay	Male	29	5	6	D'o D'o & Cuts all over the body
13295	Ahjai	Male	26	5	4	D'o D'o & Cuts all over
13296	Ahchoe	Male	35	5	6	Cts. & Tattooed all over
13297	Ahlahbay	Male	37	5	6	PV on right breast, pitt'd with S. P. on face and Cuts all over
13298	Sachee	Male	36	5	10	D'o D'o D'o
13299	Mochabee	Male	25	5	10	D'o D'o D'o
13300	Ahchahday	Male	22	5	0	V on back of right arm & Cuts all over
13301	Ahboo	Male	33	5	9	PV on right breast and Cuts on face

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>		
13302	Medepay	Male	26	5	7	D'o	D'o	D'o
13303	Ahgannah	Male	25	5	6	D'o	D'o, Pitted with S.P. on face & Cuts all over	
13304	Olochalah	Male	35	5	7	<b>V</b> underneath D'o & Cuts all over		
13305	Akambee	Male	28	5	9	<b>A</b> above the navel, Cuts on face, left breast & belly		
13306	Adosalah	Male	27	5	6	<b>PV</b> on right breast and Cuts all over the body		
13307	Bankolay	Male	26	5	3	D'o	D'o	D'o
13308	Ahonekay	Male	28	5	7	Cuts all over		
13309	Anneah	Male	26	5	6	<b>PV</b> on right breast and Cuts all over		
13310	Lukahlay	Male	23	5	8	D'o	D'o	D'o
13311	Ahmotee	Male	20	5	6	D'o	D'o	D'o
13312	Ojakay	Male	27	5	7	D'o	D'o	D'o
13313	Ajagbay	Male	23	5	7	D'o	D'o & Cuts on Cheeks	
13314	Ogotahobo	Male	22	5	3	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over	
13315	Labay	Male	28	5	6	D'o	D'o	D'o

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>		
13316	Myenah	Male	25	5	3	D'o	D'o & Pitted with S.P. on face & Cuts all over	
13317	Oluolay	Male	28	5	7	Cuts all over		
13318	Chholanday	Male	18	5	3	<b>PV</b>	on right breast and Cuts all over	
13319	Olubee	Male	17	5	1	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face	
13320	Okallah	Male	24	5	5	<b>PV</b>	on right breast and Cuts all over	
13321	Hyenah	Male	29	5	9	D'o	D'o	D'o
13322	Kowojuday	Male	33	5	11	D'o	D'o	D'o
13323	Sodahkay	Male	27	5	3	D'o	D'o	D'o
13324	Olubahloo	Male	32	5	6	D'o	D'o, Cuts & Tattooed all over	
13325	Chomotee	Male	32	5	10	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over	
13326	Lahlogay	Male	19	5	7	D'o	D'o	D'o
13327	Ojue	Male	20	5	9	D'o	D'o	D'o
13328	Achokoo	Male	24	5	6	D'o	D'o	D'o

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>	
13329	Daddah	Male	19	5	4	D'o	D'o & Cuts on Cheek
13330	Jakong	Male	17	5	6	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over
13331	Adoo	Male	16	5	1	<b>A</b>	above the navel & D'o
13332	Attahsah	Male	21	5	6	<b>PV</b>	on right breast and D'o
13333	Lallay	Male	28	5	3	D'o	D'o D'o
13334	Osahjayjee	Male	23	5	9	Cuts all over	
13335	Jaheday	Male	22	5	4	Cuts all over body	
13336	Hisepah	Male	21	5	4	<b>A</b>	above the Navel & Cuts all over
13337	Achoh	Male	26	5	4	<b>PV</b>	on right breast & D'o
13338	Adahloo	Male	23	5	4	D'o	D'o D'o
13339	Ojoe	Male	19	5	3	<b>B</b>	on back of left Shoulder
13340	Olujahgan	Male	18	5	3	<b>PV</b>	on right breast & Cuts all over
13341	Abudahpoh	Fem.	26	4	11	<b>B</b>	above the Navel, Cuts & Tatt'd all over
13342	D'o Child	Girl	2	3	2	Cuts on Cheeks & breast	

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13343	Yarvahtoo	Fem.	23	5	4	<b>B</b> back of left Shoulder & Cuts all over
13344	D'o Child	Boy	1.5	2	7	No marks
13345	Bojarkalay	Fem.	23	5	1	<b>J</b> on right Arm & Tatt'd across the forehead and breast
13346	D'o Child	Boy	1	2	1	No marks
13347	Marrah	Fem.	16	4	11	<b>H</b> above the Navel & Cuts all over
13348	Jupay	Fem.	19	5	3	<b>PV</b> on left breast & D'o
13349	Atomay	Fem.	21	5	2	D'o D'o D'o
13350	Lokahlamo	Fem.	20	5	3	D'o D'o & Cuts on face
13351	Lovee	Fem.	22	5	5	<b>B</b> on right D'o & Cuts & Tattooed all over
13352	Kolahko	Fem.	20	4	11	<b>PV</b> on left breast and Cuts all over
13353	Olahlamee	Fem.	18	5	3	D'o on right D'o D'o
13354	Vamokalay	Fem.	16	5	0	D'o D'o & Cuts on face
13355	Bahmobahlay	Fem.	16	4	11	D'o D'o D'o

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>		
13356	Kosako	Fem.	17	5	2	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over	
13357	Adajahkay	Fem.	16	4	11	D'o on left	D'o	
13358	Ahvallah	Fem.	17	5	0	D'o on right	D'o & Cuts all over	
13359	Ajumah	Fem.	26	5	2	<b>V</b>	above the navel & Cuts on both arms	
13360	Lahtoh	Fem.	21	5	5	<b>A</b>	above the navel & Cuts all over	
13361	Obannahjah	Fem.	20	5	0	<b>C</b>	on right breast & D'o	
13362	Kotobay	Fem.	27	5	0	<b>PV</b>	on left	D'o D'o
13363	Olesahbolay	Fem.	24	5	3	D'o	D'o	D'o
13364	Ayowah	Fem.	22	5	6	D'o	D'o	D'o
13365	Abahjo	Fem.	19	4	10	D'o on right D'o & Pitted with S.P. on face & Cuts all over		
13366	Tasso	Fem.	16	5	2	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over	
13367	Labolonee	Fem.	18	5	0	<b>P</b>	on back of right shoulder & cuts all over	
13368	Wotokay	Fem.	16	4	9	<b>V</b>	on right breast & Cuts all over	



<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13369	Aseyomee	Fem.	26	5	6	<b>PC</b> on right d'o D'o
13370	Amahyakay	Fem.	21	5	2	<b>PV</b> above the Navel, Cuts & Tatt'd all over
13371	Iyay	Fem.	31	5	6	D'o on left breast & Cuts all over
13372	Lyofay	Fem.	25	5	6	D'o on right D'o D'o
13373	Awosoo	Fem.	22	5	0	D'o on left D'o D'o
13374	Ahdawoo	Fem.	25	4	11	<b>j</b> on right d'o D'o
13375	Myjeobay	Fem.	20	5	6	<b>PV</b> on D'o & Pitted with S. P. on face
13376	Hyenah	Fem.	18	5	1	<b>A</b> above the navel & Cuts all over
13377	Ajahtombay	Fem.	17	4	10	<b>PV</b> on right breast, cuts on face & right arm
13378	Laffomekay	Fem.	16	5	0	<b>B</b> on back of right shoulder and C'ts on right Arm
13379	Awoosoo	Fem.	35	5	5	<b>PV</b> on left breast & Cuts all over
13380	Abenoo	Fem.	33	5	8	D'o D'o D'o
13381	Awoosoo	Fem.	19	5	1	D'o on right D'o D'o
13382	Azolakay	Fem.	19	4	9	D'o D'o & Pitted with S.P. on face

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13383	Abappeelay	Fem.	23	5	2	D'o on left D'o D'o
13384	Olesahtokay	Fem.	28	4	11	<b>PV</b> on left breast & Cuts all over
13385	Obepoh	Fem.	17	5	6	D'o on right D'o D'o
13386	Ahmahleah	Fem.	22	4	11	<b>B</b> on back of right shoulder and Cuts all over
13387	Omahbay	Fem.	16	4	10	<b>C</b> on back of D'o
13388	Oloboahdokay	Fem.	15	5	2	<b>PV</b> on right breast & Cuts on Cheeks
13389	Onemeday	Fem.	26	4	11	D'o left D'o & Cuts on face
13390	Mahbosee	Fem.	18	5	2	<b>V</b> on back of right shoulder, Pitted with S. P. on face and Cuts all over
13391	Tennay	Fem.	27	5	1	<b>PV</b> on left breast & Cuts all over
13392	Ahmenah	Fem.	21	5	0	D'o D'o & Cuts & Tattooed all over
13393	Ahmenah	Fem.	16	4	11	<b>C</b> on right D'o & Cuts all over
13394	Lavookay	Fem.	15	5	2	<b>O</b> left D'o D'o
13395	Lannon	Fem.	24	5	2	<b>PV</b> right D'o D'o

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>		
13396	Hyenah	Fem.	15	5	2	<b>PC</b>	left	D'o & Cuts and Tatt'd all over
13397	Fahtay	Fem.	20	5	1	<b>PV</b>	right	D'o & Cuts all over
13398	Olahmachay	Fem.	28	5	5	<b>A</b>	left	D'o D'o
13399	Lahmesanah	Fem.	27	5	4	<b>PV</b>	left	<b>D'o &amp; Cuts &amp; Tattooed all over</b>
13400	Ogotakah	Fem.	19	4	3	<b>A</b>	above the navel &	Cuts all over
13401	Amedae	Fem.	18	5	3	<b>PV</b>	on right breast &	Cuts on face
13402	Ayahgalee	Fem.	22	5	1	D'o	left	D'o & Cuts & Tattooed all over
13403	Mahtambay	Fem.	19	5	3	D'o	right	D'o & Cuts all over
13404	Ahdabarnee	Fem.	21	5	3	j	on right	D'o D'o
13405	Lahvintang	Fem.	20	4	11	<b>PV</b>	left	D'o & Cuts on face
13406	Ahjusay	Fem.	19	5	3	<b>A</b>	right	D'o & Cuts down the belly
13407	Bangbanee	Fem.	18	5	3	D'o	left	D'o & Cuts & Tattooed all over
13408	Lahgotolah	Fem.	21	5	1	D'o	left	D'o & Cuts on face
13409	Akoalah	Fem.	24	5	3	D'o	D'o	D'o, breast & belly

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13410	Osothlah	Fem.	23	5	1	<b>J</b> above the navel & Cuts & Tatt'd all over
13411	Mallahlah	Fem.	20	5	1	<b>PV</b> on right breast & Cuts all over
13412	Cholahbee	Fem.	18	5	2	<b>C</b> on left D'o D'o
13413	Mallahkay	Fem.	17	5	5	<b>PV</b> D'o D'o
13414	Olepahday	Fem.	26	5	3	D'o D'o & Cuts & Tattooed all over
13415	Bahdobee	Fem.	16	5	2	D'o above the navel & Pitt'd with S. P. on face
13416	Ahdalodo	Fem.	25	5	7	<b>PV</b> on right breast & Cuts all over
13417	Malahya	Fem.	23	5	1	D'o left D'o & Cuts & Tattooed all over
13418	Apputalah	Fem.	19	5	3	<b>B</b> underneath the navel & Cuts all over
13419	Ahchoboo	Boy	10	4	7	<b>PV</b> on right breast & Cuts all over
13420	Mafahbay	Boy	12	4	9	D'o D'o D'o
13421	Lowahlo	Boy	9	4	11	<b>J</b> above the navel D'o
13422	Akahrah	Boy	13	5	3	<b>PV</b> on right breast & Cuts all over
13423	Lokoloh	Boy	9	4	8	D'o D'o D'o

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>	
13424	Odontah	Boy	14	4	11	D'o	D'o, Cuts on Checks, breast & belly
13425	Ojoe	Boy	9	4	7	<b>J</b>	above the navel& Cuts on face
13426	Lallatong	Boy	14	5	3	<b>C</b>	on left breast & Cuts on forehead
13427	Lufegee	Boy	12	5	2	<b>PV</b>	on right D'o & Cuts all over
13428	Ogoo	Boy	9	4	9	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face
13429	Ayowah	Boy	9	4	7	D'o	D'o & Cuts on breast & belly
13430	Lallotang	Boy	8	4	6	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face
13431	Chodoloo	Boy	13	4	11	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over
13432	Ahchoh	Boy	10	4	9	<b>V</b>	D'o
13433	Allagay	Boy	7	4	3	<b>PV</b>	D'o, Cuts down breast & belly
13434	Gallowee	Boy	13	5	1	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face
13435	Olesahtomee	Boy	9	4	8	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over
13436	Olomahday	Boy	10	4	10	D'o	D'o D'o
13437	Emakamaloo	Boy	10	4	11	D'o	D'o D'o

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>	
13438	Fambee	Boy	8	4	8	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over body
13439	Lefelah	Boy	12	5	8	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face
13440	Myalay	Boy	7	4	2	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over
13441	Ofuluah	Boy	7	4	5	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face
13442	Oday	Boy	12	5	5	<b>V</b>	above the navel, Cuts on face, down breast & belly
13443	Ayako	Boy	14	5	3	<b>C</b>	on right breast & Cuts all over
13444	Ebahquay	Boy	13	5	4	<b>PV</b>	D'o D'o
13445	Nomahlah	Boy	12	5	4	D'o	D'o D'o
13446	Insahdeko	Boy	10	4	9	D'o	D'o & Cuts on temples
13447	Ojoe	Boy	11	5	9	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face
13448	Legahsee	Boy	6	4	3	<b>B</b>	above the navel & Cuts on face
13449	Olukay	Boy	7	4	3	<b>PV</b>	on right breast
13450	Chonahyay	Boy	9	4	6	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>	
13451	Chodepo	Boy	6	4	2	D'o	D'o & Cuts on Cheeks & breast
13452	Odotoolo	Boy	9	4	4	D'o	D'o
13453	Annegoo	Boy	8	4	3	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over
13454	Dosomoo	Boy	9	4	6	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face
13455	Ahdontang	Boy	7	4	1	D'o	D'o D'o
13456	Odoyay	Boy	8	4	3	<b>J</b>	above the navel D'o
13457	Ogoo	Boy	7	4	3	<b>PV</b>	on right breast D'o
13458	Osobay	Boy	6	3	9	<b>HH</b>	on right arm
13459	Ochoh	Boy	11	4	11	<b>PV</b>	on right breast & Cuts all over
13460	Ojahee	Boy	12	4	10	D'o	D'o
13461	Ojoe	Boy	10	4	9	<b>C</b>	D'o
13462	Olujobee	Boy	9	4	9	<b>PV</b>	D'o & Cuts on face
13463	Koree	Boy	13	5	1	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over body
13464	Owayoo	Boy	13	5	1	D'o	D'o D'o








<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>	
13465	Jahgoo	Boy	8	4	7	A	above the navel & Cuts all over
13466	Ahchoh	Boy	14	5	3	PV	on right breast D'o
13467	Odemahlah	Boy	10	5	3	D'o	D'o & Cuts all over
13468	Hyevah	Boy	11	5	3	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face
13469	Ahdagono	Boy	12	5	1	D'o	D'o
13470	Ojoe	Boy	14	5	3	D'o	D'o & Cuts on cheeks
13471	Ahjai	Boy	11	5	3	D'o	D'o D'o
13472	Ojadamee	Boy	10	4	10	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face & breast
13473	Lamlosee	Boy	7	4	4	D'o	D'o D'o
13474	Kolah	Boy	7	4	4	D'o	D'o D'o
13475	Odoo	Boy	8	4	6	D'o	D'o D'o, breast & belly
13476	Ahmosee	Boy	7	4	4	D'o	D'o & Cuts on Cheeks & breast
13477	Chukajue	Boy	8	4	4	D'o	D'o D'o
13478	Chugailoo	Boy	9	4	5	D'o	D'o & Cuts on face







<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>		
13479	Faahloo	Boy	10	4	9	D'o	D'o	D'o
13480	Chahdepo	Boy	10	4	10	<b>PV</b> on right breast		
13481	Malloko	Girl	9	4	8	D'o	D'o & Cuts on forehead	
13482	Awoso	Girl	7	4	4	D'o	left	D'o
13483	Ahlom	Girl	6	4	1	<b>V</b> back of right shoulder, Cuts on Cheeks & right arm		
13484	Molahkee	Girl	10	4	7	<b>V</b> on left breast & Cuts on face		
13485	Edowoo	Girl	8	4	5	<b>PV</b> right D'o & Cuts on left side of Cheek		
13486	Tahwoo	Girl	8	4	4	<b>A</b>	D'o, Cuts on face & on right arm	
13487	Mahsadah	Girl	9	4	10	<b>H</b> left	D'o,	D'o
13488	Lodobo	Girl	13	4	10	<b>C</b> right	D'o & Cuts all over	
13489	Daddah	Girl	8	4	4	<b>A</b> above the navel & Cuts on Cheeks		
13490	Afogee	Girl	9	4	6	<b>PV</b> on right breast		D'o
13491	Jehololah	Girl	12	4	6	<b>C</b> on back of right shoulder, Cuts on cheeks, breast		

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
						& belly
13492	Hyenah	Girl	8	4	3	<b>AA</b> above the navel & Cuts all over
13493	Mahbada	Girl	10	4	8	<b>C</b> on back of right shoulder, Cuts on face & on right arm
13494	Awoo	Girl	7	4	3	<b>PV</b> on right breast
13495	Okapajue	Girl	9	4	7	<b>D'o</b> D'o & C'ts on face
13496	Moesahlah	Girl	10	4	7	<b>P</b> on left D'o & Cuts all over
13497	Leshowah	Girl	12	4	10	<b>H</b> on right D'o & Cuts on each breast
13498	Mahkojolah	Girl	11	4	9	<b>PV</b> on left D'o & Cuts on face
13499	Obotomah	Girl	12	4	7	<b>A</b> above the navel & D'o
13500	Afulah	Girl	11	4	9	<b>PV</b> on right breast & Cuts on breast and belly
13501	Mahfekoyah	Girl	14	4	10	<b>PC</b> left D'o Cuts on face & breast
13502	Abankay	Girl	12	3	10	<b>PV</b> right D'o & Cuts on Cheeks
13503	Lubay	Girl	12	4	9	Cuts all over the body

<u>Register No.</u>	<u>Names</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Stature (ft.)</u>	<u>Stature (in.)</u>	<u>Descriptions</u>
13504	Jasahnoo	Girl	6	4	9	<b>PV</b> on left breast
13505	Hyenah	Girl	7	4	5	<b>B</b> D'o & Cuts all over
13506	Bahshadah	Girl	9	4	11	<b>j</b> D'o & Cuts on face
13507	Lahsheday	Girl	7	4	2	<b>V</b> on right D'o
13508	Molekay	Girl	8	4	6	<b>PV</b> D'o & Cuts on cheeks
13509	Ahdaholah	Girl	13	4	11	D'o D'o & Cuts all over
13510	Alutahgee	Girl	9	4	9	<b>C</b> D'o & Cuts on face
13511	Fahkay	Girl	8	4	4	<b>PV</b> D'o & Cuts all over

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Brand</i>
PV	
V	
C	
j	
B	
A	
AA	

Symbol	Brand
H	
HH	
J	
PC	

## VITA

Mason Daniel Miller

Local Address: 1700 Southwest Parkway #110  
College Station, TX 77840

Permanent Address: 664 Landon's Way  
Blanco, TX 78606

Education: 2001 – Texas A&M University: M.A., Anthropology (Nautical Archaeology specialization)  
1998 – The University of Texas at Austin: B.A., Anthropology

### Archaeological Field Experience:

- 2000 Archaeological Recording of Two Sixteenth- or Seventeenth-Century Shipwrecks, Angra do Heroísmo, Terceira, Azores. Institute of Nautical Archaeology. Diver, Staff Archaeologist, Illustrator.
- 2000 Archaeological Recording of Timbers from *Nossa Senhora dos Martires*, Lisbon, Portugal. Staff Archaeologist, Illustrator.
- 1999 Survey for Civil War Steamer *U.S.S. Narcissus* and Merchant Schooner *A.A. Rowe*, St. Petersburg, Florida, U.S.A. Florida Coastal Nautical Archaeology Survey Project. Diver, Staff Archaeologist.
- 1997 Survey of Mayan City Ma'ax Na and Excavation of House at Dos Hombres, Rio Bravo Conservation and Management Area, Belize, Central America. University of Texas at Austin, Programme for Belize. Staff Archaeologist, Conservator.
- 1984 Survey for Pre-Dynastic Egypto-Atlantean Civilization, the Miller Backyard, Springfield, Virginia, U.S.A. Project Director.

### Other Professional Experience:

- 2001 Book: *Conservation of Archaeological Material Culture using Silicone-Containing Polymers and Resins*, C. Wayne Smith (author), Texas A&M University Press (in print). Digital Illustrator, Cover Designer.
- 2000 Poster Session: *The Social Construction of Breast Cancer in Mass Media and Its Influence on Citizen Understanding & Decision-Making*, Barbara F. Sharf (principal investigator). Texas A&M University and U.S. Department of Defense. Graphic Design.