Au-delà de la traversée: The Sales and Forced Migrations of enslaved Africans in Saint-Domingue, c.~~1740~~1763-1791

On September 3, 1773, the slave ship *Roi Dahomet* dropped anchor in ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's principal port, marking the end of the Middle Passage (*la ~~traversée~~traversee)* for its 406 African ~~prisoners~~captives. The crossing has been typically terrible: for ninety-seven days at sea, the captives had endured a rigid daily routine of monotonous and starchy meals followed by humiliating forced "dancing," before being pushed into steaming prisons below deck at night. The Africans quickly began to sicken: within three weeks of leaving the coast, a woman perished and was cast into the sea (*jette la mer*) by the crew; fifteen other people would subsequently die, including two infants. A week before reaching ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue, a woman gave birth to a baby that she (or perhaps the crew) named "hunchback" (*bossou*); two days later ~~. Bossou~~he ~~quickly~~ died and was thrown in the ocean~~, though; their tiny body was also mercilessly thrown into the ocean~~. When the ~~the~~ *Roi Dahomet* finally reached ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, its captives ~~its prisoners~~ must have hence looked forward to an escape from this marine hell. Eight days after ~~arriving~~their arrival, though, they faced another ordeal when they were sold to the island's colonists. The subsequent fate of most of the *Roi Dahomet's* ~~captives~~ Africans is not recorded, but at least thirty of them were enslaved on sugar plantations off the island's south coast where they toiled for the remainder of their lives ~~planting, harvesting, and processing sugar cane~~.[1]

In detailing enslaved people on the Middle Passage and then on ~~at their~~ plantation~~s~~ ~~prisons~~ the documentary record for ~~*La*~~ the *Roi Dahomet* ~~encapsulates~~ captures well our current knowledge of captive Africans' forced movements through the Atlantic slave trade. ~~In the previous sixty years, c~~Considerable ~~scholarly resources~~ attention ha~~ve~~s been devoted to quantifying the trans-Atlantic slave trade's size and shifting contours, culminating in the 2008 publication of *Slave Voyages,* a database of over thirty-six thousand slaving voyages, the *Roi Dahomet* amongst them. More recently, historians have sought to look beyond dry and potentially dehumanizing ~~the~~ numbers ~~and~~ by detail~~ing~~ the ~~lived realities of the slave trade for~~ enslaved ~~people~~experience, especially the violence,

[1] For the *Roi Dahomet,* see "Journal de Navigation... Le Roy Dahomet Capne Le So Corby pour le Voyage qu'il va faire a la Coste de Guinee...," 29 May - 3 Sep 1773, EE 282, Arch. Mun. de La Rochelle; Simone Berbain, *Le Comptoir Francais de Juda au XVIIIe Siecle* (Paris, 1942), 68-125. "Etat des Negres et Negresses, Negrillons et Negrittes existent sur la Premier habitation de Monsieur de Laborde le 31 xbre 1790," HCA30/884, The National Archives (UK), Kew (hereafter TNAUK); "Etat General des Negres, Negresses, Negrillons, et Negrittes, existent sur la troisieme habitation de Monsieur de la Borde le premier Janvier de la annee 1791," HCA30/381, TNAUK.

disease, and death suffered by Africans at sea. Prior to these twin revolutions in slave trade studies, scholars explored ~~the enslaved experience in the~~ America~~s~~n slavery principally by focusing upon ~~the~~ plantations~~papers of the plantations to which captive Africans were channeled after their arrival in the colonies~~; the ~~plantations~~ sugar estates where thirty of the *Roi Dahomet's* prisoners were ~~marched~~ enslaved have~~, for example,~~ been studied at length. These works have detailed almost every aspect of plantation life, including enslaved people's diverse origins, the brutal labor regime to which they were subjected, and their constant attempts to resist their bondage. ~~We hence know more about the forced migration of enslaved Africans than perhaps any other group of migrants in world history.~~[2] Scholars have also explored how newly purchased enslaved people were "seasoned" after their arrival on plantations, illuminating how African captives were transformed into American slaves through a formative, but brutal, process of bodily acclimatization, cultural change, and social integration.[3]

[2] ~~For digital databases of the Atlantic slave trades, see *Slave Voyages* (www.slavevoyages.org). For studies that eschew quantification and focus on the enslaved experience, see Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, Mass, 2007); Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York, 2007); Sowande M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Urbana 2016); Marissa Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia, 2016); Jessica Marie Johnson, *Wicked Flesh : Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2020). For the Laborde plantations, see Bernard Foubert, "Les habitations Laborde à Saint-Domingue dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIè siècle : contribution à l'histoire d'Haïti (Plaine des Cayes)," (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Universite de Paris IV, Sorbonne, 1990. The works on plantation slavery in the Americas are too numerous to list, but some classic texts focused on different locations across the Atlantic World are Gabriel Debien, *Les Esclaves aux Antilles Francais (XVIIe- XVIIIe Siecles)* (Basse-Terre, 1974); Michael Craton, *Searching for the Invisible Man: Slaves and Plantation Life in Jamaica* (Cambridge, Mass, 1978); Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge, 1985); Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Williamsburg, 1991).~~

[3] For digital databases of the Atlantic slave trades, see *Slave Voyages* (www.slavevoyages.org). For studies that eschew quantification and focus on the enslaved experience, see Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, Mass, 2007); Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York, 2007); Sowande M. Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (Urbana 2016); Marissa Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia, 2016); Jessica Marie Johnson, *Wicked Flesh: Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2020). For the Laborde plantations, see Bernard Foubert, "Les habitations Laborde à Saint-Domingue dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle: contribution à l'histoire d'Haïti (Plaine des Cayes)," (Unpublished PhD Thesis: Universite de Paris IV, Sorbonne, 1990). Works on plantation slavery are too numerous to list, but some classics focused on different locations are Gabriel Debien, *Les Esclaves aux Antilles Francais (XVIIe- XVIIIe Siecles)* (Basse-Terre, 1974); Michael Craton, *Searching for the Invisible Man: Slaves and Plantation Life in Jamaica* (Cambridge, Mass, 1978); Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge, 1985); Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Williamsburg, 1991). For "seasoning," see Smallwood, *Saltwater,* 182-208; Alexander X. Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers Black Migrants across the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge, 2008), 57-85; Sean Morey Smith, "Seasoning and Abolition: Humoural Medicine and the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic," *Slavery & Abolition* 36:4 (Oct, 2015), 684-703; Nicholas Radburn, ""[M]anaged at first as if they were beasts": The seasoning of enslaved Africans in eighteenth-century Jamaica," *Journal of Global Slavery* 6:1 (Jan, 2021), 11-30.

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———Although our knowledge of ~~the Atlantic slave trade~~**the enslaved experience** ~~appears~~ **is increasingly robust** ~~comprehensive~~, there remains an important ~~gap~~**area of "uncharted territory:"** the **stage of enslavement** ~~period~~ after ~~their~~ **Africans'** arrival in the Americas ~~aboard the slave ships~~ but before they reached the homes of their **colonial** buyers~~—what historian Michael Mullin described in 1994 as "unchartered territory."~~. The limited ~~work that has subsequently sought to chart this territory~~**explorations of this territory have** ~~has found~~**begun to reveal** that **slave** sales **in the British Americas were** ~~in the Americas was a~~ formative and traumatic ~~stage in~~ **processes**~~enslaved people's experiences~~**, with captives being separated and sold through a brutally efficient process that was designed to provide colonists with access to slave labor.**[4] ~~More~~ **More** attention has been devoted to examining the **surprisingly well-organized and extensive** intra-American slave trade into which as many as one in five Africans were ~~subsequently~~ forced *after* their arrival **in the British, Dutch and Danish Americas.** ~~This trade was, recent research has discovered, well-organized and surprisingly extensive.~~[5] ~~For the 620,000 people shifted into the intra-American trade, arrival in the Americas marked the beginning of an another~~**These captives experienced what Gregory O'Malley has called a** "Final Passage:~~,~~" ~~rather than the end of their ordeal~~**embarkation on small vessels alongside other Africans, followed by enervating and deadly voyages of sometimes thousands of miles to distant American markets, where enslaved people were then sold. This intra-American slave trade powerfully shaped the lives of its enslaved victims, who found themselves carried far from their point**

[4] Michael Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean*, 1736-1831 (Urbana, 1992), 269 ("unchartered"). For American slave sales, see Kenneth Morgan "Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston," *English Historical Review*, 113, No. 453 (September, 1998), 905-927; Trevor Burnard and Kenneth Morgan, "The Dynamics of the Slave Market and Slave Purchasing Patterns in Jamaica, 1655–1788," *WMQ*, 58: 1 (January, 2001), 205-228; David Galenson, *Traders, Planters and Slaves: Market Behavior in Early English America* (Cambridge, 2002), 53-85; ~~Rediker, *The Slave Ship*, 152-4; *Saltwater Slavery*, 153-81; Mustakeem, *Slavery at Sea*, Chapter 5;~~ Sean Kelley, "Scrambling for Slaves: Captive Sales in Colonial South Carolina," *Slavery & Abolition*, 34, No. 1 (January, 2013), 1-21; **Nicholas Radburn, *Traders in Men: Merchants and the Transformation of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, 2023), 157-195**~~Gregory E. O'Malley, "Slavery's Converging Ground: Charleston's Slave Trade as the Black Heart of the Lowcountry," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 74:2 (April, 2017): 271-302.~~

[5] ~~For the intra-American slave trade, see Colin Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700–1739* (Urbana, 1981); Gregory E. O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 66: 1 (January, 2009): 125–72; Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill, 2015); *The Intra-American Slave Trade Database* (https://slavevoyages.org/american/database); Elise Mitchell, "Morbid Crossings: Surviving Smallpox, Maritime Quarantine, and the Gendered Geography of the Early Eighteenth-Century Intra-Caribbean Slave Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 79:2 (April, 2022): 177-210.~~

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of arrival in the Americas on harrowing voyages, and transformed the wider economic, social and cultural history of the Atlantic World.[6]

~~IT~~mportant though it is, ~~t~~this important new research on the intra-American slave trade does little to ~~explore~~ illuminate the experiences of ~~the vast majority of~~most Africans arriving in the Americas~~,~~ who were ~~not shipped off via the intra-American trade~~typically enslaved within the colony to which they were taken. Latin Americanists have long appreciated the complexity and sophistication of the slave trade that shifted arriving Africans often long distances within Spain's colonies, but similarly detailed work is lacking for the non-Iberian slave trades, ~~Examining these people's movement is difficult, though,~~ because slave traders' accounts typically provide little detail on ~~captives African~~captives' fates beyond their ~~arrival~~ departure from the ships~~in the Americas~~; the records of American slave owners ~~typically only~~ usually ~~describe the lives of Africans after they had been acquired,~~ obscur~~ing~~e the routes ~~those captives~~people took from the ships.[7][8]

The records for ~~Saint Domingue's~~the French slave trade are ~~an important exception~~, however, sufficiently detailed to reconstruct the pathways of forced migration that captive Africans were forced to take within Saint-Domingue—the largest and most productive eighteenth-century plantation colony. ~~French slave traders recorded much more information on the identities, occupations, and locations of colonial slave buyers than their British or Dutch counterparts within~~

[6] For the intra-American slave trade, see Colin Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700–1739* (Urbana, 1981); Gregory E. O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619-1807," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 66: 1 (January, 2009): 125–72; Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill, 2015); *The Intra-American Slave Trade- Database* (https://slavevoyages.org/american/database); Elise Mitchell, "Morbid Crossings: Surviving Smallpox, Maritime Quarantine, and the Gendered Geography of the Early Eighteenth-Century Intra-Caribbean Slave Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 79:2 (April, 2022): 177-210.

[7] For the slave trade within the Spanish Americas, see for example David C. Chandler, *Health and Slavery in Colonial Columbia* (New York, 1981); Linda A. Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 2007); David Eltis, David Wheat and Alex Borucki, eds., *From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas* (Albuquerque, 2020).

[8] ~~Although there are approximately five hundred extant invoices recording the sales of approximately two hundred thousand Africans arriving in the British Caribbean, they do not provide sufficient detail to trace Africans beyond their sale because they only record buyers' names. The records of colonial slave traders allow a reconstruction of how slave sales were conducted, but likewise do not provide sufficient detail to follow enslaved people's movements. See, for example, Nicholas Radburn, *"Guinea Factors, Slave Sales, and the Profits of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in Late Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: The Case of John Tailyour," WMQ 72: 2 (April, 2015): 243-286.* The records for the Dutch slave trade are similarly voluminous, but likewise limited. Plantation records contain censuses of enslaved people, but they almost never detail the ship from which Africans had been purchased. And fugitive slave advertisements are seldom sufficiently detailed to trace back to their point of arrival in a colony; of the 782 notices for runaways in Jamaica c.1718-1790, for example, just twenty-three connect Africans to a specific ship. See, "Runaway Slaves advertised in 18th-century Jamaica Newspapers" (https://repository.upenn.edu/mead/41/).~~

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~~the invoices that summarized the sales of arriving Africans.~~[9] ~~Seven~~ **Eight** ~~such~~ invoices~~, detailing the sales of 2,240 people c.1767-1790,~~ **summarized the sales of Africans arriving on ships recorded the identities, occupations, and locations of colonial slave buyers**~~are extant~~**, allowing 2,588 Africans to be followed from the ships to the homes of their buyers with remarkable specificity.**[10] **Fugitive slave advertisements and a uniquely detailed set of censuses for the Laborde sugar plantations enable a further 570 people to be traced back to ships from their ultimate destinations. These** ~~Fugitive slave advertisements (178 individuals) and a uniquely detailed set of plantation censuses for the Laborde sugar plantations (392 Africans) enable other people to be traced from their ultimate destinations back to the ships in the same period.~~[11] ~~When examined in combination with a variety of other sources~~**records detailing the movements of individual Africans are complemented by** ~~, such a~~**a plethora of less-detailed sales invoices,** ~~s~~colonial newspapers, and **the correspondence of slave traders both on and off the island**~~slave traders' papers, these~~.[12] **Although these collected records**

[9] **There are approximately seven hundred extant invoices recording sales of Africans arriving aboard slave ships in the British and Dutch Americas, but they do not provide sufficient detail to trace Africans beyond their sale because they only record buyers' names, and not their occupation or address. See, Radburn,** ***Traders,*** **157-195. Plantation records contain censuses of enslaved people, but they almost never detail the ship from which Africans had been purchased. And fugitive slave advertisements are seldom sufficiently detailed to trace back to their point of arrival in a colony.** ~~French slave traders likely recorded more information on colonists because they, unlike their British and Dutch counterparts, lent money directly to slave buyers and therefore wanted to keep track of their debtors. Why French slave owners were more apt to link Africans to the ships from which they were purchased is less obvious but is perhaps a symptom of French enslavers' closer attention to enslaved people's origins.~~

[10] The ~~seven~~ **eight** invoices (*Tableau de vente*) are for the *Africain*~~, 378 people sold at Cap Français, Mar 19- Apr 4, 1767~~ (Fonds D'Hoop, No.973, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand); *Betsy*~~, 296 people sold at Cap Français, c.Jan 1775~~ (HCA30/303, TNAUK); ***Duc de Laval*** **(Fonds d'Hoop, No. 982);** *Bellecombe*~~, 499 people sold at Cap Francais, Apr 25- May 29, 1785~~ (924.9.1, Château des ducs de Bretagne - Musée d'histoire de Nantes); *Madame*~~, 355 people sold at Port-au-Prince, c.May 1789~~ (924.19.5, Château des ducs de Bretagne - Musée d'histoire de Nantes); ~~*Agreable*~~***Agréable***~~, 186 people sold at Port-au-Prince, Feb 26 – Apr 1, 1790~~ (Fonds Ancien, 66 S 142/Extrait/2, Archives Bordeaux Metropole); and ~~*Jeremie*~~***Jérémie***~~, 403 people sold at Les Cayes Feb 12- 15, 1791~~ (African American History collection, Box 1, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor). The *Vistor's* invoice **only** details the occupations and locations of the buyers of 123 of the 353 people brought in the ship to ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français**, (Apr 11- 17, 1790, 4 J 4177, ADCM).

[11] ~~The Laborde censuses, which are unique in grouping the plantation slaves by the vessel from which they were purchased, were seized by a British privateer and so are held in the National Archives' Prize Papers collection, HCA30/881; HCA30/884.~~

[12] **The Laborde censuses, which are unique in grouping the plantation slaves by the vessel from which they were purchased, were seized by a British privateer and so are held in the National Archives' Prize Papers collection. See, HCA30/881; HCA30/884. The fugitive advertisements are drawn from** ***Les Affiches Americains,*** **Cap-Français' primary newspaper, and have been digitized and transcribed within "Le Marronnage dans le Monde Atlantique: Sources et Trajectories de Vie," http://www.marronnage.info/fr/apropos.php. I have tied fugitives to specific ships by searching for phrases such as "slave ship" (*negrier*) and "from the cargo of" (*provenans de la cargaison de*). For correspondence of Saint-Domingue slave traders, see Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, 1785-1791, Mi 505/85 & Mi 505/86, Archives Nationales, Paris; Christophe Sergeant, "Mortalite et Morbidite au Cours d'une Campagne de Traite d'un Navire Negrier Dunkerquois au XVIIIe Siecle" (Unpublished doctoral thesis: Lille, 1989), 126-212. For correspondence of French slave traders with Saint-Domingue slave traders, see especially the papers of the Chaurand Freres of Nantes, Archives Departmentales de Loire Atlantique, 101J1-5, 101J8, 101J16-17.**

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document only a fraction of the half a million Africans who were landed in Saint-Domingue between 1767 and 1791, they allow the sales and forced migrations of enslaved people within the island to be reconstructed for the first time~~collections allow 2,810 Africans to be followed from their point of arrival in Saint Domingue, through their sale, and then onto their ultimate destinations—the largest of tracing captives beyond the ships in the pre-abolition era.[18][14] While the Africans studied here are relatively few in number, their forced movements nonetheless provide an important window onto the experiences of the three-quarters of a million people who were carried to the island via Saint Domingue's immense slave trade—a topic that has received surprisingly scant scholarly attention.[15]~~

~~This article therefore demonstrates that Africans were forced into a large, sophisticated, and well-organized intra-colonial slave trade that has largely escaped historians' attention.~~By drawing on ~~these various sources, this article reconstructs the slave trade into which captive Africans were forced after their arrival at Saint Domingue. It begins by exploring how slave ships—and therefore enslaved people—were navigated to the numerous ports that lined the island's long coast.~~

[18] Saint-Domingue's slave trade has principally been studied by historians of metropolitan French ports to illustrate the different stages of the slave voyage. These scholars have touched on how the slave trade operated within the island, but not explored it in detail. See, for example, Dieudonne Rinchon, *Pierre Ignace-Lievin Van Alstein Captain Negrier, Gand 1733-Nantes 1793* (Dakar, 1964); Robert Louis Stein, *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business* (Madison, 1979); Serge Daget, *La Traite des Noirs* (Rennes, 1990); Clarence Munford, *The Black Ordeal of Slavery and Slave Trading in the French West Indies, 1625-1715* (Lewiston, 1991); David Geggus, "La Traite de Esclaves aux Antilles Francaises a la Fin du XVIIIe Siecle: Quelques Aspects du Marche Local," in Siliva Marzagalli and Hubert Bonin eds., *Negoce, Ports et Oceans XVIe-XXe siecles: Melanges offerts a Paul Butel* (Bordeaux, 2000), 235-45; David Geggus, "The French Slave Trade: An Overview," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 58:1 (Jan, 2001): 119-138Alain Roman, *Saint-Malo au temps des negriers* (Paris, 2001); Eric Saugera, *Bordeaux port negrier (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)* (Paris, 2002); Krystel Gaulde, *L'Abime: Nantes dans la traite atlantique et l'esclavage colonial 1707-1830* (Nantes, 2021). Robert Harms has explored the slave trade in Martinique, but not Saint-Domingue. See, *The Diligent: a voyage through the worlds of the slave trade* (New York, 2002), 331-376.

~~[14] The fugitive advertisements are drawn from *Les Affiches Americains,* the primary newspaper for Cap Francais, and have been digitized and transcribed within "Le Marronnage dans le Monde Atlantique: Sources et Trajectories de Vie," http://www.marronnage.info/fr/apropos.php. I have tied fugitives to specific ships by searching for phrases such as "slave ship" (*negrier*) and "from the cargo of" (*provenans de la cargaison de*).~~

~~[15] The Saint Domingue slave trade has principally been studied by historians of metropolitan French ports when illustrating how the different stages of the "iron triangle" operated. See, for example, Robert Louis Stein, *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business* (Madison, 1979); Serge Daget, *La Traite des Noirs* (Rennes, 1990); Alain Roman, *Saint-Malo au temps des negriers* (Paris, 2001); Eric Saugera, *Bordeaux port negrier (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)* (Paris, 2002) ; Krystel Gaulde, *L'Abime : Nantes dans la traite atlantique et l'esclavage colonial 1707-1830* (Nantes, 2021). Dieudonne Rinchon analyzed several invoices detailing the sales of enslaved people in Saint Domingue to illustrate the career of a slaver captain. See, Dieudonne Rinchon, *Pierre Ignace-Lievin Van Alstein Captain Negrier, Gand 1733-Nantes 1793* (Dakar, 1964). David Geggus has undertaken work on the movement of slave ships to different ports in Saint Domingue. See, David Geggus, "La Traite de Esclaves aux Antilles Francaises a la Fin du XVIIIe Siecle: Quelques Aspects du Marche Local," in Siliva Marzagalli and Hubert Bonin eds., *Negoce, Ports et Oceans XVIe-XXe siecles: Melanges offerts a Paul Butel* (Bordeaux, 2000), 235-45; David Geggus, "The French Slave Trade: An Overview," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 58:1 (Jan, 2001): 119-138.~~

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Following captive Africans from the moment of their arrival aboard slave ships to their ultimate destinations within Saint-Domingue reveals the existence of a large, sophisticated, and well-organized intra-colonial slave trade that has previously escaped the attention of historians. Slave ship captains steered ships to different locations depending on the age, health, ethnicity, and gender of their prisoners, determining where in the large and environmentally diverse island enslaved people would spend the remainder of their lives. ~~The second section reveals how Africans were sold. It shows that c~~Colonial slave traders then organized sales that were designed to sort enslaved people according to their physical characteristics and ~~then~~ distribute them at varying price points to economically, socially, and racially diverse colonial buyers. ~~The final section follows enslaved people away from the sales to their~~Africans moved away from sales to remarkably divergent fates: many ~~captives~~ were, as our existing view of the trade confirms, marched to plantations proximate to ports. However, ~~an almost equal number of~~a significant number of people ~~Africans~~ were either retained in port towns, where they ~~would be~~were forced to work as servants or apprentices in ~~trade, or~~trade or ~~imprisoned~~ held by merchants in urban ~~prisons~~ barracoons and later resold—sometimes hundreds of miles from where they arrived in the colony. By the time captive Africans reached the homes of their buyers, they had thus moved through a domestic slave trade that had powerfully determined their often-divergent fates and began to acclimatize them to the brutalities of colonial life. ~~This article therefore demonstrates that Africans were forced into a large, sophisticated, and well-organized intra-colonial slave trade that has largely escaped historians' attention.~~

*

When the *Roi Dahomet* arrived off ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's north coast in 1773, it did not reach a single slave market, but rather a dozen marts~~reached a series of slaving markets that were~~ separated from each other by hundreds of miles of ocean and almost impassable mountains ~~and hills and hundreds of miles of ocean~~. In dropping anchor ~~in~~ at Cap-Françe~~a~~is, the *Roi Dahomet's* captain ~~of the *Roi Dahomet*~~ had elected to sell his ~~prisoners~~ captives in by far the largest of those markets. Nestled in a capacious harbor overlooked by the eponymous ~~Cap~~cape, the ~~port~~ city had, by 1773, shaken off its roots as a ramshackle buccaneering base to become one of the wealthiest towns in the Americas. The port's six thousand residents—over half of them enslaved—exported vast quantities of sugar from plantations that dotted the adjacent ~~*p*~~*Plain~~e~~ ~~e du~~ du-~~nord~~Norde* and ~~; by the 1770s, c~~coffee ~~also flowed into Le Cap~~ from the surrounding hills ~~in increasing quantities.~~. ~~Coffee and sugar p~~Planter demand for new captive workers, coupled with that

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of the port's large merchant community, therefore~~planters demanded tens of thousands of enslaved people~~ offered~~, offering~~ a strong inducement for slave ship captains to land ~~their prisoners~~captive Africans at Cap-Français~~Cap Francais~~; almost ~~fifty percent~~half of the seven hundred thousand ~~Africans~~ people taken to ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue before the 1791 Revolution were consequently landed ~~at *Le Cap*~~at Le Cap ~~before the 1791 Revolution~~. Though important, Cap-Français ~~Le Cap~~ was, by the time of the *Roi Dahomet's* voyage, just one of many markets for people on the island~~, though~~. In the first half of the eighteenth century, French colonists had forced captive Africans to establish ~~tobacco, indigo,~~ sugar, cotton, indigo and coffee plantations on the island's fertile western and southern coasts—a process that accelerated rapidly after the Seven Years' War (1755-1763)~~mid-century~~. Settlers erected new port towns to ship tropical staples out and bring captive labor in and so~~, by the late eighteenth century,~~ thirteen port towns lined the island's ~~six hundred miles~~six-hundred-mile coast by the late eighteenth century~~,~~. Africans were landed at ~~almost~~ all but one of~~every one of~~ th~~o~~ese locations, but four emerged as major disembarkation points: Saint-Marc, Léogâne~~Leogane~~, and Port-au-Prince in the west; and Les Cayes in the south (Figure 1). Each of these ports, and their adjoining plantation hinterlands~~,~~ were, as one historian has observed, "cut off from one another by mountain chains and poor or nonexistent roads~~.~~."~~"~~ Although connected by the sea, the distances between Saint-Domingue's ports were considerable: ~~from~~ covering the two hundred miles from Cap-Français ~~Cap Francais~~ to ~~Les Cayes was approximately three hundred miles—the distance between South Carolina and Virginia; reaching~~ Port-au-Prince, for example, entailed ~~from Cap Francais entailed~~ a typically five day ~~week-long voyage~~voyage around the island that sometimes stretched to over a week. Les Cayes was only a hundred miles as the crow flies from Port-au-Prince, but it took almost as long to sail between the two ports as the ~~thousand mile~~thousand-mile voyage between Martinique and Cap-Français. ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's ~~plantation~~ distinct geographic and economic zones have hence been rightly ~~rightly~~ characterized as "separate islands," making the ~~colony~~ island more akin to the ~~chain of plantations islands~~archipelago of slaving markets in the eastern Caribbean through which slave ships navigated than a single locale.[16]

[16] Paul Cheney, *Cul de Sac: Patrimony, Capitalism, and Slavery in French Saint-Domingue* (Chicago, 2017), 4 ("cut off," "separate"). For Saint-Domingue's growth as a colony, see *Caroline Fick, The Making of Haiti: The Saint-Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville, 1990), 15-45; John Garrigus, *Before Haiti Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York, 2006), 21-82; Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 8-35. For ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's port towns, see David Geggus, "The Major Port Towns of ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue in the Late Eighteenth Century," in Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss, eds., *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850* (Knoxville, 1991), 87-116. For Saint-Domingue's coffee boom, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Motion in the System: Coffee, Color, and Slavery in

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~~When slave ships arrived at Saint Domingue their c~~Captains~~ommanders hence had to~~ elected ~~at~~ to which of ~~these~~ Saint-Domingue's "islands" they would ~~land their prisoners~~steer their ship when they arrived in the colony—choices that would ultimately decide where ~~in~~ those African would spend their lives. Ship owners issued orders to their captains at the outset of their voyage which typically listed where to sell people based on news of recent slave sales arriving back from ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue. These instructions were sometimes restrictive: the owner of the *Reine de Anges,* for example, instructed his captain to sail in 1742 "without loss of time" from Africa to Cap-Français~~Cap Francais,~~ and that is where the ~~slaves~~ ship's captives were sold. Most outfitters allowed their captains greater discretion to sell people at two or more ports, though, especially after the growth of in island's western and southern ports following the Seven Years' War. The *Duc de Laval's* commander was, for example, told to go to either Cap-Français ~~Cap Francais~~ or Port-au-Prince in ~~1772~~May 1773, but "excluded" from "all other~~[s],~~" ports; ~~whereas~~ the *Pompee's* owner ~~*Pompee's* captain was~~ allowed ~~to~~ the captain to land in any port that he "determined," by estimating the numbers of ships heading to "this or that destination" in Saint-Domingue while ~~he~~ the ship was still in Africa. Captains did not sail blindly searching for a market~~, though,~~ because the winds and currents pushed slave ships ~~from Africa~~ along ~~only~~ two routes to the island: the first hugged the north coast until Cap-Français ~~Cap Francais~~ came into view; the second carried vessels along the southern coast to Les Cayes. The first route was by far the most common, because captains could access not only ~~the major port of~~ Cap-Français~~Cap Francais~~, but also other markets in the island's west and southwest by following the prevailing winds around the island's short northern peninsula; those same winds made it difficult to reach other markets from Les Cayes~~, by contrast~~ because ships had to beat against them while rounding the long Tiburon peninsula to the south. C~~c~~aptains therefore typically steered for ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, where they could halt to assess the island's slave markets ~~and~~ while "refreshing" their ~~prisoners~~captive Africans,~~"~~ or pass ~~the~~ that town on the way to most of the island's other slaving ports.[17]

Eighteenth-Century ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 5:3 (Winter, 1982): 331-88. For the island's sugar growing areas, see David Geggus, "Slave Society in the Sugar Plantation Zones of ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue and the Revolution of 1791-1793," *Slavery and Abolition,* 20:2 (1999), 31-46.

[17] ~~In the first half of the eighteenth century, French captains also deliberated between landing their captives in Martinique or Saint Domingue. See the instructions for various Nantes vessels c.1729 in B5012, ADLA. For t~~The orders for the *Reine de Anges,* ~~are reproduced in see~~ Rinchon, *Van Alstein,* 82 (~~"sans perdre de temps~~without"),~~; for~~ For the *Duc de Laval,* see Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand No. ~~Ibid. 297~~982 (~~"*tout autre*~~

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When deciding whether to halt in Cap-Français ~~Cap Francais~~ or force ~~the captives~~Africans around the island, captains made a series of calculations to maximize their earnings from the sale to come. Captains first assessed the potential prices at which ~~enslaved~~ people would sell at the various ports on the island, information that they would be apprised with both before and after their arrival at Saint-Domingue. Although slave prices were principally driven by the value of tropical staples, prices for people were typically ten percent lower at Cap-Français ~~Cap Francais~~ than at the western and southern slaving ports. ~~The l~~Lower slave prices at Cap-Français ~~Cap Francais~~ were offset by the ~~fact that more buyers purchased people for~~prevalence of "cash" (*comptant*) buyers: colonists who could pay for enslaved people with the immediate delivery of specie or, more commonly, tropical staples. Securing *comptant* was a constant concern for French slave traders, who wanted to use cash returning from slave sales to pay down the considerable expenses of outfitting the vessel. More importantly, French slave traders wanted to reduce the amount of their capital which would be left in the hands of colonial slave buyers via credit sales at one or even two years, which were infamously difficult to recover from perennially indebted colonists on the other side of the ocean. ~~there than at the other ports, where credits of three to eighteen months were usual.~~ Ship owners could thus forgo higher earnings for less risky sales by selling Africans at Cap-Français~~Cap Francais~~; or they could seek higher prices, and longer waits for their returns, by sending their ships to other ports. ~~Cap Francais thus attracted the largest proportion of ships, in part, because it offered the safest and quickest returns to ship owners.~~ The availability of *comptant* was not constant, though: an influx of slave ships to Cap-Français could quickly drain the town of cash and diminish both the demand for,

~~*quartier*~~excluded" ~~.~~). ~~for~~ For the *Pompee,* see Ibid ~~. 243 (*"determine," "telle ou telle destination"*~~("determined"). For captains given latitude to proceed to other ports after stopping in Le Cap, see the 1783 instructions for the *Bonne Societe,* Ms. 2290, MMC~~AMLR~~; and the 1775 instructions for the *Nancy,* B5777, ADCM~~AMLR~~. Jan Van Hoogwerff, one of La Rochelle's largest slavers c.1775-1790, received market intelligence from ten different firms in four of ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's ports, which he then used to guide his vessels. See, Albane Forestier, "Principal-Agent Problems in the French Slave Trade: The Case of Rochelais Armateurs and their Agents, 1763-1792" (Unpublished Working Paper, Apr 2005), 16. Captains were on the African coast for such long periods that they sometimes wrote to ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue slave traders for news that they could use to guide their subsequent voyage around the island. See, for example, Duchemin, Griot & Cie to Bonaventure Tresca, Port-au-Prince, Jun 10, 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk. ~~Some colonial slave traders in southern and western ports established branch houses in Cap Français so that they could reroute vessels arriving from Africa on to other ports. See, for example, Sheridan, Gatechau & Cie to Chaurand Freres, Leogane, Apr 29 1785, 101 J 2, ADLA.~~ When the slaver *Vrais Amis* sailed a hundred miles into the prevailing winds from Les Cayes to Jérémie in 1791, it took sixteen days. The ship *Aimable Manon,* by contrast, completed the almost thousand-mile voyage from Martinique to Cap-Français in just eleven days. See Jean Mettas, Serge Daget and Michele Daget, *Répertoire des expéditions négrières françaises au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1984), I, 216, 490.

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and prices of, enslaved people, pushing arriving slavers onto the island's other ports; a drop in demand for captives at those other ports would likewise make captains stay put in Cap-Français.[18]

Enslaved people's African origins also shaped their American destinations ~~in the island~~. ~~Each of the African ports where French slave ships traded embarked captives who hailed from distinct ethnolinguistic groups. Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's colonists developed a set of stereotypes—both positive and negative—about ~~these~~ the different "nations~~,~~" of Africans, and these views ~~which~~ fed into buying decisions. Thus, captives from the Guinea Coast (*Côte-d'Or*~~cote d'or~~), and especially "Arada" people (who hailed ~~Fon speakers~~ from modern day Benin), were thought to be strong, reliable, and hardworking~~, but also warlike~~—supposedly ideal characteristics for the heavy labor on sugar plantations— but also warlike and "stingy." Colonists believed "Congos" (~~KiKongo-speakers~~ from modern-day Angola and DRC), by contrast, ~~were believed~~ to be less bellicose, but also too weak and effeminate to be "proper" for sugar work; Congos were instead supposedly suited to the comparatively lighter labor regimes on coffee, cotton, and indigo estates. ~~Slave s~~Ships carrying ~~KiKongo~~ Congo people, as a result, halted in noticeably higher numbers at ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français—the gateway to ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's coffee kingdom ~~after the 1760s~~; one ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français merchant even described the town in 1784 as "the most advantageous port for selling cargos of Congos." He did not exaggerate: sixty percent of Africans arriving from West-Central Africa were landed at Cap-Français, versus just thirty-nine percent of people from other African coastal regions; the majority of those latter people ~~Conversely, captives arriving from West Africa were more likely to be~~were shipped on to other ports where ~~sugar~~ planters had a "preference" for Africans from the ~~*Cote d'Or*~~*Côte d'or*. These were, however, preferences rather than demands;

[18] In the first half of the eighteenth century, French captains ~~also~~ deliberated between landing their captives in Martinique, Guadeloupe, Cayenne, or ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue. See the instructions for various Nantes vessels c.1729 in B.5012, ADLA. After Saint-Domingue emerged as the premier French American slave market, slave ships still put into the eastern Caribbean markets to embark food, water and medicine. See, the itineraries of vessels recorded in Mettas et al, *Répertoire*. Captains were incentivized to maximize sales earnings through a five to seven percent commission. See Forestier, "~~Pincipal~~Principal-Agent," 23. For differential slave prices at ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's ports, see David Geggus, "La Traite de Esclaves," 245. For the importance of cash buyers in drawing ships to ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, see for example, Francois Vanstabel to Bonaventure Tresca, ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, Jul 8, 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk. Some ~~colonial~~ slave traders in ~~southern and western ports~~ established branch houses in ~~Cap Français~~other ports so that they could reroute vessels arriving from Africa ~~on to other ports~~ and receive market intelligence. See, for example, Sheridan, Gatechau & Cie to Chaurand Freres, Leogane, Apr 29 1785, 101-J-2, ADLA. For the importance of cash buyers to French slave traders, see, Stein, *French Slave Trade*, 114.

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as one Port-au-Prince slave trader bluntly described after first noting his desire to purchase "Arada" people, "every nation is found to be convenient... as long as they are young and in good shape." [19]

~~The~~ As the Port-au-Prince slave trader's statement indicates, the age, ~~gender~~gender, and health of human cargoes, also ~~also~~ shaped ships' routes around Saint-Domingue's coasts. ~~As one Port-au-Prince slave trader bluntly described after first noting his preference for "Arada" people: "every nation is found to be convenient... as long as they are young and in good shape."~~. In response to ~~the~~ colonial demand, captains principally sought to purchase African men aged fifteen to thirty who were "healthy, strong [and] well made" in Africa— a *piece d'Inde* ~~*Inde*~~ in the trade's parlance. But the realities of the African slave trade meant that French captains also bought smaller numbers of "old people, women & children." ~~Although~~ French captains ruthlessly inspected people in Africa to weed out the sickly, but the unsanitary nature of the Middle Passage meant that large numbers of enslaved people sickened on the voyage—killing approximately one in eight of those embarked ~~in Africa~~. By the time a ship reached ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue, an equal proportion of the survivors were typically still in the grip of diseases; the sickliest people were on the verge of death. The ages of enslaved people also varied considerably: most Africans were aged from five to thirty, but infants at the breast, and elderly people were also carried on the ships. Africans arriving in ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue were consequently physically diverse: over a third of ~~people~~captives, on average, were female; and more than a quarter were children. ~~The ages of enslaved people also varied considerably: most Africans were aged from five to thirty, but infants at the breast, and elderly people were also carried away.~~[20]

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[19] Mesnier Freres to Bonaventure Tresca, ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, May 11, 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk ~~("*les plus avantageux a la vente des cargaisons de congos*")~~("most advantageous"). Sequineau Freres to Messieurs Emmery Pere et Fils, Port-au-Prince, Apr 21, 1784, Ibid ("every nation"). According to one Cap-Français slave factor, owners of Gold Coast slave ships even had "more certain" colonial debts because they "sell more to sugar planters" than owners of ships who sold Congo people to supposedly less-creditworthy and cash-rich coffee planters. See, Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, Cap-Français, Mar 6, 1790, Mi 505/85, AN. For colonists' ethnic stereotyp~~es~~ing, see Médéric Louis Élie Moreau de Saint-Mery, *Description Topographique, Physique, Civile, Politique et Historique de la Partie Francaise de L'Isle Saint-Domingue...* (Philadelphia, 1797), I, 25-35. For the ethnicities of enslaved people ~~origins of Saint Domingue's enslaved,~~ see, Debien, *Les Esclaves,* 39-68 ; ~~8.~~ Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, 1998); Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, eds., Trans- Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora (London, 2003); Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., Identity in the Shadow of Slavery (New York, 2009); Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links (Chapel Hill, 2009). For the landing places of captives from West-Central Africa, see https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/ETZ0zFin; for the landing places of people from other regions, see https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/k0ZvmuQq.

[20] One plantation manager stated that he had to set aside ethnic preferences and "make do with any wood" when purchasing people. See, Gabriel Debien, *Plantations et Esclaves a Saint-Domingue: Sucrerie Cottineau* (Dakar, 1962),

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The varying proportions of women and children on ~~the~~ a particular ship~~s~~ also ~~shaped~~ determined enslaved people's colonial ~~fates~~ destinations~~once they reached the Americas~~:. Ships carrying large numbers of adult men—especially the largest vessels with over three hundred or more captives—were more likely to land at the major slaving ports of Cap-Français, Port-au-Prince or Léogâne, where the men would be purchased by planters seeking captive laborers who could undertake heavy work; those same vessels avoided smaller ports such as Saint-Marc, Les Cayes, Jacmel, and Port-de-Paix, because those towns' hinterlands were principally populated by planters who lacked the capital and credit to acquire the most highly priced adult Africans. Small vessels with large numbers of children on board, by contrast, were often steered to those peripheral ports because the middling planters who lived nearby could afford to purchase adolescents at lower prices; according to one contemporary, Africans landed at Les Cayes were "almost always" people "of a poor choice or infants." The same observer added that Saint-Domingue's southern ports received the "refuse" of the island's northern and western districts.[21] ~~"Cap Francais attracted the largest proportion of male slaves," David Geggus has found, whereas peripheral Les Cayes drew ships carrying more children.~~[22]

48. For the selection of captives on the African coast, ,Mr. Chambon, *Traité générale du commerce de l'Amérique...* (Amsterdam, 1783), II, 399 ("healthy," "old"); Louis de Grandpre, *Voyage a la cote occidentale d'Afrique, fait dans les années 1786 et 1787* (Paris, 1801), II, 53-57. For the varying proportions of men, women and children, as well as the differing numbers of healthy and sickly people, on the ships, see the numerous reports of arriving slave ships in the correspondence from Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, Cap-Français, c.1785-1791, Mi 505/85, AN. For the concept of the *pieces d'Inde,* see Johnson, *Wicked Flesh,* 80-1. For the ages and genders of captives arriving in Saint-Domingue, see https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/Xly6mQrK.

21 Saint-Mery, *Description,* II, 685 ("almost always"). As Saint-Mery explained, the French state placed a hundred livre bounty on every African brought to the colony to incentivize the slave trade to southern Saint-Domingue. Because the bounty equally applied to both adults and children, as well as the sickly and healthy, it incentivized the shipping of so-called refuse slaves to the region. Large numbers of enslaved people were shipped from the British and French Caribbean islands to Saint-Domingue's smaller ports, depressing the demand for French slave ships to sail there directly from Africa. See, for example, Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, Cap-Français, Mar 10, 1785, Mi 505/85, AN. For age and gender shaping slave ships' destinations, see also Geggus, "French Slave Trade," 127.

~~22 Sequineau Freres to Messieurs Emmery Pere et Fils, Port au Prince, Apr 21, 1784, Ibid ("*arada qui sont prefers dans ce quartier... toutes les nations... pourvu qu'ils soient jeunes et en bon etat*"). Geggus, "French Slave Trade," 127 ("Cap Francais). One plantation manager bluntly stated that he had to set aside ethnic preferences and "make do with any wood" when purchasing people. Gabriel Debien, *Plantations et Esclaves a Saint-Domingue: Sucrerie Cottineau* (Dakar, 1962), 48 ("*il faut faire fleche de tout bois*"). For the selection of captives on the African coast, and the concept of *piece de indie,* see, Mr. Chambon, *Traité générale du commerce de l'Amérique...* (Amsterdam, 1783), II, 399 ("*des veillards, des femmes & des enfans*"); Louis de Grandpre, *Voyage a la cote occidentale d'Afrique, fait dans les années 1786 et 1787* (Paris, 1801), II, 53-57. The proportion of men, women, and children varied considerably between ships: the *Roi d'Akim,* which arrived at Cap Francais in March 1785, carried 99 women of whom 31 were over forty-five years old; 50 of the 385 captives were also ill (*malades*) (Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, Cap Francais, Mar 4, 1785, Mi 505/85, AN, Paris). For Les Cayes drawing "les rebut" of other slaving ports, especially children, see Saint-Mery, *Description,* II, 685.~~

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~~Although enslaved people's age, gender, and ethnicity were important, h~~**Enslaved people's health was also an important determinant of their**~~ealth was the key factor that shaped a ship's~~ destination in ~~Saint Domingue~~**Saint-Domingue**. Captains understood that ~~their prisoners' value~~**enslaved people's sale value** was ultimately a factor of ~~their health~~**their condition**, and so enervating ~~additional~~ voyages **around the island** threatened to reduce **prices and** profits **by maiming the captive Africans**. As one slave ship owner ~~observed~~ **ordered** ~~to~~ the captain of the *Duc de Laval* in 1773, "the state of your cargo must also serve as a guide" when deciding whether to remain at ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français** or "descend" to another port **to the south**. Ships carrying sickly people tended, therefore, to stay put in ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français** or Les Cayes rather than seeking potentially elusive higher prices elsewhere. The *Dame Elisabeth and Victoria,* for example, arrived in ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français** in June 1784 and was forced to remain ~~there~~, rather than proceeding to Port-au-~~-~~Prince **as planned**, because two hundred of the six hundred people embarked in Africa had perished of scurvy, and seventy of the survivors were terminally ill. Two years later, 150 people were **likewise** sold from the *Mercure* at Cap-~~-~~Français instead of proceeding around the island **because**~~.~~ ~~T~~the Africans were "almost all blind" after ~~contracting illnesses on the Middle Passage and had survived~~ a hellish voyage in which 350 of their shipmates had been murdered by the crew "because of a lack of provisions." Conversely, ships carrying supposedly healthy Africans were more likely to be forced on to other, more distant, markets; a week after the *Mercure's* arrival, a ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français** firm sent ~~*L'*~~*Aimiable Aline* on to Port-au-Prince, where a more lucrative sale was expected for its "superb cargo" of 426 people. **Slave ship captains were, however, motivated solely by profit rather than concern for their human cargo, and so they mercilessly pushed back out to sea if they assumed they could still obtain higher profits elsewhere. When the ship *Néréide* arrived in Cap-Français, for example, its 251 captives—the survivors of 302 embarked on the African coast—had "nearly all… caught the smallpox, and some others also contracted the dysentery." The captain nonetheless forced the captives to undertake the weeklong voyage to Léogâne, because there were not enough cash buyers at Cap-Français to make up for the lower slave prices offered there.**[23]

[23] **Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand No. 982** ~~Quoted in Rinchon, *Van Alstein,* 297 ("*L'état de votre cargaison doit aussi vous server de guide pour rester ou descender*"~~**("the state")**. For the *Dame Elisabeth et Victoria* stopping at ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français**, see Mesnier Freres to Bonaventure Tresca, ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français**, Jun 27 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk. ~~For the *Mercure,* see~~ Mr de Cocherel to Chaurand Freres, St Marc, Mar 29 1786, ADLA, 101-J-3 **("almost all", "because of")**. ~~For the *Aimiable Aline,* see~~ Guilbaud Gerbin to Chaurand Freres,

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In addition to determining where Africanspeople's would be carried future lives, voyages around Saint DomingueSaint-Domingue's coast were formative experiences for the enslaved Enslaved people thus began thebecause they commenced the long process of acclimatization to American slavery even before they left the ship.. During the Middle Passage, captive Africans were permanently surrounded by the boundless ocean, leading many to believe that they would be trapped aboard the vessel before being eaten by their white captors and baffled as to their impending fate; some, especially those from inland regions of Africa, believed they would be eaten by the white crew. Anchoring in port and sailingVoyages around the islandSaint-Domingue's coasts enabled Africans to look from the deck of the ship and start to gain an clearer sense appreciation of their impending fates. Some ships anchored in Cap-Français for a week or more—a period when the enslaved could observe the nearby town and surrounding shipping from the deck and interact with a variety of visitors to the vessel, both enslaved and free. While the ship remained at anchor, captains sometimes sold a portion of their human cargo, and so Africans suffered wrenching separations from shipmates who they would likely never see again. Once a slave ship put back out to sea, it hugged the coast for around a week, allowing enslaved people a clear view of the land ashore—including plantations and enslaved workers.When the *Bosquet d'Or* passed Cap Francais on the way to Saint Marc in June 1790 the vessel remained close to the shore, allowing its 401 captives a clear view of plantations and towns, as well as numerous other ships. Enslaved people thus began the process of acclimatization even before they left the ship. Although short, these Iintra-colonial voyages were could also be deadly, though, as they elongated the Middle Passage. Eleven people perished on the four days that it took for the ship *Bosquet d'Or* to reach Saint MarcSaint-Marc from Cap FrancaisCap-Français, for example; twelve captives died on the *Suzanne Marguerite's* week-long voyage from Cap FrancaisCap-Français—where the ship had temporarily anchored so that the captain could collect market intelligence—to Port-au-Prince in 1776. The bodies of these Africans, which the crew unceremoniously hurled into the sea, would have littered Saint Domingue's coast—were gruesome markers of slave ship captain's attempts to obtain the highest possibleprofit from the sale pricessales for their prisonersof enslaved people, even if meant maiming and murdering them on tortuous voyages around the island.[24]

Cap FrancaisCap-Français, Mar 29 1786, ADLA, 101-J-3 ("superb"). Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, Cap-Français, Mar 9, 1785, Mi 505/85, AN ("nearly all").

[24] For enslaved people's fears of being cannibalized, see Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery,* 122-152. For the *Bosquet d'Or's* voyage, see Nathaniel Cutting Journal and Letterbooks, 1786–98, July 9, 1790, Massachusetts Historical

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The Saint-Domingue colonists ~~who inhabited Saint Domingue's numerous plantation zones were~~to whom slave ships such as the *Bosquet d'Or* and *Suzanne Marguerite* were directed were ~~socially and racially~~socially and racially diverse. At the pinnacle of society sat the *grands blancs:* the planters (*habitants*) and merchants (~~*negociant*~~*négociants*) who possessed the lion's share of the island's wealth, as well as, in the case of the *habitants,* most of the island's ~~500,000~~ enslaved ~~laborers~~, who numbered approximately 455,000 by 1789. Beneath this elite were the *petits blancs:* small-scale planters, plantation managers, and, in the towns, myriad tradespeople and functionaries. By 1789, the island's socially stratified *blancs* numbered ~~32~~38,000, just over half of whom lived in ~~the island's~~ port towns. ~~An almost equally large population of 24,000 f~~Free people of color (*gens de couleur libres*), who numbered 27,500 by the same year, comprised an important third bloc of free residents, albeit one that faced constant discrimination from the *blancs.* Despite their racial and social differences, ~~Although starkly divided, Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's free ~~free~~ colonists ~~were united by their aspiration to~~shared an aspiration to own and exploit enslaved people—the bedrock of the island's "seemingly endless prosperity." The island's ~~Slave~~ slave traders hence organized sales that were purposely designed to enable ~~these~~ socially ~~various groups of free~~diverse colonists to ~~all purchase people~~acquire physically diverse captive Africans.[25]

The process of selling people began the moment ~~Once~~ a vessel reached its final destination ~~in Saint Domingue,~~ in Saint-Domingue. ~~It~~ The ship was first boarded by a doctor and a surgeon who assessed the health of the ~~captives~~ Africans to ensure that they were not carrying communicable diseases such as smallpox. If it cleared quarantine, the ship then anchored a mile out in the harbor so ~~the vessel's foul~~its stench would not waft over the town. Captives in particularly poor health—those stricken with scurvy, gastroenteritis, and ~~small pox~~smallpox—were immediately rowed ashore and

Society, Boston, Jun 21- 26, 1790. For ships travelling along ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's coast, see also Livre de bord de *L'Africain* (1766-1767), March 13-16, 1767, No. ~~R~~971, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand. *Journal de traitte... du navire la Suzanne Marguerite...*" Apr 27- May 9, 1776, E280, AMLR. The lengths of voyages around the island varied considerably depending on prevailing winds and currents: Cap-Français to Port-dePaix, 1-3 days (avg= 2 days); to Saint Marc, 2-10 (6); to Port-au-Prince, 3-15 (8); to Leogane, 4-11 (7); to Petit-Goave, 6 (6). For voyage lengths, as well as the periods that ships spent in port, see field ten within Mettas et al., *Repetoire,* I-II, which records French slave ships' itineraries. For the sales of captives in Cap-Français before a ship put out to sea again, see Ibid., I, 772, 812, 1008.

[25] For ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's stratified free society, see ~~Caroline~~ Fick, *The Making of Haiti: ~~The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below~~* (~~Knoxville, 1990~~) 15-25, 22 ("seemingly"); ~~John~~ Garrigus, *Before Haiti ~~Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue~~* (~~New York, 2006~~), 21-82; Stewart King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue* (Athens, 2017).

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lodged in hospitals, where they received treatment from enslaved and white doctors. Given that so many Africans arrived in poor health, large numbers of people were typically ~~imprisoned~~ held in these hospitals ashore; between August 1782 and January 1783, for example, 672 Africans were held in ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français' hospital (*maison de santé ~~sante~~*)—approximately a tenth of the town's population. Meanwhile, their supposedly healthy shipmates remained trapped aboard the ship to prevent their escape ashore. The routine aboard the ship did not change appreciably from the Middle Passage, with the Africans still imprisoned below deck at night, and forced to "dance" and eat above during the day. However, proximity to land meant that they now received large quantities of fresh provisions, including bread, yams, rice, beans, plantains, citrus fruit, ~~small quantities of~~ meat, and fresh water, —an energy- and protein-rich diet ~~welcome relief to the monotonous diet and constant dehydration of the Atlantic crossing~~that was meant to quickly "repair" (*refaire*) the emaciated and dehydrated Africans prior to their sale.[26]

While their prisoners remained trapped aboard the ship, the captain and a colonial factor began to organize the sale. ~~They~~ The two men first selected a day on which the sale would open, which was typically a week after the vessel's arrival—a period that was meant to be long enough to allow potential buyers to come to the port from the countryside, but not so long that large numbers of sickly Africans would perish aboard the ships. When captives arrived in particularly poor health, though, factors rushed to open the sale to extract maximum value from the Africans before they further deteriorated; the survivors of the scurvy-stricken voyage of the *Dame Elisabeth & Victoria* were offered for sale just three days after reaching ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, for example. Factors used the ~~wait~~ period before the sale's opening to launch an advertising campaign that was designed to draw large numbers of buyers. ~~When the *Telemaque* arrived at Cap Francais in August 1764, t~~The factor hired enslaved people to paste up ~~fifty~~ posters (*placards*) around the port town and hired enslaved people to ~~distribute~~ carry ~~a~~ hundreds of letters to potential buyers in ~~planters in the~~ the

[26] Quoted in Rinchon, *Van Alstein,* 317 ("repair"). For quarantine, the anchoring places of slavers, and the landing of sickly slaves ashore, see, Saint-Mery, *Description,* II, 404; I, 481. For ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français' *maison de ~~sante~~santé*, see, Ibid., I, 415-6. ~~For the custom of selling slaves from the ships, see Rinchon, *Van Alstein,* 192.~~ At least two attempts were made to move sales ashore into specially constructed slave markets (*Bazars pour la vente de negres*), the first in 1764 and the second in 1783/4. Both were thwarted by complaints from ~~slave ship captains and~~ French ~~slaving~~ merchants. See, Saint-Mery, *Description,* I 557-8. The ~~captives from the *Telemaque*~~*Télémaque's* captives were fed potatoes, bananas, lemons, 1,245 pounds of meat, and four cow's' heads ~~(*tetes de boeuf*)~~ before and during their sale in ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français. ~~See, Rinchon, *Van Alstein,* 118.~~The *Duc de Laval's* 347 Africans, by contrast, received salt cod, five thousand oranges, bananas, yams, beans and rice; the starches were ordered in the largest quantities, indicating that they were likely the captives' staple diet while in Cap-Français. See, No.982, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand.

~~nearby *plaine du norde*~~adjacent countryside. These advertisements were deliberately vague: they typically detailed the ship's name, the number and purported origin of the Africans, and the date of the sale's opening. Absent was any information on the captives' health, age, or gender ~~of the captives~~, which buyers would have to discern only by attending the sale.[27]

As buyers flocked to the port, the factor and ~~the~~ captain ~~sorted (*alotti*) the slaves according to~~prepared the Africans for the coming sale. ~~what one witness called their "age, strength, and vigour."~~ The ~~Africans~~ captives had already been sifted between the healthy and the sickly when the ship arrived in the port, but people who had recovered were returned ~~abaord~~aboard; ~~captives~~ people who fell sick prior to the sale's opening were taken to the hospital. The division between males and females~~, which had prevailed since the ship was in Africa,~~ continued ~~aboard~~ while the ship was in port~~,~~ as the barricado *(ramade)*—a wooden wall that bisected the ship's main deck—remained in place (Figure 2). Girls were imprisoned with the adult women behind the ~~barricado~~wall, whereas boys were held either with the women or the men, depending on the numerousness of the latter. Divided by their health and sex, the naked captives were forced to gloss themselves with oil and shave, something that was meant to make them look uniformly healthy. Meanwhile, the crew ~~converted the ship into a floating sales platform by removing~~cleared the deck of obstacles ~~ropes, barrels, cannon, and chains~~ and ~~erecting~~ erected a "pavilion" ~~on the quarter deck~~at the rear of the vessel: a table draped in a white cloth laden with food and alcohol that was shielded by an ornate awning, under which buyers could negotiate their purchases of people with the factor and captain. By the time a sale was due to open, the ship was hence designed to appear like an orderly and inviting marketplace:

[27] The lengths of time between a ship's arrival and the opening of the sale has been calculated by examining the arrival and sale opening dates of 403 vessels c.1765-1791 advertised in the ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français newspaper *Les Affiches Americains.* The paper principally (299/403) covers ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français sales, but also some arrivals at Port-au-Prince (78/403); Leogane (15/403); Saint Marc (6/403); Les Cayes (3/403); and Fort Dauphin (1/403). *Les Affiches Americains'* notices of a ship's arrival also acted as advertisements for the coming sale, as they included the name of the selling agent, the date the sale opened, the captives' ethnicity and, often, vague language extolling their health, such as "une tres-belle cargaison." For the sale of the *Dame Elisabeth et Victoria's* captives, see Mesnier Freres to Bonaventure Tresca, ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, Jun 27 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk. For the marketing of ~~the *Telemaque's*~~ sales, see the detailed expenses at Cap-Français for the *Telemaque* and *Duc de Laval* in No.982, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand~~Rinchon, *Van Alstein*, 118~~. A letter sent by the ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français firm ~~the~~ Poupet ~~Brothers~~ Freres on March 27, 1785, informed potential buyers that the *Iris* with "850 blacks," had "just anchored in this harbor" and that they would "open the sale on Thursday, the thirty-first of the present month." They added that they "will offer you with pleasure those slaves which you might need" (Quoted in Stein, *French Slave Trade*, 112).

the Africans would be massed on the deck, naked and gleaming with oil, while the factor and captain were dressed in ~~fine clothing~~their finery ready to welcome buyers.[28]

[28] No.982, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand ~~Rinchon, *Van Alstein,* 114~~ ("*pavillon*"), ~~(193 ("*alotti*").~~ The expenses for the *Duc de Laval's* sale included the purchase of "razors" and "lances," that were presumably employed to prepare the captives' bodies. See, ibid. ~~For the sorting of captives, see also Ducouer Joly, *Manuel des Habitans de Saint-Domingue...* (Paris, 1802), I, 13-14 (*"son age, sa force, et sa vigueur"*).~~ The division of the slaves according to their sex and the banquet for the buyers is clearly visible in the image in figure 2, which was drawn by the captain and first mate of the vessel. See, Bertrand Guillet, *la marie-séraphique navire négrier* (Nantes, 2010).

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Insert Figure 2 here

Once the ~~captives had been divided~~**ship had been prepared**, ~~the factor and captain assigned~~**captives were assigned** a staggered series of ~~prices to them~~ according to **what one witness called their "age, strength, and vigor."** ~~their physical characteristics.~~ As in Africa, a healthy male person aged fifteen to thirty—a *piece~~s~~ d'Inde*—was used as a benchmark to value healthy women of the same age; colonists priced children according to their age, with boys valued higher than girls. ~~When 401 people were sold from the *Reine de France* at Cap Francais in April 1744, for example, men were priced at 1,800 livres; women 1,600, boys 1,200, and girls 1,100.~~ At the opening of the *Africain's* sale in ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français** ~~twenty years later~~**in 1767, for example,** men were priced at 1,500 livres; women at 1,400; boys between 1,300 and 1,100, depending on their age; and girls 1,200 to 1,000. **Within each price category, discounts were offered to buyers who could pay in cash; the *Ulisse's* captain offered a discount of 100 livres to buyers who paid all in cash, versus those paying a third in cash and the rest in credits of three to six months.** By contrast, the elderly, adolescent and the sickly—who colonists labeled either the refuse (*rebut*) or the tail of the cargo (*queue de cargaison*)—sold for lower prices that buyers determined depending on a person's condition, with the prices of healthy captives in the same age and gender category as a yardstick. Captives were thus shunted into different price categories depending on their age and gender but also because of their experience on the Middle Passage, as one particularly terrible case illustrates: an enslaved women an **eight-year-old** ~~d young~~ girl were sold for "a very low price" in ~~Saint Domingue~~**Saint-Domingue** because a crewman had brutally raped them **both** on the crossing. When infectious diseases broke out on a ship, or a vessel carried larger numbers of children or older people, ~~the majority of~~**most** ~~the~~ captives ~~could~~ **would** be placed in lower price categories. On the *Dame Elisabeth et Victoria* just 140 of the 346 ~~survivors~~ **Africans** were sold ~~at premium prices~~ as *pieces ~~des~~ d'Inde~~indies~~;* most ~~*of the Africans*~~ *were* instead ~~sold~~ **vended** at heavy discounts because they were recovering from scurvy or were adolescent~~s~~. By contrast, **on** the *Reine de France,* which carried few children and completed the Middle Passage without an epidemic breaking out, just three of the 401 Africans were sold at reduced prices.[29]

[29] ~~For the sorting of captives, see also~~ Ducouer-Joly, *Manuel des Habitans de Saint-Domingue...* (Paris, 1802), I, 13-14 (**"age, strength and virgor**~~*"son age, sa force, et sa vigueur"*~~). Quoted in Stein, *French Slave Trade,* 101 ("very low"). For the pricing of people, see **also** Ducouer-Joly, *Manuel,* 13-14. ~~Sales Invoice for *La Reine de France,* 401 people sold at Cap Francais, Apr 29- May 20, 1744, No.965, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand; *L'Africain,* 378 people sold at Cap Francais, Mar 19- 4 Apr, 1767~~**For the *Africain*, see** No.973, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand. **For the**

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On the sale's first day, the factor fired off a cannon several times to "announce" the sale's opening and the colonists were rowed out to the ships to select captives. "Skimming" from the ~~massed Africans~~**human cargo** by privately picking out specific numbers of people prior to the sale**'s** official~~ly~~ opening was generally not permitted; buyers instead simultaneously selected from the Africans on deck "in competition with one another," as one ~~Cap Francais~~**island** slave trader explained. Buyers hence boarded the ship together, ~~selected~~ **pulled** ~~captives~~ **Africans** ~~from~~ **from those massed on deck**~~the crowd~~, and then subjected them to intimate and humiliating inspections: they looked closely at people's teeth, hair, breasts, and limbs; and made them shout and respond to commands barked by enslaved assistants speaking the Africans' language (Figure 2). ~~Captives~~ **People** deemed sickly, too old, or too young were roughly shoved aside; selected Africans were grouped together and hauled to the factor and the captain. ~~While grazing on the buffet, t~~**T**he colonists **then** negotiated the prices and terms at which the captives would be sold—~~a point~~ at which ~~sales~~ **point the deal** frequently broke down. On February 27, 1792, for example, American slave trader Nathaniel Cutting, accompanied by two friends, were rowed out **from Cap-Français** to the ship *La Belle,* "to purchase a Lot of Slaves." The men "selected a lot of 15 [men]" and then went to negotiate their price with the ~~factor~~**factor**, who wanted 1,800 livres for each person. Cutting and his friends were angry that the same factor had offered "a Choice at 1,700" livres the week before, and that the factor now "insisted on such an extravagant price." "He would not close the Bargain," Cutting continued, and so his friend "gave up the Lot." Enslaved people rejected by one buyer were thrust back ~~in amongst the captives~~ on the deck, where they picked over by other buyers; when Cutting rejected the men, another buyer "chose some of the best" from amongst them. ~~Colonists who did close a sale were rowed ashore along with the~~**Purchased Africans were rowed ashore** ~~ir prisoners~~ in boats ~~hired by the factors and~~ manned by slaves **or ship crewmen, along with their buyers**. Africans were subjected to this humiliating and traumatic process of inspections, negotiations, and separations from shipmates every day except Sunday until everyone was sold, at which point the ship was loaded with a cargo for its return to France.[30]

***Ulisse,* see *Les Affiches Americains,* Aug 1, 1766.** For the *Dame Elisabeth et Victoria's* ~~s sale~~, see Francois Vanstabel to Bonaventure Tresca, ~~Cap Francais~~**Cap-Français**, Jul 8, 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk. **For the *Reine de France,* see No.965, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand.**

[30] Ducouer-Joly, *Manuel,* 13 (~~"s'announce~~**announce**"). Sheridan, Gatechau & Cie to Chaurand Freres, Leogane, Nov 4 1783, ADLA, 101-J-1 (~~*"Decremer;"*~~**("skimming,"** ~~*"en concurrence les uns en autres"*~~**"in competition"**). The next day, Cutting and his friend went to a different slave ship in the harbor "to purchase some slaves" but could find "none of suitable quality." Disappointed, they "came ashore imme[diately," and walked to a ~~slave~~ factor's office where they "bargained with him for 15 Slaves," the "choice" of the ship *Conquerant's* human cargo. Buyers hence visited different

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Although buyers competed when purchasing people, the process of selling people occurred in phases that enabled different groups of ~~colonial~~ buyers to enter the sale at distinct moments and acquire people at varied price points. ~~Factors initially permitted only those who could afford the high prices established for the healthiest adult captives to enter the sale. As a result, t~~The "custom" in Saint-Domingue was, according to one slave trader, ~~for large numbers of the most affluent~~ *grands blancs*—~~usually~~ often those able to pay~~ing~~ with some cash—to be "the first to buy~~."~~." In the middle portion ~~of the sale~~, from around the fourth day onwards, buyers*~~purchasers~~* sporadically visited the ship to pick out either individuals or small groups of people from the captives who remained—especially children and people recovering from illnesses who had been rejected by buyers on the first day. In the sale's third and final phase the factor tried to sell the "tail of the cargo" (*queue de cargaison*)—the sickly, adolescent, and elderly people who had been repeatedly rejected by other buyers or had languished in the hospital throughout the sale~~. These last people~~ were sold in bulk to close the sale, often in exchange for generous terms of credit which stretched to ~~two or even three years~~over a year. Prices of people—and the prevalence of cash buyers—were hence high when the sale opened, as the healthiest adult captives were ~~purchased~~taken, and then ~~plunged~~ dropped as the sale went on~~precipitously at the en~~, when ~~d, as~~ their sickly shipmates were sold at heavy discounts on long credits. At the *Africain's* 1767 sale in Cap-Français, for example, 181 people were vended for 1,369 livres each, on average, in the first three days of the sale, with thirty-seven percent of payments made in cash. Between days four and nine, prices per person fell to 1,296 livres and just nineteen percent of remittances were cash. In the sale's closing seven days, sixty one people were sold for just 968 livres each, just over a fifth of which was in cash.~~Although most purchasers entering sales in these different stages were men, women also acquired Africans, sometimes in large numbers; Jeanne Drouillard de Volunbrun, for example, bought sixteen children from the *Agreable* in 1790, perhaps to force them to work in a tobacco manufactory in Port-au-Prince. Women also assisted male buyers by selecting female captives, as a surviving image of a slave sale clearly shows (see the second detail image in Figure 2).~~[31]

ships in harbor seeking out enslaved people who met their requirements. See, Nathaniel Cutting Journal and Letterbooks, 1786–1798, Feb. 27, Feb. 28, 1792, Massachusetts Historical Society. For buyers leaving ships "without having taken anything," see also Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, Cap-Français, Mar 10, 1785, Mi 505/85, AN.

[31] Sheridan, Gatechau & Cie to Chaurand Freres, Leogane, Nov 4 1783, ADLA, 101-J-1 ~~*("custom," "les premier a acheter").*~~("custom," "first to"). ~~-~~ Slave traders understood well that ships carrying large numbers of sickly Africans would entail longer sales and require the extending of credit to buyers. See, for example, the correspondence regarding the *Aimable Aline* in Guilbaud, Gerbier & Cie to Chaurand Freres, ~~Cap Français~~Cap-Français, Dec 27,

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Distinct classes of buyers entered the sale ~~its~~ in its different phases~~three stages~~ (Table 1). ~~The seven invoices detail the sales o~~Of 2,~~240~~ 261 people sold from ships for which an invoice recording the buyers' occupation is extant, ~~of whom 1~~1,~~181~~ 385 were purchased by planters (~~sixty-one~~sixty-one percent of the total); ~~450~~ 502 by merchants (~~twenty-three~~twenty-two percent), ~~252~~ 304 or fourteen percent by *petit blancs* (white buyers who were neither merchants nor planters), ~~(thirteen percent),~~ and ~~68~~ 70 by free people of color (three percent). Non-planters therefore bought significant numbers of captive Africans in Saint-Domingue. The invoice for the *Africain,* which record the sales of 378 people at ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français in 1767, ~~illustrates~~ reveals ~~well~~ how these categories of purchasers tended to buy ~~came into the sale~~ at different moments. Of the fifty-one purchasers in the first three days of the sale, most were planters (twenty-eight people) or merchants (fifteen); few other whites (four) or free people of color (four) bought in this initial phase. Between days four and nine, the buyers were much more mixed: ~~*other whites*~~*petits blancs* (thirteen buyers) now outnumbered planters (eleven) and merchants (ten) as the most numerous groups. The closing portion of the sale, which took seven days, saw an equally varied group of people enter the ship, but merchants (three of the fifteen buyers) now took over half of the sixty-one Africans. The invoice for the *Agréable*~~*Agreable*~~, from which 186 people were sold at ~~Port au Prince~~Port-au-Prince in 1790, shows a similar trend: planters were most numerous in the sale's first phase (eight of fifteen buyers), but dwindled in number (thirteen of thirty-six buyers) during the second and third phases, when ~~*other whites*~~*petit blancs* (seven), free people of color (seven) and merchants (five) collectively predominated. Although most purchasers entering sales in each of these different stages were men, women also acquired Africans, sometimes in large numbers; Jeanne Drouillard de Volunbrun, for example, bought sixteen children from the *Agréable* in 1790, perhaps to force them to work in her

1787, ADLA, 101/J/3. For the *Africain's* sale, see No.973, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand. Diminishing prices and increasing credit sale over time are ~~clearly~~ evident in almost every surviving invoice for Saint-Domingue slave sales. ~~In addition to the seven invoices detailed in~~ for which, see note seven~~, see also,~~ and the sales invoices for the *Moresse,* ~~272 people sold at Port de Paix, 1755,~~ (HCA30/256, TNAUK); ~~*L'Aimable Jeanne,* 280 people at Cap Francais, 1756,~~ (HCA30/255, TNAUK); *Robuste,* ~~504 people at Cap Francais, 1778,~~ (HCA32/205, TNAUK); and *Pere de Famille,* ~~555 people at Port au Prince, 1784,~~ (Château des ducs de Bretagne - Musée d'histoire de Nantes, 944.19.6(16)). ~~; *Pere de Famille,* 578 people at Port au Prince, 1788, Château des ducs de Bretagne - Musée d'histoire de Nantes, 944.19.6(12).~~ For the different classes of buyers in Saint-Domingue, and especially their ability to pay cash, see the 1772 memorial of the slave traders of ~~For de Volunbrun, see, Martha S. Jones, "Time, Space, and Jurisdiction in Atlantic World Slavery: The Volunbrun Household in Gradual Emancipation New York," *Law and History Review,* 29:4 (Nov. 2011): 1031-60.~~Bordeaux reproduced in Rinchon, *Van Alstein,* 317.

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tobacco manufactory in Port-au-Prince. Women also assisted male buyers by selecting female captives, as a surviving image of a sale clearly shows (Figure 2).[32]

Insert Table 1 here

Each of these categor~~y~~ies of buyers ~~also~~ tended to purchase ~~specific groups of enslaved people~~Africans with particular physical characteristics. Planters paid high prices so that they could obtain adults and males who could perform heavy agricultural labor; the few "children" they acquired were usually teenagers (Table 1). Planters also purchased people in groups, rather than singly, because they ~~usually~~ sought large numbers of ~~new~~ forced laborers for their estates: just 5~~8~~4 of the ~~219~~ 260 planter purchasers (twenty-~~five~~ two percent) bought a single person, and the average group size was five people. Merchants took larger groups, averaging seven people, but sometimes numbering as ~~many as~~ thirty or more individuals, that included greater numbers of children. Like planters, merchants principally acquired male Africans, perhaps because they aimed to later resell them to ~~*habitants*~~planters. The lower prices paid by merchants (1,~~561~~ 692 livres per person versus 1,~~752~~ 890 ~~by~~ for planters) indicates that they targeted ~~both the~~ sickly, elderly and ~~the~~ adolescent Africans—the so-called "refuse" (*rebut*). ~~*Other whites*~~*Petits blancs*, by contrast, often acquired people individually (~~forty-six~~fifty-six of ~~eighty-eight~~109 buyers), or in small groups that averaged just three ~~captives~~. They paid ~~almost as high prices as planters~~slightly lower prices for people compared to planters ~~and so they presumably sought healthy~~, likely because they sought teenagers or children of both sexes ~~Africans who would be able to perform skilled labor, usually teenagers or young adults~~. Although few compared to *blancs*, free people of color constituted an important fourth group of buyers: they were the most apt to buy people singly (twenty-~~one~~ two of ~~fifty-seven~~thirty-seven buyers), acquired the highest proportion of ~~African children, the fewest males~~women and children, but paid

[32] For the *Africain,* see No.973, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand. ~~Sales invoices for the *Agreable,* 186 people sold at Port-au-Prince, Feb 26 – Apr 1, 1790~~For the *Agréable, see,* Fonds Ancien, 66 S 142/Extrait/2, Archives Bordeaux Metropole~~; *L'Africain,* 378 people sold at Cap Francais, Mar 19- 4 Apr, 1767, No.973, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand~~. The other ~~three~~ invoices that detail buyers' occupations~~, but~~ are not dated~~,~~ and so it is not possible to undertake a similarly granular analysis ~~with those documents~~of the stages of those sales. They are nonetheless ordered sequentially from the first buyer to the last, revealing a broadly similar pattern to the *Africain* and ~~*Agreable*~~*Agréable* sales. Merchants purchased, for example, 98 people in the second half of the *Bellicombe's* sale, versus 68 ~~captives~~ people in its first half. See, ~~"Compte de vente faitte [sic] au Cap par Poupet Freres & Compa de 499 tetes de Negres formant la Cargaison Introduite par le Navire Le Bellecombe..." Apr 25- May 29, 1785,~~ 924.9.1, Château des ducs de Bretagne - Musée d'histoire de Nantes. For de Volunbrun, see, Martha S. Jones, "Time, Space, and Jurisdiction in Atlantic World Slavery: The Volunbrun Household in Gradual Emancipation New York," *Law and History Review,* 29:4 (Nov. 2011): 1031-60. See also, Arlette Gautier, *Les Sœurs de Solitude, Femmes et esclavage aux Antilles du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Pairs, 1985); Bernard Moitt, *Women and Slavery in the French Antilles, 1635-1848* (Bloomington, 2001)

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~~equally~~ almost as high prices for those people as ~~whites~~merchants and *petits blancs*, implying that their captives were healthy.~~.~~ Africans were thus channeled ~~from the ships~~ to different groups of colonial buyers largely according to their physical characteristics.[33]

The entire sales process (defined as the time elapsed between the sale of the first and last ~~captive~~African) was generally drawn out (Table 2). The average length of ~~eighteen~~ ten sales conducted c.1744-~~1790~~ 1791 was ~~thirty-three~~forty-one days—over ~~almost exactly~~ half the length of the seventy-day Middle Passage; once an exceptionally long sale is removed from the sample, the average length was still a month. A typical slave sale in Saint-Domingue was clearly much more drawn out than the single day "scramble" that have drawn historians' attention in the British Americas ~~once the week wait in port prior to the sale's opening is included~~. ~~That~~ The forty-one day average masks considerable variety, however: the shortest was just three days (403 people sold from the ~~*Jeremie*~~*Jérémie* at Les Cayes in 1787); whereas the longest stretched for over four months (272 captives sold from the *Moresse* at Port-de-Paix in 1756). This variety is explained by the fluctuating demand for enslaved people in Saint-Domingue and the sporadic supply of captives from Africa: when demand was high, and few ships were in, enslaved people were quickly purchased; when demand fell, often after a glut of vessels had arrived, sales dragged. The physical condition of human cargoes also partially drove the lengths of sales, with ships carrying large numbers of healthy people selling quickly, and those vessels with sickly, elderly, and adolescent people taken much longer. Enslaved people's health and age was also important at the level of individual ships: healthy adult Africans were typically sold within a few days of a sale opening, whereas the "tail of the cargo" spent weeks—and sometimes months—trapped aboard ships in Saint-Domingue's harbors or in hospitals ashore.[34]

[33] The selectiveness of planter purchasers is evident from a variety of sources. In ~~in t~~he Laborde plantation censuses: the average age of 392 Africans purchased from the ships was just twenty-one; very few (38/392) of the Africans were below sixteen, and even fewer (3/392) were over thirty (HCA30/881; HCA30/884, TNAUK). When the attorney for a sugar plantation acquired six captives, he likewise purchased "beautiful and strong" men aged 23-28 from the *Marie Seraphique* for 1,600 livres per person. See, Debien, *La Sucrerie Cottineau,* 48. The age range of Africans who eloped from plantations after their sale was also narrow: of twenty-nine people for whom an age is provided, all were fifteen or over, and only two individuals were over thirty. Finally, the attorneys for one of the island's largest sugar estates informed the plantation owner that they had not purchased people from a La Rochelle ship because they "were not given the opportunity to choose on the first day." See, Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, Cap-Français, Jul 12, 1789, Mi 505/85, AN.

[34] The lengths of sales are detailed in the invoices within table 2, as well as those for the *Reine de France* (No.965, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand), *Télémaque* (Ibid.). *Pompee* (Ibid.), *Moresse* (HCA30/256, TNAUK), *Levrette* (HCA30/257, TNAUK), *Seine* (F/5851, Archives du Calvados), and *Patriote* (3E 24107, ADG). The *Achille's* sale is recorded in Mettas et al., I, 347. And those of the *Seduisant, Brune, Dame Elisabeth et Victoria,*

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Because enslaved people were held within sales for such long periods, ~~Although some sales, like the *Jeremie's*, were concluded quickly, enslaved people—especially the *rebut*—thus typically spent long periods trapped aboard the ships in Saint Domingue's harbors. Captives could, therefore, continue~~they continued the process of ~~acclimation~~ seasoning that had begun when the slave ship first coasted to the ports. Tens, and sometimes over a hundred, buyers descended on ships during sales, both enslaved and free, and so enslaved people had ample opportunity to interact with the island's diverse colonists; the painting of the *Marie-Serpahique's* sale clearly shows enslaved people speaking to enslaved people, presumably in those captives' natal language. They could therefore glean information on their likely fates, as well as the strange new world to which they had been taken. ~~: because they were imprisoned on deck during the day, they could see the nearby shipping and, in the distance, the port town; frequent visits by colonists, both enslaved and free, also allowed captives to interact with their enslavers.~~ As Africans were purchased, captives faced wrenching separations from their shipmates; those who remained behind would have formed stronger bonds with the dwindling number of people aboard the ship, with whom they no doubt anxiously discussed their own impending sale. Sickly captives were brought ashore to recuperate, and so those who survived their illnesses would have spent long periods within Saint-Domingue's urban spaces before being returned to the ship to be sold. As with the voyage around the coast, though, many Africans perished during ~~their imprisonment in ports~~sales, especially when they stretched for long periods; ~~:~~ fifty-six of the 346 people who completed the *Dame Elisabeth et Victoria's* hellish voyage to ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français died ashore, for example. The Africans who survived the often-lengthy and always traumatic process of sale in ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's ports thus must have left the ships with a dreadful sense of the various fates that awaited them.[85][86]

Saint Esprit, Baron de Binder, Brune, and *Pauline* are reported in the letters of Bonaventure La Tresca (Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk); Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux (Mi 505/85, AN); and the Chaurand Freres (ADLA, 101J1-5, 101J8, 101J16-17). For the average length of the Middle Passage, see https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/xaKFcUwU). For single-day "scramble sales," see for example Kelley, "Scrambling"; Rediker, *The Slave Ship*, 152–53; Byrd, *Captives and Voyagers*, 59–61.

[85] For the deaths of the captives from the *Dame Elisabeth et Victoria,* see Mesnier Freres to Bonaventure Tresca, Cap-Français, Aug 31, 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk. Of 672 sickly Africans landed in Cap Français' hospital from the ships between August 1782 and January 1783, 110 perished, further indicating that large numbers of captives died before sales were concluded. See, Saint-Mery, *Description,* I, 416.

[86] ~~The lengths of sales are detailed in the invoices within table 2, as well as the correspondence between Saint Domingue slave factors and French slave traders (Bonaventure Tresca Papers, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk; and Foache, Morange and Harvilliers to Maurice Begouen Demeaux, c.1785-1790, Cap Francais, MI505/85, AN, Paris. For the average length of the Middle Passage, to Saint Domingue (seventy-nine days), see https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/xaKFcUwU https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/d7g9FO4q). For the deaths of the captives from the *Dame Elisabeth et Victoria,* see Mesnier Freres to Bonaventure Tresca, Cap Francais~~Cap-

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Insert Table 2 here

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Enslaved Africans' ~~fates~~ destinies after departing ~~the ships~~sales were extremely divergent because they were purchased by such a wide array of colonists ~~in Saint Domingue~~. The majority of ~~Africans~~ captives were rowed away from the ships with groups of their shipmates by planter purchasers, usually ~~soon after the sale commenced~~within a week of the sale opening, and then set on the road towards their new owner's' ~~habitation~~estates; Africans were moved, on average, twenty-two miles to plantations, an approximately two to three day march (Tables 3 & 4). ~~Because each slaving port connected to an extensive hinterland of plantations,~~As enslaved people marched in different directions away from the ports, some stayed proximate to ~~enslaved people were taken to a plethora of destinations, both near and far~~their shipmates while others were scattered across the island, never to see their compatriots again. ~~Captives leaving the ships in Cap Francais were, for example, marched to habitations that stretched across a 2,500 square mile expanse of northern Saint Domingue; Africans carried from ships at Les Cayes and Port-au-Prince were taken into more compact hinterlands, but were nonetheless still taken long distances (Table 3). While some plantations within these zones were proximate to the ports, most were located approximately a two- or three-day march from the ships; Africans were taken, on average, twenty miles to habitations (Table 4)~~. Of the 182 captives landed at Port-au-Prince and taken to plantations from the *Agréable* and *Madame,* for example, thirty-seven were brought to locales within the fertile sugar growing district that adjoined the port; the rest were taken to plantations on the island's west coast or along its long Tiburon peninsula—some over a hundred miles from each other. Captives left Cap-Français and were marched to a similarly extensive hinterland that stretched for 2,500 square miles from the eastern border with Santo Domingo to Port-de-Paix in the west. Many Africans would, nonetheless, have been moved to locales near to at least some of their shipmates. Fifty of the 134 people marched from the *Africain* to plantations in 1767 headed to the coffee-growing districts of Dondon and Grande-Rivière-du-Nord which were within five miles of each other; twenty-seven others headed to the neighboring sugar growing parishes of Limonade and Trou-du-Nord. While these Africans would have likely been able to remain in contact with each other, at least within their respective

~~Français, Aug 31, 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk. Of 672 sickly Africans landed in Cap Français' hospital from the ships between August 1782 and January 1783, 110 perished, further indicating that large numbers of captives died before sales were concluded. See, Saint-Mery, *Description,* I, 416.~~

zones, they would have likely never seen shipmates who were taken to Port-de-Paix and Gros Morne, which were over thirty miles to the west of Cap-Français; they certainly would not have remained in contact with their two compatriots who were taken to Grande Colline, which was on the island's southern peninsula.[37]

Insert Table 3 here

Insert Table 4 here

Although short compared to other stages of enslavement, such as the often-lengthy march to the African coast, forced marches to plantations were ~~formative~~ important stages in the enslaved experience~~s~~. Having come ashore naked, Africans were handed clothing and provisions and then trudged through the port ~~towards~~ on ~~the~~ roads that led to the adjoining countryside. Captives therefore had an opportunity to witness the hustle and bustle of European-style cities, including the activities of their thousands of enslaved and free residents. Once out of the towns, Africans ~~had to slog~~slogged along poorly maintained roads ~~into the countryside~~, a particularly arduous endeavor for people who had been imprisoned aboard crowded and unsanitary ships for several months. Africans destined for ~~*habitations*~~ plantation in the hills and mountains faced particularly grueling marches, as they had to ascend two or three thousand feet above sea level—around the height of the Appalachian Mountains. The routes to many plantations wended through rugged hills and dense forests, but escape was difficult, likely because of the combination of disorientation, weakness from the enervating Middle Passage, and a desire to remain with shipmates. Enslaved people were nonetheless able to gain further insights on the ~~strange new~~ land to which they had been brought as they passed ~~plantations~~through plantations and towns, ~~especially~~ including the labor of ~~captives in the fields~~enslaved workers in the fields ~~and the tyranny of resident whites~~.[38]

While the majority of Africans trudged on foot to plantations ~~towards plantations~~, some of their shipmates faced much longer journeys ~~to *habitations*~~ via the sea. Each of ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-

[37] For the *Agréable,* see Fonds Ancien, 66 S 142/Extrait/2, Archives Bordeaux Metropole; for the *Madame,* see 924.19.5, Château des ducs de Bretagne - Musée d'histoire de Nantes. For the *Africain,* see No.973, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand.

[38] For the experiences of enslaved Africans as they were moved out of the towns from the ships, albeit in South Carolina, see O'Malley, "Slavery's Converging Ground." Of the 178 fugitives assessed here, just one fled on the road from the slave ship to a plantation: a twenty-year old Congolese man eloped on the road from Port-au-Prince—where he had been sold from the slave ship *Railleur*—to the plantation district of Mirebalais. See, *Les Affiches Americains,* Jan 10, 1788.

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Domingue's slaving ports connected, via water, to satellite ports that acted as gateways to neighboring agricultural zones. Slave ships seldom anchored at these minor ports, and so planters often obtained captive laborers at the major slaving ports, and then shipped them around the coast. Twenty-five people from the ships *Madame* and ~~*Agreable*~~*Agréable* ~~at Port-au-Prince~~ were, for example, shipped from Port-au-Prince to Nippes, ~~Jeremie~~Jérémie, and ~~Baradères~~Baraderes—all of which were reachable via an approximately hundred-mile voyage along the island's ~~long southern arm~~southern peninsula. Africans were dispatched on ~~equally~~ sometimes longer voyages from ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français to plantations adjoining Port-a-Piment, Port-de-Paix, Port-Margot, Jean-Rabel, Grande Colline, ~~Leogane~~Léogâne, and Les Cayes. The size of this coastwise slave trade is difficult to estimate, but it was clearly large enough to populate entire plantations ~~in peripheral parts of the island~~, as the censuses for the Laborde plantations. ~~The Laborde sugar plantations~~, three adjoining sugar estates that collectively comprised the largest ~~habitations~~ plantation on the island by the 1791 Revolution, show. Laborde's three sugar plantations were located in the fertile Plaine-à-Jacob just seven miles from Les Cayes—where twenty-seven thousand captive Africans were landed before 1791. Despite proximity to a slaving port, Laborde principally ~~were, for example, principally~~ peopled his plantations via the intra-island slave trade. Between 1769 and 1791, ~~Laborde's~~ his attorneys purchased 2,273 people, of whom 1,507 were Africans ~~acquired~~ from ~~slave~~ the ships. The landing places for 540 Africans are known, and they show that they were not purchased locally; ~~. Although Laborde's plantations were just seven miles from Les Cayes—where twenty-seven thousand captive Africans were landed before 1791—his managers purchased few people there: of 540 Africans acquired c.1769-1789,~~ just thirty-six of those individuals ~~were~~ were landed ~~in~~ in Les Cayes~~locally~~. The majority (444/540) were instead obtained ~~from~~ in ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, including thirty survivors of the *Roi Dahomet's* voyage. Africans destined for Laborde's plantations were therefore boated ashore in large groups numbering as many as seventy-five from slave ships ~~such as the *Roi Dahomet*~~, imprisoned in port for approximately a week, re-embarked on ~~large~~ coasting vessels that carried them three hundred miles around the island to Les Cayes, and then marched seven miles to the plantations~~the *habitations*~~. While undertaking these approximately two-week coasting voyages, the Africans were clothed, issued tobacco and pipes, and fed a monotonous diet of salt cod, biscuits, and rice, which they consumed with wooden spoons. While they never left the confines of Saint-

Domingue, enslaved people thus undertook seaborne voyages that were exactly like those of captive Africans within the intra-American slave trade.[39]

~~Once~~ Whether they reached plantations on foot or by sea~~plantations~~, ~~enslaved people~~captive Africans all faced the misery of being integrated into agricultural forced labor camps. ~~*Habitants*~~ Planters routinely branded newly ~~arrived~~ purchased people~~Africans~~, and so captives had the name of their new owner seared into their flesh, usually on their breast, shoulder, or arm. French slave traders also branded Africans with the initials of the slave ship, and so many captives had multiple brands; two men carried on the *Sainte Anne* to Saint-Domingue had the "mark of the ship" on their arm, as well as REVERDY branded on them by their new owner Madame Revery, a planter in Jérémie, for example. After being branded, Africans were ~~then~~ renamed, provided with tools such as a hoe, and forced to grow their own food in designated "provision grounds." Planters proscribed a long period of light work for Africans during the so-called "seasoning" period, but most people were thrust quickly into the field where they toiled from sun-up to sun-down under the eye of a brutal overseer for the remainder of their lives. Whipping, starvation and, for women, serial sexual abuse were commonplace, especially for vulnerable and supposedly rebellious Africans. Large numbers of recently arrived Africans fled the horrors of their new prisons as soon as they had the strength, often in company with their shipmates; ~~Of~~ of ninety-five Africans who fled habitations who can be traced back to the ships that carried them, eighty-two eloped ~~so~~ within six months of their arrival in the colony. ~~most~~ Most escapees were quickly recaptured, but some escaped permanently to become *maroons* in the hills and forests that surrounded the plantation districts.[40]

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[39] For the acquisition of the 540 captives ~~for the Laborde estates~~, see Bernard Foubert, "L'origine des esclaves des habitations Laborde" in Pierre Pluchon and Philippe Hrodej eds., *L'esclave et les plantations de l'établissement de la servitude à son abolition : hommage à Pierre Pluchon* (Rennes, 2009), 103-123. Foubert only analyzed the landing places of people purchased from ships co-financed by Laborde. Laborde's slave censuses ~~show~~ confirm that he ~~also~~ acquired his other captives primarily from ~~Cap Français~~Cap-Français: of 392 Africans imprisoned on the three plantations in 1791, just eighty had been landed at Les Cayes. The majority (281/392) were instead obtained from ~~Cap Français~~Cap-Français (288/392) or ~~Port au Prince~~Port-au-Prince (24/392). See, "Etat des Negres et Negresses, Negrillons et Negrittes existent sur la Premier habitation de Monsieur de Laborde le 31 xbre 1790," HCA30/884~~, The National Archives (UK), Kew (hereafter,~~ TNAUK~~)~~; "Etat General des Negres, Negresses, Negrillons, et Negrittes, existent sur la troisieme habitation de Monsieur de la Borde le premier Janvier de la annee 1791," HCA30/381, TNAUK. For the shipping of captives around the island, see Poupet Freres, Gumer & Gauvan to Jean-Joseph Laborde, Cap-Français, Jun 2, 1791, HCA30/381.

[40] For the experience of "nouveaux" Africans on plantations, see Debien, *Les Esclaves,* 69-84. ~~The prevalence of planters branding Africans in Saint Domingue is clear from fugitive advertisements, where most of the runaways had their owners surname (sometimes with the location of their plantation) seared onto their flesh, usually on the shoulder or breast. French slave traders also commonly branded their prisoners with the initials of the slave ship, and so many Africans in Saint Domingue had multiple brands. Of ninety-five Africans who fled *habitations* who can be traced back to the ships that carried them, eighty-two eloped so within six months of their arrival in the colony.~~ For *maroonage,* see

Although there were commonalities in ~~their~~ the plantation experience~~s~~, Africans' ~~subsequent~~ lives often ~~nonetheless~~ deviated ~~considerably~~ from each other ~~because~~ when they were taken to ~~habitations~~ estates that grew different crops, and hence had very different labor regimes and social structures. ~~The 277 Africans sold from the *Jeremie* at Les Cayes were, for example, forcibly distributed to sugar (131 captives), coffee (84), and cotton (62) plantations.~~ Africans arriving at Les Cayes, Port-au-Prince ~~and~~ or ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français ~~were~~ were ~~likewise~~ enslaved on ~~both~~ sugar, ~~and~~ coffee estates, indigo and cotton estates in varying proportions depending largely on the prices of those commodities on world markets~~sometimes, such as during the "coffee boom" of the 1760s, in equal numbers~~. ~~.~~ The *Duc de Laval's* captives, for example, were principally taken from Cap-Français to indigo and cotton plantations in 1775 because planters were eagerly putting those crops in to seize rising prices and profits; few of the Africans from the same ship went to sugar (14 people) or coffee (8 people) estates, by comparison. Sixteen years later, the 277 Africans sold from the *Jérémie* at Les Cayes were taken to sugar (131 captives), coffee (84), and cotton (62) plantations, whereas none were marched to indigo estates, the boom in that commodity having ended before it reached the south of the island. The paths that Africans took to these estates would powerfully shape their lives. ~~Africans~~ People enslaved on ~~taken to~~ sugar plantations ~~such as the Laborde estates~~ performed the heavy labor of planting, harvesting, and processing cane on plantations that were usually located in low lying plains and river valleys. ~~Relentless sugar~~This relentless work killed many Africans soon after their arrival; of 540 ~~captives~~ people taken to Laborde's plantations c.1769-1789, just 181 were living in 1791, for example. Yet, with over a hundred~~around a hundred~~ enslaved ~~prisoners~~ people on each sugar estate, Africans could enmesh themselves within large slave communities ~~on sugar plantations~~; even with the horrendous mortality rates, all of the Africans taken to Laborde's plantations had at least one shipmate living alongside them in 1791, as well tens and even hundreds of people who spoke the same natal African language. By contrast, Africans who trekked up to the coffee *fazendas* spent their days tending, picking, raking, and hauling coffee, usually in small ~~slave~~ communities of around thirty people ~~that were nestled high in the hills~~. The few captives who were forced into ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's nascent cotton kingdom undertook the comparatively light, but nonetheless intensive, labor of picking cotton alongside a dozen prisoners in small plantations nestled within the island's lowlands. Africans on coffee and cotton

~~also,~~ Bernard Foubert, "Le marronage sur les habitations Laborde à Saint-Domingue dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 95:3 (1988): 277-310; Fick, *The Making of Haiti,* 46-75. ~~.~~For Reverdy's slaves, see *Les Affiches Americains,* Apr 26, 1775.

plantations may have escaped deadly sugar work, but they had fewer opportunities to integrate into large slave communities and suffered closer supervision from white planters who were more likely to be resident on site. ~~While l~~Life on ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's plantations was always hard, but it ~~thus~~ varied considerably depending on the type of ~~habitation~~ plantation to which people were taken.[41]

Africans purchased by merchants—the second largest buyers of arriving Africans after ~~habitants~~planters—took very different paths from the ships. These "~~s~~Speculators," as they were often labeled by island slave traders, sought profits by acquiring elderly, sickly, or adolescent people ~~Africans~~ from the ships for low prices wholesale, and then retailing them at higher prices, sometimes in ~~often~~ distant markets. ~~By the eve of the Revolution, factors in Saint Marc were said to be making substantial profits by purchasing arriving Africans and then reexporting them to Cuba. Those people hence faced a harrowing six hundred mile "Final Passage" in small boats to Havana, where they were resold to Spanish planters.~~ Because the domestic demand for captives was typically high, relatively few Africans were shipped off the island to foreign markets~~, though~~. ~~More commonly~~Instead, merchants sought profits by reselling Africans in other markets on the island, especially those seldom visited by slave ships. ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français merchants dispatched enslaved people to ~~nearby ports seldom visited by slave ships,~~peripheral ports such as Port~~-~~de~~-~~Paix and Gonaïves ~~Gonaives~~ to the west, or Fort~~-~~Dauphin to the east, ~~or~~ and sometimes to the larger ports to the south, such as ~~Saint Marc~~Saint-Marc, Port-au-Prince or Les Cayes. Port-au-Prince's ~~*negociant*~~*négociants* likewise shipped people to ~~Jeremie~~Jérémie, ~~Leogane~~Léogâne, Gonâve ~~Gonave~~ ~~I~~island, and Petit-Goâve~~Petit Goave~~. ~~Merchants dispatched comparatively few healthy adult Africans on these voyages because planters usually purchased those people early in the sale at premium prices. *Negociants* instead purchased elderly, sickly, or adolescent people in bulk from the *queue de cargaison* towards the end~~

[41] ~~Sales Invoice for the *Jeremie,* 401 people sold at Les Cayes, Feb 12- 15, 1791~~For the *Jérémie,* see~~,~~ African American History collection, Box 1, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. For the *Duc de Laval,* see No.982, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand. At the *Africain's* sale in 1767, planters from the coffee growing districts purchased more people (65) than ~~habitants~~ those from the sugar growing *plaine du norde* (47), likely because the island's "coffee boom" was then in full swing. See, ~~Sales Invoice for *L'Africain,* 378 people sold at Cap Francais, Mar 19- 4 Apr, 1767,~~ No.973, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand. For mortality on the Laborde plantations, see Foubert, "L'origine des esclaves;" "Etat des Negres et Negresses, Negrillons et Negrittes existent sur la Premier habitation de Monsieur de Laborde le 31 xbre 1790," HCA30/884, ~~The National Archives (UK), Kew (hereafter~~ TNAUK~~)~~; "Etat General des Negres, Negresses, Negrillons, et Negrittes, existent sur la troisieme habitation de Monsieur de la Borde le premier Janvier de la annee 1791," HCA30/381, TNAUK. For the differing sizes of coffee and sugar plantations, see Trouillot, "Motion," 346-49. For comparative labor régimes, see Debien, *Les Esclaves,* 95-104; 147-61.

~~of the sale, offered them rudimentary health care, and then resold them. These~~ Merchants engaged in the island's internal slave trade~~traders~~ typically resided in port towns, and so they marched Africans short distances from the ships or hospitals towards stores, warehouses, and cellars in the city where ~~they~~ those Africans would be held before they were transported elsewhere or resold~~; .~~ ~~T~~the Molire brothers, who purchased eight young boys from *~~Al'~~Africain* in 1767*,* for example, resided on Rue Espagnole, ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français' main thoroughfare, which was –a mere five hundred yards from the quayside. Other merchants took people ~~their prisoners~~ to supposedly more healthy locations outside the towns to recuperate. Andre Laujon, for example, entered ~~Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's slave trade in the 1780s after being told by a planter friend that it would be profitable to buy captives from the "tail of the cargo" who had "various illnesses," at low prices. He was instructed to "look after them some time," and "take great care" of them by allowing them to "convalesce" on a plantation, where they "would not be engaged in any work." Laujon followed his friend's advice and purchased six people "belonging to the tail of the cargo" who he clothed and lodged on his friend's plantation near ~~Saint Marc~~Saint-Marc. ~~Merchants thus imprisoned large numbers of so-called "refuse" Africans both within port towns and in the adjacent countryside.~~[42]

[42] Mesnier Freres to Bonaventure Tresca, ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, Aug. 23 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk (~~« speculateurs »~~"speculators"). ~~By the eve of the Revolution, factors in Saint Marc were said to be making substantial profits by purchasing arriving Africans and then reexporting them to Cuba. Those people hence faced a harrowing six hundred mile "Final Passage" in small boats to Havana, where they were resold to Spanish planters.~~ A de Laujon, *Souvenirs de trente annees de Voyages a Saint-Domingue...* (Paris, 1835), 294-6. ~~Laujon's friend also advised him that he could also profit by purchasing runaway slaves from the jail, and then collecting the rewards for their return from their masters. Laujon accordingly purchased four people from the jail and lodged them with the sickly Africans.~~ The intra-American slave trade database records just 3,469 people being carried from Saint-Domingue (see, https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/PQOWuUgW). Although this figure underestimates the numbers of people carried off the island, Saint-Domingue's external slave trade was nonetheless miniscule compared to that of other markets. Even so, factors in Saint Marc were said to be making substantial profits by purchasing arriving Africans and then reexporting them to Cuba on the eve of the 1791 Revolution. Those people hence faced a harrowing six hundred mile "Final Passage" in small boats to Havana, where they were resold to Spanish planters. ~~For the reexport trade from Saint Domingue, s~~See Nathaniel Cutting Journal and Letterbooks, 1786–1798, Dec 28-29, 1791, Massachusetts Historical Society. ~~The intra-American slave trade database records just 3,469 people being carried from Saint Domingue (see, https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/PQOWuUgW). Although this figure underestimates the numbers of people carried off the island, Saint Domingue's external slave trade was nonetheless miniscule compared to that of other markets.~~ For ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français merchants shipping Africans to Saint-Marc and Port-au-Prince, see Guilbaud, Gerbier & Cie to Chaurand Freres, ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, Mar 29, 1786, 101/J/3, ADLA; Francois Vanstabel to Bonaventure Tresca, ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français, Aug 14, 1784, Le musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk. Because of Les Cayes' peripheral location cut off from other ports by the prevailing winds, few Africans were purchased by merchants there: of the 403 people sold from the ~~*Jeremie*~~*Jérémie*, for example, just eight were acquired by ~~*negociant*~~*négociant*s. See, African American History collection, Box 1, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor~~Sales Invoice for the *Jeremie*, Les Cayes, Feb 12- Feb 15, 1787~~. For Port-au-Prince merchants carrying people to other ports, see for example *Les Affiches Americains,* May 22, 1776. For the *Africain,* ~~Sales Invoice for *L'Africain,* 378 people sold at Cap Francais, Mar 19- 4 Apr, 1767,~~see No.973, Fonds D'Hoop, Archives de l'Etat belge a Gand.

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Africans often spent long periods in the hands of ~~*negociant*~~***négociants*** such as Laujon before being resold. Two men, one almost forty years old and "almost exhausted" and the other around thirty and "scarred by small pox," purchased from ~~the~~ *Belle* ***Provençale*** ~~*Provencale*~~ in April 1778 were held for three months within a Port-au-Prince merchant's house before they eloped together, likely saving them from being offered for sale. A "slender" man from ~~the~~ *Prince de Lamballe* was likewise held by a Port-au-Prince ~~*negociant*~~***négociant*** for six months in February 1768 before he escaped. Captives often faced taxing ocean voyages in between these long ~~spells of~~ imprisonments. Four months after they were landed at Port-au-Prince in May 1776, four men from ~~the~~ *Cigogne* were shipped forty-five miles to **Gonâve Island** ~~Gonave Island~~ where their ~~*negociant*~~***négociant*** ~~captor~~ **owner** presumably aimed to resell them. Once Africans had recovered from their illnesses, merchants sold them at a sometimes-hefty profit; Laujon sold all six of his captives once they were "perfectly recovered," a transaction that "turned out wonderfully" ~~*(tournerent a merveille)*~~ in his words. Because Africans ~~like Laujon's prisoners~~ were sold as and when they recovered, often to colonists who could not afford to buy directly from the ships, captives acquired by merchants commonly emerged from ~~Saint Domingue~~**Saint-Domingue**'s internal slave trade alone and far from where they had originally landed. Many died of their illnesses before they could be resold, though**, and so**~~;~~ myriad people must have died on the boats that carried *le rebut* around ~~Saint Domingue~~**Saint-Domingue**'s coast **and been cast into the sea**.[43]

Compared to the groups of people who were taken long distances from the slaving ports by merchants and planters, Africans purchased by ~~*other whites*~~***petits blancs*** and free people of color traveled the least distances alongside the fewest of their shipmates. Their buyers were typically residents of the port towns where the ships anchored, and so they landed ~~their~~ **newly purchased people**~~prisoners~~—usually **in groups of** three ~~Africans~~ or less—ashore and walked them a few hundred yards to their residences. Africans were purchased by a **remarkably** diverse array of ~~people~~**colonists**; apothecaries, bakers, boatmen, butchers, carpenters, clockmakers, coopers, **hydraulic engineers,** innkeepers, locksmiths, shopkeepers, millwrights, painters, roofers, saddlers, ship captains, **shoemakers,** stonemasons, surgeons, tailors, tapestry makers, and wigmakers all bought enslaved people. Given that ~~Saint Domingue~~**Saint-**

[43] *Les Affiches Americains,* Feb 17, 1768 ("~~fluette~~**slender**"); May 22, 1776; Apr 28, 1778 ("~~marqué de petite vérol~~**almost, "scarred**~~e," *presqu'exténué*~~"). ~~Laujon, 297 (*"tournerent a merveille"*).~~ The four men from the *Cigogne* fled **Gonâve** ~~Gonave on~~**in** a boat and got ashore at Montrouis—thirty-six miles north of Port-au-Prince. **Laujon, *Souvenirs*, 297 ("perfectly," "turned").** Laujon's friend also advised him that he could ~~also~~ profit by purchasing runaway slaves from the jail, and then collecting the rewards for their return from their masters. Laujon accordingly purchased four people ~~from the jail~~ and lodged them with the sickly Africans.

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Domingue's whites ~~all~~ relied on enslaved people's ~~to undertake labor~~labor, ~~tradespeople~~ *petits blancs* likely purchased Africans to apprentice them to their trades. In August 1766, for example, a twenty-one-year-old man who had been carried to ~~Saint Marc~~Saint-Marc in the *Prince d'Angole* two months earlier fled his carpenter enslaver while carrying "several carpenters tools." A year after arriving at Les Cayes aboard the *Vestale*, a fifteen-year-old Congolese boy was likewise described as "a little wigmaker," presumably having been trained by his new master in peruke making. Henri Dubuisson, an actor in a Port-au-Prince theatre troupe also purchased, in January 1784, an African man, presumably to assist with his performances, which includes the loosing of fireworks of his own manufacture. ~~City dwellers bought Africans—especially young men and boys—were thus entered into a remarkable variety of trades shortly after their arrival in Saint Domingue. O~~other Africans~~s~~, particularly women and girls, ~~were also purchased by city dwellers—especially those in official and clerical occupations—~~to work as domestics; when Nathaniel Cutting boarded a slave ship at ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français in January 1792, for example, his companion wanted "a Young negro Girl" who would be employed "to serve in his Family." The numerous innkeepers who bought African children no doubt sought captives to wait tables and clean the rooms. And Rose, a twelve-year-old Congolese girl enslaved by a ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français painter in 1770, was perhaps forced to perform household service, but that may have included mixing paints, preparing canvases, and even acting as a model.[44]

~~At first glance,~~ Africans enslaved ~~within Saint Domingue's port cities~~by *petits blancs* had ~~comparatively better opportunities than captives who were marched to~~very different experiences compared to those individuals who were bought by ~~plant~~ers ~~or~~and ~~acquired by~~ merchants. They did not face arduous several-day forced marches to plantations, or deadly sea voyages to ports; they instead walked for a few minutes from the dockside to their new homes. Neither did they have to perform the deadly work of growing and harvesting crops under a tropical sun; Africans enslaved in towns instead often undertook domestic or skilled labor, such as barrel making, carpentry, masonry, and even lock-

[44] The professions of slave buyers are drawn from the fugitive advertisements in *Les Affiches Americains* ~~(Mar 20, 1784 (boulanger); Mar 24, 1784 (~~, Aug 27, 1766 ("~~plusieurs outils de Menuisier~~several"); ~~Apr 27, 1779 (*couvreur*); Apr 9, 1774 (*aubergiste*); Mar 1, 1775 (*serrurier*);~~ Nov 25, 1777 ("~~un peu perruquier~~a little wigmaker"~~); Sep 6, 1786 (*charpentier de moulins);* May 12, 1770 (*peintre*))~~"); and the ~~seven~~ eight sales invoices detailed in note seven. Nathaniel Cutting Journal and Letterbooks, 1786–1798, Jan. 1, 1792, Massachusetts Historical Society ("Young," "to serve"). Although relatively few Africans were moved permanently into the cities from each ship the constant influx of people via the slave trade ~~vessels likely~~played an important role in growing ~~drove the growth of~~ Saint-Domingue's port cities ~~in Saint Domingue~~. Between 1771 and 1791, for example, 186,000 Africans were dragged to ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français. ~~The imprisonment of~~If a tenth of those people were retained in the city by *petit blancs,* ~~in the city~~it would account for the quadrupling of ~~Cap Francais~~Cap-Français' slave population in the same period, from 3,636 in 1771 to 12,613 by the eve of the Revolution. See, Geggus, "Major Port Towns," 105. The temporary ~~imprisonment~~ holding of Africans in ships, hospitals and the warehouses of merchants ~~also~~ further ~~temporarily~~ swelled the island's urban population ~~of the island's port towns~~.

and clock-making. Whites often hired slaves out to perform skilled labor, and so Africans were provided opportunities to roam the city with relative liberty, including attendance at the bustling Sunday slave markets. ~~They~~ City dwellers could therefore connect with ~~the~~ thousands of other Africans ~~who inhabited Saint Domingue~~Saint-Domingue's cities, ~~including their numerous shipmates and groups of co-linguists who had arrived on other vessels. Captives could, therefore, find~~making it easier to find friends, relatives, and, later, spouses ~~from among this community, making it easier to reconstruct their shattered lives~~. Africans ~~apprenticed to trades~~who learned a trade also often had the chance to earn small sums by hiring themselves out with which they could acquire possessions and even their freedom—an opportunity that was rarely available to those enslaved on plantations. The biography of one such person acquired by a *petit blanc* is particularly illuminating. In March 1730, Aloou Kinson, a sixteen-year-old African boy, arrived at Cap-Français aboard the slave ship *Valeur* along with 103 other men, women, and children. Kinson was purchased by stonemason Monsieur Thoumaseau, who saw promise in the boy's "intelligence" and apprenticed him to his trade. Six years later, Kinson—now baptized Jean Jasmin—was forced to help build the infrastructure of the rapidly growing plantation colony using his newly learned trade: he built prisons that held rebellious enslaved people and gunpowder magazines to keep munitions that colonists could use to crush rebellions. In return for this work, Kinson received, in 1741, his liberty and adopted the name Jean Thomazeau. He subsequently married Catherine, an African woman who had likewise been dragged to the colony via the slave trade, and soon freed her. As a free man, Kinson continued his ascent: he constructed a substantial charity hospital (*l'hospice de Jasmin*), and purchased several plots of farmland and a town house near Cap-Français' docks. He also acquired twelve people—likely Africans from the ships—to tend patients in his hospital, work his farm plots, and serve Kinson and his family as domestics. When he died in 1790—a year before Saint-Domingue's slaves rose in rebellion—Aloou Kinson had thus established himself as a propertied member of the colony's free-black community via his skilled work as a mason.[45]

Africans enslaved ~~in the towns~~by *petit blancs* thus had opportunities that were not usually available to plantation slaves, but they nonetheless faced equally difficult lives as their shipmates. Urban slaves usually lived and worked alongside their new master and so they were under a much greater degree of scrutiny than captives on plantations, who inhabited separate slave villages when not in the fields.

[45] For urban slavery in Saint-Domingue, see David, Geggus, "The Slaves and Free People of Color of Cap Français," in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury eds. (Philadelphia, 2013), 101–21; Annette Joseph-Gabriel, "Mobility and the Enunciation of Freedom in Urban Saint-Domingue," *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 50:2 (Winter, 2017): 213-229. For Kinson, see Saint-Mery, *Description,* I, 416-9; Joseph-Gabriel, "Mobility," 220-25.

Tyrannical, violent, and sadistic masters could, therefore, constantly torment their ~~African~~ victims; enslaved women and girls were at particular risk of serial sexual assault. **Prior to buying his freedom, Kinson may well have spent eleven years being tyrannized by his master Monsieur Thoumaseau.** Travelling the city to perform hired work, errands, or to visit friends was also dangerous, because the cities were thickly populated with whites who threatened, beat, raped, and sometimes even murdered Africans. While the cities provided access to ~~the largest and most concentrated~~ **myriad** Africans communities ~~on the island~~, ~~they~~ **urban spaces may** ~~also, perversely, may~~**nonetheless** have been the most difficult environments to adapt to culturally, because masters forced their victims to quickly learn **Creole** ~~French~~ languages and customs. ~~While myriad pathways of forced migration snaked out from slave ships and across Saint Domingue, they thus carried~~ Africans ~~to~~ **thus faced highly divergent—but** equally harrowing~~—destinations~~**fates after emerging from Saint-Domingue's slave trade.**[46]

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~~In March 1730, Aloou Kinson, a sixteen-year-old African boy, arrived at Cap Francais aboard the slave ship *Valeur* along with 103 other men, women, and children. By reaching land, Kinson had survived the horrors of enslavement in Africa, forced marched to the coast, and the deadly Middle Passage. He now faced another ordeal, though, when, a week after his arrival in the colony, he was offered for sale. Although most of the captives were seized by planters and merchants, Kinson faced a different fate: he was purchased by stonemason Monsieur Thoumaseau, who saw promise in the boy's "intelligence" and apprenticed him to his trade. Six years later, Kinson—now baptized Jean Jasmin—was forced to help build the infrastructure of the rapidly growing plantation colony using his new skills: he built prisons that held rebellious enslaved people and gunpowder magazines to keep munitions that colonists could use to crush rebellions. In return for this work, Kinson received, in 1741, his liberty and adopted the name Jean Thomazeau. He subsequently married Catherine, an African woman who had likewise been dragged to the colony via the slave trade, and soon freed her. As a free man, Kinson continued his ascent: he constructed a substantial charity hospital (*l'hospice de Jasmin*), and purchased several plots of farmland and a town house near Cap Francais' docks. He also acquired twelve people—likely Africans from the ships—to undertake the labor on his various properties; his prisoners tended patients in the hospital, worked his farm plots, and served Kinson and his family as domestics. When he~~

~~[46] For urban slavery in Saint Domingue, see David, Geggus, "The Slaves and Free People of Color of Cap Français," in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury eds. (Philadelphia, 2013), 101–21; Annette Joseph-Gabriel, "Mobility and the Enunciation of Freedom in Urban Saint-Domingue," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 50:2 (Winter, 2017): 213-229.~~

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~~died in 1790—a year before Saint Domingue erupted in flames—Aloou Kinson had thus established himself as a propertied member of the colony's free-black community via his skilled work as a mason.~~[47]

~~Kinson's biography illuminates the~~**A** ~~complexity~~ **complex, well organized, and extensive slave trade operated within Saint-Domingue that powerfully shaped the lives of its enslaved victims**~~of the paths that captive Africans were forced to take into slavery in Saint Domingue~~**. That trade was designed to take the hundreds of slave ships that arrived at the island from Africa, and efficiently route them to the myriad ports that lined colony's extensive coast. Colonial slaving merchants also successfully operated sales that were purposely set up to vend hundreds of ethnically and physically diverse Africans to a plethora of colonial buyers who ranged enormously in their social and economic status. As a result, entire shiploads of people, sometimes numbering over five hundred, were quickly and efficiently taken from the ships and distributed into the hands of slave holders across the island, some of whom were over a hundred miles from the point where the slave ship arrived. Forced movement through this sophisticated trade was an important, and yet largely overlooked, aspect of captive Africans' experience of enslavement. Enslaved people endured sometimes lengthy voyages around Saint-Domingue's coasts, extended periods anchored in colonial ports, traumatic and drawn out sales, and then long marches or sea journeys to the homes of their buyers. Given the lengths of time that Africans—especially the so-called refuse—spent undergoing these journeys, they had ample time to commence the arduous process of "seasoning" to colonial slavery long before they reached their new homes. The period from the point of a slave ship's arrival in the Americas until a captive African reached the home of their colonial buyer was clearly much more drawn out and formative than has been appreciated.

Africans emerged from Saint-Domingue's slave trade to face a surprisingly wide range of fates~~Large numbers~~**Most** ~~of captive~~ **arriving** ~~Africans were certainly marched directly from the ships to rural plantations, albeit to locations that were often far flung~~**far from each other** ~~and environmentally diverse~~**highly divergent in terms of their social structures and environments**. **Large numbers of captive Africans were certainly marched directly from the ships to rural plantations, as our current view of the slave trade holds, but life on those estates differed remarkably depending on their locale and crop. Moreover,** ~~But an almost equal number of~~**significant numbers of four in ten** Africans~~, like Kinson,~~ took ~~other~~ routes into slavery that were radically distinct to the port-to-plantation archetype that dominates our current understanding of the slave trade. ~~Numerous Africans~~**Many** ~~captives~~ were acquired by merchants and shunted into an internal slave trade that was ~~remarkably similar~~**akin** to the intra-American

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[47] ~~For Kinson, see Saint-Mery,~~ *~~Description,~~* ~~I, 416-9; Joseph-Gabriel, "Mobility," 220-25.~~

slave trade, even though it never left the confines of Saint-Domingue: enslaved people endured long periods of imprisonment incarceration in port towns, lengthy and potentially deadly oceanic voyages and, finally, sale—often far from their point of arrival in the colony. Still oOthers were, like Alou Kinson, acquired by island whites and free people of color and retained within port cities. While these Africans likewise faced the miseries of being forcibly integrated into a brutal race-based system of slavery, they nonetheless had opportunities to raise themselves through their skilled labor. As residents of port towns, they also had experienced very and therefore lived very different—but equally difficult— lives to their rural compatriotsshipmates who were marched and shipped off to the countryside. Enslaved people's ethnicity, age, gender and health were fundamentally important for shaping their paths to these fates. Colonists' preferences for Africans with specific characteristics shaped the movement of slave ships around the island, and hence enslaved people's ultimate fates in the enormous and environmentally diverse island. Once ships arrived in ports, adult Africans of both sexes were quickly seized by planters, who sought healthy captives who could perform heavy agricultural labor; their sickly shipmates usually languished aboard the ships for as long as a month before being acquired by merchants. Teenagers, by contrast, were sought out by colonists who wanted Africans who could be apprenticed in complex trades or put to domestic service. Following captive Africans away from the shipsReconstructing Saint-Domingue's slave trade therefore thus demonstrates the remarkable diversity of the enslaved African experience of enslavement in the Americas. Enslaved people's ethnicity, age, gender and health were therefore fundamentally important for shaping their movement through, and divergent experiences of, the slave trade within the Americas.

Enslaved people's age, gender and health were fundamentally important for shaping their divergent experiences within, and movements though, Saint-Domingue's enormous slave the slave trade. Colonists' preferences for Africans with specific characteristics also shaped the movement of slave ships around the island, and hence enslaved people's ultimate fates in the enormous and environmentally diverse island. Once ships arrived in ports, Adult adult Africans of both sexes were quickly seized by planters soon after arriving in the colony, who sought healthy captives who could perform heavy agricultural labor; their sickly shipmates usually languished aboard the ships for as long as a month before being acquired by merchants. Teenage boys such as Kinson, by contrast, were sought out by colonists who wanted prisoners Africans who could be apprenticed in complex trades, such as masonry; girls and young women were more likely to be purchased by free people of color or town dwellers seeking domestic servants. Colonists' preferences for Africans with specific characteristics also shaped the movement of slave ships around the island, and hence enslaved people's ultimate fates in the island. An

~~extensive, complex, and well-organized slave trade thus operated within American colonies that was designed to channel diverse Africans to colonial buyers according to those captives' physical characteristics. Seen in this way, t~~The trans-Atlantic slave trade's tendrils thus did not halt once they reached American waters. Instead, they snaked on to form an overlooked *intra-colonial* trade that was crucially important for~~powerfully shaped the lives of Aloou Kinson and millions of other captive Africans~~ the operation of Saint-Domingue's immense slave economy: it enabled colonists from across the social spectrum to acquire slave labor; spread plantation slavery across the island; and facilitated the production of tropical staples as well as the infrastructure that was needed to export those crops. If this intra-colonial trade operated elsewhere in the Americas—as scholars of the British and Spanish Americas are starting to discover—then it was likely a key component of the trans-Atlantic slave trade that requires much more scholarly attention.

~~, as well as the lives of the island's enslaved people.~~

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