

Index

Note: Page numbers in *italic* indicate figures. For usability, this index refers to “slaves” instead of “enslaved people” when referring to groups of enslaved people.

- abolitionists, 17, 117, 144–145
- Accra, *see also* James Fort (Accra)
 - dungeons, 217
 - slave majority in, 217
 - supply of slaves, 86–88
 - war captives sold from, 246
- Aceh (Sumatra), 52, 94–96
- Adventure* (slaving ship), 265
- Africa, *see also* Gold Coast; West Africa; *specific African countries*
 - colonialism in, 284
 - fragility of English people in, 14
 - Islamic Africa, 157
 - map, 297
 - and Portuguese Empire, 9
 - and skin color, 121
 - slavery in, 21, 29, 157
 - sugar plantations in, 31
 - trade in, English, 24
- African slaves, *see also* Malagasy people
 - in Barbados, 21, 38, 43
 - in Chesapeake, 45, 219
 - diversity of, 102, 112
 - in Leeward Islands, 45
 - middle passage, 77
 - origins debate, 115
 - and permanent enslavement, 115
 - preference for/work capacity, 69, 103, 106, 109, 112, 167
 - trade, to Caribbean, 72
 - yellow fever, effect on, 175
- Aggidy (enslaved man), 248
- Akwamu people, 87–88, 262–263
- Algonquian people, 130
- Amboyna (Indonesia), 55
- amelioration movement, 287, 290
- ammunition, 291
- Anashan (Gold Coast), 261, 263
- Anglo–Dutch naval wars, 14, 46, 55, 179, 211, 241
- Anglo–Mughal War (1686–1690), 240, 267
- Anglo–Scottish Act of Union (1707), 23, 184
- Angola and Angolans, 34, 38
- animal husbandry, 131, 153–155
- Anomabu (Ghana), 217–218, 261–262
- Antigua
 - chattel principle in, 147, 149
 - deficiency laws, racial, 231
 - drafting of slaves, 256
 - fear of insurrection, 244, 248, 255
 - French raids in, 242
 - heads of households, 120
 - Kalinago raids, 243
 - payment of wages, 140
 - population, 228–229
 - reimbursement for executed slaves, 147
 - servant laws, 161
 - skin color as marker of difference in, 120

- Antigua (cont.)
 slave codes, 160, 254
 slave majority, 187, 282
 sugar plantations, 44
 apprentices, 148, 162
 Arakanese people, 92
 Arawak people, 20, 79
 Arguin (North African island), 30
 Arnold, David, 288
 artisans, 229
 Asante people, 87–88
 Asia, *see also* Coromandel Coast; specific
 Asian countries
 Barbadian plantation system brought to, 30
 Dutch migrants, 9
 EIC factories in, 267
 fragility of English people in, 14, 24, 136
 mortality rates, 173
 racial identity in, 121
 trade with local empires, 24
asiento de negros (contract), 32
 Assada (plantation colony), 5, 53–55, 230
 Association Island (Puritan colony), 39–41, 230
 Atkins, Jonathan, 204, 227, 246
 Atlantic Ocean and Islands, *see also* middle passage
 English control in, 55
 historiographical concept of Atlantic World, 8–13
 slave labor, dependence on, 67
 sugar plantations, 31
 temporary form of slavery in, 123
 transatlantic slave trade, 34, 39, 283
 auctions, 117, 140
 Aurangzeb, Emperor of Hindustan, 97
 Australia, 292
- Bailyn, Bernard, 9
 Balasore (India), 49, 95
 Bali, 104, 108, 199
 Banda Islands (Indonesia), 35, 46, 55
 Banjar (factory in Borneo), 109, 111, 220, 238, 269, 274
 Bantam (Java)
 EIC unsure if outpost still exists, 267
 English driven out by Dutch (1682), 14, 62, 104, 267
 history of trade in, 52
 slaves fled to, 274
 slaves sent to, 128
- baptism, 156
 Barbadian plantation model
 in Carolinas, 45
 EIC using, 4, 6, 21, 30, 52, 57–59, 66, 258
 in Nosy Be/Assada, 52–55
 and racial slavery, 63
 RAC using, 6, 60–61
 Barbados
 arming of slaves in, 256
 British forced migration to, 71–73, 75–76
 census of 1680, 227, 232, 237
 chattel principle in, 147–150
 deficiency laws, racial, 232
 deforestation in, 42, 178, 251
 Dutch transferring plantation complex to, 34
 edict of 1636, 124
 fear of insurrection and invasion, 77, 83, 239, 243, 248–250
 indentured servitude, 41, 43–44
 inheritable status of slavery in, 129
 insurrection plot (1816), 290
 and invasion, 250, 289
 land ownership, 214
 migration from, 15, 45, 81, 210–215, 242
 mortality rates, 175, 184–187, 213
 Nosy Be/Assada compared to, 53
 origin of English slavery in, 39, 41–42
 payment of indentured servants and slaves, 140–141
 permanent form of slavery in, 124
 planters, 208
 population, 178, 206–208, 213, 215
 servant code of 1661, 126, 134, 161, 253
 servant code of 1688, 161–162
 slave code of 1661, 44, 120, 134, 146, 149, 157, 160, 205, 230, 253, 255
 slave code of 1688, 121, 160, 232
 slave majority in, 177, 179, 206, 215–216, 282
 slave management, 42, 58
 slave rebellion plot (1675), 204, 240, 244, 247
 slave rebellion plot (1692), 249, 256
 sugar plantations, 5, 41–42, 147, 178
 types of slaves and servants
 African, 21, 38, 43
 children, 134
 from Gold Coast, 91
 Indigenous captives, 78

- Irish indentured servants, 71, 73, 75,
77, 209, 247–248, 254
- Malagasy people, 105
- prisoners of war, 3, 41, 43, 73, 76–77,
207
- Scottish prisoners of war, 77
- white population, 204, 215, 229
- yellow fever epidemic (1647–1652), 72,
175–183, 206, 213, 224
- yellow fever epidemic (1690s), 184–187,
215, 250, 254
- Batavia
- Bali slaves in, 108
- Makassar slaves in, 108
- Malagasy slaves in, 104, 107
- malaria, 172
- as model for EIC, 53, 62, 198
- mortality rates in, 107, 196
- slave majority in, 109
- Bay of Bengal, 49, 92, 96, 122, 267
- Beckles, Hilary McD., 177
- Bedford Whiting, Mark, 86–87
- Behn, Aphra, 246
- Bell, Philip, 40–41, 53
- Bencoolen, *see also* York Fort (Bencoolen)
- arming of slaves in, 275–277
- Chinese migrants in, 197–198
- Dampier in, 7
- deficiency laws, racial, 235
- diversity of slaves, 110–111
- execution of enslaved man, 159
- fear of insurrection, 273–275
- Indigenous slaves, 110
- Indo-Portuguese community, 238
- Malagasy slaves in, 62, 98, 103, 106,
109–110, 113, 143, 271–272,
276–277
- mortality rates in, 106, 109–110,
192–199, 268
- mosquitos in, 106, 195
- mutinies, 271–272
- Nias slaves in, 110
- payment of slaves in, 141
- provision grounds, 143
- selling of firearms to indigenous
population, 275
- sugar plantations in, 59
- warfare in, 268
- Bengal, 98, 290–291
- Bennett, Michael, 164
- Bermuda, 124
- Biet, Antoine, 158
- Bight of Benin, 84, 86, 138
- Bight of Biafra, 86
- “Black Christians”, 237
- Black Death, 70, 126
- Blackstone, William, 132
- Blake, Nicholas, 56, 63, 226
- Bloome, Benjamin, 196
- Bloome, John, 88, 189, 191
- bodies
- marking and mutilating of, 154,
260
- as property, 145, 150–151
- as resources, 223
- Bombay
- debt bondage, 51
- history of EIC in, 50
- mortality rates in, 3, 166, 201
- mutiny of 1683, 267, 270
- poor people fleeing to, 95
- siege of (1689–1690), 97, 237, 268
- wonders in, 3
- bondage, *see also* slavery
- in British Isles, 70–77
- consent to, 133–139
- debt bondage, 51, 128, 152, 220
- different forms of, 18–21, 50, 117–119
- by EIC, 111
- permanence, 123–134, 136
- and race, 137
- and Spain, 32
- Bonishee (Accra local elite man), 262
- Borneo
- Banjar (factory), 109, 111, 220, 238, 269,
274
- criminals forced to work in factories in,
137
- debt bondage, 128
- history of EIC in, 59
- slaves from, 21
- slaves working at, 268
- Boscawen, Hugh, 155
- Bowman, Maximillian, 94
- Bowrey, Thomas, 62
- Bradley, William, 147
- branding, 154, 260
- Brazil, 9, 31, 34, 41–42
- Breda, Treaty of (1667), 46
- Bridenbaugh, Carl, 177
- Bridenbaugh, Roberta, 177
- Bridgetown (Barbados), 184–186, 250

- British empire, *see also* English empire;
English people; Ireland; Scotland;
slavery
and English empire, 23, 184
expansion, imperial, 288–290
navy, 12
power of, 27, 281–284, 294
British Isles, *see also* British empire; English
empire; English people
apprentices from, 148
diversity of people from, 237
forced migration from, 20, 41, 43, 70–77,
79, 111
homelessness, 85
industrialization, 292–293
migration from, 178, 187, 224
mortality rate for soldiers, 174
Restoration, 44, 46, 56, 159
Brooks, James, 131
Bryan, James, 158
buccaneers, 82
Buckeridge, Nicholas, 33, 37
Buckeridge, Thomas, 89, 264
Bugge soldiers, 272, 277
Bullock, William, 150
Burke, Edmund, 285
Burnard, Trevor, 187
Buton (Indonesia), 28
Bybrooke (Jamaican sugar plantation), 7, 249
- caboceers (local political elites), 262–263
Calcutta, 50, 98, 163
camels, 5
Canada, 66, 292
Cape Coast (Ghana)
demand for Accra slaves, 87–88
mortality rates, of English people, 174, 190
mortality rates, of enslaved people, 191
slave majority in, 217–218
Cape Coast Castle
crops, 61
defensibility, 261, 265
European staff at, 49
prison for captives at, 91, 217, 265
Cape of Good Hope, 32
Caribbean, *see also* Antigua; Barbados;
Greater Antilles; Guianas; Jamaica;
Lesser Antilles; St. Kitts; St. Lucia;
Surinam
British forced migration to, 71
and consent to bondage, 133–136
disease environment, 176–178, 182–183
Eastern Caribbean, 63, 71
English sovereign power in, 240
high level of domination possible in, 119
importance of, for Britain, 281
indentured servitude in, 124–127, 133,
140, 146
Indigenous captives sent to, 21, 78
inheritable status of slavery in, 131
length of indentured servitude in,
126–127
Malagasy slaves sent to, 104–106
malaria in, 224
map, 298
migration to, 223, 223
mortality rates, of English people,
173–174, 286
natural environment, 250
“negro” label, use of, 121
payment of indentured servants, 139
permanent form of slavery in, 124–125
population, 226–229, 291
servant codes, 146
slave codes, 120, 146, 159
slave majority in, 216, 282
slave population, 64, 66
slaves sent to, 73
warfare in, 240–243, 288
West India Regiments (WIRs), 288
Western Caribbean, 37, 46
white settlers, lack of, 223–235
yellow fever in, 186–187, 224
- Carolinas
Barbadian migration to, 15, 45, 81, 213
Indigenous slaves in, 21, 82
malaria, 172
New Englanders migrating to, 214
rice cultivation, 45, 57
slave code of 1696, 254
slave majority in, 17, 220
slave trade, 81
Carpentier, Peter de, 35
castle slaves
diseases leading to reliance on, 188
export slaves, difference from, 88–90
in general, 49
outnumbering RAC employees, 217
on plantations, 60
payment of, 142–143, 165
running away and kidnapping of, 263–264
Catholics, 71, 73, 75, 209, 238, 248

- Cawn, Selimon, 270
 Cayenne (French colony), 242
 Ceylon, 36
 Chappell, Roger, 137
 Charles Fort (Anomabu), 217–218, 261–262
Charles Gally (slaving ship), 218
 Charles I of England, 71
 Charles II of England
 assassination conspiracy, fake, 248
 and Jamaica, 46, 56
 and Lords of Trade of Plantations, 226
 Restoration, 44, 46, 56, 159
 spices in Barbados, asked for trial to grow, 56
 Charter, Thomas, 127
 Chesapeake
 African slaves in, 45, 219
 malaria, 171
 mortality rates, 287
 origins debate, 115
 temporary form of slavery in, 125
 Child, Josiah, 7, 267–268
 children
 Barbados, sent to, 134
 Bencoolen, sent to, 111
 and consent to bondage, 139
 of free white men and enslaved women/mixed-race, 132
 Indian children sold into bondage, 93–94
 of Indigenous war captives, 130
 inheriting of slave status, 18, 42, 44, 129–133, 163–164
 Irish children sent to Jamaica, 75
 Jamaica, sent to, 75
 kidnapping of, 74, 97
 mortality rates, 111
 yellow fever, 181
 Chinese migrants, 197–198
 Choultry (administrative body in Madras), 97
 Christianity, 51, 128
 baptism, 156
 Christians
 “Black Christians”, 237
 Catholics, 71, 73, 75, 209, 238, 248
 and deficiency laws, racial, 230
 enslaving of, 36, 156
 vs. “Negroes”, 157
 Clarke, John, 75
 Clarkson, Christopher, 189
 clay pots, 179
 climate
 Little Ice Age, 68, 71, 108, 111, 223
 in tropics, 1–3
coartación (self-purchase), 124
 Coclanis, Peter, 9
 Codrington, Christopher, 154, 228, 245
 Coelho, Philip R. P., 183
 Coen, Jan Pieterszoon, 35
 Coffee (enslaved man), 244
 “cofferies” (label), 102, 111
 Cognet, James, 188
 colonialism
 in Africa, 284
 English, in North America, 12–13, 16–17
 French, in North America, 12, 17
 and historiographical concept of Atlantic World, 8–9
 white settlement, 4, 16–17
 commodities
 in Indian Ocean, 28
 people seen as, 21, 28
 in tropics, 53, 55, 292
 Company of Barbadian Adventurers, 212
 consent, 133–139
 Constitution (US), 16, 133
 convicts, 41, 43
 Cooper, William, 263
 Coromandel Coast
 EIC buying slaves from Portuguese in, 38
 famine, 95, 153
 migrants unwilling to go to Bencoolen, 198
 slave trade, 92–99
 slavery suppressed along, 96–99
 Coromantee (slaves from Gold Coast), 244–246
 corsairs, 37, 156
 cotton plantations, 24
 Council of Foreign Plantations, 7, 74, 124, 216, 225
 Cox, Nathaniel, 59–60, 258
 Cranfield, Edward, 81
 creolization, 249, 279, 287
 Crimills, William, 120
 criminals, 135, 137, 160, 225–226
 Cromwell, Oliver
 conquest of Ireland, 71–72, 206, 209, 222
 invasion of Jamaica, 56, 211
Crowe (slaving ship), 218
 Cuba, 32, 175, 289

- Cuddalore (India)
 Barbadian slavery transported to, 59
 Fort St. David, 59, 98, 269, 271
 payment of slaves, 142
 Curtin, Philip D., 176
 cyclones, 108
- Dallas, Robert, 106
 Dampier, William, 7, 195, 199, 235
 Danish traders, 89
 Darien Peninsula, 14, 184
 Davenant, Charles, 221
 Davies, K. G., 261
 Davies, Rich, 150
 Davis, David Brion, 153
 debt bondage, 51, 128, 152, 220
 debt slavery, 108
 Deccan Wars (1680–1707), 266, 270
 deforestation, 31, 42, 178, 195, 251
 Deighton, William, 120
 Delgardno (Scottish lieutenant), 272
 Demerara (British colony), 289–290
 dengue fever, 168, 170, 196, 285
 Denkyria people, 87
 desertions, 263–265, 270, 273, *see also*
 maroon communities
- Dhaka, 49
 diseases, *see also* malaria; mortality rates;
 yellow fever
 as barrier to English expansion, 67
 Black Death, 70, 126
 Caribbean disease environment,
 176–178, 182–183
 dengue fever, 168, 170, 196, 285
 essentialist ideas, entrenching, 284
 globalization, impact of, 68
 on Gold Coast, 187–191
 in Indonesia, 108, 172
 Indigenous people suffering from, 24, 32,
 78
 at James Fort (Accra), 189–190
 medicinal strategies for preventing, 172
 and racial slavery, 167–168, 176–178,
 200–203
 in RAC dungeons, 90
 resistance from/immunity to, 4, 167, 170,
 172, 183, 286
 on slave ships, 91
 smallpox, 107
 in Sumatra, 172, 174, 192–199, 268
 in tropics, 2–4, 16
- and warfare, 190
 in West Africa, 167, 173
- Dixcove (Ghana)
 arming of slaves at, 265
 castle slaves taken from export slaves at,
 89
 fear of insurrection, 234
 malaria, 189
 payment of slaves, 142
 slaves running away from, 264–265
 domestic servants, 229
- Dominica (Caribbean island), 282, 289
 Donoghue, John, 114
 Doyley, Edward, 201
 Drax, James, 6, 57
 dress, 182
 droughts, 95
 Drury, Robert, 100
 Duck (Captain), 248
 Dunn, Richard, 177, 184
 Dutch East India Company (VOC)
 Indian Ocean, importance of, 9, 34–35
 in Indonesia, 52, 55, 63, 67, 192, 266
 as model for EIC, 36, 53, 62, 198
 nutmeg trade, 55
 pepper trade, 192
 racial slavery, 63
 revenues, 283
 spice trade monopoly, 35, 52, 283
 St. Helena, invasion of, 257
- Eagle* (slaving ship), 218
 East Africa, 54, 62–63, 99, *see also*
 Madagascar
 East India Company (EIC), *see also* Dutch
 East India Company (VOC)
 arming of slaves, 275–277
 Barbadian plantation model, use of, 4, 6,
 21, 30, 52, 57–59, 66, 258
 bondsmen from Indian Ocean, use of, 111
 capturing slaves from Portuguese, 38
 charter of 1657, 50
 colonialism, 15
 and consent to bondage, 137–139
 deficiency laws, racial, 234–235
 employees' contracts, 136
 executions of slaves, 147, 159
 exporting slaves to Americas, 268
 factories
 cash advances leading to debt, 51
 criminals working for, 137

Index

337

- in general, 23
- in India, 49–52
- political sovereignty, lack of, 266–271
 - and property rights, 152
- racial slavery, 64
- slave labor, dependence on, 21
- slave majorities at, 219–220
 - in Sumatra, 192
- fear of insurrection, 257–260
- in India, 12, 23, 49–52, 240
- in Indian Ocean, 38, 51, 62, 69, 266–268
- Indian soldiers, use of, 290
- in Indonesia, 14, 23, 36, 51, 62, 268
- length of enslavement at, 128–129
- and Madagascar slave trade, 20,
 - 102–105, 113
- and Mughal empire, 96–97, 237, 240
- mutinies, 270–271
- Nias slaves, buying of, 110
- opposing sale of slaves, 84, 96–99
- payment of slaves, 141–143
- racial slavery, 64
- reimbursement for executed slaves, 147
- Run settlement, 55
- slave labor, dependence on, 4, 64
- in Sulawesi, 28
- textile trade revenues, 283
- and violence toward slaves, 163–164
- VOC as model for, 36, 53, 62, 198
- East Indies, *see also* Indian Ocean
- Eccles, W.J., 12
- Elizabeth* (slaving ship), 218
- Elkins, Stanley, 123
- Eltis, David, 42, 156
- empires, defining, 15
- Engerman, Stanley, 139
- English empire, *see also* British empire;
 - British Isles; colonialism; tropics
- Anglo-Spanish Treaty of 1670, 82
- and British empire, 23, 184
- and the Netherlands, 34
- and tropics, 1, 5, 27
- fragility
 - diseases, *see also* diseases
 - forced labor, dependence on, 4, 16–17,
 - 20–23, 29, 205
 - insurrection, *see also* insurrection
 - invasion, *see also* invasion
 - non-English people, dependence on,
 - 17–18, 23, 27, 30, 69,
 - 293
 - political sovereignty, lack of, 14, 36,
 - 66, 119, 123, 136, 240, 261–264,
 - 273–274
 - Glorious Revolution (1688), 34, 293
 - imperial history, 10
 - overseas expansion, 10–13, 15, 68
 - power, 12
 - on slave codes, 162
 - wars
 - Anglo-Dutch naval wars, 14, 46, 55,
 - 179, 211, 241
 - Anglo-Mughal War (1686–1690), 240,
 - 267
 - English Civil War, 71, 150, 206, 208
 - Nine Years' War (1688–1697), *see also*
 - Nine Years' War (1688–1697)
 - Seven Years' War (1754–1763), 12,
 - 282–283, 289, 293
 - Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639–
 - 1653), 71–73, 79, 209
 - English people
 - diseases suffered by, 3
 - enslaved, becoming, 21, 24, 36, 155,
 - 269–270
 - mortality rates, 166–167, 173–174, 187,
 - 190, 286
 - opportunism, 20, 25, 29–30, 50, 112
 - enslaved people
 - from Angola, 38
 - arming of/used as soldiers, 33, 50,
 - 255–256, 266, 275–277, 279
 - bodies, 145, 154, 260
 - castration, 154
 - classified as real estate, 148, 182
 - Coromantee (slaves from Gold Coast),
 - 244–246
 - cost of
 - in Barbados, 43
 - in Caribbean, 61, 72
 - in Indonesia, 109, 111
 - in Madagascar, 99, 101, 109
 - in Nosy Be/Assada, 54
 - rising costs, in 18th century, 287
 - servants, compared to, 40, 43
 - sex, impact of, 111
 - creolization, 249, 279, 287
 - dehumanization of, 155–159
 - diversity of, 110–111
 - export/“shipping” slaves, 90, 143, 217,
 - 264–265
 - female slaves, 91, 111, 127, 130, 161

- enslaved people (cont.)
 from India, 92–99, 110
 Indigenous People, 66, 78–84, 125
 language, note on, 15–17
 male slaves, 80, 90–91, 111
 markers of difference, 120, 139,
 155–158, 160, 236
 marrying their masters, 152
 payment of, 133–143
 in Nosy Be/Assada, 54
 provision grounds for rations, 140, 143
 punishment of, *see also* punishment
 racial deficiency laws, 229–235, 237, 276
 “refuse” slaves, 89
 resistance to/immunity from diseases,
 167, 172, 183
 runaways, 263–265, 274
 sacrificed in religious rituals, 109
 segregation of, 186
 status symbols, used as, 109
 stereotypes about, 245–246
 subjecthood, denial of, 22, 159–161, 279,
 287
 violence towards, 91, 158–164
 vs. servants, 115, 119–123, 149–150
 weapons, use of, 254–255, 260, 275
 enslavers, 17, *see also* masters
 Enys, Renatus, 63
 essentialism, 284–285, *see also* race and
 racism
 Essequibo (British colony), 289
 executions, *see also* punishment; torture;
 violence
 of Sepoy mutineers, 290
 of slaves
 on *Adventure* (slaving ship), 265
 in Barbados, 245, 248, 250
 in Bencoolen, 272
 lack of consequences against,
 162–163
 in Jamaica, 158, 291
 public aspect of, 158–159, 250, 260
 reimbursement for enslavers, 147, 258
 in St. Helena, 260
- factories, 32, 108, *see also* East India
 Company (EIC): factories; Royal
 African Company (RAC): factories;
specific factories, e.g. Banjar
falciparum (malaria parasite), 167,
 171–172, 183, 188, 196, 224
- famine
 on Coromandel Coast, 95, 153
 in India, 93–99
 in Indonesian archipelago, 108–109
 in Ireland, 71
 Ferguson, Niall, 13, 292
 financial institutions, 293
 Finch, Heneage, 74
 firearms
 Bencoolen, sold to, 275
 Gold Coast, sold to, 262
 Indonesia, sold to, 108, 269
 Madagascar, sold to, 100–102
 slaves not allowed to wield, 256
 First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654),
 179
 Florida, 212
 forced labor, 4, 16–17, 20–23, 29, 205, *see*
also gang labor; slavery
 forced migration
 alienation caused by, 89, 118
 to Barbados, 71–73, 75–76
 of criminals, 225
 and population decline in British Isles, 43
 Ford, Richard, 56
 Fort Cormantine (Ghana), 84, 166, 188
 Fort Royal (Cape Coast), 261
 Fort St. David (Cuddalore), 59, 98, 269,
 271
 Fort St. George (Madras), 49, 152
 Fort Tantomkweri (Ghana), 261
 Fort Winneba (Ghana), 263
 forts, 216, *see also* castle slaves; *specific*
forts, e.g. York Fort
 Fortune (enslaved woman), 245, 259
 France, *see also* Nine Years’ War (1688–
 1697)
 and Caribbean, 34, 241–243, 289
 and India, 284
 North American settlements, 12, 17
 overseas expansion, 9
 Seven Years’ War (1754–1763), 12,
 282–283, 289, 293
 slave trade, 283
 slavery in Mascarene Islands, 67
 temporary form of slavery used by,
 123
 free blacks, 160, 283
 free labor, 117, 139, 145
 freedom, 19–20, 22, 51, 117, *see also*
 manumission

- Gage, Thomas, 254
galleys, 36
Gambia, 48, 64
gang labor, 42, 58, 180–181
global cooling, 68, 71, 108, 111, 223
globalization, 68, 167, 170
Glorious Revolution (1688), 34, 293
Goa (India), 53
Golconda, siege of (1687), 96
Gold Coast
 and consent to bondage, 138
 Coromantee (slaves), 244–246
 diseases, 187–191
 fear of insurrection, 261–266
 Indigenous population, 83, 86–87
 mortality rates, 187–191
 payment of slaves in, 142
 plantations, failure of, 62
 prisoners of war from, 20, 69, 86–88, 105, 246
 RAC in, 37, 48–49
 runaway slaves in, 263–265
 slave majority in, 216–218
 slave population, 64
 slave trade, 83–92, 84
 warfare, 14, 20, 86–88, 105, 246, 262
gold trade, 85
Goldingame, Mr. (enslaver), 163
Gomes, Mary, 148
Goodlad, William, 267
Goree (Senegal), 283
Goreing, Richard, 234
Greater Antilles, 174
Greene, Jack P., 9
Gregory, John, 262
Grenada, 251, 282–283, 289
Guadeloupe, 184
Guanche people, 31
Guasco, Michael, 37
Guianas
 Indigenous people of, 21, 37, 78–82
 plantation slavery in, 79, 282
Gulf of Guinea, 31

Hamilton, Alexander (captain), 166
Hannah (enslaved woman), 259
Harlinge, Henry, 75
Hausland, William, 151
Havana (Cuba), 289
Heingemni-boy (enslaved man), 147
Helyar, Cary, 47, 56
Helyar, John, 249
Higgins, Brian T., 177
Hispaniola, 32, 249
Hollinstead, Edward, 127
homeless people, 73
Hopkins, A. G., 23
Howe, Stephen, 15
Hugli (India), 49, 122
Hunt, Robert, 53–55, 120, 230–231
 The Island of Assada, 53

Iberian empires, 9, 30, 37, 125, 157, *see also*
 Portuguese empire; Spanish empire
identity
 in Indian Ocean, 236
 markers of difference, 120, 139, 155–158, 160, 236
imperial history, 10
indentured servitude
 in Barbados, 41, 43–44, 71, 73, 75, 77, 134, 209, 248, 254
 in Caribbean, 124–127, 133, 139, 146
 Irish indentured servants, 71, 73, 75, 77, 209, 248, 254
 in Jamaica, 47, 210
 in Leeward Islands, 45, 209
 in Nosy Be/Assada, 54
 Leeward Islands, 45
 length of servitude, 124–127, 134–135
 Ligon on trade of servants, 148, 150
 manumission, 134
 mortality rates, 126, 177, 181, 187
 payment of wages, 139
 preprinted indenture contracts, 76, 135, 151
servant codes, 44, 161
 Barbadian servant code of 1661, 126, 134, 161, 253
 Barbadian servant code of 1688, 161–162
 Caribbean, 146
 Jamaica, 127, 134–135, 161, 231
servants
 children, 134
 cost of, 40, 43, 73
 domestic servants, 229
 granted protections, 161
 mortality rates, 126, 177, 181, 187
 orphans, 73–74, 134
 property rights over, 150
 punishment, 161

- indentured servitude (cont.)
 - sale of, 151
 - Scottish, 247
 - segregation of, 186
 - subjecthood of, 146, 162
 - violence towards, 158, 161
 - vs. slaves, 115, 119–123, 149–150
- tricking people into/spiriting, 74, 97
- and “white slaves” narrative, 16
- India
 - British political power in, 12, 284, 289
 - children sold into bondage, 21, 94
 - debt bondage in, 128
 - drought of 1686, 95
 - EIC in, 12, 23, 49–52, 240
 - famine, 93–99
 - Sepoy Mutiny, 291
 - slave labor in, 50–52, 65
 - slave trade in, before European traders, 93
 - slaves from, 92–99, 110
 - slaves/servants, use of term in, 122
 - textile trade, 10, 23, 50, 52, 283
- Indian Ocean, *see also* India; Indonesia
 - commodities, 28
 - consent to bondage in, 138
 - Dutch East India Company (VOC) in, 9
 - EIC in, 69, 266–268
 - identity in, 236
 - malaria, 172
 - map**, 296
 - political sovereignty, English lack of, 15
 - Portuguese in, 9, 32
 - spices, 2, 55
- Indian Ocean, slavery in
 - Barbadian model transported to, 53–55, 59, 66
 - Dutch East India Company (VOC), 34–36
 - by EIC, 38, 51, 62, 69
 - fear of insurrection, 239
 - intensification of, 51, 69
 - Jamaica, slaves sent to, 56, 105
 - length of enslavement, 127
 - payment of slaves in, 141
 - political sovereignty, lack of, 119
 - Portuguese role in, 32, 34, 38
 - slaves seen as commodities, 28
 - vs. Atlantic Ocean slave trade, 34
- Indian Rebellion of 1857, 291
- Indigenous people, *see also specific groups of Indigenous people*
 - Antigua slave code on, 160
 - countering slave rebellions, 240
 - decimation of, 13
 - diseases suffered by, 24, 32, 78
 - enslaved, 66, 78–84, 125
 - length of enslavement, 125
 - mercenaries, used as, 252
 - “negro” label used to describe, 121
 - slavery practiced by, 37, 80, 82, 130
 - warfare among, 130
- indigo, 60, 62
- Indonesia, *see also* spice islands (Indonesia); *specific places and islands*
 - criminals forced to work in factories in, 137
 - debt bondage in, 128
 - diseases, 108, 172
 - Dutch East India Company (VOC) in, 52, 55, 63, 67, 192, 266
 - EIC in, 14, 23, 36, 51, 62, 268
 - famine, 108–109
 - firearms sold to local population, 108, 269
 - Malagasy people sent to, 106
 - map**, 299
 - mortality rates, of English people, 174
 - political destabilization in, 59
 - slave labor, dependence on, 62
 - slave majority, 109
 - slave population, 65, 219
 - slaves from, 109–110
 - warfare, 107, 109
- Indo-Portuguese community, 236, 238
- Indrapura
 - deficiency laws, racial, 235
 - mortality rates in, 192, 194, 196
 - runaway slaves in, 274
 - soldiers, 275
- inheritable status of slavery, 18, 42, 44, 129–133, 163–164
- instruments, 255
- insurrection
 - fear of
 - in Antigua, 244, 248, 255
 - in Barbados, 77, 83, 239, 243, 248–250, 290
 - in Bencoolen, 273–275
 - in Dixcove (Ghana), 234
 - by EIC, 257–260
 - and Nine Years’ War (1688–1697), 249, 254–255

- on Gold Coast, 261–266
 - in Indian Ocean, 239
 - in James Fort (Accra), 261–262
 - Ligon on, 243, 254, 278
 - in St. Helena, 257–260, 273
 - on sugar plantations, 239
 - in West Africa, 239
- in India, 290
- Jamaican insurrection of 1678, 245
- by maroon communities, 272–274
- in St. Domingue, 282
- in Sumatra, 272
- in York Fort, 273
- invasion
 - and insurrection, 250, 289
 - of Ireland, 71–72, 206, 209, 222
 - of Jamaica, 56, 211
- Ireland
 - Cromwell's invasion of, 71–72, 206, 209, 222
 - indentured servants from
 - children, 75
 - in Barbados, 72–73, 75, 77, 209, 248, 254
 - in Jamaica, 75
 - and “white slaves” narrative, 16, 115
 - Leeward Islands, Irishmen in, 209–210
 - rebellions by Irishmen, 209, 254
 - Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639–1653), 71–73, 79, 209
- Islam, 237
- Jack (enslaved man), 259–260
- Jamaica
 - arming of slaves in, 256
 - Barbadian migration to, 214
 - Cromwell's invasion of, 56, 211
 - crops, 5
 - deficiency laws, racial, 231–233
 - dehumanization of slaves in, 154
 - executions of slaves, 158, 291
 - fear of competition from West Africa, 60
 - French raids and invasion, 242, 248, 289
 - Gold Coast slaves sent to, 91
 - indentured servitude in, 47, 210
 - Indian Ocean slaves sent to, 56, 105
 - Irish children sent to, 75
 - length of indentured servitude in, 135
 - Malagasy people sent to, 105–106, 252
 - malaria, 126, 187
 - maroon communities, 251, 287
 - migration to, 46, 214
 - mortality rates, 126, 174, 183, 187, 229, 285
 - natural environment, 251
 - Nine Years' War (1688–1697), 184
 - servant codes
 - and consent to labor, 135
 - protection from violence, 161
 - servant code of 1664, 127, 134
 - servant code of 1677, 231
 - servant code of 1682, 231
 - Slave Act of 1696, 162
 - slave codes
 - Crown refuses to ratify, 162
 - slave code of 1664, 63, 253
 - slave code of 1683, 255
 - slave labor, 32
 - slave majority in, 21, 216, 283, 290
 - slave rebellions
 - in 1677, 158
 - at Bybrooke, 249
 - fear of, 244–245, 287
 - insurrection of 1678, 245
 - revolt of 1831, 290
 - in St. Catherine Parish, 248
 - Spanish recognition of English colony, 241
 - sugar plantations, 46–47, 216
 - tropical spices brought to, 56
 - white settlers, lack of, 225–226, 229
 - yellow fever, 126, 187, 285
- James Fort (Accra)
 - diseases, 189–190
 - fear of insurrection, 261–262
 - slave majority at, 217–218
 - slaves running away from, 264
- James II of England, 48
- Jamestown (VA), 13, 38
- Janissaries, 279
- Java, 57, 59, 174, 196, 199, *see also* Bantam (Java)
- Jeoly (enslaved man), 8
- Jews, 232
- Johnson, Anthony, 125
- Jordan, Giles, 274
- Kalinago people
 - enslaved, 79
 - selling of enslaved captives by, 20
 - wars with Europeans, 14, 44, 78, 211, 241, 243
- Karnataka (India), 96
- Keigwin, Richard, 270

- Kendall, James, 184, 186
 Kennebec River, 14
 Khan, Sidi Yakut, 237
 kidnapping, 52, 75, 97, 263
 King Philip's War (1675–1676), 247
 Kingston (Jamaica), 126, 285
 Kiple, Kenneth F., 176
 Komenda (Ghana), 262
 Kopytoff, Igor, 114
 Kormentine (Ghana), 37
 Kotah Ambon (Indonesia), 109
 Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, 3
- Lagundy (English outpost in Indonesia), 38
 language, 15–17
 Lascars, 152
 Lawes, Nicholas, 229
 League of Nations Slavery Convention (1926), 145
 Leeward Islands, *see also specific islands*
 African slaves in, 45
 census of 1678, 237
 indentured servitude, 45, 209
 Irishmen in, 209–210
 migration to Jamaica, 46
 slave majority in, 216, 282
 sugar plantations, 44, 216
 warfare in, 242
 legal codes, *see also* servant codes; slave codes
 Lemmon Valley (St. Helena), 259
 Lenthall, John, 150
 Lesser Antilles, *see also* Barbados; Kalinago people; Leeward Islands
 arming of slaves in, 255
 European warfare in, 241–243
 Kalinago people, 78, 243
 natural environment, 251
 slave majority in, 220
 yellow fever epidemics, 175
 liberty of contract, 117, 133, 135, 139
 liberty of person, 117, 133
 Lieber, Francis, 145
 Ligon, Richard
 dehumanization of slaves, 154
 on fear of insurrection, 243, 254, 278
 on trade of indentured servants, 148, 150
 on yellow fever, 175, 181
 Lima, 9
 Little Ice Age, 68, 71, 108, 111, 223
 Littleton, Edward, 250
 livestock, 131, 153–155
- Long, Edward, 158, 246
 Longe, Henry, 148
 Lords of Trade and Plantations (administrative body), 227–228
 Lucas, Thomas, 194
 Lynch, Thomas, 225
- Madagascar, *see also* Malagasy people
 Dutch slave trade in, 102–103, 107
 English colony at, 53–54
 firearms sold to local population, 100–102
 local conflicts and warfare, 100–101, 258
 malaria, 172, 201
 slave trade, 37, 39, 69, 99–107
 Madeira, 31
 Madras
 famine, 95
 Fort St. George, 49, 152
 length of employees' contracts, 136
 payment of slaves, 142
 political sovereignty, lack of, 267
 slavery suppressed in, 96–99
 slaves from, 52, 95
 Madrid, Treaty of (1670), 82
 Makassar (capital of South Sulawesi), 108, 152
 Malabar Coast, 92, 111
 Malacca (Malaysia), 32
 Malagasy people
 arming of, 277
 in Batavia, 104, 107
 in Bencoolen, 62, 98, 103, 106, 109–110, 113, 143, 271–272, 275–277
 in Borneo, 274
 in Caribbean, 104–106
 “cofferies” (label), 102, 111
 English preference for, 103, 106, 109
 in Indonesia, 106
 in Jamaica, 105–106, 252
 in maroon communities, 252
 mortality rates, 106, 109–110, 202
 provision grounds, 143
 in Sumatra, 104, 107
 warfare, 99–101
 malaria
 at York Fort (Bencoolen), 107
 in Caribbean, 224
 falciparum (malaria parasite), 167, 171–172, 183, 188, 196, 224
 on Gold Coast, 187–191
 in Jamaica, 126

- and Malagasy people, 106, 201
- and Nine Years' War (1688–1697), 184
- in Sumatra, 172, 195–197
- mortality rates, 171, 187
- resistance from/immunity to, 167
- spreading and symptoms of, 169–173
- vivax* (malaria parasite), 171, 196
- Malay people, 113, 276
- Manhattan, 46
- Manila Galleons, 9, 33
- Manilla, 289
- Manjee (India), 290
- manumission, *see also* freedom
 - in Caribbean, lack of, 245
 - in Chesapeake, 125
 - after converting to Christianity, 51, 128, 156
 - in Iberian form of enslavement, 51
 - indentured servitude, 134
 - lack of, defining English slavery, 123–124, 280
 - in Muslim form of enslavement, 51
- manure, 282
- Maratha Confederacy, 266–267, 270, 289
- maroon communities
 - in Bencoolen, 272–274
 - insurrection and desertion by, 272–274
 - in Jamaica, 251, 287
 - tensions with European planters, 46
- Marshall, Peter, 238
- Marshall, William, 150
- Martinique, 44, 251
- Mascarene Islands, 10, 67
- Masselage (Madagascar), 99–100
- masters
 - as heads of households, 17, 120
 - marrying slaves, 152
 - master-slave relationship, 122
 - reimbursement of, 147
- Maya peoples, 82
- McCormick, Ted, 222
- McGuire, Robert A., 183
- McNeill, J.R., 285
- Mecuse, Benjamin, 121
- mercenaries, 252, 271–272, 277
- Mergui (modern Myanmar), 268
- Merina people, 202
- Meta Incognita (Baffin Island), 13
- Metacom's War (1675–1676), 247
- Methwold, William, 93
- miasmas, 169
- middle passage
 - African slaves, 77
 - British captives, 77
 - and castle slaves, 90
 - enslaved guards, 266
 - Gold Coast prison, 91
 - mortality rates, 92
 - transatlantic slave trade, 34, 39, 283
- Miers, Suzanne, 114
- migration, *see also* forced migration; middle passage; slave trade
 - from Barbados, 15, 81, 210–215, 242
 - to Caribbean, 223, 223
 - to Carolinas, 15, 45, 81, 213
 - and crises, 68
 - degree of free will in, 74
 - to Jamaica, 46, 214
 - servants enticed by payment, 140
 - to Surinam, 15, 210–211, 242
- mines, 131
- Mintz, Steven, 16
- Miskito people, 39
- Modyford, Thomas
 - appointment as Jamaican governor, 46
 - attracting settlers to Jamaica, 46, 226
 - on Barbadian population, 207
 - fear of Irish insurrection, 254
 - migration to Jamaica, 211
 - on slaves from Guianas, 37, 79
- Moluccas, 67, 174
- Monck, Christopher, 47
- Monmouth Rebellion (1685–1686), 77
- monsoon seasons, 93–95, *see also* rainfall
- Montserrat, 44, 209, 242, 289
- Morgan, Henry, 47
- Morgan, Philip D., 9
- Morocco, 36
- mortality rates
 - in Asia, 173
 - in Barbados, 175, 184–187, 213
 - in Batavia, 107, 196
 - in Caribbean, 183
 - of children, 111
 - in coastal dungeons, 90, 191
 - of English people, 166–167, 173–174, 187, 190, 286
 - and famine, 95
 - on Gold Coast, 187–192
 - from warfare, 187
 - from Gold Coast forced migrations, 90–92

- mortality rates (cont.)
 of indentured servants, 126, 177, 181, 187
 in Jamaica, 126, 174, 183, 187, 229, 285
 of Malagasy slaves, 106, 109–110, 202
 of malaria, 171, 187
 of Nine Years' War, 232
 in RAC factories, 187–191
 on slaving ships, 91, 106
 seasoning, 92, 285–286
 on sugar plantations, 31, 61, 92
 in tropics, 4, 16
 of yellow fever, 175, 177, 181, 184, 187, 213
- mosquitos, 106, 169–171, 178, 182, 189, 194–196, *see also* malaria; yellow fever
- Mozambique, 33, 37, 39
- Mughal empire
 Anglo–Mughal War (1686–1690), 240, 267
 aversion to slavery, 92, 96–97, 122
 Deccan Wars (1680–1707), 264, 270
 and EIC, 96–97, 237, 240
 political power, 49
- Muslims, 51, 123, 157
- mutinies
 Bencoolen, 271–272
 Bombay mutiny of 1683, 267, 270
 in India, 290–291
 Sepoy Mutiny (1857), 291
- Myanmar, 174
- Mysore State, 289
- Nagapattinam (India), 94
- nation-states, 11
- natural disasters, 93
- “negro” label, 54, 102, 112, 120–121
- Nellacunte (merchant in Madras), 152
- Nero (enslaved man), 277
- Netherlands, the, *see also* Dutch East India Company (VOC)
 Anglo–Dutch naval wars, 14, 46, 55, 179, 211, 241
 and Caribbean trade, 241
 and English Empire, 34
 malaria, spreading of, 172
 and Nosy Be/Assada, 55
 overseas expansion, 9, 34
 and Portugal, 34
 slave trade, 38, 95, 102–103, 107, 110, 283
- and Spain, 34
- Surinam settlement, 14, 46, 80
- Nevis (Caribbean island)
 arming of slaves in, 255
 chattel principle in, 149
 deficiency laws, racial, 232, 238
 French victory over, 289
 payment of wages, 140
 reimbursement for executed slaves, 147
 slave majority at, 45
 sugar plantations, 44
- New England, *see also* Carolinas;
 Chesapeake; North America
 King Philip's War (1675–1676), 247
 Pequot War (1636–1637), 40
 slave population, 66, 220
 trade with Caribbean, 82
 white population, 16, 212–214, 220
- New York, 46, 102
- Newman, Simon P., 177
- Nias (Indonesian island), 21, 67, 103, 109–111, 159
- Nine Years' War (1688–1697), 184, 198, 228, 232, 241
 and fear of insurrection, 249, 254–255
- Noell, Martin, 7
- North America, *see also* Carolinas;
 Chesapeake; New England; *specific places*
 English settlers in, 12–13, 16–17
 French settlers in, 12, 17
 independence from Britain, 292
 population, 291
 slave minorities in, 220
 slaves in, 17, 38, 66
 temporary form of slavery in, 125
- North Carolina, *see also* Carolinas
- Northeast, John, 148
- Nosy Be (plantation colony), 5, 53–55, 230
- nutmeg, 35, 55
- Omohundro Institute (OI), 10
- opium trade, 269
- Ordonds, Ralph, 194
- origins debate, 115n
- Oronooko (fictional enslaved man), 246
- orphans, 73–74, 134, 182
- Ottoman empire, 279
- Pacific Ocean, 9, 33
- Padang (Indonesia), 201

- “Painted Prince” (human exhibit), 8
 Paris, Treaty of (1783), 289
 Parker, Geoffrey, 17, 68
 Paroby, William, 121
partus sequitur ventrem (inheritable status of slavery), 18, 42, 44, 129–133, 163–164
 Patterson, Orlando, 20, 89, 123
 Peinross, Samuel, 151
 Pennington, James W.C., 144
 Penruddock uprising (1654), 77
 pepper trade, 23, 192
 Pequot War (1636–1637), 40
 Pernambuco (Brazil), 41
 Petty, William, 222
 Philippines, the, 9, 289
 Pilkington, Thomas, 89
 Pincus, Steven, 11, 15
 pirates and piracy, 28, 47, 102, 105, 155, 268
 plague, 70, 126
 plantations and plantation slavery, *see also* Barbadian plantation model; sugar plantations
 as archetype of slavery, 18
 in Brazil, 41
 cotton plantations, 24
 Iberian model, 41
 indentured servants sent to, 74–77
 inheriting plantations, 148, 182
 slaves as essential property of, 148, 154
 tobacco plantations, 24, 219
 planters, 15, 148, 187, 208, 286
 Plassey, Battle of (1757), 12, 289
 Platt, Joshua, 189
 political arithmetic, 205, 221–223, 236–238, *see also* race and racism
 Pomeranz, Kenneth, 293
 Port Royal (Jamaica), 47
 Portuguese empire
 forced laborers used by, 73
 Indo-Portuguese community, 236, 238
 and the Netherlands, 34
 overseas expansion, 9
 prazeiros (settlers in Southeast Africa), 33
 slave trade
 in 15th century, 30–31
 Gold Coast slave trade, 84–85
 Indian Ocean slave trade, 32, 34, 38
 temporary form of slavery used by, 123
 volume, 283
 sugar plantations, 31
 trade with Spain, 32
 Potosí, 9, 131
prazeiros (Portuguese settlers in Southeast Africa), 33
 precious metals, 2
 pregnancy and reproduction, 111, 127, 130, 279, 287
 Priaman (Sumatra), 62
 Price, Richard, 13
 Prise, Jonathan, 154
 prisoners of war
 in Barbados, 3, 41, 43, 73, 76–77, 207
 from Gold Coast, 20, 69, 86–88, 105, 246
 need for alternatives to, 79
 privateering, 47, *see also* pirates and piracy
 property rights, 22, 118, 132, 145–153, 256
 Providence Island (English colony), 14, 39–41, 43, 230
 Providence Island Company, 40
 provision grounds, 140, 142
 Pryaman (Indonesia), 192, 197
 Pulicat (India), 94, 97
 punishment, *see also* executions; torture; violence
 of criminals, 137
 of servants, 161
 of slaves
 dehumanization of, 158–159
 for rebellion (plots), 158–160, 245, 260
 in St. Helena, 258
 whipping, 161, 258, 260, 272
 at York Fort, 272
 Puritanism, 40, *see also* Association Island; Providence Island

 Quakers, 247
 Quedah (Malay Peninsula), 96

 race and racism
 “Black Christians”, 237
 black/white binary, 236–238, 260
 blackness, 157
 and consent to bondage, 137
 deficiency laws, racial, 230–235, 237, 276
 defining archetype of slavery, 116
 defining category of enslavement, 120–122
 degeneration, racial, 3

- race and racism (cont.)
 and dehumanization of enslaved people, 156
 and essentialism, 284–285
 as marker of difference, 156
 mastery, perceived white racial, 230
 “negro” label, 54, 102, 112, 120–121
 origin and evolution of racism in English Americas, 115
 origins debate, 115
 segregation, 186
 and skin color, 118, 120–121, 156
 testimonies of black slaves, 272
 racial slavery
 as archetype of slavery, 18, 113
 and diseases, 167–168, 176–178, 199–203
 and gang labor, 180–181
 and mortality rates, 201
 origin of, 40–44
 work capacity, assumptions about, 69
 raiding, 7, 38, 95
 rainfall, 3, 31, 93–94, 189, 195
 rebellions and revolts, *see also* insurrection
 Barbadian slave rebellion plot (1675), 204, 240, 244, 247
 Barbadian slave rebellion plot (1692), 249, 256
 Indian Rebellion of 1857, 291
 Indigenous people countering, 240
 by Irishmen, 209
 in Jamaica, 158, 244–245, 248–249, 287, 290
 Monmouth Rebellion (1685–1686), 77
 punishment for, 158–160, 245, 260
 on ships, 265
 in St. Helena, 57
 in St. Jago, 249
 Recôncavo of Bahia (Brazil), 42
 religion, *see also* Christianity; Islam
 as marker of difference, 120, 156–157
 human sacrifices, 109
 religious conversion, 51, 128, 156, 237, 270
 “white slaves” narrative, 16, 115, 155
 Reséndez, Andrés, 139
 Restoration (1660), 44, 46, 56, 159
 rice cultivation, 46, 57
 Roach, William, 148
 Roanoke (settlement in North Carolina), 13
 Robin (enslaved man at St. Helena), 257
 Rochefort, César de, 176
 Roman law, 131–133
 Royal African Company (RAC)
 Barbadian plantation model, use of, 6, 60
 charter of 1660, 48
 EIC buying slaves from, 4
 employees, number of, 217
 employees’ contracts, 136
 factories
 Barbadian plantation model, use of, 60
 fear of insurrections, 261–266
 Gold Coast, 261–266
 mortality rates, 187–191
 payment of slaves, 142–143, 165
 racial mastery, perceived, 234
 recruiting, 49
 slave trade, 21, 48, 56
 slave trade monopoly, 48, 85, 104
 Royalists, 76–77, 155, 208
 Run (Indonesian island), 46, 55
 Russell, Francis, 185–186, 215, 239, 250
 Russia, 279
 Sainte Marie (island near Madagascar), 102
 Sakalava people, 100
 São Tomé, 31, 73
 Scotland
 Anglo-Scottish Act of Union (1707), 23, 184
 Darien Peninsula settlement, 14, 184
 indentured servants from, 247
 prisoners of war from, 77
 Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639–1653), 71–73, 79, 209
 Searle, Daniel, 182, 209, 254
 Searle, Edward, 88, 90, 190, 263
 seasoning, 92, 285–286
 Second Anglo–Dutch War, 14, 46, 55, 211
 segregation, 186, 209
 Sekondi (Ghana), 189, 217, 261, 264
 Senegal, 283
 Sepoys, 277, 288, 290–291
 servant codes, *see also* indentured servitude:
 servant codes
 servants, *see also* indentured servitude:
 servants
 settler colonialism, *see also* colonialism
 Seven Years’ War (1754–1763), 12, 282–283, 289, 293
 Sherbrow factory (York Island), 261
 Shering, Samuel, 265
 Shivaji (Indian ruler), 96

- Siam, 240, 267
- Sierra Leone, 48, 64, 174
- Sillibar (Sumatra), 273
- Sioux people, 130
- skin color, 118, 120–121, 156, *see also* race and racism
- slave codes
- in Antigua, 160, 254
 - Barbadian code of 1661, 44, 120, 134, 146, 149, 157, 160, 205, 230, 253, 255
 - Barbadian code of 1688, 121, 160, 232
 - in Caribbean, 120, 146, 159
 - in Carolinas, 254
 - in English Americas, 115
 - in Jamaica, 63, 162, 253, 255
- slave hunters, 147
- slave majorities
- in Accra, 217
 - in Antigua, 187, 282
 - in Barbados, 178–179, 206, 215–216, 282
 - in Batavia, 109
 - in Cape Coast (Ghana), 217–218
 - in Caribbean, 216, 282
 - on Gold Coast, 216–218
 - in Indonesia, 109
 - in Jamaica, 21, 216, 283, 290
 - on Leeward Islands, 216, 282
 - in Lesser Antilles, 220
 - in Nevis, 45
 - and political arithmetic, 222
 - in Puritan colonies, 39
 - in St. Helena, 219
 - and sugar plantations, 216
 - in Surinam, 216
 - and yellow fever epidemics, 187
 - at York Fort, 220
- slave trade, *see also* enslaved people
- abolition of transatlantic slave trade (1807), 283
 - auctions, 117, 140
 - chattel principle, legacy of, 145
 - in Caribbean, 43
 - in Carolinas, 81
 - on Coromandel Coast, 92–99
 - and disease, 191
 - dungeons, 90, 217
 - by the Dutch, 38, 95, 102, 104, 107, 110, 283
 - by EIC, 20, 102–105, 113
 - by France, 283
 - on Gold Coast, 83–92, 84
 - in India, 93
 - Intra-American slave trade, 81–83
 - in Madagascar, 37, 39, 69, 99–107
 - malaria, spreading of, 172
 - and political arithmetic, 222
 - by Portuguese Empire, 30–32, 34, 38, 84–85, 123, 283
 - by RAC, 21, 48, 56, 85, 104
 - transatlantic slave trade, 34, 39, 283
- slavery, *see also* bondage; indentured servitude; manumission; racial slavery
- and alienation/statelessness, 20, 89, 118, 156, 278
 - amelioration movement, 287, 290
 - antithetical to English culture, 139
 - archetype of, 18, 114, 116–117, 144
 - “chattel principle”, 19, 117, 131–132, 143–149, 153
 - critics of, 155 *see also* abolitionists, degrees of domination, 118
 - dependence on, 63
 - different forms of, 18–21, 50, 113–118
 - by the Dutch, 34–36
 - ethnic groups subjected to, 20
 - by EIC, 38, 50–52, 62, 69
 - and freedom, 19–20, 22, 51, 117
 - governing and management of
 - difficulty of, on African Coast, 62
 - by the Dutch, 62
 - gang labor, 42, 58, 180–181
 - in Indian Ocean, 62
 - in St. Helena, 58
 - Iberian form of, 51
 - in India, 50–52
 - language, note on, 15–17
 - legitimacy of, 28
 - Muslim form of, 51
 - and property rights, 22, 118, 132, 145–153, 256
 - rationing, slave, 140
- slavery, English variant of, *see also*
- Barbadian model; racial slavery; slave majorities
 - Barbadian origin of, 39, 41–42
 - escalation of, during 1640s, 39, 63
 - inheritable status, 18, 42, 44, 129–133
 - making of, 114
 - permanence of bondage terms, 123, 280

- slavery, English variant of, (cont.)
 - and RAC, 48
 - slave labor, dependence on, 5
- slaves, *see also* enslaved people
- slaving ships
 - Adventure*, 265
 - Charles Gally*, 218
 - Crowe*, 218
 - Eagle*, 218
 - Elizabeth*, 218
 - mortality rates, 91, 106
 - rebellions on, 265
 - torture on, 91
- smallpox, 107
- soldiers, 136, 180, 272, 275, 277, 287, 290
- Songhay empire, 279
- South American slavery, 37
- South Carolina, *see also* Carolinas
- South Sulawesi, 104, 108, 271
- Spanish empire
 - Anglo–Spanish Treaty of 1670, 82
 - and Caribbean, 241
 - asiento de negros* (contract), 32
 - Hispaniola, 32, 249
- slavery by
 - enslaving of British people, 36
 - enslaving of Indigenous people, 131
 - payment of slaves, 139
 - temporary form of slavery used by, 123–124
 - volume of slave trade, 283
- Speightstown (Barbados), 245
- spice islands (Indonesia)
 - Dutch victory over EIC at, 14, 52
 - mortality rates, of English people, 174
 - racial slavery in, 165
 - slave labor, 62, 64
 - slave trade at, 268
- spices
 - brought to Western plantations, 30, 55–57
 - Dutch monopoly on spice trade, 35, 52, 283
 - importance of, for EIC, 52
 - in Nosy Be/Assada, 53, 55
 - nutmeg, 35, 55
 - pepper trade, 23, 192
- Sri Lanka, 174
- St. Catherine Parish (Jamaica), 248
- St. Domingue, 9, 184, 229, 282, 285
- St. Elizabeth Parish (Jamaica), 252
- St. Helena
 - Barbadian plantation model in, 21, 52, 57–59, 258
 - Bencoolen trying to attract men from, 198
 - deficiency laws, racial, 234
 - and Drax, James, 7
 - fear of insurrection, 257–260, 273
 - Indian slaves sent to, 95
 - punishment of criminals in, 137
 - reimbursement for executed slaves, 147
 - removing ban on importation of slaves, 268
 - servants in, 137
 - slave labor, dependence on, 4
 - slave majority in, 219
 - slave population, 65
 - spices brought to, 57
- St. Jago, 249
- St. Kitts
 - natural environment, 251
 - sugar plantations in, 44, 243
 - warfare in, 184, 214, 242, 289
 - white settlers, lack of, 225
- St. Lucia, 14, 207, 211
- St. Vincent, 212, 282, 289
- staple crop plantations, 46, 57, 62, 114
- Stapleton, William, 127, 227
- Stiles, Thomas, 122
- Stroud, George M., 144, 153
- subjecthood
 - and consent to bondage, 137, 139
 - of criminals, 135–136
 - denying of slaves', 22, 159–161, 279, 287
 - and race, 125, 160
 - of servants, 146, 162
- sugar, 2, 292
- sugar plantations
 - in Africa, 31
 - in Barbados, 5, 41–42, 178
 - in Brazil, 42
 - in Caribbean, 21, 281
 - demand for slave labor, 24, 81
 - ecological damage caused by, 31, 41, 178, 180, 251
 - fear of insurrection, 239
 - gang labor, 42, 58, 180–181
 - in Jamaica, 46–47, 216
 - in Leeward Islands, 44, 216
 - mortality rates on, 31, 61, 92
 - planters' colonial network, 15
 - Portuguese, 31

- productivity, 42, 243
 raising demand for laborers, 74
 servant codes, 134
 servants at, 209
 and slave majorities, 216
 soil depletion, 282
 Spanish, 32
 in St. Kitts, 44, 243
 in Sumatra, 59
 wealth created by, 41–42
 in Western Caribbean, 46
 suicide, 107, 245
 Sulawesi, 21, 28
 Sultanate of Makassar, 108, 266, 271
 Sumatra
 arming of slaves in, 275
 Barbadian plantation model in, 21
 criminals banished to, 137
 and Dampier, William, 7
 debt bondage laborers in, 129
 diseases, 172, 174, 192–199, 268
 factories in, 192, 267
 insurrections in, 272
 Malagasy slaves in, 104, 107
 mortality rates, of English people, 174
 Nias slaves in, 110
 slave labor, dependence on, 62, 268
 sugar plantations in, 59
 Surat (India), 39, 49, 121–122, 136, 138, 156
 Surinam
 Barbadian migration to, 15, 210–211, 242
 ceded to Dutch (1667), 14, 46, 80
 Indigenous population, 79–80
 mortality rates in, 166
 slave labor, dependence on, 63
 slave majority in, 216
 swamps, 169, 194
 Swanley, George, 137
 Sweet, James H., 157

 Tanjavur (India), 95
 textile trade, 10, 23, 50, 52, 283
 Thelwall, Richard, 234
 Thomas, Dalby, 61–62
 An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West-India Colonies, 61, 231
 Thompson, Maurice, 6
 Tituba (enslaved Indigenous woman), 83

 tobacco plantations, 24, 219
 Tobago, 14, 210, 283
 Tomback (enslaved man), 152
 Tordesillas, Treaty of (1494), 32
 Torrid Zone, *see also* tropics
 Tortuga (Haiti), 82
 torture, *see also* executions; punishment; violence
 as punishment for rebellion (plots), 158–160, 245, 260
 on slaving ships, 91
 whipping, 161, 258, 260, 272
 transatlantic slave trade, 34, 39, 283
 trans-Pacific trade, 9
 tropics
 commodities grown in, 53, 55, 292
 essentialism, 284–285
 global cooling, effect of, 68
 slave majorities in, 17, 66
 slave trade, 37
 slavery in, 64
 white settlers, lack of, 16–17, 204
 Tryamong (Indonesia), 130, 277
 Tryon, Thomas, 166
 Turks, 36

 Ungalla (enslaved woman), 272
 United States Constitution, 16, 133

 vagrancy, 70, 208–209
 Vaughan, John, 47, 227
 Veevers, David, 13, 266
 Vietnam, 271
 Vijayanagara empire, 94
 Vink, Markus, 93
 violence, *see also* executions; punishment; torture
 EIC on, 163–164
 toward servants, 158, 161
 toward slaves, 91, 158–164
 on slaving ships, 91
 Virginia, 125, 130, 132, 165, 201, 254
vivax (malaria parasite), 171, 196
 Vlaardingen (Makassar), 109
 volcanic eruptions, 108

 Walrond, Elizabeth, 147
 war, *see also* Nine Years' War (1688–1697); prisoners of war
 Anglo–Dutch naval wars, 14, 46, 55, 179, 211, 241

- war, (cont.)
 Anglo-Mughal War (1686–1690), 240, 267
 Deccan Wars (1680–1707), 264, 270
 King Philip's War (1675–1676), 247
 Pequot War (1636–1637), 40
 Seven Years' War (1754–1763), 12, 282, 289, 293
 War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), 229, 241
 Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639–1653), 71–73, 79, 209
 Yamasee War (1715–1717), 82
- warfare
 among Indigenous people, 130
 and disease environment, 190
 in Caribbean, 240–243, 288
 on Gold Coast, 14, 20, 86–88, 105, 246, 262
 in India, 98
 in Indonesia, 107, 109
 in Madagascar, 100–101
 mortality rates, 187
 war captives, 130, 246
- Warner, Thomas ("Warner the Indian"), 211
- weapons, 254–255, 260, 275, *see also* firearms
- West Africa
 Barbadian plantation model transported to, 60–61
 diseases in, 167, 173
 Dutch slavery in, 34
 English forts and factories in, 48–49
 English slavery in, 63, 67
 fear of insurrection, 239
 low level of domination possible in, 119
 malaria, 171
 map, 297
 RAC monopoly on slave trade, 48, 85, 104
 Seven Years' War, 283
 slave population, 64
 trade in, English, 15, 24
 West India Regiments (WIRs), 288
 whipping, 161, 258, 260, 272
 Whistler, Henry, 129
 white men, 181, 230
 "white slaves" narrative, 16, 115, 155
 white women, 181, 233
 Whydah, 88
 Williams, Eric, 293
 Willoughby, Francis, 42, 207–208, 210, 214
 Wilson, Lee, 144
 Worcester, Battle of (1651), 76
- Yamasee War (1715–1717), 82
- yellow fever
 Barbadian epidemic (1647–1652), 72, 175–183, 206, 213, 224
 Barbadian epidemic (1690s), 184–187, 215, 250, 254
 in Caribbean, 126, 186–187, 224
 different races' responses to, 175
 and mosquitos, 169–174
 and Nine Years' War (1688–1697), 184, 186
 resistance to, 167
- York Fort (Bencoolen)
 arming of slaves at, 277
 debt bondage laborers at, 129
 dependence on local polities, 274
 diseases, 107, 193, 195
 fear of insurrection, 273
 Malagasy slaves at, 107
 slave majority at, 220
 and sugar plantations, 60
- York Island (Sierra Leone), 60
- Yucatán, 175
- Zambezi Valley, 33