

Slave trades, slavery and emancipation in nineteenth-century European travel narratives

Much of the general public's information about slavery in nineteenth-century Europe came from accounts written by those who had witnessed and experienced it for themselves. From Stedman's tales of fighting maroons in Surinam and the bestselling *Interesting narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano* at the end of the eighteenth century to the "testimonies of all the travellers"¹ that contributed to the resurgence of abolitionism in the late nineteenth century, travel narratives had a profound impact on the anti-slavery movement. They provided informative detail, as well as dramatic exposés that influenced public understanding of slavery in Europe. Eyewitness perspectives were particularly prized by abolitionists, with good reason. Regularly accused of uninformed meddling by the pro-slavery lobby, they needed the credibility of travellers' accounts and reliable witnesses on their side in political debates.

Travel narratives played an important role in the development of European anti-slavery political culture. These writings fulfilled several functions: they were a prime source of factual evidence for the abolition movement, they were able to powerfully convey the horrors of slavery, and they attracted new audiences. In the late eighteenth century, the number of Europeans who had seen the transatlantic slave trade at its embarkation point in Africa was minuscule, and only a small proportion of Europeans had seen transatlantic slave ships arriving at their destinations in the Americas. Therefore, relatively few of the members and supporters of abolitionist and anti-slavery societies would actually have witnessed slavery in practice. Travel narratives depicting enslavement in Africa, conditions in the Middle Passage and slave plantations in the Americas became a vital source of first-hand knowledge which informed campaigners and fed into the political pamphlets being distributed in Europe. They were useful to both the pro- and anti-slavery lobbies, because of the very rarity of eyewitness accounts.

Travel narratives played a crucial role in conveying the horror of the slave trade and slavery through the powerful testimony of words and images presented from a personal viewpoint. For example, Horace Waller, a member of Dr Livingstone's last expedition in Africa, spoke at the 1867 anti-slavery conference in Paris. His ability to rouse the imagination of the public is clear, as he invited the audience to bear witness to the continuing slave trade in Africa:

I must ask you to accompany me to these scenes, where I have witnessed such purchases of our fellow-creatures. I must take you for a moment to the inland plains, the beautiful mountains, the lake-shores and the rivers of East Africa, to the slavers' hunting grounds, whence the tide of human misery pours down to the coast.²

Although not all of the most widely known European explorers were supporters of abolition, by portraying slavery and slave trading and telling the stories of the enslaved in their books they raised public awareness of the question.

Travel writing was a very popular literary and journalistic format during this period. This popularity opened up new markets for abolitionism, finding casual readers who were not engaged by political

pamphlets or anti-slavery newspapers. Travel narratives appealed to wide audiences in Europe, irrespective of religious beliefs or social class. With this international market for their writings, explorers such as Schweinfurth, Park and Livingstone were known throughout Europe and the rest of the world. Their travel journals and narratives were published in multiple editions, serialised and illustrated in the popular press, and translated into other European languages: "African explorers became some of the first international celebrity figures, their fame crossing national boundaries".³ Throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, travel writing and abolitionism were closely intertwined, as travellers shocked by their encounters with slavery in Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Americas became involved with the politics of abolition, while anti-slavery campaigners increasingly became travellers themselves and wrote about their experiences.

This essay traces the impact of eyewitness accounts and travel narratives written by explorers, missionaries, naval officers and former slaves upon European abolitionist political cultures, from the 1780s to the 1880s. It looks at the uses anti-slavery political campaigners made of travel writing as a genre in order to convey their arguments to the European public. It examines the information that travel writing provided to the abolitionists, and highlights the stories told by travellers and retold by abolitionists. Finally, it examines the wider cultural significance of travel narratives in the nineteenth century, focusing in particular on how European identities were shaped by these first-hand portrayals of slave trading and slavery, and how they fitted with imperial ambitions during this period.

Campaigns against the slave trade and the role of travel narratives

Travellers' testimonies had a particularly strong impact on public opinion and knowledge in the case of Africa and the European campaigns against the slave trade from the late eighteenth century. So many factors connected to the transatlantic slave trade and its effects upon Africa had yet to be publically understood or accepted, that it was relatively easy for the enemies of abolition to dismiss these campaigns as the work of naive, unworldly clergymen, unpatriotic radicals or foreigners. Collecting first-hand testimonies to back up their arguments was therefore one of the earliest activities undertaken by eighteenth-century abolitionists, who needed to create a coherent case against the slave trade. Much of this work was carried out in Britain by Thomas Clarkson, who travelled to port cities to interview sailors who had worked on slave ships, collected information about Africa, and assembled a cast of "respectable" and "disinterested persons" to testify against the slave trade.⁴

Abolitionist campaigners quickly learnt the value of the personal testimony, as well as the need for eye witness statements and tangible evidence to substantiate their claims. Particular strengths of the late eighteenth-century campaigns against the slave trade which caught the public imagination included the African produce collected and displayed by Clarkson on his abolition tours of Britain between 1788 and 1792, and the stories of those who had experienced the transatlantic trade first-hand. European abolition campaigners throughout the nineteenth century would build upon these

early strengths by soliciting, publishing, translating and constantly citing eyewitness accounts of slave trading and slavery in their pamphlets and speeches.

Among the travel narratives solicited by the abolitionist movement were the first-person reports of those who testified before a committee of the British House of Commons in 1791 on the subject of the slave trade. Particularly valuable eye witnesses included those who had lived in Africa or the Americas, or travelled widely and frequently there, those who held a high rank within their occupation, and those who benefitted from a high social rank, as “respectable persons of education, observation, and leisure”.⁵ The idea of an ‘impartial’ eye witness, with no investment or business interests connected to the slave trade or Africa, was also important, as many of the Europeans who had an opportunity to observe the slave trade were also involved in it. British naval officers, merchants, former slave traders and ships’ doctors, and planters and overseers from the Caribbean colonies and the United States were among the witnesses who were eventually brought together by the abolitionists and persuaded to testify publically in 1791. The Swedish colonial theorist Carl Bernhard Wadström, who travelled to the coast of West Africa in 1787, also testified before the British parliament. His expedition was a failure, but Wadström was able to establish himself as a rare abolitionist expert on Africa in both Britain and France, with the help of publications including his 1789 *Observations on the slave trade, and a description of some part of the coast of Guinea*.⁶

The publication of Wadström’s *Observations* by the abolitionist printer James Phillips is an example of how the movement against the slave trade was able to support the publication of useful eyewitness narratives and testimonies. Other travel narratives solicited and published by the abolitionists included James Field Stanfield’s *Observations on a Guinea voyage in a series of letters addressed to the Rev. Thomas Clarkson* and Alexander Falconbridge’s *Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa*.⁷ Like Wadström, former slave ship doctor Falconbridge testified against the slave trade before the British Parliament. An Irish sailor, Stanfield also had first-hand experience of the slave trade. He had made several transatlantic voyages on slave ships, and had lived for several months in a European trading fort in Benin. All three travellers were encouraged to publish their eyewitness accounts of the slave trade in Africa, and they all became supporters of abolition in the process.

The relative paucity of first-hand accounts of Africa and the slave trade also encouraged international exchange between abolitionists. The same few available testimonies, written by British, Irish, Swedish or French eye witnesses, reappeared time after time in European books and pamphlets. For example, Falconbridge’s *Account of the Slave Trade* was translated into German, and cited by the French abolitionist Benjamin Frossard, and Equiano’s 1789 *Interesting narrative* was published in Dutch, German and Russian within five years.⁸ The writings of British abolitionists similarly made reference to foreign travel narratives. Clarkson’s 1791 *Letters on the Slave-Trade, and the State of the Natives in those parts of Africa, which are contiguous to Fort St. Louis and Goree*, for example, was based on the eyewitness testimony of René Geoffroy de Villeneuve, a former employee of the Governor of Goree, in French West Africa.⁹ The European abolition movement gained immensely from the circulation of these travel accounts, often in translation. This internationalised the movement and allowed campaigners to make use of a range of sources.

Even where authors of travel narratives were indifferent or hostile to the idea of abolition, the information that their writings contained could be very useful to campaigners. The explorer Mungo Park was personally unconvinced by abolitionism, arguing that: “the effect would neither be so extensive or beneficial, as many wise and worthy persons fondly expect”.¹⁰ Despite this ambivalence, Park’s *Travels in the Interior District of Africa* was widely cited by abolitionists, including Clarkson, Wilberforce and Fowell Buxton. It became so ubiquitous in abolitionist texts that two decades later James Stephen suggested that the “interior of Africa” was now better known than Britain’s own colonies.¹¹ Much of Clarkson’s pamphlet *The cries of Africa to the inhabitants of Europe* was based on information taken from Park’s travel narrative, including how and why Africans were enslaved and sold, and the means of transporting the enslaved. Clarkson also made use of stories taken from *Travels in the Interior District of Africa* and other first-hand travel narratives of Africa to contest the suggestion from the pro-slave trade lobby that Africans were ‘uncivilised’, or that they were unaffected by their enslavement: “There will be no difficulty in refuting this argument, if we appeal to disinterested travellers, or to any travellers of reputation, who have visited the continent in question”.¹²

The abolition movement also used travel narratives to appeal to the emotions of readers. Mungo Park’s description of the slow, brutal progress of a caravan of slaves towards the coast for sale was regularly cited by abolitionists, particularly the story of Nealee, an enslaved woman who was abandoned after becoming injured and unable to keep up with the rest of the caravan. This story was retold in many abolitionist publications, from Clarkson’s *The cries of Africa to the inhabitants of Europe* to the *Antislavery Magazine & Recorder of the Progress of Christianity in the Countries connected with Slavery*, published in Derby in 1824. The more macabre and sensational aspects of travel writing were exploited effectively by the abolitionist movement, which produced publications featuring the motif of a path leading to the coast lined with the bones of the enslaved who had died en route: “Every few miles a skeleton was seen, through the whole day”.¹³ Narratives of punishments and torture inflicted upon slaves in the plantations of the Americas fulfilled the same purpose of instilling horror among readers in Europe.

Travel narratives and European anti-slavery campaigns

The advantages that travel narratives brought to the abolition movement were numerous and clearly recognised: they were of widespread, international interest and particularly in the case of expeditions to Africa, were often translated and published abroad. They contained illustrations and maps, which were circulated and used within campaigns. Travel narratives were popularised and distributed through numerous formats, from the expensive, colour-plated editions marketed to the wealthy elite to the abridged versions that appeared in illustrated penny papers. These were texts that spoke to all levels of society, and they therefore held particular importance within abolitionist political culture of the period. *Notes on the West Indies*, a travel narrative by Dr. George Pinckard published in 1806 and referred to in speeches by Clarkson and Wilberforce, is an example of these multiple formats of publication. Although the original three-volume work was beyond the means of most readers, two extracts were published as pamphlets the same year, entitled *Interesting*

narrative of a Negro sale at Demarara and A fresh proof of West Indian humanity!!! These texts were based on abridged versions of the original travel narrative, containing: “fresh proofs of the degraded and miserable situation of our African brethren, who are the victims of that wicked trade”.¹⁴ The spread of anti-slavery sentiment through first-hand accounts written by travellers, missionaries, sailors and former slaves continued to be useful in the campaigns against slavery, from the 1820s onwards.

First-hand narratives continued to hold a wide appeal within anti-slavery political culture, particularly those that were able to offer an insight into the thoughts and reactions of the enslaved. The testimonies of formerly enslaved writers such as Olaudah Equiano and Mary Prince were particularly useful to the abolition movement, as they appealed directly to readers and attempt to influence their feelings on slavery: “What my eyes have seen I think it is my duty to relate; for few people in England know what slavery is. I have been a slave - I have felt what a slave feels, and I know what a slave knows; and I would have all the good people in England to know it too, that they may break our chains, and set us free”.¹⁵ Statements attributed to the formerly enslaved which were reported second-hand in travel narratives were also valuable to European abolitionism. For example, the former French colonial administrator and priest Abbé Giudicelly described meeting a young female slave in Senegal, who asked him why, if the inhabitants of Europe detested the slave trade, did they not prevent it? The anecdote was picked up by the European abolitionist movement and cited in several publications, including the *Second Report of the Female Society for Birmingham*, which suggested that this “heart-searching question should be put to every inhabitant of enlightened Europe”.¹⁶

A significant number of European travel writers claimed to have themselves been dramatically converted to abolitionism upon witnessing slavery and its brutal effects firsthand. The conversion narrative was a popular genre of travel writing at the heart of abolitionist campaigns, from John Newton’s *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (1789) to Henry Whiteley’s *Three months in Jamaica* (1833), and was often combined with a narrative of religious conversion. Whiteley claimed to be unconvinced by the anti-slavery movement before travelling to the Caribbean. Upon witnessing the public punishment of slaves, however, he writes: “When I saw this spectacle, now for the first time exhibited before my eyes, with all its revolting accompaniments, and saw the degraded and mangled victim writhing and groaning under the infliction, I felt horror-struck”.¹⁷ Travel narratives written by ‘converts’ to abolitionism played an important role in political campaigns to abolish slavery, and continued to be published throughout the nineteenth century.

However, not all Europeans who witnessed slavery first-hand and wrote about it became active supporters of abolition. Many travellers to Africa and the Americas were careful not to condemn practices of enslavement outright, or else they declared their theoretical opposition to slavery but did not believe in its legal abolition as a feasible possibility. Some were accused by abolitionists of being “seduced by self-interest into favouring the cause of the Slave Traders”, especially if they had travelled with slave caravans in Africa or had accepted the hospitality of planters in the Caribbean.¹⁸ Partially because of the scarcity of first-hand accounts, abolitionists often took from these narratives the aspects which supported their cause, and ignored or minimised the more pro-slavery aspects being cited by their political opponents.

During the campaigns in Europe for the abolition of slavery, travel narratives were only partially incorporated into abolitionist political culture. They were an important but often unpredictable force, which could equally support or undermine abolitionist arguments. European campaigners knew that they could not count on consistent reports arriving from Africa and the Americas which corroborated their arguments for abolition. Many travellers' accounts were either openly hostile to the anti-slavery cause, or did not take a clear position on the issue. Abolitionists therefore attempted to assert a degree of control over the travel narrative genre by writing their own travel accounts of slavery, and by continuing to support the publication of sympathetic first-hand narratives.

With the importance of travel narratives to the abolitionist movement reaffirmed in the nineteenth century, members of anti-slavery societies began to travel in person to the Americas in order to report back on continued practices of slavery in the United States, Brazil or other European colonies, or on the progress of emancipation in the British colonies. For example, the abolitionist John Candler was sent in 1839 by the Society of Friends to report on Caribbean society since Britain had passed legislation abolishing slavery. Candler visited the entire region, and published two travel narratives on his return: the two-volume *West Indies. Extracts from the Journal of John Candler, whilst travelling in Jamaica (1840-41)*, and *Brief Notices of Hayti: with its condition, resources, and prospects (1842)*. John Scoble, William Lloyd, Joseph Sturge, Thomas Harvey and Joseph John Gurney in Britain, and Victor Schoelcher in France were also all members of anti-slavery societies who visited the Caribbean during the decade of apprenticeship and transition that followed Britain's abolition of slavery in 1833. These abolitionist travellers then published their impressions for the benefit of fellow abolitionists and the wider European public.

Another interesting example of the fusion of abolitionism and travel writing can be seen in the short-lived penny magazine *The Tourist; A Literary and Anti-Slavery Journal*, published between 1832 and 1833. Recognising the widespread popularity of the travel narrative, the British Agency Anti-Slavery Society attempted to use the growing fashion for 'Tourism' to publicise the activities of abolitionist campaigners among the general public. *The Tourist* published pictures and articles on everything from 'Baptist missions in the slave colonies' to 'Battles with crocodiles', alongside abolitionist articles and important campaign information.

Two additional major sources of first-hand accounts of slavery which became increasingly integral to abolitionism in the nineteenth century were missionary narratives and naval anti-slavery patrol narratives. The authors of these texts did not always express their full support for the aims of the anti-slavery movement, but they fulfilled all of the major criteria for eye-witnesses that had been established in 1791 by the British parliamentary commission. They were usually seen as reliable sources, due to their professional credentials, and therefore taken seriously. Their work also gave them the opportunity of sustained and meaningful long-term contact with both enslavers and the enslaved. Although often discouraged from entering into the politics of abolition, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, priests and naval officers began to offer their expert viewpoint on these issues. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the divisions between abolitionists working in the European sphere, and travellers in Africa and the Americas became less stark, as abolitionists began to travel and travellers began to publish narratives that were clearly influenced by the politics of abolition.

Casimir Dugoujon, a missionary in the French colony of Guadeloupe was already sending anonymous letters directly to the French Caribbean abolitionist journal *Revue des Colonies* condemning slavery in 1841, and published the full collection on his return to Europe in 1845 as *Lettres sur l'esclavage dans les colonies françaises*. In a letter to a fellow missionary in Africa he remarked: "The seminary often reminds us not to get involved in agitation and politics in the Antilles: I recognise the wisdom of this counsel, but it cannot prevent me from being disgusted by slavery, and calling for its end in the strongest possible terms".¹⁹ Another French missionary and travel author, Édouard Goubert, recounts being summoned to the colonial court for his pro-abolitionist views.²⁰ A German Moravian missionary, Otto Tank, composed an open letter to Dutch absentee planters condemning the abuse of slaves on plantations in Surinam.²¹ In cases such as these, a personal abhorrence of slavery could develop into abolitionist involvement through publication in journals, correspondence and other forms of activism.

The distinction between the abolitionist political pamphlet and the travel account thus became increasingly blurred, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century as opposition to slavery developed into a common identity uniting the 'civilised' nations of Europe, and shared by campaigners, travellers, missionaries and the majority of the general public. The final part of this essay will look at how travel writing as a genre influenced the development of nineteenth-century European identities with regard to the issue of slave trading, slavery and emancipation.

European identities and portrayals of slavery in travel narratives

The increasingly central importance of travel narratives within European anti-slavery political culture can be seen as a reflection of their significance within European culture more generally during this period. The development of nineteenth-century imperialism contributed to a widespread popular interest in global travel within existing and potential regions of colonisation. Travellers who were able to offer first-hand knowledge of these areas to the public developed a high public profile. West, Central and East Africa in particular continued to be visited by only a small number of European travellers, whose narratives dominated external perceptions of the continent. By returning from Africa with tales of villages deserted after raids, caravans of slaves crossing Africa and unscrupulous slave traders waiting on the coast, travellers in the nineteenth century contributed to the politically-charged focus on slavery and slave trading that continued to dominate European interactions with Africa. The reinforcement of racial stereotypes and hierarchies generated by these encounters fundamentally influenced how Africa was perceived from the outside. They also influenced the idea that ending slave trading was only possible through direct European imperial intervention.

Travel writing, colonialism and anti-slavery activism had been closely linked from the end of the eighteenth century. The work of Wadström combined all three of these interests, as did abolitionist initiatives in Sierra Leone and Bulama. Colonial settlements were founded by France and Britain in West Africa with the input of organisations such as the African Institution, in what has been described as a "convergence of economic, religious, moral, and humanitarian concerns".²² Information about these settlements was conveyed back to Europe via travellers' accounts and

official reports. By the mid-nineteenth century, naval officers, priests and other representatives of institutions of European imperial expansion such as the church and navy were publishing travel narratives that increasingly took a firm anti-slavery stance. Combining opposition to slave trading with a programme of colonial expansion thus developed from small-scale, idealistic experiments, such as the Sierra Leone Company, into a driving, 'civilising' factor within European imperial policy across Africa. As a consensus was established, and the slave trade and slavery were abolished by a series of European countries, opposition to slavery started to become part of Europe's defining identity: "by the second half of the nineteenth century, anti-slavery was more a hallmark of European civilization than just a peculiarly British preoccupation".²³ The transformation from slave trading to slave trade-policing nations had a clear impact on the development of European identities, as European countries like Portugal came under pressure to bow to the consensus of 'civilised' nations and actively oppose slave trading and slave labour in Africa.

Individuals such as David Livingstone, Georg Schweinfurth, and other renowned nineteenth-century travellers and missionaries in the 1860s and 70s became emblems of this European imperial engagement in Africa against the slave trade and slavery. The publications of first-hand travel accounts increasingly created a sense of urgency around the question of the 'Arab' slave trade in North and East Africa, via dramatic exposés and appeals to Europe to intervene. These were reinforced by the work of the National Geographic Societies, Church Missionary societies and other European organisations with an interest in Africa. Conferences and meetings were organised where the issue of the slave trade was discussed, such as the Brussels National Geographic conference in 1876, attended by explorers and geographers from across Europe. The increasing predominance of missionary narratives was also crucial in building public reaction to the revelations being published. Concepts of a shared Christian morality, shame and salvation were used in an attempt to unite Europe against the slave trade. The continuation of the trade in East Africa was described as the curse of Africa and the shame of the European nations. This trade could, according to Livingstone, could most effectively be ended through a combination of Europeanised 'civilisation', Christianity and commerce.²⁴ As European imperial interest in Africa grew, consensus against slave trading and slavery took shape. This was aided by dramatic first-hand travel accounts, and appeals to European pride and national identity. It was also accompanied by religious tensions: most prominently expressed through anti-Muslim sentiment against the slave traders in North and East Africa, but also through a kind of competitive anti-slavery between Catholic and Protestant missionaries and campaign groups in Europe.

In 1874, Schweinfurth called for direct military action against the slave trade in East Africa; a call which would later be echoed by the French missionary and anti-slavery campaigner Cardinal Lavigerie. Campaign maps were published by Lavigerie and British abolitionist Joseph Cooper, highlighting the extent of slave trading in the region. The influence of these European campaigns had an increasingly clear impact on colonial and foreign policy towards the end of the nineteenth century, as anti-slavery organisations called for European intervention, the appointment of more consuls in African countries, and a clear message to be sent: "Let the Khedive and his people understand [...] that the Governments of England and France are now in earnest in their determination that this horrible scandal to humanity, this blot upon civilisation, shall at once and forever be put an end to".²⁵ The campaigns against 'Arab' slave traders created an increased sense of purpose and shared European identity based on 'civilisation', shared religious affiliation, and

opposition to a shared enemy: “European righteousness over the issue was more intertwined than ever with a growing desire for African colonies. Conveniently, the slave-traders were mostly Muslim, which allowed Europeans to feel still more virtuous about their ambitions”.²⁶

In conclusion, the information about Africa and the slave trade received from travel narratives and first-hand accounts contributed to European interest in plans for ‘opening up’, ‘civilising’, colonising and developing African territory. This was the case from the early foundation of abolitionist settlements on the coast of West Africa in the eighteenth century to plans for imperial and military interventions in the name of abolitionism a century later. “Filled with righteousness about combating slavery”,²⁷ late nineteenth-century travel narratives called for a coordinated response by European nations to the slave trade in Central and East Africa, and thus fed into European imperial ambitions by justifying increased levels of interventionism in these regions. Shared anti-slavery goals created a sense of cooperation and common endeavour that was promoted by Cardinal Lavigerie and King Leopold II of Belgium, the new leaders of European abolitionism. Both of these anti-slavery figureheads supported military intervention and colonisation in Africa as a means of ending the slave trade, and Lavigerie and his supporters even called for a new Crusade against the slave trade, led by re-formed chivalric orders such as the Templar Knights and the Order of Malta.²⁸ This aggressive rhetoric opposing slave trading contributed to a developing imperialist identity shared by European powers at the end of the nineteenth century.

The French abolitionist Étienne Berlioux stressed the importance of travel narratives within anti-slavery political culture during this period, describing first-hand accounts of missionaries and anti-slavery campaigners in the context of a ‘war’ on slave trading: “Their testimonies when collated, compared and subjected where possible to serious evaluation, will give us the true history of the slave trade and a complete portrait of the war against it”.²⁹ Berlioux demonstrates here the influence of written testimonies upon the shared concept of militarised and Christianised European ‘civilisation’, which was at the centre of late nineteenth-century imperialism in Africa. As the case of forced labour in Leopold II’s Belgian Congo colony during this period made very clear, along with their “Crusade” against the slave trade, European countries were also exporting new and brutal forms of enslavement.³⁰

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Notes

¹ ‘Manifeste de la Société antiesclavagiste de Bruxelles’, *Bulletin de la Société antiesclavagiste de France*, 1. (October 1888), 76.

² *Special Report of the Anti-Slavery Conference, held in Paris in the Salle Herz, on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh August, 1867* (London: The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1867), 15-16.

³ Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (London: Pan, 2006), 27.

⁴ *An abstract of the evidence delivered before a select committee of the House of Commons in the years 1790 and 1791; on the part of the petitioners for the abolition of the slave-trade* (London: James Phillips, 1791), iv.

⁵ *Ibid*, iv.

⁶ Carl Bernhard Wadström, *Observations on the slave trade, and a description of some part of the coast of Guinea, during a voyage, made in 1787 and 1788, in company with Doctor A. Sparrman and Capt. Arrehenius* (London: James Phillips, 1789).

⁷ James Field Stanfield, *Observations on a Guinea voyage in a series of letters addressed to the Rev. Thomas Clarkson* (London: J. Phillips, 1788). Alexander Falconbridge, *Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (London: James Phillips, 1788).

⁸ Benjamin Frossard, *La Cause des Esclaves Nègres et des Habitans de la Guinée, Portée au Tribunal de la Justice, de la Religion, de la Politique; ou Histoire de la Traite & de l'Esclavage des Nègres*, vol. I (Lyon: Aimé de la Roche, 1789), 267.

⁹ René Geoffroy de Villeneuve, *Letters on the Slave-Trade, and the State of the Natives in those parts of Africa, which are contiguous to Fort St. Louis and Goree* (London: James Phillips, 1791).

¹⁰ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa: Performed under the direction and patronage of the African Association, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London: C. & W. Nicol, 1799), 298.

¹¹ *The Speech of James Stephen, Esq. at the Annual Meeting of the African Institution, at Free-Mason's Hall, On the 26th March, 1817* (London: J. Butterworth & Son. J. Hatchard, 1817), 18.

¹² Thomas Clarkson, *The cries of Africa to the inhabitants of Europe; or, a survey of that bloody commerce called the slave trade* (London: Harvey & Darton, W. Phillips, 1821), 10.

¹³ Dixon Denham et al., *Narrative of the travels and discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824* (London: John Murray, 1826), vol. I, 12.

¹⁴ *Notes on the West Indies: Interesting narrative of a Negro sale at Demarara* (London: C. Whittingham, 1806), 1.

¹⁵ Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian slave. Related by herself* (London: F. Westley and A. H. Davis, 1831), 11.

¹⁶ Abbé Jean-Vincent Giudicelly, *Observations sur la traite des noirs (Paris: Chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1820). The Second Report of the Female Society for Birmingham [...] for the relief of British negro slaves* (Birmingham: B. Hudson, 1827), 20.

¹⁷ Henry Whiteley, *Three months in Jamaica, in 1832: Comprising a residence of seven weeks on a sugar plantation* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1833), 4.

¹⁸ William Wilberforce, *A Letter to his Excellency, the Prince of Talleyrand-Perigord, &c &c &c, On the subject of the slave trade* (London: J. Hatchard, 1814), 22.

¹⁹ Casimir Dugoujon, *Lettres sur l'esclavage dans les colonies françaises, par M. L'Abbé Dugoujon, Ex-Missionnaire apostolique du St-Esprit* (Paris: Pagnerre, 1845), 30.

²⁰ Édouard Goubert, *Pauvres Nègres! Ou quatre ans aux Antilles Françaises* (Paris: Moessard & Jousset, 1840). Cited in Victor Schoelcher, *De la pétition des ouvriers pour l'abolition immédiate de l'esclavage* (1844), 15.

²¹ Otto Tank, *Aan de Heeren Eigenaars en Administrateurs van plantaadjes in de Kolonie Suriname* (1848).

²² Suzanne Schwarz, 'Commerce, Civilization and Christianity: The Development of the Sierra Leone Company' in *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, ed. Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles (Liverpool University Press, 2007), 252-276, 254.

²³ Joel Quirk and David Richardson, 'Anti-slavery, European Identity and International Society: A Macro-historical Perspective', *Journal of Modern European History*, 7:1 (2009), 68.

²⁴ David Livingstone, *Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its tributaries; and of the discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858-1864* (London: John Murray, 1865), v.

²⁵ Colonel Gordon, *R.E., C.B., and the Slave Trade in Egypt, the Soudan, and Equatorial Africa* (London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1880), 9.

²⁶ Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, 92.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁸ Cardinal Lavigerie, 'Sur les anciens ordres religieux-militaires et la possibilité d'une association du même genre pour l'abolition de l'esclavage, dans les contrées barbares de l'Afrique' in *Documents sur la fondation de l'œuvre antiesclavagiste par S. Ém. Le Cardinal Lavigerie* (Saint-Cloud: Imprimerie Vve Eugène Belin et Fils, 1889), 712-15. See also Louis Ruffet, *La traite des nègres et l'esclavage en Afrique* (Geneva: Charles Schuchardt, 1889), which describes the prospect of military intervention to end the slave trade in Africa as a "justifiable war" (31).

²⁹ Étienne-Félix Berlioux, *La Traite orientale: Histoire des chasses à l'homme organisées en Afrique depuis quinze ans pour les marchés de l'Orient* (Paris: Guillaumin & Cie., 1870), 10.

³⁰ See Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (2006).