The Middle Passage (1791)

Olaudah Equiano: The Middle Passage (1791)

The slave trade was part of the commercial network commonly referred to as the “triangular trade” because the most common round-trip routes (there were several) roughly resembled a triangle. One version involving the slave business began in New England, where vessels carrying rum would depart for Africa. Once there, the rum was exchanged for slaves. Then, the ship would recross the Atlantic, transporting its chattel cargo to the West Indies, where the slaves were sold for sugar and molasses. Finally, these products were shipped to New England to be distilled into rum. And so it went. Each third of the trip meant a handsome profit for the experienced trader. The portion of the voyage that brought slaves to America (considered the middle leg of the triangle) was known as the Middle Passage. It generally took the better part of two months to complete.

The infamous Middle Passage was nothing short of a living hell. As many as 600 blacks, sometimes even more, were cast into irons and then tightly packed into the dank and fetid cargo hold of a single ship. So great was the profit for each slave delivered that most vessels were stocked to their utmost capacity. The captives were sparsely fed—a handful of warm vegetable mush per day was typical. The stench of blood, sweat, vomit, and excrement filled the three- or four-foot-high holds. Air vents on the side of the ship were closed when the seas became rough or the rain heavy, hence many of the Africans suffocated or were overcome by the extreme heat. The excruciating torment of the Middle Passage even caused some slaves to turn against others.

The African women were often sexually abused by their captors. Additional atrocities faced those slaves who offered resistance or became ill. The unruly were mercilessly whipped and beaten into submission; the sick were simply tossed overboard, weighted with chains, to the sharks. Slaves would be heaved into the ocean too should a ship run low on food or if detection by legal authorities seemed probable. Deaths due to diseases such as dysentery and smallpox were common. (There are cases on record of entire shiploads, including the crew, going blind from ophthalmia.) Some historians estimate the average mortality rate of the Middle Passage at upwards to 15 percent, although there were numerous times when half or two-thirds of the slaves were dead upon a ship’s arrival in the West Indies. In a sense, those who died were the lucky ones.

The following excerpt is taken from chapter two of The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Equiano was taken from his home in what is now Nigeria and sold into slavery during the 1750s. He later purchased his freedom. In 1791 he wrote about his horrific journey across the Atlantic Ocean.

One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as usual, and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls and in a moment seized us both, and, without giving us time to cry out, or make resistance, they stopped our mouths, and ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands, and continued to carry us as far as they could, till night came on, when we reached a small house
where the robbers halted for refreshment, and spent the night. We were then unbound, but
were unable to take any food; and, being quite overpowered by fatigue and grief, our only
relief was some sleep, which allayed our misfortune for a short time. . . .

The next day proved a day of greater sorrow than I had yet experienced; for my sister and I
were then separated, while we lay clasped in each other’s arms. It was in vain that we
besought them not to part us; she was torn from me, and immediately carried away, while I
was left in a state of distraction not to be described. I cried and grieved continually; and for
several days I did not eat anything but what they forced into my mouth. At length, after
many days travelling, during which I had often changed masters I got into the hands of a
chieftain, in a very pleasant country. This man had two wives and some children, and they
all used me extremely well, and did all they could to comfort me; particularly the first wife,
who was something like my mother. Although I was a great many days journey from my
father’s house, yet these people spoke exactly the same language with us. . . .

One evening to my great surprise, whom should I see brought to the house where I was but
my dear sister! As soon as she saw me she gave a loud shriek, and ran into my arms. I was
quite overpowered: neither of us could speak; but, for a considerable time, clung to each
other in mutual embraces, unable to do anything but weep. Our meeting affected all who
saw us. . . When these people knew we were brother and sister they indulged us together;
and the man, to whom I supposed we belonged, lay with us, he in the middle, while she and
I held one another by the hands across his breast all night; and thus for a while we forgot our
misfortunes in the joy of being together: but even this small comfort was soon to have an
end; for scarcely had the fatal morning appeared, when she was again torn from me forever!
I was now more miserable, if possible, than before. The small relief which her presence
gave me from pain was gone, and the wretchedness of my situation was redoubled by my
anxiety after her fate, and my apprehensions lest her sufferings should be greater than mine,
when I could not be with her to alleviate them. Yes, thou dear partner of all my childish
sports! Thou sharer of my joys and sorrows! happy should I have ever esteemed myself to
encounter every misery for you, and to procure your freedom by the sacrifice of my own.
Though you were early forced from my arms, your image has been always rivetted in my
heart, from which neither time nor fortune have been able to remove it; so that, while the
thoughts of your sufferings have damped my prosperity, they have mingled with adversity
and increased its bitterness. . . .

Thus I continued to travel, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, through different
countries and various nations, till, at the end of six or seven months after I had been
kidnapped, I arrived at the sea coast. . . .

The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave
ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with
astonishment, which was soon converted into terror when I was carried on board. I was
immediately handled and tossed up to see if I were found by some of the crew; and I was
now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill
me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language
they spoke (which was very different from any I had ever heard), united to confirm me in
this belief. Indeed such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten
thousand worlds had been my own I would have freely parted with them all to have
exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave in my own country. When I looked
round the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of black
people of every description chained together, everyone of their countenances expressing
dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and quite overpowered with horror
and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little I found
some black people about me, who I believed were some of those who brought me on board,
and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain. I
asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and
loose hair. They told me I was not; and one of the crew brought me a small portion of
spirituous liquor in a wine glass; but, being afraid of him, I would not take it out of his hand.
One of the blacks therefore took it from him and gave it to me, and I took a little down my
palate, which, instead of reviving me, as they thought it would, threw me into the greatest
consternation at the strange feeling it produced having never tasted any such liquor before.
Soon after this the blacks who brought me on board went off, and left me abandoned to
despair.

I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country, or even the least
glimpse of hope of gaining the shore which I now considered as friendly; and I even wished
for my former slavery in preference to my present situation, which was filled with horrors of
every kind, still heightened by my ignorance of what I was to undergo. I was not long
suffered to indulge my grief; I was soon put down hinder the decks, and there I received
such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the
loathsome quality of the stench and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not
able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend,
death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and on
my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across I think the
windlass and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely. I had never experienced
anything of this kind before; and although, not being used to the water, I naturally feared
that element the first time I saw it, yet nevertheless, could I have got over the nettings, I
would have jumped over the side, but I could not; and, besides, the crew used to watch us
very closely who were not chained down to the decks, lest we should leap into the water:
and I have seen some of these poor African prisoners most severely cut for attempting to do
so, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself. In a little
time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small
degree gave ease to my mind. I inquired of these what was to be done with us; they gave me
to understand we were to be carried to these white people’s country to work for them.

I then was a little revived, and thought, if it were no worse than working, my situation was
not so desperate: but still I feared I should be put to death, the white people looked and
acted, as I thought, in so savage a manner; for I had never seen among any people such
instances of brutal cruelty; and this not only shewn towards us blacks, but also to some of
the whites themselves. One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on
deck, flogged so unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast that he died in
consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute. This
made me fear these people the more; and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the
same manner. I could not help expressing my fears and apprehensions to some of my
countrymen: I asked them if these people had no country, but lived in this hollow place (the
ship): they told me they did not, but came from a distant one. ‘Then,’ said I, ‘how comes it
in all our country we never heard of them?’ They told me because they lived so very far off.
I then asked where were their women? had they any like themselves? I was told they had:
‘and why,’ said I, ‘do we not see them?’ They answered, because they were left behind. I
asked how the vessel could go? They told me they could not tell; but that there were cloths
put upon the masts by the help of the ropes I saw, and then the vessel went on; and the white
men had some spell or magic they put in the water when they liked in order to stop the
vessel. I was exceedingly amazed at this account, and really thought they were spirits. I
therefore wished much to be from amongst them, for I expected they would sacrifice me:
but my wishes were vain; for we were so quartered that it was impossible for any of us to
make our escape.

While we stayed on the coast I was mostly on deck; and one day, to my great astonishment,
I saw one of these vessels coming in with the sails up. As soon as the whites saw it, they
gave a great shout, at which we were amazed; and the more so as the vessel appeared larger
by approaching nearer. At last she came to an anchor in my sight, and when the anchor was
let go I and my countrymen who saw it were lost in astonishment to observe the vessel stop;
and were now convinced it was done by magic. Soon after this the other ship got her boats
out, and they came on board of us, and the people of both ships seemed very glad to see
each other. Several of the strangers also shook hands with us black people, and made
motions with their hands, signifying I suppose we were to go to their country; but we did not
understand them.

At last, when the ship we were in had got in all her cargo, they made ready with many
fearful noises, and we were all put under deck, so that we could not see how they managed
the vessel. But this disappointment was the least of my sorrow. The stench of the hold while
we were on the coast was so in tolerably loathsome, that it was dangerous to remain there
for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but
now that the whole ship’s cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential.
The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship,
which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us.
This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a
variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many
died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers.
This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become
insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and
were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the
whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable. Happily perhaps for myself I was soon reduced so low here that it was thought necessary to keep me almost always on deck; and from my extreme youth I was not put in fetters. In this situation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought upon deck at the point of death, which I began to hope would soon put an end to my miseries. Often did I think many of the inhabitants of the deep much more happy than myself. I envied them the freedom they enjoyed, and as often wished I could change my condition for theirs.

Every circumstance I met with served only to render my state more painful, and heighten my apprehensions, and my opinion of the cruelty of the whites. One day they had taken a number of fishes and when they had killed and satisfied themselves with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on the deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat as we expected, they tossed the remaining fish into the sea again, although we begged and prayed for some as well as we could, but in vain; and some of my countrymen, being pressed by hunger, took an opportunity, when they thought no one saw them, of trying to get a little privately; but they were discovered, and the attempt procured them some very severe floggings.

One day, when we had a smooth sea and moderate wind, two of my wearied countrymen who were chained together (I was near them at the time), preferring death to such a life of misery, somehow made through the nettings and jumped into the sea: immediately another quite dejected fellow, who, on account of his illness, was suffered to be out of irons, also followed their example; and I believe many more would very soon have done the same if they had not been prevented by the ship’s crew, who were instantly alarmed. Those of us that were the most active were in a moment put down under the deck, and there was such a noise and confusion amongst the people of the ship as I never heard before, to stop her, and get the boat out to go after the slaves. However two of the wretches were drowned, but they got the other, and afterwards flogged him unmercifully for thus attempting to prefer death to slavery. In this manner we continued to undergo more hardships than I can now relate, hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade. Many a time we were near suffocation from the want of fresh air, which we were often without for whole days together. This, and the stench of the necessary tubs, carried off many. During our passage I first saw flying fishes, which surprised me very much: they used frequently to fly across the ship, and many of them fell on the deck. I also now first saw the use of the quadrant; I had often with astonishment seen the mariners make observations with it, and I could not think what it meant. They at last took notice of my surprise and one of them, willing to increase it, as well as to gratify my curiosity made me one day look through it. The clouds appeared to me to be land, which disappeared as they passed along. This heightened my wonder; and I was now more persuaded than ever that I was in another world, and that every thing about me was magic.

At last we came in sight of the island of Barbados, at which the whites on board gave a great shout, and made many signs of joy to us. We did not know what to think of this; but as the vessel drew nearer we plainly saw the harbour, and other ships of different kinds and sizes;
and we soon anchored amongst them off Bridge Town. Many merchants and planters now came on board, though it was in the evening. They put us in separate parcels, and examined us attentively. They also made us jump, and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there. We thought by this we should be eaten by those ugly men, as they appeared to us; and, when soon after we were all put down under the deck again, there was much dread and trembling among us, and nothing but bitter cries to be heard all the night from these apprehensions, insomuch that at last the white people got some old slaves from the land to pacify us. They told us we were not to be eaten, but to work, and were soon to go on land, where we should see many of our country people. This report eased us much; and sure enough, soon after we were landed, there came to us Africans of all languages. We were conducted immediately to the merchant’s yard, where we were all pent up together like so many sheep in a fold, without regard to sex or age.

As every object was new to me everything I saw filled me with surprise. What struck me first was that the houses were built with stories, and in every other respect different from those in Africa: but I was still more astonished on seeing people on horseback. I did not know what this could mean; and indeed I thought these people were full of nothing but magical arts. While I was in this astonishment one of my fellow prisoners spoke to a countryman of his about the horses, who said they were the same kind they had in their country. I understood them, though they were from a distant part of Africa, and I thought it odd I had not seen any horses there; but afterwards when I came to converse with different Africans, I found they had many horses amongst them, and much larger than those I then saw. We were not many days in the merchant’s custody before we were sold after their usual manner, which is this: On a signal given (as the beat of a drum), the buyers rush at once into the yard where the slaves are confined, and make choice of that parcel they like best. The noise and clamour with which this is attended, and the eagerness visible in the countenances of the buyers serve not a little to increase the apprehensions of the terrified Africans, who may well be supposed to consider them as the ministers of that destruction to which they think themselves devoted. In this manner, without scruple, are relations and friends separated, most of them never to see each other again. I remember in the vessel in which I was brought over, in the men’s apartment, there were several brothers, who, in the sale, were sold in different lots; and it was very moving on this occasion to see and hear their cries at parting. O, ye nominal Christians! might not an African ask you, learned you this from your God, who says unto you, Do unto all men as you would men should do unto you? Is it not enough that we are torn from our country and friends to toil for your luxury and lust of gain? Must every tender feeling be likewise sacrificed to your avarice? Are the dearest friends and relations, now rendered more dear by their separation from their kindred, still to be parted from each other, and thus prevented from cheering the gloom of slavery with the small comfort of being together and mingling their sufferings and sorrows? Why are parents to lose their children, brothers their sisters, or husbands their wives? Surely this is a new refinement in cruelty, which, while it has no advantage to atone for it, thus aggravates distress, and adds fresh horrors even to the wretchedness of slavery.
• Explain the so-called “triangular trade” system. Why is the Middle Passage the most infamous leg of the network?

• What kind of impression did the sight of the slave ship make on Olaudah Equiano?

• What evidence is there that some African captives preferred death to the misery of slavery?

• How does Olaudah Equiano react when placed aboard the ship?

• Why does he not commit suicide by jumping overboard into the ocean?
• What episode occurred aboard the ship that especially aroused Olaudah Equiano?

• What were the conditions aboard the ship? List some of the specific atrocities.

• How do you account for the behavior of the ship’s crew as described by Olaudah Equiano?

• What incident caused Olaudah Equiano “greater sorrow than I had yet experienced” in his life?