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WOMEN IN THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY AND SLAVE TRADE BETWEEN 1500 AND 1850: A CHRONOLOGICAL EVALUATION

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ABSTRACT

The study focuses on the transformation in societies' slavery related practices, particularly female slavery, depending upon social periods which can be listed as tribalism, classical antiquity, feudalism and capitalism. Particularly after tribalism which means urbanization, slavery has been treated as a manpower for production, a service for household duties and concubinage for masters' desires by societies. During these periods, female slavery has dramatically transformed from household slavery to concubinage. This situation, particularly in capitalism, has turned into brutal practices.

The main aim of the study is to show women' situation in three main slave trades and to analyse why practical differences occur in them. The method of study is chronological evaluation in order to assess the differences among social periods, genders and societies' women related perceptions. The study highlights the roles of slave trades not only for victims but also for societies. The practical brutality in slave trades both female and male victims until the mid-19th century was one of the darkest side of history. In this regard, the study analyses every social period to consider, highlight and evaluate not only for understanding why there are practical differences between genders and but also for demonstrating the history of slavery and slave trade.

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1500 ve 1850 Yılları Arasındaki Kölelik ve Köle Ticaretinde Kadın: Kronolojik Bir Değerlendirme

ÖZET

Bu çalışma,, kabilecilik, klasik antik dönem, feodalizm ve kapitalizm sosyal dönemlerinde toplumların kölelikle ve özellikle kadın köleliği ile ilgili uygulamalarındaki dönüşüm üzerinde durmuştur. Özellikle kabilecilik döneminden sonra ki bu yerleşik hayat anlamına gelmekte, kölelik üretim için iş gücü, ev işleri için bir servis ve köle sahiplerinin cinsel talepleri doğrultusunda bir uygulama olarak algılanmıştır. Bu sosyal dönemler sırasında, kadın köleliği ciddi şekilde evrilmiş ve ev hizmetlerini yürütmek olan görev tanımı harem kadını şekline bürünmüştür. Bu durum, kapitalizm döneminde de vahşi bir şekil almıştır.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı üç ana köle ticareti dönemini anlatmak ve ortaya çıkan uygulamaya yönelik farkları analiz etmektir. Çalışmada, toplumların sosyal dönemler, cinsiyetler ve kadın köleliği ile ilgili olarak ortaya koydukları algı farklarını ortaya koymak için kronolojik bir değerlendirme yapılacaktır. Çalışma, köle ticaretinin etkisini sadece köleler için değil aynı zamanda toplumlar için de vurgulayacaktır. 19. Yüzyılın ortalarına kadar köle ticaretinde kadın ve erkek kurbanların maruz kaldıkları vahşi uygulama tarihin en karanlık noktalarından biridir. Bu bağlamda, çalışma, her sosyal dönemi sadece cinsiyetler arasında neden köle ticaretinde farklar var anlamak için değil aynı zamanda kölelik tarihini ve köle ticaretlerini göstermek için analiz edecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Köle Ticareti, Sosyal Dönemler, Kadın Köleliği, Yolculuk Dönemi*

1. INTRODUCTION

This study chronologically assesses women's situation in the institution of slavery. This method provides a way of analysis to understand the incidents in a historical order and an opportunity in order to notice the relationship between different eras and different regions and societies. Different from other studies in Turkey, this study utilizes archival documents related to subject in order to make this study original. In other words, the study is a unique one both to use

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historical documents and to focus on women's situation in slave trades in Turkey. Particularly, it analyses slavery from primitive society to the mid-19th century in order to understand how societies has been evolved by religion and society periods. To show this transformation process, the study provides examples from various societies, culture and religions. The main aim of this study is to demonstrate how women are affected in all these processes. In addition to this aim, this study underlines and claims that female slaves were subjected to sexual exploitation and rape different from male slaves in slave trades because of their physiologic nature.

This study evaluates women's situation in slavery under four social periods which are tribalism, classical antiquity, feudalism and capitalism. In every part of these periods, the study focuses on women's role in societies by analysing societies' interactions with each and religions' and cultures' effects on perception for women and production processes. This general overview prepares a background for demonstrating women's situation in early capitalism which means 'slave trade' for this study.

This study mainly concentrates on female slaves' situation between the 16th century to the mid-19th century. The numbers of slaves dramatically increased in this period because of slave trade. Expedition periods, increasing production, new plantation areas were rapidly raised manpower need. Slave traders met this demand with African slaves. It is not just related to manpower. Significantly, Trans-Saharan and White Slave Trades has occurred to meet slave masters' sexual desires or to provide products for their local territories.

This study is divided into three to enhance accuracy and to provide a narrative aspect for telling historical truths in chronological order. First part focuses on the general aspects of slavery and women' role in slavery from tribalism to the 16th century. Second part concentrates on three main slave trades and their negative contributions not only for the brutal history of slavery but also for the women'

problems and pains. The last part is based on just women in the institution of slavery and slave trades.

2. WOMEN IN THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY

This research has outlined the general features of the role of women in the institution of slavery within different societies and administrative models from antiquity to the later periods of the 18th century. The study now analyses the relationship between culture and religion from antiquity to early modern times, and thus from polytheistic to monotheistic religions. According to Burkert (1996:1), societies have never been without a religion. Polytheistic religions were dominant until Roman Emperor Theodosius I (379-395) banned polytheistic cultural beliefs within the Roman Empire (Rives 2007:107).

To understand the practices as they relate to the genders, we should examine the gender approaches in these beliefs, before we look at the practices as they affect female slaves. Mesopotamian civilizations, Ancient Egypt, Greece and the Roman Empire adopted polytheistic beliefs. So, in these societies, religion had a significant role in defining men's and women's lives. In cultural and religious regards, polytheistic societies revered female fertility. Thus, in these societies, women held an almost equal status to men. For instance, in Assyria, women invested their time, money and power in trade, like men (Mandacı 2016:30-39). In Egypt, Women's equality was demonstrated through their engagement in practices that were very significant for women in ancient history. The most powerful examples were the women who made a great impact on society as individuals, such as rulers like Cleopatra and Nefertiti (Piccione 1995). More everyday examples included that women could own property, such as land, slaves and money. They could also sign contracts, and act as witnesses in court. Women could manage their properties without men's intervention, supervision or approval (Piccione 1995).

In these regards, we can say that religion, as a part of culture, must both influence and be influenced by social and ideological culture (Raday 2003:669). However, to make a proper and wide assessment, religion and culture provide us with a limited view. Because of this, it was important that administrative formation and economic developments had important role to determine the new characteristics of genders. After the first settled tribes, patriarchies began to obtain power in the urbanization periods. The significant effect of patriarchy, which was a form of social organization in which a male is the family head and title is traced through the male line with regard to the practices for genders (History of World 2008), is that it caused the transformation of the word ‘gender’ to ‘sex’. Aristotle in particular, in his book *Politics* clearly puts forward the idea that only Greek men had the capability to govern themselves and non-Greeks were governed by said wise and superior Greek men. This approach showed that women were totally precluded from administrative duties. According to Aristotle, the woman’s role was purely passive. The main duty of women was to be a vessel for the nourishment of the male seed. Furthermore, in this period, females were explained as being the result of a defective development in the womb (Aristotle 1999:1-2).

Having considered the effects of the patriarchal structure on women’s daily lives, we can now look at the main trigger of social formation. Mainly, the economy was the prominent trigger for all other social structures. Productive activity, according to Geoffrey M. Hodgson, resulted in four primary social periods, which were tribalism, classical antiquity, feudalism, and capitalism (Hodgson 2001:336-338). Here this study analyses the slavery issue and the role of women in the institution, from tribalism to capitalism, up until the end of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

During tribalism, family was the primary and prominent institution. Thus, the elements of family took part in the production process. Familial cultural characteristics organized the society. In this period, social interaction depended on limited trade and other activities,

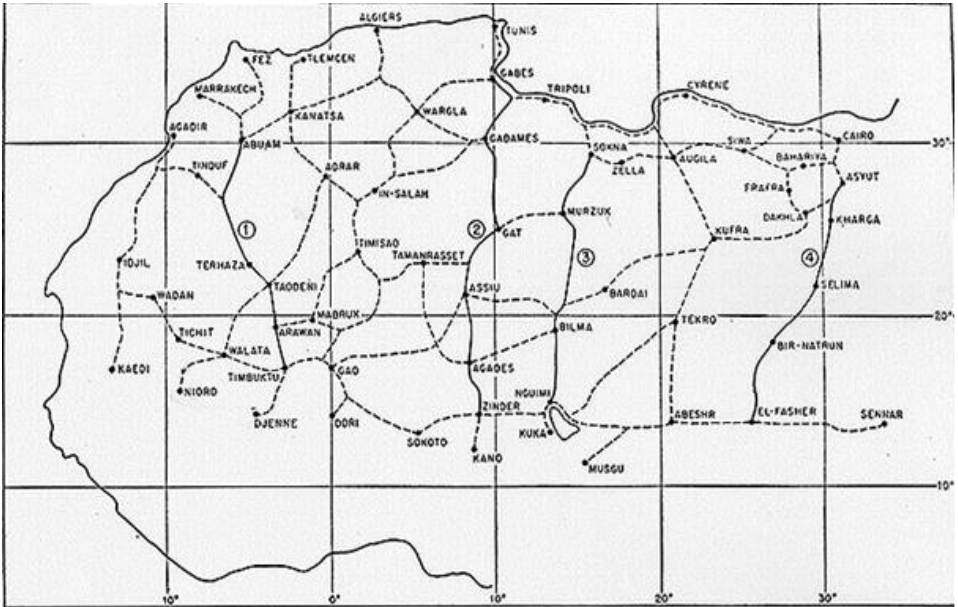
such as hunting and gathering. So, women in tribal societies did not obviously suffer from the gender issue. In classical antiquity, the family notion was a primary but it did not remain prominent, because the states conducted the productive activities. Slavery became the prominent institution of this period. As I mentioned above, the genders had almost equal standing in classical antiquity. Trade carried out by the states obtained importance in this period. As a next step in social formation, feudal estates were the prominent institution in feudalism. During this period, the gap between genders drastically opened, because the family notion began to lose importance not only in productive activities but also in familial cultural traits. Both in classical antiquity and in feudalism, the progress of trade/markets depended on prominent institutions. The final step in social development was capitalism. In this period, capitalist firms became the prominent institutions. To obtain more profit, the family, the state and market served these capitalist firms (Hodgson 2001:321), resulting in the cultural erosion of the family. Economic issues such as urbanization and industrialization have altered the social institutions. One of the most significant consequences of this was the nuclearization of the family (Anwar 2008:555-559). Different factors related to slavery and social development had effects on the evolution of the family; these included industrialization and the decline of agricultural and village trades. In other words, economic desires and demands forced the family structure to change from a joint and extended family system to the nuclear family (Wahab and Odunsi 2012).

3. SLAVE TRADE BETWEEN 1500 AND 1850

Given the above general overview of the institution of slavery, from primitive societies through to the 16th century, and its evolution and promotion by the settled life, urbanization, economics, and social and cultural transformations, in this part of the study, I will try to emphasise the three main slave trades after antiquity their causes, and their effect on societies and genders. Throughout the study, the consequences of these trades for female slaves will be considered.

3.1. The Trans-Saharan slave trade and female slavery

The Trans Saharan slave trade was one of the earliest slave trades. It was taken place between the beginning of the 8th and the beginning of the 19th century to reach sub-Saharan Africa from the North African coast, or the Levant (Rouge 2007). This trade was the major source of slaves for the Islamic world. Slaves, numbering about 9.3 million including those who died during the crossing of the desert from sub-Saharan and central Africa, were transported by caravans of camels (Rodriguez 1997:647).



Map 1: Trans Saharan slave trade routes (Murdock 1959:128)

Crossing the Sahara Desert to North Africa, there were three main routes: from Timbuktu (Mali) to Morocco, from Kano to Fezzan and Ifriqiyya (Tunisia), and from Darfur and Abyssinia (Ethiopia) to Egypt. In addition to these main routes, there were several trade

corridors, from Wadai to Bornu, from Timbuktu to Egypt (Rodriguez 1997:648). In all North African countries, from Egypt to Morocco, slavers transported slaves by following these routes. Egypt was the centre of the African slave trade. It had two characteristic features: firstly, it was a gate to provide transition from Cairo to other Mediterranean destinations, and secondly it was an important working market for enslaved Africans (Walvin 2006:23).

The Trans Saharan slave trade was a sort of barter trade. In the early periods of the slave trade, merchants exchanged slaves for salt. Later, salt became less important than manufactured goods, horses and weapons. Then in the latest periods of the trade, slavers bartered African slaves to obtain East Indian cowries which became an important currency in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Rodriguez 1997:648).

According to Nathan Nunn (2008:141), it mainly resulted in state collapse, ethnic fractionalization, people suffering the effects of internal warfare, raiding, and kidnapping and Africans being taken into slavery. Even nobles and members of the king's family were kidnapped and enslaved (Vansina 1966:52). As a result of these insecure environmental situations, people began to demand arms. These arms could be obtained from North Africa and Europe in exchange for slaves, who were acquired through kidnappings (Hawthorne 1999:108-109). In other words, people became armed to defend themselves against an insecure environment. But, the weapons came from Europe or North Africa in exchange for slaves. As the study mentioned above, this cycle has been named the 'gun-slave cycle' or 'iron-slave cycle (Hawthorne 2003:78; Lovejoy 2000).

In the Trans Saharan slave trade, most of the slaves were female - approximately two-thirds of the total (Rodriguez 1997:701; Walvin 2006:23). Unlike male slaves, employed as agricultural workers, they usually worked as servants or were forced into prostitution or to become harem women (Lovejoy and Richardson 1995:285). The price

of a female slave was much greater than the price of a male slave. In addition to their characteristics which were trustworthiness and loyalty (Rodriguez 1997:648), females were preferred because of their child bearing potential which helped to meet the demand for labour (Rodriguez 1997:701).

3.2. White slavery in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula

There were two dimensions to the concept of ‘White slavery’. The first appeared initially in ancient Greece, but the main practices began in the Roman Empire when Caesar enslaved almost one million whites from Gaul and the Romans took into slavery thousands of the White “Angles” who were inhabitants of Great Britain (Phillips 1985:18). Second dimension was about the establishment of a description for sexual exploitation of white females in every part of the world. The usage of this dimension was used in recent history to present the two main situations of white females; first was white women in white countries, and the second was white women under the control of black masters. Mainly, this phrase was used the women, but scholars also used this phrase to state the white male slaves under the control of black masters. The situation and fate of the White slaves described in a Spanish text “*atrocissima et ferocissima*” (most atrocious and harsh) (Hoffman 2007). But, the phrase started to obtain a new meaning used to state the sexual enslavement of white women from the 19th and early 20th centuries (Research News 2007).

The White slavery towards the Arab world began with France practices. Rounen where was in France was a major shipping point for Irish and Flemish slaves from the 8th to the 11th centuries (Phillips 1985:62-63). The rise of the phrase “White slavery” began with the enslavement over a million European Christians, the Caucasus (mainly Circassians), Central Asia (mainly Turks) by Arabs in North Africa between the early beginning of the 16th and the late 18th centuries.

As in the Trans Saharan slave trade, in White slavery the majority of victims were female. White women and girls were imported

as concubines and to do household tasks. Female slaves were expensive to obtain and hard to import. Also, they were a major part of rich Arabs' sexual desires. So, Arabs hired slavers who for astronomical sums of money either lured or kidnapped unsuspecting young European girls for the harems of the Arabs.

With white slavery, the concept of slavery began to change completely. Because, the institution of white slavery was not cover any single part of production elements, unlike the previous versions of slavery. This mode of slavery was one of the most significant examples to show formation and the key breakpoint to indicate the swap in the meaning of slavery. After the concept of white slavery, enslavement was predominantly performed to obtain personnel commodity to meet masters' desires rather than to require someone who helped production and housework (patriarchal slavery).

3.3. The Trans-Atlantic slave trade and female slavery

Early practices of the slave trade were regularly established in 1517 through a concession by Charles V to a Flemish merchant (Langer 1948:524). In later periods, European, especially Spanish, Portuguese, French and British, sailors or slavers enslaved millions of African people from West and West Central Africa and transported them across the Atlantic between the second half of the 15th and the late decades of the 19th centuries.

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade caused many chances classified internal because of the Americas' destination character and international because of the reflections of the trade on modern capitalism with the Portuguese royal capitalism and the industrialization (Thomas 1997:56). Internal sides of the chances for the Americas, African slaves provided free labour forces to build up the New World in every part and section of the development process. They were subject to probably the most brutal and horrific assault against human beings in history. For international reflections of the slave trade, the effort for creating a single Atlantic world included western Europe and Africa,

the Caribbean islands, and the mainland of North and South America. The reflections could be examined to demonstrate the modern capitalism and its effects on business enterprises in America and Europe, and the industrialization of north-western Europe (Lovejoy 2007). To provide a better frame and more clear summative assessment about the Atlantic slave trade, Philip D. Morgan called it a “sellers’ market” at all points of the trade (Morgan 2009:225-229). Just as, in the rise of ancient Greek democracy, slavery was of incontrovertible importance it was also significant in the birth of the modern capitalist system, because the Trans-Atlantic slave trade changed the scale of production. African slaves were used in production in the early periods of trade (Goucher et.al. 1998: 491-508; Macmillan Encyclopaedia of World Slavery 1998). In the latter periods slaves were used in manufacturing processes by European and American merchants.

Following this brief summary of process of slavery and its global ramifications, we can examine the slave trade from a humanitarian perspective. This part of the study follows the actual process that symbolizes the beginning and development of the slave trade, the enslavement of African people, and the trade Triangular and Middle Passage, and finally it assesses the woman’s situation during enslavement.

3.3.1. The beginning and development of the slave trade

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade was started to conduct for finding a new route in the mid - fifteenth century by Portuguese. The main reason of this pursuit was to push back the Muslim North African traders who carried out the trade of gold, spices, and other commodities that Europe wanted. With the lapse of time, apart from their main cargo, Portuguese vessels started to carry another commodity; African men, women, and children (Mannix 1962: 1-5).

African slaves were mainly transported by the end of the 15th century either in Europe, or in Madeira, Cape Verde, São Tomé to work at sugar plantations established by the Portuguese (Curtin 1990: 78). In

addition to these two main directions, North Africa, the Middle East, Persia, India, and the Indian Ocean Islands were other destinations for African slaves (Lovejoy 2007). By the beginning of the 17th century, with the effects of expedition period, African slaves were starting to be shipped towards the American Spanish colonies. They were transported as slaves to grow sugar and mine gold on Hispaniola and were forced to drain the shallow lakes of the Mexican plateau, thereby finalizing the subjugation of the Aztec nation (UK 2005). The slave trade reached its most intense period by the middle of the 17th century. Between 1,650 and 1,807, approximately seven million Africans were enslaved and shipped to provide the labour force for the New World's agricultural production, especially sugar cane and other products such as indigo, rice, tobacco, coffee, cocoa, and cotton (Lovejoy 2000:19).

In 1807, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade entered its final period. Several countries which had been involved, including Britain and the United States, legally banned the slave trade in 1807, the Antislavery Committee was formed in London in 1823, and the Abolition of Slavery Act was introduced in 1833 and took effect in 1834. The slave trade gave way to abolitionist movements in countries which had enslaved and captured approximately 12 million African slaves (Slave Voyage 2006).

3.3.2. Enslavement of African people

The process of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was full of brutal practices including capture, stowage, torture, and transporting (Muhammed 2011:892). The most common way to obtain slaves was to kidnap them. Apart from this, wars, raiding and politico-religious struggles were responsible for the taking of a significant number of people (Nunn 2008:141). The slavers were not only Europeans, but also some African tribes, who kidnapped other Africans and imprisoned them until they could trade them (Muhammed 2011:893).

Although kidnapping was a crime in most communities, and Africans were kidnapped by Africans, Europeans also used this method

to enslave Africans. Many African communities were Muslim, but contrary to Islamic or Qur'anic Law, which mentions that a Muslim is a Muslim's fellow, Muslims were enslaved (Bewley 2000). Kidnapping destroyed many families. People tried to find an effective way to protect their family members. Kidnapping from families and villages, conflicts between communities, and abrupt village raids all rendered the environment insecure (Thomas 1997:56).

Individuals required weapons to deal with the dangers and to protect themselves and their families. These weapons could be obtained from Europeans in exchange for slaves. The slaves were most probably obtained by kidnapping. Thus efforts to provide a more secure environment merely perpetuated increasing slavery. In other words, Europeans gave weapons to the Africans in return for slaves, but those slaves were obtained through local kidnapping and these kidnappings resulted in even greater insecurity. Africans enslaved and sold others to defend themselves from European slave traders. This cycle has been named the "gun-slave cycle" by Paul Lovejoy, the "iron-slave cycle" by Walter Hawthorne (Lovejoy 2000; Hawthorne 2003: 96-98).

The enslavement procedure had several stages. The first was enslavement itself which included capture, kidnapping, or purchase. The second was domestic transport from the slaves' home town to the ports. During this transportation process, slaves were exposed to cruel and inhumane treatments, including branding on the right breast with a burning iron (Muhammed 2011:895). The third step was the notorious Middle Passage which was one of the most brutal episodes not only for the enslaved Africans, but also in the whole of history (Muhammed 2011:892).

3.3.3. The Triangular Trade and Middle Passage

The slave trade was conducted within a triangular route. These routes mainly included the European, African, and American ports. The first phase of trade was called the 'outward passage.' In this part of the triangle, European traders sailed towards the West African coasts to

exchange people for manufactured goods. The second phase was named the ‘middle passage.’ Slaves were sailed from Africa to Americas. Generally, this took 6 to 8 weeks. And then, they were offloaded for sale and were then put to work. The final step was known as the ‘homeward passage’, in which the ships sailed to Europe with goods which had been produced by slave labour (Lovejoy 2000).



Map 2: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and its directions for slaves, raw materials and manufactured products (Chocolate Class 2017)

The slave trade was an important industry, so many European sailors especially from England, Holland, Portugal, Spain, and France, were involved in this profitable form of business. Traders used several methods to enslave people apart from selling manufactured products. For example, merchants established contacts with local merchants and officials, and then married the local women. These local women were used as agents by the merchants to find new victims (Lovejoy 2000).

To regulate the trade, the European countries established their own companies under royal decree or parliamentary order. Monopolies

began to appear as a result of these efforts. Probably the most effective and powerful was England's Royal African Company (RAC), established in 1672 (National Archives). The RAC was in charge of 249 voyages to West Africa from 1680 to 1688. It shipped almost 90,000 Africans to the Americas between 1672 and 1689 (Lovejoy). It had exclusive trading rights granted by King Charles II and parliament to develop the slave trade to capitalize upon sugar plantation growth in the Caribbean (National Archives 1672). Following on from the RAC, the slave trade was continued until 1807 by the South Sea Company. In addition to the English Companies, there were many other monopolies from several countries, including the Portuguese Cacheu, Maranhao, and Pernambuco Companies, and the Dutch West India Company (Thomas 1997:290).

The middle passage was the main phase of the slave trade. Slave vessels weighed anchor from the ports of Africa and set sail towards the Americas (Brazil, the Spanish Empire, British West Indies, French West Indies, British North America & US, the Dutch West Indies and the Danish West Indies) and Europe (Thomas 1997:805). Slavers preferred the Africans, because they thought "Native Americans" were incapable of carrying out the work of the New World. In reality, unlike Africans, Native Americans were not resistant to diseases (Liverpool Museum).

Throughout the centuries, the scale of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade extended by the periods of expeditions, because the demand for slave labour increased. To meet this profitable demand, slave vessels transported thousands of slaves per week. To maintain order on board, the captain and crew behaved more brutally and cruelly than in any previous stage of the slave trade (Thomas 1997:147).

During the voyage, slaves suffered inhumane treatment which had mainly three dimensions which could be listed; physical, psychological and both physical and psychological. There were physical hardships on board due to the lack of sanitation, hygiene, and

space. They lay in their own, or others', bodily excrement, without any opportunity to wash themselves. Consequently, these conditions caused epidemics of fever, dysentery (the 'flux') and smallpox. Apart from these, seasickness was a very common problem and the psychological hardship of the voyage caused depression. At the end of the 1700s, an English surgeon identified deaths as being due to "mortal melancholy", like an involuntary suicide (Covey and Eisnach 2009: 45). Slaves were forced to eat their own excrement and the flesh of others who had been murdered or had died from diseases, to quell their rebellious behaviours. Besides all of this, the suffocating conditions drove the slaves further into depression. The last, but not least, form of inhumane treatment was classified as physical and psychological harm. Female slaves were generally prone to this dimension, because they were raped by the sailors (Muhammed 2011: 896-899; Eltis 2007).

3.3.4. The woman's situation during enslavement

African women's experiences of the slave trade based on the European perceptions on them. Their roles in society, fertility and sexual troubles caused to form the European perceptions. African culture and its custodian structure made women matronly and obedient. According to Barbara Bush, European perceptions could be divided into three stereotypes, which were "the wanton whore", romanticized as the "Sable Venus"; the passive drudge subordinated to lazy, dominant African men as slaves, or in polygamous marriages; and the powerful "witch" who metamorphosed into the rebellious slave or "she devil" (Bush 2000:764). One RAC trader labelled the females "stoute" and emphasized that female captives were better than their male counterparts (National Archives 1677). Although the numbers of females were not as high as those involved in the Trans Saharan slave trade, almost one-third of those in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade were female.

The ways of enslaving women and children were the same. Traders generally captured them, when they were alone in the woods,

and in addition to kidnapping, spied on the villages and provoked the inhabitants. During the enslavement period, they enslaved many people especially women and children. Deceit was another common method of enslavement. After capture, the traders employed two methods to transport the victims; either they forced them to walk long distances to reach the slave fairs, or they took them by canoe from the Congo to Luanda in Angola and from the interior to Bonny (Bush 2008: 678).

When the slaves arrived at the ports, their troubles were only just beginning. Traders shaved their hair and branded them and the doctors examined them for external problems, after all of which they were ready to embark on the middle passage. The trade was the cause of the on-board miseries and cruelty mentioned above for every slave, although female slaves, as distinct from the males, were subject of sexual abuse and exploitation. They were defenceless against rape on board (Bush 2008: 687). In the view of the captains, sailors, and crew, the slaves on board were inconsequential, thus, they did not hesitate to treat them inhumanely. Besides sexual exploitation, pregnant slaves were forced to deliver babies on board, and had to take care of them. Slavers valued pregnant slaves because, with their babies, they were much more expensive than others (Thomas 1997: 425-26).

Due to the physical violence, diseases and punishments which female slaves suffered they often also endured psychological problems. Thus many of those who died were dubbed “raving mad” (Fyfe 2000: 37). Despite the poor treatment of female slaves, they were generally given more freedom of movement and were kept in irons only if bothersome, because the sailors considered that they were less dangerous and rebellious than the males (Eltis 2000:171-172). In contrast to this, however, female slaves regularly participated in and supported the slave resistance on board. Also, female slaves used their muliebrity to seduce the sailors. The main aims of these behaviours were to collect information and supply weapons for rebellions (Christopher 2006: 90).

Female slaves' living conditions and troubles continued when they reached port because, in addition to the main destinations, they often made inter-island trips or were forced to endure new Atlantic voyages towards Europe with their owners. They were viewed as sexual items who were expected to satisfy their owners' desires, as people of cultural interest who revitalized and continued their traditions away from their homelands, and as witches or healers (Bush 2008: 689-90).

According to Barbara Bush, female slaves, often referred to as 'Sable Venuses', who survived the middle passage, were vulnerable to sexual exploitation and violence, and risked punishment if they refused sexual intercourse. Different from the male slaves, female slaves worked to protect their cultural practices with regard to dancing and funeral rituals, and actively spending their time enhancing African-based slave religions. The other notable characteristic of female slaves was their ability to use their inherited knowledge to cure diseases and poisoning using herbal medicines (Bush 2008: 691).

4. CONCLUSION

Woman as a factor in the family and society lost their meaning and importance because of the consequences of social formation which included religious, cultural, administrative and economic notions. Societies changed their approach from matriarchy to patriarchy and this caused changes in every institution of society for women. In the early history of slavery, women slaves had almost the same rights as male slaves. However, because of the perception related erosion of women, practices with regard to women slaves, as covered in detail above, were dramatically changed toward the meeting of their masters' sexual desires.

Women related perceptions have dramatically changed not only in the institution of slavery but also in societies in the context of religion, culture and administrative aspects. These changes also caused an evolution of women in slavery. While women were taken into slavery for household works, women became concubine and prostitute

with these changes. In the Trans-Saharan slave trade, most of the slaves were women. They sold with higher price and worked as servant, concubine or *harem* women. Apart from the very first examples of White Slave Trade, in White Slave trade between the early beginning of the 16th century and the late 18th century, the majority of victims were female. White women and girls were imported as concubines and to do household tasks. Female slaves were expensive to obtain and hard to import. The study considers that with white slavery, the concept of slavery began to change completely. After the concept of white slavery, enslavement was predominantly performed to obtain personnel commodity to meet masters` desires rather than to require someone who helped production and housework (patriarchal slavery). The study shows that Trans-Atlantic slave trade was more complicated, planned and large-scaled than any other slave trades. Women were a subject of brutal practices, rape and inhumane treatments like in other trades.

Except the early examples of slavery, women were the victims of their own physical characteristics and transformation in the society. Particularly after classical antiquity, women were treated as a concubine. In capitalism period, slave masters and traders benefitted from women` body as sexual slave and women` power as labour force. The situation of women in the institution of slavery gradually and systematically became worse than the situation in previous social periods until slave trade was banned.

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