NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM

Slavery and the natural world

Chapter 1: The project

Chapter 1: The project

Contents

1. Purpose and process

2007 marked the British bicentenary of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. Revisiting this history was a priority for many educationalists and historians, as well as media and cultural establishments. The Natural History Museum contributed a unique angle to the nationwide dialogue on the transatlantic slave trade. The Museum itself was founded within the context of empire, colonisation and exploration, and as such, there are many connections between the transatlantic slave trade and its history. Natural history publications, journals and diaries, held in the library collection at the Museum, reveal narratives of the time relating to social history and the history of science.

The aims of the slavery and the natural world project were:

- to create a platform for broader access to, and dialogue around, the Museum building, Library and specimen collections, scientists and research
- to interpret the collections held in the Natural History Museum in new ways that are relevant to a larger more diverse audience
- to contribute to the nationwide cross-institutional dialogue on the transatlantic slave trade, slavery and abolition
- to place the relevant information in the public realm for 2007 and beyond

The Museum engaged in a process of community consultation before deciding on specific outputs to commemorate 2007 and to provide a lasting legacy for the future.

2. Stakeholder consultation

Consultation the Natural History Museum carried out with community leaders in 2005 highlighted links between the natural world and the transatlantic slave trade as an area of interest. This reflected the policy and practice of broadening multicultural audiences and the need to 'relate collections more directly to current issues of importance to black and minority ethnic groups'[1].

In partnership with the African grass-roots organisation, Rendezvous of Victory[2], the Natural History Museum invited local residents, community partners, activists and cultural professionals to participate in a number of consultation sessions. There was positive interest in pursuing the programme.

Participants contributed to expanding the themes that formed the basis of the research brief. They also gave guidance on the presentation of findings, requesting an honest and open presentation of the history, 'the transatlantic slave trade must no longer remain hidden history. All its aspects must be exposed fully in order that the general public can know the truth'.

1 See for example: Tisser and Damien, 'Telling it like it is – non-user research', 2004, www.mlalondon.org.uk/lmal/index.cfm?ArticleID=630&NavigationID=105;
Morton Smyth Ltd, 'Not for the likes of you: How to reach a broader audience', 2004, www.takingpartinthearts.com/content.php?content=943;
MLA, 'Holding up the Mirror: Addressing cultural diversity in London's museums', 2003, www.mlalondon.org.uk/lmal/index.cfm?ArticleID=457&NavigationID=105.

2 Rendezvous of Victory helped select participants and co-facilitated the consultation sessions.

The natural history narratives, while interesting and new to many people, needed to be put in context alongside the social and cultural history. The Museum was advised to acknowledge the strong emotions that the subject often promotes. People wanted evidence without too much interpretation:

> 'Institutions must present what they have as it is, without dressing it up or down.'

The point was made repeatedly that there is a need to reflect Africa's rich cultures and history before the arrival of Europeans:

> 'We should have a taste of plants that originated in Africa.'

> 'Plants, herbs, medicines, woods used before the slaves left Africa – items used in Africa.'

The Museum's decision to engage with its stakeholders established a very positive way forward:

> 'I applaud the work the Museum is doing.'

> 'Very good to know these issues are being discussed by such institutions.'

These initial consultation sessions were formal and reported. The people consulted were invited back throughout the course of the project to continue to shape and inform the development of the public programme.

3. Research areas

As a result of the consultation a research brief was developed. Two researchers spent weeks in the Natural History Museum's libraries looking for material on the subject areas that generated most interest in the consultation. These included:

- Plantation crops
- Food
- Health
- Medicines and herbs
- Resistance
- Europeans connected to the slave trade and natural history
- Enslaved or freed Africans

New areas emerged in the research including the use of plants in everyday life, plants used as poisons, the contribution of enslaved people to the science of botany and the relationships between enslaved Africans and the indigenous peoples of the Americas[3].

The documents held by the Museum were written by Europeans with an interest in natural history (mainly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). As well as describing plants and animals in Africa and in the Americas, some writers included their observations of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. There were no writings found by enslaved Africans or indigenous people of the Americas. Their experiences are therefore recorded from a European perspective[4].

Further research was later carried out by Museum librarians, culminating in a display of images and narratives relating to the subject in the Library's Rare Books Room.

4. Public events

The research was used to develop a series of public events. The introduction, often co-hosted by Race on the Agenda, set the wider context of the history and focused visitors on the natural history perspective.

The slavery and the natural world events on the theme of plants concentrated on medicines and poisons, plants used in everyday life and the diet and nutrition of enslaved peoples.

The events on the theme of people and the slave trade focused on key figures that illustrated resistance and the links between slavery and the development of science.

The events aimed to bring the historical, scientific and public viewpoints together. Scientists with specialist knowledge of plants, malaria and ethics were available at these unique events, and they joined small group discussions with visitors and educators. The events included specimen and object handling, displays and extracts from manuscripts to encourage visitors to share their own knowledge and interpretations of the evidence. Respectful dialogue and debate were supported and encouraged throughout.

Additional marketing of the events targeting African and African-Caribbean communities was undertaken as suggested by the consultation group, however the events aimed to bring a diverse range of people together in an educational environment to learn together about this often overlooked chapter of British history[5].

3 The Natural History Museum specialises in plants, fossils, minerals, insects and other animals. Other organisations are better placed to cover social history, psychology, politics or other human activities.

4 See also Chapter 2: People and the slave trade and Chapter 10: Attitudes and acknowledgement.

5 Nearly half of the participants were of black British, black Caribbean or black African origin and 40 per cent of European origin.

The response to the programme was extremely positive:

> 'Excellent. I didn't realise you could get so much from a natural history angle and such insight into aspects of slavery.'

> 'This project has uncovered information which helps piece together the history of what really happened.'

The temporary display in the Library's Rare Books Room at the Museum was also made accessible to invited public and community groups. Some responses to the material included:

> 'This is just the beginning. The best thing I saw this year was a collection of rare books, who'd have thought some of the best material on this subject was sitting in the library of The Natural History Museum? More research is needed.'

> 'The exhibition I saw a few weeks ago in your library made a real impact on me, I have read so much but I have never seen material like this, I keep thinking about it.'

The discussion sessions also allowed and encouraged participants to explore the legacies of the transatlantic slave trade and slavery from their own personal perspectives. Many of the points they made are captured in the 'Alternative interpretations' section in each chapter.

5. Historical context

The transatlantic slave trade lasted over 300 years, at a time of European exploration and colonisation from the 1500s to 1800s. It is a complex and often hidden part of British and world history.

The trade was particularly profitable because slaving ships sailed full on all three stages of the voyages. Goods such as ammunitions, alcohol, brass, cloth and glass went from Europe to Africa. African people were taken across the Atlantic to the Americas. And the ships returned full of sugar, tobacco, indigo and other products grown by enslaved workers on the plantations. This is why the transatlantic trade is often called the 'triangular trade', although in fact goods were also traded from Asia and other parts of the world, so it had global impact.

Many aspects of the history are contested. Some estimates suggest that at least 10–12 million Africans were enslaved, another 4–6 million died in the process of capture and transportation and 1.25 million on the Atlantic crossing. Others suggest that the overall figures may have been as many as 100 million people.

The transatlantic slave trade was brutal and dehumanising. There was continual African resistance to enslavement through escape and rebellions as well as retaining culture, identity and dignity. Not all chiefs in west Africa were involved in, or coerced into, capturing people to

trade. Key African leaders and figureheads attempted to stop the trade[6].

Forms of slavery have existed throughout human history. The transatlantic slave trade was unique in its scale, and the fact that it was based on chattel slavery. Chattel comes from the word cattle, and describes the treatment of enslaved people as possessions to be bought and sold. The state of enslavement was for life and was passed on to future generations. Some, although relatively few, enslaved Africans bought or were given their freedom (emancipation).

Although it is estimated that 27 million people in the world today exist in various forms of enslavement,[7] the Natural History Museum does not hold material relating to this important issue.

The Portuguese and the Spanish, followed by the Dutch, English[8] and French, were all actively engaged in the transatlantic trade. People and places were exploited to make money. Everyone's knowledge was brought together – some willingly, some unwillingly – as a result of international trade and moneymaking. People, plants and animals, as well as ideas, knowledge, technologies, music and religions, indeed all aspects of culture, were exchanged across the Atlantic, and the legacies of this contact are still seen today.

The 1807 act that made the British slave trade illegal did not end slavery, which continued in British colonies until full emancipation in 1838, and in other European colonies until 1869 (and systems of indenture that were almost as harsh as enslavement continued to take the place of slavery).

6. Challenges

The collections held in the Natural History Museum help to explain the relationship between people and the natural world in the context of the transatlantic slave trade. Many of the interactions (particularly the spread of diseases and the exchange of plants across continents) may have happened anyway. The speed and scale of the movement of people, and the harshness of plantation agriculture, brought rapid changes in the ecology as well as in the economy of many parts of the Americas. The enormous impact on people included the extinction of many indigenous peoples of the Americas and the creation of the African Diaspora.

Through the collaborative process, public programme and development of adult and school resources, the Natural History Museum has begun to recover the experiences of African people who were enslaved and the indigenous peoples of the Americas and their influence on science.

'Who can tell these stories now? How can we [the Museum] give enslaved people who contributed to our collections/knowledge a voice?'

6 See Chapter 6: Resistance.
7 Bales, 2004.
8 The term English rather than British is most often used throughout the chapters. Although the Welsh, Irish and Scottish were involved in the transatlantic slave trade, the English were the most active traders, particularly in the early days of the trade (Scotland only had formal access to the trade following the Act of Union 1707 when the Kingdom of Great Britain was formed). Most of the natural history evidence is from writers born or based in England.

The subject raises many challenges for the Natural History Museum including:

- different interpretations of evidence
- public access to the volume of evidence and information available
- awareness of the bias inherent in European accounts of the history
- platforms for debate and dialogue
- staff knowledge and training
- ongoing engagement to explore hidden histories and alternative perspectives

The collaborative way of working, using an audience-led approach to slavery and the natural world, is planned to continue at the Natural History Museum.

7. Acknowledgements

The Natural History Museum would like to thank:

All of the many people who gave their time, either on an individual or professional basis, in the process of consultation and development.

The scientists and historians from around the world who shared their ideas and expertise and helped shaped the project outcomes.

The support of the wider museum and heritage sector.

All of the Natural History Museum staff who contributed to the success of the project in New Audiences, Nature Live, Botany, Entomology, Zoology, Learning, Operations, Editorial, Design, and Interactive Media.

Key organisations that contributed staff and resources including:

- Rendezvous of Victory
- Race on the Agenda
- Anti-Slavery International

The project researchers: Dr Katherine Prior, Dr Mabintu Mustapha, with assistance from Johanna Thompson.
Writer and editor: Dr Katherine Hann.
Project manager: Tracy-Ann Smith.

Please note that the information given is for historical interest only. The Natural History Museum cannot endorse any of the medicines, medical claims or advice given here. Do not take any medicines or treatments without first consulting a qualified practitioner.

8. Terms used in the research

A

Abolition is to end or stop, and was the term used for the campiagn to end the transatlantic slave trade and slavery.

Americas refers to North, Central and South America and the surrounding islands.

Anti-slavery was a person, action or ideas that were against slavery.

B

Botany is the scientific study of plants.

C

Caribbean refers to the islands off the east coast of North, Central and South America, called the West Indies by Christopher Columbus.

Caribs were indigenous peoples who lived in the Caribbean islands and parts of the American mainland.

Colonisation was a process of one country taking over another in order to exploit it.

Colony was a territory partially or completely controlled by another country and settled by those people.

D

Dysentery is a bacterial infection of the intestine resulting in severe diarrhoea.

E

Emancipation was the freeing of enslaved people from slavery.

Enslaved African is used rather than the word slave as enslavement was imposed on African people, and not a natural state.

Entomology is the scientific study of insects.

G

Genus is the name given to a group of species that are closely related to one another.

Gold Coast was the name given to an area of the west African coast by early European traders who traded for gold.

Guinea was a place on the west African coast, sometimes referred to as the Guinea Coast, from which a gold coin took its name.

H

Herbarium is a collection of preserved plant specimens, usually dried and stuck to paper.

I

Indenture was a form of apprenticeship where people were contracted to work for a fixed period of time, often seven years, with the promise of land or money at the end.

Indigenous is used to refer to the original people who inhabited a place, particularly different parts of the Americas.

L

Legacy is handed down from one generation to the next.

M

Malaria is an illness caused by infection with ***Plasmodium*** parasites transmitted by mosquitoes.

Manumission was a legal process (and documents) in which enslaved Africans could buy their freedom or be freed by their owner.

Maroons were people who escaped enslavement and formed their own separate communities; the word comes from the Spanish word ***cimarrón*** meaning wild or untamed.

Middle Passage is a term used to refer to the second stage in the transatlantic slave trade with ships carrying enslaved Africans from Africa across the Atlantic.

Mucus is a slimy substance secreted from parts of the body or plants.

N

Negro and **negress** were terms used to describe people of African descent throughout the eighteenth to twentieth centuries; the word is derogatory and unacceptable today.

P

Physician was used to describe a medical doctor who was not a surgeon.

Plantation was a large area of farmland, or estate, planted with particular crops.

Plantation holder (rather than owner) is used to describe the person who held and cultivated large areas of land in the colonies and used enslaved labour.

Pro-slavery describes a person, an action, or an idea that is in favour of slavery.

R

Racism is a belief that one group of people is inferior to another which is superior in relation to their culture, religion, intellect, beliefs or lifestyles.

Rebellion is organised, sometimes armed, resistance against the established authority.

Repatriation is to return to one's homeland.

Resistance is to go against, or refuse to comply with, a decision or an established way of doing things.

S

Slavery is the institution that keeps people as property, and submissive, to work dominated by others.

Smallpox is an acute contagious disease caused by a virus, causing fever and a high death rate; it is now eradicated worldwide.

Surgeon was a naval medical doctor or other doctor who specialised in using tools to operate.

T

Trading forts were built as trading bases along the west African coast; they temporarily housed enslaved Africans until they were put on board ships.

Transatlantic refers to going across the Atlantic Ocean.

Transatlantic slave trade was the buying and selling of Africans and their enslavement across the Atlantic Ocean.

Triangular trade is the name often given to the transatlantic slave trade; it described the three sides to the route the slaving ships took from Europe to west Africa, then to the Caribbean and the Americas and finally back to Europe.

Y

Yaws is a disease in the tropics causing fever, ulcers and arthritic-like pains.

Yellow Fever is an infectious disease spread by mosquitoes in tropical areas.

9. References

9.1 Documents available at the Natural History Museum and used for the research

Atkins, John, ***A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West Indies in his Majesty's Ships the Swallow and Weymouth... With Remarks on the Gold, Ivory and Slave Trade***, London, 1735, 2nd edition, 1737

Barham, Henry, ***Hortus Americanus, Containing an Account of the Trees, Shrubs, and Other Vegetable Productions, of South-America and the West India Islands, and Particularly of the Island of Jamaica; Interspersed with Many Curious and Useful Observations, Respecting Their Uses in Medicine, Diet, and Mechanics...*** (to which are added, A Linnaean Index, by Arthur Broughton, and Index of Diseases, Remedies); edited with a preface by Alexander Aikman, Kingston, Jamaica, 1794

Boerman, Albert, and **Fredbärj**, Telemak, eds, '***Kvassia Veden (Lignum Qvassiae)***', ***Valda Avhandlingar av Carl von Linné***, no 62, 1971 (A Swedish translation with notes of Linnaeus's 1763 dissertation, Lignum Quassiae)

Bosman, William, ***A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts...***, 2nd edition, London, 1721

Bowdich, T Edward, ***Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of that Kingdom and Geographical Notices of Other Parts of the Interior of Africa***, London, 1819

Bowdich, Sarah, ***Taxidermy: or, the Art of Collecting, Preparing, and Mounting Objects of Natural History. For the Use of Museums and Travellers,*** 3rd edition, London, 1823

Bowdich, T Edward and Sarah, ***Excursions in Madeira and Porto Santo, During the Autumn of 1823, ... by the late T. Edward Bowdich ... to which is added, by Mrs. Bowdich, A Narrative of the Continuance of the Voyage to its Completion...***, London, 1825

Broughton, A, ***Hortus Eastensis: or a Catalogue of Exotic Plants Cultivated in the Botanic Garden, in the Mountains of Licuanea, in the Island of Jamaica...***, 1794 (bound with: Jamaica – Department of Public Gardens and Plantations, 'Catalogue of Plants...' 1792)

Browne, Patrick, ***The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica***, London, 1756

Catesby, Mark, ***The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands***, 3rd edition, London, 1771

Drury, Dru, ***A Catalogue of the Most Capital Assemblage of Insects... Collected from All the Countries...*** by Mr. Dru Drury, London, 1805

Drury, Dru, Correspondence Collection of Dru Drury, including Letterbook, 1761–83, and Miscellaneous Papers[9]

Drury, Dru, ***Illustrations of Natural History: Wherein Are Exhibited... Figures of Exotic Insects***, 3 vols, London, 1770–82

Du Tertre, Jean-Baptiste, ***Histoire Générale des Antilles Habitués par les François***, 4 vols (in 3), Paris, 1667, 1671

Edwards, Bryan, ***The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British West Indies***, 5 vols, 5th edition, London, 1819

9 These papers are located in the Natural History Museum Entomology Library, f.D.6.

Gascoigne, John, ***Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture***, Cambridge University Press, 1994

Guilding, Lansdown Rev, 'Observations of the work of Maria Sibilla Merian on the insects, &c. of Surinam', ***The Magazine of Natural History, and Journal of Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, and Meteorology***, ed, J C Loudon, vol 8, p355–75, London, 1834

Hughes, Griffith, ***The Natural History of the Island of Barbados***, London, 1750

Humboldt, Alexander von, ***Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland. Sixème Partie, Botanique... F A von Humboldt, A Bonpland, K S Kunth***, Paris, 1816

Jacquin, Nicolaus Joseph von, ***Selectarum Stirpium Americanum Historia***, 1763 (1780 coloured edition)

Labat, Jean Baptiste, ***Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique, Contenant l'Histoire Naturelle de ces Pays***, Paris, 1722

Labat, Jean Baptiste, ***Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale***, Paris, 1728

Labat, Jean Baptiste, ***Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinée***, Isles Voisines, et à Cayenne, Fait en 1725, 1726 & 1727, Amsterdam, 1731

Linnaeus, Carolos von, ***Dissertatio Botanico-medica, Sistens Lignum Qvassiae, quam,... Praeside... D. D. Carolo v. Linné... / publico examini submittit... Carolus M. Blom... D. XXVIII. Maji Anni MDCCLXIII***, 1763

Lunan, John, ***Hortus Jamaicensis***, Jamaica, 1814

Macfadyen, James, ***The Flora of Jamaica***, 2 vols, London & Jamaica, 1837–1850

Merian, Maria Sibylla, ***Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium***..., Amsterdam, 1705

Ogilby, John, ***Africa: Being an Accurate Description of the Regions of Egypt, Barbary,... the Land of Negroes***..., London, 1670

Ogilby, John, ***America: Being the Latest... Description of the New World***, London, 1671

Piso, Willem, ***Historia Naturalis Brasiliae***, Amsterdam, 1648

Pomet, Pierre, ***Histoire Générale des Drogues, Traitant des Plantes, des Animaux & des Minéraux***, Paris, 1694

Quélus, D de, ***Histoire Naturelle du Cacao et du Sucre***, Paris, 1719

Quélus, D de, translated by **Brookes**, Richard, ***The Natural History of Chocolate: Being a Distinct Account of the Cocoa-Tree***, London, 1724

Rücker, Elisabeth, and **Stearn**, William T, ***Maria Sibylla Merian in Surinam: Commentary to the Facsimile Edition of Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium (Amsterdam, 1705), Based on Original Watercolours in the Royal Library Windsor Castle,*** 2 vols, London, 1980–2

Sack, Baron Albert von, ***A Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam: of a Residence there During 1805, 1806, and 1807; and of the Author's Return to Europe by the Way of North America***, London, 1810

Sloane, Hans, ***A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the Natural History of... the Last of Those Islands***, 2 vols, London, 1707, 1725

Smeathman, Henry, ***Some Account of the Termites, Which are Found in Africa and Other Hot Climates***. Read at the Royal Society, London, 15 February, 1781

Smith, William, ***A Natural History of Nevis, and the Rest of the English Leeward Charibee Islands in America***, Cambridge, 1745

Stedman, John Gabriel, ***Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America: From... 1772, to 1777***, 1796, 2nd edition, London, 1806

Tussac, François Richard de, ***Flore des Antilles***, 4 vols, Paris, 1808–27

Winterbottom, Thomas, ***An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone; to Which is Added, an Account of the Present State of Medicine Among Them***, 2 vols, London, 1803

Wright, William, Letters 1788, 1789 & 1791 to Sir Joseph Banks[10]

Wright, William, ***Memoir of the Late William Wright, M. D., with Extracts from his Correspondence and a Selection of his Papers on Medical and Botanical Subjects***, Edinburgh and London, 1828

9.2 Further books and illustrations sourced in the Museum's libraries[11]

Astley, Thomas, ***A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels: Consisting of the Most Esteemed Relations, Which Have Been Hitherto Published in any Language; Comprehending Everything Remarkable in its Kind, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America***, vols 2 & 3, London, 1745–47

Chenu, Jean Charles, ***Illustrations Conchyliologiques, ou Description et Figures de Toutes les Coquilles Connues, Vivantes et Fossiles***, &c, Paris, 1843–53

Churchill, Awnsham, ***A Collection of Voyages and Travels***, London, 1704–32

Dalzel, Archibald, ***The History of Dahomy, an Inland Kingdom of Africa; Compiled from Authentic Memoirs***, London, 1793

Dapper, Olfert, ***Description de l'Afrique***, Amsterdam: Chez Wolfgang, Waesberge, Boom & van Someren, 1686

Denham, Dixon, and **Clapperton**, Hugh, ***Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Years 1822, 1823, and 1824 / by Major Denham, Captain Clapperton, and the late Doctor Oudney: Extending Across the Great Desert to the Tenth Degree of Northern Latitute, and from Kouka in Bornou, to Sackatoo, the Capital of the Fellatah Empire,*** 2nd edition, John Murray, 1826

Ehret, Georg, 103 ***Original Sketches of Jamaica Plants: Details of the plates in P Browne's work***, 1756

Froger, Francois, ***A Relation of a Voyage Made in the Years 1685, 1696, 1697, on the Coasts of Africa, Streights of Magellan, Brasil, Cayenna, and the Antilles***, London, 1698

Gillett, J D, ***Common African Mosquitos and their Medical Importance / With 48 Colour Illustrations by J G Smith***, William Heinemann Medical Books Ltd, 1972

Harris, John, ***Navigantium Atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: or, A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, Consisting of Above Six Hundred of the Most Authentic Writers...***

10 These papers are located in the Natural History Museum Botany Library, MSS WRI 1.

11 These books were used by Librarians for the temporary display in the Rare Books Room. They were not used as part of the research cited in this series of chapters.

Now Carefully Revised, with Large Additions and Continued Down to the Present Time, Including Particular Accounts of the Manufacturers and Commerce of Each Country, T Woodward &c, 1744–1748

Hutton, William, *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique, ou Relation de l'Ambassade Anglaise Envoyee, en 182*, au Royaume d'Ashantee, Paris, Persan, 1823

Laing, Alexander Gordon, *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima Countries, in Western Africa*, London, 1825

Mawe, John, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil: with Notices on its Climate, Agriculture... and a Particular Account of the Gold and Diamond Districts, Including a Voyage to the Rio de la Plata*, Longman, 1822

Mollien, Gaspard Theodore, *Travels in Africa, to the Sources of the Senegal and Gambia, in 1818*, London, 1820

Rochefort, Charles de, *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique*, Rotterdam, 1681

Walsh, Robert, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, London, 1830

9.3 Additional relevant reading

Ashri, N, and **Gazi**, M, 'More unusual pigmentations of the gingival', *Journal of Oral Surgery, Oral Medicine, and Oral Pathology*, 70:4, p445–9, 1990

Asprey, G F, and **Thornton**, P, 'Medicinal plants of Jamaica, parts 1 & 2', reprinted from the *West Indian Medical Journal*, 2:4; 3:1
www.herbaltherapeutics.net/Medicinal_Plants_of_Jamaica.pdf

Bales, Kevin, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*, University of California Press, 2004

Boswell, Victor R, 'Our vegetable travelers', in *The World in Your Garden*, National Geographic Natural Science Library, p146, Washington, D C, 1957

Braidwood, Stephen J, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement, 1786–1791*, Liverpool University Press, 1994

Carney, Judith Ann, Black Rice: *The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*, Harvard University Press, 2001

Chiang, L C, **Chiang**, W, **Liu**, M C, and **Lin**, C C, '*In vitro* antiviral activities of *Caesalpinia pulcherrima* and its related flavonoids', *Journal of Antimicrobial Chemotherapy*, 52:2, p194–8, 2003
jac.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/52/2/194

Churchill, Wendy D, 'Bodily differences?: Gender, race, and class in Hans Sloane's Jamaican medical practice, 1687–1688', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 60:4, p391-444, 2005
jhmas.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/60/4/391

Counter, S Allen, 'Amazon mystery. A medicine man understood the secrets of this plant long before we did. How?', *Boston Globe,* 24 July 2006
www.boston.com/yourlife/health/women/articles/2006/07/24/amazon_mystery/

Crosby, Alfred W Jr, T*he Columbian Exchange, Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, 30th Anniversary Edition, Praeger Publishers, 2003

Cugoano, Quobna Ottobah, ***Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery: And Other Writings***, 1787, Penguin Classics, 2007

Desowitz, Robert S, ***The Malaria Capers***, W W Norton & Company, 1993

Desowitz, Robert S, ***Who Gave Pinta to the Santa Maria? Torrid Diseases in a Temperate World***, W W Norton & Company, 1997

Drayton, Richard, ***Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World,*** Yale University Press, 2000

Dunn, Richard S, ***Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713***, The University of North Carolina Press, 2000

Equiano, Olaudah, ***The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, 1789, reprinted as The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings***, ed Vincent Carretta, Penguin Classics, 2003

Freeman, R B, 'Darwin's Negro bird-stuffer', ***Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London***, 33:1, p83–6,1978

Grainger, James, ***An Essay on the More Common West-India Diseases; and the Remedies Which That Country Itself Produces, to Which Are Added, Some Hints on the Management &c. of Negroes***, London, 1764

Hernández-Medel, María del Rosario and **Pereda-Miranda**, Rogelio, 'Cytotoxic anthraquinone derivatives from Picramnia antidesma', ***Planta Medica***, 68, p556–8, 2002

Hochschild, Adam, ***Bury the Chains: The British Struggle to Abolish Slavery***, Pan Books, 2005

Iwu, Maurice M, ***Handbook of African Medicinal Plants***, CRC Press, 1993

King, J C H, ***First Peoples, First Contacts: Native Peoples of North America***, Harvard University Press, 1999

Kiple, Kenneth F, ***The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History***, Cambridge University Press, 1984

Kiple, Kenneth F, 'The nutritional link with slave infant and child mortality in Brazil', ***Hispanic American Historical Review***, 69, p677–90, 1989

Kiple, Kenneth F, and Kiple, Virginia H, 'Deficiency diseases in the Caribbean', ***Journal of Interdisciplinary History***, vol 11, no 2, p197–215, 1980

Kiple, Kenneth F, and **Ornelas**, Kriemhild Coneè, eds, ***The Cambridge World History of Food***, Cambridge, 2000

Knapp, Sandra, and **Press**, Bob, ***The Gilded Canopy: Botanical Ceiling Panels of the Natural History Museum***, The Natural History Museum, 2005

Matsuse, I T, **Lim**, Y A, **Hattori**, M, **Correa**, M, and **Gupta**, M P, 'A search for anti-viral properties in Panamanian medicinal plants: The effects on HIV and its essential enzymes', ***Journal of Ethnopharmacology***, 64:1, p15–22, 1998

Mitchell, S A, and **Ahmad**, M H, '***A Review of Medicinal Plant Research at the University of the West Indies, Jamaica, 1948–2001***', 2001 caribbean.scielo.org/pdf/wimj/v55n4/a08v55n4.pdf

Nellis, D W, ***Poisonous Plants and Animals of Florida and the Caribbean***, Pineapple Press, 1997

Parrish, Susan Scott, ***American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History on the Colonial British Atlantic World***, Chapel Hill, 2006

Petiver, James, Letterbooks and miscellaneous papers, British Library, London, 1696–9 and 1712[12]

Pinto, A C de Q, et al, ***Annona Species, International Centre for Underutilised Crops***, University of Southampton, UK, 2005
www.icuc-iwmi.org/files/R7187_-_Annona%20monograph%202005.pdf

Pocock, Nigel, 'Thomas Winterbottom: Abolitionist physician', ***Triple Helix***, Spring/Summer, p16, 2007
www.cmf.org.uk/literature/content.asp?context=article&id=1950

Promsawan, N, **Kittakoop**, P, **Boonphong**, S, and **Nongkunsam**, P, 'Antitubercular cassane furanoditerpenoids from the roots of ***Caesalpinia pulcherrima***', ***Planta-Medica***, 69:8, p776–7, 2003,
www.thieme-connect.de/ejournals/abstract/plantamedica/doi/10.1055/s-2003-42782

Price, Richard and Sally, eds, ***John Gabriel Stedman: Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam***, transcribed for the first time from the original 1790 manuscript, Baltimore and London, 1988

Rausling, Lisbet, 'Underwriting the oeconomy: Linnaeus on nature and mind', ***History of Political Economy***, 35, p173–203, 2003

Roe, Daphne, ***A Plague of Corn: The Social History of Pellagra***, Cornell University Press, 1973

Schiebinger, Londa, ***Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World***, Harvard University Press, 2004

Sheridan, R B, ***Doctors and Slaves***, Cambridge, 1985

Siritunga, Dimuth, and **Sayre**, Richard, 'Engineering cyanogens synthesis and turnover in cassava (***Manihot esculenta***)', ***Plant Molecular Biology***, 56:4, 2004

Stearn, William T, 'Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717) as a botanical artist', ***Taxon***, 31:3 p529–34, 1982

Thomas, Hugh, ***The Slave Trade, The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440–1870***, Picador, 1997

Tobin, Beth Fowkes, ***Colonizing Nature: The Tropics in British Arts and Letters, 1760–1820***, Philadelphia, 2005

Valiant, Sharon, 'Maria Sibylla Merian: recovering an eighteenth-century legend', ***Eighteenth-century Studies***, 26:3, p467–79, 1993

Walvin, James, ***Black Ivory: Slavery in the British Empire***, 2nd edition, Blackwell Publishing, 2001

Wild, Antony, ***Coffee: A Dark History***, London, 2004

Wood, Marcus, ***Slavery, Empathy and Pornography***, Oxford University Press, 2002

Wood, Peter, ***Black Majority***, Random House Inc, 1974

12 These papers are located in the British Library, Sloane Mss. 2302, 3333, 3334.

9.4 Useful websites

Information on key plants, their origin and cultivation can be found at the Natural History Museum's Seeds of Trade site:
www.nhm.ac.uk/jdsml/nature-online/seeds-of-trade/index.dsml

Information on the everyday uses of some plants can be found on the Natural History Museum's Roots and Herbs website:
www.nhm.ac.uk/nature–online/life/plants–fungi/roots–herbs/index.jsp

Information on Hans Sloane and some other natural historians is at:
www.nhm.ac.uk/nature-online/science-of-natural-history/biographies/index.html

Hans Sloane's herbarium is online at:
www.nhm.ac.uk/research-curation/projects/sloane-herbarium/hanssloane.htm

More information on sugar is available at:
www.plantcultures.org/plants/sugar_cane_landing.html

Background information and ways of teaching the transatlantic slave trade are online at:
www.understandingslavery.com

Accounts from enslaved people can be found at: www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USASplantation.htm