

Historical Studies 565-L01

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The University of Calgary

Winter 2009

## Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1492-1888

### Course Grading

Your grade will be based upon:

Library and Primary Sources Assignment (Due 20 January) .....	5%
Seminar Preparation Essays (Due on Dates To Be Selected) and Seminar Leadership.....	25%
Research Paper (Due 21 April) and Oral Presentation .....	50%
Participation and Document Presentation .....	20%
Total .....	100%

You must complete all assignments to pass this course.

### Required Text (Free):

*The History Student's Handbook*, available on course BlackBoard.

### Course Description:

The working premise of this course is that slavery is an uncertain institution, uncertain both to the men and women who lived through it and uncertain to the historians who, more than a century after abolition, seek to understand it. Although slavery permeated Latin American and Caribbean life for almost four centuries, neither slaves nor masters could ever take the institution for granted. Our principal goal in this seminar, therefore, is to elicit the ways in which slaves and masters worked out their unsettled and unequal relationship.

Through intensive reading of recent scholarship and careful examination of selected primary sources, HTST 565 examines historians' approaches to slave society and culture in Latin America and the Caribbean. The focus of this course is primarily on Brazil and the Caribbean basin during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, during which time slave societies reached their apogee. While this focus gives the course coherence, it inevitably leaves out much that is important to understanding slavery, and students are encouraged to use their research papers to pursue other topics of particular significance to slave societies in Latin America and the Caribbean.

### Course Requirements:

HTST 565 is a seminar course, with substantial weekly reading assignments in both primary and secondary sources. If you cannot attend all of the class meetings and carefully read all the assigned material, do not take this course.

If you are unfamiliar with Latin American or Caribbean history, you should do some background reading in a textbook on the region. Two surveys of slavery in the Americas are strongly recommended as background reading for students who feel that their preparation for this course is weak:

Herbert S. Klein and Ben Vinson III, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Laird W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Knowledge of languages other than English is not required in this course, but if you read French, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, or Dutch (the languages of the other Euro-American master classes), you should select an essay topic which will permit you to examine primary sources in their original language and scholarship published only in that language.

Your grade will be based on the following four components:

**1. Library and Primary Sources Assignment:** This assignment serves three essential purposes: (1) to familiarize you with the research tools and primary sources for the study of slavery available at the University of Calgary; (2) to get you thinking about your research topic at start of the semester; (3) to ensure that you know how to prepare footnotes and bibliographies correctly according to *The History Student's Handbook*. The former will facilitate your research project while the latter is an essential part of historical training. Incorrectly-prepared footnotes and bibliographies will be returned. This assignment will be distributed on the first day of class.

**2. Seminar Preparation Essays and Seminar Leadership:** You will write two short, analytical essays on the readings for seminar discussions. As their name suggests, these essays are designed to prepare you to share in the leadership of the seminar twice during the semester. Seminar Preparation Essays should be no longer than 1250 words and are due at the start of class during the eight weeks in which we will be discussing issues in the historiography of slavery (27 January to 24 March). Because these essays constitute preparation for class meetings, late ones will receive a failing grade.

During the classes for which you have done a seminar preparation essay, you should take a leading role in the discussion. I will ask the students who have written the essay to start the discussion. If at all possible, consult with the other students writing seminar preparation essays prior to the class meeting to coordinate your leadership of the seminar.

Because Seminar Preparation Essays are designed to prepare you to share in the leadership of the seminar, they should reflect a careful reading of the articles and a consideration of the major issues that they pose individually and collectively for our understanding of slave societies. Beyond the requirements that these essays not simply summarize the articles and that they conform to the word limit, there is no set form for this essay; rather, its shape and form will flow from your understanding of the issues involved. In general, a good Seminar Preparation Essay will include the following:

1. A statement or summary of each articles' thesis, in other words a statement of the author's argument about the topic.
2. Some discussion of evidence and methodology, considering both the sources that the author uses and his or her research strategy.
3. It may be appropriate to include some criticism of individual articles, including their possible logical faults, use of evidence, assumptions, and alternative conclusions that might be drawn from the same evidence.
4. Most important, seminar preparation essays should focus on the historiography of the issue, as represented by the articles. How and why do the articles differ? On what points do they agree? Do you agree or disagree? Which approaches do you consider most convincing? Why?

Seminar Preparation Essays are best organized thematically, not article by article, and should focus on the main issue or issues that you see in the readings. These essays should be considered mini-essays on the historiography of an issue or a theme.

**3. Research Paper and Oral Presentation:** You will write a research paper (3000 to 4000 words) on an aspect of slavery in Latin American and the Caribbean. On 31 March and 7 April, HTST 565 will turn into a mini-conference on slavery. On one of these dates, you will make a fifteen-minute presentation on your research and one of your fellow students will act as commentator on your paper, after which all of the class will pose questions. You must submit the first draft of your research paper to me and to the student commentator by the Thursday before the class meeting at which you will present (respectively, 26 March and 2 April), so that we can prepare comments. First drafts of your research paper must be properly footnoted and must include a bibliography. I will only return the first draft to you in person, so please make an appointment to see me after your oral presentation. This is to ensure that we have a further opportunity to discuss your work. The final research paper is due on 21 April (because of the university deadline for the submission of final grades in courses without registrar-scheduled final examinations, this is a firm due date, and no research papers can be accepted after it). Please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope with sufficient postage so that I can return your essay directly to you.

Research papers should be based on at least twelve to fifteen substantial sources (books and articles, excluding textbooks and surveys). Research papers must also include the analysis of at least one major primary source. Documents extracted from readers such as Robert Conrad's *Children of God's Fire* alone do not satisfy this requirement, but it is certainly acceptable to use the full version of a primary source excerpted in such readers. Several categories of primary sources are readily available at the University of Calgary library, including travelers' accounts, published correspondence of plantation owners, contemporary histories of plantation colonies (especially the British ones), slave narratives, the entire British Foreign Office's slave-trade correspondence, and United States consular reports from many slaveholding areas of the Americas. I have a large collection of microfilmed nineteenth-century Brazilian newspapers which I can lend to students who read Portuguese. If you have any difficulty with this portion of the research paper assignment, please see me immediately.

Research papers must follow "The History Student's Handbook: A Short Guide to Writing History Essays" in all matters of style and footnoting. Improperly footnoted essays will be returned for correction. Research papers submitted to the history department's red box and received after 4:00 pm will be date-stamped with the next business day.

**4. Class Participation and Document Presentation:** This is an often poorly-understood component of grades. It is not a grade for attendance but attendance is the essential prerequisite for participation. In other words, you must attend the seminar to participate. Under this rubric, I assess the quality of your weekly contributions to our discussions. High-quality participation does not necessarily require that you understand everything that you have read. A very useful contribution to the seminar discussion might run something like this: "After reading the article, I follow Fulano's reasoning up to point X. Then it doesn't make any more sense to me. I think that he is arguing against Beltrano, but I can't figure out what the fuss is all about over issue Y." Similarly, high-quality participation does not require that you dominate the discussion to the exclusion of others; rather, it requires that you pay attention to other members' contributions and treat them with respect, even if you disagree with them.

Each document will have a presenter, a student not doing a seminar preparation essay for that week, assigned to it. The document presenters should introduce the document, discuss the issues that it raises, and relate it to the readings and topic for the week. It is certainly acceptable to point out curious, unexpected, or surprising elements in the document.

Please bring your copies of the weekly readings to class on the days that we will discuss them.

#### **Access to Readings:**

All of the readings for this course are available through the course BlackBoard, either in the form of .pdf documents or as links to the text's electronic version.

Many of you will want to consult the same books for your research papers. Please be considerate when signing out books; avoid keeping them out and recalling them unnecessarily (please share books whenever possible). If you wish to consult a book on semester loan (due on 15 May), do not be shy about recalling it immediately.

#### **Department of History Plagiarism Policy:**

Plagiarism is defined as submitting or presenting one's work in a course, or ideas and/or passages in a written piece of work, as if it were one's own work done expressly for that course, when, in fact, it is not.

Plagiarism may take several forms:

- a) Failure to cite sources properly may be considered plagiarism. This could include quotations, ideas, and wording used from another source but not acknowledged.
- b) Borrowed, purchased, and/or ghost-written papers are considered plagiarism, as is submitting one's own work for more than one course without the permission of the instructor(s) involved.
- c) Extensive paraphrasing of one or a few sources is also considered plagiarism, even when notes are used, unless the essay is a critical analysis of those works. The use of notes does not justify the sustained presentation of another author's language and ideas as one's own.

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence. A plagiarized paper will automatically be failed. Plagiarism may also result in a failing grade for the course and other penalties as noted in *The University of Calgary Calendar*.

**Office Hours:**

Please come to see me during scheduled office hours, especially if you are having difficulty with this course. If you cannot meet me during this time, we can consult after class or schedule an appointment for another time. Feel free to telephone me during office hours, or to e-mail me at any time.

**Weekly Topics and Reading Assignments**

13 January: **Course Organization**

20 January: **Library Research, Sources, and Travelers**

Complete the assignment distributed on 13 January.

27 January: **The Slave Trade and the Origins of Slavery in Latin America**

**Documents:**

“List of Slaves imported from the Coast of Africa into Rio de Janeiro during the Year 1822,”  
Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office 84, vol. 24, fols. 127-28.

Paul Erdman Isert, “Eleventh Letter,” in *Letters on West Africa and the Slave Trade: Paul Erdman Isert’s Journey to Guinea and the Caribbean Islands in Columbia (1788)*, trans. Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 175-91.

**Readings:**

Herbert Klein, “The Atlantic Slave Trade: Recent Research & Findings,” in *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System, 1580-1830*, ed. Horst Pietschmann (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2002), 301-20

David Eltis, “Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery in the Americas: An Interpretation,” *American Historical Review* 98:5 (Dec. 1993): 1399-1423.

Seymour Drescher, “White Atlantic? The Choice for African Slave Labor in the Plantation Americas,” in *Slavery in the Development of the Americas*, ed. David Eltis et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31-69.

Stuart B. Schwartz, “Indian Labor and New World Plantations: European Demands and Indian Responses in Northeastern Brazil,” *American Historical Review* 83:1 (Feb. 1978): 43-79.

### 3 February: **Plantation Labor Regimes**

#### **Documents:**

- “An Italian Jesuit Advises Sugar Planters on the Treatment of Their Slaves (1711)”
- “Practical Advice on the Management of Plantation Slaves (1847)”
- “Advice on Plantation Punishment from an Agricultural Handbook (1839)”
- “‘The Slaves’ View of Slavery’: A Plantation Rebellion Near Ilhéus, Bahia, and the Rebels’  
Written Demands for a Settlement”  
(in *Children of God’s Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, ed. Robert Edgar Conrad [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983], docs. 2.1, 2.6, 7.3, 9.12).

#### **Readings:**

- Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, “Introduction: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas,” in *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, ed. Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 1-45.
- Stuart B. Schwartz, “Workers in the Cane, Workers at the Mill,” chap. 6 of *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 132-59.
- Richard S. Dunn, “Dreadful Idlers in the Cane Fields: The Slave Labor Pattern on a Jamaican Sugar Estate, 1762-1831,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17:4 (Spring 1987): 795-822.
- Justin Roberts, “Working between the Lines: Labor and Agriculture on Two Barbadian Sugar Plantations, 1796-97,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 63:3 (July 2006): 551-86.

### 10 February: **Urban and Domestic Labor Regimes**

#### **Documents:**

- “Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro as Seen through Newspaper Advertisements (1821)”
- “A North American Describes Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro (1846)”  
(in *Children*, ed. Conrad, docs 3.1, 3.2)
- Hendrik Kraay, “Urban Slavery in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil: The Wills of Captain Joaquim Félix de Santana, Colonel Manoel Pereira da Silva, and Rosa Maria da Conceição (1809, 1814, 1843),” in *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550-1850*, ed. Richard Boyer and Geoffrey Spurling (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 279-93.

#### **Readings:**

- Mary Karasch, “Porters and Property: The Functions of Slaves in Rio de Janeiro,” chap. 7 of *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 185-213.
- João José Reis, “‘The Revolution of the *Ganhadores*’: Urban Labour, Ethnicity and the African Strike of 1857 in Bahia, Brazil,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29:2 (May 1997): 355-93.
- Pedro L. V. Welch, “The Urban Context of the Life of the Enslaved: Views from Bridgetown, Barbados, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in *Slavery without Sugar: Diversity in the Caribbean Economy since the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. Verene A. Shepherd (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 183-98.
- Bernard Moitt, “Women and Labor: Domestic Labor,” chap. 4 of *Women and Slavery in the French Antilles, 1635-1848* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 57-79.

### 17 February: **Reading Week: No Class Meeting**

24 February: **Resistance**

**Documents:**

“Newspaper Advertisements Offer Rewards for the Return of Runaways”

“‘The Armadillo’s Hole’: A Predatory *Quilombo* Near Bahia (1763)”

(in Conrad, *Children*, docs. 9.1, 9.5)

Letters of Pierre Dessalles to His Mother, Martinique, 1823-25, in *Sugar and Slavery, Family and Race: The Letters and Diary of Pierre Dessalles, Planter in Martinique, 1808-1856*, ed. Elborg Forster and Robert Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 54-74.

**Readings:**

Sherwin K. Bryant, “Enslaved Rebels, Fugitives, and Litigants: The Resistance Continuum in Colonial Quito,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 13:1 (June 2004): 7-46.

David Barry Gaspar, “Working the System: Antigua Slaves and Their Struggle to Live,” *Slavery and Abolition* 13:3 (Dec. 1992): 131-55.

Barbara Bush-Slimani, “Hard Labour: Women, Childbirth and Resistance in British Caribbean Slave Societies,” *History Workshop Journal* 36 (Autumn 1993): 83-99.

Trevor Burnard, “Weapons of the Strong and Responses of the Weak: Thistlewood’s War with His Slaves” and “Adaptation, Accomodation, and Resistance: Thistlewood’s Slave Women and Their Response to Enslavement,” chaps. 5 and 7 of *Mastery, Tyranny, Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 136-74, 209-40.

3 March: **African Culture**

**Documents:**

“Documents on Afro-Brazilian Religion”

**Readings:**

John K. Thornton, “African Cultural Groups in the Atlantic World” and “Transformations of African Culture in the Atlantic World” chaps. 7 and 8 of *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 1998), 183-234.

Philip D. Morgan, “The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations, and New World Developments,” *Slavery and Abolition* 18:1 (April 1997): 122-45.

Matthias Röhrig Assunção, “From Slave to Popular Culture: The Formation of Afro-Brazilian Art Forms in Nineteenth-Century Bahia and Rio de Janeiro,” *Iberoamericana* 3:12 (2003): 159-76.

Robert W. Slenes, “The Great Porpoise-Skull Strike: Central African Water Spirits and Slave Identity in Early Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro,” in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda M. Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 183-210.

João José Reis, “Candomblé in Nineteenth-Century Bahia: Priests, Followers, Clients,” *Slavery and Abolition* 22:1 (April 2001): 116-34.

## 10 March: **Catholicism and Islam among Latin American Slaves**

### **Documents:**

- ‘Abd al-Rahmān al Baġdādī, “The Amusement of the Foreigner,” 5-20  
(<http://www.yorku.ca/nhp/shadd/baghdadi.pdf>).  
“The Alufá, Recife, 1853”  
“‘Children of God’s Fire’: A Seventeenth-Century Jesuit...”  
“A British Resident of Pernambuco Describes the Beneficial Effects of Catholicism...”  
“‘The Negroes Were Holding Their Saturnalia’: A Popular Festival ...”  
(in Conrad, *Children*, docs. 4.2, 4.8, 4.10).

### **Readings:**

- John K. Thornton, “African Religions and Christianity in the Atlantic World,” chap. 9 of *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 1998), 235-71.  
James H. Sweet, “African Catholicism in the Portuguese World” and “The Impacts of African Religious Beliefs on Brazilian Catholicism,” chaps. 9 and 10 of *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 191-215.  
Javier Villa-Flores, “‘To Lose One’s Soul’: Blasphemy and Slavery in New Spain, 1596-1669,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82:3 (Aug. 2002): 435-68.  
Elizabeth W. Kiddy, “*Congadas, Calunga, Candombe*: Our Lady of the Rosary in Minas Gerais, Brazil,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 37:1 (Summer 2000): 47-61.  
João José Reis, “The Sons of Allah in Bahia,” chap. 5 of *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, trans. Arthur Brakel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 93-111.

## 17 March: **Slavery and the Law in the Americas**

### **Documents:**

- “Could a Slave Acquire His Freedom against His Master’s Will.... ?”  
“‘This, Then, Is Not a Crime’: The Trial of a Coffee Planter...”  
(in *Children*, ed. Conrad, docs. 6.8, 7.6).

### **Readings:**

- Alejandro de la Fuente, “Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited,” *Law and History Review* 22:2 (Summer 2004): 339-69 (and the commentaries by María Elena Díaz and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara).  
Alejandro de la Fuente, “Slaves and the Creation of Legal Rights in Cuba: “Coartación” and “Papel,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 87:4 (Nov. 2007): 659-92.  
Owensby, Brian P., “How Juan and Leonor Won Their Freedom: Litigation and Liberty in Seventeenth-Century Mexico,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85:1 (Feb. 2005): 39-79.  
Diana Paton, “Punishment, Crime, and the Bodies of Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica,” *Journal of Social History* 34:4 (2001): 923-54.  
Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, “Silences of the Law: Customary Law and Positive Law on the Manumission of Slave in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Brazil,” *History and Anthropology* 1 (1985): 427-43.  
Keila Grinberg, “Freedom Suits and Civil Law in Brazil and the United States,” *Slavery and Abolition* 22:3 (2001): 66-82.

### **Background Reading:**

- Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963 [1946]).

24 March: **The Haitian Revolution**

**Documents:**

“Slaves Rebel in the Captaincy of Bahia (1814)”  
(in *Children*, ed. Conrad, doc. 9.13).

Althéa de Peuch Parham, ed., *My Odyssey: Experiences of a Young Refugee from Two Revolutions, by a Creole of Saint Domingue* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 18-45.

Mary Hassal, *Secret History, or the Horrors of St. Domingo in a Series of Letters ...*  
(Philadelphia: Bradford & Inskeep, 1808), 1-27.

(Documents from Jeremy D. Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts of the Haitian Insurrection*, on order)

**Readings:**

David Geggus, “The Haitian Revolution,” in *The Modern Caribbean*, ed. Franklin W. Knight and Colin A. Palmer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 21-50.

Carolyn E. Fick, “The Saint Domingue Slave Insurrection of 1791: A Socio-Political and Cultural Analysis,” *Journal of Caribbean History* 25:1 (1991): 1-40.

John K. Thornton, “‘I Am the Subject of the King of Congo’: African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution,” *Journal of World History* 4:2 (Fall 1993): 181-214.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “From Planters Journals to Academia: The Haitian Revolution as Unthinkable History,” *Journal of Caribbean History* 25:1 (1991): 81-99.

David Patrick Geggus, “The Sounds and Echoes of Freedom: The Impact of the Haitian Revolution on Latin America,” in *Beyond Slavery: The Multilayered Legacy of Africans in Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Darién J. Davis (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 19-36.

31 March: **Research Presentations: To Be Scheduled**

7 April: **Research Presentations: To Be Scheduled**

14 April: **In Their Own Words: Slave Narratives**

**Documents (Read One of the Following):**

*Biography of a Runaway Slave*, ed. Miguel Barnet (Willimantic: Curbstone, 1994).

*The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and the Americas*, ed. Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2001); also available in unannotated edition at:

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/baquaqua/baquaqua.html>.

Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince*, ed. Moira Ferguson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); also available in unannotated edition at:

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/prince/prince.html>.

Olaudah Equiano, *Equiano's Travels: The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, ed. Paul Edwards (London: Heinemann, 1996); also available in unannotated edition at: <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/equiano1/equiano1.html>.

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/equiano2/equiano2.html>.

Note that there are other editions of these slave narratives and multiple copies of them at the University of Calgary library.

**Assignment for Seminar Meeting:**

Focus your reading on the autobiographical narrative written or told by the slave, not the annotations and introductory material (which is extensive in some of these editions). As you read this text, consider the following questions; be prepared to discuss them in class.

1. Who is the author? Where did he or she live? In which societies did her or she experience slavery? How long was he or she a slave?
2. How did he or she gain freedom?
3. How did he or she come to write or dictate the autobiography?
4. To what audience is the autobiography directed? How does this shape the author's account of life under slavery?
5. How typical do you think these slaves' experiences were during the time of their enslavement?
6. Based on your reading of this narrative, what conclusions can you draw about the major themes in the historiography of slavery that we have discussed in HTST 565? Consider questions such as work, resistance, slave culture, Christianity, the law, as well as the themes that have come up in our discussions, such as women, slave-master relations, etc.. Prepare ten points that you could discuss on the basis of your reading of your slave narrative.