

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

**POPES' COMPLICITIES IN THE 'NEGRO' SLAVE TRADE, 15TH
CENTURY TO 19TH CENTURY.**

BY

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE AWARD
OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN AFRICAN STUDIES**

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

JULY 2019

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this thesis is a research piece produced by Mensah, Isaac Sekyi Nana under the sole supervision of Dr Ntewusu Samuel Aniegye of the University of Ghana. This thesis has never been introduced, either to a limited extent or in entirety for a degree in this university or some other university.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to victims of the transatlantic slave trade; the tens of millions of our brothers and sisters who lost their lives while being horridly shipped across the Atlantic and the many more who suffered the harrowing brutalities of slavery on the plantations and fields far away from home.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To begin with, I give thanks to God for his grace and protection bestowed on me throughout my stay at the University of Ghana campus.

My profound and endless gratitude goes to my mother, Mrs Georgina Mensah and for investing and supporting my education.

My loudest appreciation goes Dr Ntewusu A. Samuel whose painstaking supervision made it possible for me to bring this work to fruition.

In the same vein, I extend same gratitude to all Lecturers at the Institute of African Studies especially the Director, Professor Dzodzi Tsikata on whose good counsel I apply for this degree. I also express my sincere appreciation to the student of St. Peter's Regional Seminary, Pedu for their support and prayers.

To individuals who contributed in diverse ways for this work to be successful, your efforts and supports are duly acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

Catholic Church historians and the Papacy had claimed to have vehemently condemned slave trade at every instance. Catholic historians and scholars like Luigi Conti and Panzer have done their best to grant an intellectual absolution to the seat of the Pope by carefully whitewashing the ugly part of their history and eulogizing the Catholic Church for being at the forefront of the abolitionist movement. I contend that a thorough analysis of Papal bull, treaties and the classic works of scholars like John Francis Maxwell 1975, Howard Erskine-Hill 1998 and Pius Onyemechi Adiele 2017 and other published works would bring to bear the involvement of the Pope in the process of the enslavement of the 'Negro'. I will advance this debate to show the authority of the pope in medieval European politics by examining archival sources on the alliances, diplomatic relations and international treaties ratified with such European countries concerning the slave trade. I will extend this debate further to show that not only did the church blessed and supported the trade, but the Church directly purchased African slaves in Rome. This work also takes a closer look at the extent of the papacy's direct and indirect involvement in the Negro slave trade. An analysis of the financial system and fiscal policy of the Catholic Church in medieval times and assessment of largest Slave Corporation in Maryland by the Jesuit Order based on archival materials from Georgetown University Slave Archive show that not only was the leadership of the Church involved in the trade but also benefitted from the trade.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT OF THIS WORK

A thorough review of various studies of the slave trade and slavery indicates that the institution has been the object of serious scholarship for at least one hundred and twenty-five years¹ as Miller and Smith expressed, the subject of slave trade ‘keeps on entrancing our historical creative ability’.² Perbi gave two principal reasons for this, to begin with, the subject is of contemporary pertinence and significance and second, new sources, new thoughts, new techniques, and new methodologies continue rising.³

Rodney asserted that there is the general acceptance that slavery prevailed on the African continent before the arrival of the Europeans, and this indigenous slavery is said to have facilitated the rise and progress of the Atlantic slave trade.⁴ Adu-Boahen argued that servile status was recognized in most African societies even before the Portuguese and Spaniard explorers-traders made their first physical contact with people of West Africa. He, however, posited that the influences of African-European economic, cultural and other relations, to a significant extent, altered the patterns of slave trading and slave labour exploitation, modified European attitudes towards some institutions of bondage and their regulatory customs, and integrated aspects of a European-created institution of slavery into the social structure of the Gold Coast.⁵ Fage weighed in on this debate categorically

¹ Orlando Patterson, “Slavery,” *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 3, (1977): 407-493

² Miller, R.M. & Smith J. D (Eds): *Dictionary of Afro-America Slavery*, 1998.

³ Perbi, A.A. *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th To The 19th Century*, 2004.p.1-6.

⁴ Walter Rodney, “African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave-Trade,” *Journal of African History*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1966): 431-443

⁵ Kwabena Adu-Boahen, “The Impact of European Presence on Slavery in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century Gold Coast,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, New Series*, No. 14 (2012): 165-199.

concluding that ‘...economic and commercial slavery and slave-trading were not natural features of West African society, but that they developed, along with the growth of states, as a form of labour mobilization to meet the needs of a growing system of foreign trade in which, initially, the demand for slaves as trade goods was relatively insignificant, the European demand for slaves for the Americas, which reached its peak from about 1650 to about 1850, accentuated and expanded the internal growth of both slavery and the slave trade.’⁶

Another debatable issue around the conversation on the slave trade is what is known in popular circles as ‘Gun-Circle theory’. Here Inikori stressed that African demand largely determined the quantity and quality of weaponry imported, he also argues that firearm import stimulated warfare to obtain the slaves that paid for the guns.⁷ Thornton rejected the notion that a gun-for-slaves cycle drove the movement of slaves to the coast.⁸ His argument was based on the very nature of African warfare and the size of African states. The middle passage; the journey across the Atlantic has generated a variety of opinions on the untold story of Africa’s ordeal of the ‘triangular’ trade linking Europe, Africa, and the Americas and the number of enslaved Africans taken across the Atlantic. Curtin estimated that 9, 566,100 slaves were imported into the Americas and other parts of the Atlantic basin from 1451 to 1870.⁹ A lecturer of Latin American History at Columbia University, Herbert Klein presented, an analysis motivated by Curtin's factual and statistical methodology. Klein finds that the fiscal benefits and misfortunes of human life related to the slave trade, albeit generous, were a lot littler than the harsh estimates of prior historians. Like Curtin,

⁶ J. D. Fage, “Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History,” *Journal of African History*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1969): 393-404

⁷ Joseph E. Inikori, “The Import of Firearms into West Africa, 1750-1807: A Quantitative Analysis,” *Journal of African History*. 18.3, pp. 340-341,341,343,345.

⁸ John Thornton, “Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800”, 2nd ed.1998.

⁹ Philip D. Curtin, “The Atlantic Slave Trade”: A Census”, 1969, p.268.

Klein finds cautious estimation a more valuable contribution to knowledge and intellectual discourse than undiscovered part of the trade.

Every one of these discussions about Transatlantic Slave Trade and other insightful work has been composed on the theme of the Transatlantic slave trade, establishing its history, the part played by the European sailors, their African partners, organizations of various European states enslaving territories in their effort to carry out this pernicious traffic in individuals of African origin

Religion was key in rousing Prince Henry of Portugal, later called Henry, "the Navigator" (1394-1460), to set in motion Europe's campaigns to Africa.¹⁰ Henry was not just the legislative head of Algrave Province, who dealt with an expansive financial framework dependent on uncontrolled access to riches from trans-Saharan business, however, he was likewise the manager of the Order of Christ, the Portuguese successor to the Knights Templar, a well-known Western military request established in the repercussions of the First Crusade at Clermont on November 27, 1095.¹¹ Ogbu Kalu contended that inside the scope of religious rationale, ecclesiastical bulls offered privileges of support to Henry, granting his person to designate administrative requests and clerical orders for proselytizing in his capacity as the monarch of Portugal to battle off other European state seeking similar interests.¹² The innocent victims of this papal grant and ecclesiastical approval from the office of the pope were the people of African descent.

To maintain a strategic distance from the redundancy of what has been done around the slave trade, my work along these lines; is not a record of the transatlantic slave exchange as such. It confines itself entirely to interrogate, in great detail, the involvement of the papacy in the slave trade with

¹⁰ Cannon, K. "Christian Imperialism and the Transatlantic Slave Trade". *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 24(1), 2008.p.127-134.

¹¹ Newit, M. D. D. t, 'Prince Henry and Portuguese Imperialism', 1972.

¹² Ogbu Kalu, "Christianity in Africa," in *Christianity: The Complete Guide*, ed. John Bowden (London: Continuum, 2005), p.2-12.

her obnoxious support, to the organization and the enslavement of indigenous people in Africa, to addressing the tension between Spain and Portugal over contentious claims to wresting control over the incalculable amount of gold, silver, ivory, free labour and Indian spices from the hands of the African vendors of the Trans-Saharan trade, the trade with Guinea and West African Coast. And also to further digest the complex financial web of the papacy; the mechanism put in place to draw revenues from the global trade in the enslaved Africans.

1.2 SCOPE AND ORGANIZATION OF THIS WORK

This study is based on selected papal bulls and treaties within the period under study. This selection is based on relevance and availability. The work has been broadly categorized into four chapters with chapter one comprising a preliminary discussion on the subject of this study. This is basically a brief introductory part of the work that interrogates and discusses various issues of Trans-Atlantic slave trade as well as various debates; “Gun-Cycle Theory”, “Number Games” among other issues such as how the authoring of papal bulls, the papacy planted the seed that germinated into Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The first chapter also includes the research question that informs the purpose of this work. This chapter also outlines the objectives of the study. This is also followed by a methodical approach of this work which features prominently both primary set of data and secondary sources. The primary data includes manuscripts and papal encyclicals of medieval times and handwritten letters, trade ledger which is made available in digital format at Georgetown University Archive system, Maryland Province Archive and the official digital archive system of the Vatican City. Additionally, relevant scholarly works of various writers on the subject under study will be used to explain issues revolving around focus on this work.

The second chapter of this work, which is the heartbeat of this study, delves into the authority of the pope in medieval European politics by examining alliances, diplomatic relations and international treaties ratified with such European countries concerning slave trade. So as to set up the part played by the Church and her leadership amid the transatlantic slave trade, this work explores the political and strategical place of the papacy in the global legislative issues of the high and late medieval periods in connection to the issues concerning Black Africa. With the papacy's collaboration with Kings and Queens of Europe, her political and economic aims in West Africa from the time of 1418 to 1839 were fulfilled. Pieces of evidence from papal bulls such as 'Sane Charissimus' of Pope Martin V in 1418, 'Dum Diversas' of Pope Nicholas V in 1452 among other relevant works would be used to address the nuances of these issues. This chapter is also set out upon the conviction that the Catholic Church carried out and facilitated the activities in the subjugation of Black Africans. This is to be pinpointed in the ecclesiastical letters and decrees of the late medieval period that solidified in recorded papal reports of the Church's Magisterium under the control of the Renaissance papacy written in help of the political and monetary desire of the rulers of Portugal in West Africa under the misrepresentation of Crusade against the Saracens¹³ in Africa.

The third chapter focuses on the financial system and the fiscal policy developed by the Papacy. Considering the reach of the powers of Europe; the papacy wilfully controlled the political, social and economic life in Europe during the period under study. The economic life was profoundly characterized by overseas trade in the Black Africans and the claims of territories notably by Portugal and Spain. Thus the study of the fiscal policy of the papacy is of great importance. The

¹³ Used categorically to refer to the Arabized North Africa and Muslim of whom Christendom was at war. The term came to be used to refer to Black Africans beyond Cape Borjador and Guinea.

relations between the Papacy and Catholic monarchs of Europe were equally characterized by fiscal policy, a well-structured system of taxation, created credit transactions on a large scale. On this foundation, this chapter interrogates the economic life of the Jesuit Order during the missionary and economic adventures of medieval Europe, Maryland and other provinces which in the scheme of things rested heavily on Transatlantic Slave trade and how the church through the Jesuit slaveholding in Maryland, Brazil among other places benefitted from the trade in the Negro race through this web of financial arrangement.

The final part of this work gives a comprehensive summary of the entire work. Taking the position that not only was the office the pope complicit in the ‘Negro Slave Trade’ but also benefitted from the entire global network of the transatlantic slave trade.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

To what extent were the Popes of medieval Europe complicit in the ‘Negro’ Slave Trade?

1. What was the character of the relations and the politics between the Papacy and the Monarchs of Medieval Europe?
2. Did the Papacy make any substantial financial or material gain from the enslavement of Black Africans?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THIS WORK

This dissertation aims to:

1. Examine the extent of the papacy's direct and indirect involvement in the Negro slave trade by examining papal encyclicals, royal edicts, treaties, and papal bulls¹⁴ from 1418 to 1839.
2. Review financial system constituted and institutionalized by the Catholic Church in the medieval times which aided the church to benefit directly and indirectly from the slave trade in Black Africans.

1.5 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THIS WORK

This work uses a qualitative research approach encompassing both primary and secondary sources. This work recounted and analysed primary data in the form of manuscripts, letters, treaties and papal sermons within the time frame under study. Most of these documents, however rare, are made available in digital format at the National Digital Library of Portugal which offers online access to digitized archives with significance to the Portuguese Culture, History and Church History. The digital archive system has ten thousand archives which are presently accessible at the National Digital Library official website and some data from Georgetown University Slavery Archive. Although I must say that these documents; the papal bulls, in their original state, are written in Latin and some handwritten. The accuracy in translation and the visibility of the handwritten document of five-hundred years can be a challenge. The official English translation,

¹⁴ The Papal bull is an official ecclesiastical letter, a public decree or sanctioned by papacy. This documents bears the authority of pope.

however, is found Davenport's three hundred and eighty-seven (387) paged book on European treaties. Even though these translations are found in published material, for the sake of this study they would be treated as a primary source. Additionally, published works from Davenport¹⁵, Adiele¹⁶, Maxwell¹⁷, among others would be used to further enrich the discussion of issues around the involvement of papacy in the Transatlantic slave trade and the monetary or financial benefits the Church gained from the trade. The works of Lunt (1909), Maxwell (1975) and Adiele (2017) will form the core part of the secondary data. This will also be complemented by other relevant books, journals and online sources.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review incorporated the present information and discussions including substantive discoveries and research done in this area. Here, I examined the data assembled by distinguishing gaps in literature; by the constraint of speculations and perspectives; and by planning areas for further research and looking into regions of contention while committing to the more extensive discussion on the contribution of the Papacy in the Transatlantic slave trade and the benefit the Church and her leadership gained. Also, this review featured relevant texts and occasionally complimented these discussions with articles and other academic sources and evidence to illustrate a point or further explain a controversial part of this work.

To begin with, the one hundred and forty-two paged text by John Francis Maxwell title "Slavery and the Catholic Church" explores the social, moral, economic, and legal basis of the establishment

¹⁵ Davenport, 1917. also see <http://clclibrary-org-works.angelfire.com/treaty1.html> accessed on 23 June, 2019.

¹⁶ Adiele, 2017.

¹⁷ Maxwell, 1975.

slavery according to accepted Catholic teachings. The author sought to, in the scheme of things, to point out errors in the standing teachings of the Catholic Church on the institution of slavery. These errors he identified as *'credulous dependence on the legitimate titles and ownership of slave in Roman law as if to suggest that they were doctrines of purpose and integrity; misinterpretation of the use of the natural moral law to slavery; disregard by modern puritans of a standard of ethics, namely the natural and indispensable ramification of actions or errors; faulty pedagogic philosophical examination of the nature of slave-ownership; neglect of the significance of alterations in the conditions of the slavery system since the Apostolic age; and finally, fundamentalist misapprehension of writings of Holy Book; and there was clearly some anticipation of apprehension that by publicizing these blunders one would accomplish more mischief than anything.'*¹⁸

The first part of this text establishes an enquiry into the delay in the formal amendment of the flawed teachings on slavery¹⁹ and an extensive analysis of the written foundations from Old Testament texts to this day and age on the theological instructions of the Catholic Church which focuses on the moral basis slave trade.²⁰ Here, Maxwell asserted that owing to the impact of the principle of continuity of canon which repressed Councils of the Church from reviewing or rescinding ancient papal decrees which no longer had use in a Western European Christian Monarchies, the papacy had advocated the dogma that slaves should remain enslaved to their slave owners.²¹ On the other hand, partly under the influence of Pauline teaching that slaves and masters

¹⁸ Maxwell, 1975.p.10. A pdf version is available on <http://anthonyflood.com/maxwellslaverycatholicchurch.pdf> accessed 10 June, 2019.

¹⁹ Note that according to Maxwell, it was until 1965, about one hundred and thirty-five years of abolition of slave trade, that by conveying of the Second Vatican Council, the Church changed her stance on slavery.

²⁰ Maxwell, 1975.p.12. <http://anthonyflood.com/maxwellslaverycatholicchurch.pdf> accessed on 10 June 2019.

²¹ Maxwell, 1975.p.43 also see <http://anthonyflood.com/maxwellslaverycatholicchurch.pdf> accessed on 10 June 2019.

are equally brethren in Christ, the Church actively promoted the doctrine that slaves should be emancipated by their masters.²² Maxwell bemoans that theologians and church historians should endeavour to guard what was, before the end of the nineteenth century, seen to be shaky and indefensible, however they were indispensably worried about the coherence of principle on the teaching of Church. In Catholic teaching, the inquiry is a settled one.²³ The facts demonstrate that Pope Leo XIII attempted to appear in his formal speech of twentieth November 1890 (*Catholicae Ecclesiae*) that the Church had dependably censured slavery, however, Maxwell demonstrates that this announcement was 'historically inaccurate'.²⁴

This is very crucial to this work as a clear understanding of the church's stance on slavery will explain further her involvement in the transatlantic slave trade, the use of slave in the Vatican City and church approval for the just enslavement of Negros. Maxwell's book is nevertheless the first sketch of a controversial subject. Clearly, there is space for a parallel investigation of Protestant instructing regarding the matter.

Furthermore, the European States on countless occasions signed treaties among themselves and the papacy; few of the bulls issued by the popes, which are the fundamental documents for assessing the reach of the powers of the pope in Europe and Church's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. Thus these treaties and papal bulls form a better part of this work. However, access to original and precise writings of them is a long way from simple²⁵; they do not exist in print. It is against this backdrop that Davenport's work, which brought together in one collection those treaties and papal bulls which have bearing not just on the numerous treaties the

²² Ibid.p.43

²³ Maxwell, p. 112.

²⁴ Maxwell, p. 117, 8.

²⁵ Davenport, p. iii

United States had signed with the European States but also on the critical role the church played in nurturing the idea of overseas trade in Africans. The three hundred and fifty-three paged volume of Davenport's work secure perfect accuracy in the text²⁶; both the original document in Latin and their English translations. With a collection of forty treaties and papal bulls from the 'Bull Romanus Pontifex, January 8, 1455,²⁷ to the 'treaty that was signed in 1648 at Munster between Spain and the United Netherlands.²⁸ His work, although complete in itself does not sufficiently focus on the interaction between the office of the pope and various European monarch in their pursuit of religious war, control of land abroad and economic power.

Lunt's article titled 'The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature' adds flesh to this work especially the third chapter. The wide impact applied by the papacy on the political, social, and monetary lives of the medieval times provides for the investigation of the ecclesiastical budgetary framework particular significance. The papacy drew its incomes from the various provinces, parishes and missions across the globe, the relations of the Papacy with the Catholic ruling houses in Europe and various European ethnic groups were influenced in no small measure by its monetary approach.²⁹ Ashley assertions equally deserve a mention. The papacy of medieval Europe did not just organise one of the earliest and best of the financial and banking frameworks yet by methods for its operation and implementation impacted profoundly the general financial advancement of Europe although the papacy was blamed for thwarting and frustrating business and money-related activities by its disallowance of premium or

²⁶ John Franklin Jameson's quote as cited in Davenport, 1917,p. iii

²⁷ Davenport, p. 9-26.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 353-366.

²⁹ Lunt, W. "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 23(2), 1909.p.251-295

interest.³⁰ With time, Transatlantic slave trade came to form a better part of European economies but recent literature on papal financial gives room for one to re-evaluate the Church's sources finances in Europe through "*revenues from the Papal States, Census, Income taxes, Benefice taxes, Fees and miscellaneous receipts.*"³¹ As to whether the Church's fiscal policies and sources of funds in medieval Europe aided the church to benefit directly or indirectly from the Transatlantic slave trade is a matter of conjecture. Chapter three seeks to fill this gap and put to rest the numerous conspiracies surrounding the wealth of the Catholic Church. In his capacity as pope, Lunt confirms that 'the pope obtained revenue in every one of his ascriptions as vicar of the missionary church or the apostle Peter, metropolitan of Italy, Bishop of Rome, a sovereign whose position was transient and temporal, medieval suzerain, and landowner.'³²

³⁰ Ashley W. J, "An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory", Part II. 1893p. 396. as cited in Lunt, 1909.p.251.

³¹ Lunt, 1909. P.273. other authors cite this as W. E. Lund. "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature", The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 1909

³² Lunt, 1909,.p.273

CHAPTER TWO

PAPAL BULLS AND THE ENSLAVEMENT OF BLACK AFRICANS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The authority of the Pope is one of the profound tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. According to the strict teachings of the church the Pope, Bishop of Rome and Peter's successor, "is the perpetual and visible source and foundation of the unity both of the bishops and the whole company of the faithful."³³ "For the Roman Pontiff, by reason of his office as Vicar of Christ, and as pastor of the entire Church has full, supreme, and universal power over the whole Church, a power which he can always exercise unhindered."³⁴

Historically, the existence of this papal encyclicals or bulls predated the sixth century, yet this ecclesiastical document was not fully utilized outside the political space of Rome before 1200s. Before this time the term just alluded to internal informal ecclesiastical record-keeping purposes. By the fifteenth century, and upon the creation of ecclesiastical chancery³⁵, the term 'Papal Bull' had come to assume a more powerful political and legal instrument outside Rome and across the world. Thus a considerable number of Papal Bulls with unique ecclesiastical importance came to exist when a more solid material of papal bull was made. In the traditional sense of the word, a typical Papal, usually handwritten, begins with a Latin sentence characterized by three basic features such as the name of Peter's successor, his official ecclesiastical title '*episcopus servus servorum*' Dei, meaning "*bishop, servant of the servants of God*,"³⁶ and other Latin phrases

³³ Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1997, paragraph 882; 402.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, paragraph 882; 403

³⁵ This came to be called "register of bulls".

³⁶ Huna, Ludwig. "The Bulls of Rome", 2005. accessed on http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Papal_February_28, 2019.

comprised the incipit from which the papal, letters, encyclical and bulls would likewise take their unique name and other identification details., yet which probably would not be legitimately demonstrative of the bull's motivation or the intended purpose for which they were issued. For instance, in this bull “Aeterni Regis” issued by Pope Sixtus IV states;

“Sixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Eterni Regis dementia, per quam, reges regnant, in suprema Sedis Apostolice specula collocati, regum Catholicorum omnium, sub quorum felici gubernaculo Christifideles in justitia et pace foventur, statum et prosperitatem ac quietem et tranquillitatem sinceris desiderii appetimus, et inter illos pacis dulcedinem vigere ferventer exoptamus ; ac hiis que per predecessores nostros, Romanos pontifices, et alios propterea provide facta fuisse comperimus, ut firma perpetuo et illibata permaneant, et ab omni contentionis scrupulo procul existant, apostolice confirmationis robur favorabiliter adhibemus.”³⁷

Translated in English as:

“Sixtus, bishop, servant of the servants of God. For a perpetual remembrance. Since, through the Eternal King's clemency, whereby kings reign, we have been placed in the loftiest watchtower of the Apostolic See, we earnestly seek the stability, prosperity, quiet, and tranquillity of all Catholic kings, under whose auspicious guidance Christ's faithful ones are cherished in justice and peace, and we fervently desire that sweet peace may thrive among them.”³⁸

Aside from the abovementioned, the content of Papal bull does not follow any strict rule or traditions for its order; usually extremely basic in format. At the tail of the bull is a short datum,

³⁷ Davenport,1917.,p.50

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 53.

referencing the legal political jurisdiction within which it was proclaimed, other administrative details including the day and the month of the pope's pontificate and signature near which is attached the seal which usually bears a symbol unique to each pope. For example, from the same Papal bull concludes as;

*“Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominice millesimo quadingentesimo octuagesimo primo, undecimo kalendas Julii, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.”*³⁹

Which translate as;

*“Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the twenty-first day of June, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand four hundred and eighty-one, in the tenth year of our pontificate.”*⁴⁰

In summary, “the Pope appreciates, by the heavenly foundation, incomparable, full, prompt, and all-inclusive power under the watchful eye of spirits and souls in heaven.”⁴¹ A Papal bull is a pope’s authentic, formal pronouncement building up a religious request, clearing up a precept, sanctioning different records, establishing a college, convening a general gathering, announcing a celebration or putting forth a comparable expression.⁴² The term bull alludes to a seal usually made of lead, which was connected to the bull to authenticate it.⁴³ Thus the Papal bull was a symbol of the pope’s authority across the world; it puissance alluded to the doctrine of the Pope as God’s vicar on earth. With his political and religious powers unhindered, the Papacy essentially

³⁹ Davenport, 1917. p.52.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.55.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, paragraph 937; CD2

⁴² Thurston, H. “Bullarium”. In *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. 1908, accessed on February 20, 2019 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03048c.html>

⁴³ *Ibid.*

controlled the social, religious, political and economic life of medieval Europe. Examples of conquest, war, and abuse that keep on afflicting indigenous people all through the world; needless to say Black Africans, are established in Papal bulls records, for example, ecclesiastical bulls, Royal Charters and court decisions.⁴⁴ For instance, in 1455 and 1456, Davenport asserts that Portugal possessed as wilfully granted by Nicholas V the undivided right to establish without reproach, a commercial network and procure an area at the tip of Western Sudan, Guinea and other neighbouring regions.⁴⁵

By 1492, slave-raiding in West Africa and the invasion and the discovery of America by Christians, in Maxwell's opinion was the beginning of the contentious ethical concerns of the enslavement of black Africans, the slave trade in Africans and, in a similar fashion, the enslavement of the indigenous people of the Americas, "*where the common Catholic teaching concerning slavery found expression in Papal documents, Royal decrees, and theological opinions.*"⁴⁶ Also, Abramova stressed that several slaves were packaged as a tribute and gift to Pope Eugene IV while excess was sold in Lisbon at an incredibly high cost.⁴⁷ After this transaction of profitable auctioning of enslaved Africans, the Portuguese slave raiders and sailors developed an insatiable commercial taste in the slave trade, resulting in the export of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic.⁴⁸ The actualization of the shipment of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic; what later became known as Tran-Atlantic slave trade was made possible by the internal politics in Europe which was instructive of the pope's authority. The next sub-sections of this chapter discuss

⁴⁴ Natalie Wing, "Rescinding the Papal Bulls: A Way Forward from the Past to the Present".p.19.

⁴⁵ Davenport., V I. p.1

⁴⁶ Maxwell, 1975, p.51 also see <http://anthonyflood.com/maxwellslaverycatholicchurch.pdf> accessed on 11 June 2019.

⁴⁷ Abramova, S. U. "*Ideological, Doctrinal, Philosophical, Religious and Political aspects of the African Slave Trade*" in *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, UNESCO, 1979.,p.16

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*,p.16

in great detail, papal bull and treaties that shaped the course of global politics in the light of the doctrine of discovery and also laid the foundation for the enslavement of Africa which later developed into a prominent global commercial enterprise. From 1418 to 1500, a total of seven papal bulls were selected out of hundreds of bulls issued in the course of this period for this study. This is a purposive sampling research technique for selecting historical documents. This selection is based on their relevance to the issues of demarcation, European exploration in Africa and the enslavement of Africans in particular. These bulls include Sane Charissimus 1418, Dum Diversas 1452, Romanus Pontifex 1455, Inter Caetera 1456, Aeternis Regis 1481, Inter Caetera 1493, Eamiae Devotionis 1493, and in addition to this, the treaty of Tordesillas.

2.2 PRINCE HENRY AND POPE MARTIN V. THE BULL SANE CHARISSIMUS 1418

Among the men who engineered the Catholic civilization mission of the medieval periods for that overseas expansion to Africa coastlands and beyond which marked the beginning of territorial control, the figure of Prince Henry of Portugal is of commanding importance.⁴⁹ At the end of the fourteenth century, the external efforts of the Catholic European countries, which had effectively experienced so noteworthy an improvement, appears, as it were, deadened. In an attempt to successfully continue and revive the rather declining interest in the movement of the oceanic discovery of India and Africa coastlands which their counterpart Genoese had begun, Prince Henry initiated the viable cooperation, bringing together, monarchical, Christian states in that pilgrim,

⁴⁹ G. E. de Azurara's *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guine'*, edited by Carreira and Santarem (Paris, 1841); cited in Beazley, C. Raymond. "Prince Henry of Portugal and the African Crusade of the Fifteenth Century, 1910.p.11-23.

business, and crusading extension whose burden had, up to this point, laid halfway on volunteer explorers, somewhat on the extraordinary trade networks. The Portuguese Prince makes his nation the pioneer of Europe in its final conquest, by maritime paths, of the outer world.⁵⁰

In the lifetime and mainly through the leadership of the Infant Prince Henry, the activity of this crusade is transferred to that Africa from which Spanish Islam had drawn its strength. While Prince Henry was still a child, and apparently, before the French descent of 1402 on the Canaries, the warships of Portugal, sailing against the "Saracens" to Africa, are said to have made a Portuguese rediscovery of the northernmost of the Canaries, the first Atlantic colony of Europeans.⁵¹

While Prince Henry is alleviating Ceuta and intending to assault Gibraltar, while his sailors are as yet working southwards along the Sahara coast, I discover Pope Martin V, in 1418, and Pope Eugenius IV, in 1436, calling upon the sovereigns, rulers, nobles, and justices of Christendom to help the Portuguese in the killing of the heathens (black Africa), to help forward that new campaign which had started with the triumph of Ceuta. By the same bulls, all prelates and dignitaries of the Church are commanded to preach this Portuguese enterprise as a crusade and to declare to those who should take part in it the same plenary indulgence accorded to Palestine pilgrims.⁵² By appeal of the Papacy to the entire Catholic world is without a doubt made at the occurrence of the Portuguese crown was incited by the Prince Henry's first triumphs in African in the drifting of the "Dark Continent". It unmistakably denotes in general, European, additional national character of the endeavour extensive exploration driven by Prince Henry, both in Marocco and along the shores of "Guinea"; while at the equivalent the time it guarantees full fulfilment to normal and national

⁵⁰ Beazley, C. Raymond. "Prince Henry of Portugal and the African Crusade of the Fifteenth Century." 1910.,p.12

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 1910.,p.14

⁵² *Ibid.* p.14.

desire by its affirmation that all terrains vanquished by the rulers of Portugal in this experience ought to be liable to their crown.

2.3 POPE NICHOLAS V. BULL DUM DIVERSAS (JUNE 18, 1452)

On June 18, 1452, Pope Nicholas V issued the ecclesiastical bull “Dum Diversas”. This bull, often cited in any discussion on the “ Age of Discovery” approved Alfonso V of Portugal to subject any “Saracens” (Muslims), “infidels”, “agnostics” and some other unbelievers" to endless servitude. This bull, in particular, encouraged the Portuguese slave exchange from West Africa.

The history culminating to the issue of this bull is unclear but Sardar, Ziauddin, and Davies, Merryl Wyn’s account are useful for this discussion. Here, Sardar and Wyn assert that Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI kept in touch with Nicholas V for his unwavering support and help.⁵³ Issued not exactly a year before 1453 which witnessed the eventual collapse of Constantinople, the expectation of this bull may have been to prepare the ground for another campaign against the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴ The reason behind Pope Nicholas V’s apparent hesitation to consent to help the Portuguese cases concerning an area in Africa is unknown but the Pope eventually stepped in when King of Portugal reacted to a sermon from the papacy, calling for help against the Turks. Albeit a few troops who arrived from the northern part of medieval Italy, the papacy of Nicholas V did not have the will and the impact the Byzantines, in their anticipation, had over the European monarchs.⁵⁵ The European States were debilitated as a result of the war that lasted for a hundred

⁵³ Sardar, Ziauddin, and Davies, Merryl Wyn. “The No-Nonsense Guide to Islam”. 2004 p. 94 and probably because Loukas Notaras who happen to be Pope Nicholas V's nephew, , was “Megas Doux” of the Byzantine Empire see Eaglestone, C.R. 1878. The siege of Constantinople, 1453. p. 7.

⁵⁴ Ziauddin et al., p.90-95.

⁵⁵ Alan Trawinski, “The Clash of Civilisation”, 2nd Ed.2017. also see Sidney Z. Ehler, John B. Morrall, “Church and State through the Centuries: A Collection of Historic Documents with Commentaries”, 1967.

years, and on the other hand, Spain was as yet occupied with struggle with Islamic fortifications in Iberia. Unfortunately, efforts made by the Western European States were not sufficient to deal decisively with forces of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁶ Regardless of the unpreparedness on the side of Portugal, an assault on Morocco must be taken into serious consideration yet under the monarchy of Alfonso V and with regards to the century following, "such enterprises were accepted as self-justifying crusades for religion, chivalry, and honour"⁵⁷

As a result of brutal attacks and raids associated with a battle to wrestle control of the Iberian Peninsula between the Christian Kingdom and the Moors, a colossal number of prisoners of war were reduced to slaves. Some of these prisoners were mostly sold into slavery, with few ransomed on strict terms and conditions. Eventually, the Portuguese sailors with support from the crown and the papacy extended this enterprise to the northern part of Africa. The King of Portugal looked for papal acknowledgement of it as a worthy campaign. Likewise, after the mid-fifteenth century, Portugal assaulted on Ceuta and Mauretania, the crown again looked for, the affirmation and support from the papacy to these attacks as a just war. Such an assurance, acknowledgement, affirmation and support would then demonstrate that those caught could authentically and legally be sold as slaves.⁵⁸

Thus, essentially, the bull *Dum Diversas* gave Portugal exclusive trade right in enslaved Africans as a result of the Reconquista. Pope Nicholas V was approached by King Alfonso V for validation of claims to establish a monopoly over the trade in the enslaved Africans and the trade in gold already booming in Africa. This bull granted to Portugal the unchallenged right to assault,

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Stanley G. P., "A History of Spain and Portugal", 1973.p.6.

⁵⁸ Alida C. Metcalf., "Go-betweeners and the Colonization of Brazil: 1500–1600", 2005.p.167-170.

vanquish and reduce the indigenous people of Africa into slaves. This is captured in the Latin version bull Dum Diversas, and translated as;

*“We grant you (Kings of Spain and Portugal) by these present documents, with our Apostolic Authority, full and free permission to invade, search out, capture, and subjugate the Saracens and pagans and any other unbelievers and enemies of Christ wherever they may be, as well as their kingdoms, duchies, counties, principalities, and other property ... and to reduce their persons into perpetual servitude.”*⁵⁹

By this, the enslavement of Africa, forceful seizure of lands and gold has been given a moral justification and legal framework in the form of a papal bull in the inexcusable excuse of a “just war”. Similar instructions and approval would manifest itself in subsequent bulls issued by the office of the papacy. Pope Calixtus III will later in 1456 confirm this and renew it in 1481. Similar grant, terms and rights resurfaced in what I term in this paper as Alexandrian Bulls; Inter Caetera, Eaminae Devotionis in 1493. By this time, the acquisition of territories and the enslavement enterprise had been extended from Africa to America.

2.4 POPE NICHOLAS V. THE BULL ROMANUS PONTIFEX (JANUARY 8, 1455)

For over a century, before Columbus' "disclosure" of grounds in the western oceans, the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile had been moving for position and ownership of territorial control along the African coast. On the hypothesis that the Pope was an authority between countries, every Christian

⁵⁹ Diana Hayes, “Reflections on Slavery” in Charles E. Curran, Change in Official Catholic Moral Teachings, 2003.p.65-67.

European kingdom had looked for and gotten Papal bulls at different occasions to reinforce its cases, because its exercises served to spread Christianity; essentially Catholicism. This contention between Portugal and Castile over the newly discovered lands, characterized by two major events. First, as the naval officer of France, Don Luis de la Cerda, the favourite great-grandson of Alfonso, made several attempts to Christianize these islands. In 1344 he obtained a bull of investiture from Pope Clement VI leading to his eventual coronation as the Prince of Avignon.⁶⁰ At this point, the rulers of Spain and Portugal consented to bury their very contradicting claims to the several islands and to assist Luis in the endeavour to which, along these lines, the papacy had loaned her help.⁶¹

In any case, Luis never went into taking possessions of the said territories, and Spain and Portugal remained bitter enemies over these islands. Second, these discussions between Spain and Portugal concerning Africa, wherein 1415 Portugal has established control on Ceuta, military campaigns in Morocco, and effective trade relations with Guinea⁶². By 1454 trade with that district had incredibly experienced development and expansion to a point where the infamous Italian sailor called Alvise Ca' da' mosto, stated profoundly that "from no traffic on the planet could the like (once more) be had".⁶³ Heavy taxes were even forced on the stock brought from those parts. And by 1441 black slaves and a lot of gold was exported from Western Sudan and Guinea to Portugal for the very first time.⁶⁴

It is then plausible to assert that King Alfonso regarded this period particularly favourable for a settlement of the disagreement on the question of who owned Morocco and who controlled the

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* V I., p.9 on https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt accessed on 23 June 2019.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*,p V I. p.10

⁶² Refer to https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt for more details.

⁶³ Navarrete, Viages, I. XXXVII-XXXIX. Cited in Davenport, V. I, p.10

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.10 also see <http://clclibrary-org-works.angelfire.com/treaty1.html> and https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt accessed on 23 June, 2019.

trade in Guinea.⁶⁵ In endeavouring to set up his claims, he would normally look for help from the Pope, for that sovereign's autonomous position made him the mediator between countries, while his profound expert, specifically, his forces of banishment and interdiction, offered weight to his choices."⁶⁶ In the Bull Romanus Pontifex, Pope Nicholas V. proclaimed and confirm that;

“We [therefore] weighing all and singular the premises with due meditation, and noting that since we had formerly by other letters of ours granted among other things free and ample faculty to the aforesaid King Alfonso—to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ whosoever placed, and the kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, dominions, possessions, and all movable and immovable goods whatsoever held and possessed by them and to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods, and to convert them to his and their use and profit—by having secured the said faculty, the said King Alfonso, or, by his authority, the aforesaid infante, justly and lawfully has acquired and possessed, and doth possess, these islands, lands, harbours, and seas, and they do of right belong and pertain to the said King Alfonso and his successors, nor without special license from King Alfonso and his successors themselves has any other even of the faithful of Christ been entitled hitherto, nor is he by any means now entitled lawfully to meddle therewith, in order that King Alfonso himself and his successors and the infante may be able the more zealously to pursue and may pursue this most pious and noble work, and

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*p.10-15. see <http://clclibrary-org-works.angelfire.com/treaty1.html> and https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt accessed on 23 June, 2019.

⁶⁶ See Nys E., “Les Origines du Droit International”, 1894, “The Origins of International Law” 2012.p. 284-286, and Depping G. B., “History of trade between the Levant and Europe from the Crusades to the founding of the American colonies” (1830), ch. 10.

most worthy of perpetual remembrance (which, since the salvation of souls, increase of the faith, and overthrow of its enemies may be procured thereby, we regard as a work wherein the glory of God, and faith in Him, and His commonwealth, the Universal Church, are concerned) in proportion as they, having been relieved of all the greater obstacles, shall find themselves supported by us and by the Apostolic See with favours and graces—we, being very fully informed of all and singular the premises, do, motu propria, not at the instance of King Alfonso or the infante, or on the petition of any other offered to us on their behalf in respect to this matter, and after mature deliberation, by apostolic authority, and from certain knowledge, in the fullness of apostolic power, by the tenor of these presents decree and declare that the aforesaid letters of faculty ...”⁶⁷

Altogether, and more promptly to acquire these favours, these monarchs made it clear to the Pope how the business of the slave trade was symbiotic to the evangelization mission across Africa. In light of a legitimate concern for the Portuguese monarch, Alfonso V, the papacy of Nicholas V authored the “*Romanus Pontifex*”, an indication of a positive phase and remarkable progress during the medieval life of Portugal. Also according to the established instructions in the encyclical document ‘*Rex Regum*’, of 1443, the papacy of Eugenius IV had taken a fair and unbiased stance in the discussion between Spain and Portugal with regards to their rights and ownership of territories in Africa; by the bull ‘*Dum Diversas*’ proclaimed in 1452, the papacy of Nicholas V permitted Alfonso V of Portugal, the general and inconclusive rights to “search out and conquer

⁶⁷ The digital copy can be accessed from here: https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt . The original text of *Romanus Pontifex* is found in “European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648”, Davenport, and 1917.pp. 20-26. The original text in Latin is in the same volume, at pp. 13-20. also see <http://clclibrary-org-works.angelfire.com/treaty1.html> accessed on 23 June, 2019.

all pagans, enslave them and appropriate their lands and goods.”⁶⁸ Furthermore, Davenport asserts this the bull under discussion, on the other hand, settled the protracted misunderstanding that had existed among European countries, notably Portugal and Spain in favour of Portugal, bestowed onto Alfonso the singular legal claims to the southern region.⁶⁹

These bulls, by far, clearly show that under the disguise of evangelisation and Catholicism, the moral and legal justification was espoused to Portugal not only to reduce the inhabitant of Africa into slavery but also to take absolute possession of the land and other resources abundant in Africa; whose inhabitant, without due cognizance of the religious and cultural life of people were called infidels, Saracens and heathens. Not only were these derogatory remarks in itself damning, but they also became an excuse for later colonization enterprise and exploitation in Africa. Again, based on the overarching hypothesis that the Pope was a final judge between countries, every European kingdom had looked for and gotten Papal bulls at different occasions to reinforce its exclusivities and claims, because its exercises served to spread Christianity (Catholicism).

2.5 POPE CALIXTUS III. THE BULL INTER CAETERA (MARCH 13, 1456)

Upon the death of Pope Nicholas V on 24 March 1455, Calixtus III came to succeed Nicholas V and Calixtus III’s papacy began in 1455 on the eighth day of April. With great will and enthusiasm, Calixtus III endeavoured, to the most extreme, to awaken the countries of Europe to a campaign against the Turks. In 1456 Pope Calixtus issued the papal bull *Inter Caetera*, this was his attempt to reaffirm the previous bulls “*Dum Diversas*” and “*Romanus Pontifex*” as discussed above which

⁶⁸ Davenport, 1917.p.11-12.

https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt accessed on 10 June 2019.

⁶⁹ Davenport, 1917.p.12.

in the scheme of things perceived Portugal's exclusive rights to regions it had found along the West African coast as just and the subjugation of heathens and non-Christians caught there to be the property of Portugal.⁷⁰ Other than affirming the previous bull, Davenport stated that this papal bull presented to Portugal the spiritualities in every one of the terrains gained and to be procured from Western Sudan area, through its trade routes at the southern shore to India.⁷¹ In this bull Inter Caetera, Pope Calixtus reaffirm previous bulls in support of the trade in enslaved Africans across the Atlantic stating;

“...Since, however, as has been reported to us on behalf of the aforesaid King Alfonso and the Infante Henry, they are extremely eager that ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the said solitary islands, lands, harbours, and places, situated in the ocean toward the southern shore in Guinea, which the said infant withdrew with mailed hand from the hands of the Saracens, and conquered for the Christian religion, as is stated, may be granted forever by the Apostolic See to the aforesaid Order of Jesus Christ, by the support of whose revenues the said prince is asserted to have made this conquest ; and that the declaration, constitution, gift, grant, appropriation, decree, entreaty, exhortation, injunction, inhibition, mandate, and will, and the letters of the said Nicholas, our predecessor, and all and singular contained therein, may be confirmed ; therefore, on the part of the said king and infante we were humbly besought that we might be graciously pleased of our apostolic good-will to add the support of the apostolic confirmation to the declaration, constitution, gift, grant, appropriation, decree, entreaty, exhortation, injunction, inhibition, mandate, and will, and to the said letters and what is contained therein, in order to establish them

⁷⁰ This is not to be mistaken for Inter Caetera of 1493 issued by Alexander VI. which will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁷¹ Davenport, 1917, p. 27.

more firmly ; and to grant in perpetuity to the military order aforesaid, ecclesiastical and all kinds of Ordinary jurisdiction, both in the acquired possessions aforesaid, and in the other islands, lands, and places, which may hereafter be acquired by the said king and prince or by their successor, in the territories of the said Saracens ; and otherwise, in respect to the premises, to make convenient provision.⁷² We, therefore, longing that the religion of the said order may be able in the Lord to bear wholesome fruit in the said islands, lands, and places, influenced by these supplications, and considering as valid and acceptable the above-mentioned declaration, constitution, gift, appropriation, decree, entreaty, exhortation, injunction, inhibition, mandate, will, letters, and contents and everything is done by virtue thereof, through our apostolic authority and of our certain knowledge, do confirm and approve them, all and singular, by the tenor of these presents, and supplying all defects, if there should be any therein⁷³, we decree that they remain perpetually valid...” the Bull also warns that; “Let no one, therefore, infringes or with rash boldness contravene this our confirmation, approbation, constitution, completion, decree, statute, order, will, grant, and gift. Should anyone presume to attempt this, be it known to him that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the thirteenth day of March, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand four hundred and fifty-five, in the first year of our pontificate.”⁷⁴

This bull was specifically issued to address the various contentions that arose on the legitimacy of King Alfonso’s claim to territories in Africa and papal support after the demise of Pope Nicholas

⁷² Davenport, 1917 stated on <http://clclibrary-org-works.angelfire.com/treaty1.html> 23 June, 2019.

⁷³ Ibid. accessed on <http://clclibrary-org-works.angelfire.com/treaty1.html> 23 June, 2019.

⁷⁴ An official copy of the bull, made on August 16, 1456, in the National Archives in Lisbon, gav. 7a, mago 13, no. 7. also see Davenport, 1917.p.30-33. <https://archive.org/details/europeantreatie00paulgoog/page/n5> 10 April 2019.

V. It reaffirmed later bulls and extended these rights and privileges to more prominent and permanent status.

2.6 POPE SIXTUS IV. THE BULL AETERNI REGIS (JUNE 21, 1481)

Regardless of these series of Papal bulls and ecclesiastical letters, Castile kept on making illegitimate claims to Guinea. In any case, in the treaty, as concluded in 1479 between Spain and Almagro on the one side and Alfonso V, Castile consented to leave Portugal in sole ownership of the commercial activities and region gained and procured “in Guinea, the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde Islands, while Portugal, then again, recognized that Castile had an exclusive claim to the Canaries.”⁷⁵ This conciliatory plan between Spain and Portugal was insisted by the Pope in the provision of the settlement that barred outsiders from the region around Guinea. Davenport made it known it was following this bargain, that the European Catholic monarchs requested Columbus to refrain from sailing to “*La Mina*”; and that, by a year after, Portugal asserted the territories found by Columbus as their sole ownership.⁷⁶

Subsequently, the Bull Aeterni Regis, issued on June 21, 1481, was an affirmation of the bulls *Romanus Pontifex* and *Inter Caetera* by the papacy of Sixtus IV, authorizing claims Portugal had made to the exclusive ownership of lands, gold and slave labour in Guinea; and it likewise incorporated a significant new concession and guidelines, affirming article eight as endorsed in the accord of Almagro by which the crowned heads of Spain guaranteed to avoid aggravating, in

⁷⁵ Davenport, 1917.p.34. A copy available in a digital format on <https://archive.org/details/europeantreatie00paulgoog/page/n5> accessed on 15 April, 2019.

⁷⁶ Davenport, 1917. p.35. <https://archive.org/details/europeantreatie00paulgoog/page/n5> 16 April, 2019.

the slightest, Portugal presence in Guinea or Morocco.⁷⁷ By setting the record straight it was made clear in the bull that;

“ Item, the aforesaid King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, and Sicily, willed and resolved that this peace shall be firm and stable and everlasting, and they promised henceforth and forever that neither directly nor indirectly, neither secretly nor publicly, nor by their heirs and successors, will they disturb, trouble, or molest, in fact, or in law, in court or out of court, the⁷⁸ said King and Prince of Portugal or the future sovereigns of Portugal or their kingdoms in the status of possession or quasi-possession which they hold over all the trade, lands, and barter of Guinea, with its gold-mines, or over any other islands, shores, sea-coasts, or lands, discovered or to be discovered, found or to be found, or over the islands of Madeira, Porto Santo, and Desierta, or over all the islands called the Azores, that is. Hawks, and the islands of Flores, nor over the islands of Cape Verde (the Green Cape), nor over the islands already discovered, nor over whatever islands shall be found or acquired from beyond the Canaries, and on this side of and in the vicinity of Guinea, so that whatever has been or shall be found and acquired further in the said limits, shall belong to the said King and Prince of Portugal and to their kingdoms, excepting only the Canary Islands namely; Lanzarote, Palma, Forteventura, Gomera, Ferro, Graciosa, Grand Canary, Teneriffe, and all the other Canary Islands, acquired or to be acquired, which remain the possession of the kingdoms of Castile. And in like manner they will not disturb, trouble, or molest any persons whomsoever, who, under any title or in any way or manner whatsoever, shall trade or traffic in or acquire the said merchandise or trade of

⁷⁷ Ibid, 1917. p.49. https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/page/n4 accessed on 20 May 2019.

⁷⁸ A copy is made available in a digital format on https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt accessed on 19 May 2019.

Guinea or the said lands, shores, or coasts, discovered or to be discovered, in the name or under the authority of the said lords, king and prince of Portugal, or of their successors. On the contrary, by these presents, they do promise and assure, in good faith and without deceit, the said lords, king and prince of Portugal, and their successors, that they will not, of themselves or through others, order or consent, but rather forbid that any of their people, native or subject, in any place or at any time, or in any case, imagined or not imagined, or any other foreign people who might be within their kingdoms and dominions, or who might be equipped or provisioned in their ports, go to traffic in the said trade, or in the islands or lands of Guinea, discovered or to be discovered,⁷⁹ without the permission of the said King and Prince of Portugal.⁸⁰

Davenport added that at this point, this bull came to be of enormous advantage to Prince John. Bull denoted the start of another wave of African investigation and colonization.⁸¹ I must say clearly that even though the Portuguese crown was quite reluctant to pursue any further expedition south, John I energetically sought after this course in Africa and got the incalculable riches from the slave exchange in Western Sudan and Guinea. Upon the demise of Alfonso in 1481, the immediate occupant to the illustrious position who bore the inscription John II, and before that year, he instructed and sent an undertaking under the watching eye of Diogo d'Azambuja⁸² to erect the forts at Elmina, at the southern tip of the Gold Coast.⁸³ In 1482 European settlement and

⁷⁹ Ibid. see https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt accessed on 19 May 2019.

⁸⁰ The content is from the first original copy of the bull, in the National Archives at Lisbon, Coll. de Bullas, and mago 26, no. 10. as cited in Davenport, p.53-54. also see <https://archive.org/details/europeantreatie00paulgoog/page/n5> 18 June 2019.

⁸¹ Ibid. p.49 also a digital copy of this document is available on https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/page/n4 accessed on 10 June 2019.

⁸² Diogo de Azambuja sent the armada back to Lisbon with word that the mission has been effectively completed, and he stayed behind as commander of the post with a power of 60 troopers. He held this post until 1484. The stronghold is presently known as "Elmina Castle", or the "Elmina Slave Castle"

⁸³ Rui de Pina, Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso III (Portuguese Edition) chapter. 2, note 4.

construction of slave castles in Elmina was a formalisation of raids and enslavement in West Africa. Gradually there was an appreciable move away from incessant raids and crusades too, even though progressively exploitative, a peaceful system of exchange. Thus the persistent political, military and commercial venture into West Africa at this point did not only give Portugal unrestricted access to the colossal amount of gold deposit along the coast but also slaves. A year after, an envoy was sent to ask Edward IV of England to regulate the conduct of his subjects on seas from cruising to Guinea and about a comparative time, Edward beseeched Pope to permit Englishmen to effectively engage in commercial activities in Africa; labour, gold and other resources.⁸⁴

2.7 ALEXANDRIAN BULLS AND TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

With the promulgation of Alexandrian bulls at a crucial period in European history, set apart by the ascent of modern states, amid the decay of the entire papacy, the Bulls of Alexander VI, is by far, the most highly contestable.⁸⁵ This has generated passionate discussions and given the occasion to more divergent commentaries relating to the colonial expansion of Spain and enslavement of Black Africans.⁸⁶ While the exploration of Spain in the New World forced a type

⁸⁴ R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of The English Nation*, Vol. XII., America, (ed. 1903-1905), 2012.

https://archive.org/stream/internationallaw033123mbp/internationallaw033123mbp_djvu.txt?cv=1 accessed on 20 February 2019; *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, Volume 1, 1202-1509 (1864), I.p. 142. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol1> accessed on 20 June 2019.

⁸⁵ Linden, H. V. "Alexander VI and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494." *The American Historical Review* 22, no. 1 (1916): 1-20.

⁸⁶ Linden, 1916.,p.2

of servitude referred to as “*encomienda*”⁸⁷ on the local inhabitants, a few popes⁸⁸ had stood up against the action of the slave trade. Following Columbus’ arrival in the Americas, Spanish government request of the papacy of Alexander to affirm their claims and ownership of recently discovered areas.⁸⁹ The bulls issued by the papacy of Alexander VI: *Inter Caetera* of 1493, *Eximiae Devotionis* authored in 1493 and *Inter Caetera* promulgated on 4 May 1493, allowed rights to Spain concerning the newfound terrains in the New World.⁹⁰ Padron presumed that perhaps these bulls offered the capacity to oppress the natives of Africa.⁹¹ Minnich also attested that the trade in enslaved Africans was synonymous to Christian evangelisation.⁹² Thus slave trade and Christian evangelization in Africa and the Americas were two sides of the same coin. Vatican theologians and historians have emphatically contradicted these allegations and stated that Alexander never, on any occasion, gave his endorsement to any act of slavery or the trade in the enslaved Africans; subsequent papal bulls, for example, “*Sublimis Deus*” of 1537, “*Immensa Pastorium*” of 1741, and also a Gregorian encyclical “*In Supremo Apostolatus*” dated in 1839, kept on censuring slave trade.⁹³

Three of these contested Alexandrian Bulls would be examined in this subsection. According to Linden, these bulls experienced some delays with regards to registration, collation and time of

⁸⁷ Yeager, Timothy J. "Encomienda or Slavery? The Spanish Crown's Choice of Labour Organization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America." *The Journal of Economic History* 55, no. 4 (1995): 842-59.

⁸⁸ Under the papacy of Eugene IV a warning was issued on the issues of enslavement in the regions located at the southernmost part of Spain in his ecclesiastical letter “*Sicut Dudum*”, incorporated the banishment of every one of the individuals who engaged or had any involvement with the slave trade with the local chief there.

⁸⁹ Stogre, 1992.,p.27

⁹⁰ Davenport, 1917; Minnich 2010, .p.281; Rivera 1979, p. 25-28.

⁹¹ Morales Pardon, 1979 as cited in Luis N. Rivera, Luis Rivera Pagán “Violent Evangelism: the Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas”. 1992.p.28.

⁹² Minnich, 2010.p.281.

⁹³ See Panzer, *The Popes and Slavery*, 2008.

arrival.⁹⁴ Linden made it clear that bulls were saddled and issued at extensive interims; the primary bull Inter Caetera (May 3) has a place with the long stretch of April, the second Inter Caetera (May 4) to June, and the bull Eximiae (May 3) to July.⁹⁵ Assuming at that point, rather than masterminding the bulls as per their formal dates, I will discuss and analyse them in the request of their expediting. Linden also says the bull Eximiae ought to be put last.⁹⁶ Thus bull Inter Caetera of May 3, and May 4, are two versions of the same papal bull. Issuing of papal bulls came with a cost and was taxed, this became an avenue of amassing wealth at the early stages of the transatlantic slave trade. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

2.7.1 POPE ALEXANDER VI.THE BULL INTER CAETERA (MAY 3 & MAY 4 1493)

Unlike the previous bulls issued and promulgated before the papacy of Alexander VI, which tends to favour Portugal over the newly discovered lands around Guinea and beyond Cape Bojador, Pope Alexander VI, a companion of King Ferdinand, issued bull Inter Caetera and bull “Eamiae Devotionis” which profoundly favoured Spain. At this both Portugal and Spain have become competitive to the newly discovered lands and labour in Africa for their colonies in the Americas. With bull Inter Caetera, the pope appointed to the current monarch of Spain and the subsequent rulers thereof, the terrains found or yet to be possessed by their royal envoys and under no control of any Christian ruler or owner.⁹⁷ Then again, he defended the compromise officially given to the

⁹⁴ From Linden’s estimation which have been made, it creates the impression that the expediting of a bull took no less than twelve days. In critical cases an entire month passed between the sending of directions from Spain and the entry in that nation of the bull asked. Linden.1916.p. 7.

⁹⁵ Ibid.,p.7

⁹⁶ Ibid.,p.7

⁹⁷ Davenport,1917.p.56

Royal House of Alfonso, John I and John II, with the papal blessing that, “no right conferred on any Christian prince is hereby to be understood as withdrawn or to be withdrawn”.⁹⁸ Here, papacy provided additional instruction for Africans who were referred to like the damned race of Ham to be converted to Christianity; this was fundamentally the pursuit of Catholicism. Alexander VI’s instruction to Queen of Castile to dispatch men to teach the natives of these newfound grounds in the light and faith of the Catholic Church and the high ethical standard. With a point of reference to bull “Romanus Pontifex” disallowed anybody to go to them for exchange or different purposes without a unique license from the leaders of Castile. He engaged the sovereigns of Castile to appreciate concerning their revelations the rights recently allowed to Portugal as for hers as though the terms of the gifts to Portugal were rehashed in this bull.⁹⁹

Additionally, by this bull provision was made that, in these regions in Africa, sovereigns of both Portugal and Spain practised indistinguishable rights from those recently allowed by the Holy See to the monarch of Portugal in the lands found for these rulers, in Africa, in Guinea, at Elmina, and somewhere else.¹⁰⁰

2.7.2 POPE ALEXANDER VI. THE BULL EAMIAE DEVOTIONIS, MAY 3, 1493

As clarified in the above section¹⁰¹ this bull was not in full force or effect until July even though it bears the same date as bull Inter Caetera of May 3, 1493. In fairly increasingly exact and unequivocal terms, it rehashes that concession of the prior bull, which reached out to the Catholic

⁹⁸ Ibid.,p.56

⁹⁹ Davenport, 1917.,p.56

¹⁰⁰ Linden, 1916.,p.9

¹⁰¹ See subsection 2.5 of Chapter two.

monarchs regarding the terrains found by Columbus, the benefits recently allowed to the rulers of Portugal regarding their disclosures in regions around Cape Bojador and Western Sudan.¹⁰²

“ ... And because, upon this view and inspection, we found the aforesaid apostolic letters whole, entire, and unimpaired, and, as it seemed, utterly without blemish or suspicious appearance, therefore, at the further instance of the aforesaid lord bachelor, Diego Salmeron, we have caused and ordered these letters to be copied and transcribed and brought into the form of this public transumpt by the notary public aforesaid, wishing and, by the ordinary authority which we enjoy, decreeing, that that and the same and similar and as great credence be given to this public transumpt, in whatever places or lands it shall be exhibited and produced, in court or out, as any of the same kind and degree as would adhere to the same original apostolic letters from which the present transumpt or exemplar was drawn, if they should be publicly exhibited or displayed...”¹⁰³

It could be inferred from this bull, unlike the previous bulls that were issued in favour of Portugal, the Alexandrian bulls tended to favour Spain over her competitor Portugal over territories in Africa and beyond. As stated in bull Inter Caetera that all grounds west and south of a post-to-shaft line one hundred league mid-Atlantic about islands in Portugal or the Northwest African Islands ought to be given to Spain. Eventually, this resulted in a conundrum as Portugal questioned because its status and rights had been discarded and disregarded. King John II of Portugal started a confrontation with King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain to push the line west and enable him to make a case for grounds found east of it. This contention was eventually settled with the

¹⁰² Davenport, 1917. p.64.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* also cited in https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt and <http://clclibrary-org-works.angelfire.com/treaty1.html> accessed on 10 June, 2019.

legal guidelines and entrenched clauses in the treaty of Tordesillas where essentially, the lands and seas came to share between the two European powers by the accent and the authority of the Pope.

2.8 TREATY OF TORDESILLAS

Negotiation to settle this dispute between Portugal and Spain over the lands in Africa and the Americas started at Barcelona in the August of 1493. Spain categorically demanded that the area starting from the Canaries towards Guinea remained her exclusive right and was prepared to stay off territories such as the Mindelo, Island of Sao Vicente, and different littoral areas found before by Portugal. Davenport asserted that Portugal felt wronged by the bull issued by the papacy, which distributed the furthest reaches of the Spanish outline, a high-water mark, just a single stretch, west the regions around Cape Verde archipelago in Africa as their boats were constantly cruising to these islands. The Portuguese deemed these points of confinement as excessively limited and restrictive¹⁰⁴ This dispute proceeded as no significant understanding could be finalised, because, as the Spanish sovereigns kept in touch with Columbus, the Portuguese diplomats were not educated concerning what had a place with Spain.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, convinced that the terms and conditions of the Treaty of Alcaçovas had been broken through these subsequent papal bulls, John II, King of Portugal, went into direct exchanges with the Catholic Monarchs for another concurrence on the division of the seas, charging that the boundary line fixed by Alexander VI along the African coast did not give adequate room adrift to the route of their vessels.¹⁰⁶ Apparent motivations behind this, as suggested by Duve, include the

¹⁰⁴ Davenport, 1917.p.84. see https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt accessed on 20 May 2019.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*p.85 a digital copy is available on https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ/bub_gb_uLILAAAAIAAJ_djvu.txt accessed on 20 may 2019.

¹⁰⁶ Duve Thomas, Treaty of Tordesillas, Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law, 2013.p.4.

strain and tension between the Pope and the Portuguese crown, and in light of the close ties between the Catholic Monarchs and Alexander VI, who was vigorously indebted to them and depended on their security to achieve his very own political objectives in the Kingdom of Naples.¹⁰⁷

Regardless of these tensions and still faced with uncertainty on the agreement that may be reached between these two parties, new deliberations and consultation they agreed to new deliberations and exchange ensued and envoys and representation from both sides made some initial contacts and began talks leading to a new deal. Duve asserted that during the last months of 1493, a new round of negotiations opened at Medina de Campo in March and continued until 8 May 1494, the date when they were moved to Tordesillas, where they continued for a month and a half.¹⁰⁸ Here the contention on both the Atlantic and the African questions were resolved amicably and a new agreement reached. The pope was approached to affirm the arrangement upon the solicitation of either of the two parties presents thereto.¹⁰⁹

Under the treaty of Tordesillas, four major resolution ought to be pointed out; Firstly, “for the sake of peace and concord, a boundary or line shall be determined and drawn north and south, from pole to pole, at a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of Cape Verde Islands. And all the lands found and discovered already by either King of Portugal or the King and Queen of Castile and their vessels after the said line is drawn toward the west in there it's north or south latitude will pertain forever to Portugal and Spain respectively.”¹¹⁰ Secondly, “from the date the treaty was signed, no ships or vessels shall be dispatched for trade, barter or conquest of any kind

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p.5-6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p.6.

¹⁰⁹ Davenport, 1917.p.85.

¹¹⁰ Davenport, 1917.p.95.

by Spain to area pertaining to Portugal and vice versa.”¹¹¹ Thirdly, “for clarity of doubt and precision on the measurement on the demarcated areas, both parties agreed to meet at Grand Canary Island with sailors, astrologers, pilots to jointly study and examine the better advantage of the sea, courses, winds and the degrees of the suns or of north latitude and layout the leagues in a manner that shall mutually be deemed better. And at any point that these lines may intersect on any island or mainland, a mark shall be erected and a line is drawn identical to the initial method of demarcation.”¹¹² And finally, “both the King of and Queen of Castile and King of Portugal concerted and agreed that their ships, at any time and without hindrance, sail in their respective demarcated direction, freely, securely, and peacefully over the said seas of either party unless otherwise frustrated by weather conditions. And in doing so either party shall not seize or take possession of anything discovered.”¹¹³

With these agreeable terms intact, and the representatives of Spain and Portugal present, a treaty was signed on 7 June 1494 at Tordesillas and later came into force in September of 1494. This is what became known as the Treaty of Tordesillas. This treaty, for all its intent and purpose, ensured some level of stability in Europe and immediate peace among warring monarchs over territories and colonies outside Europe; especially in Africa. Perhaps unlike the Latin American territories, the impact of this treaty on Africa, facilitating the enslavement of Africans was detrimental; series of conflict on the African coast emerged. Through these conflicts, some African captives were imprisoned and most sold and shipped to the plantation as slaves in North America and South America. It appears that the second version of this treaty pacified the situation. Regardless, Duve stated categorically that it signified an attempt to distribute Africa dominions between Portugal

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.95.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.96.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.96-98.

and Spain, disguised in an agreement over borders.¹¹⁴ This treaty assumed the basis of later claims to territories off the African coast. In the words of Duve, “it marked the transition from the fifteenth-century practice of seeking papal authority to justification through legal principles based on the acquisition of titles by the right of first discovery and agreement between the states involved.”¹¹⁵

2.9 THE PAPACY AND SLAVE TRADE

I will reiterate Abramova’s account on the ideological, doctrinal, philosophical, and religious and aspects of the African slave trade where there is a rare mention of some slaves sent as a gift to Pope Eugene IV.¹¹⁶ The outlook of this exchange may be interpreted as a kind gesture of goodwill but by Pope Eugene IV present a different dynamic to the debate the extent of the involvement of the papacy in the enslavement of Africa and to some extent answer the question, ‘ whether the pope directly used or purchase slaves. Beyond this, the acceptance of enslaved Africans as a gift had serious implications and spoke to the approval, acceptance, justification and the morality behind the enslavement of Africans by Catholic monarchs. With the tremendous power, the pope willed, the papacy as the high office on morality, the pope’s divine rights as mediator and legislator, the acceptance of enslaved Africans as slaves and workers within his court in Rome (Vatican City) was a clear indication of his approval and acceptance of trade in enslaved Africans as a legitimate commercial enterprise.

¹¹⁴ Duve,2013. p.7. also see <https://opil.ouplaw.com/view/10.1093/law:epil/9780199231690/law-9780199231690-e2088> for a digital copy of this treaty.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.8.

¹¹⁶ Abramova, S. U. Ideological, Doctrinal, Philosophical, Religious and Political aspects of the African Slave Trade in The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century, UNESCO, 1979.,p.16

Furthermore, papal decrees were passed within the city of Rome, making provisions for the lawfulness of the enslavement of Africans within the immediate jurisdiction of the papacy. Citizens of Rome could trade in enslaved Africans, also hold Christians slaves. Dwelling heavily on Hernaez's account, Maxwell asserted that Pope Paul III, in 1535 reinforced a long-standing tradition of emancipating slaves to the Capitol by granting the *conservatori* executive powers to "emancipate all slaves who fled to the office of the Senate Chamber of Rome and appealed for their liberty."¹¹⁷ This provision was however overturned by a petition sent to the Pope a few years later in April 1548. The reasons behind this petition could deduce from the petition as prestige and honour given to slave owners with the most slaves and large estate, cheap labour for the construction and building of cities, labour force for the agricultural production and above all, high profit in the trade in enslaved Africans. The *conservatori* requested the Pope to moderate his earlier grant to abolish the custom of emancipation, making slave ownership and forced labour lawful.¹¹⁸ In the years leading to his death, Pope Paul III, with his Apostolic authority, eventually declared new provisions, allowing slave trading and holding of even Christian slaves in Rome legal stating:

"...we decree that each and every person of either sex, whether Roman or non-Roman, whether secular or clerical and no matter of what dignity, status, degree, order or condition they be, may freely and lawfully buy and sell publicly any slaves whatsoever of either sex and make contracts about them as is accustomed to being done in other places, and publicly hold them as slaves and make use of their work, and compel them to do the work assigned to them. And with Apostolic authority, by the tenor of these present documents, we enact and decree in perpetuity that slaves who flee to the Capitol and appeal

¹¹⁷ Maxwell, 1975.p.74.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.75.

for their liberty shall in no wise be freed from the bondage of their servitude, but that notwithstanding their flight and appeal of this sort they shall be returned in slavery to their owners, and if it seems proper they shall be punished as runaways, and we very strictly forbid our beloved sons who for the time being are conservatori of the said city to presume by their authority to emancipate the aforesaid slaves-who flee as previously described and appeal for their liberty - from the bondage of their slavery, irrespective of whether they were made Christians after enslavement, or whether they were born in slavery even from Christian slave parents according to the provisions of the common law...”¹¹⁹

Away from receiving enslaved Africans as a gift from Catholic monarchs and sailors, some popes were personally and directly purchasing “galley slaves”¹²⁰ for pontifical squadron for their never-ending just war against the “Saracens” and the Turks. Evidentially, in a letter to Monsignor Durazzi, the Treasurer General, dated January 31, 1629, Pope Urban is said to have directed the Office of the Treasurer to purchase forty privately-owned slaves at the prices at which they had been valued.¹²¹

To be specific, fifteen slaves owned by Francesco Centurione at one hundred and thirty scudi each, fifteen others having a place with different slave owners at one hundred scudi each, and ten slaves

¹¹⁹ Motu Proprio, November 9, 1548. "Confirmation of the Statutes of the Roman slaves restitution for the city." Statutes of this beloved city Rome ... Rome, 1567, VI, 19(B).as cited in Maxwell, 1975.p.75. additional copies of this text are available online <http://anthonyflood.com/maxwellslaverycatholicchurch.pdf> accessed on 16 June 2019.

¹²⁰ A category of slaves; indicted criminals, a property and essentially human chattel usually found rowing in a galley. There three means of becoming a galley-slave; firstly, indicted criminals sentenced to a lifelong incarceration who would ordinarily never be discharged, or lawbreakers condemned for a timeframe who might be discharged subsequent to serving their sentence; secondly, caught non-believers of the Christian faith, people who could be place under the category of booty, who stood no chance of being ransomed; finally, the purported "volunteers", who through neediness had reduced themselves into subjugation, and could be discharged toward the finish of their stipulated duration of administration in the naval forces of the papacy on state of positive behavior. See Maxwell, 1975.p.76. <http://anthonyflood.com/maxwellslaverycatholicchurch.pdf> accessed on 16 June 2019.

¹²¹ Maxwell, 1975.p.76-77. <http://anthonyflood.com/maxwellslaverycatholicchurch.pdf> accessed on 16 June 2019

belonging to Skipper Gozzadino at seventy scudi each.¹²² Later, he restricted privately-owned enslaved Africans as *bonavoglie* as workers of the Papal galleys.¹²³ It should be noted here that, at this point, the discussion on the subject of slavery and the use of slaves by the papacy has developed from the pursuit of a just war, authoring bulls and authorizing catholic monarchs to reduce Africans to slavery to the direct purchase and the use of enslaved Africans in the court of the pope and the naval forces in Rome.

2.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined seven papal bulls from Pope Martin V's "Bula Sane Charissimus" of 1418 to Pope Alexander VI's "Bula Eamiae Devotions" of May 3, 1493, giving an account of historical development and diplomatic alliances between the papacy and Catholic monarchs leading to the issue of a papal bull at every instance. Analysis of these bulls also has brought to light the authority and power of the popes of the medieval period in shaping the course of affairs in Europe. Additionally, in all the selected papal bulls, indigenous people of Africa have been explicitly referred to as "Saracens", "infidels", "heathen", "barbaric". These derogatory terms became a justification for waging "just" war against the inhabitants of Africa, a moral justification for the enslavement of black Africans and later colonisation of the continent.

For instance, in the papal bull *Sane Charissimus*, Pope Martin V affirmed the Portuguese extension and exploratory activities in African and gave a price tag to this making it exclusively attractive. The papacy blessed Portuguese agents and sailors who upheld the military ventures of Portugal

¹²² *Ibid.*p.77.

¹²³ *Ibid.*p.77.

and cheered the accomplishments previously done. The papacy also welcomed and assisted Catholic monarchs and sailors with loans and other financial assistance such as a share in the church's income. These incentives encouraged more Christian sailors to join the exploratory activities in Africa, subjecting them to forceful conversion to Christianity and their eventual enslavement across the Atlantic.

Also, the bull *Dum Diversas* of the fifteenth century by Pope Nicholas V authoritatively gave Christian sailor the privilege and the guarantee to lands they discovered. Any land discovered in Africa that was not possessed by Christians was accessible to be owned and exploited. And in any event, the "Saracens" who converted to Christianity through forceful baptism were spared torture and forceful enslavement. A deviation from this instruction resulted in oppression and in some circumstances outright execution. As to whether these instructions were applied strictly is a matter of conjecture. Furthermore, in *Romanus Pontifex*, Pope Nicholas V gave Portugal an exclusive right and privileges to trade in gold, acquire territories beyond Cape Bojador and Guinea. At this point, exploration and commercial activities in Africa have been opened to Portugal alone. Pope Callixtus III's *Inter Caetera* didn't take a different stand on the matter but further reaffirm the previous bulls, making it forceful under his papacy. Bull *Aeterni Regis* of 1481 takes the argument further from papal bulls to the instruction on the construction of Forts and Slave Castles. Here, there is a special mention of the castle in "La Mina" in present-day Ghana (Central Region). It later became the first trading post for black slaves and gold on the Gulf of Guinea. This castle, in particular, changed hands till last owned by the British Empire in 1872.

The contentious Alexandrian Bulls is critical in this discussion because of two reasons I can identify; First, it ushered Europe exploratory activities into a more rigorous one and second, the authorization from the papal bulls gradually shifted from Portugal to Spain resulting in series of

contests and disagreements over territories in Africa. Regardless, with both Portugal and Spain forces at play, explorative activities and exploration doubled in size and more Africans later came to be enslaved. As shown and discussed above, these bulls by Pope Alexander VI connected the affirmations of the general ecclesiastical locale that popes and church canonists had been creating since the mid-thirteenth century. From the church perspective, the particular objective of these bulls was to regulate the excess of European Christian contacts with the newfound territories to avoid the near occasion of wars among Christians in Europe over access to these areas.¹²⁴ Perhaps, Alexander had the intention to forestall any strife or contestation between extending European domains by characterizing the definitive limits between them, but I argue that under the disguise of a just war and preaching of the Gospel, Christian monarchs came to control these terrains amidst enslavement.

The treaty of Tordesillas, in the scheme of things, seemed to put to rest the contention between Spain and Portugal over a fair and equitable share of newly discovered territories by Columbus the Portuguese crown demanded a noteworthy offer of that and received an aggressive reaction of Castile's Spain. The issue was settled by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which at the point drew a limit among Spanish and Portuguese zones of territory in the western Atlantic.

This chapter has also demonstrated that beyond authoring papal bulls and appending signatories on treaties for exploratory activities in Africa and enslavement of natives of Africa such that the papacy on at least two occasions, as posited by Maxwell, purchased and used slaves at the papal court and labour force in the papal squadron. This chapter ends on the note that not only was the church or the papacy an author and architect of the actualization of what later became known as

¹²⁴ European Treaties, *supra* note 85, p.77.

Trans Atlantic Slave Trade but also an active participant of trade; whose involvement in what Pope John Paul II clearly and rightly described later in 1992 as “an enormous crime and ignoble commerce”¹²⁵ cannot be overlooked.

¹²⁵ Pope John Paul II, Homily conveyed on the Island of Goreé-Senegal, Feb. 22, 1992, as cited in: Panzer, *The Popes and Slavery*, p. 119. Cf. Clarke, *Columbus and African Holocaust*, p. 20.

CHAPTER THREE

PAPAL FISCAL POLICY, JESUIT ORDER AND THE ATLANTIC SLAVE

TRADE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The involvement of the papacy in the slave trade did not end with the actualisation and authorizing enslavement of natives of African, another side of the debate that has perhaps receive little or no attention is what the church gained from the global enterprise of trading in Africans slaves. Adiele asserted that the church, on several instances benefited and gained substantial amount “blood money” obtained through a complex web of the papal fiscal system from the traffic in human beings of black African origin.¹²⁶This assertion was to some extent speculative as the author provided little evidence to substantiate this claim. I will substantiate this claim with evidence of Jesuit Slaveholdings in Maryland.

I will reiterate Lunt’s assertion that the huge impact that papacy had on the political, social, and commercial life of the people in Western Europe in medieval times provides for the investigation of the ecclesiastical fiscal policy an unconventional significance and with the papacy’s strength of obtaining its incomes from the entire Latin Church, the relations of the Papacy with the European Kings and Queens and the entire population of Europe were greatly influenced in no little way by the papacy’s financial arrangement.¹²⁷ Within the period under study, most European economies were in shambles especially after series of Crusade Wars and Reconquista. These wars are known

¹²⁶ Adiele,2017.p.4-5

¹²⁷ Lunt, W. E. "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 23, no. 2 (1909), p.251.

to have plunge European countries into debt distress and called for a radical approach to seeking wealth overseas through labour raiding, gold, ivory and other precious commodities to replenish their deteriorating economic structures.

On the strict terms of economics, there is no such thing as the “Church” when it comes to issues of finances as if to say there some sort of common single kitty: but just a myriad of different subsystems with their source of finances as will be seen in the subsections below. In this sense one instrumental catholic mission, the Jesuits, employed by Spain, Portugal and France to carry out their colonial schemes and slavery business in Africa, the Americas aided the Catholic Church to received enormous profit of the global trade in enslaved Africans. The Jesuit Order in Maryland sanctioned by the Papacy established slave plantations, trade in black slaves who worked on various tobacco and sugar plantation for export and eventually used these profits to set up Catholic seminaries and cathedrals.

3.2 PAPAL FINANCIAL SYSTEM

Before the period under study, the papacy had not institutionalised any administration of papal finances by levying and collecting taxes, concessions and patrimonies. The Post-Alexandrian era and particularly the immediate years of Pope John XXII witnessed a considerable expansion of papal influence which fuelled their urgency to institutionalise multiple streams of income. Lunt pointed out two reasons for this. First, the drive towards the financial department was born out of an astronomical increase in papal income and second, that this period also witnessed the expansion of political, economic and ecclesiastical interest, “the papacy’s expenditure was outgrown the revenues from the papal states, and European monarchs found it impossible to supply enough

revenue to meet their insatiable financial needs from the old form of voluntary taxation.¹²⁸ By this time, old sources of papal incomes such as “Peter’s Pence” had been proven insufficient and with the ever-increasing financial need of the medieval papacy, new taxes on the incomes of the clergy gave impetus to the institutionalization of the financial department, first for the administration of papal finances and other miscellaneous transactions.

At the pivot of this new papal financial department was the papal *Camera*¹²⁹, composing crucial members such the *Camerarius*, who in the words of Lunt, possessed and controlled the financial affairs under the strict supervision of the pope.¹³⁰ The *Camerarius* also had the obligation of appointing revenue collectors and monitoring their relationship with taxpayers. Essentially the Papal *Camera* is what I can describe in contemporary political terms as the Ministry of Finance and with the *Camerarius* as the Minister of Finance whose place and the role was undeniably crucial. The Chief Treasurer ranked next to the *Camerarius*, in charge of receiving and safe-keeping of revenues collected, and was also tasked with periodic disbursement of funds to the various departments under the papacy.¹³¹ Additionally, he was obliged to submit to the *Camera*, an annual financial report for thorough review and approval.¹³²

The Papal *Camera* added judicial mandate to their assigned financial duties to the papacy. Here, legal matters emanating from the collection of revenues were handled by the *Camerarius*, treasurer and other agents of the *Camera*. Here, Kirsch mentioned “auditor camerae” and “vice-auditor” occupied the position of Judges, heard, tried and decided on cases involving revenue collection.¹³³

¹²⁸ Lunt, W. E. "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 23, no. 2 (1909): p.260-263

¹²⁹ The membership of the *Camera* was essentially composed of the college of cardinals who had a substantial shares in the total revenue collected by papal *Camera*

¹³⁰ Lunt, 1909.p.264.

¹³¹ See Kirsch, “L’Administration des Finances Pontificates”, 1902.p. 292. as cited in Lunt, 1909.p.265.

¹³² See Konig, “Die pdpstliche Kammer”, p. 78. cited in Lunt, 1909.p.265.

¹³³ Kirsch, 1902.p.292-300., Goller, 1901.p.425-427.

The *Auditor Camera* and *Vice-Auditor* together with the *Procurator fiscal* and the *Advocati Camerae* forming the legal committee of the Camera with *Procurator Fisci* as the “prosecuting attorney in all cases touching the revenue and supplied the Camerarius with whatever legal advice he might desire.”¹³⁴

At the secretarial section of Papal Camera was the *Scriptores* as clerks, *Cursors* as messengers and notaries.¹³⁵ Canons, low ranking members of the clerks were situated in various church provinces, monasteries, parishes as collectors of papal revenue and were also empowered with the papal authority of ex-communication, suspension and interdiction.¹³⁶ According to Delisle, the revenues collected by the Canons and other agents from these provinces were entrusted to the agent of the banking houses in Italy employed by the *Camera* with the sole purpose of receiving down payment, deposit and retainers and periodically transferring them to the papacy.¹³⁷ These revenues retained at the various Italian Banks generated profits over time through advancing papal loans to merchants for their private businesses with the Camera controlling and determining the direction of these transactions. Merchants who breached the terms of their loans had their properties sequestrated by the pope.¹³⁸

The papacy had multiple pools of revenues at her disposal and amidst this effective financial machinery, as explained above, the papacy came to occupied an unchallenged position to tap into the diverse stream of income globally. Lunt brilliantly classified these diverse sources of revenue into five major categories; revenue from papal states, Census, Income taxes, Benefice taxes and

¹³⁴ Haller W. H., p. 22; also see Samaran and Mollat, *La Fiscalite pontificate*, 1968.p. 136.cited in Lunt, 1909.p.266.

¹³⁵ Lunt, 1909.p.267.

¹³⁶ Kirsch’s work on “Die Papstlichen Kollektorien” cited in Lunt, 1909.p.268.

¹³⁷ Delisle, L., “La Cabine des Manuscrits” 1868 – 1881 Vol. IV Part II.1888, p. 21- 26.

¹³⁸ Schneider G., “Die Finanziellen Beziehungen/ Financial Relations of the Florentine Bankers to the Church of 1285-1304”, 1899, p. 71.cited in Lunt’1909.p.272.

Fee and Miscellaneous Receipts.¹³⁹ These taxes and fees were not limited to Europe only but extended to any of the provinces, religious order (Jesuit) or parishes under the jurisdiction of the pope, especially those overseas. The explanation I will give to Lunt's classification will aid a deeper understanding of how the papacy received profits from incomes generated from slaveholdings of Catholic bishops, religious orders, notably the Jesuits of Maryland, Brazil and other places in the Caribbean.

To begin with, revenue from the Papal States included dominical income, taxes, fees, and perquisites such as those arising from his jurisdiction as temporal sovereign of Europe. Direct taxes were levied in the form of procuration paid by cities, castles, and lords on the arrival of a new rector, of the army tallage, the burden of which fell upon the same taxpayers, and of the *focaticum* or house tax.¹⁴⁰ This source of income also included direct taxes the tolls and customs; import and export duties from Europe to other territories and vice versa. Taxes on the ships carrying gold and slaves from Africa to the Caribbean and back to Europe paid substantial customs duties to the papacy. Thus it could be argued that the papacy made profits out of the earliest exploratory activities of European states in Africa and America and even more around the mid-seventeenth century when the trans-Atlantic slave trade was at its highest. All incomes gathered from the Papal States were taken care of by the treasurer, who claimed sum due, dealt with the uses and kept the excess at the disposal of the pope.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, Census also designated the papal rent paid for effective use and privileges associated with the acquisition of a portion of the papal domain. In acknowledgement, be that as it may, of

¹³⁹ W. E. Lund. "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1909 and Lunt, 1909.p.273-286.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* and Lunt, 1909.p.274.

¹⁴¹ Calisse, "Costituzione del Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia", 1892 p. 43. Cited in Lunt, 1909.p.274.

the hypothetical property right the provinces paid every year an ostensible entirety, which by similarity was called Census in return, received papal assurance, protection and exception money related sanctions and also to obtain insurance of “Saint Peter” for their material properties.¹⁴²

Example of such payment is the infamous Peter’s pence.¹⁴³

Another classification from Lunt was the imposition and utilization of Income taxes on the clergy which had its inchoation in the crusade era; firmly established with little or no resistance. This was usually ten per cent of the total income earnings and estimated assets of the clergy; priests, nuns, bishops and even members of the curia. This payment was taken for an estimated period of one to six years depending on the papal province in question.¹⁴⁴ Failure to honour such financial obligations prompted sanctions and interdictions. As Gottlob posited “members of the clergy who failed to pay at the appointed times were excommunicated, and in case of continued contumacy the secular power might be invoked to distraint their good.”¹⁴⁵ This was perhaps, in Stubbs opinion the largest sources of papal revenue that produced a much greater percentage of the overall taxes than any of the other sources of papal income.¹⁴⁶

The fourth classification was Benefice taxes. This was a fixed regular payment paid by bishops, abort, and archbishops upon being given a special appointment by the pope and as such an adjustment in payment of servitia presumably corresponded with an expansion of reservations of

¹⁴² Lunt, 1909.p.275.

¹⁴³ This was a yearly duty of an estimated one penny from each householder initially in British Empire, the Norwegian regions, and some other European kingdoms, which was paid to the papacy until it ceased in 1534 after Henry VIII's break with Rome. However, this form of payment is still in force today as a voluntary tribute by Roman Catholics to the ecclesiastical treasury since 1860.

¹⁴⁴ Lunt, 1909.p.281.

¹⁴⁵ Gottlob, *The Papal Crusade Taxes of the 13th Century*, 2009.p. 219, 230-234. also see Lunt, 1909.p.282.

¹⁴⁶ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, VOL. II.1883.p.580.

the respective province. This was also known as *servitia*.¹⁴⁷¹⁴⁸ It should be noted here that, unlike the other sources of revenue, the collection of the *Servitia* was not done through the medium of revenue collectors.¹⁴⁹

The fifth category of papal revenue collected by the *Camera* was known as the *fees and miscellaneous receipts*¹⁵⁰. This was a class of revenue paid to the *Camera* for the redaction and issuing of papal bulls and encyclicals especially during the age of discovery. Particularly to this, European monarch such as Prince Henry, King Alfonso all of Portugal and Queen of Castile paid for papal bulls and papal protection for their exploratory activities in Africa and India in the form of concession; gold and enslaved Africans. This is one the profound means the papacy amassed a significant amount of wealth. Details of this will be discussed in the subsection below.

3.3 SALE OF PAPAL BULL

Papal bulls such as *Sane Charissimus* 1418, *Dum Diversas* 1452, *Romanus Pontifex* 1455, *Inter Caetera* 1456, *Aeternis Regis* 1481, *Inter Caetera* 1493 and *Eamiae Devotionis* 1493 among other papal bulls came at a cost. Baldwin posited that taxes charged for the issuance of bulls, letters of vindication, fines, and so forth, together with incidental inheritances, formed a crucial part of papal revenue.¹⁵¹ In this regard, both the Spanish and the Portuguese empire appointed agents who had the responsibility of representing the interest of the crown as correspondence and most importantly

¹⁴⁷ Kirsch, *The Financial Administration of the Cardinal College: In the XIII and XIV Centuries*, 1895.p. 5, 18-19.

¹⁴⁸ The *servitia* were made out of two installments: the basic administrations also called *servitia communia* and the insignificant administrations known as *servitia minuta*.

¹⁴⁹ Lunt, 1909.p.285

¹⁵⁰ W. E. Lund. "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1909.p.286.

¹⁵¹ Baldwin, M.W. "The Medieval Papacy in Action", 1940.p.61.

as negotiators of papal concessions of their respective businesses in West Indies, Africa and Crusades.¹⁵² While limited literature available does not explicitly provide the exact amount charged on each bull, the significance of these papal bulls in the age of discovery and at the early stages of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade indicate that taxes charged on bulls were expensive.

3.4 JESUITS AS SLAVEHOLDERS

The “societas Lesu” (society of Jesus) is a religious congregation under the auspices of the Catholic church, constituted and approved under the papacy of Pope Paul III. Ignatius and three others, all Spanish noblemen founded “Lesuitae” in 1540. Their missionary activities both in Rome and overseas was sanctioned by the Pope. By the Papal bull “Regimini militantis ecclesiae” of Pope Paul III in 1540 and the papal letter “*Exposcit Debitum*” issued by the papacy of Julius III dated 1550, the congregation have been formalised and defined.¹⁵³ Jesuits made promises of chastity, neediness, and compliance, just as the alleged 'fourth pledge' which swore dutifulness to the Pope concerning missions.¹⁵⁴ The primary regulatory units were provinces, administered by named provincials, and areas were assembled into assistance.¹⁵⁵ Their missionary activities in Africa, Brazil and America are closely tied to the slave trade. In Cushner opinion, Jesuits were not attached to specific tasks or undertakings their missionary activities around the world could be described by 'mobility and flexibility'.¹⁵⁶ When slave trading companies and merchants stop funding

¹⁵² Rodriguez A.J.D, “Papal Bulls and Converso Brokers: New Christian Agents at the Service of the Catholic Monarchy in the Roman Curia (1550–1650)”, *Journal of Levantine Studies* Vol. VII, 2016,p.207.

¹⁵³ Höpfl, Harro. “Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630”. 2004.

¹⁵⁴ Harney, M.P. The Jesuits in History: The Society of Jesus through Four Centuries”. 1941/1962. P.26–45.

¹⁵⁵ Lenik, Stephan. “Mission Plantations, Space, and Social Control: Jesuits as Planters in French Caribbean Colonies and Frontiers.”2012. P.56.

¹⁵⁶ Cushner N, P. “Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine, and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600–1767”. 1980. P.5.

plantation holding, the Jesuits procured estates to accomplish a self-sufficient mission. The religious congregation was allowed to take part in restricted trade yet over the top profit-production was not allowed.

For instance in Salvador, Brazil, the Jesuits hoarded slave labour and composed immensely large slave plantation and agricultural produce; including cows' farms and sugar and cotton ranches. Because of a unique advantaged status as a religious request conceded by the Pope, the Jesuits took total self-governance from the Portuguese Crown over the control and to some extent ownership of Brazil, and thusly bypassed regal controls on their income and profits from the trade in slaves.

Progressively, such benefits incited hostility among neighbourhood landowners and government authorities, who saw the Jesuits as side-lining work and assets of the Portuguese crown. Thus, it appears that what is known to be Portuguese colonies and plantations existed in theory, while in practical terms, fell under the control of a papal sanctioned religious congregation; the Jesuit. Later, once in office, Pombal organized various changes and various reforms meant to solidify Portuguese control in Brazil and making the settlement progressively worthwhile for the Portuguese Crown. These reforms included far-reaching measures which went to constraining the Jesuits of self-governance and the monopoly over money profit accruing from the sale of a slave and the ecclesiastical charges on mass baptism of a slave, especially in the north of Brazil. His administration composed state-supported exchanging organizations with ensured restraining infrastructures in the African slave exchange, to such an extent that Jesuit control never again counteracted common business of the crown.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, in the West Indies, French Jesuit slave

¹⁵⁷ The Jesuit Order in Colonial Brazil retrieved from <https://library.brown.edu/create/fivecenturiesofchange/chapters/chapter-2/the-jesuits/> accessed on April 14, 2019.

habitation could be cited for my discussion. Here Catholic missionaries formed a trivial percentage of the Caribbean slave plantation owners. French Jesuit habitation depended heavily on enslaved African labour, owned plantations in a variety of context, for over three centuries.¹⁵⁸

Starting in 1748 Jesuits from Martinique manufactured a ranch and church on property gained at Grand Bay, on the south shore of Dominica. Here the Jesuits assembled a ranch which utilized subjugated African work to create salary to reimburse obligations, and a congregation to serve their slave and individuals from the encompassing locale. While Jesuit Order carried out these inhuman Slave Corporation in every corner of the world, I intend using Jesuits Slaveholdings in Maryland as a case study to demonstrate how large profit from these slave corporation found its way into the account of the papacy.

3.4.1 MARYLAND

The Jesuits congregation claimed slave manors in the Americas to fund and subsidize priests and member of their religious congregation who converted among local people and subjugated Africans while guaranteeing that slave estate stayed Catholic. In the words of Lenik, “Christian missionaries in the Americas, including but not limited to Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Moravians, funded their proselytizing and service as priests and educators by engaging in commercial activities which relied on indigenous and/or enslaved African labour.”¹⁵⁹

Furthermore, Jesuit slaveholding in the province of Maryland is classic evidence of active participation of the Catholic Church in the slave trade and also making a seemingly incalculable

¹⁵⁸ Lenik, 2012,p.53-56.

¹⁵⁹ Lenik, Stephan. “Mission Plantations, Space, and Social Control: Jesuits as Planters in French Caribbean Colonies and Frontiers.” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 12, no. 1, 2012: 51–71.

profit out of it. In Maryland province, Jesuits owned slaves, sold slaves and even before the 1830s was actively part of Southern Slave System. Additionally, Jesuit owned lands of an estimated twelve thousand acres of farmland.¹⁶⁰ Just like any slave plantation, Jesuits used enslaved Africans on farms, livestock butchering, manufacturing such as candles, shoes among others for export to the area of high demand; some part of modern United State of America and Europe. Profit generated out this international trade were used to sustain and further the Catholic missionary activities in the various slave colonies. There had been very little in the way of historical records concerning the generated profits in numbers and estimation.

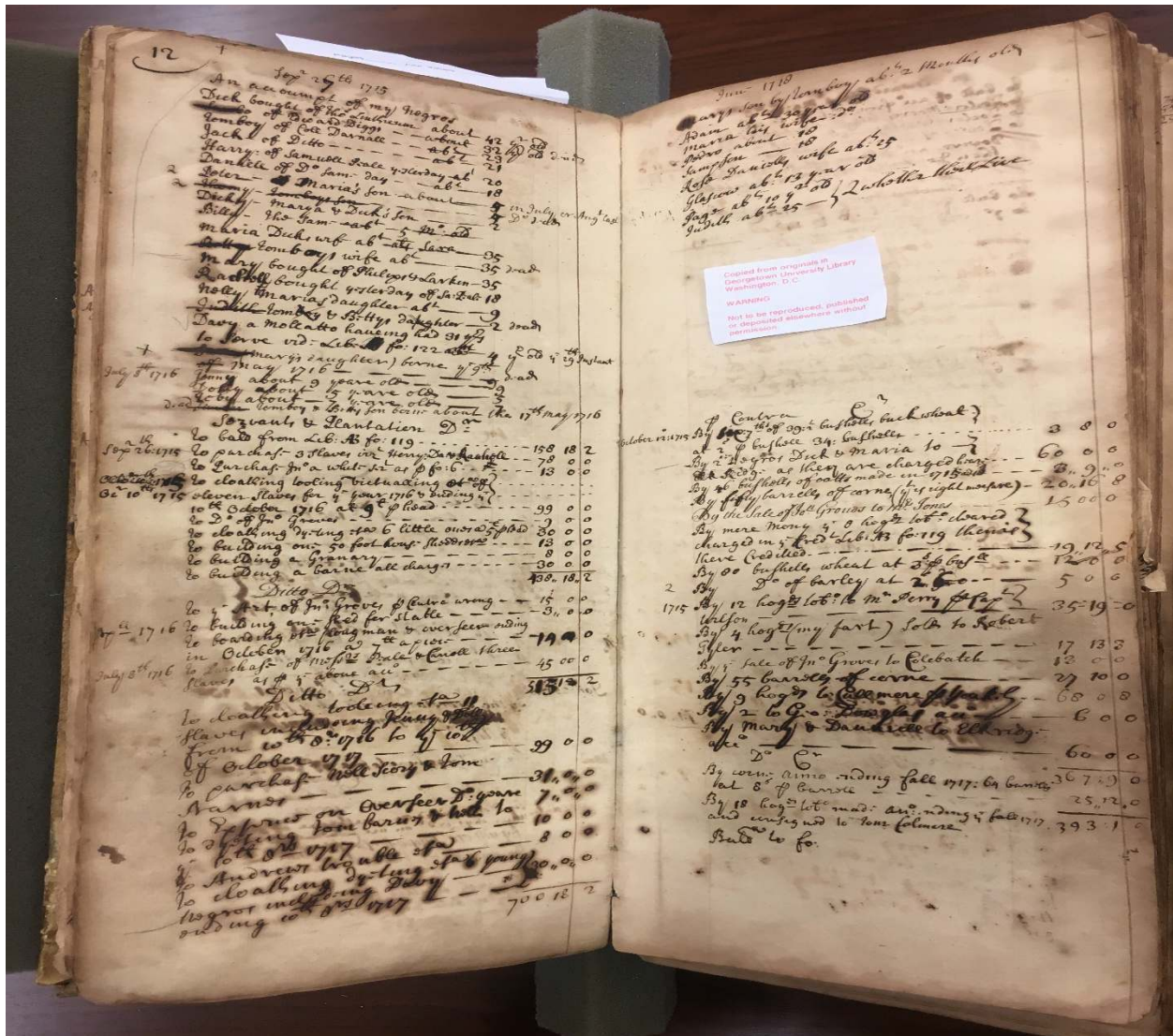
Also, Bishop Carroll, a slave owner and a Catholic Bishop of the Jesuit Order was an immediate benefactor first as a slave merchant and as a representative of the Catholic Church's interest in Maryland. Bishop Carroll, not only tolerated the trade in enslaved Africans, but he also owned and used slaves on his gigantic tobacco plantation in Maryland such that by 1716, Carroll's concentration and involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade activities have increased and his trade network has come to include importing on regular basis, the enslaved people from Africa, notably from Sierra Leone and exporting tobacco to England.¹⁶¹ In his dissertation, Flanagan investigates Bishop Carroll's "Daybook"¹⁶² (1714-1721)¹⁶³ which Flanagan demonstrated in great detail, most of Bishop Carroll's transactions in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

¹⁶⁰ Peter C. Finn, "The Slaves of the Jesuits of Maryland" (M.A. thesis presented at Georgetown University), 1974.cited in Beckett, Edward F. *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuit*, 1996.p.6.

¹⁶¹ Flanagan, Charles. "The Sweets of Independence: A Reading of the 'James Carroll Daybook, 1714-21.'" Dissertation. University of Maryland, 2005.p.45.

¹⁶² Ibid.p.180-196. In this record, there is also indication on his estates, his over reliance on the enslaved people for this day-to-day operation The daybook also includes a bibliographical details of Carroll's enslaved people as of September 27, 1715, noting their names, ages, origins, and the dates of death. These enslaved Africans worked across three farms raising tobacco, cereals, and livestock.

¹⁶³ Maryland Province Archives, "James Carroll, "An account of my Negroes," September 27, 1715," Georgetown Slavery Archive, accessed May 6, 2019, <https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/items/show/135>.



Source: Maryland Province Archives, James Carroll's "Daybook" on "An account of my Negroes," September 27, 1715.

In 1718, Carroll invested with Samuel Bonham, a known ship-owner of the Royal African Company.¹⁶⁴ This new venture made it feasible for the ships to leave London loaded down with products for the West African coast.¹⁶⁵ Those products were then supplanted by enslaved Africa

¹⁶⁴ Life and Labour under Slavery: the Jesuit Plantation retrieved from <http://jesuitplantationproject.org/s/jpp/page/sj-slaveholding> on 23 April, 2019.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

load given by John Leadstone and Robert Plunkitt, of the Royal Africa Company in Sierra Leone.¹⁶⁶ The ship withdrew the African coast with one hundred and thirty-six (136) enslaved Africans on the way for Annapolis and touched base in the Chesapeake amidst August 1718 with a payload of one hundred and seventeen (117) people.¹⁶⁷ According to Flanagan, Carrol sold one hundred and eight slaves and acquired two enslaved Africans for himself.¹⁶⁸ Again, Carroll's account, as examined by Flanagan, gave estimated investment returns of about one hundred and fifteen pounds on each slave sold bringing an estimated worth of twenty-six thousand five hundred and fifty pounds annually 26,550. The point here is that Bishop Carrol by the position as the leader of the Jesuit Order and later the Bishop of United States was expected and obliged to make regular benefice taxes and the payment of his *servitia* which was expected by the papacy to correspond to the expansion of reservations of the Maryland province which could essentially be described as the largest slave corporation. Thus as the export in tobacco grew and the price of slave increased, the payment of benefice taxes and *servitia* to the Camera also increased proportionately.

However, it is made known in Thomas Hughes' account on the "History of the Society of Jesus in North America" that the Jesuits order in the Maryland Province legitimately and directly profited by Carroll's slaveholdings in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in 1729, when upon his demise he left the greater part of his estate and the majority of his slaves as property to them in his will.¹⁶⁹ Notwithstanding the number, the Jesuits were the recipients of riches collected through the

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Flanagan, 2005, p.186-196.

¹⁶⁹ "Codecil to James Carroll's Will, February 17, 1728," in Hughes, T. "History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal (Documents), vol. Volume 1, Part 1, 1908, p.250-251. And also In spite of the fact that a few historian have indicated sources from the mid twentieth century conjecturing that the oppressed populace passed on through the Carroll legacy numbered more than 100, the Carroll's July 1729 probate stock proposes a considerably more humble number of 31 or 32 individuals, with 16 individuals on the extensive home in Prince George's County and 16 individuals at Fingaul.

sagacious business of the Atlantic trade rehearses in tobacco export and enslaved Africans.¹⁷⁰ These resources were exchanged as land and individuals with their estimated profit increasing over time. Totalling the estimated benefit the Jesuit Order of the Roman Catholic Church obtained in Maryland plantation alone, Hughs stated, “Across the holdings, with a total of nearly 12,700 acres of land, the Jesuits managed to generate an annual income of L696 sterling. In addition to the lands that they managed, they had 40 tenants, but those residents generated only L208 income, far less than L488 income generated by the labour of the enslaved workers. Furthermore, while they collectively owned 192 individuals, making the order one of the largest slaveholders in the colony, slightly more than half that number actively laboured, leaving nearly as many dependants who required food, clothing, and shelter. Of those who did labour, 83 per cent worked in the fields.”¹⁷¹

Also, Beckett’s account presents another dimension to the presence of Jesuit Order in Maryland where he mentioned emphatically that Carroll with his large slave corporation set up an academy at Georgetown.¹⁷² This institution was set up on paper in 1789, opened its ways for one student in 1791.¹⁷³ The profit made in Maryland alone, went beyond slaveholding, income from export in tobacco, labour cost on the large Jesuit plantation to the construction of cathedrals and seminary to invest in the training Catholic priests and young men for missionary works. This line of argument goes beyond speculation when again Beckett asserted that these possessions, including two slaves who went from Bohemia, were utilized from 1793 to 1799 to help set up the Sulpician Seminary in Baltimore and these enslaved Africans; the captives of these homesteads kept on

¹⁷⁰ Thomas Murphy, *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838*, *Studies in African American History and Culture*, 2001. p. 35, n10, also see Flanagan, 2005. p. 389-393.

¹⁷¹ <http://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/items/show/72> and Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal Documents*, Vol. 1, Part 1 Nos. 1-140 (1605-1838), 1908, p. 335-338.

¹⁷² Beckett, Edward F. *Listening to Our History, Inculturation and Jesuit Slaveholding*, *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuit*, 1996. p. 18.

¹⁷³ Schmandt, "Municipal Decentralization: Overview of Institutional Establishments," 1972. p. 73.

giving the plantation essential labour force to help the construction works by the Diocese of Baltimore and the Catholic Church in America.¹⁷⁴ Thus, it just right to conclude that the earliest Catholic seminaries in the United States such as Sulpician Seminary and cathedrals such as Baltimore Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary were constructed by a labour force of the enslaved Africans and the colossal profit gained from centuries of the tobacco plantation in Maryland trade in black slave across the Atlantic found its way to the account of papacy through the payment of income taxes of an annual ten per cent rate. In Beckett's own words;

“While it might be argued that the Maryland Jesuits were headed in the direction of establishing educational apostolates within the mission, Carroll's use of the farms to fund the establishment of two large-scale educational works indicates a shift in apostolic priorities that would affect the Jesuits in years to come. The diocesan system and the evolving institutional structures designed to serve a growing Church began to replace the ad hoc ministerial outposts founded by the Jesuits. The holdings that had formerly funded the Jesuit mission were now supporting the mission of the Church in this country and providing the first diocese in the United States with the income necessary to carry on its works among the Catholics in post-revolutionary America. And like the Jesuit mission which preceded it, the Diocese of Baltimore depended for its material resources on the plantation system, of which slavery was an integral element.”¹⁷⁵

On Rothman's account on Georgetown University and Slave Corporation of the Jesuit Order, he asserted that Reverend Thomas F. Mulledy S.J., the pioneer of the Maryland Province of the

¹⁷⁴ Beckett, 1996.p.18.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*p.18-20.

Society of Jesus and previous leader of Georgetown College, consented to sell two hundred and seventy-two enslaved Africans claimed by the Jesuits to two Louisiana slave plantation owners, Henry Johnson and Jesse Batey at the cost of one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars (\$115,000.00) with interest stipulated to be paid over a time of ten years at six per cent annual interest rate on June 19, 1838.¹⁷⁶ Without a doubt, The Maryland Jesuits had amassed wealth from the human property for centuries; selling and buying blacks slaves on whose back they rode and built their tobacco empire. By the nineteenth century, the Maryland Jesuits were among the greatest growers in Maryland, owning about three hundred (300) enslaved Africans dispersed over a few distinct ranches and estates in the United States, including Bohemia, St. Inigoes, St. Thomas Manor, White Marsh and Newtown. They developed large tobacco companies. The benefits from their work financed the Jesuits' religious and instructive exercises, including the Jesuits' Georgetown College.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Rothman, Adam. "Georgetown University and the Business of Slavery." *Washington History* 29, no. 2 (2017): 18-22.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p.19.

Copy certified
by Henry Johnson
29th November
1838.
84

Know all men by these presents, that I Thomas F. Mulledy, of Georgetown, District of Columbia, have bargained & sold, & by these presents do bargain, sell & deliver unto Henry Johnson, of the Parish of St. James, State of Louisiana, the following negroes, now on different plantations, to wit:— At St. Inigoes.— Henry, a negro woman 28 years of age, Ragis, a man 28, Joseph 22, Harry 40, Gabe 28, Louisa 23, Ragis 28, Peter 37, Michael 33, Ginny 19, Leke 32, Nathan 64, James 60, Alexis 36, Harry 75, and Ann 70.— At New-Town— Sarah 48, John 31, Abraham 27, Mary 23, Dick 27, Stephen 49, Mary 59 & Harry 65.— At St. Thomas.— Charles 75, Ginny 65, Henry 30, Ginny 13, Matilda 30, Frances 10, Girl 6, Girl 4, Girl 18 months, (Children of Matilda) Mary 55, Mary 65, John Butler 35, Len Sweden 57, John Coyles 22, Margaret 26, her daughter 4, Celestia 30, Louisa 20, Crissa 32, Girl 10, Boy 8, Girl 4, Boy 18 months, (Children of Crissa) Stephen 60, (lame), Teresa 70, & Daniel 70.— At White Marsh. Isaac 65, Nelly 38, Henry 13, Cecilia 8, Ruthy 6, Sally 65, Billy 40, Joseph 40, Kitty 22, Mary 6, Sam 4, Elizabeth 1, Polly 60, Sally 50, Robert (Idiot) 12, Minty 26, Nancy 5, Mary 2, Charles or Jarvis 60, James 50, Eliza 26, Beverly 7, Noble 5, Edward 3, Richard 38, William (Idiot) 42, Margery 60, Maria 26, Len (rickly) 38, Maria 5, William 2, Henry 8, & Charles 40 & William 2— making 84 in all: it being understood that the said slaves are now on the different plantations, as before stated and that the said H. Johnson agrees to receive them there, and considers them as actually delivered. It is understood, however, that the said negroes are to remain on the said plantations until it shall be convenient for the said H. Johnson to remove them, it being his intention to ship them to Louisiana within the course of a few months, & that every facility is to be afforded him by the Managers on the said places in accomplishing the object.— And I do warrant the said negroes to be slaves for life, and the right & title thereof, I do warrant & defend unto him the said Henry Johnson, his heirs & assigns forever, free from the claim or claims of all persons whomsoever.—

This sale is made for and in consideration of the sum of twenty nine thousand one hundred & sixty three dollars, for which sum the said H. Johnson has given his five promissory notes, to wit:— Each note for the sum of two thousand two hundred and forty four dollars, and dated on the twenty-ninth of November, one thousand eight hundred & thirty eight, in favor of Thomas F. Mulledy, payable one in the month of March, one thousand eight hundred & forty five; one in the month of March one thousand eight hundred & forty six; one in the month of March one thousand eight hundred & forty seven; one in the month of March one thousand eight hundred & forty eight; and the

Source: Georgetown University Archive, Thomas Mulledy's ledger of 84 Slaves sold to Henry Johnson, November

29, 1838.

Thus, before the Society of Jesus came under public scorn and their eventual global suppression in 1773 by a papal bull under the pontificate of Pope Clement XIV, Beckett estimated about eight hundred Catholic schools worldwide; notably in Maryland, Brazil, and Dominica etc. O'Malley

added that the Jesuit Order came to be the first religious order or mission in the church's history to lead the construction and institutionalisation of formal education.¹⁷⁸ By Kenney's proposition to the Jesuits Order, the Maryland mission of the Society of Jesus had begun charging tuition. This is very significant as it marked a transition from use proceeds directly from slave plantation to fund missionary activities to work of education.

The evolution of Jesuit Catholic education made the acquisition and the use of enslaved Africans unattractive. The Jesuit Missions began a large scale auctioning of slaves to the highest bidding, generating profits as seed money for the construction of schools and cathedrals in various provinces in the United States. It should be noted that the sale came about as a result of the financial crisis. According to St. Thomas Manor report on incomes and expenses of the slave corporation of the Jesuit, forty-five (45) slaves were auctioned at St. Thomas alone, generating a total of sixteenth thousand dollars (\$16,000) with additional one thousand dollars (\$1,000) interest, at Newtown, an estimated thirty-six slaves were sold generating a total of twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000) with additional one thousand and hundred dollars (\$1,100).¹⁷⁹ In other places, hundreds of acres of slave farmlands were sold.

¹⁷⁸ O'Malley John, "The First Jesuits", 1993.p.15.

¹⁷⁹ St. Thomas Manor Report of Income, Expenses, Servants by Wm. McSherry, S.J. (1833)," "Report of Income, Expenses, Servants at Newtown by Fr. McSherry (1833-37), and "Report on St Inigoes (1833-37)," MPA, 99 L 1-4. <https://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/items/show/315> "St. Mary's County (Assessment Records), 1794-1917. C1526, C1527, and C1528". also cited in Beckett, E. F. Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuit, 1996.p.35-36.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to assess the nuances of a rather complex financial system which up until the papacy of Pope John XXII was not in place. Two reasons informed the papal development of a financial system; a high deficit rate in the wake of misguided papal spending with its limited income flow and the eventual expansion of the Church. The institutionalisation of papal financial administration functioned on the shoulders of crucial roles played by the College of Cardinals and bishops serving as members of the Camera, the Camerarius, Auditor Camerae, Vice Auditor, Procurator Fiscal, Advocati Camerae, and Procurator Fisci among others

With such a system in place, the papacy was placed at an unchallenged position to legally amass wealth from parishes, provinces, missions, monasteries who owned and operated large slave corporations etc. The papacy had numerous channels of obtaining funds such as Income Taxes, Benefice taxes, Revenue from the Papal States, Census Fees and Miscellaneous. These payments were legally binding on all Catholic institutions and missions, needless to say, the Jesuit Order and failure to honour such payment attracted sanctions such as interdiction, ex-communication etc.

Sale of papal bull came to form a better part of the revenue generated by the papacy in the medieval times. The processes involved in acquiring a papal bull during the age of discovery came at a cost; a percentage share in profits from the discovery of lands in Africa and India and a commercial share in import and export of gold and enslaved Africans. These forms of payment are classified in Lunt's classification as "revenues from papal states". The exact amount and figures remain unknown; a fertile area for further research and study. The Jesuit missionaries, mandated by the papacy in 1540, were an active group of the colonisation and enslavement mission in Africa and the Americas. Spain and Portugal and later France used the services of the Jesuit Order to acquire

and manage slave plantations in Maryland, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Dominica, and West Indies among other places. The Maryland case presents a detailed outlook on how Jesuit Order under the auspices of the papacy operated the largest slave corporation in America. Not only did the Jesuit Order imported slaves from Africa, but they also used their labour on large plantations and proceeds from the sale of slaves and exportation of tobacco to England were to the construction of Sulpician Seminary, Georgetown University, Georgetown College, Baltimore Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary among other monumental buildings and the upkeep of Catholic priest and nuns stationed in Maryland. Also, mass baptism offered by Jesuit priests to the black slaves, as a means to their freedom bore ecclesiastical charges. In their capacity as bishop, as members of the curia, Rev. Thomas F. Mulledy and Bishop Carrol paid periodic census, benefice taxes and servitia to the camera as explained above.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This work was intended to address one research question and it states, “To what extent were the Popes of medieval Europe complicit in the ‘negro’ slave trade”. In my attempt to answer this question, two objectives were set; first, to examine the extent of papacy’s direct involvement in the slave trade using pieces of evidence from papal bulls and treaties, second, to review the financial system of the papacy and how this aided the church to profit from the trade in enslaved in Africa.

In addressing this question, it is important to note that the Catholic Church held moral and theological justifications for slavery. For centuries, the act where a person is owned by another was deemed legitimate and morally justifiable. Maxwell put it quite simply “This institution of genuine slavery, whereby one human being is legally owned by another and is forced to work for the exclusive benefit of his owner in return for food, clothing and shelter, and maybe bought, sold, donated or exchanged, was not merely tolerated but was commonly approved of in the Western Latin Church for over 1400 years.”¹⁸⁰ The Catholic teaching on slavery was essentially characterised by biblical justifications from both Old and New Testament, Canon law and Roman law, and in some circumstances imposed as a punishment by the various Church Councils and the Papacy especially from the sixth century to the mid-sixteenth century. Thus, the papacy was not against the slave trade, to begin with. This further explains their actions in authoring papal bulls for the indigenous people of Africa, usually described as “infidels” to be reduced to perpetual enslavement. This standing teaching of the church on slavery was not corrected until the Second

¹⁸⁰ Maxwell, 1975.p.10.

Vatican Council of 1965; after one hundred and thirty-five (135) when European countries had technically abolished the transatlantic slave trade around the 1830s and most African countries had gained their independence.

The Papal bulls have bearing significance on this work. A total of seven bulls were examined to demonstrate how the church fuelled the actualisation of the transatlantic slave trade, whether intended or not. The analysis of the seven papal bulls; namely *Sane Charissimus* 1418, *Dum Diversas* 1452, *Romanus Pontifex* 1455, *Inter Caetera* 1456, *Aeternis Regis* 1481, *Inter Caetera* 1493, *Eamiae Devotionis* 1493 and the treaty of Tordesillas point out four significant issues. One, that the papacy, an esteemed moral authority, gave the impetus and validated the trade in enslaved Africans. Two, the papacy wielded tremendous power in shaping the political and economic life of medieval Europe and to a very large extent other parts of the world. Three, that derogatory remarks such “*Saracens*”, “*infidels*”, “*heathen*”, “*barbaric*” (which later became an excuse to reduce black Africans to slavery and colonialism), first found expression in papal bulls. Four, that by way of concession, a percentage share in wealth acquired from territories in areas beyond Cape Bojador, and payment for such papal bulls, the papacy profited from the early stages of the transatlantic slave trade.

Other profound justifications for the enslavement of Africans were the pursuit of a “just war” and the spread of Christianity as perpetuated by Panzer. I find this line of argument to be historically inaccurate as Christianity existed in Africa centuries before Columbus’s controversial discovery missions in Africa and elsewhere with St. Mark as the Apostle and Evangelist is the principal

founder, after Christ, of their Church, referred to in history as "the Church of Alexandria"¹⁸¹ Thus, this was a mere pursuit of Catholicism.

The involvement of the papacy in the slave trade goes beyond papal bulls. As demonstrated in the last subsection of the second chapter, the papacy purchased slaves and use their labour in various sections of the papal court and papal squadron or naval forces. In retrospect, the papacy's actions led to the actualisation of the enslavement of Africans based on their power to instructing and blessing European Monarch to reduce millions of Africans to the slave trade; the seat of the pope is still covered with the blood of the tens of millions of black Africans taken across the Atlantic.

To further extend this debate, the fiscal policy of papacy was reviewed and the role of the obnoxious Jesuit Order critically examined. The papacy developed one of the earliest advanced financial systems. The Papal Camera was the pivotal part of the financial system ran by *Camerarius* together with *Auditor Camera*, *Vice Auditor*, *Procurator Fiscal*, *Advocati Camerae* and *Procurator Fisci* forming the judicial committee; enforcing and prosecuting tax offenders, later payers other financial related matters. With sanctions such as suppression, interdiction and ex-communication, the payment of such revenue was binding on every Catholic province and was made regularly to the papacy. The papal jurisdiction for the collection of taxes and rents went beyond the walls of St. Peter's Basilica to include the Papal States, provinces and missions such as the Jesuit order.

The papacy established five avenues for the collection of revenue according to Lunt classification of papal income; Benefice taxes, Revenue from the Papal States, Census, Fees and Miscellaneous and Income Taxes. With the explanation given in the third chapter of this, the Jesuit Order of

¹⁸¹ Gregorius, Bishop. "Christianity, the Coptic Religion and Ethnic Minorities in Egypt." *GeoJournal* 6, no. 1 (1982): 57-62.

Maryland was under obligation to make three forms of payment to the papacy. First, Bishop Carrol and Reverend Thomas F. Mulledy paid an annual ten per cent 10% benefice taxes in the form of servitia in their capacity as the Bishop of the Maryland Province. Second, made payment income taxes which was the ten per cent of the annual total earnings from the trade in enslaved Africans, export earnings on Maryland Tobacco Plantation and the Slave Corporation. Third, in the form Census as an exclusive property right paid annually to the Camera in return for papal protection and assurance.

My analysis from the “Daybook” and “St. Thomas Manor” report from the Georgetown University Archive and Maryland Province archive, made it clear, from the details in the third chapter, that the Jesuit Order under the leadership of Bishop Carrol amassed a total annual profit of twenty-six thousand five hundred and fifty pounds annually £26,550 in 1718; bearing in mind, the plantation existed for over two centuries. According to the currency values in modern times £26,550 in 2017, is worth approximately three million pounds (£3,082,654.13) multiplied by 200 hundred years of continuous existence, the Jesuit Order gained over six hundred million pounds in total (£616,530,826). These profits were earned from the sale of slaves and the export of tobacco to England. As demonstrated in the third chapter, revenue generated from slave plantation went into the construction and the running of Suplican Seminary in Baltimore, where priests were trained and formed. Additional, such profits were used to construct the Baltimore Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Today, Georgetown University alone is estimated in 2018 to be worth \$1.78 billion.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Georgetown University Financial Statements June 30, 2018 and 2017, <https://georgetown.app.box.com/s/n6jzt11blybpeusicxq0kvmmn7go8cz6> accessed on 20 June, 2019.

Furthermore, in the Thomas Manor report, black slaves were auctioned after the global suppression of the Jesuit in 1773, generated a total of one hundred and fifty-six dollars, with an annual six per cent interest in ten years. At the end of the ten years, the Jesuit Order is expected to make an additional ninety-three thousand dollars (\$93,600); grossing a total two hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred dollars (\$249,600). As indicated in the Rothman's account, such profits were used to finance the Georgetown University in 1789, St. Mary's Seminary and University in 1791 among other Jesuit schools around the world. This is an attempt incorporated the papacy into the mainstream slavery narratives and historiographies and an attempt to push the reparation debate beyond the conventional European countries.

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