

THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

The Institution of Chattel Slavery



**WILFRED EDWARDS
DEPUTY PRESIDENT, CHS**

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was started by the Portuguese. This trade involved the transportation, sale and exploitation of millions of Africans from the 15th century to the 19th century. The triangular trade as it was also called, and its middle passage, ultimately took place on four continents, lasted for four centuries and accounted for the extermination of hundreds of millions of Africans as well as other indigenous people of the Caribbean, the Americas and the Far East.

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade resulted in a vast loss of life for African captives both in Africa and in America. The exact number of dead may never be known, but records of the period and modern research paint a grim picture. Some contemporary researchers estimate approximately 300 million Africans died over the period of the Slave Trade and Slavery. Merchants from various European nations eventually became involved in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: Portugal, Spain, France, England, Scotland, Germany, and Holland

As Britain rose in naval power and settled continental North America and some islands of the West Indies,

they became the leading slave traders, mostly operating out of Bristol and Liverpool. By the late 17th century, one out of every four ships that left Liverpool harbor was a slave trading ship. Other British cities also profited from the slave trade. Birmingham, the largest gun producing town in Britain at the time, supplied guns to be traded for African captives.

The history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is a history of violent revolts on board ship. The point must be made from the beginning that the Africans never bowed to their enslavement in the first place for it was no easy task getting them on board the ships. There are countless descriptions of how the Africans had to be beaten and dragged from clutching at the sands on the shores of Africa.

Often the Africans would capture the very ships before they left the coast and rescue the captives. It was an extremely brutal trade, killing untold numbers of Africans in raids, by disease and mistreatment. Women captives were frequently raped. Ship crews suffered heavy death rates from disease.

Alexander Falconbridge, a Bristol ship captain who later became an abolitionist, said on some ships, the captives were forced to lie on each other in crowded holds during a voyage of at least six weeks. Writing in 1788, he said: "The floor of their rooms was so covered with blood mucus...that it resembled a slaughterhouse. It is not in the power of the human imagination to picture to itself a situation more dreadful and disgusting."

One of the worst atrocities was aboard the Liverpool slave ship *Zong*, which was wracked with disease. Captain Luke Collingwood ordered the crew to throw 133 sick captive Africans overboard, and then tried to claim against in-

surance for “loss of merchandise.”

The abolitionist Granville Sharp demanded a murder prosecution, but the government’s attorney responded: “it is madness, the blacks were property.” The English Privy Council estimated in 1789 that for every two Africans stolen from Africa only one slave was added to the labour force. On average they said 12 ½% died in the Middle Passage (the sea crossing from Africa). In the harbors before sale in the Caribbean and America 4 ½% died. During the seasoning process - the period when the African was ‘broken in’ to become a slave - 35% died. So according to these conservative estimates, 50% OF THE AFRICANS TAKEN FROM THE AFRICAN CONTINENT DID NOT EVEN LIVE TO TOIL ON THE PLANTATION.

Here is how one John Newton described the way captive Africans were packed on the ships:

Their lodging rooms below the deck... Are sometimes more than five feet high and sometimes less and this height is divided toward the middle, for the slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, on each side of the ship, close to each other like books upon a shelf. I have known them so close that the shelf would not easily contain one more. The poor creatures, thus cramped, are likewise in irons for the most part which makes it difficult for them to turn or move or attempt to rise or lie down without hurting themselves or each other. Every morning more instances than one are found of the living and the dead fastened together.”

To breed fear into a new “cargo” of Africans, captains devised the most savage methods. Some used to chop a few of the Africans to bits before the start of the journey and force the others to eat the flesh of their brothers murdered before their eyes.

Many Africans preferred to commit suicide than come out to the Caribbean or the Americas as slaves. They would throw themselves overboard as soon as the opportunity

presented and made no effort to swim. Many starved themselves to death, even though they suffered extreme tortures to force them to eat. Others would cut their own throats with their fingernails.

This, of course, was only the basic system of transport and does not mention all the other barbarities practiced during the voyage which were fatal to the African, or the deaths through suicide and revolts on board ship. Just to give an example of the mentality of the ships' captains. One of the ways the captive African committed suicide was by fasting until they died. A captain named Barbot in talking about what he did when the Africans refused to eat said that because he was a naturally compassionate man and could not let them starve, he found it necessary to smash out their teeth and feed them by "force". Barbot was one of the 'good' ones.

Like the British, French, Spanish and Portuguese, the Dutch engaged in the African Slave Trade between the 16th and 19th centuries. On the plantations in the so-called New World, where sugar and cotton reigned (cotton in the case of North America), Africans were made to live and toil under unbearable conditions.

Generally they had to live in huts and barracks hardly fit for animals. Sometimes they had to sleep on the bare ground in these quarters, sometimes just a plank of wood for a bed. Food was basically whatever rations the planter felt to spare for his labour force. For most of the enslaved Africans the same clothing had to be worn day in, day out until it fell off of their bodies in rags. The routine of unrewarded work went to the limits of human capacity:

From the time the stars began to fade from the sky in the morning



Bussa

Here is what C.L.R. James had to say about the physical brutality of the plantations in “Black Jacobins”:

“The whip was not always an ordinary cane or woven cord... Sometimes it was replaced by ... a thick thong of cow hide, or by the lianes - a local growth of reeds, supple and pliant like whale bone... The slaves received the whip with more certainty and regularity than they received their food. It was the incentive to work and the guardian of discipline. But there was no ingenuity that fear or a depraved imagination could devise which was not employed to break their spirit and satisfy the lusts and resentment of their owners and guardians’ - irons on the hands and feet, blocks of wood that the slaves had to drag behind them wherever they went, the tin-plate mask designed to prevent the slaves eating the sugar cane, the iron collar. Whipping was interrupted in order to pass a piece of hot wood on the buttocks of the victim; salt, pepper, citron, cinders, aloes, and hot ashes were poured on the bleeding wounds. Mutilations were common, limbs, ears and sometimes the private parts, to deprive them of the pleasure which they could indulge in without expense. Their masters poured burning wax on their arms and hands and shoulders, emptied the boiling sugar over their heads, burned them alive, roasted them on slow fires, filled them with gun powder and blew them up with a match (this was called “to burn a little powder in the ass of a nigger”); buried them up to their necks and smeared their heads with sugar that the flies might devour them; fastened them near to nests of ants or wasps;

until they reappeared in the evening, the enslaved Africans worked... Each day ended as the previous one had. Each began as the previous one had. And each day expended itself as the previous one had. (Julius Lester)

In crop time, work went on through the night under the moon and flambeau light and the regime of never-ending work was accompanied by severe brutality.

made them eat their excrement, drink their urine, and lick the saliva of other slaves.

The slaves are punished for major crimes by nailing them down on the ground with crooked sticks on every limb and then applying the fire by degrees from the feet and hands, burning them gradually up to the head, whereby their pains are extravagant; for CRIMES of a lesser nature gelding (cutting off the balls) or chopping off half of the foot with an axe. Their punishments are suffered by them with great constancy. They are whipped till they are raw; some put on their skins pepper and salt to make them smart, at other times their masters will drop melted wax on their skins and use several very exquisite torments.”

As the Tobago Slave Code stated quite frankly in 1794, Africans are of a “barbarous, wild and savage nature . . . such as renders them wholly unfit to be governed by the laws of Great Britain”. They said that laws for African people had to “restrain the disorders and disturbances to which they are naturally prone”.

When they talk about the “disturbances” to which Africans were “naturally prone”, they included those forms of expression such as their religion, language, and recreation, except on occasions when the planter wanted these things for his amusement. He would never allow himself to be amused by the drum though because they could talk a language he could not understand and which too often meant revolution.

The “Code Noir” stated explicitly that black people were chattel. (This was the law governing slaves in the French islands). To quote Brian Edwards (in “The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture”) on the case in British territory- “After 1705, the enslaved Africans in Virginia were accounted real estate for purposes of descent, but chattels, by an act of 1727, with respect to gifts and devices. Three

years later, a court decided that, regardless of previous statutes, executors were to consider slave property as no different from horses and cattle...”

So that during the period of chattel slavery, the African was regarded as property according to the law and as such could be bought, sold, mortgaged, borrowed, rented, bartered, etc. Still there were contradictions because while the African was defined as property, they could still be punished as human beings. If the punishment for an enslaved African was death, then his master would be compensated for the loss of his property.

The African, who was subjected to the physical hardship of the plantation - the ceaseless toil, hunger and cruelty - as well as the lies about himself, was already psychologically and spiritually off balance in the context of slave society. Slavery robbed the African of all those institutions which were an extension of the African personality, which guided his behaviour, which gave him security and purpose, which sustained his true character and his humanity. And not only would the plantation system not allow these institutions to build again, but it substituted institutions of cultural and spiritual genocide.

In Africa people lived in close knit communities. The individual belonged to the extended family, the kinship group, the clan, the “tribe”, the nation etc. Every one of these institutions was like an extension of the family. They gave each individual identity and security.

The family which was a central institution in African culture was deliberately destroyed. The remnants of families which survived the pillage in Africa and the sea journey together were broken up and scattered. Wives were separated from husbands, mothers from children etc. And plan-

tation society never allowed for a new development of the family. A man could marry today and the planter sells his wife tomorrow, or takes her as his mistress. Children from a marriage could be sold to another estate without any consultation with the parents.

To further the sense of loss, loss of family, clan, kinship etc; the planters' policy was to try to get on each plantation as many peoples from different ethnic groups in Africa as possible, with different variations of customs, different dialects and languages and so. This was deliberately calculated to substitute tension, discomfort, lack of communication and understanding for the unity, familiarity and familyhood of the village.

Slavery meant the transfer from a system where there was a communal use of resources, a system without concept of private ownership of the means of production, to a system where the labour of the masses was exploited for a handful, of another race, which owned the resources and owned even those who laboured, according to their law.

It meant a transfer from a society where there was a sense of equality, sharing and community, a collective spirit, to a society where conditions of survival produced individualism; where the enslaved learnt to emphasize distinctions of class as between, house slaves and artisans, and field slaves; distinctions of shades of colour as between mulatto and 'pure' African. It meant displacement from a political system where all adults shared in decision making, to a system of complete powerlessness. The African was to drop his/her own forms of worship, to drop their own languages, to discard their own ceremonies and discard their own names.

In other words, everything that gave meaning to their



Sam Sharpe

lives, the slave master tried to brutally beat out of the African. The attempt was to turn the enslaved Africans into non-persons - without history, without identity, without independent thought, without symbols, without self knowledge...race-less, cultureless, SLAVES.

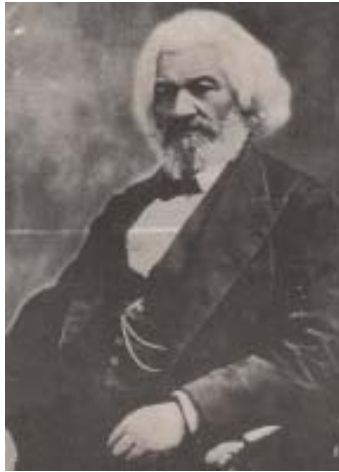
The question arises as to why? Why this extreme barbarity? Why the denial of history, the denial of humanity. The blood money from the slave trade and investment in slave societies played a major part in financing the industrial revolution in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This industrial revolution accounted for the super development of Europe economically in relation to the Continent of Africa, the Americas and the Caribbean. But the unmitigated crime of Chattel Slavery cannot be explained just in terms of economics. Chattel Slavery as it existed was not the only possible way to exploit the resources of the territories conquered by Europeans.

The dynamic of the slave system itself once it was established caused it to become ever more destructive to man. The need to find ways to manage and control the large slave populations led the planters to adopt very systematic forms of dehumanization.

In a book called 'The Peculiar Institution' the historian, Kenneth Stamp, summarizes the five main methods of slave training:

The first method is to accustom the slave to "rigid discipline". As one planter said, "They must obey at all



Frederick Douglass

times, and under all circumstances, cheerfully and with alacrity”. The Planters worked on the principle that **“unconditional submission is the only footing on which slavery should be placed.”** To quote another planter, “...the slave should know his master is to govern absolutely and he is to obey implicitly. That **he is never for a moment to exercise either his will or judgement in opposition**

to a positive order.”

Those whom the individual planter could not handle were put into the hands of special “slave breakers”. Frederick Douglass, who eventually escaped Slavery, describes his experiences at the age of 16 in the hands of a slave breaker- steady day and night work and constant blows for the slightest breach or imaginary breach of rules, impossible for a man to live to. He tells how at the end of some months he felt broken “in body, soul and spirit.”

“The second step was to implant in the bondsmen themselves a consciousness of personal inferiority.” They were to be made to feel this inferiority about their past and their whole race. **“They had to feel that African ancestry tainted them, that their colour was a badge of degradation.”**

The third step was to **breed fear into the slaves**, terrify them, with “a sense of their masters’ enormous power.”

The fourth step was to **make them “take an interest in the master’s enterprise and to accept his stan-**



Bust of Cuffy in Barbados

dards of good conduct.”

The final step was to **make the African feel that he was completely helpless.** The planters set out to instill in the slaves “a habit of perfect dependence” upon them, make the slave feel that he could do nothing without his master, that on his own he amounted to nothing.

But as Stamp says “the goal was seldom reached. Every master knew that the average slave was only an imperfect copy of the model. He knew that some bondsmen yielded only to superior power - and yielded reluctantly.”

RESISTANCE AND REVOLT

As a result of such cruelty meted out to the millions of Africans who were forcefully removed from their homeland, resistance and revolt became a way of life for the enslaved African who found himself in this hostile environment. The Spaniards started importing Africans into Haiti in 1510 and by 1514 there was a major revolt.

To quote from the book *Maroon Societies*, edited by Richard Price. According to Orlando Patterson, we are informed that: “Few slave societies present a more impressive record of slave revolts than Jamaica. During the more than 180 years of its existence as a slave society, hardly a decade went by without a serious, large scale revolt threatening the entire system. The first eighty-five years of the English occupation of the island (1655 - 1740) were marked by one long series of revolts, which reached a dra-



Statue of Yanga, African Freedom Fighter of Vera Cruz, Mexico

matic climax during the last fifteen years of this period, at the end of which the whites, after coming close to disaster on several occasions, were forced to sue for peace and grant the rebels their freedom. It is customary to regard only these last fifteen climactic years as the First Maroon War.

Maroon Leaders such as Kofi; Nanny; Cudjoe; Accompong; Johnny; Kishee. Cudjoe was described as “a bold, skilful and enterprising man”, remarkably adept at the techniques of guerilla warfare. The most legendary character of the Maroon Wars was Nanny. Unfortunately, little is known about her. Nanny gave her name to the main rebel town. There is no doubt that she existed and that the role she played tactically and psychologically - not only in boosting morale but in maintaining loyalty by her highly sanctioned oaths of secrecy was of tremendous value. A committee of the House of Assembly commented despairingly in 1733 that the rebels “are as well acquainted with our designs as we are ourselves”.

The Struggle to bring to an end the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade as well as the institution of slavery in Africa, the Americas and the Caribbean represents one of the most epic battles ever fought by mankind. The whole truth of this 500 year battle is yet to be told.



Zumbi

One of the most significant example of African resistance and revolt in response to efforts to enslave them, was the development of Quilombo dos Palmares, a self-sustaining Republic of Maroons who had escaped from the Portuguese settlements in Brazil (A Quilombo was a refuge of runaway Africans from the plantation). The Republic of Palmares

located in present day Brazil, was at one time accredited with inhabiting over 30,000 persons at its height around the ending of the seventeenth (17th) century.

This Black Republic was established by Africans who had escaped the slave plantations in Brazil and were able to so organise themselves into a veritable state with its own social, political and military organization. Posing as a constant threat to the slave economy and suffering repeated attacks, the Republic of Palmares managed to survive for nearly one hundred (100) years.

All the inhabitants of Palmares considered themselves: “subjects of a King who is called Ganga-Zumba, which means Great Lord and he is recognised as such both by those born in Palmares and by those who join them from outside, he has a palatial residence, casas for members of his family and is assisted by guards and officials who have by custom, casas which approach those of royalty. He is treated with all respect due a Monarch and all the honours due a lord. Those who are in his presence kneel on the ground. They address him as Majesty and

obey him with reverence”.

Epic figures like Ganga Zumba and Zumbi were outstanding leaders in Palmares, but they had not had their story told in Brazilian school books. Zumbi, also known as Zumbi dos Palmares, lived from 1655 to the 20th November 1695, and was considered to be the last of the great leaders of the Quilombo dos Palmares, in the present-day state of Alagoas, Brazil.

Fifteen (15) years after Zumbi assumed leadership of Palmares, Portuguese military commanders mounted an artillery assault on the quilombo. On February 6th 1694, after 67 years of ceaseless conflict with the cafuzos, or maroons, of Palmares, the Portuguese succeeded in destroying Cerca do Macaco, the republic’s central settlement. Palmares’ warriors were no match for the Portuguese artillery, the republic fell and Zumbi was wounded.

Though he survived and managed to elude the Portuguese, he was betrayed, captured almost two years later and beheaded on the spot on November 20th 1695. The Portuguese transported Zumbi’s head to Recife where it was displayed as proof of his death. It was also done as a warning of what would happen to others if they tried to be as brave as him. Remnants of the old Quilombos continued to reside in the region for another hundred years.

November 20th is now considered National African Awareness Day in Brazil (or Zumbi Day commonly called), a reminder of the decisive contribution by Africans and their descendents to the struggle for freedom in Brazil. The Quilombo in Brazil included in its population, Africans, Whites, and Indians and all oppressed peoples of the colonial era. Consequently, the project Zumbi, also embodies the concept of full citizenship and enfranchisement for Bra-

zilian people, especially those marginalized people, and those who excluded from participation.

In St. Vincent, the Africans there joined with the indigenous people and were only defeated at the cost of much bloodshed. One of the most notable, if not, the most notable leader to have emerged in St Vincent at that time was CHATOYER. Chatoyer is today a National Hero of St. Vincent.

On the 10th October 1760 in Surinam, the Dutch Netherlands were forced to sign a peace treaty with the Africans there who were referred to as maroons. The treaty was called the “Boston Band Peace Treaty” of 1760. Today in Surinam October 30th each year is officially observed in recognition of the presence and achievement of the maroons there to force the Dutch Netherlands to acknowledge their freedom.

The earliest revolt of outstanding success by the enslaved Africans in the Caribbean was in Berbice, Guyana in 1763. Led by an African by the name of Cuffy, the enslaved Africans were able to liberate most of the country and hold it for a period of some eleven months.

According to C.R. Ottley in his book, “The Complete History of The Island of Tobago in The West Indies”, by 1770 Tobago contained no fewer than Seventy-seven (77) sugar and cotton estates. It was in that very year as well that a young African Chief along with approximately fifty (50) of his soldiers made their presence felt. This Chief re-christened Sandy by his owner, planned and plotted for the release of himself and his fellow bondsmen.

Secret meetings were convened in the cane fields with the hope that the other three thousand (3000) enslaved would join with them. Sandy and his fifty followers launched

their attack against their captors. They attacked and chased the soldiers stationed at the fort at Plymouth. They took possession of much gun powder, shots and firearms.

Sandy was the acknowledged leader of this 1770 rebellion on the island of Tobago referred to as the Stone Rebellion .It began at Mt Irvine and spread throughout the island.The British Colonial Authorities called in battle ships from Grenada to quell the uprising.

It is said that after the overwhelming fire power of the British forces quelled the rebellion, Sandy and some of his followers managed to escape to Toco on the North Eastern peninsular of Trinidad, by using fishing boats. The Sandy revolt inspired a series of revolts on the island of Tobago in 1771, 1772, 1775 and 1796. It was, however, the first major revolt in Tobago.

A few years later in 1791, it was the French colony of Saint Domingue (later to be named Haiti). As a result of the organized revolt of Africans in Haiti with leaders of genius like Boukman, Toussaint, and Dessalines the African was able to proclaim Haiti an independent Black Republic in 1804.

In the United States the revolt which had the most stunning impact on the society was the Nat Turner rebellion in August 1831. Nat led 70 slaves in a bid for freedom and executed nearly sixty whites in two days before they were able to mobilize their forces to crush the uprising. The fear of revolt among the planters, which was a constant feature of slave society, was so greatly heightened by the actions of Nat that for decades after, out of sheer panic at what the slaves might be contemplating, planters sometimes murdered a few.

Sometimes, as a result of revolts, the enslaved Afri-



Harriet Tubman

can escaped into the interior of the colonies or retreated into the mountains. Often times they ran away from the plantations, in spite of the ferocious dogs of the planters. There they were able to make it on their own and in this way were referred to as “ma-

roons”. The settlements of runaway Africans would at times become so powerful that the planters would be forced to sign treaties with them granting them their freedom. The most well known maroon settlements surviving today are in Jamaica and the Djukas (the so-called “Bush-negroes”) in Surinam.

A woman called Aphra Behu recorded such an example in 17th Century Surinam when the ruling “colony” set out to terrorize other Africans by what they did to a leader of a crushed rebellion, Oroonko. He was granted a last request to smoke a pipe when tied to the stake:

“And the executor came, and first cut off his members (testicles), and threw them into the fire; and after that, with an ill-favored knife, they cut off his ears and his nose and burned them; he still smoked on, as if nothing had touched him; then they hacked off one of his arms, and still he bore up and held his pipe; but at the cutting off of the other arm, his head sank and his pipe dropped. . . . Thus died this great man. . . .”

We must always remember MEN like OROONKO.

Very often it was just a matter of individuals or groups of enslaved Africans making the effort to escape and survive on their own. But sometimes their escape was highly organized. For example in North America there was the

“Underground Railroad”, a well organized system for rescuing Africans from the U.S. plantations and leading them through secret routes to Canada, where they gained their freedom.

Harriett Tubman, who herself escaped slavery in 1848, was known as the greatest conductor of the Underground Railroad, which in its time led about 100,000 Black people out of the bondage in the U.S.. She personally led more than 300 Africans to their freedom.

The point must be made most forcefully that virtually every major reform pertaining to the abolition of the slave trade and slavery took place in the immediate aftermath of a major rebellion and / or victory by enslaved or formerly enslaved Africans.

Although in Britain, the U.S. and in other parts of Europe, moral, economic and political opposition developed against the slave trade, this was largely ineffective unless combined with the political factor of African rebellions. The single most significant event in the history of the abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Slavery was the Haitian Revolution, (1791-1804), led by Toussaint L'Ouverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines.

The records would show that almost immediately after the Haitian Revolution, there was an immediate, terminal and rapid decline. This is because the Haitian Revolution and other uprisings created such significant military and political fears and costs for the European/American colonial powers that the continued importation of an African population became unsustainable, as fears and costs outweighed stability and profitability.

Four nations objected strongly to surrendering their rights to trade in African slave labour: Spain, Portugal, Bra-

zil and France. According to one school of thought, Britain used every tool at its disposal to try to induce these nations to follow its lead. Portugal and Spain, which were indebted to Britain after the Napoleonic Wars, slowly agreed to accept large cash payments to first reduce and then eliminate the slave trade.

Although Portugal abolished slavery on February 12th 1761, her colonies, in particular Brazil, did not abolish slavery until May 13th 1888. While France formally agreed to ban the trade in Africans as slaves in 1815, they did not allow Britain to police the ban, nor did they do much to enforce it themselves.

The French slave trade did not end until 1848. As a result, a large illegal market in slaves continued for decades throughout almost the nineteenth century.

In conclusion:

To quote from the famous African American scholar, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, writing on this perplexing issue of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the Institution of Chattel Slavery:

“FOR FOUR HUNDRED YEARS, THE DARK CAPTIVES WOUND TO THE SEA AMID THE BLEACHING BONES OF THE DEAD; FOR FOUR HUNDRED YEARS THE SHARKS FOLLOWED THE SCURRYING SHIPS; FOR FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AMERICA WAS STREWN WITH THE LIVING AND DYING MILLIONS OF A TRANSPLANTED RACE; FOR FOUR HUNDRED YEARS ETHIOPIA STRETCHED FORTH HER HANDS UNTO GOD.”

W.E.B. DU BOIS

**In the words of another great African American Leader
Malcolm X:**

“OUR PEOPLE WERE OUT RIGHT SLAVES - OUT-
RIGHT SLAVES. WE PULLED PLOWS LIKE HORSES.
WE WERE BOUGHT AND SOLD FROM ONE PLAN-
TATION TO ANOTHER LIKE YOU SELL CHIKENS OR
LIKE YOU SELL A BAG OF POTATOES. I READ IN
ONE BOOK WHERE GEORGE WASHINGTON EX-
CHANGED A BLACK MAN FOR A KEG OF MOLAS-
SES
WHY, THAT BLACK MAN COULD HAVE BEEN MY
GRANDFATHER.”

And in the words of Martin Luther King Jr.:

“THE LIFE OF OUR SLAVE FOREBEARS IS ETER-
NAL TESTIMONY TO THE ABILITY OF MEN TO
ACHIEVE THE IMPOSSIBLE.”