

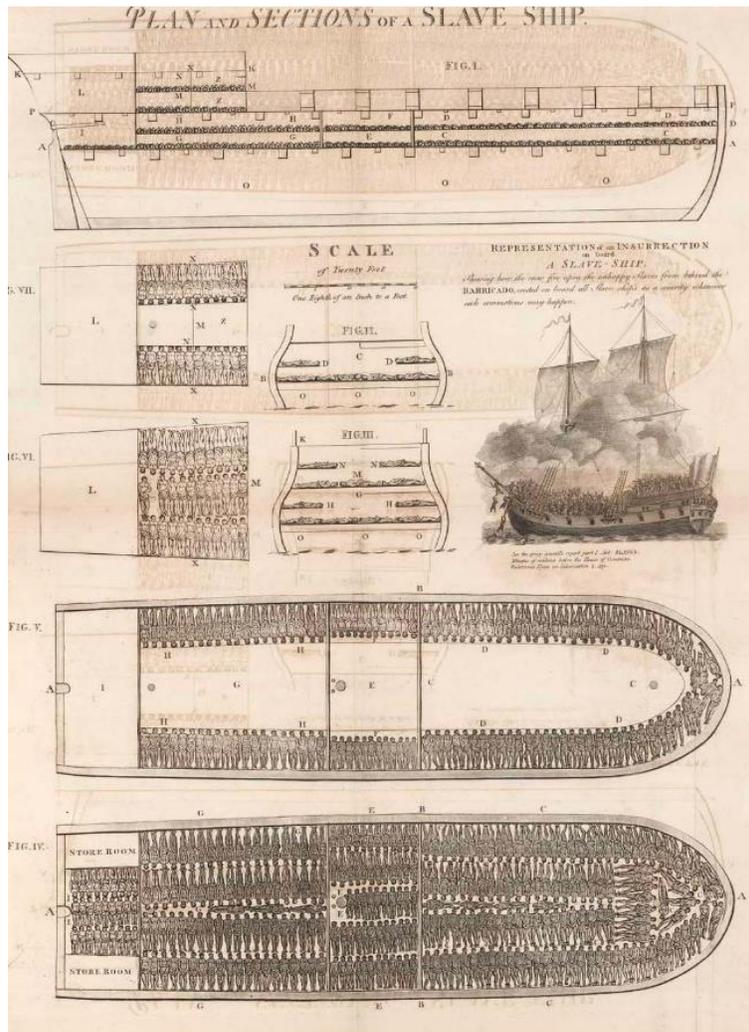
Telling the Story:

Enslavement of African People in the United States

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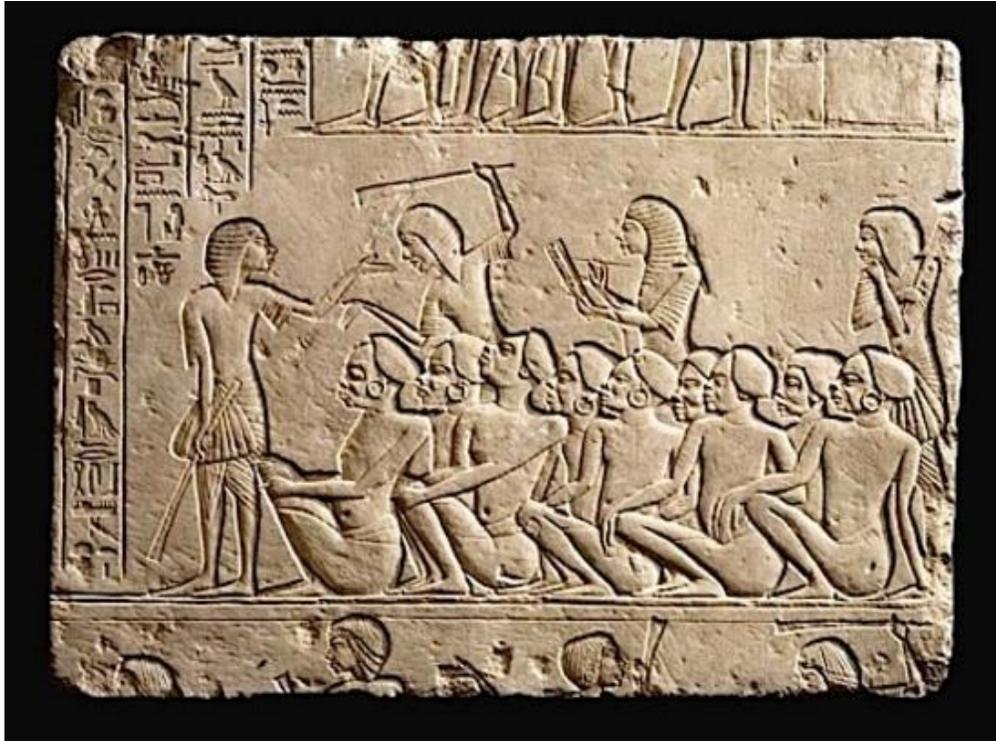
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Description of a Slave Ship



Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship from Wadstrom's An Essay on Colonization

One of the Oldest Institutions and a Permanent Stain on Human History



Relief from the tomb of Horemheb- New Kingdom: XVIII Dynasty, Reign of Tutankhamun (1332-1323 BC), Online Collections, Archaeological Museum of Bologna

From antiquity to modern day, enslavement has existed in one form or another. Institutionalized slavery—mostly for agricultural labor—thrived in the American English colonies during the 1600s and 1700s.

Slavery was not uncommon in Africa, however, an African enslaved as a prisoner of war, for criminal punishment or as the result of some other conflict in Africa—was closer to his/her own culture and was more likely to “belong” to or be absorbed into the community of his/her captor. Those who were removed from Africa greatly suffered during the Atlantic crossing, and upon arrival, they continued to suffer physical, cultural, and intellectual brutality by their enslavers. Driven by European colonial demand for enslaved people, the African slave trade greatly expanded beyond the former African prisoner of war model. Slavery and the slave trade grew the economy of many colonial powers including in the United States.

Human Bondage in Colonial America



Picking Cotton. National Archives Photo

Colonial America was predominantly agrarian—initially for subsistence but with growth and development, eventually for the ever expanding commercial cash crop business. The expansion of tobacco, rice and cotton production depended on securing and maintaining enough labor to plant, tend and harvest the crops. European indentured service, in exchange for transatlantic passage, supplied the workforce needed in the early colony days. However, forced labor or slavery largely replaced indentured servitude in the American colonies in the 1680s. When the contractual debt was paid and the indentured service finished, that person became free to leave. Conversely, slavery lasted a lifetime and beyond because children born into bondage also become part of the workforce. With an increasing consumer colonial population, the need for greater production meant the need for the most consistent and continuous labor force. The enslaved became the dominant work force for large-scale agricultural operation.

Corporal punishment was used on captives from Africa, to break and oppress the enslaved into an acceptance of their role, and often to maintain or preserve the construct of slavery.

American Revolution and Pre-Civil War Period Slavery



The Declaration of Independence, National Archives

On the brink of the American Revolution, enslaved people who were American- or captive-born exceeded African-born. At this time, African-born were only about 1/5 of the American enslaved population. The enslaved made up the largest percent of the population at this time in the tobacco producing states of North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia and the rice and indigo producing states of South Carolina and Georgia. Louisiana, though not originally a British Colony, also amassed a large enslaved population to produce tobacco, rice, indigo, cotton and sugar. Prior to the American Revolution, Louisiana's enslaved population out-numbered free persons.

Despite all of the other slave-holding British Colonies, the loyalist Governor of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, strategically offered freedom to all enslaved Americans who would side with the British against the American Rebellion. Some signed up with the British in hopes of securing freedom for their service. Many were captured by the patriots and often re-enslaved. Larger Southern enslavers panicked. Some threatened to sell their enslaved people into the more brutal bondage of the West Indies. Other enslavers enrolled their enslaved in the Patriot army, even to fight in their place. In many cases, the disruption and turmoil of the war allowed an opportunity for the enslaved to escape. While some achieved freedom, others ended up enslaved elsewhere and others died. The 1790 census shows a sharp decline in the slave population compared to earlier years. However, there was a surge in the slave trade to replace those lost in the Revolutionary War before the slave trade was cut off in 1808.

The American Revolution was a war waged for natural rights and freedom from British tyranny. The hypocrisy of slave-holding Patriots fighting for their own freedoms could not be ignored. The Declaration of Independence reads, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." English literary figure Samuel Johnson rhetorically begged the question "If slavery be thus fatally contagious, how is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?"

Vermont wrote emancipation into its constitution in 1777 and Pennsylvania began emancipation in 1780. Massachusetts' state chief justice ruled in 1781 that there could be no "perpetual servitude of a rational creature, unless his liberty is

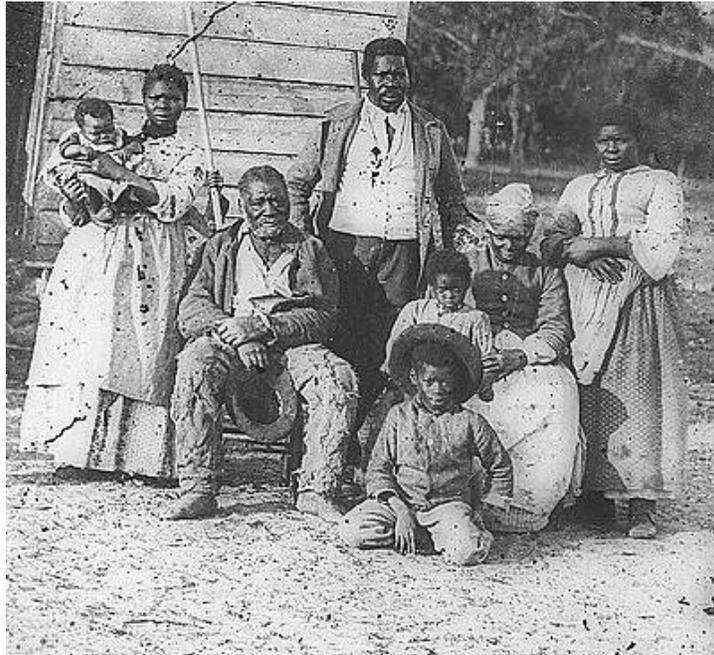
forfeited by some criminal conduct or given up by personal consent or contract.” New York’s 1799 Gradual Emancipation Act freed children born of the enslaved after July 4, 1799, but this would not go into effect until males became free at age 28 and females at 25. Until that time, they belonged to the mother's enslaver. Children born before July 4, 1799, remained enslaved for life, although they were renamed "indentured servants." Despite the shortcoming of gradual emancipation, about 75% of Northern blacks were free by 1810.

The Continental Congress Convention of 1787 was deeply divided on the topic of slavery. Several of the Delegates opposed slavery but other Delegates were enslavers themselves with a vested interest in retaining the system of labor that benefited them financially. Additionally, enslavers wished their enslaved population be counted for representative government sake (i.e. more Representatives in the House based upon greater population figures). The agreed upon compromise banned international slave trading, but not for another 20 years (1808), while federal regulations and taxation on such trade were strengthened.

The Three-Fifth Compromise also came out of this Convention, by which three out of every five enslaved persons would count as one person when determining congressional representation and taxation.

The first United States Law to curtail participation in the international slave trade was the Slave Trade Act of 1794, essentially limiting the international slave trade to foreign ships. It was not until the “Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves of 1807,” signed into law by Jefferson in 1808, that all importation of enslaved people to the United States became illegal. The domestic trade and enslavement did not become illegal in the entire U.S. until the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1865.

Cultural Structure of Institutionalized Slavery



Family on Smith's Plantation, Beaufort, South Carolina, circa 1862. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

Slavery necessitated major cultural adjustment for first generations, before becoming more “the norm” or routine with each subsequent generation of both enslaved Africans and their enslavers. Dynamics between both became hardened in later generations.

Although free whites in general were the population majority, on farms or plantations in the South the ratio of enslavers to enslaved (mostly) Africans usually placed the enslaver at a numerical disadvantage. The enslaver was ever striving to keep the “upper hand”—to keep “his people” from escaping and/or uprising—and corporal punishment in the form of whippings and/or mutilation was typically the only method used to maintain control. In many cases, people did manage to escape and rebellions occurred.

First generation Africans enslaved in the United States tended to retain their native culture and religious beliefs and resisted their enslavement whenever possible. White enslavers initially preferred not to share their Christian beliefs, but that idea evolved. Eventually African churches and societies organized, forming valuable social networks for the enslaved. Religion became a source of resistance.

The numbers of enslaved workers in the skilled trades increased in the South when tobacco production waned. Although one might think that a skilled worker would have advantages over a field worker, the craftsmen were not necessarily treated any better, especially when hired out. The person hiring the worker had less incentive than the enslaver did to take care of him or her.

Although the enslaved could not legally own property, nor was their marriage legally recognized, owners permitted marriage among their slaves. Some even allowed marriage off-property—known as “marriage abroad.” Enslavers encouraged fidelity (whether they abided by the rule themselves or not) and punished adultery. Families were large, averaging seven children. Many kept the surname they were given for the sake of family unity. Most of the enslaved lived in a nuclear family household or in individual dwellings. Only 8.7% lived in multiple quarters.

Slave laws and customs in the South were all structured to repress independence as much as possible and maintain a dependency on the enslaver. Although an enslaved family may, for good reason, resent their enslaver and wish him ill, they would not wish death upon him. Even the cruelest enslaver's demise caused more distress than relief for enslaved families because they faced the possibility of being separated to settle the estate and being sold into an even worse situation.

Economics of Slavery and Distribution of the Enslaved in America



Scars of a whipped slave (April 2, 1863, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, USA). "Overseer Artayou Carrier whipped me. I was two months in bed sore from the whipping. My master come after I was whipped; he discharged the overseer." The very words of poor Peter, taken as he sat for his picture. WikiCommons, original from National Archives and Records Administration

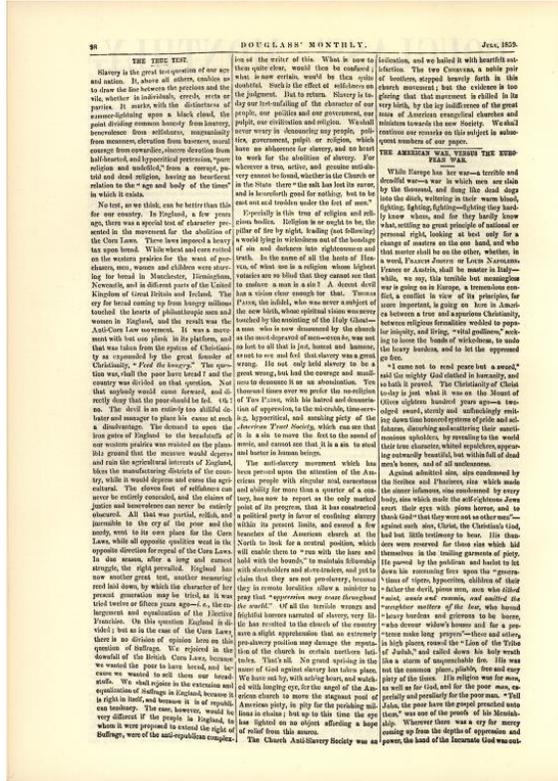
Enslavement of Africans was instituted in the United States for economic reasons, due in large part to 17th-century circumstances in England. The Restoration of the English monarchy with King Charles II in 1660 created stability in the English economy, driving wages upward, and decreasing unskilled workers coming to the U.S. in indentured servitude. The decline of the European labor supply coupled with a decrease in the price of tobacco meant that plantations had to find cheap labor. British naval superiority and the availability of African labor spawned a flourishing African slave trade in the 1600s that grew and thrived for a couple of centuries. Enslaved labor supplied the major agricultural trade of tobacco, rice, indigo, sugar and molasses.

South Carolina had the greatest number of enslaved people, making up a majority of the state's population throughout the 1700s and most of the antebellum years. The northern colonies lacked the plantation-scale need for enslaved labor, but wheat, dairy and horse farms made use of enslaved workers in states such as New York. The enslaved made up as much as twenty percent of the population in some areas, but the need was already declining as the American Revolution began. In some of the northern cities such as New York and Boston, the enslaved worked as domestic servants or as skilled craftsmen—coopers, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, etc.

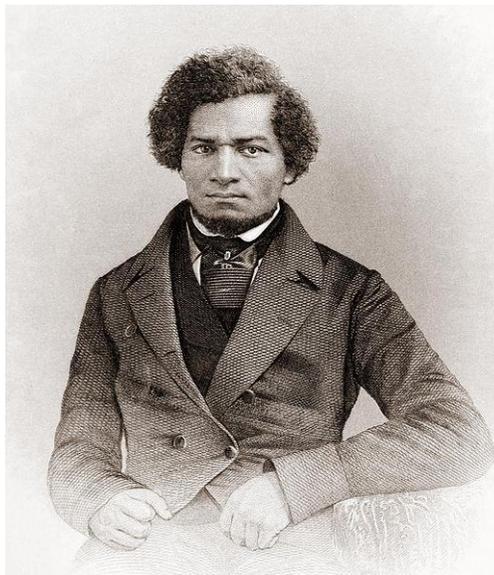
“Slavery is the Great Test [] of Our Age and Nation”

Slavery is the great test question of our age and nation. It, above all others, enables us to draw the line between the precious and the vile, whether in individuals, creeds, sects, or parties.

- Frederick Douglass (1859)

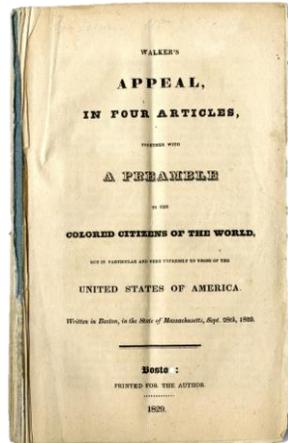


Douglass' Monthly, July 1859



Frontispiece engraving of Frederick Douglass from My Bondage and My Freedom, 1855.

Resistors



David Walker's Appeal ... to the Colored Citizens of the World, 1829

There were many forms of resistance to slavery and instances of rebellion against it. The majority of attempts to seek freedom from enslavement were frequently individual acts. Narrative accounts tell of hunger strikes and suicide attempts from initial capture and throughout the years of enslavement. Maintaining one's original cultural practices was, in itself, a form of rebellion.

In addition to the individual resistance, there were several organized attempts to seek freedom. The 1739 Stono Rebellion in South Carolina in the British American Colony was an early large-scale rebellion or insurrection led by about 50 enslaved Africans who stole weapons and killed some 20 whites in an attempt to reach freedom in Spanish Florida. When caught, the escapees were executed. This uprising so alarmed the white colonists that they decapitated the insurgents and placed their heads upon stakes to warn other enslaved against any such attempts to attain freedom.

The New York City Conspiracy of 1741 consisted of a series of arsons with intent to kill followed by rumors that the enslaved and white Catholics were conspiring to kill other whites and burn the city. It is unclear how orchestrated or coordinated the fires really were because many historians claim it was largely white paranoia - an informant with questionable motives implicated several people. An estimated 200 people, both black and white, were arrested. Ultimately, four whites and 60 blacks were either hanged or burned at the stake. Some 70 more persons of African descent were deported/exiled. This incident has often been compared to the Salem Witch Trials because of the fear-driven persecution and hangings.

Enslaved people in the colonies also fought for their freedom with legal challenges including a variety of petitions in the New England States throughout the 1770s to end slavery.

In 1800 Virginia, Gabriel's Conspiracy, also known as the Prosser Uprising, was halted before any outbreak of violence. A literate and respected enslaved blacksmith named Gabriel was organizing free and enslaved blacks to march on Richmond in a fight for freedom. The plan was to take over the armory and hold the governor hostage, but Gabriel and his 25 followers were caught before. All were hanged.

In 1811, the German Coast Uprising involved as many as 500 armed enslaved people marching on New Orleans for "Freedom or Death." They seized the Andry Plantation mansion, wounding the owner and killing his son. They burned other plantations en route to New Orleans. In response, a white militia killed several insurgents in battle, hunted down and killed several others, and tried and executed the rest of the captured. As in the aftermath of the Stono Rebellion, the executed were decapitated and their heads staked to deter other such attempts.

In 1822, Denmark Vessey, a formerly enslaved carpenter and leading member of his African Methodist Episcopal Church, planned for his followers to slay their enslavers and march on Charleston but the plot was leaked by a few who likely feared for their own lives. Over 130 people were arrested, 67 were convicted and 35, including Vessey, were executed. Vessey became revered as a martyr for abolition.

The Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831 Virginia was led by Turner, an enslaved man, who believed he was doing God's will by taking the weapons owned by enslavers and using them against them. Turner and his allies took the lives of approximately 55 white enslavers and family members. This was the deadliest of the rebellions by enslaved people. When whites regained control, they killed more than 60 resistors without trial and later tried the remaining 30 or so suspected insurgents condemning them to death. Although 19 were executed, a dozen sentences were commuted by the governor. Turner himself had escaped but was caught within two months of the uprising. He was tried and executed. His voluntary confession was published after his death.

Aboard the *Amistad* (a Spanish ship whose name means "friendship") in 1838, 53 captive Africans bound for Cuba revolted, killing the captain and most of the crew, eventually landing on Long Island. The United States federal government seized the "cargo," then tried, convicted and sent them all to prison for piracy and murder. Spain pressured President Van Buren to forward the enslaved to Cuba as Spanish property but the district court ruled that they were free men in Africa and, therefore, not Spanish property. The U.S. Government appealed the case to the Supreme Court. Former President John Quincy Adams defended the Africans' freedom and ultimately the captives were returned to their homeland.

In 1848, with the help of free blacks and abolitionist whites, 77 freedom seekers escaped from Washington, D.C. aboard a schooner called *The Pearl*. Unfavorable winds allowed the ship to be captured and brought back to Washington. The "Washington Riot" ensued and angry enslavers attacked the building where the anti-slavery newspaper, *The New Era*, was produced. The enslaved were sold farther down south and the white accomplices were tried. Two were found guilty for aiding an escape and illegally transporting a slave. Subsequently, the Compromise of 1850 was enacted by Congress to end the slave trade in the District of Columbia, although it did not abolish slavery there.

Abolitionism



William Still, Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom by Wilbur Henry Siebert, 1898



Sojourner Truth, carte de visite, 1894, WikiCommons

Although the Founding Fathers spoke and wrote in the Declaration of Independence about natural or unalienable rights and equal protection under the law, slavery was fully embedded in the nation. The Bill of Rights ratified in 1791 also included language in the Eighth Amendment against “cruel and unusual punishment.”

Quakers were among the earliest to denounce slavery and organize abolitionist groups. Their firm belief that all humans are equal in the eyes of God meant that slavery was morally wrong and prevented the enslaved from their God-given right to cultivate their “Inner Light” and be productive for their own sake. The Grimké sisters—Sarah and Angelina—grew up in the South but moved North and became closely associated with the Philadelphia Quakers in part because of the slavery they witnessed in the South. They were also aligned with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as women’s rights and abolition activists. The Grimkés repeatedly filed anti-slavery petitions to legally abolish slavery.

Sojourner Truth was born into slavery in 1797 as Isabella (Belle) Baumfree in Ulster County, New York. She escaped into freedom with her baby daughter in 1826. In 1828, she went to court to gain custody of her son and was the first black woman to win a groundbreaking case against a white enslaver. Later taking the name Sojourner Truth, she made it her life’s mission to speak out against slavery. Her most famous speech was “Ar’n’t I a Woman?” delivered at the Women’s Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, on May 29, 1851.

Harriet Tubman was an abolition activist who was born into slavery as Araminta Ross in Maryland in 1820. In 1849, she escaped to freedom in Philadelphia and changed her name. She used the network of abolitionists and safe places known as the Underground Railroad to guide several groups of enslaved family and friends to freedom. Tubman also served as a nurse, cook, laundress, spy and scout during the Civil War. She was a lifelong humanitarian and civil rights activist who put her own life in danger to deliver many to the freedom they sought.

William Still was born in 1821 to formerly enslaved parents in New Jersey. He moved to Philadelphia in 1847 and kept records for the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, also becoming an active agent on the Underground Railroad. In 1872, Still published *The Underground Railroad Records*, a collection of narratives of those enslaved whom he and his network helped to free.

William Lloyd Garrison was a journalist and abolitionist from Massachusetts. He was best known as the editor and founder of *The Liberator*, an abolitionist newspaper, which he began in 1831. He was also one of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society. For a brief time Garrison was associated with the American Colonization Society, an organization that believed free blacks should emigrate to a territory on the west coast of Africa known as Liberia. He soon quit this society when it became obvious that most members only wanted to exile free blacks in the country to preserve the institution of slavery.

John Brown from Connecticut was another abolitionist who saw militancy rather than pacifism as the solution. He practiced guerilla abolitionism in Kansas but is best known for his 1859 raid on Harper’s Ferry, Virginia. There Brown assembled five blacks and sixteen whites to raid the federal armory and arsenal at Harpers Ferry. When Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived, he killed many of the raiders and captured Brown. Tried and charged with treason, murder and slave insurrection, Brown was subsequently hanged on December 2, 1859.

Abolitionist Frederick Douglass became an orator, writer and social reformer after he escaped slavery in Maryland. He wrote several autobiographical books about his experiences including his 1845 *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, My Bondage and My Freedom* in 1855 and, lastly, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* first published in 1881.

The majority of abolitionists were free black Northerners and white women but their total numbers were little more than one percent of the total population.

Defenders of an Inhumane Institution



From Bible Defence of Slavery by Josiah Priest, 1859

Proponents of slavery were typically enslavers themselves. Early arguments for slavery were simplistic and merely to defend against attacks made against the practice. Later arguments or rationalizations were paternalistic, religious and racist suggesting that Africans enslaved in the United States needed the protection of their enslavers. Without that protection there would inevitably be poverty, unrest and mayhem.

In general, arguments for slavery were based upon race, religion, class, practicality or any combination of these factors. While abolitionists viewed slavery as antithetical to Christianity, pro-slavery, biblical literalists cited Hebrew ownership of slaves as precedent, and was further justified through false biblical interpretation.

An additional rationalization was that the enslaved who were “taken care of” by their enslavers were better off than “wage slaves” or free workers living in poverty with no “safety net.” Advocates for slavery touted that the free food, clothing, housing and medical attention provided, however inadequate, gave them the advantage over the free working poor.

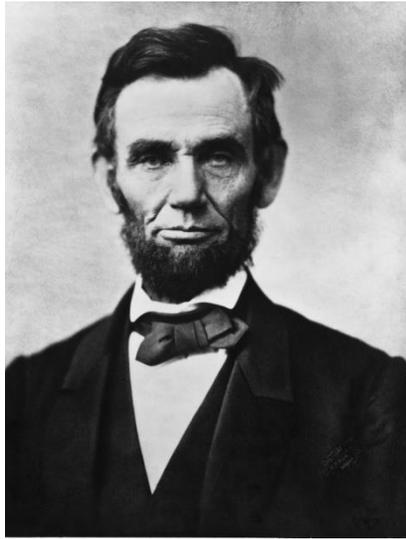
Defenders of slavery often argued that it maintained the higher social order and conservatism of a more civilized society. It certainly enabled a Southern aristocracy to thrive and shaped the Southern way of living. Thomas Jefferson, who famously wrote, “all men are created equal” in the Declaration of Independence, enslaved Africans at his palatial Monticello home and at the White House. They worked the plantation and waited on the Jefferson family at Monticello. Jefferson infamously fathered children with Sally Heming, an enslaved household servant and lady’s maid on Jefferson’s estate. He was not the only slaveholding president though. Presidents George Washington, James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, John Tyler, James K. Polk and Zachary Taylor all enslaved Africans while in office. Slavery was an institution of power and powerful people protected it to protect profits.

Some laws and court rulings, including the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act signed into law by President Millard Fillmore bolstered the pro-slavery cause. The Fugitive Slave Act enacted strict requirements for the return of runaways to their enslavers and was enforceable by federal marshals. Freedom seekers apprehended anywhere in the United States had to be returned if they were known to have been formerly enslaved. There was no due process for the enslaved and authorities could arrest any suspect and return them to slave territory—whether the person was free or not. This political move by Fillmore was to appease the South and avoid secession.

In 1857, the Dred Scott case also played into the hands of Southern enslavers. Supreme Court Chief Justice Taney wrote the majority decision that defined enslaved people not as citizens, but property who were bound to the laws of their home state regardless of where they went in the country. The 1820 Missouri Compromise, that attempted to retain the balance between slave states and non-slave states by admitting Maine as a free state into the Union to counterbalance admitting Missouri as a slave state, was declared unconstitutional.

Abolishing slavery was not just a lost investment. In the United States where enslavers and other free people lived in the same community as the enslaved, the end of slavery marked the end of Southern culture. Defenders fought abolition because, as they saw it, their way of living was being attacked.

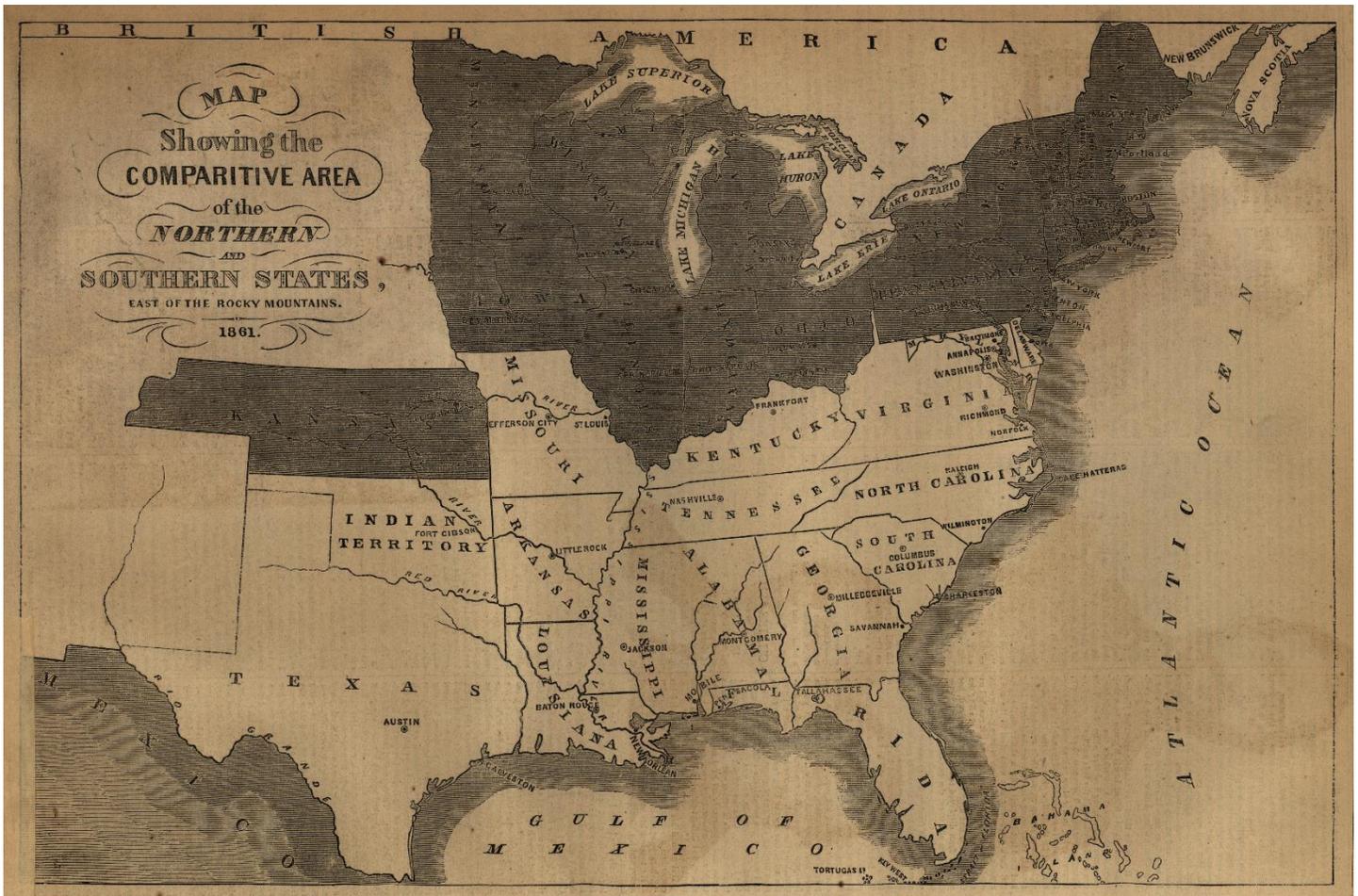
Abraham Lincoln and the Country Divided



Abraham Lincoln, 1863

Abraham Lincoln did not agree with the enslavement of people but did believe that the Constitution protected the institution in the states where it was established. Lincoln ran for office in 1860 on a platform of non-expansion and containment of slavery. In his own words in an 1860 letter to a Confederate leader Lincoln wrote, “You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted.” The Civil War was portrayed as a war for Southern independence but declarations from the seceding states made it clear that slavery was the central reason. Abraham Lincoln, elected president in 1860, sought to preserve the Union as the country entered the war in 1861 by initially allowing slavery to continue in the South but not allowing it to expand. As the war continued, enslaved persons escaped to join the Union side of the battle. Eventually an estimated 180,000 black soldiers served, of whom 98,500 were formerly enslaved. Although other nations supported the Confederate ideal of fighting for freedom and self-determination, Lincoln wanted the world to know that the war was really about slavery and that emancipation had to be the goal.

Emancipation Proclamation and the March toward Freedom



From Harpers Weekly, February 23, 1861

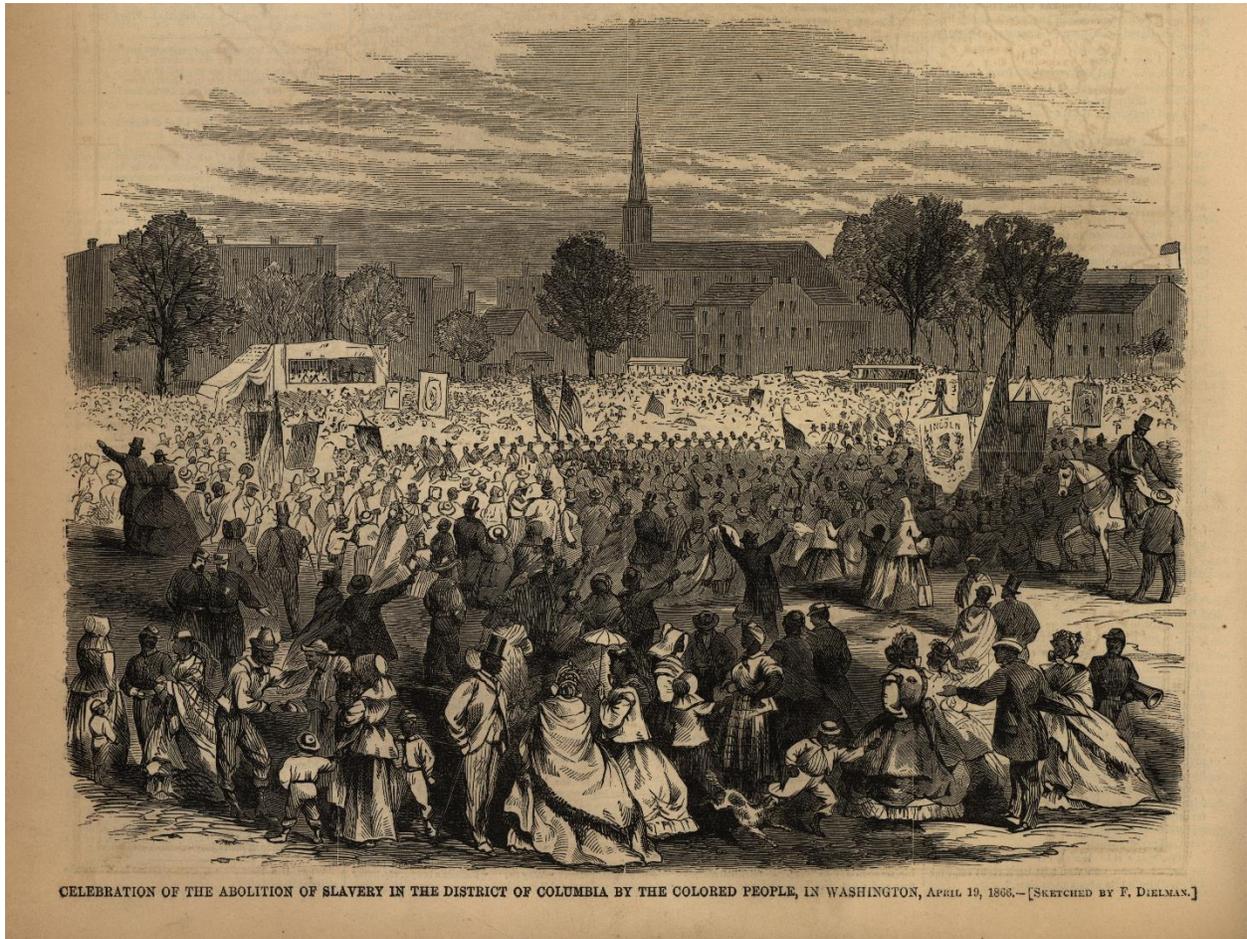
Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, an executive order, went into effect on January 1, 1863 freeing all slaves only in the areas of rebellion. Although many falsely understand that this proclamation freed all slaves, it did not free enslaved persons in states that the North then controlled. Freedom was promised only to those in the rebellious states and it was contingent on the North winning the war. The Proclamation invited the enslaved in Confederate States to come join the Union troops and fight to win the freedom promised. Although the Emancipation Proclamation did not end slavery, it achieved several other goals. It made clear to the world that the South's primary motivation was to protect institutional slavery. It created a much-needed new supply of Union soldiers. Lastly, it *started* to emancipate the enslaved in this country. The 98,500 formerly enslaved soldiers and sailors who fought for freedom in the Union army became both the liberated and the liberators. Self-emancipation gave these freedom seekers some control over their own destiny.

Prior legislation paved the way for the Emancipation Proclamation. The First (1861) Confiscation Act made it legal for the Union to confiscate enslaved persons from their enslavers. The Second (1862) Confiscation Act freed all who were enslaved by the Confederacy. The Militia Act (1862) made it legal for black men to serve in the army and Frederick Douglass wrote an editorial persuading people to do so.

However, the Fugitive Slave Act was not repealed until 1864.

Not until June 19, 1865, when Union soldiers delivered the news to people in Galveston, Texas that the war had ended and that the enslaved were now free, was there finally true emancipation in the United States. The celebration that started there and spread throughout the country is known as Juneteenth. When the Thirteenth Amendment was passed by Congress in January 1865 and ratified in December 1865, slavery was finally made illegal and all enslaved became fully free persons. This was two and a half years after President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation - which had become official January 1, 1863.

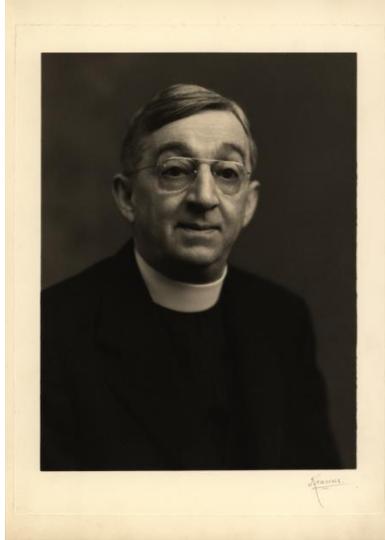
By the time of emancipation, the United States enslaved population had grown to six times the number forcibly transported here from Africa. In 1866, the Civil Rights Act was passed, guaranteeing the rights of United States citizens to hold property and enjoy equal protection under the law. Finally, the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868, strengthening the Civil Rights Act and giving citizenship to all native born and naturalized persons, and equal protection under the law.



From Harper's Weekly, May 12, 1866

The Library's History of Slavery Collection

Msgr. James B. Bray, rare book collector and donor

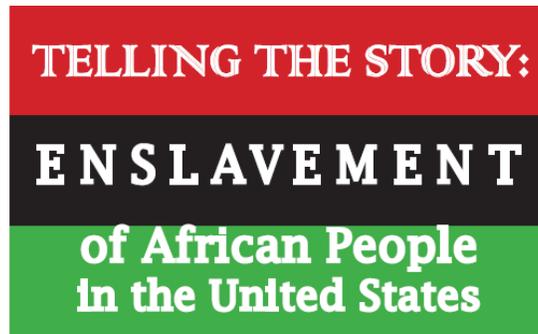


Portrait of Msgr. James Bray courtesy of the Archives of the Diocese of Buffalo

On January 11, 1952, the Right Reverend Monsignor James Bray [1873 – 1964] presented the Grosvenor Library (this library's predecessor) a collection of materials he had amassed that provided the foundation of the History of Slavery Collection—mostly in the United States. The collection has since grown to over 750 titles.

A Western New York priest for his entire 50-year career, Msgr. James B. Bray was also an authority on Western New York history and a rare book collector. While pastorate at the Holy Name of Jesus Church on Bailey Avenue in Buffalo, Bray belonged to a distinguished group of book collectors known as the Salisbury Club. They formed in 1950 and held their meetings at the Grosvenor Library. Msgr. Bray collected over 2,000 rare books—mostly Americana—and later disbanded his collections, donating them to various libraries in the region including, of course, this Grosvenor Library. This is how the Library's History of Slavery Collection first formed.

Telling the Story: The Enslavement of Africans in the United States



As Frederick Douglass so aptly put it, “Slavery is the great test question of our age and nation.” In many ways it still is, as our country is still dealing with the repercussions of the systematic and institutional enslavement of Africans. This Rare Book Room exhibit seeks to highlight its History of Slavery Collection and, perhaps more ambitiously, to provoke constructive dialog about our country’s history of enslavement and its continuing aftermath.