

# Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange

*Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590–1867*

*Edited by*

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# Contents

Acknowledgements	IX
List of Graphs, Maps and Tables	XI
List of Abbreviations	XIII
List of Contributors	XIV

1	Introduction	
	<i>The South Atlantic Slave Trade in Historical Perspective</i>	1
	<i>David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva</i>	
2	Brazil's Colonial Economy and the Atlantic Slave Trade	
	<i>Supply and Demand</i>	31
	<i>Gustavo Acioli Lopes</i>	
3	Private Businessmen in the Angolan Trade, 1590s to 1780s	
	<i>Insurance, Commerce and Agency</i>	71
	<i>Filipa Ribeiro da Silva</i>	
4	Angola and the Seventeenth-Century South Atlantic Slave Trade	101
	<i>Arlindo Manuel Caldeira</i>	
5	Trade Networks in Benguela, 1700–1850	143
	<i>Mariana P. Candido</i>	
6	Slave Trade Networks in Eighteenth-Century Mozambique	165
	<i>José Capela</i>	
7	Trans-Cultural Exchange at Malemba Bay	
	<i>The Voyages of Fregatschip Prins Willem V, 1755 to 1771</i>	195
	<i>Stacey Sommerdyk</i>	
8	Measuring Short- and Long-Term Impacts of Abolitionism in the South Atlantic, 1807–1860s	221
	<i>Roquinaldo Ferreira</i>	
	Bibliography	239
	Index	267

# Brazil's Colonial Economy and the Atlantic Slave Trade

## *Supply and Demand<sup>1</sup>*

*Gustavo Acioli Lopes*

Several decades ago the historian Gilberto Freyre identified three key features at the heart of colonial Brazilian society: large-scale landownership, monoculture and slavery. Huge rural estates producing sugar cane with the use of forced African labour were, for Freyre, at the core of the new society, determining its prevailing features.<sup>2</sup> Since then, historical research in and on Brazil has continued to advance in both quantity and quality. It is fair to say that advances in historiography have deepened and amplified the picture that Freyre sketched, emphasizing new features and characteristics. These developments have not contradicted the weight that Freyre attached to forced labor nor to sugar's role in colonial Brazil's economy, but they have enriched our understanding of this epoch in Brazil's history.<sup>3</sup>

Developments in public understanding in the last 20 years or so of Brazil's colonial history have not passed completely unnoticed by historians of the classical school. But analysis of colonial Brazil has become more diversified in terms of overall approach and in respect to new issues previously largely unaddressed by researchers. Among the last, while not ignoring sugar, historians have focused particularly on tobacco growing and gold mining.<sup>4</sup>

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1 I would like to thank Maximiliano M. Menz for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this chapter. His suggestions were very valuable. I also acknowledge Gwen Midlo Hall for answering many questions and providing me with useful material on the debate concerning the Atlantic slave trade. Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to Chris Ebert for his generosity.

2 Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (São Paulo: Círculo do Livro, 1980), 60, 70–71.

3 Drawing on a long-standing methodological approach followed by Brazilian historians, we will be using here the concept of 'colonial economy' to refer to Brazil's linkage to the slave trade up to 1850 regardless of the political independence of Brazil from Portugal and its empire. On this definition of "colonial economy," see: Caio Prado Júnior, *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1961), 19–32; Jacob Gorender, *O Escravismo Colonial* (São Paulo: Ática, 1978), 170.

4 The first studies on the Brazilian colonial economy have not hitherto ignored the relevance of those branches for the colonial economy, especially in eighteenth century, since the widely

It has taken time for the significance of tobacco growing and gold mining to attract due attention in clarifying not only their quantitative importance in terms of Brazilian output and exports but also in assessing their impact on work and ownership relationships in these economic sectors as well as their broader repercussions for neighbouring regions and the colonial, metropolitan, and Atlantic economies as a whole. Today, however, a deeper understanding is now possible about the role of each of colonial Brazil's economic sectors in demanding African slaves and in shaping the chronological and geographic patterns of the transatlantic slave trade to Brazil, even though quantitative data on the slave traffic before the latter half of seventeenth century are still limited.

The issue of the number of African slaves disembarked in Brazil throughout the era of the transatlantic slave trade has been tackled by Portuguese-speaking scholars and other researchers since the nineteenth century. We may distinguish at least two phases in the historiography of the Luso-Brazilian slave trade. The first one is characterized by a broad approach to the slave trade, which seeks to comprehend its overall duration but does not distinguish slave flows to each captaincy or the African regions whence the slaves came. The authors of such studies barely resorted to original sources. Among the estimates they produced, the one elaborated by Pandiá Calógeras was very influential. Calógeras suggested that 8,000,000 to 9,000,000 enslaved Africans were imported into Brazil in the years 1650–1850.<sup>5</sup>

The second phase of the debate on the Luso-Brazilian slave trade started when more sophisticated approaches were adopted concerning existing hypotheses, as well as the geography of slaves' African origins and Brazilian ports of disembarkation. The second phase was also marked by greater use of original sources in deriving estimates of patterns of trade. In short, scholars have increasingly worked with primary records and more refined analytical tools.

However, the main feature of this second phase in the historiography, which started in the 1930s, is the fact that the pioneers of new methodologies defined the guiding hypotheses for subsequent researchers, as we note below. Reacting

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known work by Antonil mentioned both as well as cattle breeding in the early eighteenth century. See, for instance, Prado Junior's classical work, Prado Junior, *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo*.

5 João Pandiá Calógeras, *A Política Externa do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1927), 1: 301–302. The author's figures were not based on primary sources, but rather on "row estimates," calculated using the size and the (negative) natural increase of Brazil's slave population on the eve of Abolition (1888). To offset for slave smuggling which he judged equal to the official disembarkation figures, the author used a multiplier.

against what they considered as exaggerated claims, researchers started more closely to relate the Portuguese slave trade to trends in Brazil's colonial economy in order to track its quantitative features. Using a variety of procedures, these new researchers put forward figures which clearly differed from those previously accepted as reflecting the scale of the Luso-Brazilian slave trade. Roberto Simonsen – who was the founder of this second phase in research – took as his main assumption that imports of slave labour should conform to the level of colonial production, or to put it another way, that slave labour imports were a function of commodity trade exports.<sup>6</sup> This assumption has since guided other researchers in their attempts to create better estimates of the Luso-Brazilian slave trade. However, later scholars have challenged the assumption of Simonsen and his followers, as we shall see.

In what follows, we focus on estimates of Brazil's slave imports during the Atlantic slave trade era calculated by several researchers. We also present an outline of current knowledge on the colonial economy with which that human traffic was interlinked, seeking to comprehend its distinct fields and productive sectors. Each period is viewed against secular trends, even though we try to make clear the distinct conjunctures in which the colonial economy was entangled.

### Sugar: the Cradle of Colonization

We should start with sugar, since this commodity was the pivotal crop of the New World Portuguese colony for almost one and a half century, being the cornerstone of Brazil's economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One may assert that the transatlantic slave trade grew in tandem with sugar production in the eastern Atlantic Islands and its ultimate migration to the Americas. There were failed projects that aimed to turn Angola into a sugar-producing and exporting captaincy.<sup>7</sup> Eventually, however, large-scale sugar production migrated during the sixteenth century from the eastern Atlantic islands off Africa to Portuguese American coastal territories.<sup>8</sup> As Luiz Felipe de

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6 Roberto C. Simonsen, *História Econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1962), 133–135.

7 David Birmingham, *Trade and conflict in Angola: the Mbundu and their neighbours under the influence of the Portuguese, 1483–1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 45–47; David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 142–144.

8 Stuart B. Schwartz, *Segredos Internos: Engenhos e escravos na sociedade colonial* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1999), 24–39.

MAP 2.1 *Brazil*

Author: Gustavo Acioli Lopes, 2013

Alencastro asserted, São Tomé was the “tropical laboratory,” where the pattern of colonization that was eventually developed in Brazil was established: a seasonal crop, produced with techniques and slave labour from abroad, that is, the plantation model, the output of which was destined for overseas markets.<sup>9</sup>

9 Even though Madeira had been very important as a pathway for sugar’s transfer from the Mediterranean shores to the New World, the pattern of slave-based production was not established there. See: Alberto Vieira, “Sugar Islands: The Sugar Economy of Madeira and the Canaries, 1450–1650,” in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Tropical Babels: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 56–61.

The American lands under formal Portuguese jurisdiction were actually settled in the early 1530s, when the Portuguese crown established the hereditary captaincies system.<sup>10</sup> Map 2.1 charts that system. Only a couple of *donatários* (recipients of captaincies) initially conquered parts of the land they were granted. Pernambuco (or New Lusitania) was the most successful, thanks to the sugar cane crop, by the mid-1530s. Bahia began to match Pernambuco only after Salvador Town (in the northeast of the Recôncavo) became the General Governor's headquarters in 1548, with sugar production thereafter being sponsored by the Portuguese monarchy. Thus, Brazil began to demand African slave labour only from the middle of sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup> By the turn of the century, it had become the leading sugar producer and exporter in the world.<sup>12</sup> The number of sugar mills is a good guide to the increasing sugar production: between 1570 and 1629, the number of mills leapt from 60 to 349. Almost half were in Pernambuco (150) and in the other northern captaincies of Alagoas, Paraíba and Rio Grande do Norte. Map 2.2 notes Portuguese settlements in Pernambuco.

It has been a hard task for scholars to ascertain the number of slaves carried from Africa to Brazil before 1600. On the one hand, the sources available for this period are scanty; on the other, most slaves recorded as taken from Africa in Portuguese slave ships in the second half of the sixteenth century were

10 For a careful analysis of the system and its specificities in Brazil, see: António Saldanha, *As capitanias do Brasil: antecedentes, desenvolvimento e extinção de um fenómeno atlântico* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2001).

11 A comprehensive survey of Brazil's sugar society in the sixteenth century can be found in Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*, 21–72. The grantee of Pernambuco, Duarte Coelho, wrote to the king in the 1540s, requiring a licence to import African slaves. See: J.A. Gonsalves de Mello and Cleonir X. Albuquerque, eds., *Cartas de Duarte Coelho a El Rei* (Recife: Imprensa Universitária, 1967), 29–33.

12 Frédéric Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico, 1570–1670* (Lisboa: Estampa, 1997), 244–253; Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 26. The origin of sugar traded in Antwerp, the main port for the re-export of overseas commodities in the sixteenth century, clearly shows the rise of Brazil's sugar in the European market: in 1570 São Tomé island supplied 70 percent of the sugar disembarked in that port, whereas Brazil's sugar made up only 15 percent; however, in the years 1590–1599, Brazil's sugar represented 86 percent and imports from São Tomé only two percent. Eddy Stols, "The expansion of the sugar market in Western Europe," in Schwartz, ed., *Tropical Babels*, 260. In the major Northwestern European sugar importing ports of Antwerp, Amsterdam and Hamburg, Brazilian sugar outstripped Atlantic Island supplies by 1610. Christopher Ebert, *Between Empires: Brazilian Sugar in the Early Atlantic Economy, 1550–1630* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 7, 12.



MAP 2.2 *Pernambuco*  
 Author: Gustavo Acioli Lopes, 2013

destined for Spanish America, particularly what is today Peru and Mexico, rather than for Brazil. Relying on contemporary observers who reported the number of slaves alive in Pernambuco and Bahia (the only captaincies with sizeable African slave populations at the time) scholars have nevertheless speculated that some 50,000 slaves disembarked in Brazil between 1550 and 1600. This has become a commonly accepted figure.<sup>13</sup> For the settlement of Bahia in the colonial era, see Map 2.3.

13 Maurício Goulart, *A Escravidão Africana no Brasil: Das origens à extinção do tráfico* (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1950); Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico*, 241; Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: a Census* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 206–207. Mauro put forward this figure as relating only to 1575–1600, while Goulart assigns it to the entire second half of the sixteenth century.



As regards the African regional origin of those slaves, most scholars have pointed to West Africa as the overwhelming source of Brazil's slave labour until late sixteenth century. The Portuguese referred to that region as *Guiné* (Guinea).<sup>14</sup> It comprised Senegambia (between Senegal and the Sierra Leone Rivers), in which Bissau and Cacheu, two "Portuguese" ports, were located and the offshore Cape Verde Islands. The share of Bantu people from West-Central Africa tended to grow, but only in the late sixteenth century. Originating largely from Congo and Angola, the slaves were embarked at Mpinda and Luanda harbours, or in some cases, through São Tomé.<sup>15</sup>

Information from the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Dataset 2* (hereafter TSTD2) depicts, however, a different picture of the coastal origins of enslaved Africans entering Brazil before 1600.<sup>16</sup> It suggests that 80 percent of the slaves carried away from Africa in the period 1519–1600 came from West-Central Africa.<sup>17</sup> Given that the Portuguese overwhelmingly controlled the Atlantic slave trade at this time, Brazil would thus seem to have got as many slaves from Angola as Spanish America, which was then the main point of disembarkation of enslaved Africans.<sup>18</sup> The evidence in TSTD2 has, nevertheless, been questioned, notably by Gwendolyn M. Hall, who argues that it underestimates the share of Africans from Senegambia embarked as slaves between 1540 and 1640. She claims that underestimate stems from mis-identification of the geographical origin of the slaves, mainly due to the fact that, because *Guiné* and *Rios da Guiné* were not seen as precise regions of supply, slaves coming from such places were classified as having an *unknown origin*.<sup>19</sup> Hall's argument was

14 Between the mid-fifteenth and the late sixteenth century, the term *Guiné* was synonymous of Africa for the Portuguese.

15 Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 110–112; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 80–88.

16 An updated version of the same database can be accessed on [www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org). The new data added since 1999 concerned mainly the Luso-Brazilian slave trade; David Eltis and David Richardson, "A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays in the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2008), 6–7.

17 Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, 33, 44, table 2.

18 Daniel D.B. Silva and David Eltis, "The Slave Trade to Pernambuco, 1561–1851," in Eltis and Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers*, 114.

19 Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, 85–88. Hall resorts to data on the origin of slaves in Peru and Mexico (1560–1650) and to data regarding the Portuguese *asiento*, in addition to contemporary reports. For the former data, her basis is Frederic P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974).

anticipated by Curtin some years ago.<sup>20</sup> But if the suggestions of TSTD2 are accepted, consensus on the ethnicity of Africans entering Brazil in the second half of the sixteenth century evidently breaks down.<sup>21</sup>

In this period, however, it is evident that Native Americans made up most of coerced workers in the sugar mills of Brazil.<sup>22</sup> The transition in this branch of colonial industry from Indian captives to African slaves came about between 1590 and 1620.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, West-Central Africa, namely Congo and Angola, increasingly became the major source of slaves for the Portuguese traders, particularly between 1560 and 1620.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the seventeenth century, sugar was still Brazil's major export crop. Moreover, Rio de Janeiro joined Pernambuco and Bahia among the sugar exporting captaincies, holding the third position by volume of exports. However, Brazil's sugar economy underwent several hardships at this time. In the first half of the seventeenth century, issues concerning the marketing of sugar and European politics combined to hit hard Portugal's American economy. Underpinning them were trends in sugar prices, which in the 1620s began to reverse the long upward trend since the late fifteenth century, a process that marked the closing of "the

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20 Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 103–112.

21 In the two Spanish American ports which imported slaves legally in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Upper Guinea slaves were the largest group of slaves disembarked (accounting for more than 90 percent) in the years 1585 and 1590, while, at 48.4 percent, they slightly outnumbered the share of slaves from Angola landed between 1626 and 1633. In New Spain, Angolan slaves made up two thirds of slaves intended to be landed in the years 1612 and 1622, according to slave licences issued by the Spanish crown. These conclusions are supported by figures concerning the activities of the major slave merchant supplying Spanish America in the early seventeenth century, Manuel Bautista Pérez. Relying upon this information and other slave trading data, two scholars recently claimed that the transition from Upper Guinea slaves to slaves from West-Central Africa (mainly from Angola) in Spanish America was still ongoing in the second decade of seventeenth century. Linda A. Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 47, 61–63, 66–67, table 2.4.

22 On the transition from barter to slavery as the way the Portuguese settlers came by Indian labour, see: Alexander Marchant, *Do Escambo à Escravidão. As relações econômicas dos portugueses e índios na colonização do Brasil, 1500–1580* (São Paulo: Nacional, 1943); John Hemming, *Ouro Vermelho. A Conquista dos Índios Brasileiros* (São Paulo: Edusp, 1995).

23 Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*, 51–72. This conclusion relies upon Bahian data; likely, the same was true regarding Pernambuco, but not Rio de Janeiro.

24 Birmingham, *Trade and conflict in Angola*, 42–43, 79–81; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 141.

long sixteenth century”<sup>25</sup> and for some historians represented the starting point of the general crisis of the seventeenth century.<sup>26</sup> The consequences of that crisis were to be strongly felt in Brazil only in the latter half of the century, in part because troubles within the main sugar producing captaincies of Brazil earlier in the century initially overshadowed the effects of the more general crisis on the colony. We can now survey the earlier half of the century, including the slave trade to Brazil at that time, taking 1654 as our end point.



MAP 2.3 *Bahia*  
Author: Gustavo Acioli Lopes, 2013

25 Fernand Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 79.

26 The debate on the nature and scope of the crisis is very wide; besides Ruggiero Romano, *Conjuncturas Opuestas* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura, 1993), see also: the insightful survey by Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1974).

In the sixteenth century, the Dutch were the main distributors and refiners of Brazilian sugar in Europe.<sup>27</sup> Owing to the struggles between the United Provinces and the Spanish Habsburgs, who took over the Portuguese crown in 1580, the Dutch were deprived of direct access to Brazilian sugar at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>28</sup> In addition to piracy and privateering against Iberian shipping, the Dutch West India Company (hereafter WIC) tried to encroach on the colonial territories in Brazil. After conquering and then losing Bahia in 1624–1625, the WIC was more successful in Pernambuco in 1630–1637, extending its sovereignty from Sergipe to Maranhão.<sup>29</sup> These events had significant short-term effects on sugar prices, delaying what otherwise would have been potentially the onset of a prolonged fall in prices. This was largely due to damage to Brazilian sugar mills caused by Dutch conquest and hence restraints on the level of sugar supply.<sup>30</sup> Prices for Brazilian sugar in Lisbon and Antwerp showed the same trend from 1577 through 1630: increasing up to 1613–1615, turning downward from then to 1624, but then recovering again in the ensuing years.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout the years of war in 1630–1637 and 1647–1654, Pernambuco continued exporting sugar, though its volume was reduced. Simultaneously, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro profited from rising sugar prices linked to problems facing Pernambuco's sugar supply.<sup>32</sup> This is not to say that Brazil was completely isolated from the emerging economic turnaround in Europe, because the fall in

27 Stols, "The Expansion of the Sugar Market in Western Europe," 259, 271–272. On the growing importance of Lisbon's re-exports to Amsterdam's external trade, see: Christopher Ebert, "Dutch trade with Brazil before the Dutch West India Company, 1587–1621," in Johannes Postma and Victor Enthoven, eds., *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585–1817* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 57–58, 68–69, table 3.2; see also: Ebert, *Between Empires*, 36–37, 173–174.

28 On the impact of the Habsburg's trade embargoes imposed on the United Provinces in 1585–1590, 1598–1603 and 1604–1609, see: Ebert, "Dutch Trade with Brazil," 60–63.

29 The historiography on this theme is large; for a good introduction, see: Charles Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002), 115–130. For recent approaches, see: José Manuel Santos Pérez and George F. Cabral de Souza, eds., *El Desafío Holandés al Dominio Ibérico en Brasil en el Siglo XVII* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006).

30 Leonor Freire Costa, *O Transporte no Atlântico e a Companhia Geral do Comércio do Brasil (1580–1663)* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2002).

31 Ebert, *Between Empires*, 159–162, tables 8.5 and 8.6.

32 Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Olinda Restaurada: Guerra e açúcar no Nordeste, 1650–1654* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1998), Chapter 3.

sugar prices in European markets in 1615–1624 was the root of the conflict between the Portuguese and the WIC in Pernambuco, and which continued until the ultimate expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil in 1654.<sup>33</sup>

Patterns of slave imports into Brazil during the first half of the seventeenth century reflected these wider political changes. During the period of Dutch control, slaves were primarily supplied by the WIC.<sup>34</sup> Overall estimates of imports vary for the first half of the century. Goulart estimated that slave imports ranged from 300,000 to 350,000 slaves, primarily to meet sugar production. As a result, he assumed slave imports corresponded to the colony's export trends.<sup>35</sup> Mauro, however, estimated that no more than 200,000 slaves were imported in the same period.<sup>36</sup>

The best known and most reliable figures concerning this period come from the WIC's slave trade to Brazil from 1630. Ernest van den Boogaart and Pieter Emmer revised existing data.<sup>37</sup> In doing so, they presented an upward revision, which has since been corroborated by newer data, though with a slight increase in the grand total.<sup>38</sup> Regarding the period before 1630, Dutch sources report Pernambuco's slave imports only for 1620–1623.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, when figures relating to the whole of Brazil were reviewed, drawing analogies between slave imports into the British Caribbean during its sugar revolution later in the century and Brazil before 1650, it seems unlikely that the number of slaves

33 According to Mello, the downturn of sugar prices in the European market undermined the policy of Nassau, the Governor of Dutch Brazil between 1638 to 1646, of granting generous loans to Portuguese sugar growers. Mello, *Olinda Restaurada*, 344–347.

34 Ernest van den Boogaart and Pieter C. Emmer, "The Dutch Participation in Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596–1650," in Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1979), 353–375; Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 97–99; Silva and Eltis, "The Slave Trade to Pernambuco," 98–99. In this same period, the Dutch conquered the Portuguese fortress of São Jorge da Mina (present-day Elmina, Ghana) and Angola, holding the former until the nineteenth century, but losing the latter in 1648.

35 Goulart, *A Escravidão Africana no Brasil*, 122; the author estimates this figure as the upper limit, and maybe an overestimation.

36 Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico*, 240.

37 Hermman Wätjen, *O Domínio Colonial Holandês no Brasil: Um capítulo da história colonial no século XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938), 485–487. According to this author, 23,163 slaves were imported in Brazil between 1636 and 1645.

38 Boogaart and Emmer, "The Dutch Participation in Atlantic Slave Trade," 369; Silva and Eltis, "The Slave Trade to Pernambuco," 98–99, based on the TSTD2.

39 David Eltis, Stephen Behrendt and David Richardson, "A participação dos países da Europa e das Américas no tráfico transatlântico de escravos: novas evidências," *Afro-Ásia* 24 (2000): 27–28.

disembarked in Brazil in 1601–1650 was greater than in the British Caribbean in the second half of the century. On this basis, it is likely that 150,000 slaves were imported in Brazil in 1601–1650.<sup>40</sup>

In the second half of seventeenth century, Brazil's sugar production was hit by rival and growing British and French Caribbean supply from the "sugar islands"<sup>41</sup> to the European market. This started in 1640s, but gathered momentum during the following decades.<sup>42</sup> This depressed sugar and other colonial commodity prices in Portugal and Europe, and in Brazil itself, brought about the first major sugar economy crisis.<sup>43</sup>

The price of tithes in the major captaincies reveals the hardships associated with sugar exports in this period.<sup>44</sup> Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro tithe contract prices varied between bad and good years for sugar, but generally underwent a downward trend or at best stagnation in value after the mid-1650s. In Pernambuco, there was some recovery from about 1680, with tithe values exceeding those of mid-century but being lower than the early century.<sup>45</sup> At Rio de Janeiro, where tithes stagnated between 1660 and 1680 (largely due most likely to Pernambuco's resurgence in sugar production), there seems to have been some recovery in tithe values in late century. At Bahia, the major sugar producing region after the Dutch invasion in Northeast Brazil, stagnation in tithe values occurred after mid-century.<sup>46</sup>

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40 Ibid., 28.

41 Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (New York, NY: Norton, 1973), 204–205, 230; Robin Blackburn, *A Construção do Escravismo no Novo Mundo, 1492–1800* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003), 403.

42 Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 19–20, 59–64; Blackburn, *A Construção do Escravismo*, 282, 383; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, "The Sugar Industry in the Seventeenth Century. A new perspective on the Barbadian 'Sugar Revolution,'" in Schwartz, ed., *Tropical Babels*, 291–292.

43 Vitorino de Magalhães Godinho, "Portugal, as frotas do açúcar e as frotas do ouro (1670–1770)," *Revista de História da Universidade de São Paulo* 15 (1953): 69–88; Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*, 147, 151.

44 The collection of tithes used to be leased out to private collectors in public auction. Usually, leases were granted to the highest bidders.

45 Gustavo Acioli Lopes, "Negócio da Costa da Mina e Comércio Atlântico. Tabaco, Açúcar, Ouro e Tráfico de Escravos: Capitania de Pernambuco (1654–1760)" (unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2007), 23–26; Angelo Carrara, *Receitas e despesas da Real Fazenda no Brasil* (Juiz de Fora, MG: Editora da Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, 2009), 1: 81.

46 In nominal values, Bahia's tithes showed a rising trend in 1650–1686, but in real values (measured in coined gold) there was a stagnant trend; Carrara, *Receitas e despesas da Real Fazenda*, 1:80–81, 85, graphs 2-A and 4.

When one looks at the unstable and troublesome state of Brazil's sugar economy, with weaknesses in production and exports, the estimates by Mauro and Goulart of slave imports in the colony in second half of the seventeenth century seem high. In place of the 325,000 slave arrivals they project between 1651 and 1700,<sup>47</sup> a figure around 177,000 slaves has been proposed.<sup>48</sup> Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, however, has raised questions about this revision and thus of the Luso-Angolan slave trade. He challenges revisionists' assumptions about the extent to which the seventeenth-century crisis entangled the Luso-Atlantic economy and thus helped to diminish the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil. For Alencastro, the export of Brazilian tobacco and sugar cane rum (*jeribita* or *cachaça*) and their exchange for African slaves in Angola allowed Portuguese merchants to sustain slave trafficking at former levels, with the result that some 245,000 Angolan slaves were unloaded in Brazil from 1651 to 1700. The purchasing power of colonial products in Angola and the interference of colonial governors from Brazil in the slavery channels in Angola's interior fostered in effect a growing "brazilianization" of the Brazil-bound slave trade.<sup>49</sup>

Hard data covering the years 1651–1700 are scanty. Alencastro introduced some new figures, notably for 1666 to 1672, into the debate. However, the author on whom he relied for data for these specific years misread the sources.<sup>50</sup> According to Alencastro's source, 73,461 captives were deported from Angola in the seven years noted above, averaging 10,494 per year, but according to a file

47 Goulart, *A Escravidão Africana no Brasil*, 116.

48 Eltis, Behrendt and Richardson, "A participação dos países da Europa e das Américas no tráfico transatlântico," 29.

49 Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: a formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000), 43, 69, 378–380. For critics on this approach, see: José Curto, *Álcool e Escravos. O comércio luso-brasileiro de álcool em Mpinda, Luanda e Benguela durante o tráfico atlântico de escravos (c. 1480–1830) e o seu impacto nas sociedades da África Central Ocidental* (Lisboa: Vulgata, 2002), 155–199; Gustavo Acioli Lopes and Maximiliano M. Menz, "Resgate e Mercadorias: uma análise comparada do Tráfico Luso-Brasileiro de Escravos em Angola e na Costa Da Mina (século XVIII)," *Afro-Ásia* 36 (2008): 43–73. The role of Luso-Brazilian governors in Angola is argued in Miller, *Way of Death*, 256.

50 António Luís Alves Ferronha, "Angola: 10 anos de história: 1666–1676" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1989), 1: 119–120. The source was AHU, Angola, cx. 10, doc. 64: 1672-03-14: 'Relação por maior das contas que o Desembargador Sebastião Cardoso de Sam Payo [...] Sindicante Geral neste Reino de Angolla, e Estado do Brasil tomou [...] aos Procuradores do Senado da Camara desta cidade de Sam Paulo de Assumpção de todo o tempo que administrarão os direitos novos [...]'].

written in Angola,<sup>51</sup> and originating from an official checking the collection of “gifts” for “The Britain Queen and the Dutch Peace,”<sup>52</sup> rather lower numbers were on average exported. Indeed, according to this source, from 1667 to 1671, Luanda exported 30,380 slaves of all ages and gender, or some 6,076 a year. The figures are shown in Table 2.1.

How do we explain this discrepancy? It is likely that in reading the documents, Alencastro’s source conflated “new taxes” levied on slave exports, for which Luanda’s town council rendered account, with the tax of 1\$000 (one thousand *réis*) per slave head tax attached to the “gift.” Two observations help to underline the mistake. First, in 1688, the “new taxes” yielded 12:956\$618 (twelve *contos*, 956,618 *réis*), from which figure it might be assumed that 12,956 slaves were exported, using a “gift” tax rate of 1\$000 reis per slave. This assumption is clearly wrong, however, for it leaves a fraction of the total tax yield unex-

TABLE 2.1 *Slaves exports from Angola, 1667–1670*

Years	(1)	(2)	(1)/(2)
	Slaves	Ships	
1667	5,109	13 <sup>a</sup>	408
1668	6,908	15	461
1669	5,293	14	378
1670	6,461	17	380
1671	6,609	16	413
Total	30,380	75	405

Sources: AHU, *CU, Angola*, cx. 10, doc. 40: 1672-05-24: ‘Papeis pertencentes as contas q se tomarão do donativo, com que estes moradores servem a Vossa Alteza, pera o dote da Senhora. Rainha da Grã Bretanha e pax de Holanda. São Paulo de Assunção [Luanda]’. AHU, *CU, Angola*, cx. 10, doc. 64: ‘Relação por maior das contas que o Desembargador Sebastião Cardoso de Sam Payo [...]’.

Note:

a. According to one source, eleven slave ships departed from Luanda between September 2 and December 31, 1667, and 1,048 slaves were exported before the duty (*subsídio*) has been enforced, that is, from January to August, 1667; while another source certifies that 19 slave vessels cleared from Luanda in the same year.

51 AHU, *Angola*, cx. 10, doc. 40: 1672-05-24: ‘Papeis pertencentes as contas que se tomarão do donativo, com que estes moradores servem a Vossa Alteza que Deus guarde, pera o dote da Senhora Rainha da Gra Bretanha e pax de Holanda. São Paulo de Assunção’.

52 Duties had been levied on the Portuguese colonies to finance the royal wedding of Catarina de Bragança (Princess of Portugal) and the English king, and to pay reparations to the Dutch Republic for losses and damages to the WIC in Brazil, as agreed in the 1662 Peace Treaty.



plained.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, if this value was the same concerning the \$1000 tax, the collected sum would be round, as one may observe regarding the collected tax on slaves exported from 1667 to 1671.<sup>54</sup>

Secondly, if the number of slaves exported from Luanda in the five years from 1667 to 1671 was as Alencastro assumes, then the average number loaded per ship (covering 62 ships) would be 670, and reached a peak of 849 per ship in 1667. Such mean loadings of slaves on Portuguese slave ships seem exceptional and were not subsequently reached until the late eighteenth century.<sup>55</sup> Projections based on such mean loadings of ships would moreover yield estimates for the second half of the seventeenth century that some 520,561 *Angolan* slaves were shipped to Brazil. Bearing in mind that slaves reached Brazil from other sources, as we shall see, such figures are difficult to reconcile with the problems evidently encountered in the sugar sector of the colony. Unfortunately, hard evidence on Angolan exports in this period is confined to 1667–1671, but at just over 6,000 slaves per year, was substantially lower than Alencastro assumed and suggests that upward revisions of slave imports into Brazil in 1651–1700 based on his calculations need to be reassessed.<sup>56</sup>

During the second half of the seventeenth century, Brazil began to import slaves from the Slave Coast of West Africa. This was particularly evident at Bahia and Pernambuco. Slave trading between these Atlantic regions likely

53 That is, 12:956\$618 divided by 1\$000. If this sum was derived from slaves exported, we would exactly have 12:956\$000. Actually, the “new duties” (*novos direitos*) of 3\$000 were levied on Angola’s slave exports; Joseph C. Miller, “Capitalism and Slaving: The Financial and Commercial Organization of the Angolan Slave Trade, according to the Accounts of António Coelho Guerreiro (1684–1692),” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 17:1 (1984): 44; however, the tax collection, according to Goulart, was not a fixed value per slave, but varied in accordance with the slave ship’s destination in its homeward voyage; Goulart, *A Escravidão Africana no Brasil*, 194. The document quoted in footnote 50 seems to support Goulart’s assertion.

54 AHU, *Angola*, cx. 10, doc. 40: 1672-05-24: ‘Papeis pertencentes as contas q se tomarão do donativo [...] pera o dote da Senhora Rainha da Gra Bretanha’. The same can be checked for Bahia and Pernambuco regarding the 10 *tostões* tax (that is, *mil réis*) per slave from *Costa da Mina*, collected to support the Portuguese fortress of Ajudá (Portuguese spelling for Whydah) from 1724. See also: Pierre F. Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo do Tráfico de Escravos entre o Golfo de Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos: dos séculos XVII a XIX* (Salvador: Corrupio, 1987), 161, 163.

55 Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage. Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 27–31.

56 Eltis and Richardson, “A new assessment,” 16–17, table 1.3 and 18; Silva and Eltis, “The slave trade to Pernambuco,” 110. If that average of just over 6,000 for 1667–1671 is extended over the latter half of the century, we get closer to Goulart’s figures.

grew in tandem with growing tobacco cultivation in both Brazilian captaincies, given that at that time Brazilian tobacco became the main item of trade among Portuguese traders to the Slave Coast. In that respect it matched tobacco's importance as an export good to Europe from Brazil in the later seventeenth century.<sup>57</sup> Although no Portuguese or any other European source reports Portuguese slave ships trading at the Slave Coast prior to 1678, it is likely that such trade did exist before that date, though at modest levels.<sup>58</sup> The Portuguese king acknowledged it as a lawful trade in 1677, and a letter from Pernambuco in the same year reported that the main trade taking place in the Slave Coast was the trade "of negroes for Brazil, because without them one cannot raise the sugar mills nor cultivate the crops."<sup>59</sup> This was certainly true regarding Bahia.

We do not have direct evidences of "Mina" (or West African) slaves disembarking in Brazil in the years 1651–1700. Drawing on shipping data, historians initially suggested that 60,800 slaves from the Slave Coast were shipped to Brazil in the last decade of the century.<sup>60</sup> More recent estimates for Bahia by Alexandre Ribeiro have raised that number to 78,484.<sup>61</sup> Both calculations assumed 400 slaves per ship sailing on that route. Data on slave ship voyages as well as tobacco exports from Bahia to the Slave Coast are the source for yet another calculation by Nardi which suggests that only 12,000 slaves may have been imported into Bahia in 1676–1700.<sup>62</sup> This implies that other calculations were gross overestimates. Accordingly to Nardi, each ship carried some 65 slaves on average on this route during the years 1691–1700.<sup>63</sup>

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57 Jean-Batiste Nardi, *O fumo brasileiro no período colonial. Lavoura, Comércio e Administração* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1996), 89, 115.

58 Eltis and Richardson, "A new assessment," 18.

59 AHU, *Pernambuco*, cx. 11, doc. 1084: 1677-07-26: 'Carta de João Fernandes Vieira ao príncipe regente [Dom. Pedro] sobre as dificuldades enfrentadas pelos armadores que efetuam o transporte dos escravos da Costa da Mina para Pernambuco'.

60 Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo*, 692–707; Patrick Manning, "The Slave Trade in the Bight of Benin, 1640–1890," in Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1979), 137–138.

61 Alexandre Ribeiro, "The Atlantic Slave Trade to Bahia, 1582–1851," in Eltis and Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers*, 135, table 4.3; table 4.4, 153–154, Appendix 4.1. Although 1,617 slaves are assigned to the years 1581–1680, we may assume that they were disembarked from 1640s onward. The author also estimates that 24,565 slaves, mainly from West-Central Africa, were disembarked in Bahia in 1651–1700.

62 The author gauged 13,555 slaves exported, from which I have deducted 11 percent to account for mortality in the Atlantic crossing.

63 Nardi, *O fumo brasileiro no período colonial*, 224, table VIII, 383–394, Appendix 2.1.

However, both recent sets of revisions of Bahian slave imports from West Africa before 1700 call for some reappraisal. For one thing, the mean shipload of slaves entering Bahia before 1710 assumed by Ribeiro may have been high.<sup>64</sup> For another, though Bahia's tobacco export licences as used by Verger and others may provide a reliable proxy to measure the trend of this branch of the slave trade, they are not enough to measure its actual scale. Moreover, for Bahia and Pernambuco slave traders, gold also had a key role in procuring slaves from Slave Coast in the last five years of the seventeenth century. Against such evidence, Nardi's assumption of mean slave loadings per ship was likely too low.

Outside of Bahia and Pernambuco, two other Brazilian regions continued to receive African slaves during the second half of the seventeenth century: Rio de Janeiro and Maranhão and Grão-Pará.<sup>65</sup> Rio de Janeiro had engaged in sugar production since late sixteenth century, but, as in Bahia and Pernambuco, the first sugar mills used forced Indian labour and only belatedly – and following the Northern captaincies – was it replaced by African slaves.<sup>66</sup> Rio de Janeiro's sugar output, however, was small relative to Bahia's and, usually, Pernambuco's before 1700. Thus, although slave imports equal to 70 percent of Bahia's have been imputed to Rio de Janeiro for the years 1620–1709 in the face of scanty data, that ratio seems implausible, if one compares, as an indirect measure, the average value of the southeast captaincy's tithe farm with that of the major sugar-producing captaincies in 1655–1691. The relevant figures are presented in Table 2.2.<sup>67</sup>

64 Verger calculated this average from data for the years 1727–1728 (425 slaves per ship) and 1743–1756 (475 slaves per ship). In those years, the volume of this branch of the Atlantic slave trade was higher than in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo*, 702.

65 During the sixteenth century Maranhão and Grão-Pará were under the authority of Brazil's central government, but in 1621 they acquired autonomous political jurisdiction.

66 João Fragoso, "A formação da economia colonial no Rio de Janeiro e de sua elite senhorial (séculos XVI e XVII)," in João Fragoso, Maria de Fátima Gouvêa and Maria Fernanda Bicalho, eds., *Antigo Regime nos Trópicos: A dinâmica imperial portuguesa (séculos XVI a XVIII)* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000), 34, 38–39.

67 One may reckon the tithes as a flawed measure of projecting trends, as Ruggiero Romano does; R. Romano, *Mecanismo y elementos del sistema económico colonial americano. Siglos XVI–XVIII* (México: Colegio de México, Fideicomiso Historia de Las Américas, FCE, 2004), 353. Other scholars, however, consider it as a feasible index. See: J.H. Galloway, "Nordeste do Brasil, 1700–1750: Reexame de uma crise," *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* 36:2 (1974): 85–102; Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*, 154, 174; who with reservations suggests that tithes are "a fairly good guide to the health of the economy."

TABLE 2.2 *Values of tithes farmed out in three major sugar-producing captaincies (average in cruzados), 1655–1691*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(3)/(1)	(3)/(2)
	Bahia	Pernambuco	Rio de Janeiro	(in percent)	(in percent)
1655–1658	92.550 <sup>a</sup>	28.000 <sup>a</sup>	45.000	49	161
1658–1661	84.500 <sup>a</sup>	28.167	23.416 <sup>a</sup>	28	83
1661–1664	73.000 <sup>a</sup>	20.000 <sup>b</sup>	23.472	32	117
1664–1667	82.500 <sup>b</sup>	29.163 <sup>a</sup>	22.500	27	77
1667–1670	99.250 <sup>a</sup>	22.100 <sup>b</sup>	22.067	22	100
1670–1673	94.013 <sup>a</sup>	41.350 <sup>a</sup>	22.033	23	53
1673–1676	85.000 <sup>b</sup>	39.000 <sup>b</sup>	22.000	26	56
1676–1679	108.000 <sup>a</sup>	38.800 <sup>a</sup>	25.000	23	64
1679–1682	95.333	44.100 <sup>b</sup>	29.277	31	66
1682–1685	—	—	30.666 <sup>a</sup>	—	—
1685–1688	110.000 <sup>a</sup>	46.700	43.333	39	93
1688–1691	88.000 <sup>a</sup>	20.000 <sup>b</sup>	43.333 <sup>b</sup>	49	217
Grand average				32	99

Source: Based on Carrara, *Receitas e despesas da Real Fazenda*, I: 126–127

Notes:

a. Two years only

b. One year only

The first and last years of each time period overlap because contracts lasted from August 1 to July 31

Although there are gaps in the series of figures, a perusal of the data shows that seldom did Rio de Janeiro's tithes exceed one third of Bahia's tithe contract values between 1655 and 1685, and in most years were closer to a quarter or less. Compared to Pernambuco, tithe values relating to Rio de Janeiro were much closer but only in the mid 1650s, when Pernambuco was recovering from seven years of Dutch warfare did they exceed those of Pernambuco. In most years before 1685 they were between a half and two-thirds of Pernambuco's tithe assessment. If one concedes that "the slave trade reflects commodity trade patterns"<sup>68</sup> and that the latter are reflected in tithe assessments, then it seems likely that calculations that assume Rio de Janeiro slave imports before 1709 were equal to 70 percent of Bahia's will over-estimate slave landings in the southern captaincy during the second half of the seventeenth century. It was not by chance

68 Eltis and Richardson, "A new assessment," 19.

that Rio's settlers complained to the King of Portugal of shortages in slave supply in the late 1670s.<sup>69</sup> Together with projections on slave exports from Angola based on 1660s data, this reassessment of Rio de Janeiro's slave imports suggests that some recent calculations that some 865,000 slaves were imported into Brazil over the whole seventeenth century may require downward revision.

Up to the middle eighteenth century, the Grão-Pará e Maranhão region lagged behind export development of other coastal regions of Portuguese America.<sup>70</sup> Transitions from Indian labour to African slave labour in both settlement and production failed to take place here. Projects simultaneously to lighten forced labour burdens on Indians by importing African slaves were centred on two monopolist trade companies, which operated in 1676–1684 and 1686–1696, but their results proved modest. In the ensuing decades, the slave trade was free before it was halted in 1755. But the region lacked a steady and sizeable commodity trade: Maranhão's main export was cacao, while Pará's was “drogas do sertão” – drugs of the wilderness – goods for which demand was inelastic in European market.<sup>71</sup> As a result, the scale of the Africa slave trade to this region remained very low before 1755, being estimated at some 2,613 slaves.<sup>72</sup>

### The Eighteenth Century Through 1770: the Rise of Mining and the Crisis of Agricultural Exports

Brazil's pattern of slave labour demand in the eighteenth century was shaped by gold discoveries in 1695, the effects of which continued through the mid-eighteenth century, when gold mining began to decrease.<sup>73</sup> From then on, demand for slave imports fell, with the effects of shrinking gold exports being

69 Alencastro, *O Trato dos Videntes*, 377–378. See also: “Sobre os navios que despacharem de Angolla para o Rio de Janeiro não tomarem este porto. Lisboa, 6 de novembro de 1679,” in “Informação Geral da Capitania de Pernambuco. [1749],” *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 28 (1906): 211–212. According to this source Rio de Janeiro slave ships sailing to Angola did not return to this captaincy; instead, they went to Pernambuco and Bahia where they preferred to sell their slave cargoes.

70 The same was true regarding São Paulo captaincy up to the early eighteenth century.

71 Alencastro, *O Trato dos Videntes*, 139–140.

72 Daniel Domingues da Silva, “The Atlantic Slave Trade to Maranhão, 1680–1846: Volume, Routes and Organization,” *Slavery and Abolition* 29:4 (2008): 478–481.

73 It is not by chance that during this same period and after years of prohibition and lively debates, the Portuguese crown legalized the exports of *jeribita* (sugarcane rum) from Brazil to Angola, in order to facilitate slave imports from Angola by Brazil-based merchants, particularly in Rio de Janeiro. Curto, *Álcool e Escravos*, 123–149.

compounded by downturn or stagnation in other major export branches of the colonial economy, which entered crisis even as gold exports rose.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, gold exports drove the demand for slave imports in Brazil, with sugar exports and to a lesser extent tobacco exports playing more subordinate roles. In the areas surrounding mining, demand for slaves was reinforced by development of foodstuff production tied to local markets. By the late century, this branch of slave production came to be one of the most important in slave labour demand.

At the very moment when sugar exports showed signs of recovery in the late seventeenth century,<sup>74</sup> mining activity reinforced sugar in promoting demand for slaves. Gold was discovered in the region neighbouring the São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo captaincies, on the River São Francisco tributaries, becoming known as Minas Gerais. Brazilian gold exports grew steadily from around 1695 until about 1750, reaching a peak from the 1730s to the 1740s. In addition to Minas Gerais,<sup>75</sup> Goiás, where production peaked in the 1740s, and Mato Grosso, where it peaked in 1750–54, were both important gold-producing areas from the third decade of the 'gold' century. Minas' gold output, however, was greater than the two other captaincies combined. It peaked in the 1740s, declining from the following decade on.<sup>76</sup>

A similar chronology to gold output can be observed in collections of *quintos* (one fifth), in the tax collected on imported goods at customs posts at entry routes (*entradas*) and in the contract prices for farming out tithes. These three variables point out to a decline of Minas' mercantile activity from the 1750s and 1760s onward.<sup>77</sup> Diamond digging, another mining sector, offset some of the decline in gold as it began to expand, notably from the 1740s, but it too fell away in the 1770s.<sup>78</sup>

Coincidental with rising southwestern mining activity through 1750, in the surrounding areas, estates developed a combination of cattle raising and arable crop production to satisfy local markets. The estates included *fazendas* (farms) and

74 Carrara, *Receitas e despesas da Real Fazenda*, 1: 107, graph 5; Lopes, "Negócio da Costa da Mina," 31–51.

75 The captaincy was set up in 1720, after almost three decades of gold mining.

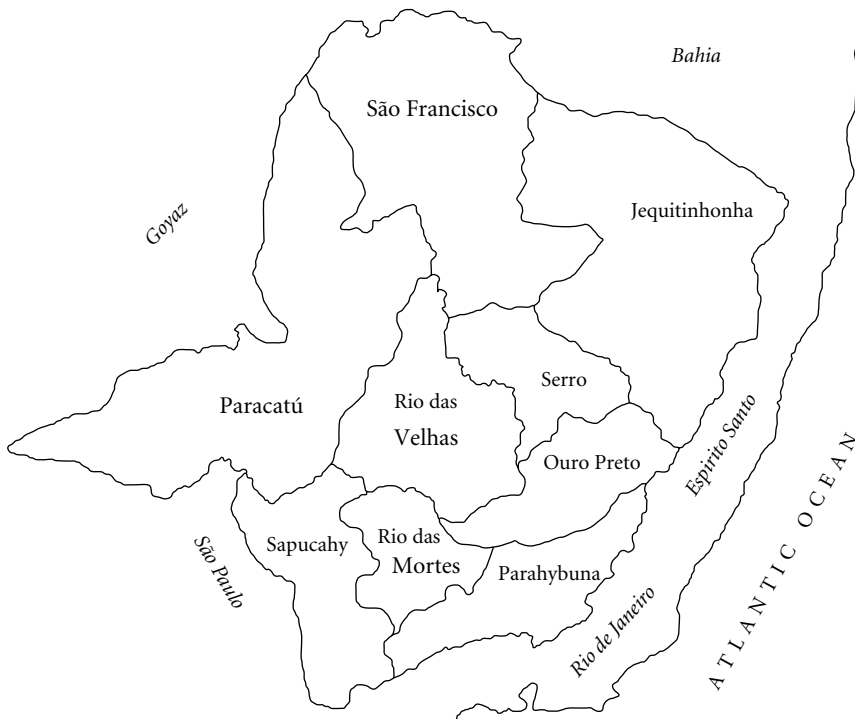
76 Virgílio Noya Pinto, *O Ouro Brasileiro e o Comércio Anglo-Português* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1979), 51–81, 85–115.

77 Laird W. Bergad, *Escravidão e história econômica: demografia de Minas Gerais, 1720–1888* (Bauru, SP: Editora da Universidade do Sagrado Coração, 2004), 46–50; Angelo Alves Carrara, *Minas e Currais: produção rural e mercado interno em Minas Gerais, 1674–1807* (Juiz de Fora, MG: Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, 2007), 36, 110–111.

78 Bergad, *Escravidão e história econômica*, 48–49, graph 1.2.

*sítios* (lesser estates) – both near gold mines and main access routes – and *currais* (or cattle ranches in the back-lands or *sertão*). Those activities were also founded on African forced labour, supplying most of the foodstuff traded in the local markets during the peak years of gold output.<sup>79</sup> Map 2.4 describes Minas Gerais during the gold boom.

From the earliest gold discoveries until about 1730, the slave trade through Bahia and Pernambuco supplied most of the slaves engaged in the southwestern gold mining. Those two captaincies held the major share of slave imports into Brazil from the late sixteenth century onward and up to about 1730 some of their imported Africans were re-exported to the mining regions, through São Francisco road, or reshipped to the port of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>80</sup> From the 1720s,



MAP 2.4 Minas Gerais

Author: Gustavo Acioli Lopes, 2013

79 Carrara, *Minas e Currais*, 144–145, 187–188, 199–206.

80 Up to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Pernambuco, as the major sugar producing captaincy, received most of African slaves disembarked in Brazil. From the middle of the century onwards, Bahia took over the first position in imports and exports. Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*, 150, 158; Silva and Eltis, “The slave trade to Pernambuco,” 108.

however, Rio itself became the main gateway from Africa for slaves bound to Minas.<sup>81</sup> Through Rio de Janeiro also entered the African slaves destined for São Paulo, where they would become engaged in foodstuff cash crops to meet growing demand in Minas Gerais and later in Rio de Janeiro itself.<sup>82</sup>

As long as most mining slaves come through Bahia and Pernambuco, both of which had ties with the Bight of Benin in the first third of eighteenth century,<sup>83</sup> “minas” slaves were a large component of slaves entering the mining regions of Brazil through 1730. *Mina* was the name that the Portuguese assigned to several West African ethnic groups<sup>84</sup> shipped from the Slave Coast.<sup>85</sup> The growing share of slaves from the lower Guinea Coast among the captives imported in Brazil in the golden age is also explained by the emergence of the Slave Coast as one of the major sources of forced labour through the transatlantic slave trade.<sup>86</sup>

81 From the 1730s, Rio became the main destination for the slaves exported from Luanda. Joseph C. Miller. “The Numbers, Origins, and Destinations of Slaves in the Eighteenth-Century Angolan Slave-Trade,” in Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies and Peoples in Africa, the Americas and Europe* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 90–95, tables 1 and 2.

82 In 1728, the contract for the collection of duties on slave imports inland through the “caminho novo” (new pathway) and the “caminho velho” (old pathway), both starting in Rio de Janeiro, superseded the contract for collecting duties on slave imports via the “caminho do sertão,” starting in Bahia. However, this does not necessarily mean that Rio de Janeiro was already importing more slaves straight from Africa than indirectly through Bahia. In the years 1728–1731, the contract for slaves re-exports from Bahia to Minas Gerais had still a higher value than the contract for duty collection on slave imports from Rio to Minas. In those years most slaves departing from Pernambuco and Bahia to Minas Gerais were likely to be carried by the sea, in lieu of being carried along the São Francisco river shore, since the duties levied on slaves transported in this route doubled the taxes on slaves carried by sea to Rio de Janeiro. See: Carrara, *Minas e Currais*, 119–120; Lopes, “Negócio da Costa da Mina,” 77, table 13.

83 In the case of Pernambuco, Angola was also its main source of slaves in the 1740s.

84 *Mina* slaves were mainly Kwa speakers from the Gold and Slave Coasts. See: Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, 47, 101–102.

85 *Ibid.*, 111–114, 120, 124.

86 The slave trade was both cause and consequence for many wars in West Africa involving local states, as it was the case in the Bight of Benin, with the war between the *obá* (king) of Benin and the *egaevbo* (the officer in charge of foreign trade) in 1690. In this specific case, both Portuguese and Dutch intervened in support of the king, resulting in an increasing and steady supply of slaves. Identical results were achieved through European intervention in the wars between Dahomé kingdom and the kingdoms of Ardra (or Allada), Uidá (Whydah) and Oiô (Oyo) in the years 1720–1740. See: Alberto da Costa e Silva, *A Manilha e o Libambo. A África e a escravidão, de 1500 a 1700* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, 2002), 343–344; Robin Law, “Royal



Despite an alleged preference among mining entrepreneurs in Brazil for *minas* slaves,<sup>87</sup> as soon as Rio de Janeiro superseded Bahia and Pernambuco as the major entry point of African slaves entering Brazil, Angola became the main source of forced labour toiling in Brazilian gold mines. Luanda was the primary port of call for Portuguese-Brazilian slave ships arriving in Angola. From the 1720s it was joined by the southern port of Benguela, the trade in slaves from which had strong ties with Rio's slavers.<sup>88</sup>

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Monopoly and Private Enterprise in the Atlantic Trade: The Case of Dahomey," *Journal of African History* 18 (1977): 558–559.

- 87 According to eighteenth-Brazilian mining entrepreneurs "mina" slaves were the fittest for mining work; slaves from the Bight of Benin, in particular, were regarded as more resistant and skilled for gold mining than Angolan slaves, who were deemed as more friendly, although less resilient and thus more appropriate for agricultural work. Luis Viana Filho, *O Negro na Bahia* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1988), 87–92; Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo*, 94. Nevertheless, as three leading scholars point out: "Buyers of slaves in the Americas wanted a cheap supply of undifferentiated labor for field work [...]. Buyer preferences for peoples from particular regions in Africa could be exercised only in the largest markets of the Caribbean, such as Barbados, Jamaica, and Saint Domingue, where vessels from all parts of Africa arrived in large numbers. Even in these places, planter preferences were not central." David Eltis, Philip Morgan and David Richardson, "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the Americas," *American Historical Review* 112:5 (2007), 1339. This seems to have been the case regarding slaves' regional origins, but buyers' preference probably determined the gender pattern of the Atlantic (and Indian Ocean) slave trades, although this claim has been recently challenged; see: Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 165. For a counter-argument, see: Joseph. E. Inikori, "Review of Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999)," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82:1 (2002): 130–135. Information on the British slave trade provided by other scholars underpins Inikori's argument. See again: Eltis, Morgan and Richardson, "Agency and Diaspora in Atlantic History," 1350–1351, where references to slave merchants' letters testifying their preference for male slaves can be found.
- 88 Miller, *Way of Death*, 232–233; Curto, *Álcool e Escravos*, 275–276, 340, table 4. Mina Gerais' inventories of slave owners, baptismal registers, obituaries and tax rolls for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries confirm that *mina* slaves predominated up to 1730, while *angolas* were the majority between then and the 1780s. Bergad, *Escravidão e história econômica*, 229, graph 4.10; Francisco Vidal Luna and Iraci del Nero Costa, "Algumas características do contingente de cativos em Minas Gerais," in F.V. Luna, I. del N. Costa and Herbert S. Klein, *Escravidão em São Paulo e Minas Gerais* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2009), 25–29, tables 5–8.

Although gold mining increased demand for slaves in Brazil and helped to reinvigorate the slave trade of its northeastern ports, it is also brought about higher slave prices, thereby increasing the costs of sugar production, which depended on slave imports too. This posed problems for northeastern sugar growers when sugar prices declined or stagnated during and after 1720–1730.<sup>89</sup> In this context, it is worth noting that sugar exports from Bahia and Pernambuco waxed and waned, with 5–15 year cycles of expansion alternating with cycles of decline. Thus they increased in 1701–1710; declined in the following five years; recovered and increased in 1716–1730; and then turned steeply downward from the 1730s.<sup>90</sup> Such trends were not, however, uniform across all cash crop exports, including tobacco. Tobacco, as we have seen, was produced in Brazil from the early seventeenth century onwards, but it became a regular export commodity only from the middle of the century and by the 1670s taxation on Brazilian tobacco was one of the chief sources of Portugal's state revenues. In Portugal, sales of tobacco to the home market were subject to a monopoly contract sold at auction. Brazilian tobacco was also re-exported to other European markets, including France, Spain, Italy and Northern Europe. In these markets, however, Brazilian tobacco faced strong competition from increasing tobacco production in British mainland America.<sup>91</sup> Such tobacco dominated the British market and increasingly challenged Brazilian tobacco in other ones, particularly France.<sup>92</sup> Although never a major employer of slave labour – it was usually a kind of small-scale cash crop feasible for household production without slaves – nevertheless tobacco exports from Brazil

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89 Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*, 147, 151, 166–167.

90 It is worth mentioning, though, that historians disagree on the time span of the Bahia's export crisis. For Schwartz the crisis was already a reality in the early 1720s. Galloway, "Nordeste do Brasil, 1700–1750. Reexame de uma crise," 92–93, 95; Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*, 165–169. Tithe auction values showed a similar trend: the value for the captaincy of Pernambuco felt continuously from 1706–1711, with only a slight increase between 1712 and 1721, followed by stagnation and decline between mid-1720 and the late 1750s. As for the tithes of Bahia, the contract value grew until the 1710s but remained below average in the following decades. Therefore, in the first half of the eighteenth century, while demand for slaves in mining areas grew, in sugar areas it tended to decline steadily. Galloway, "Nordeste do Brasil, 1700–1750. Reexame de uma crise," 93, 97; Carrara, *Receitas e despesas da Real Fazenda*, 2: 72, 107.

91 Alan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 31–32.

92 France tried even to support tobacco growing in their own Caribbean colonies and created a market for the product by overtaxing the import and consumption of Brazilian tobacco. Jacob Price, *France and the Chesapeake: A history of the French tobacco monopoly, 1674–1791* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1973), 4–5, 21, 42.

TABLE 2.3 *Brazilian tobacco exports to Portugal, 1671–1750*

Years	Tons	Index
1671–1675	1,470	
1676–1680	1,275	87
1681–1685	1,829	124
1686–1690	1,183	80
1691–1695	1,496	102
1696–1700	2,112	144
1701–1705	2,540	173
1706–1710	2,310	157
1711–1715	1,763	120
1716–1720	2,110	144
1721–1725	2,290	156
1726–1730	2,477	168
1731–1735	1,471	100
1736–1740	2,196	149
1741–1745	2,330	159
1746–1750	2,506	170

Source: Based on Nardi, *O Fumo Brasileiro*, 115, table 3.5

Note: Nardi gives the amounts in *arrobas*

(where one *arroba*=14.7 kilograms)

rose in the first half of the eighteenth century. This reflected shipments to Portugal which increased somewhat unevenly at that time, as Table 2.3 shows.<sup>93</sup> It also reflected exports through Bahia and, to a lesser extent, through Pernambuco to the Slave Coast, where, together with gold, tobacco became through 1740 one of the two chief colonial commodities by which Portuguese traders procured European trade goods from the other traders in order to make up the bundles of goods required to buy slaves there.<sup>94</sup> We shall return to this later.

93 Catherine Lugar, "The Portuguese Tobacco Trade and Tobacco Growers of Bahia in the Late Colonial Period," in Dauril Alden and Warren Dean, eds., *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1977), 28–29, 33; Nardi, *O fumo brasileiro no período colonial*, 111–115, 336–342.

94 Lopes, "Negócio da Costa da Mina," 25, 129, *et passim*; Lopes and Menz, "Resgate e Mercadorias," 58–60.

In sum, growing demand for slaves to produce precious metals and other minerals, to produce cash crops to satisfy local markets for foodstuffs in mining areas, and to meet growing markets for Brazilian tobacco in Portugal and Africa offset weakening demand for newly imported African in the sugar sector, helping to explain Brazil's import of almost one million slaves direct from Africa in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>95</sup>

### From Crisis to Agricultural Renaissance: the Late Colonial Economy and the Peak of Slave Trade to Brazil

In the decade 1760–1770, Brazil's colonial economy underwent a serious crisis, stemming from the decline of gold mining as well as weak performance among other Brazilian commodity exports. The measures devised by the Portuguese crown to try to solve the economic troubles of its pivotal colony are well known and have been widely debated.<sup>96</sup> As regards sugar, still the most important of Brazil's commodity exports at the time, exports dwindled from the mid-1750s down to 1780, though they occasionally recovered at times when warfare in Europe hindered exports of sugar from the colonies of other powers. Overall, the number of sugar mills in the northeastern captaincies (Bahia, Pernambuco, and the ancillary captaincies Sergipe and Alagoas) clearly fell up to the early 1770s.<sup>97</sup> Likewise, the number of slaves disembarked in the two major captaincies fell between 10 and 20 percent between 1720–1740 and 1760–1780.<sup>98</sup>

Between the 1780s and the beginning of the following century, and in tandem with continuing decline in gold mining, a decrease occurred absolutely and proportionally in Minas Gerais' slave population: the proportion of slaves in the captaincy's population fell from almost 50 percent to just under 35 percent. During these years, the captaincy's demographic and socio-economic

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95 Slave imports totalled some 976, 268 slaves, including disembarkations in the "Amazon," which accounted for less than one percent of the total. Eltis and Richardson, "A new assessment," 16–17, table 1.3.

96 One of the best surveys can be found in Kenneth R. Maxwell, "Pombal and the Nationalization of the Luso-Brazilian Economy," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 48:4 (1968): 608–631.

97 Schwartz, *Segregados Internos*, 339–343; see also: Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1968), 557.

98 Silva and Eltis, "The slave trade to Pernambuco," 102–103; Ribeiro, "The Atlantic Slave Trade to Bahia, 1582–185," 134.

structures were redrawn. A major part of the population moved towards the southern and southwestern frontier, away from the mining areas; at the same time, farming, cattle breeding and dairy-farming became Minas Gerais' chief economic sectors. This transition was only possible because of rising demand for foodstuffs in the local markets, particularly Rio de Janeiro after 1808.<sup>99</sup>

From the last quarter of the eighteenth century, political and economic factors in the Western Hemisphere encouraged rising Brazilian commodity exports other than gold and, in conjunction with this, rising imports of enslaved Africans. More specifically, the War of American Independence (1776–1783), the French Revolution and subsequent Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815), and the Haitian Revolution (1791) pushed up commodity prices generally and re-opened opportunities for Brazilian goods in European markets.

Sugar and coffee exports increased for more or less four decades, bringing back prosperity to more traditional regions and stimulating production in regions more recently developed, especially in São Paulo and in particular areas of Rio de Janeiro. We have already observed how Minas Gerais turned to foodstuff production for local markets and for coastal exporting regions. The same occurred also in the most southerly region of Portuguese settlement, Rio Grande do Sul, which supplied *charque* (jerked beef) and wheat to Rio de Janeiro and to the northeastern captaincies, receiving in exchange European merchandize, tropical goods, and African slaves.<sup>100</sup> Earlier this region had been the gateway for African slave smuggling from Brazil through Buenos Aires and toward Potosi's silver mines (in present-day Bolivia), whence silver found its way into Portuguese hands. Portuguese settlement had been initiated there in 1680, but had been only properly established from the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>101</sup>

In the lands of northern Rio de Janeiro, sugar mills multiplied, increasing sugar's share among the captaincy's exports.<sup>102</sup> The number of sugar mills in

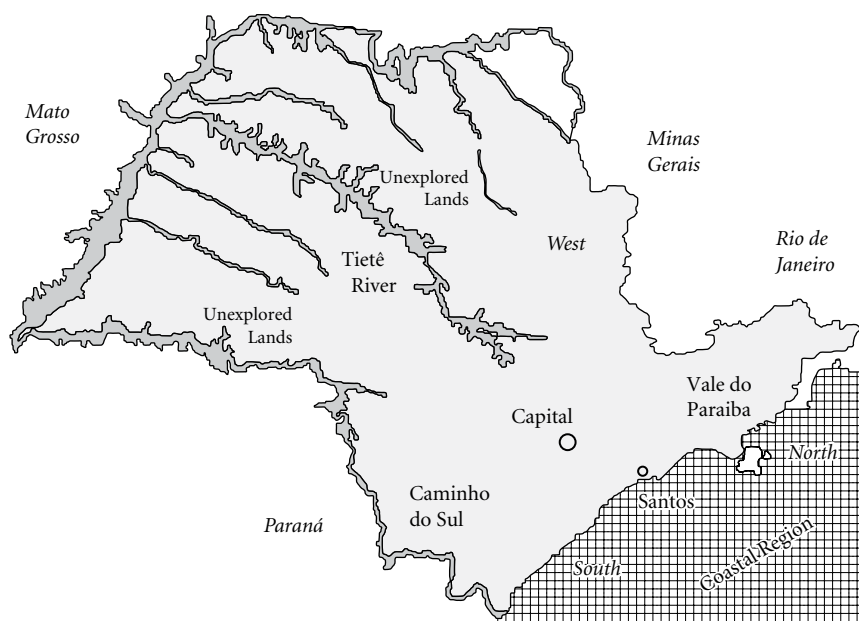
99 Bergad, *Escravidão e história econômica*, 56, 160–165. The author challenges Martins and Martins' argument that after the mining crisis Minas Gerais' economy became auto-sufficient depending mainly on internal captaincy markets, and abandoning its connections with Brazilian external trade. A.V. Martins Filho and R.B. Martins, "Slavery in a no export economy: nineteenth-century Minas Gerais revisited," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63:3 (1983): 537–568.

100 Maximiliano M. Menz, *Entre Impérios: Formação do Rio Grande na crise do sistema colonial português* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2009), 120–121.

101 Alden, *Royal Government*, 67–68, 117. In 1680, the Portuguese Crown set up a fortified settlement in the eastern margin of Rio de la Plata, named Sacramento. Despite lasting over a century, the fort remained a stronghold used for smuggling, and never evolved into a settlement colony.

102 After 1756, the headquarters of the Royal Government of Brazil were based in Rio.

Campos dos Goitacazes grew from 56 in 1759 to 378 in 1798–1799, while the overall total in the captaincy reached 616 by the latter date.<sup>103</sup> In São Paulo (shown in Map 2.5), sugar became the main economic activity in the late eighteenth century, and was sponsored by the Portuguese state. It was produced on the northern shore and in the areas to the west of São Paulo itself. Although the captaincy of São Paulo had a diversified farming economy, producing cash crops for sale in Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais from the early eighteenth century, sugar was the first principal export crop of the *Paulista* captaincy. In the years before sugar emerged as a major cash crop, the share of slaves in São Paulo's population was modest, reaching 27 percent in 1760. As sugar production developed, that percentage grew together with the average number of slaves per owner, with as many in sugar production as in producing other foodstuffs.<sup>104</sup>



MAP 2.5     *São Paulo*  
 Author: Gustavo Acioli Lopes, 2013

- 103    Dauril Alden, "O período final do Brasil colônia: 1750–1808," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *História da América Latina* (São Paulo; Brasília, DF: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo; FUNAG, 2004), 2: 559–560.
- 104    Francisco V. Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *Evolução da sociedade e economia escravista de São Paulo, de 1750 a 1850* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2006), 39, 41, 55, 62, 70–75. In Jundiaí, the main sugar producing town in the captaincy of São Paulo, the slave

In Pernambuco and Bahia, too, the revival of the sugar economy saw an increase in the number of sugar mills. In Pernambuco, there were 268 in 1761 and 390 in 1777 (including the neighbouring Paraíba). Sugar exports rose on average by close to 32 percent between the late 1760s and the end of the following decade. From 1800 down to 1810, in nominal figures, sugar exports rose almost 90 percent.<sup>105</sup> In real prices, the value of Pernambuco's sugar exports doubled between the years 1836–1840 and 1846–1850.<sup>106</sup>

In Bahia (including Sergipe), the number of sugar mills rose from 166 in 1759, to 400 in 1798, to 500 in 1820, and to 603 in 1834.<sup>107</sup> Sugar exports reached 30,000 boxes (ca. 17,640 tons) in 1817; four decades earlier, in the 1770s, Bahia had exported only 10,000 boxes on average.<sup>108</sup>

To buoyancy in sugar exports, one might also add growth in tobacco and cotton exports, too, from the late eighteenth century. After decades of stagnation in 1728–1774, Bahia's tobacco exports increased once again: the average Lisbon import in 1801–1805 was double that of 1771–1775. Some decline occurred after 1815 and lasted until the 1830s, before recovery began again in the middle of the following decade.<sup>109</sup> At the same time, tobacco exports to the Slave Coast almost doubled between the years 1791–1795 and 1801–1805; and they continued to rise thereafter, by 1826–1830 reaching triple the level of 1791–95.<sup>110</sup> One factor driving such exports was rising slave prices in Africa above the Equator, consequent upon continuing high demand for slaves after 1815 and efforts to suppress the slave trade in West Africa.<sup>111</sup> The result of these trends was a further cementing of the use of slave labour in tobacco cultivation that had begun during the eighteenth century. In places where tobacco, together with foodstuffs, was the main crop, slaves comprised from one fifth to one third of local population, according to data for the period

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population trebled between 1778 and 1836. Moreover, whereas in 1778 two thirds of the slave population lived in plantations with 10 or fewer slaves, by 1836 that proportion had fallen to 28 percent.

105 Alden, *Royal Government*, 557–559, table 6; José Jobson de A. Arruda, *O Brasil no Comércio Colonial* (São Paulo: Ática 1980), 224, table 26.

106 Peter Eisenberg, *Modernização sem mudança* (Campinas: UNICAMP, 1977), 42, graph 3.

107 Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*, 343–344.

108 Ibid., 344. Each sugar crate (or box) contained 40 thousand *arrobas* or 588 kilograms.

109 Nardi, *O fumo brasileiro no período colonial*, 151, table 4.3, 163, table 5.1; Bert J. Barickman, *Um Contraponto Baiano: açúcar, fumo, mandioca e escravidão no Recôncavo, 1780–1860* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003), 65–67.

110 Nardi, *O fumo brasileiro no período colonial*, 263, table 8.1.

111 After 1811, the number of slaves from the *Costa da Mina* disembarked in Bahia in fact declined. Ribeiro, “The Atlantic Slave Trade to Bahia, 1582–1851,” 140, table 4.4.

1780–1860.<sup>112</sup> Average slave ownership in tobacco operations was 6.5 slaves, though units with 5 or fewer slaves were in the majority.<sup>113</sup>

Cotton was a late cash crop in colonial Brazilian history. Its farming was sponsored by two monopoly companies chartered in Portugal – the *Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba* (hereafter CGPP) (1755–1777) and the *Companhia do Grão-Pará e Maranhão* (hereafter CGPM) (1756–1777) – but it boomed in part in response to British demand for cotton from the last quarter of eighteenth century. Table 2.4 provides information on Brazilian cotton exports through 1811. In the captaincies from Sergipe to Paraíba, most cotton production was household based from the 1770s, and developed after the worst years of the sugar economy in 1760–1770. Following a drought in 1790, which harmed the region's commodity output, cotton production inland in the *Zona da Mata* – Atlantic forest region – and *Agreste* – semi-arid region – was adopted on both household units of production as well as on slave estates.<sup>114</sup> In Maranhão, the CGPM sowed the seeds of cotton and rice cash crops, the success of which in the following decade prompted rising slave imports into the captaincy: only 34 slaves on average disembarked in the years 1680–1755 but the average rose to 472 in 1756–1777, to more than 1,500 in the 1780s and 1790s, and to 2,149 in the first decade of the following century.<sup>115</sup> Cotton's share in Brazil's exports remained important up to 1830, but thereafter diminished in the face of North American and Asian competition in cotton supply to western markets. In the years 1801–1810, however, its share in Bahia's exports stood at 14.5 percent; in Pernambuco's 48.3 percent; and in Maranhão's 70.3 percent.<sup>116</sup>

Among the newer crops introduced into Brazilian exports after the 1770s, it was coffee that had the greatest importance in the long run. First introduced in Pará in eighteenth century and subsequently commercially produced in Maranhão and Bahia, it was to be in Rio de Janeiro where it would become the main export crop from the second decade of nineteenth century. Within

112 This proportion is inferior to parishes in sugar growing areas. There, between half and two third of the population was enslaved. Barickman also points out that between three quarters and 90 percent of the tobacco and sugar planters were owners of slaves. These figures might have been, however, slightly distorted by the use of inventories as the main primary source, as the author also highlights. Barickman, *Um Contraponto Baiano*, 214–215, 217, footnote 4.

113 Ibid., 237–241.

114 Guillermo Palacios, *Cultivadores libres: Estado y crisis de la esclavitud en la época de la Revolución Industrial* (México, DF: Colegio de México, Fondo de Cultura, 1998), 122–124, 143–149.

115 Silva, "The Atlantic Slave Trade to Maranhão," 484, 497, appendix A.

116 Calculations based on Arruda, *O Brasil no Comércio Colonial*, 206, 226, 246, tables 23, 27, 41.



TABLE 2.4 *Brazil's cotton exports, 1796–1811*

Year	Tons	<i>Cruzados</i> (1=1x1.000)
1796	5,447	2.986.746
1797	2,005	1.309.632
1798	3,400	2.678.639
1799	4,801	4.441.910
1800	6,015	5.302.701
1801	6,439	5.270.485
1802	8,278	5.766.615
1803	8,725	6.267.730
1804	7,380	5.912.353
1805	8,310	5.992.212
1806	7,525	5.733.280
1807	9,302	7.289.994
1808 <sup>a</sup>	121	94.568
1809	3,296	2.296.289
1810	1,510	1.051.576
1811	711	325.228

Source: Arruda, *O Brasil no Comércio Colonial*, 368–369, table 52

Note:

a. In 1808, Brazil's exports plummeted due to the Napoleonic Wars and the Continental Blockade. After the Portuguese royal family moved to Brazil under British protection and, then, opening Brazil's ports to all friendly nations, exports tended to normalize.

another decade, it had become the most important of all Brazil's exports. Accounting for 18.4 percent of Brazil's exports by value in the 1820s, coffee accounted for 40 percent from the 1830s through the 1850s, when it was the chief Brazilian export commodity.<sup>117</sup> Coffee growing was concentrated overwhelmingly in the Paraíba Valley, particularly on the Rio de Janeiro side, but was also centred around São Paulo's northeastern cities as well as Minas Gerais' *Zona da Mata*, as noted earlier. By the 1840s Brazil had 40 percent of world coffee output, and its output has been second to none since then.<sup>118</sup>

117 Leslie Bethell and J.M. de Carvalho, "1822–1870," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Brazil: Empire and Republic (1822–1930)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 86–87, tables 1, 3.

118 *Ibid.*, 85.

Renewed export growth in more traditional crops allied to the emergence of new export crops such as cotton and above all coffee triggered an unprecedented rise in the import of forced African labourers in Brazil. According to the newest estimates, average annual slave disembarkations in Brazil were just above 20,000 between 1740 and 1780. They then rose to close to 30,000 in the last decade of the eighteenth century, to more than 36,000 in the following decade, to 48,000 in the 1810s, and to just over 55,000 in the 1820s.<sup>119</sup> It is estimated that in the first half of nineteenth century, Brazil imported more slaves than in the whole former century.<sup>120</sup> Growth of imports was matched by changes in their control, with the port of Rio de Janeiro accounting for 42 percent of slaves disembarked in 1791–1820 and 60 percent in 1821–1830.<sup>121</sup> From Rio, slaves were dispersed to coffee, sugar and foodstuff-producing areas in the Paraíba Valley, São Paulo and Minas Gerais.<sup>122</sup>

Though Minas Gerais was entangled in the “agricultural revival” in late eighteenth century Brazil through supplying foodstuffs to areas producing export crops as well as to smaller local markets, Bergad has argued that, with the exception of a few areas and years, Minas no longer depended on African slave imports after 1780 to replenish the captaincy’s slave labour force. He supports his argument by reference to changes in the sex balance of the population, a rising share of slaves reported under 20 years old in the population, and a rise in the child/woman ratio within the slave population not dissimilar to that found in the British North American mainland colonies before 1776 as well as the southern United States before 1860, where the slave population generally grew through natural reproduction.<sup>123</sup>

119 Eltis and Richardson, “A new assessment,” 16–17, table 1.3.

120 Actually, six percent greater.

121 These figures are based on Eltis and Richardson, “A new assessment,” 16–17, table 1.3 and data for Rio de Janeiro provided by Manolo Florentino, “The slave trade, colonial markets, and slave families in Rio de Janeiro, ca. 1790–ca. 1830,” in Eltis and Richardson, *Extending the frontiers*, 280, table 10.2. Manolo Florentino, *Em costas negras. Uma história do tráfico entre a África e o Rio de Janeiro* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), 66, table 4, calculated Rio de Janeiro’s share at 42 percent in the 1790s, and rising to 70 percent in the 1820s, using data from David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), which were updated in TSTD 2.

122 Crops were not necessarily separated, for instance coffee production was frequently linked foodstuff crops, as was the case in São Paulo. Luna and Klein, *Evolução da sociedade e economia escravista*, 83–86.

123 Bergad drew on the population censuses for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well on inventories for the four counties, which counted 10,000 slaves. Bergad, *Escravidão e história econômica*, 176–184, graphs 3.2 to 3.3; 206–220, graphs 4.2 to 4.6 and table 4.1.

Nevertheless, the available data on African slave re-exports from Rio de Minas Gerais in the first decades of nineteenth century cast doubt on the possibility that Minas' slave population growth was due only to natural increase. From 1810 to 1812, 41 percent of African slaves traded in Rio de Janeiro had as their final destination Minas Gerais.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, this pattern did not change markedly in later years. In 1825–30, for example, 43 percent of the slaves traded in Rio de Janeiro were bound for Minas Gerais.<sup>125</sup> This represented a sizeable number of slaves given the scale of Rio's slave imports in 1810–30.

The remaining gold-mining areas of Minas as well as the thriving areas of coffee production were importing slaves. In Serro Frio and Vila Rica, both mining centres, as well as in the coffee producing southeastern *Zona da Mata* counties, masculinity ratios were still around 60 percent in the 1830s, a pattern strongly indicative of continuing slave imports from Africa.<sup>126</sup> In the last region, coffee production had been set up in the early nineteenth century and provided almost one quarter of its exports in the 1840s.<sup>127</sup> As Bergad himself concedes, slave imports into Minas Gerais increased in the years 1790–1795, 1805–1815 and 1820–1830; in the first period, they reflected a steep rise in commodity exports, which boosted local demand for foodstuffs from the hinterland's slave-based activity. That in the second resulted from the rise in food production in response to the arrival of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro. The third was attributed to renewed and increased levels of gold mining.<sup>128</sup>

After decades of declining returns from alluvial gold extraction, gold mining partially regained its former importance in Minas Gerais' economy in the same places where it had thrived one hundred years earlier. On this occasion, however, the entrepreneurs were foreign groups authorized after 1808 to carry out new searches in Brazil. The resulting scale of gold mining exceeded previous levels, thus absorbing a sizeable proportion of the province's slave labour force in the 1830s (though not as big as its share in the earlier peak years of mining)<sup>129</sup> and contributing about 20 percent of Minas' exports in the years between 1818–19 and 1854.<sup>130</sup>

124 Florentino, "The slave trade," 296–297, table 10.2.

125 João L. Fragoso, *Homens de Grossa Aventura: Acumulação e hierarquia na praça mercantil do Rio de Janeiro (1790–1830)* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1998), 177, table 12.9.

126 Douglas C. Libby, *Transformação e trabalho em uma economia escravista: Minas Gerais no século XIX* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1988), 57–58, graph 4.

127 Bergad *Escravidão e história econômica*, 92–93.

128 Ibid., 201–205, 221–222; Libby, *Transformação e trabalho*, 86–90, 139–140.

129 In 1735 and 1749, 70 percent of slaves lived in the mining villages or in their neighbouring areas. Bergad, *Escravidão e história econômica*, 148–171.

130 Libby, *Transformação e trabalho*, 86–90, graph 6; Bergad, *Escravidão e história econômica*, 74, 85, 92–94, 97.

Slave labour was as pervasive in towns as in rural parishes, at least from the eighteenth century, when Brazilian cities became large and densely populated.<sup>131</sup> Evidence on Brazil's population is presented in Table 2.5 and on Rio de Janeiro's urban population in Table 2.6. Foreigners travelling through Brazil described the different types of slaves who worked and plied their crafts in city streets. There were many activities in which slaves were engaged. Female slaves predominated in domestic work, as well as in selling groceries and candy. Male slaves were porters, carrying people, goods such as sugar crates, coffee sacks, and cotton bales, and heavier items, and commonly worked in groups, known as *cantos* ('corners'). There were skilled slaves working as blacksmiths, shoemakers, coopers, and in other crafts, labouring in their masters' workshops as much as roaming the streets in search of anybody who wished to hire their labour. In addition, slaves were engaged in seafaring jobs, and were to be found working on slave ships as well as in coastal

TABLE 2.5 *Brazil's population in the early nineteenth century*

1810				1819		
Captaincy	Free <sup>b</sup>	Slave	Slave/Total (in percent)	Free	Slave	Slave/Total (in percent)
Pernambuco	286,934	105,052	27	270,832	97,633	26
Bahia	190,502	168,935	47	330,469	147,263	31
Minas Gerais	292,403	202,356	41	463,342	168,543	27
Rio de Janeiro	124,204	105,378	46	363,940	146,060	29
São Paulo	175,398	33,409	16	160,656	77,667	33
Maranhão	42,584	36,276	46	—	—	—
Total <sup>a</sup>	1,303,826	720,409	35	2,488,743	1,107,389	31

Sources: For 1810: Maria Luiza Marcilio, "A população do Brasil colonial," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *História da América Latina* (São Paulo; Brasília, df: Edusp; funag, 2004), 2: 338, table 5. For 1819: Dauril Alden, "Late colonial Brazil, 1750–1808," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 290, table 4.

Note:

a. Other captaincies included;

b. Including whites, Indians, mulattos and blacks.

131 The three major towns in Brazil were among the biggest urban populations in America, even when compared with British towns; Dauril Alden, "O período final do Brasil colônia: 1750–1808," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *História da América Latina: América Latina Colonial* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1999), 2: 533.

TABLE 2.6 *Population of the city of Rio de Janeiro, 1821*

Areas	Total Population	Free Population	Slave Population	Slave/Total (in percent)
Urban	86,323	45,947	40,376	47
Rural	30,121	12,948	17,173	57
Total	116,444	58,895	57,549	49

Source: José Carlos Soares, *O "povo de Cam" na Capital do Brasil: escravidão urbana no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: FAPERJ, & 7 Letras, 2005), 363, table 1

or river navigation.<sup>132</sup> One consequence of such activities is that they improved the chances of slaves liberating themselves. Manumission was relatively common in colonial Brazil compared to other slave-owning societies in the Americas, but in the urban world of Brazil, slaves found more opportunities to buy themselves out of bondage, paying their masters prices settled by the authorities. Through urban work, slaves could amass sufficient money to make self-emancipation more probable than in other forms of work.<sup>133</sup>

In sum, Brazil's status as one of the major slave-owning colonies in the early nineteenth century in the Americas was reflected in the continuing high share of slaves in its total population at that time. Figures relating to the proportions of slaves in Brazil's population are presented in Tables 2.5 and 2.6.

<sup>132</sup> A.J. Russell-Wood, *The black man in slavery and freedom in Colonial Brazil* (New York, NY: Macmillan Press, 1982), 33–35; Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala*, 464, 469, 477. Freyre pioneered analyses on urban slave labour, resorting to several reports from contemporary travellers and colonial dwellers; see, among others, Daniel P. Kidder and J.C. Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians, Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches* (California, CA: Elibron, 2005); Louis F. Tollenare, *Notas Dominicais tomadas durante uma viagem em Portugal e no Brasil em 1816, 1817 e 1818* (Recife: Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, 1978); Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* (London: Longman, 1817).

<sup>133</sup> On manumission practices in colonial Brazil, see: Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684–1745," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54:4 (1974): 603–635. In this case, female and mulatto slaves were the majority among freed slaves; see also: José Carlos Soares, *O "povo de Cam" na Capital do Brasil: escravidão urbana no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: FAPERJ & Letras, 2005), 276–287. Based on a set of 977 manumission letters, Soares made clear that manumission with no financial compensation was more usual than paid manumission in 1808–1888.

### Commodities and Manufactured Goods in the Luso-Brazilian Slave Trade: the Total Supply

The Portuguese slave trade that supplied Brazil with African labour was unusual in that the great majority of the slaves disembarking in Brazil in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were carried away from Africa in ships that had left from Brazil rather than from Europe.<sup>134</sup> The route of the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil was thus primarily a bilateral rather than a multilateral one of the sort attributed to the European-based slave trade. Given this pattern, some historians have assumed that this branch of Atlantic slave commerce was under the control of Brazilian merchants, who, relying upon local tobacco, sugar-cane rum, and, for some decades, gold to exchange for slaves in Africa, superseded Portugal's traders. However, two comments on this issue are necessary.

First, as Joseph Miller has argued, from the 1720s the import and export trade in Luanda was controlled by the leaseholders of custom duties relating to slave exports. These were all Lisbon businessmen, whose gained advantages in trade from their financial power and their close relations with metropolitan and colonial authorities. Nevertheless, though those businessmen financed most slave dealers in Luanda, they avoided converting their investments into slaves, because they were aware of the risks that such investments in overseas human trafficking entailed.<sup>135</sup> A report to the Portuguese Crown about the feasibility of a proposal relating to the Crown's possible direct participation in Angola's slave trade sums up the inbuilt risks of this kind of deal:

What is true is that the trade of Angola is not a deal in which one can be sure to garner profits, because it is restricted to Negroes [that is, slaves], who run away, eat, and die. And the losses have been so great, that there are few dwellers [in Lisbon] who wish to risk their goods. And when they send them [i.e. goods to Angola], it is only goods which cannot be traded in this kingdom, and nobody requires the returns in Negroes, except when Letters [of Exchange] are unavailable.<sup>136</sup>

In order to avoid dealing with 'merchandize' that *fled, ate and died*, backers of Luanda's slave trade put off the risks of slave ownership to Angolan and Brazilian

134 In the eighteenth century, the mainland British colonies also sent slave ships straight to Africa, but their number was never greater than British shipping.

135 Miller, *Way of Death*, 257, 264, 274, 285–286, 295–296, 299–300, 311–312, 315–317. See also: Miller, "Capitalism and Slaving," 1–56.

136 From earlier years, these risks became a structural feature of Portuguese slave trade. AHU, *Angola*, cx. 9. doc. 13: 1666-02-19: 'Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino sobre o papel que se deu a Sua Magestade acerca do comércio que se deve conceder em Angola aos Genovezes'.

merchants, whose vessels transported African slaves to Brazil. The Luso-Brazilian slave dealers, in turn, made remittances from Brazil in order to cover the bills of exchange that their African business partners had charged against Brazilian merchants' accounts.

Second, it is useful to note how the Portuguese procured slaves in Africa. Like others they exchanged goods for slaves, but their trade showed some peculiarities. Textiles (including Asian cotton fabrics) accompanied by guns, brass and pewter wares, other metalwares, and liquor, overwhelmingly made up European slave ship cargoes, and the same was true regarding Portuguese traders.<sup>137</sup> What distinguished Portuguese from other European slave traders is the fact that slave ships clearing from Brazil usually carried tropical goods to barter in Africa for slaves.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, during the first half of the eighteenth century, Luso-Brazilian slavers were successful in Bight of Benin markets in part because they brought tobacco sweetened with molasses but even more importantly because they traded with gold taken illicitly from Brazil. With this Brazilian gold, Bahian and Pernambuco traders purchased from northwestern European traders manufactured goods required to engage with Africans in purchasing slaves.<sup>139</sup>

As regards Brazil-Angola trade, it has been demonstrated that the part played by Brazilian *cachaça* (sugar-cane rum) in Portuguese barter for slaves in Angolan markets has been overestimated.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, comparing custom data for Portuguese, Angolan, and Brazilian ports, one scholar has estimated that from 1796 to 1807 Portugal supplied 56–62 percent of Luanda's imports.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, as the data presented in Tables 2.7 and 2.8 show,

137 Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, 168–169, 184–190; Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of Plantation Complex*, 133–135.

138 The slave trade from Rhode Island, one of the mainland British colonies, also resorted to home produced goods, namely rum, distilled out of molasses.

139 Lopes, "Negócio da Costa da Mina," 148–164. Based on contemporary reports and ship cargoes, I argue that at least 50 percent of slave cargoes were purchased with manufactured goods. It should be noted that Bahia and Pernambuco imported close to 40 percent of the slaves exported from the Bight of Benin in the years 1700–1760, while the Brazilian tobacco exports toward West Africa accounted for only five to 10 percent of the Bight of Benin imports; see: Lopes, *Ibid.*, 200 and also: Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in America*, 173–174; Silva and Eltis, "The Slave Trade to Pernambuco," 108–109. Although these authors claim that gold enabled the Luso-Brazilian slave traders "to outbid their English and French competitors for slaves in West Africa," that overestimates the role of Luso-Brazilian merchants among European slave dealers in that African region.

140 Curto, *Álcool e Escravos*, 305; Lopes and Menz, "Resgate e Mercadorias," 68–70.

141 Maximiliano M. Menz, "As 'Geometrias' do Tráfico: o comércio metropolitano e o tráfico de escravos em Angola (1796–1807)," *Revista de História* 166 (2012): 185–222. Besides

TABLE 2.7 *Origin of goods imported into Luanda, 1785–1809*

Years	Europe (in percent)	Brazil (in percent)	Asia (in percent)
1785–1797	44	22	34
1795–1797	41	32	38
1798–1799	40	18	42
1802–1803	49	16	35
1808–1809	33	28	39

Source: Lopes and Menz, “Resgate e Mercadorias,” 54

TABLE 2.8 *Portugal's contribution to supplying the Angolan slave trade (in Réis)*

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)/(B)	(A)/(C)
Years	Portuguese exports	Gross Angolan imports	Slaves exports	(in percent)	(in percent)
1796	147.576.210		621.834.000		24
1797	126.063.218		549.427.000		23
1798	202.270.993	355.565.753	643.184.000	57	31
1799	427.829.486	581.280.590	512.034.000	74	84
1800	444.749.540		494.710.000		90
1801	665.781.400		618.540.000		108
1802	531.446.477	998.801.831	730.658.000	53	73
1803	480.789.012	995.372.678	874.862.000	48	55
1804	586.978.155	988.522.000	823.378.000	59	71
1805	548.620.485	1.063.412.000	949.953.000	52	58
1806	597.642.320		931.165.000		64
1807	486.255.200		741.272.000		66

Source: Menz, “As “Geometrias” do Tráfico,” 195, table 1

demonstrating the role of Portugal's merchant capital in Angola, the article indicates that several slave voyages included in TSTD2 that appeared to be bilateral (i.e. Brazil-Africa-Brazil) are in fact classical triangular voyages. The author has kindly granted me permission to use and quote these important materials and research findings. I would like therefore to thank him.



most of the goods imported into Angola's slave market, principally through Luanda, came from Europe and Asia, not from Brazil.<sup>142</sup> The data in the tables strongly suggest that the majority of Angolan slaves sold to Brazilian merchants (especially those from Rio de Janeiro) were procured using Portuguese merchant capital, even though the slaves were usually loaded on to the decks of Brazilian slave ships. In short, to claim that slaves for Brazil's economy were obtained by bartering tropical goods for them is misleading.

### Conclusion

From the early decades of Portuguese settlement in America, African forced labour underpinned development of the colonial economy. Even though from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries the colonial territory expanded, its population grew, and its internal economic spaces and relations became denser and complex, the development of Brazil's economy remained largely export-led; that is, its centre of gravity was the export producing sectors. If other branches of Brazil's colonial economy were – directly or otherwise – influenced by the performance of its export sectors, so, too, were trends in slave imports, for these were a function of exports as long as forced labour was an input into colonial production.

The plentiful supply of African slaves in Brazil made the cost of obtaining slaves bearable even to households not directly involved in commodity production, ensuring that slave labour became widespread in fields and towns. However, the more branches of colonial production became increasingly mercantile – and particularly if attached to export generation – the greater became the average size of slave property ownership and more concentrated slave ownership, that is, it came to resemble a plantation system.<sup>143</sup>

The number of slaves entering Brazil from Africa throughout the era of the Atlantic slave trade has been estimated at 4,810,353.<sup>144</sup> This figure is probably

142 For the general share of Asian or European textiles in Central West Africa imports, see: Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in America*, 168, 191; for Angola's imports, see: Lopes and Menz, "Resgate e Mercadorias," 68–70.

143 Although slave ownership in Brazil seldom was as great as in the Caribbean, nor the ratio of slaves to free people in the population as high as in the West Indies. On the Caribbean plantation and slave ownership, see: Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 164–165, 170–171; Richard Sheridan, *Sugar and slavery: an economic history of the British West Indies, 1623–1775* (Barbados: Canoe Press, 1994), 230–231; Blackburn, *A Construção do Escravismo*, 280–314.

144 Out of 5,361,096 enslaved Africans transported from Africa; there is, however, one slight difference between my own calculation – based on Eltis and Richardson's data – and

subject to some future reappraisal. Nonetheless, the slaves who survived the middle passage sowed and harvested sugar cane, ground and refined it in sugar mills, and carried the sugar crates to waiting ships. They planted and harvested tobacco, cotton, coffee and food crops. They dug and sifted for gold and diamonds. They made and sold candies and victuals. They carried goods, merchandize, and white people up and down the streets of town and cities. It is not surprising, therefore that the authorities and royal councillors in Portugal consistently asserted that as a colonial supplier of exports as well as a consumer of Portuguese exports, Brazil could not have existed without Angola and *Costa da Mina*.

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those they break down in each column. This figure represents 45 percent of the transatlantic slave trade arrivals; Eltis and Richardson, "A new assessment," 16–17, table 1.3, 21, 48–51, table 1.8. Our knowledge on the overall African forced migration in this period has been strongly improved since Curtin's milestone in 1969 and received a valuable contribution from the TSTD project. Nevertheless, the debate on this issue still rages on, since the TSTD editors derive their estimates mainly from shipping data, a methodological approach that has raised criticism. See: Joseph E. Inikori, "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade: An Assessment of Curtin and Anstey," *Journal of African History* 17:2 (1976): 197–223; idem, "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade: a Rejoinder," *Journal of African History* 17:4 (1976): 607–627. One higher estimate of the total volume of the Atlantic slave trade is presented in J.E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, "Introduction: Gainers and Losers in the Atlantic Slave Trade," in Inikori and Engerman, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 5–6.