From Slave Trade to Empire

Europe and the colonisation of Black Africa 1780s–1880s

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The independence of Brazil (1822), Portugal and Africa[1]

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Convergences in 1808

In Brazilian historiography, the year 1808 is presented as a pivotal, almost canonical, date when the colonial past is summed up and Brazil's modern and contemporary period begins. The economic aspect as much as the political aspect of historiography lend a major role to the events of 1808.

In fact, during this year two decisive episodes occurred in succession. There was the arrival of the Portuguese court in Brazil and the elevation of Rio de Janeiro to the status of capital of the Lusitanian Empire (1808–21). Never before known in Western history, these events led to important changes. In 1815, Brazil was elevated to the rank of United Kingdom with Portugal and, in 1822, following the return of the court to Lisbon (1821), the country became independent in the form of an empire which was the only government of the monarchic type in the New World (1822–89). What is more, while the four Spanish dominions of America broke up into several independent countries, Brazil conserved all the territory of the Lusitanian dominion united around a central government in Rio de Janeiro.

This evolution followed a main theme linked to the dynamics generated by the transfer of the Portuguese court. For this reason, the implantation in America of a European national bureaucracy reinforced the role of Rio de Janeiro, endowing the Brazilian imperial capital with a state system and a trading centre capable of supervising the territory and population of the old Portuguese dominion.

On an economic level, the year 1808 was marked by a decision, the consequences of which were just as important. The royal edict decreeing the opening of the Brazilian ports to trade and shipping 'with states in peace and harmony' with the throne of Braga – meaning in the diplomatic and military context of the period – to trade with England, was signed by the Prince Regent John VI, on 28 January 1808. It was hardly five days later that the Portuguese fleet, escorted by vessels of the Royal Navy, landed on the American continent at Bahia. The agreements of the decree were

ratified by the Anglo-Portuguese treaties of 1810 sanctioning English pre-eminence in Brazilian foreign trade.

In reality, since the nineteenth century, Brazilian historiography has developed around the idea that the arrival of the court initiated a political and economic split which concluded in 1822 with the independence of the country and the founding of the Empire of Brazil.[2]

In the continental sphere, the year 1808 represents also a turning point in Spanish America, in so far as the fall of the Bourbons and the accession of Joseph Bonaparte to the Spanish throne (1808–13) hastened the split of the American colonies with Madrid.

Affecting the whole of the Iberian–American regions, this process of disassociation between the two home countries and their colonies provided a wider framework for the changes which marked this part of the New World. Events seemed to follow on, one after the other in an inexorable sequence: the Napoleonic invasions led to international conflicts which in turn led to the military domination of Spain and Portugal by English troops; these events broke off relationships between the Iberian capitals and their American possessions and facilitated England's penetration into the Iberian–American world. The independence of the countries in the region only confirmed this state of affairs. This is a summary of the main historical events of Latin America in general, and Brazil in particular.[3] However, given the prolongation of the Atlantic slave trade, the Brazilian situation clearly agrees with this explanation and, if the case arises, with the analyses of the independence of other American nations.

As in many other similar works, a recent study comparing the independence movements of the countries of the New World does not grasp the specific diplomatic framework which weighed heavily on the emergence of the Brazilian Empire. At the same time as observing that these movements follow distinct directions relating to the colonial context of each one of the American regions, the author of this study is unaware of the amount of international argument created by the continuing slave trade to Brazil.[4]

In order to weigh up the determining factors of Brazilian independence, the repercussions of another event must be taken into account – this time linked to Africa – which took place in this same year of 1808: the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade by England and the United States. Following the English and American retreat from the Atlantic slave market, Brazil became the most important importer of Africans in the New World – for at least three reasons. First of all, the Brazilian system of slavery was spread over virtually the whole continent; second, the retreat of England, the United States and other nations which traded in slaves, left the main African slave trading regions in the hands of dealers who provided Brazil and, to a lesser degree, Cuba; finally, from 1808, British exports to Brazil provided new goods for barter which stimulated the slave trade.

As shown in Table 6.1, Brazil monopolised a third of the total volume

Table 6.1 Number of African slaves transported (by thousands of individuals)

Period	*Brazil*	*% of total*	*Total number of individuals landed in all Atlantic regions*
1551–1575	10.0	16.3	61.3
1576–1600	40.0	42.6	93.8
1601–1625	150.0	63.1	237.8
1626–1650	50.0	37.8	132.3
1651–1675	185.0	50.2	368.5
1676–1700	175.0	29.0	602.5
1701–1720	292.7	34.2	855.1
1721–1740	312.4	33.7	926.3
1741–1760	354.5	29.6	1197.2
1761–1780	325.9	24.8	1309.7
1781–1790	181.2	24.0	754.1
1791–1800	233.6	34.6	686.7
1801–1810	241.3	39.6	609.0
1811–1820	327.7	60.5	534.3
1821–1830	431.4	72.4	595.3
1831–1840	334.3	60.5	552.1
1841–1850	378.4	87.3	433.0

Source: Tables by Philip C. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), reviews by David Eltis, in *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* for the period 1781–1870. For a discussion on these figures, see L.F. de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes*, appendix 7.

of the slave trade in the first half of the eighteenth century, at the time of gold mining at Minas Gerais. The decline in gold production in the second half of the century reduced the Brazilian share to a quarter of the total number. In the nineteenth century, with the Anglo-American withdrawal from the slave-trading areas, free trade with England and the development of coffee plantations in Brazil, the country's share increased to represent nearly two-thirds of Africans landing in America. As a result, the Brazilian percentages reached and exceeded the level observed during the years 1576–1625, to its highest point in sugar production, when Portuguese America shared with Spanish America nearly all the transatlantic trade.

The origins of the Brazil–Angola system

It is known that the presence of Portuguese American colonists' interests in Angola was felt from the mid-seventeenth century. From this time on, colonists and Portuguese merchants from Brazil exporting tafia and other goods, established bilateral trade with Angola.

Of course, this trade was not solely commercial. Colonial service officials, missionaries, merchants and soldiers travelled between Brazil and Angola and contributed to the increase in Portuguese domination of central Africa. With regard to this, we should remember that, contrary to

the other European possessions in modern Africa, Angola was the country of real colonial settlement. From the seventeenth century, there were two municipal chambers (Luanda and Maçangano), an episcopal headquarters and a network of garrisons in the interior. The region had between 1,000 and 4,000 Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian inhabitants, the figure varying with the number of soldiers present.

On a military level, development of the fronts of the Thirty Years War in the South Atlantic illustrates the strategic and economic complementary nature between Brazil and Angola. The Dutch West India Company took possession of the sugar area in the Nordeste region of Brazil in 1630. However, the directors of the WIC at Pernambouco realised the necessity of also occupying the Portuguese slave-trade ports in Africa to ensure the viability of the undertaking. Elmina was taken in 1637 and – against the advice of the directors in Amsterdam who were seeking to occupy Salvador de Bahia, still in the hands of the Portuguese – in 1641, the Dutch from Pernambouco launched the expeditionary forces for the invasion of Angola. Conversely, the Portuguese and the Luso-Brazilians from Rio de Janeiro recovered Angola (1648) before obtaining the surrender of the WIC in Pernambouco (1654).

Between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, there were at least ten armed expeditions organised by Brazil to come to the aid of the colonists in Angola. Defeated by combat in a tropical environment – particularly by their experience in fighting against the Dutch, the Amerindian tribes and the coloured communities of Brazil (the *quilombos*) and made up of soldiers of mixed race relatively immune to the region's diseases, these troops served to expel the Dutch from Luanda and to beat the native resistance during the following decades; so much so, that one can talk of real 'Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian colonial joint management' in the South Atlantic. In fact, the contribution of the Brazilian colonists to the consolidation of the 'Pax Lusitana' in the South Atlantic is emphasised by the chroniclers of the colonial period. A Luso-Brazilian historian writing in 1757, with particular reference to the troops originating from Pernambouco, paid homage to the seven expeditions which set off from Recife to Angola and 'spilling their own blood and that of their enemies, held in their hands this part of the Portuguese Empire'.[5]

On a political level, it can be noted that between 1648 and 1810, a dozen governors of Angola occupied similar posts in Brazil, before or after having assumed their functions in Luanda.[6] On the cultural and ideological level, it should be noted that the Jesuit missionaries from Angola were involved in the organisation of the slave trade, transporting contingents of African slaves for their colleges situated in Portuguese America. On the whole, the Portuguese Jesuits clearly supported the transatlantic slave trade. On the one hand, with the introduction of Africans the missionaries saw a means of alleviating the pressure the colonists and authorities put on the labour force liable to *corvée* gathered from the Amerindian villages.

African slavery became a necessary complement to the catechism and the freedom of the Amerindians. On the other hand, the adversity of climate and the health risks of central Africa, as well as the hazards of the Portuguese presence, hindered the tasks of evangelism in Angola.

Very influential in Portugal, Brazil and in Angola, the Jesuits, plus all other European religious orders, were directly confronted with the management of the slave trade and black slavery. Very early on they supported the idea that the Atlantic trade allowed Blacks to be brought to Brazil, a Christian land, who, in other circumstances, would die in paganism in central Africa. This doctrine, clearly stated in the seventeenth century by the Jesuit Antonio Vieira, a politician and highly prestigious religious writer, was presented as one of the most powerful modern justifications for the slave trade.

In Brazil, Angola, Portugal and in certain European capitals, the idea was developed that Portuguese America and Angola formed one system, shared between a centre of production using slaves in the Brazilian area and a centre of reproduction of slaves formed by the Angola region. During the Luso-Dutch conflict in the South Atlantic, a Jesuit missionary specialising in Angolan affairs put forward the idea which would enjoy great success during the following decades and presented it to the Overseas Council in Lisbon: 'Without Angola there is no Brazil.'

Taking one single text from among the dozens of documents of all sorts reiterating this thought, let us quote the reply addressed to the Portuguese Overseas Minister in 1800 by a governor of Angola, following comments on the administration of the African colony: 'I would like ... V.E. to think again, because Angola is not Brazil; everything we shall try to do in Africa will be lost; conversely, everything that we invest [will be] profitable ... in [Portuguese] America ... this African colony is only a means of making the agriculture and mineralogy [*sic*] of Portuguese America prosper.'[7]

Bahia and the Slave Coast

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, tobacco exports from Bahia initiated the bilateral relations between this Brazilian port and the slave-trading ports of the Slave Coast. Given the characteristics of the Portuguese presence in the Gulf of Guinea, limited to a few trading offices on the coast, the activities of the Luso-Brazilians in the region would take on a different meaning, as we shall see later.

Obviously, the expansion of bilateral shipping between Brazil and Angola on the one hand and Brazil and the Gulf of Guinea on the other, does not exclude the continuity of the traditional, 'triangular' trade carried out by ships which left Portugal with European, Asiatic or American merchandise for barter, then took on slaves in the African ports and set sail again for Brazil. All the same, we should at least question this 'triangular trade' and, more specifically, the third and last leg of the journey. In fact,

we are not certain that the ships leaving Portugal to take on slaves in Africa were, after their stopover in Brazil, returned to Europe with Brazilian merchandise.[8]

Nevertheless, the development of inter-colonial trade in the Atlantic totally changed the overseas territories of Lusitania. According to our calculations, Brazilian exports of tobacco and tafia would have permitted the acquisition of 48 per cent of the 2,027,000 Africans landed in Portuguese America during the period 1710–1810. If the exports of horses, leather, manioc, sugar and dried, salt meat and fish as well as the smuggled gold and diamonds are added, it can be estimated that more than half the Africans introduced into Brazil during the eighteenth century were directly acquired with Brazilian merchandise in the context of bilateral trade. In fact, the statistics for the period 1736–70 show that the origin of the boats putting in at Luanda is mostly Brazilian: 41 per cent coming from Rio de Janeiro, 22.5 per cent from Pernambuco, 22 per cent from Bahia and just 15.3 per cent from Lisbon. Similarly, nearly all the captives deported from the Gulf of Guinea were transported within the framework of the bilateral navigation with Brazil.[9]

Rio de Janeiro, hub of the slave trade in the South Atlantic

Although it is true that imports of English and European merchandise were added to the regional products of barter after 1808, to activate the Brazilian slave trade, it is just as certain that not all the Africans imported to Brazil remained there. In fact, the port of Rio de Janeiro was used on several occasions as the hub of the slave trade to La Plata during the period of dynastic union between Portugal and Spain (1581–1640). In the final decades of the eighteenth century, trade between Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires started up again. As a result, Madrid authorised this trade, made profitable by the Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian slave merchants, to re-launch trade with La Plata, following maritime disturbances provoked by the US War of Independence. This trade led to a rise in the price of slaves which was not in the interests of the Rio de Janeiro planters. The Crown then followed a contradictory policy in which it tried to protect the Brazilian planters while at the same time stimulating exports of Blacks to La Plata.

The ambiguity of these initiatives was evident in a report by the Viceroy of Brazil, the Count of Rezende. In a letter dated 1799 to the court, he announced his difficulty (*mortificação*) in harmonising the order to avoid the smuggling of Blacks to La Plata with other court instructions charging him 'to facilitate the trade with Buenos Aires efficiently, by seeing if we could extract a large amount of piastres from it to benefit the kingdom's trade'. It is certain that the returns in piastres from Buenos Aires greatly helped the trade, then in full boom, from Portugal with Asia where white metal constituted the standard currency. According to Rudy

Bauss, during the period 1780–1810, between 2,500 and 3,000 slaves were exported annually from Brazil, particularly from Rio de Janeiro, to the ports of Buenos Aires and Montevideo.[10]

Following the anti-Spanish uprisings in the region, the trading of Blacks between Brazil and La Plata declined, forcing the Rio de Janeiro slave merchants to look for other markets. The ports of Pernambuco and Maranhão then began to be frequented by slave-traders coming from the Bay of Guanabara. It therefore became obvious that the high number in the African slave trade ports was used to re-launch the demand for slaves on the South American coast.

The impact of Brazil's independence on Portuguese Africa

In these circumstances, it is important to emphasise the development of the main Portuguese trading areas in Africa after the court was installed in Rio de Janeiro.[11] What, in fact, were the repercussions of the changes in Portuguese America on the level of Atlantic trade?

In reality, Brazil's independence provoked the emergence of pro-Brazilian movements in Cap Vert, in Angola, Ouidah and Mozambique, indicating that the main areas of slave-trading traditionally frequented by the Portuguese had concrete interests on the other side of the ocean. Moreover, the fears of Lisbon and London concerning the secessionist movements in Portuguese Africa, and the eventual annexation of these colonies by the new Brazilian state, forced the two European nations to take diplomatic and military steps. In 1828, a mutual defence pact was signed between England and Portugal. The following year, Lord Strangford, English plenipotentiary in Rio de Janeiro, defined the field of application of this pact. In a warning addressed to the Brazilian government, he informed that any intervention in the Portuguese possessions in Africa would be defended by the Royal Navy.[12]

Leaving aside Cap Vert and Senegambia, let us look at Central Africa, the Slave Coast and Mozambique, the origin of most of the Africans deported to Brazil in the nineteenth century.[13]

Angola

From the 1780s, the re-launch of agriculture for Brazilian export resulted in a greater number of slave-ships from Brazil to the ports of Angola, Gulf of Guinea, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.

In central Africa there was a sharp contrast between the land networks with an outlet at Benguela and those which led to the interior of the continent from Luanda which were regularly monopolised by competition from the non-Portuguese ports at the mouth of the Congo. Apart from the competition between Luanda and Benguela, there was an important change in the structure of the Angolan slave trade. While the relative stag-

nation of Luanda showed a weakening of the local traders linked to Portuguese home trade, the rise of Benguela resulted from an intensification in trade by the merchants from Rio de Janeiro. As the statistics analysed by Joseph C. Miller for the period 1795–1820 show, most of the deportees from Benguela landed in Rio de Janeiro, whereas those from Luanda were also directed to other Brazilian ports. For the decade 1820–30, José C. Curto's research confirms the continuity of this regional distribution.[14]

In this context, Brazil's independence, proclaimed in September 1822, aroused a movement of support in Angola. It was particularly in Benguela that this movement was most active. In 1823, documents seized in Angola by the authorities faithful to Lisbon, indicated 'that the government of Rio de Janeiro legislates for this province [of Benguela] in the same way as the Cortés of Portugal'. A rebellious climate against the government of Lisbon was maintained throughout the colony by merchants linked with Brazil. An Angolan government Junta report sent to Lisbon said 'Public opinion is directed by a few rich men whose interests are narrowly linked to the slave trade with Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco.'[15] Recurring rumours in Angola and Portugal refer to the preparation of a Brazilian naval expedition to occupy Luanda and Benguela.

On the other side of the Atlantic, important personalities followed these intrigues. In August 1823, in a debate of the Constituent Assembly sitting at Rio de Janeiro, one of its most important members, the representative for the province of São Paulo, Nicolau Vergueiro, openly defended the support for the pro-Brazilian movements in Angola and other parts of Portuguese Africa.[16]

Ouidah and Dahomey

Ending the British slave trade and the treaties of 1815, concerning the abolition of the trading of Blacks north of the equator, disturbed the Kingdom of Dahomey. With the support of the Brazilian Francisco Felix de Souza, who controlled the Portuguese fort at Ouidah, Ghézo became the country's sovereign. Once again, Ghézo reinforced the centralisation of the kingdom. At the same time, he separated the functions concentrated in the hands of his most eminent dignitary, the *yovoghan* (*avoga*). There would be one *yovoghan* for the Africans and one *yovoghan* for the Whites, responsible for foreign trade. This latter function would be entrusted to Francisco Felix de Souza, whose nickname 'Xaxà' would from then on be assimilated with the post he held.[17] With the support of his three sons, Xaxà controlled the slave trade. His influence was added to that of Domingos José Martins, also born in Bahia, and who became successor to the Brazilian João de Oliveira, in Porto Novo, exercising his influence on the slave trade in Benin and the cities of Egba. We should also note the activities of João José Lima settled in Lomé and of Joaquim de Almeida living in Agoué, as well as other Afro-Brazilians present in

several slave ports of the region.[18] All these slave merchants formed Bahia's powerful trading network on the Slave Coast.

But it was Xaxà who played the central role in this network, and it was from him that came the most significant gesture of support for Brazil: the fact that several weeks after Brazil's independence, Xaxà clearly indicated his position. After hoisting the flag of the Brazilian Empire on the Portuguese fort, he placed the fort under the sovereignty of the new Brazilian state. In 1824, it was still the Provincial Treasury of Bahia which settled the running expenses of the fort at Ouidah. During the two decades which followed, it was in fact the Brazilian slave-traders who held sovereignty over the enclave. The Portuguese flag did not fly over the fort at Ouidah again until 1844 after a unit of the Portuguese army, sent from the island of São Tomé had formally taken back possession of the area.[19]

The 'Atlantisation' of Mozambique

Up until the last decades of the eighteenth century, while receiving intermittent shipments of east African slaves, Brazil did not have a regular trade circle with Mozambique although Portuguese slave-traders established in east Africa replenished the Arab networks turned towards the north and the French networks of the Mascarene Islands. There were more regular shipments to Brazil from 1790 on.[20] Previously, authorisation

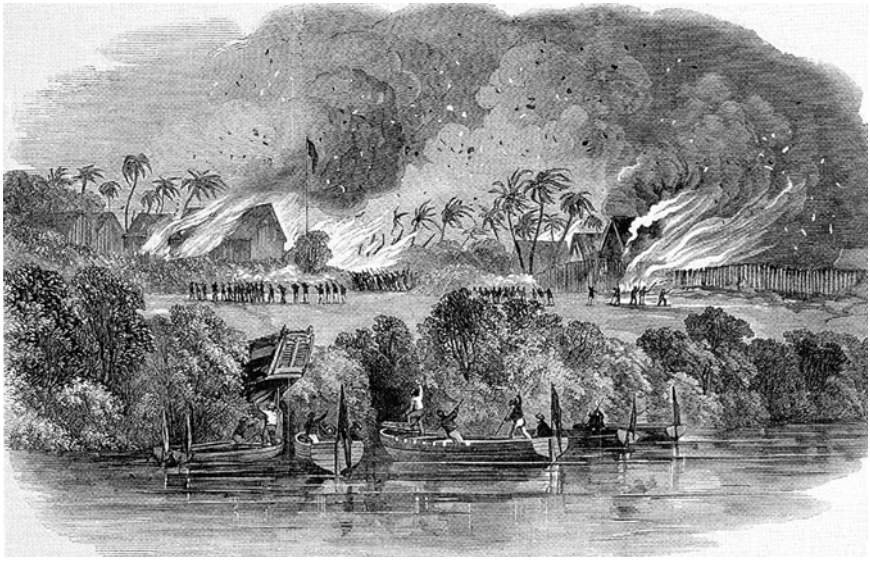

Plate 3 Burning of a slave establishment by British seamen and marines at Keonga, Mozamba River, in the Mozambique channel (source: *Illustrated London News*, 18 January 1851).

for slave trade between Mozambique and Brazil had been granted by the Crown, but these initiatives were hindered by other measures aiming to restrain the smuggling of textiles from Asia. In fact, the royal edict of 18 November 1772 severely limited navigation from Brazil to Mozambique with the aim of stopping the introduction of Indian merchandise to the Brazilian ports by slave-merchants from east Africa.[21] However, the move of the court to Rio de Janeiro changed the deal.

The royal edict of 4 February 1811 freed direct trade between Brazil and east Africa. Gradually the ports of the island of Mozambique and the region of Quelimane were secured by the slave-trade networks organised by the Pinto da Fonseca brothers, slave-merchants based in Rio de Janeiro.[22] Following the example of the process observed in Angola, Brazil's independence brought to light a movement of support for the Rio de Janeiro government from the Mozambique province of Rios de Sena to the Zambeze.[23] Lisbon's hold on the region seemed uncertain. In addition, during the first decades of the nineteenth century, communications between Portugal and Mozambique were made through the intermediary of Rio de Janeiro in view of the absence of direct links between Portugal and east Africa.

During this period, the intensification of bilateral trade between Mozambique and Brazil disrupted the traditional bilateral trade which united the ports of Mozambique with India. Trading communities originally from Gujerat (*baneanes*), which were settled on the island of Mozambique, started trading across the Indian Ocean. Gold, ivory and African slaves were traded for Indian cotton fabrics. However, after 1808, consignments from Brazil consisting of Brazilian and Portuguese merchandise also included the re-exportation of British textiles. The penetration of English manufactured goods into east Africa, transiting through Rio de Janeiro, contributed to redirect trade of the region's goods towards the west creating what we have called the 'Atlantisation' of Mozambique. 'With the slave trade [to Brazil], everything is thrown upside down', the Portuguese Crown Procurator in Mozambique wrote in 1842.[24]

Africa and the issue of Brazil's independence

In this context, the events of 1808 in Brazil took on quite another meaning. As we have seen, trade with England provided the Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian slave merchants with an increase in goods for barter which would allow the extension of the African slave trade to Brazil. The quantity of British goods imported to Brazil was the decisive factor in this trade. Indirect calculations for the period 1848–49, the height of the slave trade, show that out of the total value of merchandise re-exported from Brazil to Portuguese possessions in Africa, 89.5 per cent came from England, 4.9 per cent from the United States, the rest being shared between Belgium, France, Argentina and Portugal.

From this point of view, English commercial penetration into the

Brazilian market remained limited to trade previously directed towards Europe. Trade with Africa, the slave trade, continued as before, and up till 1850 was dominated by Portuguese and Brazilian merchants and interests eventually in partnership with British traders settled in Brazil.

It was only in 1808 or even 1822, that changes came which definitively altered the Brazilian economy's field of activity within the world market. Indissociably linked with the development of the African continent, the crisis of the Old Regime of the Portuguese colonies and Brazilian independence should be studied in the long term, ending in 1850, the definite end of the slave trade with Brazil.

Notes

1 For questions and sources not detailed in this text, see L.F. de Alencastro, *O Tratro dos Viventes – Formaçao do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI, XVII* (Sao Paulo, 2000).
2 For the political historiography, see the major work of F.A. Varnhagen, *Historia Geral do Brasil*, 3 vols (São Paulo, SP, 8th edn, 1975). A detailed interpretation of this point of view is developed by Maria Odila da Silva Dias, 'A Interização da Metrópole', in Carlos Guilherme Mota (1822 – *Dimensões**, São Paulo; SP, 1972). The key book on the economic breakdown of 1808 is that of Roberto C. Simonsen, *História Econômica do Brasil 1500–1820* (São Paulo, SP, 1937), the periodisation of which is taken up by Caio Prado Jr, *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* (São Paulo, SP, 1942), translated from the English, *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, CA, 1967); by Celso Furtado, *Formação Econômica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1957), trans. Am., *The Economic Growth of Brazil: A Survey from Colonial to Modern Times* (Westport, CT, 1984); and by Fernando A. Novais, *Portugal e Brasil no crise do antigo sistema colonial 1777–1808* (São Paulo, SP), 1979.
3 For Latin America, see, for example, Tulio Halpherin Donghi, *Historia de América Latina* (Madrid, 1985).
4 David Bushnell, 'Independence Compared: The Americas North and South', in A. McFarlane and E. Posada-Carbo, *Independence and Revolution in Spanish America: Perspectives and Problems* (London, 1999), pp. 68–83.
5 Domingos Loreto Couto, *Desagravos do Brazil e glórias de Pernambuco* (1757), (Rio de Janeiro, 1904), pp. 421, 437–8.
6 Anne W. Pardo, 'A Comparative Study of the Portuguese Colonies of Angola and Brasil and Their Interdependence from 1648 until 1825' (Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 1977), pp. 192–4.
7 A. de Albuquerque Felner, *Angola, Apontamentos sobre a ocupação e início do estabelecimento dos Portugueses no Congo, Angola e Benguela*, 3 vols (extraídos de documentos históricos, Coimbra, 1940), vol. I, pp. 245–6.
8 As is known, this return trip was not as frequent as suggested in the case of the 'triangular trade' ships linking Europe, Africa and the Caribbean or North America. On this point, see Herbert S. Klein, who does not hesitate to talk of the 'myth of the triangular trade', *The Atlantic Slave Trade: New Approaches to the Americas* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 96–102.
9 Corcino Medeiros Dos Santos, 'Relações de Angola com o Rio de Janeiro 1736–1808', *Estudos Históricos*, 12 (1973), pp. 7–68, table 1; José C. Curto, 'Alcohol and Slaves: The Lusobrazilian Commerce in Alcoholic Beverages with West-Central Africa (Mpinda, Luanda and Benguela) During the Atlantic

Slave Trade *c.* 1480–1830' (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), table 9, p. 109. For tobacco exports to Africa, see Pierre Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris, La Haye, 1968), and Jean-Baptista Nardi, *O Fumo brasileiro no período colonial* (São Paulo, 1996).

10 Rudy Bauss, 'Rio Grande do Sul in the Portuguese Empire: The Formative Years, 1777–1808', in Susan Socolow, *The Atlantic Staple Trade*, 2 vols (Aldershot, Brookfield, 1996), vol. II. On the slave trade of Rio de Janeiro during this period, Manolo G. Florentino, *Em Costas Negras: Uma História do Trafico Atlântico de Escravos entre a Africa e o Rio de Janeiro, séculos XVIII e XIX* (São Paulo, 1997).

11 For a study on this question, see Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime português* (Porto, 1993).

12 'Cartas de João Loureiro ao Conselheiro Manuel José Maria da Costa e Sá 1828–1842', *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 76 (1913).

13 On Cap Vert and Guinea Bissau, see C.J. de Senna Barcelos *Subsídios para a História de Cabo Verde e Guiné*, 7 vols (Lisbon, 1899–1913), vol. II, p. 287.

14 Joseph C. Miller, 'Legal Portuguese Slaving from Angola: Some Preliminary Indications of Volume and Direction, 1760–1830', *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 226–7, 63 (1975), pp. 135–76. José C. Curto, 'Luso-Brazilian Alcohol and the Legal Slave Trade at Benguela and its Hinterland', in Hubert Bonin and Michel Cahen (eds) *Négoce Blanc en Afrique Noire* (Abbeville, Société Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, 2001), pp. 351–69.

15 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Angola, Papéis Avulsos, caixa 142, documents 5, 33, 40, 57 of the year 1823 (old classification).

16 *Diario de Assembléia Geral Constituinte e Legislativa do Império do Brasil*, 3 vols (1823) (Brasilia, DF, 1973), vol. II, p. 677.

17 Isaú Santos, 'Relações entre São Tomé e Daomé 1844–1894', (degree essay, Instituto Supérieur de Ciências Sociais e Política Ultramarina, Lisbon, 1973); Pierre Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris, La Haye, 1968), pp. 240, 361, 427, 460–8.

18 *British Parliamentary Papers*, (Slave Trade) (Shannon, Irish University Press, 1968), vol. 40, class B, p. 246.

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