The Sea and the Shackle: African and Creole Mariners and the Making of a Luso-African Atlantic Commercial Culture, 1721-1835

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation charts the emergence and evolution of Salvador da Bahia's African and creole maritime labor force in colonial and early imperial Brazil. The prevalence of waterborne transportation of all kinds necessitated the growth of a large group of maritime workers, 90 percent of whom were black, including mariners who were actively involved in the slave trade. By analyzing the *matriculas* or muster rolls of 52 ships, this study demonstrates that between 40 and 30 percent of sailors on slaving vessels were African born and nearly one third were enslaved between 1775 and 1835. The Bahian slave trade, the third largest in the Atlantic world, was heavily reliant on the labor and African derived maritime, linguistic, and medicinal expertise provided by black seafarers. As a result, these highly mobile and cosmopolitan men were able to strategically leverage their ability to successfully operate in the disparate cultural milieus of West Africa and Bahia, to limit their own marginalization and facilitate greater autonomy from their owners.

Mariners pioneered informal (and at times illicit) trading networks in African produced textiles and palm oil, which in turn introduced African material culture to the New World. Both locally and globally oriented, black mariners inhabited multiple social worlds. While maintaining fraternal bonds with shipmates and patrons, they also forged ties with enslaved urban communities, joining Catholic brotherhoods and enlisting in militias. In the absence of a stark divide between the treatment, compensation and trading privileges accorded enslaved and free mariners, black seafarers enjoyed an unprecedented level of social mobility that often allowed them to purchase their freedom and in rare cases become independent transatlantic traders in goods and slaves.

Finally, this study details not only the influence African and creole mariners, but also reveals the distinct organizational and investment practices of the Luso-African slave trade. On Bahian ships, a diverse cross-section of Salvador's population including slaves, sailors, merchants and the poor invested small quantities of trade goods which formed composite transatlantic cargoes. As a result, the dissertation reveals how the Bahian slave trade incorporated the material interests of a diverse coalition of local inhabitants, and allowed the poor and even the enslaved access to transatlantic commercial opportunities in ways that have not yet been acknowledged.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHI Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty—Rio de Janeiro

AHU Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino

ANRJ Arquivo Nacional Rio de Janeiro

ANTT Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo

APEB Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia

BNRJ Biblioteca Nacional Rio de Janeiro

NAL National Archives, London

INTRODUCTION

Olaudah Equiano—the eighteenth century's most famed survivor of the middle passage—provided contemporary readers with an enduring set of images that illuminated, in vivid detail, the notorious transatlantic journey and the tortured perspectives of those West Africans who were forcibly migrated to the Americas. His autobiography, first published in 1794, described his march from the beaches of the Bight of Biafra to an awaiting wooden sailing vessel. Equiano wrote that "The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror, which I am yet at a loss to describe, nor the then feelings of my mind." His initial surprise, however, soon transformed into sense of unequivocal foreboding, as he became convinced that a horrible end awaited him during the course of the sea passage: "When I was carried on board I was immediately handled, and tossed up, to see if I were found, by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had got into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me." Echoing this experience of maritime transportation several decades later, another survivor of the middle passage, Mahammah Gardo Baquaqua, recalled that he "had never seen a ship before, and my idea of it was, that it was some object of worship of the

¹ Olaudah Equiano, The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, the African (London: Printed for, and Sold by the Author, 1794), 46.

white man. I imagined we were all to be slaughtered, and were being led there for that purpose."²

Equiano's and Baquaqua's characterizations of the ignorance and fear the two men felt as they encountered the sea and the European sailing vessel have proved durable. Indeed, they have played no small role in shaping how many contemporary historians have come to understand early modern West Africans' experience of an Atlantic maritime world that linked Africa to the Americas. For instance, Stephanie Smallwood's recent study has built upon these depictions in an attempt to describe—and comprehend—the essential destruction of humanity that accompanied slave ships' "one-way route of terror." As Smallwood argues, Akan captives conceptualized their forced oceanic journey as a passage into a "dangerous supernatural ... watery realm," while arguing that the experience of "saltwater slavery" entailed a physical and existential journey so wrenching that it "stretched their reckoning to the limits."

Smallwood's haunting depiction of the bewilderment and terror experienced by enslaved people on European sailing vessels largely defines much of the current literature on

² Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua, *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America*, eds. Robin Law and Paul Lovejoy (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009), 150-151.

³ Stephanie Smallwood, Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 6.

⁴ Smallwood, Saltwater Slavery, 125, 131.

the transatlantic slave trade.⁵ Though such characterizations are potent (and no doubt representative of the experiences of many enslaved people), they provide only limited portrait of black maritime life and its Atlantic reverberations. Firstly, such an analysis reduces the often complex relationship that early modern West Africans had with the sea—in both Africa and in the diaspora—to one of complete victimization and degradation at the hands of transatlantic slave traders. In addition, such an interpretive paradigm places Africans as objects and victims, rather than historical actors, within a pre-determined narrative of maritime enterprise in the Atlantic, one in which Europeans alone dictated the shape of oceanic commerce, transportation, communication and warfare. By assuming that only Europeans were capable of exerting mastery or historical agency in maritime Atlantic, scholars have logically assumed that Africans and their descendants were fated to become the dehumanized and exploited objects of seafaring commerce.

This study argues, however, that such a narrative—which assumes that coercion and violence were the only factors that compelled Africans and their descendants to move across maritime spaces—is fundamentally incomplete. Moreover, such a framing of black maritime life does little to reveal how Africans themselves would have conceptualized this maritime world on their own terms. Challenging such assumptions, my study instead analyzes a burgeoning Atlantic world in which enslaved people were in fact capable of *capitalizing* on

⁵ Some of the many historians who paint a similar portrait of the complete degradation and commodification of enslaved people aboard slaving vessels includes: Lisa A. Lindsay, *Captives as Commodities: The Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Jersey: Pearson, 2008); Gregory E. O'Malley, *The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008). Many of these works are implicitly influenced by Orlando Patterson's contention that the process of enslavement was experienced as social death, Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

their proximity to oceanic environments, commerce, and flows of information to achieve a range of different objectives, including legal freedom, material advancement or personal connection.

Centering African and creole mariners, this research focuses on a group of historical actors who do not neatly fit into existing depictions of an African maritime experience defined solely by the middle passage. Primarily, my work investigates how men working aboard slaving vessels—through their deployment of African derived linguistic, diplomatic, seafaring and medicinal knowledge—contributed the emergence and evolution of a distinctive South Atlantic commercial culture based in Salvador da Bahia. This commercial culture operated through an ongoing trade in slaves, but also was suffused by a robust trade in African and Bahian commodities that intimately linked the politics, economics and peoples of Salvador with those of the Bight of Benin.

Understanding the emergence of this commercial culture requires reckoning with the central role African and creole mariners played in the labor of the transatlantic trade. As this study reveals, black mariners comprised nearly 90 percent of the maritime labor force in the port city of Salvador; including seafarers involved in the slave trade, a third of who were enslaved. These highly mobile and cosmopolitan men strategically leveraged their ability to successfully operate in the disparate cultural milieus of West Africa and Bahia, limiting their own marginalization and facilitating greater autonomy from their owners. They pioneered informal (and at times illicit) trading networks in African produced textiles and palm oil, which in turn introduced African material culture to the New World. Both locally and globally oriented, black mariners inhabited multiple social worlds. While maintaining fraternal bonds with shipmates and patrons, they also forged ties with enslaved urban

communities by joining Catholic brotherhoods and enlisting in militias. Such men frequently traversed imperial boundaries, engaging in contraband trade with British and French seamen and jumped ship in foreign ports. In the absence of a stark divide between the treatment, compensation and trading privileges accorded enslaved and free mariners, black seafarers enjoyed an unprecedented level of social mobility that often allowed them to purchase their freedom and in rare cases become independent transatlantic traders in goods and slaves.

The experiences of African and creole mariners during this period were not unabashedly positive, however. The image which most animated my understanding of the paradoxes of early modern maritime life for the common sailor was provided by a description of a Portuguese owned slaving vessel, the *Liberal*, which was apprehended by British anti-slaving forces in 1841 while traveling from Havana to the Bight of Benin. Once the Liberal was navigated to Sierra Leone for adjudication, a complete inventory of all items aboard was taken, and included "four or five shackles for the crew." This simple statement indicated that it was plausible that common sailors could find themselves subject to the same modes of control and punishment that enslaved African cargoes were. Likewise, it complicates romanticized portraits of sailing as defined by boundless adventure and liberty. The tension between these two conditions—the unfettered mobility of the seafaring profession, and the harsh punishments enacted against common sailors and other subordinates on early modern sailing vessels—formed the basis of maritime life. As an organizing metaphor, the *Liberal*'s inventory reveals the remarkable opportunities afforded by seafaring life coupled with the intense vulnerabilities, abuses and dangers faced by those who practiced such a profession. For black seamen, the risks were heightened as they could

⁶ House of Commons Papers, Vol. 42 (Great Britain Parliament House of Commons H.M. Stationery Office, 1842), 83.

be kidnapped and (re-enslaved) either by unscrupulous Portuguese captains, or taken as prisoners or prizes and sold into slavery if their ship was captured by an enemy at sea.⁷

Most maritime studies of the Portuguese Empire tend to focus on the evolution of technology and navigational expertise of ship captains at the dawn of early modern Europe, foregrounding the commercial and religious imperatives of exploration, conquest and settlement. By contrast, this study focuses on the central role of actors usually ignored or at best considered marginal to the accomplishment of such feats. As my dissertation illustrates, African and creole seaman not only provided the physical labor necessary to man the central machine of Portuguese mobility, commerce and power in the early modern world—the oceanic sailing ship—but also furnished sea captains with the critical skilled labor—including navigational, commercial, and medical expertise—that was necessary to make sea travel in the Atlantic a reality. Though many of these African and creole mariners were enslaved or freed, not all of them were forced to toil in the most menial shipboard occupations nor were they exclusively exploited by ship captains and owners. Instead they performed a variety of occupations within the sailing ship's laboring hierarchy.

Complicating the notion that black maritime laborers were simply part of an exploited, racially-isolated and subordinate labor force, I demonstrate that African and creole deep-sea sailors were in fact a crucial part of a broader, vibrant maritime culture, which was pioneered by Africans and their descendants residing in the aquatic environments of the Bay of All Saints in Bahia and the rivers, estuaries, lagoons and oceanic littorals of the Bight of Benin. In these aquatic locales, enslaved and freed people developed various effective

⁷ See Chapter 3; Charles R. Foy, "Eighteenth Century 'Prize Negroes': From Britain to America," *Slavery & Abolition* 31:3 (2010), 379-393; Lee Wilson, "Masters of Law: English Legal Culture and the Law of Slavery in Colonial South Carolina and the British Atlantic World, 1669-1783" (PhD Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2014), 154-161.

strategies for optimizing the benefits of the environments in which they found themselves. Indeed, Bahian fishing, watercraft building and navigational tactics were likely inspired by West African antecedents. During this epoch of maritime exploration, burgeoning oceanic travel, and the re-orientation of human settlement and economic activity towards the Atlantic littoral, Africans both in their home continent and in the Americas were in fact on the forefront of various innovations, participating in and capitalizing on revolutionary transformations in the Atlantic world.

This study of African diasporic adaptation to new, oceanic environments is in sharp contrast to most studies of New World colonial societies, which almost exclusively foreground *European* endeavors to explore and master unfamiliar American surroundings in furtherance of agricultural production, mineral extraction, commerce and profit. The intense focus on these historical developments is not surprising, as European actors tended to leave detailed written accounts of these efforts in the form of travel and navigational guides—called *roteiros* by the Portuguese—as well as *memórias* or histories of colonial locales, plantation accounting books, and ships' papers. My research, however, views the history of

⁸ See William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); Warren Dean, With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); S. Max Edelson, Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Richard Grove, Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Claudia Heynemann, A Floresta da Tijuca: Natureza e Civilização, Século XIX (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio, 1995); Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Visão do Paraíso: Os Motivos Edénicos no Descobrimento e na Colonização do Brazil 4th ed. (São Paulo, Brazil: Nacional, 1985); Shawn W. Miller, Fruitless Trees: Portuguese Conservation and Brazil's Colonial Timber, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000). Exceptions to this historiographical disposition include Judith Carney and Richard Nicolas Rosomoff, In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Judith A Carney, Robert A Voeks, "Landscape Legacies of the African Diaspora in Brazil," in Progress in Human Geography 27:2 (2003), 139-153; Frederick Knight, Working the Diaspora: The Impact of African Labor on the Anglo-American World, 1650-1850 (New York: New York University Press,

Portuguese exploration and oceanic commerce from an entirely new perspective, illustrating how Africans and their descendants in the colonial Brazilian city of Salvador were the first to achieve mastery over the waterborne "frontier" of the new colony. By experimenting and collecting knowledge about this unknown aquatic environment, and pioneering insights into local geography, currents and winds, Africans and their descendants also discovered routes of navigation within the Bay of All Saints, its tributaries, as well as the Atlantic littoral. In the process they discovered numerous techniques for extracting valuable resources from these maritime environments—especially fish—which not only provided for their own subsistence, but also furnished enslaved people and the free poor with commodities to sell in local markets, thus allowing them access to the cash economy.

Because this study focuses on the sphere of maritime activities it is distinct from the predominant body of scholarship on the history of the African Diaspora, most of which has assumed that religious practice, aesthetics, language and ethnic identity were the principal aspects of West African cultures which enslaved peoples recreated, to varying degrees, in American contexts. For instance John Thornton, in his path-breaking study of the fundamental influence of enslaved Africans in transforming Atlantic cultures and societies, has argued that kinship ideology, languages, and aesthetics were the most established forms of African culture in the Americas. In addition, two recent monographs, James H. Sweet's

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^{2010);} Pablo F. Gomez, "Bodies of Encounter: Health Illness and Death in Early Modern African-Spanish Caribbean," (PhD Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 2010); Pablo F. Gómez, "Incommensurable Epistemologies? The Atlantic Geography of Healing in the Early Modern Caribbean," Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism 18: 2 (2014), 95-107; Robert A. Voeks, Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1997); Robert Voeks, "Spiritual Flora of Brazil's African Diaspora: Ethnobotanical Conversations in the Black Atlantic," Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature & Culture 6:4 (2012), 501-522.

⁹ John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chapters 7, 8 and 9. For other examples of this trend see

Domingos Álvares, African Healing and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World and Luis Nicolau Parés' The Formation of Candomblé: Vodun History and Ritual in Brazil, have brilliantly traced the how African precedents specifically informed diasporic iterations of spiritual worship, religious congregation and ritual healing. 10 These studies, along with many others, have definitively discredited arguments by scholars such as Richard Price and Sidney Mintz (revived more recently by Stephanie Smallwood) that Africans geographically displaced by the transatlantic slave trade were incapable of effectively drawing on Old World precedents to aid their survival in the Americas. ¹¹ In addition, the increasing detail and empirical thoroughness with which historians and other scholars have uncovered African peoples' specific and dynamic strategies, actions, and ideas inspired by African precedents throughout the Atlantic has revealed the limitations of an exclusive "creolization" model of the African diaspora. Mintz, Price and others have argued that Africans displaced by the slave trade were forced to totally start anew and create entirely original cultural languages, forms and

Mariza de Carvalho Soares, People of Faith; Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro Translated by Jerry D. Metz (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, Enslaving Connection: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil During the Era of the Slavery (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2004); José C. Curto and Renée Soulodre-La France, eds., Africa and the Americas: Interconnections during the Slave Trade (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005); Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs, Eds. The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Akinwumi Ogundiran and Paula Saunders, eds., Materialities of Ritual in the Black Atlantic (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014); Sherwin K. Bryant, Rachel Sarah O'Toole, and Ben Vinson III, eds., Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2012); James H. Sweet, Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); João José Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia, trans. by Arthur Brakel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Luis Nicolau Parés, *The Formation of Candomblé: Vodun History and Ritual in Brazil*, trans, by Richard Vernon (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); James H. Sweet, Domingos Álvares, African Healing and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

¹¹ Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976); Smallwood, Saltwater Slavery.

epistemologies in the absence of any meaningful, mutually intelligible legacies from Africa.

Both sides of the debate, however, elide the degree to which the historical processes of "creolization" or the creation of new or hybrid cultural forms, acculturation, or adaptation to new societies and expectations, and African re-creation all played simultaneously vital roles in the strategies of Africans in the Diaspora.

Despite these innovations, no study has thus far, with any specificity, examined how West African navigational and commercial traditions were reconstituted in the New World. As such, my research's focus on the maritime realm not only opens new avenues for understanding how West African aquatic strategies inspired practices in the New World, but also challenges interpretations that posit the development of the African Diaspora was a unidirectional phenomenon. Indeed, the notion that African people, ideas, and cultures only moved from east to west is a presumption that forms the basis of most foundational theorizing of the African Diaspora. The prevalence of African sailors on the slave trading route between Salvador da Bahia—the third largest slaving entrepôt in the Atlantic, and one of its largest port cities in general—and the Mina Coast—a region on the West African littoral which stretched from Elmina to present day Lagos—reveals the extent to which mutual influences circulated between these two regions, and illustrates the role of Africans themselves in diffusing them. In the period of this study, I argue that 36 percent of all mariners laboring on the slave trade were African and 27.8 percent were enslaved. ¹² Many of these men made multiple journeys between West Africa and Bahia in their lifetimes, and acted as crucial vectors for transporting goods and ideas between the two regions. While there is a rich and influential literature on the constant movement of African peoples and their dependents between the Bight of Benin and Bahia, many studies focus on the

¹² See Chapter 3.

nineteenth century, specifically within the context of the homecoming of freed West African *retornados* or returnees from Bahia in the wake of the xenophobic backlash against Africans in the aftermath of the Malê Rebellion in 1835.¹³ My study demonstrates that the constant movement of Africans between these two regions had much deeper roots, and in fact dates to the very beginnings of the slave trade, where Africans had always been used as maritime laborers.

While this project contributes to scholarship on the history of the African Diaspora, it is also a history of the Atlantic world more broadly; and more specifically of the maritime Atlantic and the labor that enabled the creation of an interconnected, fluid and hybrid world linked by newly forming ties of commerce and migration. Here, I attempt to fulfil the admonitions of Kristin Mann and Edna Bay, who have urged scholars to fuse insights gleaned by theorizations of the African Diaspora with those of the Atlantic World paradigm. As Bay and Mann write in *Rethinking the African Diaspora*, "if one culls the best from each of these traditions of scholarship on the Atlantic world and combines them with what is beginning to be known about the history of the African diaspora, then a new paradigm for understanding both begins to emerge." They continue:

¹³ Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Negros Estrangeiros: Os Escravos Libertos e Sua Volta à África, 2a Edição Revista e Ampliada (São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz S.A., 2012); Pierre Verger, Os Libertos: Sete Caminhos na Liberade de Escravos da Bahia no Sévulo XIX (São Paulo: Corrupio Edições e Promoções Culturais Ltda., 1992); Kristin Mann and Edna G. Bay, Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil (London: Franck Cass Publishers, 2001); Lisa Earl Catillo and Luis Nicolau Parés, "Marcelina da Silva: A Nineteenth-Century Candomblé Priestess in Bahia," Slavery & Abolition 31:1 (2010), 1-27; J. Lorand Matory, Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Jerry Michael Turner, "Les Brésiliens': the impact of former Brazilian slaves upon Dahomey" (PhD Dissertation, Boston University, 1975); Milton Guran, Agudas: os 'brasileiros' do Benin (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Gama Filho, 1999); Lorenzo D. Turner, "Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves with Nigeria, West Africa," The Journal of Negro History 27:1 (January 1942), 55-67.

So far as the African Diaspora itself is concerned, what we know about the past requires a model that begins in Africa, traces the movement of specific cohorts of people into the Americas and examines how, in regionally and temporally specific contexts, they drew on what they brought with them as well as borrowed from what they found ... to forge new worlds for themselves. In the process, persons of African descent contributed to the making of broader regional and eventually national histories and cultures, forging the wider Atlantic civilization.¹⁴

In addition, my research fundamentally expands the geographic terrain of scholarship focused on the history of colonial and imperial Brazil. Within this literature, maritime history has largely been neglected. Rare are the studies of colonial Salvador da Bahia which employ an Atlantic framework, or interpret the urban center's history through locating and explaining its connections to an expansive maritime world. Indeed, the handful of historians who have explored seafaring life in colonial Brazil have tended to focus on connections between Angola and Rio de Janeiro, an oceanic trade propelled by a very different merchant community and labor force. As such, the maritime character of Salvador, in which a large

¹⁴ Mann and Bay, Rethinking the African Diaspora, 15-16.

¹⁵ Exceptions include Walter Hawthorne, "Gorge: An African Seamen and his Flights from 'Freedom' back to 'Slavery' in the Early Nineteenth Century," Slavery & Abolition 31:3 (2010), 411-428; João José Reis, Flávio dos Santos Gomes, Marcus J.M. de Carvalho, O Alufá Rufino: Tráfico, Escravidão e Liberdade no Atlântico Negro (c. 1822-1853) (São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz Ltda., 2010); Jamie Rodrigues, Da Costa a Costa; Beatriz Gollotti Mamigonian, "José Majojo e Francisco Moçambique, marinheiros das rotas atlâticas: notas sobre a reconstituição de trajetórias da era da abolição," Topoi 11:20 (2010), 75-91; Luiz Geraldo Silva, A Faina, A Festa, e o Rito: Uma Etnografia Histórica sobre as Gentes do Mar (Séculos XVII ao XIX) (Campinas, SP: Papirus Editora, 2001).

¹⁶ For one study of Salvador's Atlantic connections see A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," in *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850*, eds., Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Robin Law and Kristin Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56:2 (1999), 307-334. For studies of connections between Rio de Janeiro and Angola see Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Rodrigues, *Da Costa a Costa*; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angola Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

proportion of its populace engaged in aquatic occupations and commerce, has never been analyzed in depth.

There has, however, been a rich tradition of scholarship analyzing maritime life in the North Atlantic. First and foremost in this regard is the work of Marcus Rediker, whose pioneering research has done much to unpack the complex and sometimes conflict-ridden set of social and labor relations that underpinned the deceptively romantic depictions of seafaring life. Moreover, Rediker's scholarship explored what was crucially modern about the Atlantic sailing vessel, focusing on the cutting edge technologies used to construct and navigate it, the emerging battles between labor and capital that defined modern British domestic politics and characterized the relations between common sailors and ship owners, and the increasing economic power wielded by Atlantic merchants both at sea and on land during the period.¹⁷

But Rediker remains a scholar of the North Atlantic. Moreover, other scholars have extended his conclusions beyond the Anglo milieu in order to make sweeping arguments about the Atlantic as a whole, all the while ignoring the specificities of life on the early modern British Isles and the limitations of extrapolating them more broadly. The distinct cultural and commercial dynamics of the South Atlantic—the particularly intense interactions between the coasts of Africa and Brazil, coupled with the unavailability of free

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¹⁷ Marcus Reidker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000); Marcus Rediker, The Slave Ship: A Human History (New York: Penguin Books, 2008).

¹⁸ Emma Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730-1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): Niklas Frykman, "The wooden world turned upside down: Naval mutinies in the age of Atlantic revolution," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2010).

manual labor—made the maritime world of the south fundamentally distinct from the north.¹⁹ Colonial Bahia was a slave society, where the majority of its inhabitants and laborers were enslaved Africans and their descendants. While English sailors frequently interpreted their status aboard Atlantic sailing vessels as equivalent to "slavery," they were in fact not legally enslaved.²⁰ Though the tars of Rediker's studies often found themselves dissatisfied with their maritime existence, alienated by paltry wages, harsh discipline and the inherent dangers of Atlantic seafaring, for enslaved seamen the opportunities afforded by such a life often outweighed the hardships, and were far more attractive than many land-based alternatives.

While Rediker characterizes Atlantic sailors as the quintessential early modern proletariat, as an exploited—as well as rebellious—community of laborers, my research offers a very different view. By contrast, I emphasize how enslaved sailors made instrumental use of their mobility and autonomy, becoming dynamic participants in—rather than solely victims of—the defining economic and cultural possibilities afforded by the early modern Atlantic World. As such, this argument draws crucially on the works of several scholars of the North Atlantic who have studied black seafaring life in depth, including Julius S. Scott, Jeffry W. Bolster, Kevin Dawson, Michael J. Jarvis, Charles Foy, David S. Cecelski, and Linda Rupert.²¹ All of these scholars have centered the maritime experience in studies

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¹⁹ For more on the bi-lateral connections between Africa and Brazil see Luiz Felipe Alencastro, O *Trato dos Viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul (Séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz Ltda., 2000); José Honório Rodrigues, *Brazil and Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965).

²⁰ According to Philip Morgan, one English mariner in the seventeenth century proclaimed, "all men in the ship except the master ... are little better than slaves." Philip Morgan, "Introduction: Maritime Slavery," *Slavery & Abolition* 31:3 (2010), 313; Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors*, 3.

²¹ Jeffrey W. Bolster, Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); David S. Cecelski, The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in

of slavery, challenging rigid definitions of enslavement as premised on physical captivity and the absence of mobility. ²² I echo these scholars' emphasis on the agency of black sailors in the Atlantic, and argue that mariners were not only agents in transforming their own lives, but were in fact agents in the Atlantic world more broadly. As I will show, mariners facilitated commerce by acting as intermediaries between slave traders, African merchants, and enslaved people. In addition, they diffused knowledge of emancipatory Portuguese royal law to enslaved people throughout the empire, and introduced West African derived medicinal knowledge and material culture to the urban community of Salvador da Bahia as well as its hinterland. No ordinary slaves, such men were distinguished from their enslaved peers onshore, most of who toiled in isolated rural agricultural contexts, as well as from their legally free white counterparts at sea.

Examining the Atlantic world through the eyes of enslaved and free mariners also has allowed me to construct a far more inclusive portrait of early modern commercial

Maritime North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Charles R. Foy, "Ports of Slavery, Ports of Freedom: How Slaves used Northern Seaports' Maritime Industry to Escape and Create Trans-Atlantic Identities, 1713-1783,"(PhD Dissertation, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2008); Charles R. Foy, "Unkle Sommerset's" freedom: liberty in England for black sailors," Journal for Maritime Research 13:1 (2011), 13:1, 21-36; Julius S. Scott, "The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the Haitian Revolution," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 1986); Philip Morgan, "Introduction: Maritime Slavery," Slavery & Abolition, (2010), 31:3, pp. 311-326; Alan Cobley, "That Turbulent Soil: Seafarers, the 'Black Atlantic,' and Afro-Caribbean Identity," in Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, eds., Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2007); Michael Jarvis, In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Linda Rupert, Creolization and Contraband: Curação in the Early Modern Atlantic World (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2012); Linda M. Rupert, "Marronage, Manumission and Maritime Trade in the Early Modern Caribbean," Slavery & Abolition 30:3 (2009), 361-382; Kevin Dawson, "Enslaved Ship Pilots in the Age of Revolutions: Challenging Notions of Race and Slavery between the Boundaries of Land and Sea," Journal of Social History 47:1 (2013), 71-100. ²² For an example of this interpretation see Stephanie Camp, Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

relations than has been previously presented. Atlantic history, rife with studies of the rise of transoceanic merchant capitalism—typified by the long distance trade of exotic, luxury consumer goods as opposed to a focus on production or long-term infrastructure investment which characterized mature productive capitalism in the eighteenth century—almost exclusively concentrates on well capitalized European actors—including merchant houses and families and royal monopoly companies. Integral to this picture is the assumption that the role enslaved people played in the development of transatlantic capitalist relations was either as human commodities, whose value underwrote the expensive plantation enterprise, or as the source of coerced labor used to power the productive mining and agricultural economies of the Americas. In both these formulations of essential passivity or exploitation, there is little room to appreciate enslaved Africans' and their

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²³ For an analysis of the evolution of Atlantic Capitalism see Mark Peterson, "Capitalism" in The Princeton Companion to Atlantic History, eds. Joseph C. Miller, Vincent Brown, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Laurant Dubois, Karen Ordahl Kupperman, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 71-79; Robert Brenner, Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Xabier Lamikiz, Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and their Overseas Networks (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society/Boydell Press, 2010); Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan, eds., Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500-1800 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Laurier Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians during the Sixteenth Century: History and Archaeology," William and Mary Quarterly 55:4 (1998), 585–610; James D. Tracy, ed., The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade, 1350-1750 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Wim Klooster, *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the* Caribbean, 1648-1795 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998); Peter A. Coclanis, The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice and Personnel (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

²⁴ Edward E. Baptist, This Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism (New York: Basic Books, 2014); Sven Beckhart, Empire of Cotton: A Global History (New York: Knopf, 2014); Robin Blackburn, The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800 (London: Verso, 1997); Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Capitalismo e Escravidão no Brasil Meridional (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1962); Walter Johnson, River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Stephanie Smallwood, Saltwater Slavery; Lorena S. Walsh, Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantations Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

descendants' voluntary associations with the expanding commercialism that defined the maritime Atlantic. My study, by contrast, analyzes the structure and organization of transatlantic commerce centered on slave trading between Bahia and the Bight of Benin, one in which enslaved Africans and creoles actively participated in commodity trades between the two regions as small scale traders, of their own volition. Bahia's slave trade, unique in the Atlantic, was based on the assemblage of small scale investments, mostly in goods not currency, purchased on credit with the promise of small scale returns. In lieu of complex financial instruments, investment in such voyages was organized around familial and patronage ties, which allowed maritime laborers as well as the slaves of Atlantic merchants to participate in long-distance commerce through their personal connections with wealthy elites. In the process they created a market for West African commodities through both their trading and consumption of certain meaningful articles within Salvador and on surrounding rural plantations. As such, my work extends John Thornton's contention that Africans were active and influential participants in Atlantic maritime commerce across the Atlantic and into the hinterlands of Brazil.²⁵

Methods and Sources

African and creole mariners did not leave extensive written documentation of their activities. Like the enslaved, and indeed the vast majority of the inhabitants of colonial Brazil, both European and African, most were illiterate. A handful of these men, however, left a trail of their encounters with the Portuguese courts and administrators. In their determination to secure inheritances for kin and dependents, to realize their legal freedom, and to testify to their own importance within the Portuguese empire, they commissioned

²⁵ John Thornton, Africa and Africans, Chapter 2.

wills, inventories and legal petitions that I located across a number of archives. In the Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, I found an extensive collection of wills and inventories, administrative correspondence by local imperial authorities such as the viceroy of Brazil, the governor of the captaincy, as well as the municipal council. In Lisbon, the Arquivo Histórico da Marinha housed numerous legal petitions for manumission, as did the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo's Feitos Findos collection. While at the Portuguese Nacional Archives I also consulted the administrative correspondence of the Companhia Geral de Comércio de Pernambuco e Paraíba, a monopoly trading company that imported slaves and commodities at the end of the eighteenth century, as well as the papers for the metropolitan *Junta do Comécio* which in 1756 was tasked with administering trade between Portugal's colonial possessions. The Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino housed the records of the Conselho Ultramarino or the governing body which advised administrators stationed in Portugal's overseas territories after 1642. I consulted the collections for Bahia, as well as several other Brazilian captaincies (of which can be found online), as well as the São Tomé collection, which not only contained administrative correspondence to Lisbon from that colony, but much of the correspondence from administrators posted in trading forts on the Mina Coast at which Bahian traders frequented.

These sources, along with a number of descriptions by European and American travelers, provided me with a vivid picture of life, labor and commerce in Portuguese port cities of the Atlantic. For details of the interactions which characterized life at sea, however, I turned to three disparate collections of ships' papers from the early nineteenth century. I combined the ships' papers of 52 Bahian slaving vessels captured by British anti-slaving forces between 1811 and 1839 housed in three separate archives, including the Arquivo Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, where they are contained in the *Real Junta do Comércio, Agricultura*,

Fábricas e Navegação collection, the Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty (a diplomatic archive in Rio de Janeiro) and the National Archives in London, England. The second two archives housed portions of the papers of slaving ships tried in Britain's bi-lateral Mixed Commission Courts, which over the course of fifty years condemned 600 vessels. ²⁶ Historian Leslie Bethell observed as early as 1966 that the Mixed Commission Court records, housed in the Foreign Office collection of the British National Archives, housed the papers of 528 vessels adjudicated in Sierra Leone's the Mixed Commission Court and thus was home to one of the most extensive collections of slave traders' activities during the period.²⁷ To date, no works have been published using these materials. My study—which focuses only on vessels whose voyages originated in Bahia—corrects this absence, by uniting the papers of twenty-two slaving ships from this collection, as well as twenty-one ships' papers from Itamaraty, as well as the papers of eight vessels captured by the British in 1811. The latter set of records, located in the Arquivo Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, contain incredible detail and have never before been consulted.²⁸ These files ranged from ten to several hundred pages. These documents included legal petitions for restitution initiated by ship owners, detailed cargo manifests, muster rolls or *matriculas* with the biographical details for individual crew members, testimony by ship owners, captains, crew and enslaved mariners, nautical diaries and personal correspondence by and to captains, including letters by West African merchants and rulers.

Collating the biographical data from this collection of 52 ships has allowed me to create a database of Bahian mariners, from which I draw most of the statistical information

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²⁶ Leslie Bethell, "The Mixed Commissions for the Suppression of the Transatlantic Slave trade in the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of African History* 7:1 (1966), 79.

²⁷ Bethel, "Mixed Commissions," 84.

²⁸ See Appendix 1.

in chapter three which details the composition of Salvador's maritime labor force. This collection of ships' papers is not uniform over time, however, due to the varying diplomatic contexts of the Mixed Commission Courts over the nearly 30 year period covered in my study. Following Britain's abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, its government employed a strategy of entering into a series of bi-lateral agreements with slave trading nations to eventually end the entire trade from Africa. Britain's first treaty with Portugal in 1810 limited slavers activities to "the African Dominions of the Crown of Portugal." ²⁹ Britain's Royal Navy was tasked with the enforcement of these bi-lateral anti-slave trading treaties, and in consequence began a decades long campaign to capture any vessel engaged in slaving and navigate it to Freetown in Sierra Leone in order for its adjudication and condemnation. A spate of ships captured in the years 1811 and 1812 revealed the ambiguity of the 1810 treaty, with the British navy believing that ports in West Africa fell outside of the perimeters of Portuguese colonial possessions, with all ports north of the equator illegal for slave trading, and Bahian slavers believing that they were part of the Portuguese territory.³⁰ In response to the condemnation of twelve ships captured during this period, Bahian slaving ship owners authored petitions for the restitution of theirs ships and goods which had been confiscated, in the process providing incredibly comprehensive information pertaining to the operation of these vessels for my study.

In the following decades, Britain and Portugal, and later Britain and independent Brazil entered into a series of bi-lateral treaties which permitted the capture and adjudication of Bahian slaving vessels under varying conditions. On January 21, 1815, Portugal

²⁹ Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 8.

³⁰ Bethell, *Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 10; Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 45, Documento 24, September 28, 1811.

recommitted to ending the slave trade north of the equator, but an 1817 decision in the British courts limited the Royal Navy's ability to search and capture vessels illegally engaged in trade.³¹ After the adoption of an additional Anglo-Portuguese treaty in 1817 which restored the right of search, the Royal Navy began to again seize slaving vessels in West Africa. In 1825, Britain recognized Brazil as an independent nation, and signed a bi-lateral treaty to abolish the slave trade and established a Mixed Commission Court comprised of British and Brazilian judges to adjudicate captured vessels in Rio de Janeiro, in addition to the one already in operation in Sierra Leone.³² Because of this shifting legal landscape, the number of Bahian ships captured by the Royal Navy was not uniform over time. Some years featured a disproportionate number of captures, and other years none at all. The result is an uneven, though significant sample of Bahian slaving ships. In 1812, for instance, 46 ships sailed from Bahia to the African coast; ten were captured by British anti-slaving forces, meaning that the sample of ships' papers included in this study for the year 1812 was very representative. One year earlier only two ships were captured out of a total of 33 that sailed, making the sample for that year less statistically significant.³³ Despite these caveats, the Mixed Commission records are the only surviving sources that include the crew and cargo manifests for slaving vessels during the period, and they cover one of the most active periods of Bahian slaving.³⁴

By uniting this expansive collection of diverse sources, held in eight archives and libraries, my research re-contextualizes both local histories of Salvador da Bahia, and the

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³¹ Bethell, Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade, 16-17.

³² Bethell, Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade, 52.

³³ Numbers for total number of ships from Voyages: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces, accessed online 31 March 2015.

³⁴ The termination of French and British slave trading during the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century led to the increasing dominance of Brazilian traders on the Mina Coast.

Atlantic, and allowed me to craft a historical narrative both far-reaching and intimate in scope. In contrast to many histories of colonial Brazil, I looked beyond the local and imperial archive, incorporating documentation from West Africa and Britain. In doing so, I uncovered the centrality of transatlantic population movements and commerce to the formation of a colonial Brazilian city. As such, my research refutes the false dichotomy between local and global histories. Mobilizing these sources to explore urban Salvador through the eyes of cosmopolitan sailors, I demonstrate how such men became one of the many vectors which connected a local community to the broader world.

Organization

This study is, at its heart, an effort to reimagine conventional understandings of South Atlantic maritime life, the transatlantic slave trade, and the experience of slavery for those who participated in the pervasive oceanic features of the emerging Atlantic world. Chapter one delineates the centrality of maritime and especially transatlantic trade to urban life in Salvador. I chart the geography and export economy of the city, and detail a wide range of productive aquatic actives overwhelmingly performed by enslaved people, Africans and Creoles in the port of Salvador. I argue that maritime activities were central to the lives of many slaves who "reside[d] at the water's edge," according to one 1775 observer. Schapter two explores the origins of Portuguese reliance on African maritime labor, which began with the earliest explorations of the West African coast. Portuguese captains and merchants employed both free and enslaved African mariners who acted as interpreters, sailors, grumetes, canoemen and trade auxiliaries aboard slaving vessels. From West Africa, the practice of employing Africans as maritime laborers diffused throughout the Portuguese

³⁵AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Documento 12425, January 4, 1775, Lisbon.

Empire, including to Brazil. This chapter also contextualizes the growing Bahian trade on the Mina Coast by analyzing the uniquely inter-imperial nature of West African trade, and the influence that West African politics and warfare had on driving Bahian slave trading eastward over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Chapter three turns to life aboard sailing vessels in the South Atlantic, and focuses on daily life, labor, and the relationships that formed between crew members, as well as the interactions between enslaved and African sailors and captives in the cargo. Crucially, I argue, ship captains and royal bureaucrats often preferred African sailors to European ones because of their perceived expertise in dealing with African people on the coast as well as aboard slaving vessels. Taking advantage of this preference, enslaved and free mariners instrumentally utilized the mobility and autonomy they experienced as seafarers to secure manumission both through legal petition and self-purchase.

The final two chapters of my dissertation analyze how African and creole mariners transformed the South Atlantic slaving ship into a site of the diffusion of African culture and knowledge in the Americas. Chapter four traces the small scale trading practices of sailors, who imported slaves, dendê oil, and pannos da costa or West African textiles into Bahia, where they were sold and consumed by Africans living in the colony. This commodity trade in West African goods was unique in the Atlantic world, and illustrates the ingenuity of the commercial practices of enslaved people in Brazil. The final chapter describes how African derived medicinal knowledge deployed by slave ship barbers and sangradores (literally bleeders)—particularly botanical pharmacopeia and bloodletting—became the most common form of treatment on Bahian slaving vessels. Africans comprised nearly 90 percent of all Bahian slave ship medical personnel, making African derived medicinal practices part

of a larger body of healing knowledge which was being formed in the Atlantic in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER 1

Salvador da Bahia: A Biography of an Atlantic Port City

In passed days I wrote very fully to you of my return from new countries, which have been found and explored with the ships, at the coast and by the command of this Most Serene King of Portugal; and it is lawful to call it a new world, because none of these countries were known to our ancestors and all who hear about them they will be entirely new. For the opinion of the ancients was, that the greater part of the world beyond the equinoctial line to the south was not land, but only sea, which they have called the Atlantic; and even if they have affirmed that any continent is there, they have given many reasons for denying it is inhabited. But this opinion is false, and entirely opposed to the truth. My last voyage has proved it, for I have found a continent in that southern part; full of animals and more populous than our Europe, or Asia, or Africa, and even more temperate and delightful than any other region known to us.

—Amerigo Vespucci, Mundus Novus Letter, 1503¹

Introduction

In 1637, Brazil's first historian, the Franciscan friar Vicente do Salvador, humorously and evocatively noted that the Portuguese penchant for maritime transportation and coastal settlement around the globe gave the impression that they were like crabs—always scuttling over beaches.² Vicente do Salvador's assertion was certainly correct. The maritime orientation of Portugal's early colonization efforts left a lasting legacy in South Atlantic, where its major settlements were all founded in relation to the Empire's active efforts to accumulate wealth through maritime shipping. But it was not just the Portuguese who were

¹ Amerigo Vespucci, *Mundus Novus Letter to Lorenzo Pietro Di Medici*, Translated by George Tyler Northrup, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1916), 1.

² James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, Early Latin America: A history of colonial Spanish America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 229.

always scuttling over beaches. From the founding of the colony to the first half of the nineteenth century and beyond, Brazil's black population had been an important and frequently overlooked part of coastal settlements. Nowhere was this more the case than in Salvador da Bahia, a city that would become one of the most populous, wealthiest and busiest ports in the Atlantic world.³

This chapter details the foundation and evolution of Salvador, a city which began as a small colonial outpost to facilitate a small scale trade in exotic Brazilwood (pan Brasil), but eventually developed into a bustling center for myriad forms of commerce. Trade was the lifeblood of Salvador da Bahia, and was largely facilitated by the maritime environment in which the port city was situated, one that determined its built environment, the composition of the population, as well as the productive lives of its residents. Indeed, the evolution of Salvador as an urban center was dependent on its relationship to an increasingly interconnected Atlantic ocean. Paraphrasing the historian Alejandro de la Fuente's description of sixteenth century Havana, Salvador was not just a place in the Atlantic but an Atlantic place.⁴ The majority of the city's population lived by Atlantic trade and transportation, including those directly engaged in it such as merchants and ship captains, as well as a sizable number of auxiliary laborers such as sailmakers, stevedores and ironsmiths who all indirectly enabled ocean travel.

Though the history of Salvador da Bahia's development as a port city has been analyzed by several scholars, this chapter foregrounds two distinctive features of the city that

³ Victor Bulmer-Thomas, John H. Coatsworth, and Porberto Cortés Conde, *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America, Volume I, The Colonial Era and the Short Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006),156.

⁴ Alejandro de la Fuente with the collaboration of César García del Pino, and Bernardo Iglesias Delgado, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 223.

shaped the mechanics of Bahian slaving, as well as African and African-descended mariners' eventual participation in the transatlantic trade in people. Firstly, this chapter centers the city's status as a vibrant hydroscape as much as an urban landscape. Indeed, these two geographies were intimately connected by the lives and practices of the city's inhabitants. Foremost among them were enslaved and free people, who through their efforts to capitalize on the oceanic environment developed a number of maritime or aquatic subsistence strategies within and around the Bay of All Saints. This analysis owes much to the work of Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong, whose study of the increasing maritime orientation of the Anlo people of West Africa during the same period animated my theorization of enslaved people's interactions with the aquatic environment of Salvador and its surroundings. Because many of the enslaved men and women residing in colonial Bahia were from West Africa, it is likely that at least a portion of displaced Africans in the city encountered an aquatic environment that would have been similar to the many rivers, lagoons, and estuaries that populated the landscapes of their homelands. Though it is difficult to precisely determine if any of the aquatic techniques developed in Bahia were inspired by West African precedents, the similarities in navigational techniques, watercraft building and fishing and food extraction are striking.

Secondly, this chapter details how the unique organization of the transatlantic trade in slaves drove Salvador's economic and population growth. In doing so, I draw on the research of Pierre Verger, whose definitive work, Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVII au XIX first advanced the theory of a two way commercial exchange between Salvador da Bahia and the Bight of Benin. As I show, the

⁵ Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong, Between the Sea & the Lagoon: An Eco-Social History of the Anlo of Southeastern Ghana, c. 1850 to Recent Times (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001).
⁶ See Chapter two.

Bahian slave trade bypassed metropolitan influence and the "triangular" organization of slaving commerce. The Bahian slave trade also relied on the participation of a diverse group of investors to function.⁷ What became the most important form of transatlantic commerce in Bahia by the end of the eighteenth century was organized according to a corporate structure of investment, providing unique opportunities for the poor, the enslaved and other marginal members of Bahian society to engage in expanding trade.

The Maritime Geography of Salvador

In 1500, royally sponsored fleets commanded by Vicente Yanez Pinzon and Pedro Álvares Cabral first explored the 4,603 miles of Atlantic coastline which constitute modernday Brazil. Particuarly in the northeast, the coastline is irregularly punctuated by serene inlets and bays. One of the largest, at 50 kilometers across and occupying an area of 750 square kilometers, was first identified by Florentine Amerigo Vespucci in 1501. Labeled the *Baía de Todos os Santos* or Bay of All Saints, this expanse of water was named in honor of the day it was first discovered by European navigators. There, the crystalline blue waters of the South Atlantic—warmer and calmer within the Bay—meet rolling hills and bluffs (*tabuleiros*) of approximately 200 meters in elevation which, lush with vegetation, embrace the Bay in a sweeping arch. Within the Bay itself, early arrivals to the Portuguese colony would have discovered nearly 100 islands, including the largest of all, Itaparica, located on the southern side at the water's mouth. The shoreline within the Bay of All Saints is punctuated by the

⁷ Translated into English as *Trade Relations Between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th to the 19th Century* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1968).

⁸ B.J. Barikman, A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recônvavo, 1780-1860, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 9; A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," in Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World, eds. Franklin W. Knight, and Peggy K. Luis, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 196; Henrique Dias Tavares, História da Bahia, Ed. 11a (Salvador: Editoria UDUFBA, 2001), 46.

mouths of numerous rivers and creeks, including the Paraguaçu, Jaguaripe and Subaé, connecting the Atlantic to a riverine network which stretched 600 kilometers into the interior. Rich clay soils (massapes), sandy loams, and humid saltwater marshlands (mangues) characterized the lands surrounding the Bay, which inhabitants labeled the Recôncavo. In the centuries that followed the area's discovery, this landscape provided the natural resources, both terrestrial and maritime, which would not only facilitate intensive sugar cultivation by the elite Senhores de Engenhos or sugar plantation owners, but also the subsistence strategies that fed the area's growing population of slaves and free poor.

Forty-nine years would lapse between the time the Bay of All Saints was first explored by European navigators and the eventual establishment of Salvador da Bahia as the colonial capital of Brazil. Located on a rocky outcrop on the northern side of the Bay, the maritime-oriented community served as the seat of the Governor-General of Brazil, and was one of the most active commercial ports in the Portuguese Empire. Shortly thereafter, the Crown established an *Alfândega*, or customs house, in the newly minted town in order to extract wealth from any taxable commerce moving through the coastal settlement. Initially, the Portuguese Crown had attempted to reap profits from the sleepy colonial outpost, endowing twelve *sesmarias* or land grants to noblemen as proprietary captaincies in 1533 in the hope they would improve the land and begin extracting valuable natural resources from the area. This strategy ultimately failed, as the largest export during the period remained *pan Brasil*, or dyewood, which failed to raise enough profits in tax revenue to cover the struggling

⁹ B.J. Barikman calculates the land area of the Recôncavo to be 10,400 square kilometers, while Stuart Schwartz estimates the figure at between 10,000 and 13,000 square kilometers, B.J. Barikman, *A Bahian Counterpoint*, 11; Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 77.

colony's expenditures in salaries and defense. During the same time, however, other noblemen introduced sugar cuttings to the three areas of Portuguese settlement on the South American coast, in São Vicente, Pernambuco, and the Bay of All Saints. Taken from established sugar plantations in Madeira and São Tomé, these cuttings eventually flourished in Pernambuco, which had amassed 66 sugar mills by the 1580s, while Bahia gained around 40 mills during the same period. In the following hundred years, Portuguese sugar mill owners located in the Recôncavo solidified their dominance in the production of sugar for export to newly expanding European markets for luxury commodities.

The growth of sugar production in the Recôncavo also represented a shift in imperial strategy and economic organization. In the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth centuries, as C.R. Boxer has noted, independent militants, merchants and traders operating under the banner of the Portuguese crown established trans-continental networks of trading outposts located on islands or coastal enclaves spanning vast oceanic spaces connecting Europe, Asia and Africa. These outposts were administered by representatives of the Crown called *feitors*, who were empowered to act as merchants and diplomats. Sometimes the formation of these outposts involved the construction of fortresses such as the Castelo de São Jorge da Mina on the West African coast in 1482, and were dedicated exclusively to commerce, not plunder or territorial conquest. Hence, they were populated by small numbers of personnel, all of

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¹⁰ Stuart B. Schwartz, Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil: The High Court of Bahia and its judges, 1609-1751, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 97.

¹¹ Schwartz, Sugar Plantations, 17-18.

¹² C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 25-33; José Damião Rodrigues, "Patterns of Settlement and Religious Imperial Agents in the Portuguese Empire," in *Religion and Politics in a Global Society: Comparative Perspectives from the Portuguese Speaking World*, Eds. Paul Christopher Manuel, Alynna Lyon, Clyde Wilcox (Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2012), 15-32, 15-16.

¹³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700*, 2nd Ed. (Chichester, West Sussex, UK; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 48-9.

whom were appointed by the Crown on a rotating basis. These royally appointed administrators never settled permanently and acquired land holdings. Their activities thus hewed to an ideal of merchant capitalism in which profit hinged on trading with local peoples rather than the production of commodities. The settlement and expansion of the Bay of All Saints thus represented a major transition, from the establishment of trading networks for the exclusive purpose of commerce to large scale agricultural enterprise conducted by a permanent class of settlers.

This uniquely Portuguese "seaborne empire," however, depended on both the development of navigable maritime routes and building sailing vessels that could successfully traverse both the deep waters of the open sea and shallow waters from where land could be accessed. The Portuguese were the first to employ the three-masted ship in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Commonly, their vessels during this period featured one large square sail to harness wind power, accompanied by two smaller square sails on the foremast and bowsprit to steer the ship. These three-masted ships also required fewer crew members to navigate, thus necessitating few provisions, which made longer distance voyages more feasible. In addition to improvements in ship technology, mastery of the South Atlantic also required the accumulation of knowledge of the currents and wind patterns that governed that body of water. In the early fifteenth century Portuguese navigators had discovered how to exploit the circular wind systems of the eastern Atlantic—which propelled sailing vessels vast distances from shorelines—and were the first to employ the astrolabe to discern latitude south of the equator by using the sun as a reference point. Because sailing windward (against the direction of the wind) was extremely dangerous in early sailing vessels, emerging

¹⁴ N.A.M. Rodger, "Atlantic Seafaring," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World: 1450-1850*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3-4.

sea routes worked with, not against current and wind patterns that dominated the Atlantic. Currents in the South Atlantic circled counterclockwise from the Central African coast, across the Atlantic and south along the South American coastline. These features propelled Portuguese vessels to specific navigational routes which favored sea travel along the South American coast to the Río de La Plata, as well as circular routes between the northeast of what was to become the colony of Brazil and West Africa. The Bay of All Saint's position was also advantageous because of its unique topography; its wide open entrance, leading to a steep bluff, was ideal for making safe landfalls in the sailing vessels of the era.¹⁵

Figure 1.1 Trade Winds and Currents of the Atlantic 16



¹⁶ Voyages: The Atlantic Slave Trade Database, Estimates of the Trade.

¹⁵ Rodger, "Atlantic Seafaring," 13.

By the early seventeenth century, the extent of Portuguese settlement in the Recôncavo was intensified by the continuing success of sugar production in the area. Indeed, agricultural expansion was facilitated by various forms of maritime transportation and subsistence, which enabled the movement of provisions and agricultural commodities to and from rural inland settings to the commercial port of Salvador da Bahia. The Portuguese colony was notorious for its absence of well-appointed roads which could carry goods and people by carriage, instead relying almost exclusively on mule caravans and maritime transportation. Small vessels, including saveiros (boats), canoes and jangadas (rafts), connected plantations around the Bay to the Atlantic entrepôt of Salvador da Bahia. The maritime community, located at the mouth of the Bay, attracted Portuguese and later foreign longdistance sailing vessels, which waited to transport the agricultural commodities of the colony across the waters of the Atlantic. In addition, many plantations positioned themselves close to streams, rivers or seashores in order to harness water power for the running of their sugar mills and easily transport their provisions and crops to Salvador by watercraft. As tobacco production joined the cultivation of sugar in the second decade of the seventeenth century, newly active plantation owners utilized a similar strategy. As Stuart Schwartz details, such transportation was integral to Bahian agricultural production: "Water dominated this land. Everywhere it penetrated and controlled the rhythm and organization of human activity." ¹⁷ Echoing this contention, in 1612 a visitor to the Recôncavo named Diogo de Campos Moreno asserted that by that date "All the activity of this people is by water." 18

¹⁷ Schwartz, Sugar Plantations, 77.

¹⁸ Schwartz, Sugar Plantations, 78.

Figure 1.2. Sugar Mills Surrounding the Bay of All Saints¹⁹

Year	Number of Sugar				
	Engenhos in				
	the Recôncavo				
1612	50				
1629	80				
1676	130				
1710	146				

In the early decades of sugar production, Bahia's most intensive trading relationship was with the metropole, Portugal, which furnished the colony with manufactures such as textiles and household goods, as well as provisions of flour, olive oil, wine and codfish. In return, Bahia produced dyewoods, sugar, hides and tobacco, much of which was re-exported to other nations in Europe.²⁰ But primarily, the Brazilian colony's near monopoly on sugar production in the Atlantic during the early seventeenth century propelled this oceanic trade, although it was briefly interrupted by a depression between 1619 and 1623, during which time sugar prices tumbled. Things got no better in subsequent decades, when the Thirty Years War and intensifying conflicts with the Dutch after 1621 produced continuous acts of piracy and the loss of nearly twenty percent of all sugar transported across the Atlantic. Perhaps most consequently, the Dutch attack and capture of Salvador in 1624-25 led to the destruction of sugar mills and significantly diminished the profits yielded from sugar production.²¹

¹⁹ Figures from Schwartz, Sugar Plantations, 86-87.

²⁰ Boxer, Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 222.

²¹ Stuart Schwartz, "A Commonwealth within Itself: The Early Brazilian Sugar Industry, 1550-1670," in *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680*, ed. Stuart Schwartz (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 164.

Dutch piracy, as well as the Portuguese Crown's intent to reap greater profits from the mercantile trade, led in 1649 to the creation of an armed Brazilian fleet system to protect commercial vessels traveling from the colony to the metropole.²² The Crown already conducted an annual convoy, called the carreia da Índia, which since the sixteenth century had navigated a small fleet of royal ships between Goa and Portugal to purchase spices and Asian manufactures. These so called "naus da Índia" often stopped in Bahia on their return journeys to collect provisions, seek treatment for ailing sailors, and increasingly to conduct a contraband trade in Indian textiles, of which there were 90 varieties in the late seventeenth century.²³ Bahia was thus a vital nexus of Portugal's inter-continental imperial trade, linking Asia and the Atlantic. The Brazilian convoy, which connected Oporto and Lisbon to Recife, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro was much larger than the handful of ships that regularly made the passage between Asia and the metropole, the latter of which numbered at 107 ships in 1656.²⁴ At the same time as the Portuguese Crown initiated the convoy system, it also created a chartered company: the Companhia Geral do Comércio do Brasil, which offered military protection to merchant fleets in exchange for a monopoly on the trade of Portuguese wine, flour, olive oil and codfish to the colonies.²⁵ The company ultimately folded in 1720, due to a number of financial pressures that hampered its ability to respond to the faltering colonial sugar trade in the second half of the seventeenth century. Though sugar production had remained robust, prices continued to decline, depleting profits. The Companhia Geral was never able to draw sufficient investments from private Portuguese subjects, nor was it able

²² Boxer, Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 222.

²³ Many of these textiles were then re-exported to Angola in order to purchase slaves for Bahian sugar plantations. Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving: Trade, warfare and territorial control in Angola, 1650-1800," (PhD. Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2003), 49-53.

²⁴ Boxer, Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 224.

²⁵ Boxer, Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 223.

to offer adequate flexibility in shipping locations and schedules in order to satisfy merchants' fiscal needs. ²⁶ The decline of sugar profits precipitated an economic depression in Bahia, one that was only overcome after a rise in sugar prices in Europe and the discovery of gold deposits 200 miles inland from Rio de Janeiro in the 1690s. ²⁷ These simultaneous developments revived colonial production and thus transatlantic shipping, and greatly augmented the demand for enslaved labor from Africa.

By the early eighteenth century Salvador da Bahia was the busiest port in the South Atlantic. One observer from the period labeled the Bay of All Saints "one of the largest, finest, and most convenient" in the world, and estimated that it could house 2000 sailing vessels. William Dampier, an English captain, noted during the same period the harbor was "full of Ships." In addition, Dampier characterized Salvador as being defined by its integration into Atlantic commerce in commodities, noting:

A great many Merchants always reside at Bahia," Dampier reported, "for 'tis a Place of great Trade: I found here above 30 great Ships from Europe, with 2 of the King of Portugal's Ships of War for their Convoy; beside 2 Ships that traded to Africa only, either to Angola, Gambia, or other Places on the Coast of Guinea; and Abundance of small Craft, that only run to and fro on this Coast, carrying Commodities from one Part of Brazil to another.³⁰

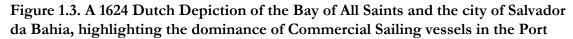
²⁶ The convoy system, like the Crown's chartered company was eventually abolished in 1765. See Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 226.

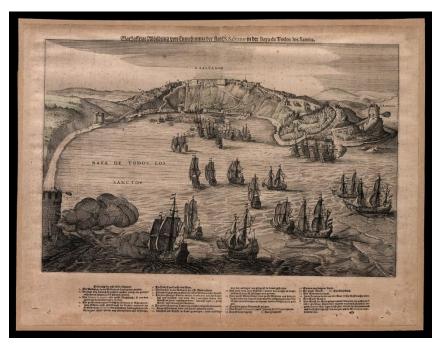
²⁷ Boxer, Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 154-5.

²⁸ François Sieur Le Froger, A Relation of a Voyage Made in the Years 1695, 1696, 1697, to the Coasts of Africa, the Streights of Magellan, Brasil, Cayana, and the Antilles or Caribby Islands (London: M. Gillyflower; W. Freeman, M. Wotton, J. Walthoe; and R. Parker, 1698), 109.

²⁹ William Dampier, A Collection of Voyages: In Four Volumes, Vol. 3, A Voyage Round the World (Knapton, 1729), 34.

³⁰ Dampier, Collection, 3:36.





Yet the colony's commercial vibrancy, Dampier noted, was also related to the growth the transatlantic slave trade. In 1699, Dampier observed the prevalence of slavers, which he characterized as "small vessels ... They carry out from hence Rum, Sugar, the Cotton-cloaths of St. Iago, Beads, &c. And bring in Return, Gold, Ivory, and Slaves; making very good Returns." Indeed, the development of black Salvador, and the further growth of Atlantic-oriented local economic activity and culture would be a signal shift in the years ahead.

Black Salvador and the Mastering of the Maritime Environment

The success of maritime shipping and thus the transportation and sale of lucrative commodities produced in the Bay of All Saints was intimately tied to both the availability of

³¹ Dampier, Collection, 3:39.

sailing vessels fabricated in the colony and the development of a diverse maritime labor force. Following the Crown's insistence, a royal shipyard was erected in Bahia in 1550, which initially constructed smaller, more rudimentary merchant vessels such as two-masted brigantines and caravels for the *cabotage* trade. In the following century, Salvador's ship building operations expanded and acquired the capacity to build larger ships including galleons and carracks, as well as warships and naus da Índia for the Asian trade.³² Drawing on locally produced resources, such as Brazilian hardwoods, cotton for sails, embira and piassava fibers for making cordage, and resin for tar, master ship builders from Portugal (patrão mors), oversaw the construction of an estimated 45 vessels during the colonial period.³³ In addition to the many Portuguese master artisans—including carpenters, coopers, caulkers, tinsmiths, saddlers, pulley-makers and sail-makers—employed to construct vessels in the shipyards, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, enslaved and free African and creole laborers also were integral to the operation of ship manufacturing. A number of slaves owned by the Crown labored in the royal shipyard (Ribeira das Naus) were trained in carpentry, caulking and the operation of sawmills; others were recruited by hiring out escravos de ganho or skilled wage earning slaves from local colonial administrators.³⁴ By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Salvador was already home to a large cohort of enslaved laborers trained in various trades by their owners.³⁵ Such laborers were employed with the

³² Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," 205; Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 211; José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia e a Carreira da Índia* (São Paulo: Companhia Editoria Nacional Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1968), 51-55.

³³ José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia*, 112; Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," 205-6.

³⁴ AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 26, Documento 2406, Bahia, June 8, 1726, Carta conde de Sabugosa ao rei.

³⁵ Dampier noted that "All these Trades-men buy Negroes, and train them up to their several Employments, which is a great Help to them; and they having so frequent Trade to Angola, and other Ports of Guinea, they have a constant Supply of Blacks both for their Plantations and Town." Dampier, *Collection*, 42.

Crown's approval, in order to expedite ship construction in the absence of a sufficient number of white metropolitan-trained artisans. In the sixteenth century, Salvador's shipyard operated with sixteen enslaved laborers, though A.J.R. Russell-Wood estimates that by the eighteenth century there may have been 600 slaves working in Bahia's various shipyards. The Crown saved funds not only by hiring enslaved rather than free laborers, who worked for cheaper wages, or by occasionally forgoing paying them altogether, as the owners of the enslaved artisans hired by the *Ribeira* complained. The complained of the enslaved artisans hired by the *Ribeira* complained.

In addition to constructing maritime vessels, African and creole laborers were also crucial in connecting the oceanic trade to Salvador's agricultural hinterland.³⁸ The small maritime vessels that plied the riverine systems and the Bay of All Saints, linking the Atlantic to the interior, thus operated as a crucial component of the infrastructure necessary for the operation of a long distance trade in commodities. In 1587, Gabriel Soares da Sousa observed that every plantation in the Recôncavo possessed at least four vessels to convey its goods to the Atlantic entrepôt of Salvador.³⁹ It is difficult, however, to determine precisely when Africans and creoles (both enslaved and free) became the dominant labor force which powered and navigated these small watercraft. In the mid-sixteenth century, many of the watermen who plied the coasts of the northeastern region of Brazil were indigenous Tupinamba people who inhabited the region when Portuguese settlers arrived. Traversing

³⁶ Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia*, 60; Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," 206.

³⁷ Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia*, 113.

Dampier described the method for conveying goods brought into port by oceanic vessels into the city as dominated by enslaved labor, "These slaves are very useful in this Place for Carriage, as Porters; for as here is a great Trade by Sea, and the Landing-place is at the Foot of a Hill, too steep for drawing with Carts, so there is great need of Slaves to carry Goods up into the Town. But the Merchants have also the Convenience of a great Crane that goes with Ropes or Pullies, on End of which goes up with the other goes down." Dampier, *Collection*, 42

³⁹ Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," 217.

the open sea, close to the littoral, Tupinamba fishermen utilized a vessel the Portuguese dubbed the "*jangada*" but which indigenous watermen called *piperis*. The *jangada* was composed of "five or six round logs, thicker than the arm of a man, and tied with twisted vines (Lianas)." Indigenous navigators would sit "in these rafts, with their legs extended to direct them to where they want to go with a flattened piece of wood serving as a paddle. As this pirperis boat is only one foot long and two feet wide, and poorly resist storms and can barely hold a man."

In the following centuries the form of the *jangada* evolved, eventually incorporating technologies derived from European sailing vessels, including sails, a crude anchor made of a stone connected to a cord, a steering paddle, and a seat for the navigator. Though the basic construction method of lashing together several logs of light wood together remained, the size of the *jangada* also grew to accommodate two or three men. By the middle of the nineteenth century several descriptions of the rafts reiterated their importance in local fishing and transportation both of passengers and goods. Though the basic techniques for constructing *jangadas* had changed little by the nineteenth century, the vessels had increased greatly in size, with observers noting that:

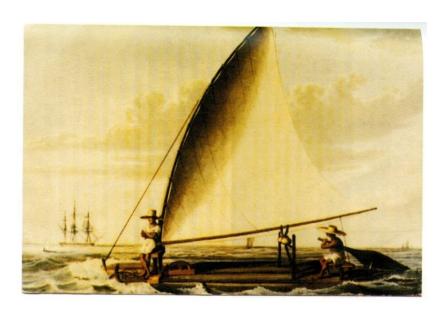
Properly speaking, it is merely a raft, composed of unhewn logs of an peculiarly light wood, called pau de jangada. Trunks of trees are selected, about six inches in diameter, as nearly straight and uniform as possible. These are stripped of bark, sharpened at each end so as to cut the water, and then fastened to each other by tree rows of transverse pins. The number of logs used is generally six, although I have seen them composed of three, four, seven, and even twenty logs. These alter are used as lighters for unloading vessels, and are nearly square in form, while the sailing jangada is rectangular, and generally about five feet in width by sixteen or twenty in length....It was of good size....It was cumbered with no appurtenances in the way of masts, sails, or rigging. There stood the form of bleached logs, having no fixtures

⁴¹ Silva, A Fania, 51-52.

⁴⁰ Luiz Geraldo Silva, A Fania, A Festa e O Rito: Uma Ethografia Historica sobre As Gentes do Mar (Secs. XVII ao XIX), (Campinas, São Paulo: Papirus Editoria, 2001), 50.

save a socket for the mast, and a seat for the steersman. Two straight sticks, about five feet high, stood in the exterior log on either side, within reach of the steersman's seat, designed for the suspension of his water gourd and bag of provisions. On its being chartered expressly for a passenger, the proprietor proceeded to fit it out in extra style, by putting a girau upon it....or a suspension cabin... It construction was in this wise; Two strong poles were lashed one to each of the stancheons or sticks just mentioned, at the height of eighteen inches, and thence slanted forward till they rested upon logs near the mast. Across these were fastened boards, making a floor. Over head sticks were bent to support a cover, not dissimilar in appearance to that of a traveling wagon; thus a space was left for the passenger about three feet in height by four in width. A thick rush mat was then spread on the bottom for a bed, and another over the top as an awning, to which, in case of rain, an oilcloth could be added, so that all might be kept dry....The only additions needed...for the paquete...for the purposes of navigation were—first a setting-pole, to push off from shore; second a slender mast, and a three corner sail to catch the breeze; and a third, a long, broad oar, to serve as a rudder. Its crew consisted of two men, the proeiro and patrão, or the bowsman and steersmen.⁴²





Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816)

⁴² Daniel Parish Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil: Embracing Historical and Geographical Notices of the Empire and Its Several Provinces*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball, 1845), 176-180.

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Crown was employing enslaved watermen to navigate these crafts to make passages from the interior to Salvador; extracting fees for the service. An One pastor in 1725 noted that he relied on canoes and *jangadas* to transport him from the rural settlement where he resided in Santo Amaro da Pitanga to the parishes where he administered sacraments. The advantages of the crude craft were in its light weight and maneuverability, two characteristics that made it ideal for the waters around the Bay. Such vessels were also central to coastal deep water fishing activities, as many *jangada* navigators alternated between selling fish and providing passage. The vessels also did not take on water, and were noted to be capable of voyages of several hundred miles along coastal or riverine waters.

In addition to *jangadas*, canoes were also vital to all forms of colonial communication, transportation and passenger travel and their use dated to the late seventeenth century. One of the earliest portrayals of canoe travel in the colony, a 1690 map of the riverine system which passed through the port community of Recife in the captaincy of Pernambuco, 800 kilometers north of Salvador, depicted African canoemen ferrying Portuguese passengers throughout the settlement.⁴⁷ Colonial Brazilian seas and rivers were home to two distinct kinds of canoes: one for shallow waters manned by one waterman and navigated by steering

⁴³ João Rodrigues de Figueiredo estimates that he expended 30,000 reis annually on transportation this way. AHU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 19, Documento 1683, May 2, 1724, Lisbon, Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino sobre a petição feito pelo vigário da igreja matriz de Santa Amaro de Pitanga João Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

⁴⁴ AHU, ACL, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 21, Documento 1926, May 8, 1725, Requerimento do vigario da matriz de Santo Amaro da Pitanga João Rodrigues de Figueiredo ao rei.

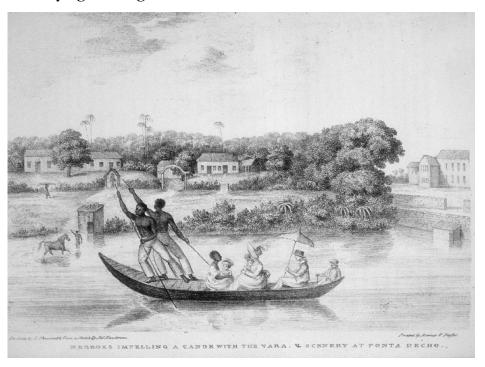
⁴⁵ Dampier, *Collection*, 3:32.

⁴⁶ James Henderson, A History of Brazil: Comprising its Geography, Commerce, Colonization, Aboriginal Inhabitants, &c. &c. &c. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), 357-358.

⁴⁷ AHU, Manuscríta, Pernambuco, "Demonstração da costa de Pernambuco a diade de Olina at Itamarica." November 6, 1702.

pole, and one for deep water navigation propelled by multiple paddlers working collectively. In Olinda, the colonial center of Pernambuco, observers noted the prevalence of the first type: "The canoes used here are of a different form of those constructed for deep water. They are navigated almost entirely by the aid of setting-poles. The canoeiros are generally large and powerful negroes, each one of whom navigates his own canoe singly."⁴⁸





From James Henderson's A History of Brazil (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown: London, 1821), facing 389^{49}

⁴⁸ Kidder, Sketches, 153.

⁴⁹ "Poling a Canoe, Brazil, 1821" Image Reference HENDERSON3, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library."

Such simple canoes, crafted out of a single tree trunk, were deployed for riverine transportation, and also for fishing. More elaborate versions were also common by the mid nineteenth century. During this period Daniel Kidder characterized most canoes in the Northeast as:

not less than seven feet wide by about twenty-five in length... these canoes are worth from five to twelve hundred milreis each. ⁵⁰ The one in question was valued at eight hundred. It had a short deck at each end, forming beneath, what I will call the fore and after cabins, midships being entirely open for cargo. This canoe carried an immense triangular sail and a jib, and had on each side an *embono*, or buoy, made of two large trunks of the *jangada* wood fastened together, and lashed to the upper edge to prevent capsizing. It was navigated by three men. ⁵¹

Another nineteenth century description illuminates the remarkable method for navigating deep water canoes powered by multiple paddlers:

Canoes are the only kind of boats used in the rivers for the transport backwards and forwards of passengers. Some are propelled by paddles, and, if going particularly fast, the men sing a monotonous chorus, every now and then raising the paddles completely out of the water, and striking the flat part of them with their hands, keeping time with the chorus. Some canoes have a branch of a tree instead of a sail, the wind blowing them along; this "new propeller" seems to answer admirably for shade as well as sail. The private canoes are not much longer, but are generally wider than the other—wide enough to admit a chair, which is a very easy way of proceeding, for but little movement can be made at any time. A very "dolce for nieute" style is to have a mat and pillow spread upon the bottom of the canoe and an umbrella over your head.⁵²

⁵⁰ Reis is the plural of real, the unit of currency in Portugal from 1430 to 1911, often prices were figured in milreis, or the value of one thousand reis.

⁵¹ Kidder, *Sketches*, 159.

⁵² James Wetherell, Brazil. Stray Notes from Bahia: Being Extracts from Letters, &c., During a Residence of Fifteen Years (Liverpool: Webb and Hunt, 1860), 97-98.

Figure 1.6: Fishing Canoe



From Henry Koster's *Travels in Brazil* (Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown: London, 1816), facing 175.⁵³

Though there is no detailed evidence which explains how such a method of group navigation evolved, clearly these innovations were elaborated by African and creole residents of Bahia. Like singing porters on Salvadorian streets, mariners also used music to synchronize movements; however such collective activities also promoted a "framework for community integrity" aboard.⁵⁴ In urban settings, singing enslaved porters chanted choruses which criticized exploitative slave masters, often in African languages. That such a navigational technique was also used by African watermen in eighteenth century South

⁵³ "Fishing Canoe, Brazil, 1816," Image Reference KOSTER3, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library." ⁵⁴ João José Reis, "The Revolution of the Ganhadores: Urban Labour, Ethnicity, and the African Strike of 1857 in Bahia, Brazil," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29:2 (1997), 364-5.

Carolina points to a common origin in Western Africa.⁵⁵ Such rituals promoted solidarity and eased the strain of toiling in physically demanding occupations. Relations between navigators on canoes were more indicative of an egalitarian sensibility than on larger vessels. One observer noted that on a canoe captained by a "mulatto" and navigated by two more black seamen, duties were delegated in a democratic manner, revealing the solidarity of small canoe crews:

There seemed to prevail the greatest harmony between the captain and his men, without any of those troublesome ideas of rank and authority which commonly prevail on salt water. They interchanged places and duties without the least ceremony, and from the indomitable garrulity of the *proteiros*, which drowned all sounds more harmonious than their own rough voices, one would have supposed them second to no one in consequence.⁵⁶

This sense of solidarity also held sway within the larger community of jangada operators and canoemen that populated the port community. Within the port of Recife, canoemen created an informal organized hierarchy modeled on military precedents. One observer noted that:

They have various dignities distributed among themselves, corresponding to military titles. Certain individuals, by suffrage of the body, are elected severally to the rank of sergeant, ensign, lieutenant, captain, major, and colonel. Nor are their honors merely nominal. When commissioned officers are met by inferiors or privates, they are entitled to a salute of one, two, three, or four strokes upon the water, with the *vara* or setting-pole. The number of strokes is graduated by the rank of the individual saluted, who always returns the compliment with a single stroke. An omission thus to salute is regarded as a crime in this aquatic community, and is subject to punishment. In case, however, one *canoeiro* has the skill or good fortune to run past a superior in rank, no ceremonies are required of him.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 243-244.

⁵⁶ Kidder, *Sketches*, 159-160.

⁵⁷ Kidder, *Sketches*, 153.

In the Bay of All Saints, a similar hierarchy of *jangada* navigators existed by the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1718, João de Brito, likely a freed African man and "fisherman on a jangada" received a royal patent to act as the commander of all the watermen within the Bay. His duties included recognizing vessels at sea and guiding them to the Governor General. In order to fulfill such a function, local watermen were required to "honor, and respect" Brito, "following quickly whatever [was] commanded by him." Crucially, João de Brito, captain of the *jangadas*, was responsible for linking deep ocean vessels to Salvador da Bahia's shore. Once large sailing vessels entered the Bay, passengers and goods had to be ferried back and forth between ship and shore.

In the flourishing commercial atmosphere of Salvador, small vessels piloted by enslaved and free black watermen were vital to the local navigation, anchorage, and loading of long distance sailing vessels. French mariner François Sieur Le Froger noted that upon arriving at the Bay of All Saints in 1697, his ship met "all along the Coast a great Number of Barks, and the Negro's Piperies, as they are called, being no other than three or four pieces of Wood made fast together, whereon two Men go out a fishing to the extent of two Leagues." The pilots of these vessels, being well acquainted with the geography of the port, were desirable navigators to bring larger vessels into the mouth of the Bay and to anchor. The pilot aboard his vessel attempted to contract local *jangada* operators to navigate the ship, but they refused to do so, "alleging, they were forbid to do it; but I believe it was because they would not leave their fishing." Eventually Froger and his men contracted the captain of a small sailing vessel to steer his ship inside the Bay and set anchor. Other smaller vessels,

⁵⁸ Cândido Eugenio Domingues de Souza, "Perseguidores da espécie humana': capitães negreiros da Cidade da Bahia na primeira metade do século XVIII," (Dissertação de Historia, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2011), 54.

⁵⁹ Le Froger, A Relation, 102-3.

such as *lanchas* and *saveiros*, where equally vital to connecting settlements in the interior to the Atlantic port of Salvador, and administrators in 1775 noted that these boats facilitated "the delivery of goods, and living that foments this commerce, and sustains the city."

Black maritime labor was not restricted to the waters surrounding Salvador. By the end of the seventeenth century, African and creole seaman had become vital to the coastal or *cabolage* trade and transatlantic slave trade as well. As William Dampier noted: "The small Craft that belong to this Town are Chiefly imployed in carrying European Goods from Bahia, the Center of the Brazilian Trade, to the other Places on this Coast; bringing back hither Sugar, Tobacco, &c. They are sailed chiefly with Negro-Slaves." This form of coastal travel was more common in Salvador than trans-oceanic voyages. *Cabolage* vessels engaged in the coastal trade accounted for a total of 32 vessels housed in the Bay by 1775. The many curvettes and galleys involved in the trade re-exported European, Asian and African goods—including textiles, manufactures, iron, gold, foodstuffs and slaves—to Pernambuco and Rio de Janiero. Agricultural commodities produced in Bahia, such as tobacco and sugar were also exported, while salted beef, hides, tallow and other goods were imported from the captaincies of Rio Grande do Sul, Ceara and Paraíba for consumption in Salvador. 62

The enslaved seamen who labored in the *cabotage* trade were also seasonally involved in whaling operations housed within the bay, which Dampier noted took place in December. During whaling season, Dampier observed, the mammals:

are very thick on this Coast. They come in also into the Harbours and inland Lakes, where the Seamen go out and kill them. The Fat of them is boiled to Oil; the Lean is eaten by the Slaves and poor People: And I was told by one that had frequently eaten of it, that the Flesh was very sweet and wholesome. These are said to be but small

⁶⁰ AHU CU Bahia-Castro Alves, Caixa 47, Documentos 8812, May 27, 1775.

⁶¹ Dampier, Collection, 39-40.

⁶² Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," 217.

Whales; yet here are so many, and so easily kill'd, that they get a great deal of Money by it. Those that strike them buy their Licence for it of the King; And I was inform'd that he receives 30000 Dollars per Annum for this Fifhery. 63

Whales within the Bay were harvested for two commodities: baleen and fat, the second of which was manufactured into lamp oil and candles and then exported to Portugal. Enslaved labor was crucial to this enterprise, and by 1775, 94.8 percent of all laborers, including rowmen, harpooners and navigators working in the Bahian whaling industry were African or creole, and 55.5 percent were enslaved. He late-seventeenth century, whaling had also become a vital source of subsistence for the city's urban enslaved and impoverished population. Whale meat continued to feed the city well into the mid nineteenth century, with Kidder noting that in the neighborhood of Rio Vermelho—which had become the center of the city's whale oil rendering enterprise—a multitude of Salvador's impoverished inhabitants flocked to beaches to partake in subsistence. The author described the aftermath of the killing of a whale in the beginning of the nineteenth century thusly:

A whale had been taken the day previous, and was undergoing the process of dissection on the beach. Another had just been harpooned within sight, and three boats, a short distance out, were towing him ashore. The proprietor showed us the fixtures made use of for extracting oil. Some specimens of the oil he declared to be equal to the American ... Notwithstanding the severe trial to the olfactories of some thousands of people, which is sure to result from the capture of the whale, yet such an event is a general occasion of triumph at Bahia. Hundreds of people, the colored especially, throng around to witness the monster's dying struggles, and to procure portions of his flesh, which they cook and eat. Vast quantities of this flesh are cooked in the streets, and sold by Quintandeiras. Numbers of swine also feast upon the carcass of the whale; and all who are not specially discriminating in their selection

⁶³ Dampier, Collection, 40.

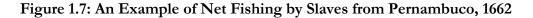
⁶⁴ This figure accounts for 164 mariners. AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Documento 12425, January 4, 1775, Lisbon, Mapas de Carga, Relações e Listas e outros documentos relativas a embarcações vindas da Bahia.

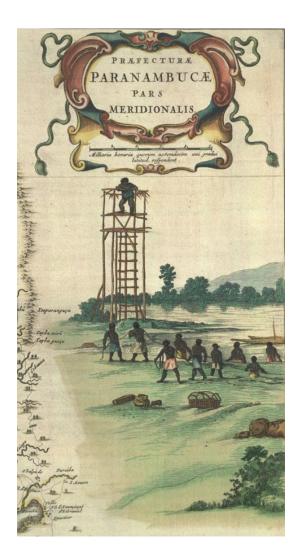
of pork in the market, during the season of these fisheries, are liable to get a taste of the whale.⁶⁵

By the early-eighteenth century, other forms of commercial fishing conducted by enslaved people had become an important aspect of the urban economy. In 1730, historian Sebastião da Rocha Pita noted the prevalence of fisheries devoted to the capture of the tropical black jack or *xareu*, between May and December; a fish nearly four feet in length which he described as "always fat and delicious." Pita identified the fish as crucial to the "sustenance of slaves and poor people of Bahia." The labor intensive process of harvesting *xareu* began with the enslaved men casting giant nets over the ocean's surface, in the morning these nets were hauled in with the efforts of fifty to sixty people located on shore in the fishing village of Itapoã, four leagues from Salvador. The owners of fishing boats along with the proprietors of the *trapiches* or coastal warehouse where the fish were stored, gained ample profit, according to Pita, for their slaves' maritime labor.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Kidder, Sketches, 24-5.

⁶⁶ Sebastião da Rocha Pita, *História da Améerica Protuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: W.M. Jackson Inc., 1965[1730]), 32-33.





Joan Blaeu's [Atlas major] Geographia, quae est Cosmographia Blaviana (Amsterdam, 1662), Vol. 11, 244.⁶⁷

Though *xareu* fishing was a commercialized and centralized venture, controlled by ship and slave owners, other forms of maritime subsistence were directed by enslaved people themselves, who utilized techniques they had invented in Bahia, or West African derived

⁶⁷ "Slave Fishing, Pernambuco, Brazil, 1662," Image Reference blaeu05b, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library."

strategies which they adapted to new environments. A 1775 census of the city of Salvador's residents noted the many "small ships, that navigate the rivers, and streams of this Captaincy ... [by] those that live and fish for their maintenance, like the Free sailors and Fishermen, and the slaves that are in every captaincy, [and] parish ... [and] reside at the water's edge." Most of those who labored in maritime activities for their subsistence were of African descent, according to the census, which further noted that "free fisherman, are numbered 1267, and among them there are not 100 white men, [who for] the most part are old, and almost [everyone else are] *pardos*, and *pretos*." These fishermen utilized many of the same methods for fishing deployed in the interior, including small nets and simple lines with hooks in order to feed a burgeoning urban population.

Alongside enslaved and African fishermen, *camareiros* (shrimpers), and *caranguejeiros* (crabbers) were also vital to securing the variety of fish and crustaceans which formed the basis of urban people's diets. Fishermen utilized myriad techniques to harvest the bounties of the Bay of All Saint, including deep water and net fishing as well as shrimp, crab, and shellfish collecting nearer the shore. The biodiversity of the aquatic environment of the Bay of All Saints facilitated these activities. The mangroves which bordered the Bay's shores where noted to be rich with oysters, for instance. ⁷⁰ Local varieties of shrimp were collected and dried in the sun to be sold in Salvador's urban markets and in the city's streets. One observer noted in the middle of the nineteenth century that Bahia's shrimp "are of a large size, and are caught in great numbers in the creeks and inlets, shallows and rivers of the bay," and they are "a great article of consumption" in the Afro-Bahia specialty of *carraru*. ⁷¹ In

⁶⁸ AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Documento 12425, January 4, 1775, Lisbon.

⁶⁹ Ihid

⁷⁰ Wetherell, Brazil, 40.

⁷¹ Wetherell, *Brazil*, 55.

a city frequently plagued by rotten provisions, and where a sizable proportion of population consisted of enslaved men, women and children whose owners frequently neglected providing adequate allowances of *farinha* or manioc flour and salted beef provisions, such independent fishing activities were crucial in sustaining enslaved communities. ⁷² Like the production of produce on garden plots near slave quarters (called *roças*) Africans' and creoles' harvesting of maritime environment provided much needed sustenance.

Many coastal inhabitants in the Northeast of Brazil also constructed fish pens or *curraes* which relied on tides to capture fish within wooden traps close to shore. These forms of maritime food production were especially advantageous to enslaved communities around the Recôncavo, as net and fish pen forms of fishing as well as shell fish collection in the shallows could be carried out by women and children, leaving deeper sea fishing to men. Such coastal activities required little in the way of technology, navigational tools or time, and could be used to supplement agricultural production, especially on rural estates around the Bay. In the mid nineteenth century, visitors noted that in Pernambuco:

The rains are more regular near to the coast than at a distance from it: this and the facility of conveying the produce of the estate down some of the small streams or creeks to a market, are the particular advantages which are derived from the vicinity of the sea. The slaves are fed with more ease, and less expense: and the quantity of food which they themselves have the means of obtaining from the sea and from the rivulets, enables them to be less dependent upon the rations of the master than the slaves of the Mata or districts between the coast and the Sertam [hinterlands].⁷⁴

⁷² Vilhenha noted that slaves on rural plantations received a weakly ration of a quarter pound (*quarta*) of *farinha*, and three and one half pounds (*libras*) of dried salted beef. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Recopliação de noticias soteropolitanas e brasilicas contidas em XX cartas, vol. 2 (Bahia: Inprensa Official do Estado, 1921), 187-188.

⁷³ Luiz Geraldo Silva, A Faina, A Festa e O Rito, 81-87.

⁷⁴ Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, Vol. 2*, 132.

Deep water fishing, both in the Atlantic and in the slightly calmer waters inside the Bay, was also another crucial economic strategy for Salvador's enslaved urban population. Fishermen stationed on canoes and *janadgas* frequently had mastered a form of deep water net fishing in the mid-nineteenth century Bahia, using a:

circular hand net....It is of a large size, about eight feet diameter, having a strong cord in the centre, the edge being loaded with small pieces of lead. He carefully folds the net in his left hand, and taking hold of the edge in his right, with a swinging motion of his body, dexterously throws it so as to fall flat and open upon the surface of the water. The net gradually descends and the loaded edges falling together, enclose within its meshes any fish, &c., which may have been attracted to the spot by a stone which the fisherman almost invariably throws into the water about a minute before he casts the net. As he gradually draws up the net the fish become entangled in its folds, and it is surprising what a number of small fry will thus be caught.⁷⁵

Such techniques allowed fishermen, both enslaved and free, around the Bay to secure a relatively steady living. Unlike agriculture, maritime subsistence production did not require access to land, and was less seasonal, providing greater consistency of provisions. Furthermore, in the colonial period, lands surrounding the Bay of All Saints' shore were all usufruct, allowing the impoverished and landless access to both nutritional resources and marketable commodities housed in the watery environment.⁷⁶

Enslaved Africans and their descendants, therefore, pioneered adaptations to the aquatic environment of the Recôncavo by mastering the techniques necessary for extracting its rich resources. They learned to construct small fishing vessels from local woods, mastered navigation of the rivers and inlets of the Bay, as well as the coast, and developed myriad

⁷⁵ Wetherell, *Brazil*, 139.

⁷⁶ Shawn W. Miller, Fruitless Trees: Portuguese Conservation and Brazil's Colonial Timber, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 32.

effective fishing strategies.⁷⁷ Facilitating this mastery of the aquatic environment was Africans' and their descendants' familiarity with maritime environments which began at a young age, as observers in Salvador noted "the blacks seem to swim as if they were amphibious—you see numbers of children constantly dabbing at the water's edge near the sea shore for hours together, and soon learning to strike out boldly."⁷⁸ As Kevin Dawson has pointed out, acquiring swimming expertise was an important precursor to a range of aquatic activities and prevented African and African-American fishermen and boatmen from drowning.⁷⁹

Maritime resources harvested from the interior, in addition to feeding rural populations, also made their way into Salvador to support its burgeoning populace. These good were conveyed by enslaved and free watermen on small crafts, and sold by small-scale African and creole vendors in bustling city markets. By 1759, approximately 2,500 vessels traded between the ports located within the Recôncavo, with 1,000 watercraft anchored in

Wetherell noted one particularly effective technique "One method of catching small fish here is curious. At low water four or five large canoes will start—two of them divide the net, which is of great length, the lower edge loaded with lead, the upper lightened with cork. On arriving at a given spot, a place which they consider good fishing ground, they separate, and dropping the net with all speed, form as large a circle as possible, thus inclosing the fish in a pen. The canoes are then ranged round the outside of the net at some distance from each other, and a hand net the length of the canoe is held by two blacks; the net is about six feet in height, supported by two poles. The other men then beat the water and the sides of the canoe with paddles, making as much noise as they can. The fish, frightened, rush about, trying to escape, and finding the net very effectually prevents them, they leap out of the water, and, on doing so, are caught by the hand net, and fall into the canoe, and in a few minutes a large catch is made. Of course, numbers escape, and it is a pretty sight to see them, as it were, *flying* in all directions out of the enclosure." Wetherell, *Brazil*, 65-66.

⁷⁹ Kevin Dawson, "Swimming, Surfing, and Underwater Diving in Early Modern Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora," Carina Ray and Jeremy Rich, eds., *Navigating African Maritime History* (Published by the Research in Maritime History book series, Memorial University of Newfoundland Press, 2009), 82-88.

Salvador per day. ⁸⁰ Once in Salvador, fisherman sold their goods directly to African market women. (See Figure 1.8) "There is quite a monopoly kept up of articles of food," one observer noted, continuing "fish is not sold at any price to any person but the customers of the fisherwomen, who are the retailers. Fruit, in the same manner, comes direct to the market-women, being supplied by regular growers, and thus high prices are supported." Maritime forms of extraction allowed enslaved and free Africans and creoles in the city and in rural areas access to the monetary economy.

Figure 1.8: "Matelots," An Early Nineteenth Century Depiction of Boatmen Selling Their Wares to Market Women Riverside



Joahann Moritz Rugendas' Voyage Pittoresque dans le Bresil. Traduit de l'Allemand (Paris, 1835).82

⁸⁰ Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," 217.

⁸¹ Wetherell, Brazil, 27.

^{**2 &}quot;Boatmen, Brazil, 1830s," Image ReferenceNW0298, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library."

Three open air markets comprised of a multitude of food stalls or *quitandas* operated by African and creole women (*quintandeiras*) acted as outlets for rural produce transported from the interior, they were located on Salvador's beach, in the central square of Terreiro de Jesus, and on São Bento Street. These three centers of commerce supplied most of the city's population with food. ⁸³ *Quintandeiras* provided fish oil, cooked whale meat, fish stews, herbs, produce and rudimentary household goods. By controlling the supply of fish coming into the city, African and creole vendors used their monopoly to sell such goods multiple times, maximizing the number of vendors who profited from the marketing of foodstuffs, but also greatly driving up the price of provisions in the city. ⁸⁴ In the absence of public stores of provisions or price controls, African and creole watermen who transported foodstuffs to the city were free to charge whatever amount they saw fit, selling goods directly from their small boats and rafts to urban consumers. ⁸⁵ One observer poetically described such small vessels descending on the city of Salvador, traveling from rivers in the interior and various points around the Bay:

The great number of country boats, lanchas, barcas, and other descriptions, crossing the bay laden with produce for the consumption of the city, present at times the appearance of a miniature fleet. Bearing down from the west with a cool land breeze, the full swelling sails catch the rays of the rising sun; with the wind right aft the canoes, with their long lateen sails look like huge birds, and the effect is greatly heightened from their floating through so blue an element. Upon a barca reaching the city, a scene of confusion ensues, boats put off with market women to besiege the new arrival, large crates of fowls are borne off by the fortunate purchasers, [b]ananas and oranges are piled in golden heaps, the shore boats are quickly laden with cabbages, yams, sugar cane, pumpkins, or melons. Each freighter hastening to her market-stand to make the best of her bargain by retailing. The barca then draws near the quay to discharge the heavier part of her cargo, puncheons of spirit, cattle, or empty packages sent down to be returned filled with European productions—baskets of palm leaves shaped like sugar loaves, containing rice, bales of tobacco, dried hides, sacks of farinha, rope made of Piassava, and the thousand and odd

⁸³ Santos Vilhena, Recopliação, 93.

⁸⁴ Santos Vilhena, Recopliação, 127.

⁸⁵ Santos Vilhena, Recopliação, 124.

things that the love of grain induce man to furnish, or the wants of man, imaginary or real, require. Sometimes the barcas come laden with course earthenware, piassava, or coquilho, and thus laden anchor off the city, forming a floating ship. The lanchas bring wood, coral, lime stone, and sand. 86

As this description reveals, the bustiling commercial ambiance of the city was intrinsically tied to the pervasiveness of myriad forms of waterborne transportaion. Small boats became the vital linkages between small scale produce and craft production in the interior, and the comsummer markets of urban Salvador.

Though the hinterland was home to a multitude of small watercraft that daily descended on Salvador's port, the city itself was also the base of 330 of these vessels, comprising 16 percent of the total number of 2061 in the entire Captaincy of Bahia. A 1775 census reveals the prevalence of small vessels in the city of Salvador and its hinterlands, with 188 canoes registered within the city, 61 *jangadas*, 43 *lanchas* and 35 *saveiros* (See Figure 1.9). The same census enumerated 145 free and 144 enslaved fishermen as the pilots of these vessels.⁸⁷ In addition, hundreds of watercraft based in Salvador, hundreds of vessels entered the city's port daily, each manned with one to a dozen sailors or watermen, continually flooding Salvador with mariners from throughout the colony. Thus, a large proportion of the city's population was directly involved in daily maritime activities, as were many of its visitors. By 1808, Salvador's maritime commerce was at its peak, with 364 vessels entering the port and 285 leaving that year.⁸⁸

86 Wetherell, Brazil, 26-7.

⁸⁸ See Appendix 1.

⁸⁷ AHU, CU Bahia-Castro Alves, Caixa 47, Documento 8812, Mapa Geral de toda a qualidade de Embarcações que ha na Capitania da Bahia, May 27, 1775.

Figure 1.9: Census of 1775, Relative Numbers of Types of Sailing Vessels in Bahia by Parish

Parishes in	Navios	Curvetas	Galeras	Sumacas	Barcos	Lanchas	Saveiros	Canoas	Jangadas
Salvador	(Ships)	(Curvettes)	(Galleys)	(Smacks)	(Boats)	(Launches)			
São Salvador		1		1		4	1		
na Sé									
S.S.		3					4		
Sacramento na									
Rua Paso									
N.S. da						1	1	31	37
Vitória									
S. Pedro				2		9	1	21	
Velho									
N.S. das								1	24
Brotas									
N.S. da		21	1	16	1	12	21	6	
Conceição									
S. S.	2	12	2	9	2	17	3	23	
Sacramento									
no Pilar									
S. Senhora da	5						4	106	
Penha									
Towns in the	Recônca	vo		1					
Pirajá						4	2	26	
Paripe						4	7	35	
Cotegipe						4	5	24	
Matuim					2		20	75	
Passé					1		21	20	
Santa Vera					1	27	14	140	
Cruz in									
Itaparica									
Santo Antônio					1	14	2	80	
in Itaparica									
Fosse				3			36		22
Ipitariga							4	5	53
Santo Amaro					10	62		278	
Saubara						11		71	
Cachoeira				1	10	8	1	20	
Mortiba	Ì				6		4	32	
Iguape	Ì					17		71	
Maragoge						32		144	
Jaguaripe						49		22	
Nazareth						30			
Giguirisa						4		13	
Parajuia							4	78	
Abadia				4			·	50	1
Itapicura da				4					4
Praia									
Total	7	37	3	40	38	335	155	1392	141

Mariners not only provided the labor necessary to transport goods to Salvador, but also played an integral role in the public religious life conducted in the port center. The chapel of São Frei Pedro Gonçalves, popularly known as Corpo Santo located "where Boats commonly land, and the Seaman go immediately to Prayers" was built on Salvador's waterfront at the end of the seventeenth century by a Spanish captain. 90 In 1735, a Catholic brotherhood housed in the Corpo Santo petitioned the Crown for a license to erect a hospital for ailing mariners next to the building, though the project was never undertaken. 91 In the same century, the Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia was also erected in the lower city. Both locations were popular places of worship where seafaring congregants engaged in social networking and mutual aid. By the end of the eighteenth century, African mariners and other tradesmen were particularly prevalent in the ranks of congregants at both churches. 92 Seamen laboring on royal vessels were also frequent visitors to the São Christovão hospital housed in the Santa Casa da Misericórdia which was administrated by the local Catholic brotherhood of the same name beginning in 1556.93 Mariners traveling from India and Africa often suffered from communicable diseases and malnourishment during their passages and some voyages ended with hundreds of seamen requiring medical treatment provided by the Misericórdia hospital, to which sailors paid annual dues in return for care. 94 The colonial city often struggled to care for its mariner population, however, as Luís dos Santos Vilhena reported in 1799, sailors were frequently turned away at local charitable hospitals, forcing

⁸⁹ Dampier, A Collection of Voyages, 35.

⁹⁰ Luis Nicolau Parés, "Militiamen, barbers and slave-traders: Mina and Jeje Africans in a Catholic brotherhood (Bahia, 1770-1830)," Revista Templo 20 (2014), 2.

⁹¹ AHU CU, Bahia, Caixa 54, Documento 4616, November 26, 1735, Requerimento do Juiz e mais irmãos da confraria do Corpo Santo da Igreja da praia da cidade da Bahia ao rei. ⁹² *Ihid*.

A.J.R. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755 (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1968), 86.
 Hida, 286-7.

them to convalesce in the streets, where they became alcoholics and in short order died destitute. ⁹⁵ If the Catholic mutual aid organizations tasked with caring for the multitude of impoverished residents of the city of Salvador failed in this mission, it was not for lack of motivation, as care for the poor was one of the central purposes of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia. ⁹⁶ Rather, it was the highly stratified nature of Salvadorian society, in which wealth was highly concentrated within the hands of small number of merchants, planters and sugar mill owners, leaving the remainder of the population to suffer from chronic poverty.

Salvador's Colonial Society

The hierarchical ethos of Bahian society was shaped partially by the inheritance of an idealized social structure defined by the separation of estates or corporate orders, including the hereditary nobility, the clergy, and the military from the Portuguese metropole. The distinction between these orders was asserted through the display of a multitude of public insignias of social status, such as membership in the Order of Christ—which was only available to free-born white colonists in principle. Privileges, including the ability to serve in public administrative positions such as the municipal council or in the colonial militias, were allocated on the basis of social status which, in a colonial slave society, was determined by one's racial and religious ascription. Racial and religious status was demonstrated by possession of a testimonial of *pureza de sangue* (purity of blood) assuring one's ownership of an untarnished line of European, Christian ancestry. Slavery and imperial ideologies of racial categorization espoused the inherent superiority of those born in the metropole to the

⁹⁵ Santos Vilhena, Recopliação, 134.

⁹⁶ Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, 281.

⁹⁷ Schwartz, Sugar Plantations, 246-7.

⁹⁸ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1982), 69.

colonized, and emphasized the essential differences between colonial inhabitants of indigenous, African and European heritage, as well as between colonial subjects born as Christian, converts and pagans. Free born subjects enjoyed greater legal privileges than either the enslaved or the manumitted, while nobility and wealthy land holder—who abstained from manual labor and acted as patrons to a range of dependents including spouses, children, kin, slaves and itinerant laborers— possessed greater social prestige than all those who lived by their industry. A 1749 royal decree, for instance, codified this distinction by prohibiting "apprentices of mechanical trades, lackeys, hunchbacks, sailors, boatmen, bargemen, blacks and other people of similar or inferior standing" from carrying swords—a mark of honorable manhood.⁹⁹

Local administrators went to great pains to emphasize racial distinctions through sumptuary laws, the creation of separate military orders for whites, *pardos*—men of mixed European and African ancestry—and *pretos*—men of full African ancestry, as well as restrictions on carrying arms, and public curfews for Brazilians of African descent. Despite such legal efforts, widespread liaisons between Portuguese men and indigenous and African women led to the growth of a considerable mixed-race population that often confounded such categorizations. In addition to the difficulty in accurately ascertaining the ancestry of an itinerant population, the Crown faced a shortage of metropolitan born whites who could sufficiently fill all the necessary administrative positions required to govern a growing populace, requiring them to appoint mixed race men. ¹⁰⁰ Even in the division between enslaved and free, ambiguities arose, especially in light of enslaved Africans' and creoles' engagement in every conceivable occupation requiring manual labor within urban Salvador.

⁹⁹ Russell-Wood, Slavery and Freedom, 67.

¹⁰⁰ Russell-Wood, Slavery and Freedom, 70.

Employed as artisans—including tailors, carpenters, ironsmiths, bakers and barbers—petty vendors, domestics, stablemen, laundresses and many more occupations, enslaved Salvadorians frequently lived highly mobile, and semi-independent lives, blurring the lines between enslaved and free.¹⁰¹

Enslaved men and women earned wages from their trades and small-scale commerce, lived in separate accommodations from their owners and engaged in various forms of autonomous sociability within the city, such as membership in Catholic Brotherhoods, work gangs, and participation in urban religious festivals and celebrations. The popularity of wage-earning activities and commerce among the enslaved heightened access to manumission through self-purchase. Moreover, a substantial number of enslaved people were also freed by the volition of owners—many of who were interested in presenting themselves publicly as charitable. Such arrangements were frequently exploitative, however, with owners charging above market prices for their slaves' self-purchase, enslaved communities, however responded to these harsh realities with strategies of their own. Enslaved urban Salvadorians accessed the monetary economy by growing crops, fishing, producing small crafts and household goods in their spare time, and selling

¹⁰¹ For a discussion the various forms of labor performed by the enslaved in colonial Salvador see Russell-Wood, *Slavery and Freedom*, Chapter Three.

¹⁰² For examples of the sociability of the enslaved see Katia M. de Queirós Mattoso, To Be a Slave In Brazil: 1550-1888 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), Chapter Five; Luis Nicolau Parés, The Formation of Candomblé: Vodun History and Ritual in Brazil, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Mieko Nishida, Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender, and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808-1888 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Lucilene Reginaldo, Os Rosários dos Angolas: Irmandades de africanos e crioulos na Bahia Setecentista (Santa Catherina: Nova Letra Gráfica & Editora, 2011); João José Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1995).

¹⁰³ Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684-1745," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 54:4 (1974), 603-635; Mattoso, *To Be a Slave In Brazil*, 155-176.

¹⁰⁴ James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 91-93.

the products of these labors to fellow inhabitants of the city. They combined their resources to create collective funds for manumission, sometimes organized through Catholic Brotherhoods, or other less institutionalized social organizations, in order to purchase the freedom of their clients and loved ones.¹⁰⁵ In the process they created a sizable class of liberated slaves in the city.

The precipitous growth of Salvador's population, especially African and creole residents who formed the city's majority, was intimately tied to the expansion of the transatlantic slave trade, which became the city's greatest commercial venture through the course of the eighteenth century. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the Atlantic *entrepôt* already averaged approximately 4,660 enslaved African men, women and children imported annually. ¹⁰⁶ (See Figure 1.10) By the dawn of the eighteenth century, Salvador was well on its way to becoming the third largest slave-trading port of embarkation in the Atlantic world, and was only superseded in volume by Liverpool and Rio de Janeiro. ¹⁰⁷ Until the middle of the eighteenth century it remained the busiest slave trading center in the Portuguese colony of Brazil, when it was surpassed by Rio de Janeiro. ¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Mieko Nishida discusses urban "savings associations" or *juntas* through which enslaved and free African residents of Salvador pooled money in order to advance loans to members. Nishida, *Slavery & Identity*, 55; for a discussion of Catholic Brotherhoods and manumission funds, see Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*, Trans. Jerry D. Metz (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 211.

¹⁰⁶ See Figure 1.6

¹⁰⁷ David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., "A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1501-1867," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 1-62, 45.

¹⁰⁸ Voyages: The Atlantic Slave Trade Database, Estimates of the Trade. http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/index.faces, accessed 1 February 2015.

Figure 1.10: Growth of the Bahia's Transatlantic Slave Trade Over Time

Years	Number of Enslaved Persons					
	Transported to Bahia from Africa					
1580-1600	6,644					
1601-1625	54,449					
1626-1650	81,218					
1651-1675	110,416					
1676-1700	117,932					
1701-1725	207,845					
1726-1750	263,584					
1751-1775	191,993					
1776-1800	239,489					
1801-1825	175,436					
1826-1850	175,436					
1851	1,146					
Total	1,730,070					

While estimates of Salvador's population were sporadic, and often formed on the basis of casual observance rather than precise calculation, they demonstrate that Africans and their descendants comprised the majority throughout the colonial period and into the nineteenth century. An estimate from 1584 tallied 3,000 Portuguese, 8,000 indigenous residents, and 4,000 slaves, while in 1714 one observer argued that 19 of 20 of Salvador's residents were enslaved. In 1759, José Antônio Caldas estimated half of the population was enslaved, out of 40,000 residents. ¹⁰⁹ A 1775 census estimated that Salvador housed 33,635

¹⁰⁹ Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," 221-222.

residents in 7,345 households, 3,730 or 11 percent of who were free people of African descent and 14,695 or 43.6 percent of who were enslaved. A further estimate in 1798 placed the population at 110,000, while an 1807 census calculated a total population of 51,112, 50 percent of whom were "black" and 22 percent *mulatto* or mixed race. The continual importation of African slaves not only underpinned the colonial port's burgeoning population growth, but also provided a mode of acquiring wealth for a surprisingly broad swath of the city's residents, tying the fortunes of the city, in effect, to the slave trade.

The Corporate Trade

Distinct among all the slaving ships of the Atlantic, cargoes on Bahian vessels, until the effective end of the trade were held corporately by a diverse group of stakeholders, including slaving ship captains and crews, residents of Bahia, and rarely even enslaved men and women on shore as well. This unique investment structure had roots in Portuguese merchants' earliest forays into the business of transatlantic slave trading. Sailors laboring on the slave trading route between Guiné and Cabo Verde in the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries were active in purchasing slaves. On the vessels that plied that particular trading route, dozens of residents of Santiago Island (in the Cabo Verde archipelago) individually invested in slaving voyages. Merchants in Portugal often employed representatives in West Africa to invest in slaving voyages for them. As Ivana Elbl has argued, fifteenth century Portuguese slave trading practices were built on medieval forms of shipping and commercial investment which were "organized on a share basis, the initial capital did not have to be

¹¹⁰ AHU, CU, Bahia-Castro Alves, Caixa 47, Documento 8811, Mappa geral no qual se vêem todas as moradas de casas ha na Ciada da Bahia, June 20, 1775.

¹¹¹ Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil, 5.

¹¹² Trevor Paul Hall, "The role of Cape Verde Islanders in organizing and operating maritime trade between West Africa and Iberian territories, 1441-1616," (PhD Dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1993), 139, 232, 250-256.

high."113 The structure of this early trade endowed penniless sailors with the ability to accumulate enough wealth to become independent traders in a matter of years. 114

This essentially "medieval" investment structure proved remarkably durable in colonial Bahia, with poorly capitalized slaving voyages taking on a multiplicity of investors from varying social strata in order to achieve viability. These commercial practices existed concurrently with attempts by Bahia's merchant community to maintain a de facto local monopoly on the trade in the face of metropolitan opposition to such trade arrangements. Furthermore, this monopoly was not achieved, I argue, through merchant companies but through interwoven familial and patronage ties between a diverse cross-section of Salvador's population.

Early observers of the Bahian slave trade to the Mina Coast frequently referenced the centrality of the African trade to the overall economic well-being of colonial Brazil's capital city, Salvador. In 1717 the Frenchman, Gentil de la Barninais, witnessed the means by which the wealth created by transatlantic slave trade was accessible for the sailors that labored on transatlantic voyages, noting that "seamen navigate along the coasts of Guinea loading their ships with tobacco, and sometimes with cloth made in England which they trade against slaves of either sex. As long as there is not a high death rate on the ships, this trade is profitable."115

The trade to the Mina Coast produced wealth for those outside the upper strata of colonial Bahian society, in particular sailors. In 1714 the Director of the French-held Saint-

¹¹³ Ivana Elbl, "The Portuguese Trade with West Africa, 1440-1521," (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1986), 343.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁵ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 70 f. 31.

Louis de Gregoy Fort in Ajuda, [West Africa], 116 complained that the Portuguese trade was "disorganized" and devalued tobacco and gold on the African coast. Director Du Coulombeir indignantly proclaimed that "the slave trade has become increasingly bad due to the large number of vessels engaged in it ... which has ruined business, combined with the confusion and disorder of the Portuguese which has always been characteristic of this nation carrying out their slaving." The decentralized nature of the Portuguese and later Brazilian slave trade, while disastrous for mercantilist administrators, allowed the men who labored on slaving ships access to the trade for their own benefit. Du Coulombeir continued:

the ... passenger merchants sailing with each ship to trade in blacks, by the permission which captains and sailors have to embark as many slaves as they like for their own profit and that of their friends, paying the freight and the food to the shipowner and finally by the little authority which the captains have over their crews, not being able to stop them from depreciating the slave trade; because after the captain has finished his slave trading, the rest of the crew in order to hurry often give up to twice the usual price to be able to have handsome captives. Thus seven or eight ships (Portuguese) being all together at one time have spoilt everything.¹¹⁷

In addition to the participation of ship captains and their crews in the slave trade, vessels traversing the route between Bahia and the Mina Coast also carried in cargoes goods belonging to various residents of Salvador. In March 1731, the viceroy of the colony asserted, "All of the inhabitants of Bahia live on the trade with the Mina Coast," echoing the sentiments of earlier travelers who observed that the transatlantic trade was the origin of the coastal entrepôt's prosperity. The viceroy continued to articulate the centrality of the trade with the Mina Coast in a letter to the Secretary of State in Lisbon, stating: "they [the inhabitants] are engaged in sending freight, or have an interest in the sale they make with

¹¹⁶ A West African slave trade entrepôt rendered as Ouidah or Whydah in various sources.

¹¹⁷ Verger, Trade Relations, 108.

¹¹⁸ Pierre Verger extensively quotes William Dampier, A.F. Frezier, and Le Sieur Froger, see Verger, *Trade Relations*, 70, f. 28, 30, 31.

owners of shipments and other people who ship from there." For the viceroy, the trade seemed "their sole resource today, particularly the civil servants as well as the poor, who have no work to live on; or those who not even being able to have a little Negro for their domestic work, invest their twenty-five to thirty thousand reis in tobacco to send to the said coast, thus finding a remedy for their needs."

These non-monetary arrangements, in which goods were advanced by local investors on a very small scale, mirrored the credit arrangements which more prominent slave traders used to secure *fazendas* (trade goods) produced in the plantation-dense region of the Recôncavo. Often, traders conducted transatlantic exchanges exclusively on credit advanced by agricultural producers in the interior, whose products were then sold for slaves and other West African goods on the coast. In September 1743, the Trade Committee of Bahia, a local organization which represented the interests of the merchant community of Salvador, argued that a monopoly trading company would not have the same flexibility to secure goods on credit from planters in the interior. Directly linking the continuation of advances in goods from producers in the interior with the profit and longevity of the trade, the Committee asserted that "the company will not be able to trade with the sugar mill owners nor with the sugar cane or tobacco planters, as practiced by some individual traders who agree on long term credit and receive payment in kind, that the resources provided by

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¹¹⁹ Verger, Trade Relations, 14.

The Recôncavo was a roughly ten thousand square kilometers area of fertile land surrounding the Bay of All Saints which hosted a dense concentration of small farms and plantations cultivating sugar, tobacco, and cassava. See B.J. Barikman, "A Bit of Land, Which They Call Roça': Slave Provision Grounds in the Bahian Recôncavo, 1780-1860," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 74:4 (1994), 653.

those who lend their money as such risk will dry up, whilst the cargoes they provide will end."¹²¹

The extent to which the Bahian ships permitted investments in their cargoes by various residents of Salvador became a major point of contention for metropolitan commercial authorities and local merchant elites after the appointment of José de Carvalho e Mello, the future Marquis de Pombal. 122 Pombal, in conjunction with the metropolitan Overseas Council, attempted to divert a greater share of profits from the Bahian-West African trade to the Crown through a series of bureaucratic measures. These reforms created the Inspection Committee for Sugar and Tobacco, instituted in January 1751, and two chartered trading companies: Gran Pará e Maranhão and Pernambuco e Paraíba, formed in 1755 and 1756 respectively. The stated raison d'etre for these companies—which were based on British and Dutch model—was the presumed efficiency that they could bestow upon the "disorder" that colonial authorities had long perceived as plaguing the transatlantic trade. For such reformers, this disorder—in the logic of mercantile economic theory—unnaturally diminished Brazilian commodity values on the West African coast. Royal administrators and even some Bahian merchants increasingly articulated grievances pertaining to the pace and operation of the trade on the West African coast in the two decade proceeding Pombal's appointment as Prime Minister. These concerns became especially acute as the value of Bahian tobacco fell on the West African coast, which in turn caused the price of slaves in Salvador to rise precipitously, imperiling sugar and gold production in the colony during the 1740s.

¹²¹ Verger, Trade Relations, 98 f. 98.

In 1736, the colony's *desembargador*, Wenceslão Pereira da Silva bemoaned in his report to the Crown that:

the trade on the Mina Coast, where many of them [slaves] were procured every year, had decreased for some years, so that not even half of the number of ships that used to make this journey any longer exist. The few which go today sail with such disorder, going sometimes one atop the other without ensuring a sufficient amount of time between them for the smooth flow of their cargo, such that most of them lose rather than gain in this trade which remains only useful to the Negroes of these countries, because they buy tobacco at the very lowest prices by taking advantage of the situation of the supercargoes who have to leave it ashore at such a low price, or lose it if they want to carry it back or wait for a better proposition. This trade is considerably more profitable to the Dutch or the Zealanders who have a vested interest in the Mina Company. They have established a trade there with the Negroes and they supply them with the commodities and goods they like, later re-selling them [slaves] to our Portuguese in exchange for gold. 123

Pereira went on, in the same year, to argue that increasing competition by foreign sugar producers, coupled with inflation caused by the gold mining boom (which reached its peak in 1720) had more than quadrupled the cost of slaves from forty to fifty thousand *reis* to over two hundred thousand *reis*. For Pereira, these developments threatened to paralyze the economic vibrancy of the colony. Six years later, Viceroy André de Melo e Castro, Count das Galveas, reiterated the basic elements of Pereira's claims, observing that:

trading on that coast is ever decreasing, and if we do not find a skillful way of reorganizing it, I am afraid that it might cease altogether. This will result in the ruin of Brazil, which cannot exist without the service of the slaves. Each one of these men who commands slaving ships tries immediately when he arrives at the ports on the coast to shorten the time spent on trading as much as possible, and since each one of them going there wants to be served first and the last one to arrive is of the same frame of mind, they offer a larger number of tobacco rolls for each slave, and the following person offers even better bargains. They all ruin themselves. The men in the mines who come for the Negroes they need are also ruined by buying them at exorbitant and intolerable prices. The sugar mill owners and tobacco planters are in

¹²³ Verger, Trade Relations, 77-78.

¹²⁴ Verger, Trade Relations, 76-77.

the same situation. For this reason, none of them can any longer hold his head high. 125

Echoing the sentiments of previous administrators, Melo e Castro increasingly believed that only through drastic metropolitan intervention and regulation could the viability of the transatlantic trade in the city be preserved. Furthermore, the Viceroy articulated the Crown's long-standing attitude that the West African trade remained the cornerstone of continuing profitable commodity production within the colony.

Bahian merchants, in an attempt to assuage metropolitan fears while maintaining local control of the trade formulated their own solution for the rising price of African slaves in the entrepôt. Thus in 1743 André Marques, along with eleven other traders proposed the creation of a company based in and founded on capital originating in Bahia as a strategy to increase the price of tobacco on the West African coast. Marques, while disputing claims by royal administrators that the trade was in complete disorder, recommended greater centralization and routinization of the trade through the utilization of ships with larger cargo holding capacities, and precisely scheduled dispatches; these measures he hoped would increase the value of tobacco from the twelve, fifteen or twenty rolls it then required for the purchase of one slave to five or six. He also stipulated that residents in Bahia could no longer be allowed to send for slaves personally by investing in shares of a ship's cargo. 126

As Pierre Verger has argued, the formation of a monopoly trading company in Bahia to administer the trade to the Mina Coast remained a popular solution to two of the metropole's central goals regarding its Brazilian possession. Greater structuring of the

¹²⁵ Verger, Trade Relations, 78.

¹²⁶ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 98-99, f. 9.

maritime trade, administrators hoped, would reinforce prohibitions against illicit but common-place trans-imperial commerce in Brazilian gold for European textiles and luxury goods conducted by Bahian merchants on the Mina Coast. Secondly, the Marques de Pombal and others believed that such measures would sustain and further strengthen the slave trade, which was imperative for the continued vitality of gold mining and tobacco and sugar cultivation in the colony. Wenceslão Pereira da Silva recommended the formation of a general trading company in Bahia using this same logic, he also advocated for the expansion of the transatlantic slave trade to underutilized ports on the southeastern African coast.

By May 1743, the Royal Court in Lisbon had approved a reduction in the number of ships allowed to trade on the Mina Coast, reasoning that allowing for a squadron of three ships, with a three month interval between voyages, would guarantee equitable prices and a steady supply of enslaved labor from the West African coast. One month later, the Overseas Council advised the viceroy to begin soliciting advice from Bahian merchants and administrators on the formation of a monopoly trading company based in the port. The proposed company, in addition to providing greater efficiency to the trade, and decreasing the price of captives, would also weaken the monopoly of the transatlantic slave trade by the thirteen individuals and commercial houses who together owned the total of twenty-four Bahian ships which regularly traveled to Mina Coast in 1751. ¹²⁷ On February 14, 1750, the Overseas Council decreed that in order to dissolve the strangle-hold of this small cohort of individuals over the trade, commercial houses would be limited to owning one ship each,

¹²⁷ These included Manoel Alves de Carvalho and Associates, Captain Jacomé José de Seixas and associates, Joaquim Ignacio da Cruz and associates, who each owned three ships, Manoel Fernadez dos Santos Maya, and D. Thereza de Jesus Maria, widow of Manoel Fernandez da Costa who respectively owned two, and Antônio Cardozo dos Santos, João da Cunha, Andre Marques, Captains Bento Fernandez Galliza, João Lourenço Velloso, Antônio da Cunha Pereira, Domingos Luiz da Costa, João da Cruz de Moraes who each owned one slaving ship. Verger, *Trade Relations*, 81.

and the remainder would be distributed to other traders. In addition, one third of the cargo capacity of large ships and one fourth on smaller ships would be devoted to the "men of trade and the other inhabitants of this town [Salvador da Bahia]," while the remainder of the cargo would be divided among "the owners and whatever they concede to the officers and sailors of the same vessels." ¹²⁸

Bahian ship owners that had monopolized the trade initially resented these measures, sending a petition to the Crown on December 1, 1752, which proposed that the routinization and cargo requirements should be abolished, and that free trade to the Mina Coast should be re-established. After a period of intense contestation of the commercial reforms between the traders of Bahia and King Don José's representative in the port city, *desmbargador* Wenceslão Pereira da Silva, the Overseas Council implemented further restrictions by limiting cargoes traveling to the Mina Coast to a maximum 3,000 rolls of tobacco (they had regularly carried 10,000 rolls beforehand). By September 1757, the Crown ordered the *Mesa do Bem Comum*, a civic organization composed of Bahia merchants to be dismantled, and further consolidated their jurisdiction over the trade by instituting the Committee for Inspection of Sugar and Tobacco, which owed greater loyalties to Lisbon than local traders. The colony's viceroy, however, retained the authority to grant *alvarás* or licenses for navigation, creating a division of authority over the regulation of the Mina trade that produced, according to Verger, conflict resulting from confusion over the concrete demarcation of administrative responsibilities.¹²⁹

In the following decades, Bahian merchants continued to exercise their autonomy from the directives of the Portuguese Crown. On March 30, 1756, the Portuguese Crown

¹²⁸ Verger, Trade Relations, 81.

¹²⁹ Verger, Trade Relations, 83-84.

legally opened the Mina Coast to private merchants, effectively ending its efforts to control the Bahian trade. Aiding in their commercial aims was a similarly vibrant trading culture on the Mina Coast. There, Africans—like in Salvador—had developed a robust, maritime-oriented economy. As in Salvador, African peoples' maritime expertise had long enabled them to participate in, and engage Portuguese commercial aspirations. Indeed, as Chapter two will argue, this state of affairs existed since Portugal's earliest explorations to West Africa. In fact, the practice of using African mariners as central actors in the organization, operation and labor of the Bahian slave trade began on the West African coast, two centuries earlier.

CHAPTER 2

Forging the Mina Coast Trade: Portuguese Slavers, African Sailors and West African Politics

The intensive trading relationship established between Salvador da Bahia and what Portuguese and Brazilian traders termed the "Mina Coast"—the portion of the West African littoral stretching from Elmina eastward to Onim (modern day Lagos)—in the eighteenth century was by no means predetermined. Rather, Bahian traders' commercial competitiveness, and sometimes supremacy, vis a vis wealthier and larger operations in the trade in slaves in a handful of West African ports (including Keta, Aneho (Little Popo), Grand Popo, Ouidah, and Jaquin, and later in the eighteenth century Porto Novo, Badagry and Onim) grew out of Portugal's frequent inter-imperial conflicts with the French and Dutch. Slave traders operated in an environment in which political instability and warfare between West African trading polities disrupted commercial relations and drove trade eastward from Elmina. Paradoxically, these challenges shifted trade to eastern ports, and ultimately strengthened Bahian slave traders' commercial success. Underpinning this transformation was traders' responsiveness to the commodity demands of West Africans, who preferred Brazilian tobacco grown in the Recôncavo to other Atlantic consumer goods. Moreover, Bahian traders' ability to establish and maintain commercial ties with African brokers on the coast through the strategic deployment of intermediaries of various stripes was critical. Indeed, Portuguese merchants, adventurers and settlers had a long history of effectively employing intermediaries in their commercial ventures in Africa.

Portuguese merchants had first established regular commercial relations with West

African trading communities in the Upper Guinea Coast in the 1460s after settling in the Cabo Verde Islands in 1466, where they purchased the first African slaves supplied to Iberia that bypassed trans-Saharan caravan networks controlled by Muslim traders. In the following decades, the Portuguese erected the São Jorge da Mina Castle in 1482, forming the first territorial base for the trade in gold extracted in nearby Axim. The earliest intermediaries between West African coastal trading communities and Portuguese merchants and military leaders, as historians have noted, were the *lancados* and *tangomaos*. Portuguese traders and their off-spring fully integrated themselves into Western African communities in the fifteenth century through permanent residence and intermarriage with local women near the Gambia, Cacheu, Geba, Grande, Nuñez, Pongo and Sierra Leone Rivers, or a region which the Portuguese dubbed Guiné. These men were considered renegades by metropolitan officials in Lisbon. *Lançados*, or Luso-Africans, were liminal figures in both West Africa and Portugal, often adopting cultural signifiers which set them apart from both groups, including adopting European style dress, and pioneering *Crionlo*, a language developed from the mixture of African grammar with Portuguese vocabulary. Through their close ties to local

¹ For the history of slaving on the margins of the Sahara see Paul L. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2nd Ed. (Cambridge University Press: New York, 2000), 24-45; Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1999), 5-9. For early Portuguese oceanic slave trading see Ivana Elbl, "Slaves are a Very Risky Business...' Supply and Demand in the Early Atlantic Slave Trade," in *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery*, eds. José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), 29-55; Ivana Elbl, "The Portuguese Trade with West Africa: 1440-1521," (PhD. diss., The University of Toronto, 1986); Paul Trevor Hall, "The Role of Cape Verde Islanders in Organizing and Operating Maritime Trade Between West Africa and Iberian Territories, 1441-1616," (PhD. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1993).

² George E. Brooks, Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003), xix-xxii, 50-67; Philip J. Havik, "Kriol without Creoles: Rethinking Guinea's Afro-Atlantic Connections (Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries)," in Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic, eds. Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca, and David H. Treece (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 41-74.

African communities, however, they were able—along with their commercial allies—to monopolize trades in kola and other African commodities in the Senegambia region.

Historian Ira Berlin has argued that *lançados* and their descendants were among the first of many groups of Atlantic Creoles. A group of men and women who as cultural and linguistic chameleons, Berlin argues, facilitated the early modern transoceanic trade by "employing their linguistic skills and their familiarity with the Atlantic's diverse commercial practices, cultural conventions, and diplomatic etiquette to mediate between African merchants and European sea captains." Berlin's formulation, however, often conflates the distinct historical-cultural process of creolization or the creation of new cultural forms and languages with the process of acculturation, or African people's adoption of European dress, religious and commercial ideologies and languages. His conceptualization of the Atlantic's first group of cosmopolitan actors is drawn from the Atlantic Portuguese term *crioulo* or an individual of African descent born in the Americas, though the creoles to which he refers were African-born. Other historians have pointed out that Berlin's and other scholars' exclusive focus on the cultural dynamism prompted by the meeting of abstract European cultures with African ones privileges the Euro-African encounter over equally influential ones between polities and communities within West Africa, a focus which elides the

³ Ira Berlin, Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1998), 17-39; Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," The William and Mary Quarterly 53:2 (1996), 255.

⁴ For a discussion of the process of creolization see Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992). Linda Heywood and John Thornton, inspired by Berlin's concept of an unified Atlantic creole culture framed their discussion of creolization in Central Africa on "cultural synthesis" and the creation of new cultural forms, see Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

flexibility of African cultures long before encounters with Portuguese traders.⁵ Furthermore, it falsely constructs West African communities and their cultural expressions as implicitly static in the absence of contact with European derived commerce, even as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represented a period of unprecedented political upheaval on the Atlantic littoral of West Africa.

Though the term "Atlantic Creole" is problematic for such reasons, the early modern transatlantic trade did in fact witness the proliferation of populations of people who either for religious, military or commercial reasons specialized in acting as mediators or cultural translators between communities understood as alien to one another. Often times these groups tended to coalesce around riverine or oceanic locations, frontiers, and commercial or missionary outposts. That said, historians have often elided the prevalence of mariners, particularly African born mariners, in this group of intermediaries. Mariners provided information not only pertaining to the languages and customs of trading partners, but also educated Portuguese navigators about maritime environments— currents, winds, water depths and geography of the littoral—that had to be mastered before trading could even take place. As such they not only facilitated European merchants' trade on the West African littoral, but were also integral to the integration of African coastal communities into the burgeoning mercantile networks of the Atlantic.

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⁵ Joseph C. Miller, Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730-1830 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 86; Joseph C. Miller, "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering: Restoring Identities through Enslavement in African and under Slavery in Brazil," Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil During the Era of the Slavery, eds. José C. Curto and Paul E. Loveyjoy (Amherst: Humanity Books), 86-87.

⁶ For examples see Aida Metcalf, Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); Susan Sleeper-Smith, Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Yanna Yannakakis, The Art of Being In-between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

From the beginning of Portuguese maritime exploration of the West African coast, ships employed (or enslaved) Africans as crucial auxiliaries in furtherance of their attempts to establish commercial relationships in the region. This practice was not without precedent. Enslaved watermen (especially fishermen and ferrymen) of African descent had been present in Lisbon and southern Portugal as early as the thirteenth century, a custom likely derived from the widespread use of enslaved mariners in the Mediterranean dating to antiquity. Slave raiding by Portuguese captains and sailors, including Henry the Navigator in the 1440s, resulted in the capture of hundreds of Wolof fishermen, who were later held as captive informants and interpreters. In subsequent decades, on the earliest Portuguese voyages to Senegal, enslaved Africans based in Portugal fulfilled this role. As navigator Alvise da Cadamosto explained, he took care to employ African interpreters to facilitate communication with newly encountered peoples in 1455:

Each of our ships had negro interpreters on board brought from Portugal who had been sold by the lords of Senegal to the first Portuguese to discover this land of the blacks. These slaves had been made Christians in Portugal and knew Spanish [sic] well; we had them from their owners on the understanding that for the hire and pay of each we will give one slave to be chosen from all our captives. Each interpreter, also, who secured four slaves for his master was to be given his freedom.⁹

In addition to interpreters, Portuguese ships that plied the West African coast increasingly relied on the expertise of African *grumetes*, who executed a number of tasks aboard large sailing vessels. These nautical men and women served dual roles on Portuguese and Luso-African vessels, both attending to the maritime labor required on ships while acting as sailors and shipwrights, as well as assisting foreign merchants' efforts to access

⁷ A.C. de C.M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 71.

⁸ Hall, "The Role of Cape Verde Islanders," 54-55.

⁹ Joan M. Fayer, "African Interpreters in the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Anthropological Linguistics* 45:3 (2003), 281.

trade on the Upper Guinea coast by utilizing their connections to local communities in the form of memberships in power association and kinship groups. As George E. Brooks has argued, African grumetes "were prized for their intimate knowledge of winds, tides, currents, reefs, bars at river mouths, and the labyrinths of interconnecting rivers, marigots and mangrove swamps." Grumetes were often locally recruited from elite families, or hired out by their owners if they were enslaved. Many came from Lebou, Niominka, Papel and Biafada ethnic groups, communities which were already heavily engaged in riverine and maritime navigation at the time of Portuguese arrival on the coast. 11 During this period African interpreters and seafarers also aided the Portuguese in creating navigational maps of the coast. 12 In the 1560s, a Cabo Verdean trader, André Álvares de Almada, noted that "these blacks, especially the Banyun, are very quick to learn. Both men and women work for our people, and they travel with them to the other rivers as grumetes (native assistants), to earn money, as confidently as if they had been born and brought up among us in full security [of life and liberty]."¹³ Almada's testimony attests to the success with which West African grumetes were able to acclimate to Portuguese language and custom while laboring on sailing vessels.

In the first half century of the Atlantic slave trade to Portugal, African mariners were often contracted for local *cabotage* voyages. But by the beginning of the sixteenth century, a growing number of enslaved African seaman labored on the route from Guiné to Lisbon.

On the caravel *Santa Maria das Neves* traveling between Lisbon and Gambia in 1505-1506,

¹⁰ Brooks, Eurafricans in Western Africa, 52.

¹¹ Brooks, Eurafricans, 52-3. Also see George E. Brooks, Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000-1630 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 124, 136-137.

¹² Brooks, Landlords and Strangers, 125.

¹³ Brooks, Eurafricans, 53.

seven of fourteen common seamen were black.¹⁴ As São Tomé—an Atlantic island off the Bight of Benin first inhabited by Portuguese settlers in the 1480s—became one of the earliest large scale importers of enslaved Africans to work on the island's sugar mills, a growing population of enslaved and free African people was noted to labor on slaving vessels navigating between Guiné and the island by the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Though no systematic records exist which detail the composition of these early slave ship crews, navigators from other European nations noted the distinctiveness of the use of enslaved African sailors aboard Portuguese vessels. A Frenchmen in the sixteenth century observed that when attacked by French or English pirates, Portuguese captains were eager to prevent enemies from boarding their vessels, "because their whole crew consists of slaves, and coming to close quarters, they fear lest they be betrayed by their bondsmen who are not only Moors and infidels but all kinds of Barbarians." Although some crews were comprised of an enslaved majority, a 1511 slave ship that traveled to Brazil from Africa recorded employing only two black seamen, one free and one enslaved.¹⁷

By the end of the fifteenth century ships operating outside of the slave trade also had begun using African mariners as an integral part of their labor force on deep water journeys. Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in 1498 was home to one enslaved servant of pilot João de Coimbra, who quickly escaped the vessel when it anchored in East Africa. In 1578, black

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¹⁴ Saunders, Black Slaves and Freedmen, 11.

¹⁵ Stuart B. Schwartz, Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 14; A. F. C. Ryder, "An Early Portuguese Trading Voyage to the Forcados River," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria 1:4 (1959), 294-332.

¹⁶ Saunders, Black Slaves and Freedmen, 11-12.

¹⁷ Alexander Marchant, *Do Escambo á Escravidão: as relações ecónomicas de portugueses e indios na colonização do Brasil, 1500-1580* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1980), 24. ¹⁸ Hall, "The Role of Cape Verde Islanders," 192.

slaves were acting as Portuguese translators in China.¹⁹ In 1600, a British administrator noted that African sailors were commonplace through the Portuguese maritime empire, observing that "The Portugals send yearly eight ships to the great Empire of Prester John [Ethiopia], which also furnishes them with many sailors."²⁰ The ships traveling between India and Lisbon also frequently employed enslaved and free African sailors. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Portugal faced a continuing shortage of seasoned sailors to man their vessels, with a 1620 census estimating that only 6,260 able bodied seamen inhabited in the country. Adding to this numerical shortfall was Portuguese sailors' reticence to serve on royal vessels traveling to Goa, in large part because of route's reputation for deadliness for its crew.²¹ Royal vessels also had a penchant for providing insufficient provisions, and withholding wages on round trip journeys which could take anywhere between eighteen months and five years.²² Oftentimes Portuguese seamen died on the return leg of a round trip voyage requiring Naus da Índia to take on enslaved sailors at Mozambique. In 1712, officials at the Casa da Índia, which organized the Asian trade stressed sea vessels' reliance on African labor, noting that many returning vessels would not have completed their voyages "but for the continual labour of the Negro slaves in them." 23 While the Viceroy of India explained in 1738 that on the Naus da Índia:

All the seagoing personnel now in Goa, including officers, sailors, gunner, pages and grummets, scarcely amount (excluding the sick) to 120 men, which is just about the number required to man a single homeward-bound Indiaman; especially in this

¹⁹ Hall, "The Role of Cape Verde Islanders," 193.

March 10, 1600, London, Calendar of Sate Papers, Colonial Series: East Indies: China & Japan, 1513-1616, By Great Britain, Public Record Office, William Noel Sainsbury, Sir John William Hortescue, Cecil Headlam, Arthur Percival Newton, Kenneth Gordon Davies, 104.
 C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 114, 211-214

²² A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 38.

²³ Boxer, Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 215.

monsoon when no Kaffirs have come from Moçambique and there is a shortage of them here ashore, so that they will not be available to sail as deck-hands to do the hard work as they usually do.²⁴

Few sources exist which detail the conditions in which enslaved mariners lived on these ships, though anecdotal evidence suggests that African sailors acted as helmsmen—steering vessels—and labored in more menial tasks such as operating pumps during storms. ²⁵ When a Portuguese vessel, the *Santiago*, was taken in 1602 by Dutch corsairs, the enslaved mariners aboard requested that the Dutch crew take them on their ship to serve, refusing to remain on the Portuguese vessel, indicating the dire conditions that commonly existed on the *Naus da Índia*. ²⁶

Necessity—specifically the need to recruit mariners for inhospitable and dangerous voyages—clearly motivated the employment of enslaved African mariners in Portuguese shipping. Portuguese merchants who employed these men, however, were also tapping into existing populations of seafarers already living in coastal areas of West Africa, whose skills could be transferable to some degree to sailing vessels. Drawing on metropolitan precedents, in which early long-distance voyages from Portugal relied on impressment of local fishermen and convicts in order to fill the ranks of seamen necessary for larger vessels, on the African coast mariners were also drawn from the ranks of local seafarers whose labor was compelled by enslavement as opposed to punishment.²⁷ Despite attacks on early Portuguese voyages to the West African coast, *lançado* merchants drew on the indigenous maritime expertise of local

²⁴ Boxer, Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 215.

²⁵ Geoffrey Allen and David Allen, *The Guns of Sacramento* (London: Robin Garton, 1978), 9, 20-21, 26.

²⁶ Stefan Halikowski Smith, Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: The Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 2011), 19.

For more on the recruitment of Portuguese seamen see Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 13-14, 52, 57, 114, 211-215.

Biafada maritime traders who traveled in dugout canoes to conduct a riverine and oceanic trade in kola. ²⁸ For hundreds of years before the Portuguese arrived, these mariners relied on seasonal currents and weather patterns by moving south along the coast from October to March, before they returned once the rainy season began in order to evade the southeastward Guinea current. ²⁹ These mariners engaged in small craft trading between Casamance, Cacheu, and Geba Rivers, traversing the many streams, marigots, and lagoons that connected them, and along the Atlantic coastline. ³⁰ They also developed relations with Papel mariners residing on Bissau Island, whose navigation facilitated trade between the Geba and Cacheu Rivers in the seventeenth century, and whom later became sailors alongside Niominka, Balanta, Bijago, Mandika seafarers on Portuguese oceanic vessels. ³¹

Portuguese maritime merchants soon learned to exploit the seafaring expertise of other indigenous groups as well. Europeans arriving on the West African coast frequently encountered a range of coastal communities engaged in oceanic or riverine navigation, fishing and trade. In 1508 for instance, one of Portugal's earliest explorers, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, detailed a range of indigenous oceanic fishing practices along the Malaguetta Coast. In 1508, near Ilha da Palma, Pereira noted local people were "great fishermen and go two or three leagues out to sea to fish, in canoes which, in shape, are like weaver' shuttles." He also observed noting that shipboard trade was common; he explained that "the negroes of all

²⁸ In *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, Duarte Pacheco Periera recounts his 1508 voyage being attacked by African mariners in canoes near the Rio das Palmas. See Duarte Pacheco Periera, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis, by Duarte Pacheco Pereira*, Ed. George H.T. Kimble, (London: Hakluyt Society: Ashgate Publisihg Company, 2010), 107.

²⁹ Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, 14-16.

³⁰ Brooks, Landlords and Strangers, 23.

³¹ Brooks, Landlords and Strangers, 136; Brooks, Eurafricans, 43-44, 80-81; Walter Hawthorne, From Africa to Brazil: Culture, Identity, and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 10.

³² Pereira, Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis, 110.

this coast bring pepper for barter to the ships in the canoes in which they go out fishing."³³ In addition, Pereira also detailed impressive indigenous maritime fishing traditions of the Ahanta people near Cabo de Tres Pontas, and the Mina Coast at Axim which was the first center of the gold trade. Inhabitants of Cabo do Corso where Fanti people deployed dugout canoes to fish, within the estuaries of the Niger, communities New Calabar and Bonny, Pereira reported housed "the bigger canoes …made from a single trunk, the largest in the Ethiopias of Guinea; some of them are large enough to hold eighty men, and they come from a hundred leagues or more up this river bringing yams in large quantities … they also bring many slaves, cows, goats, and sheep."³⁴ Later visitors, including Jean Barbot noted that crewmen slept and ate on these large vessels.³⁵

The dugout canoe was a popular means for oceanic and riverine fishing, as well as for long distance commerce and warfare on several points along the Mina Coast. Robert Smith argues that the particular form of watercraft, constructed from a singular tree trunk shaped by axe and fire into a hollowed vessel with a tapered hull, dated to the Neolithic period. While no detailed record exists of the evolution of navigational technology using this basic craft, by the fifteenth century Europeans were regularly impressed with the size and complexity of canoe navigation in the region. The vessels were propelled by a variety of means, ranging from single man with a setting pole, to extremely large crews of paddlers. Fernandes, a Portuguese explorer writing at the same time as Pereira, observed "huge canoes

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³³ Pereira, Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis, 113.

³⁴ Pereira, Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis, 116, 121, 122, 132.

³⁵ Robert Smith, "The Canoe in West African History," *The Journal of African History* 11:4 (1970), 518.

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³⁶ Smith, "The Canoe," 515.

carrying 120 warriors" on the Sierra Leone River.³⁷ Many African communities utilized large canoes to engage in long-distance riverine trade, such as Ibo groups in the Bight of Biafra, who travelled to various communities in order to engage in trade in slaves, ivory, pepper and other goods.³⁸ Portuguese traders were most interested, however, in drawing on the seafaring skills of canoemen who had mastered navigation in the open ocean.

Once the Portuguese had established trading relations with the Akani on the Mina Coast in 1471, they quickly formed a monopoly in the lucrative gold export by exchanging the precious metal for slaves purchased from Benin, and erected a trading castle, São Jorge da Mina, in Elmina in 1482.³⁹ By the middle of the sixteenth century, the French, Dutch and English had moved in on the trade. The coastal communities of "Axim, Ackum, Boutroe, Tacorary, Commendo, Cormentim and Wineba," were the epicenters of canoe manufacture and indigenous oceanic navigation. Portuguese traders and other Europeans quickly began contracting the services of canoemen to ferry goods and people from ship to shore, as well as provisions and trade goods along the coast.⁴⁰ The Mina Coast was a particularly challenging maritime environment in which to make shore landings from the sea due to the powerful surf which often destroyed European long boats. Europeans encountered a multitude of difficulties in operating in an environment which was absent of any natural

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³⁷ Smith, "The Canoe," 518. For an overview of canoe based warfare in the Bight of Benin see John K. Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa, 1500-*1800 (London: University College London Press, 1999), 83-84.

³⁸ Smith, "The Canoe," 516.

³⁹ Richard Bean estimates that the Portuguese exported nearly 100,000 sterling worth of gold annually in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, see Richard Bean, "A Note of the Relative Importance of Slaves and Gold in West African Exports," *Journal of African History* 15:3 (1974), 351-356; Rebecca Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2011), 37-40; Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 1600-1815 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 87.

⁴⁰ Peter C.W. Gutkind, "The Canoemen of the Gold Coast (Ghana): A Survey and an Exploration in Precolonial African Labour History (Les piroguiers de lá Cote de l'Or (Ghana): enquete et recherche d'histoire du travail en Afrique precoloniale)," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 29:115/116 (1989), 339-376.

harbors, ultimately necessitating their reliance on local knowledge on how to overcome these obstacles to make ship to shore trading transactions. ⁴¹ Local canoemen, however, were uniquely able to navigate the strong surf, leading many Europeans to compliment these mariners' skills. Jean Barbot called Mina coast canoemen "the fittest and most experienced men to manage the paddle the canoes over the bars and breakings." ⁴² In 1727 William Smith described a canoe journey from shore to a sailing vessel; noting that it was canoemen's knowledge of the strength and timing of the waves that allowed them successfully navigate the turbulent coastal waters:

The Negroes took hold of the Canoe, and having watch'd a convenient Opportunity, they run her off upon the Back of a Wave, and all leap'd in, and handled their Paddles with such Expedition and Dexterity, that before the Return of the next Wave, they had push'd her out of Danger of the Shore-Brakers, but that was not all; for about Thirty Yards off lies the Bar, where the Sea breakes with greater Violence than on the Shore....However, they got her soon over there likewise; and about Forty Yards on the Outside of which, lies another Bar which is the most dangerous of all: Between these two Rows of Breakers, which roar'd like Thunder, we laid by on our Paddles near a Quarter of an Hour; and at last the Men, seeing a monstrous great Wave break, they, on a sudden, made a Push towards it, and darted their Canoe quite through the succeeding Wave which was pretty small, as they always are, and only wet us a little, thereby disappointing the huge Train of our Attendents, I mean the Sharks, who swarm'd about us.⁴³

As Robin Law has argued, it was the maritime expertise of these canoemen which allowed the Mina Coast trade to effectively function at all.⁴⁴

In the late seventeenth century, Bosman gave a detailed account of the size and shape of such canoes, the largest of which was thirty feet long, and the shortest thirteen feet. He estimated that each was powered by two to fifteen rowers, with smaller canoes used for

⁴¹ Gutkind, "Canoemen of the Gold Coast," 342.

⁴² Smith, "The Canoe," 517.

⁴³ Gutkind, "Canoemen of the Gold Coast," 349.

⁴⁴ Robin Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons: The Interaction of Maritime and Inland Navigation on the Precolonial Slave Coast," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 29:114 (1989), 209.

fishing and tackling. Fishing was extremely common on the coast, according to Bosman; in his estimation, the range of indigenous techniques included the deployment of "great and small Hooks; also Harping-Irons, which they use when they have hooked a great Fish; They are besides furnished with casting as well as other large Nets; which last they plant in the Sea over Night, and draw them in the Morning; when they are frequently full of all sorts of Fish." Furthermore, incredibly skilled fishermen utilized "harping irons" or harpoons to capture swordfish.⁴⁵

Pre-existing fishing and oceanic navigational expertise was easily converted into ferrying activities. During the early decades of the gold trade, free canoemen were paid in goods to transport articles of trade from São Jorge da Mina Castle to awaiting vessels miles off shore, but they also conducted small scale trade with European mariners outside of the dictates of the mercantile trade. As one European trader noted "It was customary for Mina fishermen [canoemen] to go out in their canoes and contact ships from Portugal before they reached the castle. Out at sea they conducted private trade to the detriment of the crown." A 1529 Regimento or edict attempted to curb such transactions, though there is little evidence it was successful. The demand for the services of Mina coast canoemen derived not only from their mastery of the local sea conditions, but their ability to fabricate canoes at a steady rate. In the seventeenth century, drawing on first hand observers' reports, Olfert Dapper offered a description of how such canoes were manufactured by specialists on the Mina Coast:

They are made all in one piece, from a single tree trunk, which the Negros fashion in this way. They round off the trunk at each end, then dig it out with an iron tool. They leave the thickness of two fingers at the bottom and one finger on the sides; and then burn straw in the hollow, in order to prevent the sun from splitting the

⁴⁵ Bosman, A new and accurate description of the coast of Guinea, divided into the Gold, the Slave and the Ivory coasts 129-130.

⁴⁶ Bosman, A new and accurate description, 344.

boat or worms from entering. The sides are propped up by wooden posts presumably to prevent expansion of the wood on heating]...Some of the largest size are made at Cabo das tres Puntas, [of] trees which are seventeen or eighteen spans in circumference.47

Until the arrival of Europeans these techniques were applied for the construction of fishing vessels, as coastal peoples relied on fish as a staple of their diets. As Willem Bosman noted:

The want of Flesh and other necessary Provision in this Country, renders the Sea considerable as the principal Support of Human Life; without which it were impossible to subsist here: For not only the Negroes, but most of the Europeans live only on Fish, Bread and Palm-Oil. So that it is a very great Happiness, and particular Providence of God, that the Sea and Rivers here seem earnestly to contest which shall produce the best Fish.⁴⁸

He identified a range of fish commonly caught by local people: "Jacks or Pikes, Plaice and Flounders, Bream, Giltheads, Corcoados," as well as shell fish, lobsters, crabs, shrimp and prawns.⁴⁹ In addition, he noted the prevalence of shark fishing. Such meat, he argued, was "the Negroes best and most common Food. They [sharks] are daily taken on the Gold Coast in great shoals. The Europeans never eat them, by Reason of the toughness of their flesh; to remedy which the Negroes lay them a rotting and stinking seven or eight Days; after which they are greedily eaten as a delicacy, and a great Trade is driven in this Commodity to the Inland Country." The manner of fishing was much the same as the methods utilized in Bahia.

Though slave traders—European and American—arriving on the shores of West Africa confronted a robust tradition of waterborne travel, trade and extraction, such communities' maritime orientation had not yet peaked. As historian Emmanuel Kwaku

⁴⁷ Smith, "The Canoe," 519.

⁴⁸ Bosman, A new and accurate description, 277.

⁴⁹ Bosman, A new and accurate description, 278-279.

⁵⁰ Bosman, A new and accurate description, 281.

Akyeampong has shown, the dramatic growth of the transatlantic slave trade in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century intensified such activities and increasingly re-oriented West African settlement towards the water in order to feed the growing demand for maritime labor and commerce.⁵¹

"The Trade Which is so necessary for this State of Brazil"⁵²

Despite these early successes on the upper Mina Coast, between 1637 and 1642

Portuguese traders were expelled by Dutch forces from the São Jorge da Mina Castle and their other *feitorias* as part of the Eight Years War for independence from the Spanish

Crown. The difficulties for Portuguese merchants on the Mina Coast continued in the following decades. Officially banned from trading on the Mina Coast in 1661, they were only allowed to return due to an agreement with the West India Company in 1689, whereby each Brazilian ship agreed to pay ten percent of its entire cargo, usually tobacco, at São Jorge da Mina Castle, under penalty of seizure of any vessel that failed to pay. ⁵³ Bahian trade on the Mina Coast quickly declined in the late seventeenth century, with commerce redirected to Cacheu and Cabo Verde in West Africa, and Angola and Gabon in Central Africa. The period marked a transition to what Pierre Verger has termed the "Angola Cycle," or the intensification of a Bahian slave trade to the central African port of Luanda. ⁵⁴

In time, Bahian merchants returned to the Mina Coast, continuing to prefer trafficking there to any other region of Atlantic Africa. Bahian slavers were driven in part by Brazilian slaveholders' demands for slaves from the Mina Coast rather than from Angola, a

⁵¹ Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong, Between the Sea and the Lagoon: An Eco-social History of the Anlo of Southeastern Ghana c.1850 to Recent Times (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2001), 30-32, 39-42.

⁵² Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations Between the Bight of Benin and Bahia, 17th-19th Century* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1968), 162.

⁵³ Postma, The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 76.

⁵⁴ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 44-46.

choice that resulted from the presumed superiority of their temperament and intelligence, as well as the lower costs of slaves there in comparison to Angola. In addition, the high demand for Bahian grown tobacco in the ports of the Mina Coast allowed them to slowly reestablish their presence on in the region further to the east than their previous territorial base. Ships navigating from Bahia frequently stopped in Elmina, sometimes purchasing slaves, provisions and other goods from the West India Company and African merchants, and paying the agreed upon duty of ten percent of their tobacco cargo, before moving on to eastern ports. During the first half of the eighteenth century fifteen Brazilian ships a year paid the duty to the West India Company, with some years seeing as many as thirty vessels arriving at the port. Thip captains' acquiescence to paying the fee ultimately precipitated a rift between slave traders from Bahia and Portugal. Metropolitan administrators preferred colonial vessels to re-route their trade to the more remote ports of Jakin and Apa, while Bahian slavers continued to pay the duty despite the Crown interpreting such actions as contraband.

Initially, Portuguese traders had difficulty re-establishing commercial ties on the Mina Coast, as they did not have access to cowry shells, a commodity preferred by merchants of the two major trading ports of the time: Allada and Ouidah. They thus began trading in smaller, more marginal ports to Atlantic trade such as Little Popo (presently Aneho). A newly established settlement, Little Popo, was comprised of canoemen from Elmina who had permanently relocated to an area located on the shores of an inland lagoon

⁵⁵ Robin Law, "The Slave Trade in Seventeenth-Century Allada: A Revision," *African Economic History* 22 (1994), 65.

⁵⁶ Law, "The Slave Trade in Seventeenth-Century Allada," 56.

⁵⁷ Postma, The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 77.

⁵⁸ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 63-65.

⁵⁹ Cowry shells served as the primary medium of exchange in those communities. Law, *The Slave Coast*, 135.

which stretched 400 miles along the Atlantic coast. 60 Fanti settlers were soon joined by refugees from Accra and Ladoku of the Ga kingdom, a polity of Atlantic trade brokers which had collapsed after a conquest by the Akwamu at the end of the seventeenth century. ⁶¹ During this period Portuguese slavers also established a trade with Grand Popo, located on the opening of the coastal lagoon to the Atlantic, which was inhabited by Gbespeaking Hula people. Grand Popo was a tributary to the powerful Tado polity in the interior. 62 The Hula, who derived their name from the Fon word for "sea," were reputed to be worshipers of the ocean since the moment of Grand Popo's founding. As implied by their name, they engaged in fishing and navigation within the serene inland lagoon, which they used for communication and exporting fish and salt. 63 Descriptions of the manner of local waterborne traditions, namely fishing and navigation, are remarkably similar to those found in Bahia a century later, with dugout canoes used to engage in fishing with cast nets, and navigated with setting poles in the calmer and shallower waters of the inland lagoon.⁶⁴ Fishing was so pervasive at Ouidah for instance, that the king was rumored to extract the value of one hundred slaves annually through taxation of fishermen in the 1690s. Fish were exported as far as Benin, and an observer noted in the early eighteenth century that all the inhabitants of Ouidah were "fishermen and canoemen." 65

As Robin Law and Silke Strickrodt have argued, port communities east of the Volta River were part of an interconnected lagoon based network of trade, migration and

⁶⁰ Robin Law, "Trade and Politics Behind the Slave Coast: The Lagoon Traffic and the Rise of Lagos, 1500-1800," *Journal of African History* 24 (1983), 323.

⁶¹ Silke Strickrodt, Afro-European Trade in the Atlantic World: The Western Slave Coast, c. 1550-1885 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2015), 75-78.

⁶² Strickrodt, Afro-European Trade, 40-42.

⁶³ Strickrodt, Afro-European Trade, 46-54.

⁶⁴ Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoon," 220.

⁶⁵ Robin Law, Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving "Port", 1727-1892 (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 45.

communication. Travel between the lagoon-side settlements of Keta in the west to Lake Cradoo east of Lagos was facilitated by this waterborne mode of travel. Ocean currents and surf were particularly strong on this portion of the coast, and access to shore was blocked by a large sandbar, which only canoemen hired from Elmina could successfully navigate. As such, indigenous aquatic travel tended to occur in the safer waters of the lagoon. Many of the communities located within the eastern Mina Coast, like their counterparts to the west, relied on such aquatic subsistence strategies. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, slave trading merchants increasingly contracted Mina Coast canoemen, most of them Fanti, for slaving voyages, as these journeys required access to the shore from the Atlantic. As John Atkins noted:

a dangerous double Barr upon the Coast, is rendered impassable sometimes (by the alteration of the Winds) for a fortnight together; only the Negroes only know how to paddle thro' it, and when they think it safe, a Signal is made to the Ships, from those Tents, by hoisting their Flags.⁶⁷

European traders frequently utilized the lagoon to conduct their trade in slaves, textiles, ivory and other West African goods, as well as communicate with administrators in Elmina and other European factories further up the coast, often calling on African canoemen to carry out these tasks.⁶⁸

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, visitors to the coast testified that Elmina canoemen were also vital to navigating European sailing vessels along the coast due to their intimate knowledge of its geography. In Grand Popo and Badgary, some ships deployed "A few Fantee sailors hired on the Gold Coast, and who can return home in the canoe when the ship's loading is completed, [these men were] found [to be] of infinite service in

⁶⁶ Strickrodt, Afro-European Trade, 38; Robin Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons," 209-37.

⁶⁷ John Atkins, A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West Indies, 172-3.

⁶⁸ Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoon," 222-224.

navigating the large boat, and be the means of saving the lives of many of the ship's crew." Through their navigation of the Atlantic and the inland lagoon, these canoemen integrated these two waterborne systems of transportation, commerce and communication.

The preexisting methods of long distance conveyance by lagoon abetted the expansion of Atlantic trade on the lower Mina Coast, as did the flourishing commercial prosperity of Ouidah, the largest slaving port on the coast in the eighteenth century, which exported one third to one half of all goods from the entire region. Ouidah—from the European distortion of the ethnonym of the Huedan inhabitants of the city—was the quintessential slaving middleman or brokerage community, selling men, women and children enslaved by the Allada in the interior to Atlantic maritime merchants. Initially English and French merchants, who were attracted by the lower duties imposed by the local ruler monopolized the trade with Ouidah. Yet by 1713 Bahian traders had re-established their dominance on the coast, a position in large part achieved by their possession of two of the most highly prized trade goods in Ouidah: tobacco and gold. As the Viceroy of Brazil, Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes, triumphantly boasted in 1721:

Ajuda [Ouidah] is the most famous port along this entire coast, through the abundance and the great number of slaves which are traded there. Tobacco is the product which they esteem the most and without which they cannot live. It is clear that since we are the only ones capable of bringing this merchandise, we are also the best welcomed among all nations. Experience proves this, for the ships of all the other nations bring iron and [gun]powder which the inhabitants of this coast can do without, but they cannot do without the tobacco which we bring them.⁷³

English and Dutch merchants responded by reconfiguring their trade to sell the Portuguese

⁶⁹ John Adams, Sketches Taken during then voyages to Africa Between..., 110.

⁷⁰ Law, *Ouidah*, 125.

⁷¹ Ouidah's rise to prominence as a slaving port was especially acute after Allada destroyed a rebellious Offra in 1692, which had been the coastal outlet for its slaves before the conflict. Law, *Ouidah*, 46.

⁷² Law, *Ouidah*, 46.

⁷³ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 111.

slaves or cowry shells in exchange for gold and tobacco.⁷⁴

Menezes, however, was integral solidifying Bahian commercial primacy in Ouidah. He oversaw the to the construction of a trading fort there, after an invitation by the ruler of the city in 1698, an invitation which was blocked by the Overseas Council until 1721 when the fort was finally constructed under the direction of merchant Joseph de Torres with the support of the Brazil's viceroy. Menzes' directive, which came from Bahia rather than Lisbon, established the precedent for the affairs of the *feitoria* in Ouidah, São José Baptista de Ajuda, to be directed by administrators in Salvador and staffed with personnel from Bahia rather than the metropole. In 1746, for instance, a Bahian slaving ship captain named Felix José de Gouvea was appointed as the fort's director. During the same period, all correspondence from São José Baptista was directed to the Governor of Bahia. Thus the fort essentially functioned as an outpost of the Bahian merchant community in West Africa, and its activities were rooted in that community's particular interests rather than those of the Portuguese Crown.

According to the desires of Bahian merchants, trade on the Mina Coast continued unabated. Yet the reorientation of trade to the east of the Volta River precipitated numerous changes in the way that trade was conducted. Before the ejection of the Portuguese by the Dutch, all trade conducted west of the Volta River was based at São Jorge da Mina castle; after 1642, São Tomé became the only sizable Portuguese territorial base in that region of West Africa. In contrast to the well-fortified São Jorge da Mina Castle, newer settlements erected by the Portuguese in the ports of Ouidah and Jakin (Godomey) were much more meager and crudely constructed. In the early eighteenth century, John Atkins noted that at

⁷⁴ Law, *The Slave Coast*, 136.

⁷⁵ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 47-49, 109-113.

⁷⁶ Verger, Trade Relations, 159.

⁷⁷ Strickrodt, Afro-European Trade, 66.

Ouidah "The French, Dutch and English, have each a House, or mud Fort, about three Miles from the Sea, keeping Tents at the Beach for the convenient receiving and securing their Cargoes as it comes from the Ship, and transmitting the Returns." Like other European forts, the Portuguese feitoria in Ouidah was equally rudimentary, and consisted of mud walls and a thatched roof, offering fewer advantages in its capacity for housing personnel including shipwrights, artisans and soldiers—provisions, and trade goods than São Jorge da Mina castle had.⁷⁸ In turn, this change necessitated a reconfiguration of trading practices. Slaving ship captains had to be more flexible in their trading routes, first anchoring at Elmina, trading, paying their duty, and contracting canoemen to conduct ship to shore journeys, and then navigating along the coast, stopping at multiple ports until their cargoes were completed. Manuel Pimentel's Arte de navegar identified the ports of Little Popo, Grand Popo, Ouidah, Jakin, Allada (which the Portuguese called Arda and other European nations Offra), Benin, the Forcados River (Warri) as part of the "Mina Coast route" and the best locations to purchase slaves at the turn of the eighteenth century. Though to a limited degree the Portuguese were active within these ports from 1553, the growing predominance of the Dutch in Elmina, the English at Annomaboe, and the Danes in Accra drove the less well capitalized Brazilian traders eastward after the seventeenth century.⁸⁰

This particular mode of trade required captains and sometimes crews to interact with a wider range of traders and respond to the distinctive commodity preferences of residents of individual ports. One administrator writing in 1763 stressed that intimate

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⁷⁸ John Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469-1682* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1979), Chapter 2.

Manoel Pimentel, Arte de navegar, em que se ensinam as regras praticas, e o modo de cartear pela Carta plana, & reduzida, o modo de graduar a Balestilha por via de numerous, & muitos problemas uteis à Navegação; & Roteiro das viagens a costass de Guiné, Angola, Brasil, Indias, & Ilhas Occidentaes, & Orientaes, Agora novamente emendado, & accrescentadas muitas derrotas novas (Lisbon: Officina Real Deslandesiana, 1712), 255-259.

⁸⁰ Robin Law, "The Slave Trade in Seventeenth-Century Allada," 59.

knowledge of "dealing with the trade and the people" of Mina Coast was a necessary precursor to a successful commerce there. Indeed, Sargent-Mor José Gonçalves da Souza noted that the style of commerce on the Mina Coast was best characterized as an "experimental science," emphasizing the ad hoc nature of most interactions between African merchants and Europeans.⁸¹ In ports east of the Volta River, French, Dutch and English slavers were omnipresent, with the trading forts of various nations often sectioned off in one part of the multi-ethnic trade communities of the West African coast. This proximity led, as the Portuguese Crown's continuing displeasure acknowledged, to ample opportunities for contraband or inter-imperial trading relations. With prohibitions on purchasing and selling foreign goods not yet taxed by the Crown in Lisbon, any direct commerce conducted between Bahian traders and English, Dutch and French ones was illegal under imperial law. As Carl A. Hanson has argued, such activity on the West African coast, which "accounted for a significant share" of contraband goods entering the Brazilian colonies, diminished royal coffers which were almost exclusively filled by acting as the middleman between the trade in manufactured goods produced in Europe such as textiles and Brazilian agricultural commodities.82

In some instances, transactions categorized as contraband were merely part of the unavoidable requisites necessary to conduct trade on the Mina Coast, such as the payment of tobacco duties at São Jorge da Mina Castle and the sale of gold at Elmina to contract canoemen. After the Dutch merchant vessels conducted raids of fourteen ships in 1687 during which several seamen were shot and tossed into the sea, Bahian slavers were hesitant

81 AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 10, Documento 73, December 6, 1763.

⁸² Carl A. Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668-1703* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 259.

to avoid paying tobacco duties. 83 While on the upper Mina Coast, Bahian captains also frequently exchanged gold for slaves both with English and West African Huedan merchants, especially in the first two decades of the eighteenth century when gold extraction was at its peak in Brazil. Most of the contraband conducted on the Mina Coast, however, stemmed from attempts to avoid paying the royal tenth or ten percent tax as well as efforts to bypass the inflated costs of goods re-exported from the metropole by purchasing items directly from other European traders.⁸⁴ Bahian slavers also could access commodities produced in Portugal's West African possessions this way. One Portuguese administrator in São Tomé noted that in 1739, Bahian slaving vessels frequently transported luxurious textiles to the island including silks and striped cloth, on the pretext of using them to exchange for slaves on the Mina Coast. They instead purchased dendê oil and soap produced on the island, both of which "conduct[ed] a great trade" in Bahia, and furthermore refused to pay taxes on the grounds that such intra-imperial transactions were privileged. 85 Foreign ships also commonly anchored at São Tomé and nearby Príncipe during interregnums in order to purchase provisions of wood, water, flour, fowls and other foodstuffs for their westward journeys to the Americas. While these foreign vessels anchored in port, the residents of the island—including resident Capuchin priests—purchased forbidden goods from their ships, and resident fishermen approached them in their dugout canoes in order to sell local produce such as limes in exchange for European commodities. 86 In 1777, a Portuguese administrator noted that ship captain "Francisco de Matos, a resident of the island bought an

⁸³ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 3, Documento 87, December 20, 1687.

⁸⁴ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 7, Documento 40, November 24, 1739, Letter of Dom Jozé Caetano Sottomayor.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 7, Documento 50, January 14, 1740, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 10, Documento 93, October 15, 1766, De Jaspar Pinheiro da Manoel Sobre a Ilha de Príncipe, o seu clima, seus negros, povações, etc.

English 5000 gallons of aguardente," lamenting that "foreign captains are accustomed to buying whatever they like from the island [of São Tomé]."⁸⁷

Gold became one of the most pervasive items of contraband trade, and continued to seep out of colonial Brazil on merchant ships in the eighteenth century. The viceroy of Brazil estimated in 1721 that every year 500,000 cruzados of gold were smuggled to the Mina Coast on Bahian vessels. By 1787, the illicit trade in gold had continued unabated with administrators estimating that each ship arriving on the Mina Coast from the northeast of Brazil paid approximately six to seven thousand cruzados to the Dutch at São Jorge da Mina Castle. Bahian slavers often paid a portion of the ten percent tax to the Dutch in Elmina in gold in lieu of tobacco. Despite the Crown's repeated objections, such exchanges were beneficial to Bahian traders who thought it necessary to contract Fanti canoemen at Elmina before moving on to the lower Mina Coast to complete trading in slaves and other goods.

In one particularly infamous incident of contraband, Joseph de Torres, the founder of the São José Baptista *feitoria*, was discovered trading gold and tobacco for slaves which he transported back to Bahia in 1723. His business dealings were so intertwined with foreign merchants that he had founded a trading company with Wiliam Ballie, the director of the English *feitoria* at Cabo Corso. ⁹⁰ Several decades later, in 1796, following the death of a Bahian slaving ship captain, *pardo* Manoel da Graça Livramento, his personal papers revealed that he had formed a joint stock company to trade in slaves on the coast, comprised of six share-holders, including Mr. Senat, the son-in-law of the former director of the French trading fort in Ouidah. The trading company was based in Príncipe and was illegal according

⁸⁷ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 16, Documento 2, January 2, 1777, Letter by Vicente Gomes Ferreira, Capitão Mor das Ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe.

⁸⁸ Verger, Trade Relations, 110.

⁸⁹ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 21, Documento 61, October 1, 1787.

⁹⁰ Verger, Trade Relations, 118.

to a 1605 Portuguese law which prohibited foreign investment in companies based in Portugal and her colonies.⁹¹ Despite the illicit nature of such business relationships, the remoteness of Portuguese settlement in West Africa, along with the frequent collusion of colonial administrators with private merchants there facilitated such activities.

The other major commodities of the Bahian-West African contraband trade were Bahian tobacco and European textiles. Bahian slavers, much to the dismay of the Portuguese Crown, often stocked their West Africa bound ships with first or second grade tobacco that had already been legally restricted for sale in metropolitan markets. ⁹² European textiles, in high demand in Bahia, were frequently smuggled from the Mina Coast, though often captains accused Dutch and English traders of using violence to force them purchase the said commodity. In 1788, for instance, the Director of the *feitoria* in Ouidah, complained that the English ship, *African Queen*, had taken tobacco from Bahian vessels by the force of arms. ⁹³ Other contraband exchanges were made voluntarily. ⁹⁴ For instance, a Bahian ship arrived in the harbor of Príncipe in 1783 carrying tobacco and *aguardente* which it unloaded to foreign vessels during the cover of night. ⁹⁵ In 1782, administrators of the English company at Cape Coast reported with satisfaction that trade between Bahian slaving merchants and traders in Cape Coast Castle were particular strong, noting:

We observe with much pleasure the beneficial barters that have been made from Brazil tobacco and desire that all possible encouragement may be given the Portuguese captains to trade with the British forts and shipping: being highly sensible how much the African trade would be improved by a free intercourse with the Portuguese ships from Brazil. 96

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⁹⁶ Verger, Trade Relations, 193.

⁹¹ Verger, Trade Relations, 212-213 f. 12

⁹² Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire*, 141.

⁹³ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 22, Documento 6, April 6, 1788.

⁹⁴ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 95.

⁹⁵ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 21, Documento 34, July 22, 1786.

In the same period, Marquis de Valença, the governor of Bahia roundly condemned the libertine nature of the West African trade, complaining that Bahian traders used the slave trade as cover to conduct an illicit trade in European textiles, which were then openly sold in the urban markets of Bahia:

instead of trading only with the natives of the country to obtain Negroes, gold, ivory and wax, [merchants] began also to trade with the English, the French and the Dutch who came to that Coast, receiving from the said nations European cloth, in exchange for Brazilian tobacco which they carried clandestinely to the ports of Bahia and Pernambuco. Thus trade on the Mina Coast was carried on in two different branches, one licit, legal and useful which was the slave trade, the other illegal, pernicious and prohibited which was trading in all sorts of foreign cloth which they took to Bahia under cover of trading in Negroes.⁹⁷

Such exchanges continued despite the continuing protestations of metropolitan authorities. The inability to stem such illicit activities revealed the benefits such trade wrought for Bahian, English and Dutch merchants who often re-sold Brazilian commodities—which were greatly preferred by Ouidan merchants—in order to improve their business in slaves. The prevalence of contraband was also the result of the limited influence of Lisbon administrators within colonial outposts in West Africa, where personnel drawn from Bahia tended to act according to the commercial interests of inhabitants of the American colony, instead of the metropole. The many small trading *feitorias* and imposing fortresses that dotted the West African coast were also spaces of fluid inter-imperial Atlantic exchange and cooperation where traders were often successful in confounding the restrictions imposed by mercantile imperial economic policy. In essence, the remote European commercial enclaves on the West African coast existed as *de facto* free trade zones long before the official movement of European imperial policy away from mercantilist restrictions in colonial ports

⁹⁷ Verger, Trade Relations, 102 f.74.

during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁹⁸

In the context of frequent interactions between Dutch, French and English merchants and Bahian ones, mariners on Brazilian slaving vessels also participated in transimperial encounters. Some enslaved Africans residing in Portuguese colonies on the West African coast utilized the heavy international traffic to run away. In 1777 a slave, "still unacculturated," escaped from São Tomé on a French sailing vessel from Nantes. 99 One year later, two enslaved men, owned by Captain João Fernandes de Souza, stowed away on an English ship that had anchored in Santo Antônio, Príncipe, in order to buy provisions. Because the unnamed slaves were owned by a ship captain, it is likely the men who escaped alongside three soldiers stationed in the island's garrison were mariners. 100 Though some English ships recruited African seamen through marronage, a more common practice was contracting enslaved mariners for transatlantic voyages while anchored in one of the many multiethnic ports in the Atlantic that Luso-African seamen frequented. The *Anna* embarking from Liverpool in 1789, for instance, had recruited three "Portuguese Blacks" for its slaving voyages: Silvin Buckle, Jack Peters and James Drachen. The last man had also been employed on a previous voyage to Havana. 101 Though it is unclear what these men's origins were from their identification; if they were born in Portugal or Brazil, or if they had African backgrounds, it is clear that they had spent some time in the Luso-African Atlantic as mariners before making their way to England. In other instances, Bahian captains contracted their enslaved mariners out to foreign captains; such was the case for Manoel da Graça, a Bahian pardo captain who encountered a shipwrecked French vessel in Fernando Po. The

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⁹⁸ Salvador da Bahia did not open its port to free trade until 1808.

⁹⁹ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 15, Documento 41, September 28, 1775.

¹⁰⁰ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 16, Documento 28, May 12, 1778.

¹⁰¹ Slave Captain: The Career of James Irving in the Liverpool Slave Trade, Edited by Suzanne Schwarz, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 38.

French slaving vessel was navigating to Saint Domingue, and requested Da Graça's aid in transporting the slaves held in the cargo to Bahia in order to avoid losing profits. Da Graça agreed and also allowed the French ship to take a number of his enslaved sailors for additional labor. ¹⁰² In the fluid maritime spaces of the Atlantic, such circulations between port cities, empires, and vessels were hardly unique.

"The boldness and imprudence of the petty barbarian king" 103

While Bahian traders on the Mina Coast encountered an environment favorable to eliding metropolitan trading prohibitions, the volatile politics of the region following the Dahomean King Agaja's conquest of Allada in 1724 continually disrupted commerce. This upheaval ushered in a period of increasing hostilities between that slave trading polity and surrounding ones, much like the Dutch hostilities a century earlier that had driven Bahian trade further eastward. After Agaja's death, subsequent rulers of Dahomey were just as bellicose, at least according to Atlantic merchants and Portuguese administrators. One such representative went so far as to chastise the "boldness and imprudence of the petty barbarian king." Though this sentiment attempted to diminish the King of Dahomey's (or *Akaba* in Fon) importance in the fortunes of European and American traders in the region, the military powerhouse represented by his armies wrought continuing commercial instability in the region. Driven by Dahomey's persistent quest to control and monopolize the slave trade in the region, Bahian—and European—trading on the coast was periodically paralyzed. During this period Dahomey did not limit its aggression exclusively to other West

¹⁰² AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 24, Documento 1, January 7, 1792.

¹⁰³ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 164.

Though Europeans and Brazilians perceived all political power in Dahomey to be concentrated in the hands of the King, as Edna Bay argues, royal power was in fact corporate, as the King of Dahomey represented to outsiders the power of a coalition of individuals and lineages whose support was necessary to secure any Dahomean Kings assertion to Monarch. Edna Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia press, 1998), 7.

African trading polities; slave traders, captains and their crews were regularly caught up in such violence, and sometimes imprisoned or killed. Mariners also faced dangers from pirates—both European and African—who plagued the coast. In response to these dangers, Bahian traders moved eastward, to ports as far as the Gabon River in order to establish new commercial relationships with coastal peoples.

The relative peace, efficiency and immense volume of the slave trade controlled by Huedan middlemen based in Ouidah at the initial decades of the eighteenth century was instantly disrupted when Dahomey, based in Abomey, 70 miles from the coast, sacked and destroyed the city in 1727. Following the Dahomean military's successful drive to the coast—which included an attack on Savi months earlier during which thousands were killed and enslaved—Agaja and his army swiftly conquered Ouidah, driving out Huedan King Hufon and burning the Portuguese *feitoria* to the ground. ¹⁰⁵ Agaja spared the remaining European trading forts, explaining to the resident personnel that the purpose of his military conquest was to gain access to the Atlantic trade. He claimed that the Hueden King had "forbidden him to trade," and thereby precipitated Dahomey's hostilities. 106 This allegation was likely a reference both to Allada's control over the roads between Abomey and the Atlantic coast through which slave caravans travelled in the seventeenth century, as well as Hufon's continuing resistance to becoming a tributary of Dahomey. 107 In the decades following the sack of Ouidah, Dahomey would carry out its own blockades of these routes from the interior—where men, women and children were captured and enslaved— and the Atlantic seaports from which they were embarked by European ships. Though the war between Dahomey and Hueda ended in 1732, Bahian merchants continued to complain that

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¹⁰⁵ Law, *Ouidah*, 50-53.

¹⁰⁶ Verger, Trade Relations, 122.

¹⁰⁷ Bay, Wives of the Leopard, 43; Law, Ouidah, 54.

the slave trade had slowed to a halt, with some ships returning to Brazil empty, and others whose voyages were delayed for over a year. That same year, Dahomey attacked Jakin, leveling the European trading forts there, and followed with a conquest of Badagry in 1737. Each of these cities were rivals to Dahomey in the Atlantic trade, and they continued to be targets of the militarized kingdom's aggression along the coast along with the newly opened ports of Porto Novo and Ekpe until the end of the century.

This period of turmoil was a double edged sword for the many Atlantic merchants who ventured to the coast to trade in slaves. The continuing hostilities between Hueda and Dahomey, which lasted until 1775, continued to produce war captives, some of whom were sold into the transatlantic slave trade. The continuing instability, however, also endangered personnel stationed within the São José Baptista de Ajuda fort, the Portuguese Crown's only territorial foothold on the coast:. The first attack on Ouidah saw the storekeeper of São José Baptista, Simão Cardoso, decapitated, with his head then reportedly delivered to Agaja. In 1743 the director of the *feitoria*, João Basílio, was taken prisoner of Agaja's successor, Tegbessu, under suspicion of colluding with the exiled Huedan king by supplying him with weaponry to attack Dahomey. A Dahomean siege of the fort on the same day as Basílio's arrest led to its destruction, as the African "head servant" tasked with running it in Basílio's absence blew up the building with a keg of powder after most of the Huedan refugees housed in the fort had been slaughtered.

Though the fort was rebuilt in 1744, Tegbessu again riled Portuguese administrators by violating their claims to jurisdiction over management of the *feitoria* when he unilaterally appointed Francisco Nunes Pereira as director of São José Baptista. Pereira was a Portuguese

¹⁰⁸ Verger, Trade Relations, 125-6.

¹⁰⁹ Verger, Trade Relations, 131-141.

¹¹⁰ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 125.

¹¹¹ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 147; Robin Law, *Ouidah*, 60.

trader who had likely orchestrated Basílio's arrest and expulsion from the Mina Coast, but he was able to ingratiate himself to the ruler, and bypass the approval of Portuguese authorities, in order to become the de facto lead trader there, though his tenure as director was short-lived. In these difficult decades, the *Conselho Ultramarino* debated closing down the fort, reasoning that the value derived from the taxes paid by slave trading there were inadequate to reimburse the costs of maintaining the fort. The second destruction of São José Baptista fort prompted other European traders on the coast to assess their own vulnerability, with the director of the French fort in Ouidah exclaiming after the incident that "if the Dahomeans (fierce people) once began to cut the throats of the whites, this country would become a slaughter house for us, and with the slightest discontent which these people might pretend to have, they would kill us like sheep." Prazil's viceroy intervened in 1751, appointing a new director for the re-built fort and reiterating the centrality of the Oudian trade to Bahia's fortunes, arguing "there should be no chance of suspending the trade which is so necessary for this State of Brazil."

Dahomey and its rivals' battles for regional supremacy periodically diminished trade on that portion of the Mina Coast, as did the increasing taxes levied by the King of Dahomey, requiring each ship captain to pay one slave to "open the trade" as well as ten additional slaves paid to the King upon the completion of a cargo. This was a much higher duty than the six slaves paid to the King, and two to his *caboceiras* or lead traders that the Huedan ruler had mandated previous to his expulsion. ¹¹⁶ In the face of the declining favorability of trading terms, on March 30, 1756, the Portuguese Crown opened the Mina

¹¹² Verger, *Trade Relations*, 153-154.

¹¹³ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 130.

¹¹⁴ Verger, Trade Relations, 147.

¹¹⁵ Verger, Trade Relations, 162.

¹¹⁶ Law, *Ouidah*, 127.

Coast to private traders allowing slavers to legally bypass the *feitoria* at Ouidah. Pierre Verger argues that this shift led to an over-all decline of trade at Ouidah but an expansion of Bahian merchants slave trading activities eastward. The ports of Badgary, Porto Novo, and Onim (Lagos) already carried on a regional trade in slaves and other commodities with neighboring communities on the lagoon, and each received slave caravans driven from the interior which were controlled by Oyo to whom both communities were tributaries. 118 João de Oliveira, a freed Mahi (north of Dahomey) was instrumental in opening trade at Porto Novo in 1758. In the years following, Oliveira also pioneered a Brazilian trade in Onim—a port community located on the Lagos River, which was conquered and governed by decedents of the royal dynasty of Benin. 119 Like Luso-African intermediaries who had opened trade in Senegambia two centuries earlier, he labored initially as the slave of a merchant from Pernambuco involved in the trade from West Africa before freeing himself and remaining on the West African coast as a *caboceiras* or head trader for thirty-eight years. ¹²⁰ Oliveira discovered that Porto Novo's advantages stemmed from the comparatively lower costs of trade there, where one enslaved man cost twelve to eight rolls of tobacco, in contrast to sixteen to thirteen rolls in Ouidah. 121 In 1775, Porto Novo's ruler attempted to further cement ties between his port and Brazilian merchants by requesting that the King of Portugal build a trading feitoria in his city. In his letter to the Crown, the King proclaimed, "I am unable to personally look after everything that touches on the slave trade which is carried out by these ships from the absence of someone who takes care of all their needs." His promise of tacit oversight was perhaps a veiled allusion to the domineering role that the Akaba in Dahomey had played in

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¹¹⁷ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 179.

¹¹⁸ Robin Law, "Trade and Politics Behind the Slave Coast," 323.

¹¹⁹ Verger, Trade Relations, 167; Kristin Mann, Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760-1900 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 36.

¹²⁰ Verger, Trade Relations, 467.

¹²¹ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 167; Law, "Trade and Politics behind the Slave Coast," 328.

an effort to extract greater profit from the Atlantic trade, and his intention of not doing so. 122 Portuguese administrators never responded however, and private traders continued to be solely responsible for managing trade in Porto Novo.

Trade at Porto Novo and Onim increased dramatically from the 1760s to the 1780s as a consequence traffic to Ouidah declined dramatically. In 1781, for instance, an employee of the Portuguese fort in Ouidah reported that ships avoided anchoring there to avoid "suffer[ing] the despotism" of Dahomean King's officials. 123 The King of Dahomey, hoping to shift trade back to Ouidah, attacked Porto Novo in 1787, taking French and Portuguese slavers, as well as eighty canoemen from Elmina prisoner. 124 In addition to these men, nine sailors, both enslaved and free, had already been held in Dahomey as hostages for several years. 125 That same year Dahomey's Bahian captives attempted to compel the Crown to pay for their ransom, lamenting in a letter that they had been "imprisoned by the King of Dahomey for seven years, living in misery... and solely by the alms of the governors of the forts, [all] foreigners be they English or French," finally begging the Crown for their release. 126 In absence of any actions by the Portuguese Crown, they were eventually freed by the director of the French fort in Ouidah, who paid for their ransom. 127 The director of the Portuguese fort lamented that he did not have the necessary money to ransom the men and

¹²² Verger, Trade Relations, 180.

¹²³ Kristin Mann, drawing from research by David Eltis, David Richardson, Stephen D. Behredt and Monolo Florentino, estimates that slave exports from Onim were approximately 269 in 1761-65, rising steadily for the next twenty years and reaching 14,077 in 1786-90. See Kristin Mann, Slavery and the Birth of an African City, 38-39.

¹²⁴ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 187.

¹²⁵ The prisoners included Innocêncio Marques de Santa Anna, a pardo pilot from the curvette Diana, Manoel Luis, a pardo slaving ship captain of the same vessel, Manoel da Silva Jordão, the white pilot of the Socorro, Manoel de Magalhaens, a pardo quartermaster of the same vessel, Domingos Braga, a creole man, Gonçalo de Christo, a freed Creole and Luiz Lisboa, a slave of Captain Felix da Costa Lisboa who both voluntarily surrendered to the King of Dahomey, Trade Relations, 245, f.35.

¹²⁶ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 21, Documento 50, February 24, 1787.

¹²⁷ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 187.

urged the Crown to repay the French administrators who had exchanged the sum of 26 *onças* in trade goods for each white sailor released, and 24 *onças* for each black sailor. 128

Despite the turmoil caused by the King of Dahomey's policy of attacking Portuguese vessels engaged trade with his rivals, the administrators of the fort at Ouidah continued to encourage Bahian traders to anchor at the Port, arguing that "Ajuda on the Mina Coast, is one of the best and most principal of all the Ports of trade on that coast, due to the great number of slaves, that are bought there, as well as for the kindness of them, that exceeds all the other nations, not only on that Coast but in Mozambique, Angola and Cabo Verde."

Director Felix Jozé de Gouvea further argued that additional efforts should be made to fortify the *feitoria* in order to prevent the "repeated assaults of your enemies, and ...of other nations, who invite of some of the disorders [violence], and robberies, that the merchants are accustomed to by the caboceers and potentates of that Coast."

In the context of the continuing conflicts between the African slave-trading powers on the coast, as well as sporadic acts of piracy by European vessels, Bahian traders moved further east. Between 1795 and 1797, French pirates infested the ports of Ouidah and Porto Novo, attacking two Bahian slavers, and stealing their cargoes which included eighty slaves. One year later, a Dutch vessel attacked the Bahian ship Nassa Senhora da Conceição e São Jogé, seizing its cargo

¹²⁸An Onça was a unit of trade on the Mina Coast, the value of slaves was usually figured in onças. AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 22, Doccumento 6, April 6, 1788, Letter from Francisco Andrade Aragão, Director of the Fort in Ajuda.

¹²⁹ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 16, Documento. 59, November 2, 1778, Memoria sobre Ajuda.

¹³⁰ Dahomeans resisted Portuguese plans to fortify São José Baptista de Ajuda, confiscating lumber and artillery pieces left on the beach by administrators from São Tomé, likely as an effort to prevent the Portuguese from exercising the same level of military power in Ouidah as the Dutch and English did on the western Mina Coast. *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Martinho de Melo e Castro wrote in 1783 that "because of the continuing wars between the African kings on that coast, fewer ships come from Bahia." AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 20, Documento 51, December 13, 1784 written on Abril 22, 1783.

¹³² Verger, Trade Relations, 209-210.

and imprisoning sixteen enslaved sailors **owned** by Ignacio Baptista Lisboa, the ship's captain, including both "pardos and pretos." In 1779, the Viceroy of Brazil, Conde da Cunha urged the crown to stamp out the contraband tobacco trade, arguing that if Portugal could enforce a monopoly "the entire trade of the Mina Coast could be in the hands of your majesty." Da Cunha realized, however, that this goal was impossible as long as small vessels predominated in the Bahian trade, which were "unable to resist foreigners" who forced them to sell their tobacco.

In this context, Bahian slavers—as well as those based in São Tomé—looked to heretofore unexploited ports to conduct trade without molestation, moving as far down the coast as the Gabon River estuary. Less supported by the Crown than counterparts operating in established trading ports, ship captains and their crews looked to establish new commercial relationships in less familiar locales. In 1783, Gregorio Alves Pereira, a coronel of São Tomé sent his ship to Gabon with a crew of mostly enslaved sailors, to trade peaceably in wax, *Pan Evano* (a type of wood), cinnamon, pepper and soap, all items of "great utility" according to his description. These pioneering encounters were frequently fraught with uncertainty, however. In the absence of a powerful monarch to ensure relatively peaceable trade between European slavers and African residents, crews were often left vulnerable. In 1773, merchant Andre Gonçalves Santiago of São Tomé sent his schooner to Gabon to buy 40 captives. The inhabitants of the region were adept fishermen and conducted a "shipboard" trade in wax, ivory, and "read and black woods" with Atlantic

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¹³³ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 16, Documento 19, Febuary 4, 1778.

¹³⁴ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 17, Documento 5, Febuary 10, 1779.

¹³⁵ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 19, No. 3, June 14, 1783.

merchants. ¹³⁶ Upon arrival however, the captain and two white sailors were killed, as well as four enslaved black sailors by local pirates. One of the sailors escaped by jumping overboard in the wake of his injury, miraculously he floated over a league to safety, where eventually he was taken aboard by a Dutch boat trading in a nearby port. ¹³⁷ Santiago reported that ten years earlier a similar occurrence had wiped out the crew of another trading vessel. ¹³⁸ Several decades later, in 1810 a brigantine from Bahia, the *Lindeza*, was captured by local pirates at Cabo Lopes, and then sold to Jozé Ferreira Gomes, a merchant residing in Príncipe. ¹³⁹ The crew was spared. Francisco de Almeida de Melo Castro, the Conde das Galveas identified the ports of Cabo Lopes, Gabon, Benga, Benbe, Camarão, Old Calabar, Bonny, New Calabar, Warri and Benin as being home to "hostile inhabitants." In these locales, he warned, it was not rare for Portuguese trading vessels to be attacked by "40-50 boats and canoes of war, which are carrying some 40 to 80 men deploying muskets, spears and swords." ¹⁴⁰

Despite these experiences, traders continued their efforts to open the ports of Old Calabar, Bonny, and others in the Bight of Biafra to Bahian commerce. In the same year Pernambucan merchant and captain Fernando Jozé da Silva reported that he had opened the trade at Bonny, marking the beginning of a favorable commercial relationship between Brazilian traders and a region of Africa "very rich in slaves and ivory" which was controlled by a powerful monarch who could facilitate greater efficiency than the commerce at Old Calabar. Though such new commercial relationships could be endangered by the hostilities

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¹³⁶ Bosman described the maritime culture already existing in region, noting "The Negroes manner of Fishing here, is very diverting; For passing along the River side in a Canoa, and perceiving a Fish, they instantly dart an Assaguay at him; which is so certain a way that by means of their Dexterity, it very seldom missed." 407

¹³⁷ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 15, Documento 6, September 8, 1773.

¹³⁸ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 15, Documento 7, September 9, 1773.

¹³⁹ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 44, Documento 45C, October 15, 1810.

¹⁴¹ AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 44, Documento 47C, October 15, 1810.

of West African communities on the coast, Bahian traders often soured trading interactions through corrupt dealings. One ship captain, Francisco Xavier Alves de Mello, blamed the bad faith negotiating of slave traders from São Tomé and Príncipe for the hostile reception of Portuguese traders at Old Calabar. He noted that one hundred years previous, a captain illegitimately abducted a local "prince" being held as a pawn, sowing mistrust between the trading clans there—whom he identified as "civilized"— and Portuguese captains. Alves de Mello advocated honest dealings and the creation of a treaty between Portugal and Old Calabar, as solutions which could restore productive commercial relations. 142 Administrators representing the Portuguese Crown, echoing Alves de Mello's criticism of Bahian trading practices, required ship captains to maintain good relations with local West African communities, noting the strategic utility of doing so. A Royal edict of 1801 required captains to "place great attention to preserve friendship and peace that you have with the Kings of the Coast and Rivers of your jurisdiction." The royal law admonished vessels who "mistreated" African merchants, damaging the ability of other Portuguese slave traders to engage in future trade. The King proposed that all ships visiting the Bight of Biafra should require their sailors and officers to testify to the good conduct of the captain while in port, and if his conduct was found lacking, the man should be "imprisoned, if he is found guilty and sentenced in conformity."144

Though there is no record of the enforcement of this requirement, its existence points to the autonomy experienced by Bahian ship captains in the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in conducting commercial relations on the Mina Coast. In the eastern most ports of Bahian commerce, ship captains increasingly

¹⁴² AHU, CU, São Tomé, Caixa 44, Documento 8, April 27, 1810.

¹⁴³ AHU, CU São Tomé, Caixa 34, Documento 2, January 2, 1803, Avizo of 23 December, 1801.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

spearheaded trade relations, constructing their own small trading *feitorias* and corresponding with local African merchants and rulers. Simultaneously, royal management of the West African trade declined. Following the Crown's abandonment of the São José Baptista de Ajuda *feitoria* in 1803, independent traders, most notably Francisco Felix da Souza, took up the responsibility for managing the trade, and ushered in an era of slaving which was even more decentralized than the centuries preceding it.¹⁴⁵

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¹⁴⁵ Verger, Trade Relations, 209.

CHAPTER 3

The Lives and Labors of African and Creole Sailors in the Maritime South
Atlantic

In the early nineteenth century, British merchant John Lubbock noted that on sailing vessels traveling from Brazil to West Africa "a great number of sailors employed on slave ships are...black slaves, native to Africa and go oftentimes to their homelands but do not abandon their ships." The phenomena of African slaves serving on slaving vessels struck Lubbock as an enigma, and likely contradicted his own understandings of how the slave trade operated in his native England, though Portuguese merchants had been utilizing enslaved African maritime labor for centuries. The paradox that Lubbock perceived was in fact one of the defining features of the Bahia slave trade. This chapter explores the predominance of African and enslaved mariners aboard Bahian slaving vessels through statistical analysis of the biographical make-up of maritime personnel. Furthermore, it demonstrates that in contrast to black mariners in the North Atlantic, who scholars have argued were "among the ranks of the earliest and most virulent attackers of the institution of slavery," within the Bahian trade, Africans and their descendants frequently benefited from the transatlantic traffic; engaging in barter for captives for their own personal gain.²

Crucially, I argue the predominance of enslaved and free African and creole seafarers reveals the extent to which their labor and skill enabled Bahian slave trade to function

¹ John Lubbock, Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Meridional parts of Brazil (London: 1820), 392.

² Emma Christopher, Slave Ship Sailors and their Captive Cargoes, 1730-1897 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 82-83. For black sailors' anti-slavery activity see Julius S. Scott, "Crisscrossing Empires: Ships, Sailors and Resistance in the Less Antilles in the Eighteenth Century," in Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996), 130-31.

effectively. In addition to their seafaring expertise, these men were especially adept at managing enslaved men and women in cargos. Furthermore, African and creole sailors formed strong ties of solidarity with their captains and fellow crewmembers, and participated in the religious and communal commercial life aboard. Quotidian life aboard slaving vessels, though mostly focused on labor, involved regular rituals not only of worship but of workmate bonding. Though racially motivated violence and abuses against African and creole sailors were far from absent on slaving vessels, they were blunted by the necessity for harmonious, collective action aboard ships that were frequently rendered vulnerable in a number of ways while at sea. In moments of crisis, crew members, white and black, Brazilian and African had to work together to preserve the safety of all. The structure of labor and social relations on sailing vessels, especially the slave ship, though hierarchical, also paradoxically fostered interdependence of black and white crew members.³

Because of the utility of their labor, black seafarers gained access to level of mobility and autonomy which was unprecedented for most enslaved people. They utilized their mobility instrumentally, to earn wages, access transatlantic currents of information and commerce, and exercise a degree of self-determination not often associated with the condition of enslavement. Some took advantage of the anonymity of port life and opportunities for extensive travel to run away from slavery, but most did not. When they did, I argue, they did so strategically, in ways that would secure their legal freedom, as well as personal autonomy, demonstrating their sophisticated knowledge of Portuguese manumission law.

³ The concept of cross-racial interdependence among maritime crews see Henry Trotter, "Sailing Beyond Apartheid: The Social and Political Impact of Seafaring on Coloured South African Sailors," Carina Ray and Jeremy Rich, eds., *Navigating African Maritime History* (Published by the Research in Maritime History book series, Memorial University of Newfoundland Press, 2009), 203.

Demographics of the Slave Trade Labor Force

In 1775, Bahia's governor Manuel da Cunha Menezes, conducted a general census of ships and mariners in the city of Salvador, in which he lamented the prevalence of Africans and their descendants as laborers on both long and short distance seafaring voyages. Cumulatively, the 88 ships based in the port that engaged in either cabotage along the Brazilian coastline or transatlantic voyages, employed 1096 registered sailors, 443 of who were identified as Preto or African and 392 as enslaved. The proportion of black mariners on any given vessel was strongly influenced by its destination; in the sample of all preto seamen based in Salvador, of 36.8 percent were employed on ships traveling within Bahia or to other Brazilian ports, while only 1.6 percent of the black seafaring population labored on ships going to Lisbon or Porto. By contrast, nearly 19 percent worked aboard vessels destined for the major slave trading ports of southwest Africa (including Benguela and Luanda), with the remainder, over 41.3 percent, principally navigating between Bahia and West Africa. Of the 88 ships registered in the port, 24 regularly traveled to the West African coast (ten to the Mina Coast alone), a figure that was more than double the eleven ships which navigated to Portugal. The census explained the exceptional presence of enslaved sailors and Africans in Bahian seafaring was largely the result of a paucity of qualified white sailors, claiming that ships traveling to the "countries which are observed, with the exception of those to the Court (Lisbon) and Porto, the majority of all of their crews are composed of many enslaved blacks due to the great lack of white sailors." Especially prone to employing African and enslaved sailors were ships operating on the routes to the Mina Coast, Angola and Benguela, which Menezes' census revealed were "accustomed to equip with a small number of 4 or 6

white sailors, supplying the black captives with the rest of the majority that go." ⁴ 273 or 61.6 percent of the identified *preto* sailors and 63.5 percent of the port's enslaved sailors worked in the slave trade.

These numbers were partially a reflection of the demographics of the city. In 1775, estimates placed the enslaved population at 43.7 percent, or 14,695 people, while 3730 free blacks lived in the city, or 11.1 percent of the city's total inhabitants. Though estimates from the time vary, people of African descent were observed to outnumber whites by nearly two to one. Thus the pool from which to draw available laborers for the city's growing maritime demands (especially in light of whites' disdain for manual labor) was overwhelmingly black and enslaved. In nearby Pernambuco, enslaved and African mariners also comprised a majority of the seafaring labor force. A census of Recife conducted in the same year registered a total of seven ships engaged in the slave trade, 52 in *cabotage*, 227 in riverine travel, and 208 fishing vessels. The city was home to 186 free sailors, 108 of whom labored on ships traveling to Rio de Janeiro and "almost all of whom were old" and 423 enslaved seafarers.

Despite their prevalence, no consensus existed about the efficacy of African and creole sailors working on Portuguese merchant vessels. In 1777, for instance, the *Junta do Comércio* informed Félix José da Costa, captain of the *Portilhão*, that upon arriving in

⁴ Though the census notes that not every parish was represented, Rua do Paso was excluded, as were three curvetas. "Mapa geral de toda a qualidade de embarcações que ha na Capitania da Bahia e navegam para a Costa da Mina, Angola," AHU CU Brasil-Baia, Caixa 47, Doc. 8812, July 3, 1775.

⁵ The numbers exclude clergy.

⁶ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Ports of Colonial Brazil," in Franklin W. Knight, ed., *Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 222-23.

⁷ AHU, CU, 015, Caixa 120, Doc. 9196, Ofício do José Cesar de Menses.

Benguela he should "get rid of white sailors and substitute them with black sailors who are more experienced with this kind of trip and dealing with slaves." In addition, a 1761 Royal decree by the Portuguese Crown identified enslaved seamen as "able sailors...and experts [who] facilitate[ed] navigation, and promote[d] commerce." By contrast, many ship officers of the *Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba* opined that enslaved mariners recruited from various owners in Brazil "knew very little of their office, and do not perform duties as they ought to perform them." These deficiencies, captains argued, led to dangerous accidents at sea, such as when the ship *Gloria* began to take on water because the ship's enslaved caulker was ineffective. The 1775 census identifying the majority of mariners in Bahia as African and creole, characterized these men as "all unable, and clumsy in navigation....but [they] serve due to the necessity of the new ships" while simultaneously noting that black fishermen demonstrated "little aptitude for the exercise of sailors," and were "entirely ignorant of the maneuver of mariners."

Despite such pessimistic assessments, African and creole mariners continued to be predominate in all forms of sea transportation. Between 1811 and 1839, 52 Bahian ships captured by British anti-slaving forces on Africa's west coast had all or a portion of their ships' papers confiscated by British authorities. The *matriculas* or muster rolls of these vessels reveal that 1,355 men labored on these ships, 36 percent of whom were African, 10.3 percent Brazilian born but of full or partial African descent, and 27.8 percent were

⁸ ANTT, Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba Copiador, Letter from Intendants and Deputies, Lisbon, July 4, 1777.

⁹ Cristina Nogueira da Silva and Keila Grinberg, "Soil Free from Slaves: Slave Law in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Portugal," *Slavery & Abolition* 32:2 (2011), 436. ¹⁰ ANTT, Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba Copiador, Letter from Intendant and Deputies, Lisbon, August 11, 1773

¹¹ AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos Caixa 164, Documento 12425, "Mapas de Carga, Relações e Listas e outros documents relativas a embarcaçõs vindas da Bahia," Bahia, May 27, 1775

enslaved.¹² Crucially, these figures are in stark contrast to estimates of the composition of the maritime labor force in many other Atlantic ports. As Emma Christopher argues, black sailors comprised only a "tiny" proportion of slaving ship crews in Liverpool, with the small minority of African laborers lingering on the "fringes" of shipboard society.¹³ Another recent study has argued that between 1767 and 1832 only three percent of crew members on registered Portuguese vessels were slaves.¹⁴ Historian Herbert Klein has estimated in his work on Rio de Janeiro that only 42 percent of slave ships entering the port city—between 1795 and 1811—contained crew members who were enslaved.¹⁵

Though nearly half of all mariners laboring in the slave trade during this period were African or of partial African descent, there was ample diversity within this cohort of men. Seamen of African origins represented a wide range of proclaimed ethnicities, though broadly speaking they predominately originated from the Mina Coast region (see Figure 3.1). Because biographical details entered into crew registers by ship captains and owners—

¹² This figure is the result of my compilation of the *matriculas* or crew member registers from 52 voyages which originated from Bahia and were captured by British anti-slaving forces stationed either in West Africa in Sierra Leone or the coast of Brazil. Matriculas commonly identified sailors by name, occupation, legal status, racial identity, place of birth, age, and pay. Some records also include parentage and marital status. The records detained ships are housed in the British National Archives in the Papers of the Foreign Office, in the Mixed Commission Documents for the Court in Sierra Leone. A second set exists in the Arquivo do Palacio de Itamaraty in Rio de Janeiro, in the Comissão Mista Collection. These records contain the trial proceedings and ships papers for vessels adjudicated in the Mixed Commission Court located in Rio de Janerio. The third collection is housed in the Real Junta do Comércio, Fábricas e Navagações collection in the Arquivo Nacional de Rio de Janeiro, and contains the ships' papers and legal petitions of Brazilian vessels seized before the official formation of the Mixed Commission Courts in 1817. For more on the Mixed Commission Courts and British Naval Suppression of the transatlantic slave trade, see Leslie Bethell, The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

¹³ Christopher, Slave Ship Sailors, 57-58.

¹⁴ Marianna P. Candido, "Different Slave Journeys: Enslaved African Seamen aboard Portuguese Ships, 1760-1820s," *Slavery and Abolition* 31:3 (2010), 399.

Herbert Klein, The Atlantic Slave Trade (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1999), 85-

including birthplace, nationality, and marital status—were provided by seamen, this information indicates how mariners identified themselves. ¹⁶ Of 501 African born sailors, 395 or 78.8 percent were from the Bight of Benin region where most slaving voyages were destined, while a smaller proportion originated from communities on the western Mina or Gold Coast (0.2 percent), the Bight of Biafra (2.2 percent), and West Central Africa (13.6 percent). The ethnic composition of Bahia's maritime labor force was a reflection, in part, of the composition of Salvador's population as a whole. Between 1775 and 1807 the African and creole population in Salvador increased 39 percent due to a rise in demand for enslaved labor as sugar production expanded. New labor requirements were mostly fulfilled by the importation of slaves from the Bight of Benin, from 1801 to 1830, more than 187,700 enslaved men and women arrived in Salvador from the region. In the period from 1820-1835, men and women with origins on the Mina Coast constituted 57.3 percent of the African population in Bahia.¹⁷ The higher proportion of free and enslaved mariners from the Mina Coast labored on board slaving vessels when compared to the general population of Salvador suggests that captains and ship owners showed a marked preference for employing crew members from the same regions in which they conducted their slaving activities, and that mariners born in this region sometimes chose to labor on vessels returning to ports near their homelands.

¹⁶ The supposition that African seaman provided information about their own origins and ethnic identifications is supported by a crew registry which noted that Pedro, a free pantry man on a 1828 ship could not provide his biographical details because he was "a dumb [mentally incapacitated] man who does not know his homeland," NAL, FO 315/42, no. 12, Papers of the ship Bella Eliza."

¹⁷ João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 139-140; Ana Lucia Araujo, *Public Memory of Slavery: Victims and Perpetrators in the South Atlantic* (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2010), 103.

Figure 3.1. African and Creole Mariners by Birthplace or Ethnicity

Origins	Number of Men	Percentage
Brazil	Total: 132	20.5
Bahia	92	14.3
Pernambuco	8	1.2
Rio de Janeiro	8	1.2
Santa Caterina	6	0.9
Alagoas	3	0.5
Sergipe	4	0.6
Espírito Santo	3	0.5
Rio Grande do Norte	2	0.3
São Paulo	2	0.3
Paraíba	1	0.2
Maranhão	1	0.2
Ilha Grande	1	0.2
Minas Gerais	1	0.2
Africa	Total: 501	77.7
Mina	267	41.4
Nagô	34	5.3
Hausa	33	5.1
Gege	28	4.3
São Tomé and Príncipe	21	3.2
Calabar	8	1.2
Tapa (contemporary Nupe)	6	0.9
Camarão	3	0.5
Benin	3	0.5
Acara	1	0.2
Ajuda (Ouidah)	1	0.2
Cabo Verde	9	1.4
Angola	32	5.0
Cabinda	16	2.5
Benguela	13	2.0
Congo	6	0.9
Loango	1	0.2
Gabão	1	0.2
Branom/Bronon (contemporary Borim)	2	0.3
Mozambique	13	2.0
Africa/Unspecified	3	0.5
Atlantic Islands	Total: 1	0.2
Azores	1	0.2

Europe	Total: 1	0.2
Lisbon	1	0.2
Other	9	1.4

As the above table shows, 53.3 percent of Bahian mariners claimed the ethnicity of "Mina." The ethnic signifier "Mina," however, was not in fact native to West Africa, but rather was an invention of colonial Brazilian society, a means to identify enslaved Africans who were purchased from ports on the Mina Coast, a region which was far from linguistically, culturally or politically homogenous. Africans claiming this identity, which by the late eighteenth century included a number of West African Gbe speaking groups, namely people from Grand-Popo and Little Popo (Aneho), Allada, Hula from Ouidah, and Fon (Ewe) from Dahomey, were instead claiming a meta-ethnicity with no equivalent in Africa. Robin Law argues that because of migrations within West Africa's Slave Coast (eastern Mina Coast) during the same period, as well as the prevalence of bilingualism, discrete linguistic and political communities in West Africa merged into new "African" ethnicities in American contexts. 18 Both Nicolau Luis Parés and Mariza de Carvalho Soares have traced this process in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro by focusing on the evolution of Gege and Mina ethnic identities. They argue that the construction of "African nations" in colonial Brazil was not simply a straightforward process of enslaved people identifying the regions and political communities into which they had been born. In the late eighteenth century Brazil, the evolving landscape of West African politics—which saw continuing antagonism between

¹⁸ Robin Law, "Ethnicities of Enslaved Africans in the Diaspora: On the Meanings of 'Mina' (Again)," *History in Africa* 32 (2005), 257, 267.

Gbe speaking Dahomey and Mahi groups, as well as the Hula—created fissures between Gbe speaking people in urban Brazil, fracturing a once unified "ethnic" community.¹⁹

Adding further complication to dynamic West African ethnic identities in Brazil was the tendency for Africans in Brazil to assert multiple, overlapping identities in various contexts. James Sweet, for instance, notes that in 1730s Rio de Janeiro, West African healer Domingos Alvares identified himself as "Nango," "Mahi" and "Mina" in various situations, without contradiction.²⁰ At various points Mahi identities were subsumed under the identifier Mina; as was Gege; a signifier claimed by 28 seamen—or five percent of all Africans laboring in the Bahian slave trade. In 1820 two African seaman, Jorge and Joaquim de Moraes, identified themselves as "Geges" and proclaimed that they had been born in Ouidah, but after living several years in Bahia the men claimed Portuguese subjecthood.²¹ Jorge and Joaquim's declarations illustrate not only the salience of the Gege ethnic signifier for African individuals in Bahia, but also that mariners laboring in the slave trade originated from seafaring West African communities with strong ties to maritime transatlantic trade. Though Jorge and Joaquim did not elaborate if they were from Ouidah proper, or its hinterlands, the town's location three kilometers from a lagoon system that linked it to the Atlantic ocean as well as to other coastal communities east of Ouidah (including Lagos and Little Popo), meant that the two men hailed from an area where riverine navigation played

¹⁹ Luis Nicolão Pares, *The Formation of Candomblé*; Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *People of Faith: Slavery ad African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

²⁰ James H. Sweet, "Mistaken Identities? Olaudah Equiano, Domingos Álvares, and the Methodological Challenges of Studying the African Diaspora," *American Historical Review* 114:2 (2009), 285-288.

²¹ AHI, Colleções Especias, Comissão Mixta, Lata 13, Maço 14, Pasta 1, "Papers of the Emilia," 345.

an important role in both local subsistence and trade. ²² As many inhabitants in Ouidah labored as canoemen, ferrying goods and people to European ships, porters between the town and beaches, and fishermen, a large portion of the population was involved in maritime activity. ²³ By 1776, European and Brazilian merchandise was already widely available in local markets, indicating that many residents of Ouidah were familiar with Atlantic commerce. ²⁴ Given the depth of maritime activity in Ouidah, it seems probable that Jorge and Joaquim de Moraes had already been to some extent involved in navigation or Atlantic commerce before they were enslaved and taken to Brazil.

Because of their West African origins, many Bahian seamen were attractive to captains and ship owners because they could act as intermediaries between members of the crew and enslaved cargoes. These men were always described as *ladino* or acculturated, indicating that it was equally important that mariners were fluent in Portuguese language and customs. For instance, in 1811 the Bahian vessel *Venus* lost two "*ladino* sailors" named Caetano Congo and Antônio Mina, testifying to these men's African origins, as well as their assimilation into Brazilian society. Moreover, the *Dezengano* labeled all of its eight African born sailors "*ladinos*" in 1812. The desirability of "acculturated" African slaves for ships' owners and captains was reflected in their market value. In 1827, the owner of twelve enslaved, African-born *ladino* sailors on the *Independencia*, José de Cerqueira Lima valued the

²² Robin Law, *Ouidah*, 26-29, 135.

²³ *Ibid*, 84.

²⁴ Ibid, 148.

²⁵ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 372, Pacote 1, Papers of the ship *Venus*, 19. ²⁶ The ships *Feliz Americano* and *Indepêndencia* also labelled its African mariners as 'ladinos,' AHI, Colleções Especias, Comissão Mixta, Lata 10, Maço 3, Pasta 2, Papers of the *Dezengano*, 1, AHI, Lata 15, Maço 4, Pasta 2, Papers of the *Feliz Americano*, Lata 18, Maço 3, Pasta 1, Papers of the *Indepêndencia*.

men at 500\$000 reis each because each was "expert in the practice of the sea." Slave owners in Rio de Janeiro deliberately highlighted enslaved sailors' knowledge of maritime professions, as well as their ability to speak Portuguese as a selling point. One advertisement identified "a slave from Mozambique for sale, with extensive experience as a sailor." Another owner characterized his young enslaved man for sale as a "good sailor, and ordinary cook...who sailed for nine years with his owner, while another slave holder advertised "an Angolan, with a fine figure, young and robust, occupation baker, and also can serve as a sailor because he has already been employed on a ship."

Though many of these ladino mariners became acquainted with Portuguese language and culture in Brazil following their enslavement and passage across the Atlantic, some West Africans purchased by Brazilian merchants were already "acculturated" before arriving in the Americas. In 1819, for instance, the Rio merchant Francisco Carlos da Costa Lace registered his purchase of ten "good and acculturated slaves" in the *Cabo de Boa Esperança* or the Cape of Good Hope. A slaving vessel sailing from Bissau to São Luis de Maranhão in 1814 recorded three "*ladino* young adolescents" as part of its enslaved cargo. The presence of "acculturated" Africans residing on the coast was due in part to the labor demands of Atlantic commerce there. Brazilian and Portuguese traders frequently hired West Africans as commercial auxiliaries on the coast, employing them as interpreters and messengers, and requiring them to learn Portuguese. One example is slaving ship captain Vincente Ferreira

²⁷ AHI, Colleções Especias, Comissão Mixta, Lata 18, Maço 3, Pasta 1, Papers of the *Indepêndencia*, no pagination.

²⁸ Journal do Comércio, November 26, 1827, Number 47, 3.

²⁹ Journal do Comércio, November 26, 1827, Number 48, 2.

³⁰ Journal do Comércio, December 21, 1827, Number 68, 3.

³¹ ANRJ, Junta do Comércio, 7X, Caixa 445, Petition of Izabel Catherina Guedes and Vicente Guedes de Souza, 7.

³² ANRJ, Junta do Comércio, 7X, Caixa 371, No. 1.

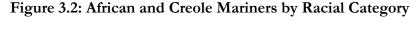
Milles, who in addition to paying 30 rolls of tobacco to the Oba or local leader once arriving in Onim to trade, also spent two rolls of tobacco to hire a "ladino boy to accompany me." The sizable number of Portuguese and Brazilian traders in many West African ports that regularly interacted with local peoples in the course of their commercial activities increased the number of Africans residing on the Atlantic littoral who were acquainted with Lusitanian culture.

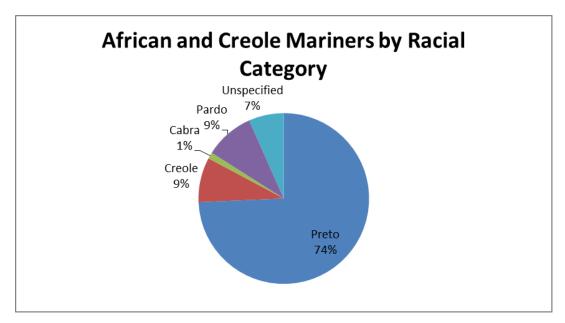
Though Bahian slaving ship mariners were uniformly identified by their owners as being acculturated, with a sizable majority being African-born, crews were also comprised of mariners who represented a variety of racial categories. Of the 662 men identified as African or of African descent, 74 percent were labeled *Preto*, which implied both African birth and enslaved status, though the word literally translates to "black." (See figure 3.2) As Mieko Nishida, Charles Boxer and others have pointed out, racial identities did not merely signify skin color, but included indications of parentage and social status. Moreover, individuals could often move between ascribed racial categories within their lifetimes, or be ascribed differing racial identities depending on the social context.³⁴ On Bahian slaving vessels a proportion of men were labeled *criolo* or of full African descent, but born in Brazil; *cabra* or mixed race, but with a greater proportion of African parentage, and *pardo*, roughly equally of

³³ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 375, Pacote 1, Papers of the Brig *Conceição Conde dos Arcos*, 3.

Mieko Nishida, Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender, and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808-1888 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 7-8; see also Mary C. Karasch, "Guine, Mina, Angola, and Benguela: African and Crioulo Nations in Central Brazil, 1780-1835," in José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil During the Era of Slavery (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), 163-184, 173; João José Reis and Eduardo Silva, Negociação e conflíto: a resistência negra no Brasil escravista (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1989), 45; Charles R. Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1825 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 73-74.

European and African descent. Thus the crews of slaving vessels were more African than creole, mirroring the general population of Salvador.





Ships engaged in slave trading often employed the largest crews in the Atlantic in relation to their size (which was measured by tonnage), as additional men were need to control enslaved men and women held in holds. By one estimate, slaving vessels traveling from Luanda to Pernambuco carried one crew member for every four to seven tons, compared to other merchant vessels which employed one seamen for every twelve to twenty tons. This ratio amounted to roughly one crew member per 19.3 slaves. South Atlantic vessels weighed roughly 120-160 tons and carried 300-400 slaves. The São Miguel de Triunfante, a brigantine outfitted to carry 333 slaves in its cargo left the port of Salvador with

³⁵ Joseph C. Miller, Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730-1830 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 356.

³⁶ This estimate is for mid-sized brigantines, which was the most efficient vessel in the early 19th century period, see Miller, *Way of Death*, 371.

³⁷ Miller, Way of Death, 370.

44 crew members. The size of its crew was larger than most, and like all ships, the *São Miguel* divided its labor between a captain—who also acted as the first or most senior pilot, a chaplain, a second and third pilot (who was also the ship's scribe), ³⁸ a quartermaster, a barber, two coopers (barrel makers), and 35 sailors. ³⁹ Other vessels also carried carpenters, cooks, clerks—who managed the ship's trading cargo—and cabin boys who served the ship's officers. Each occupation carried particular responsibilities and privileges, and crews divided labor hierarchically. Officers, including captains, pilots, and artisans performed highly skilled and specialized forms of labor and due to their expertise comprised the upper strata of a sailing vessels' floating society. Common sailors were also in many respects skilled laborers, tasked with operating and maintaining what Marcus Rediker has called one of the early modern world's most complicated machines, although they occupied, along with cabin boys, the lower rungs of the shipboard hierarchy. ⁴⁰

A mariner's racial ascription was paramount in determining the occupation he fulfilled aboard slaving vessels. Unsurprisingly, most enslaved and African seaman served as common sailors and cabin boys. ⁴¹ Among all common sailors laboring aboard Bahian vessels, 47.7 percent were black, while 52.9 percent of cabin boys were labelled as African or creole. Though many African and creole mariners were concentrated in several of the positions on board requiring the least skill, many enslaved Africans also served as officers, a

³⁸ On English ships second and third officers were called "mates," serving in a subsidiary capacity to first officers, see Rediker, *The Slave Ship*, 58.

³⁹ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 410, Pacote 1, Papers of the Ship *São Miguel Triunfante*.

⁴⁰ Rediker, The Slave Ship, 57.

⁴¹ 50.2 of all African and Creole seamen on slaving vessels were registered as sailors and 14.3 percent served as cabin boys. An additional 17.6 percent labored as "slaves" and performed unspecified labor, though most were likely employed as personal servants for officers.

stark contrast to the composition of the North American ships during the same period. 42 Black coopers—who were responsible for building and maintaining barrels used to transport water, oil, and other goods and provisions aboard slaving vessels—made up 79.1 percent of all those registered for that occupation. (See Figure 3.3) Africans also made up nearly 90 percent of barbers, *sangradores*, and surgeons, of the 55 listed all medical practitioners on board only one was white. Africans and creoles also comprised the majority of cooks, at 77.7 percent.

All of these positions, like artisanal occupations on land, generally required training in the form of an apprenticeship to acquire specialized skills. Some seamen specialized in maritime employment, even in particular oceanic routes such as the one between Bahia and the Mina Coast, while others were merely journeymen passing through one profession among many they would inhabit during their lives. Enslaved mariners were particularly likely to practice multiple professions throughout their lives as they passed from owner to owner, each involved in different trades. Officers were more likely to be specialized, however, as it could take many years to learn the expertise necessary to practice their trade well. This acquired expertise meant that African and creole mariners participated in a range of occupations which were required by the rigid division of labor duties between officers and crews aboard early modern sailing vessels. African slaves frequently carried out the skilled, specialized tasks necessary for the successful functioning of complex sailing vessels, as well as the maintenance of officers, crews and captives aboard.

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⁴² Jeffrey Bolster argues that African American sailors never rose to the rank of ship's officer, see Jeffrey W. Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 77.

⁴³ João José Reis, Flávio dos Santos Gomes, and Marcus J.M. de Carvalho, *O Alufá Rufino: Trafíco, Escravidão e Liberdade no Atlântico Negro* (c. 1822-1853) (São Paulo: Companhia dos Letras, 2010), 99-105.

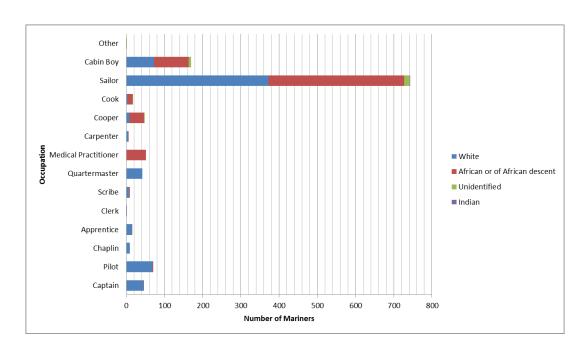


Figure 3.3: Mariners by Occupation and Race

Amongst all the artisans who labored aboard slaving vessels, carpenters were singularly responsible for "the structural soundness of the ship." This required reinforcing the hull with oakum and wooden plugs when planks separated during the course of the voyage, repairing vital components including the masts and yards, as well as outfitting the ship to hold enslaved men and women in the cargo hold during the return voyage. In addition to these tasks, carpenters were also integral to preventing slave uprisings, as captains entrusted them to erect barricades on the main deck, providing a physical barrier between the crew and potentially hostile captives in the hold. While anchored on the West African coast, carpenters also constructed platforms on the lower deck to provide extra space to accommodate a greater number of slaves in the hold.

Like carpenters, cooks also played an integral role in managing enslaved Africans on sailing vessels. Tasked with feeding the 200-400 slaves on board twice daily, as well as the

⁴⁴ Rediker, The Slave Ship, 59.

⁴⁵ Rediker, The Slave Ship, 59.

captain and crew, the cook, like the medical personnel, was critical in maintaining the health of captives and crew alike. Some Bahian ships, like the Desforce, employed two cooks, one to prepare the captain's meals, and one for the rest of the captives and crew. 46 Only 2.3 percent of all black seamen in Bahia were registered as cooks, a much smaller proportion than for black seamen in other Atlantic ports, the job remained a pivotal one, however. 47 Cooks often worked in a small enclosure positioned on the back of the deck called the galley, toiling over a wood-burning hearth for most of the day and preparing gruel in large cauldrons.⁴⁸ Difficulties arose for cooks not only in making stale and often spoiled provisions palatable, but also in rationing the correct amount of food daily to last through the entire voyage, which often lead to paltry allotments raising objections among members of the crew.⁴⁹ Adding to the difficulty of estimating portions was the tendency for voyages to last longer than anticipated due to weather conditions or other hold-ups.⁵⁰ Cooks also often dealt with faulty equipment, making their task even more difficult. Cauldrons used to cook food were ideally made of copper, however occasionally captains attempting to cut costs used cooking vessels made of inferior materials such as tin which, as a Portuguese doctor observed, resulted in "poisoned food, and many African slaves [who] died poisoned from the lack of cleanliness of the cauldrons from stomach pains and diarrheas."51 In order to avoid such calamities slaving ship cooks had to be vigilant in maintaining a clean galley.

⁴⁶ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 369, Papers of the Desforço.

⁴⁷ Jeffrey Bolster reports that 24 percent of all African American seamen in Philadelphia were cooks in 1803, while 51 percent in Providence, Rhode Island seven years later. See Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 33.

⁴⁸ Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 33.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the poor quality of provisions and inadequate rationing on Brazilian slaving ships to Angola see Miller, *Way of Death*, 352-355. For the sometimes tense relationship between cooks and other crew members see Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 81-82.

⁵⁰ Christopher, Slave Ship Sailors, 109-112.

⁵¹ ANTT, Junta do Comércio, Maço 10, Caixa 36, Letter of Miguel de Mello Antônio, March

Sailors were also entrusted to perform a range of skilled tasks to keep the complex machinery of the sailing vessel moving. Paramount among them was manipulating sails and anchors, thus performing the physical labor necessary to navigate the vessel. Fully-rigged ships, as Jeffrey Bolster has pointed out, housed hundreds of lines, blocks and tackles located throughout the vessel. Only experienced sailors would have extensive knowledge of the "names, locations and functions" of these apparatus', or the ability to effectively deploy techniques for collectively taking-in, steering, and trimming sails in order to navigate the ship. Part of this work required brute strength, but in order to effectively practice the "art of the sea," successful sailors needed practical and in-depth knowledge that could only be acquired through experience. Often cabin boys labored aboard ships for the explicit purpose of learning these skills as unpaid apprentices, a role African and creole seaman often inhabited.

While many of the diverse professions found aboard slaving vessels were heavily populated by African and creole mariners, some occupations were nearly exclusively filled by whites. All registered quartermasters on Bahian slaving vessels were white. The quartermaster's role aboard slaving vessels was rather amorphous, acting as a secondary navigator under the captain, he managed the sailors and cabin boys in the crew and directed their labor, distributed provisions among the crew, kept ledgers, watched enslaved men and women in the cargo, and administeried to sick slaves. ⁵⁴ Pilots, like quartermasters were

^{12, 1799.}

⁵² Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 78.

⁵³ Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 78.

⁵⁴ Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 14; Leif Svalesen, *The Slave Ship Fredensborg* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2000), 54-55, 110, 134; Charles R. Foy, "Ports of Slavery, Ports of Freedom: How Slaves Used Northern Seaports' Maritime Industry to Escape and Create Trans-Atlantic Identities, 1713-1783," (PhD Dissertation, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2008), 298.

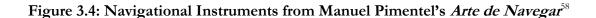
second mates to the captain, taking over his duties during night watches, or in the event the captain died during the course of the voyage. Filots were divided into first, second and third tiers in accordance with their level of experience and seniority. Principally charged with navigating the ship, they utilized instruments including maps, astrolabes or inclinometers, nautical rings, Jacob's staffs, Davis's Quadrants, protractors, quadrants, in conjunction with knowledge of points of destination, trade winds and currents. Pilots were required to understand the basic principles of geometry, astronomy, cartography and geography in order to successfully fulfill their duties. 66

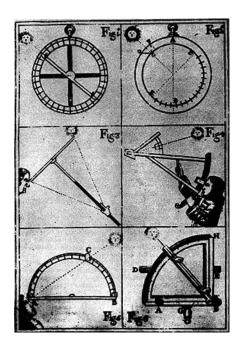
The pilot's rank and authority on board was secondary only to the captain's, and yet two *pardo* or mixed race men served as pilots in a sample of 71 men. Though navigational expertise required both literacy and academic study, by the early nineteenth century a number of mixed race men labored as pilots and captains aboard Bahian slaving vessels. Of the 52 ships with recorded crew manifests, only one, the *Crioula* was captained by a *pardo* man, André Pinto de Silveira in 1823. Silveira's racial identity did little to exclude him from the lucrative and powerful role of ship's "master," he captained three slaving vessels over the course of five voyages between 1813 and 1824 and later went on to own three slaving vessels himself. ⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Rediker, *The Slave Ship*, 58.

⁵⁶ See Manoel Pimentel, Arte de navegar, em que se ensinam as regras praticas, e o modo de cartear pela Carta plana, & reduzida, o modo de graduar a Balestilha por via de numerous, & muitos problemas uteis à Navegação; & Roteiro das viagens a costass de Guiné, Angola, Brasil, Indias, & Ilhas Occidentaes, & Orientaes, Agora novamente emendado, & accrescentadas muitas derrotas novas (Lisbon: Officina Real Deslandesiana, 1712), 15-22.

⁵⁷ Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 1813: *Cipião Africano*, voyage identification number 7354, 1814: *Cipião Africano* twice, voyage identification numbers: 47064, 7375, 1824: *União*, *Crioula*, voyage identification numbers: 476, 2939.





The relative prevalence of men of partial African descent in the position of lead navigator and ship's master on Bahian vessels was less common in other Atlantic ports outside of Africa. In North America, where scholars estimate black seafarers made up seventeen percent of the maritime labor force, Emma Christopher has argued that sailors of African descent were marginal figures who "were overwhelmingly confined to the lowest positions aboard ship." Jeffrey Bolster affirms this view, maintaining that in the Anglo-Atlantic, outside of the pirate ship, "a skilled black sailor had little authority. "Dissenting from this view, Kevin Dawson has highlighted the centrality of black and enslaved ship pilots in the Caribbean and southern United States where such men navigated deep-water

⁵⁸ Figure 1: Nautical Astrolabe, Figure 2: Nautical ring, Figure 3: Jacob's staff, Figure 4: Davis' Quadrant, Figure 5: Protractor, Figure 6: Quadrant.

⁵⁹ Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 15.

vessels through harbors from the open sea to docks and storehouses. In the late eighteenth century Olaudah Equinao learned vital navigational skills from his ships' second mate as well as from his captain and owner while still an enslaved sailor in the Caribbean, despite the fact that many believed that "it was a very dangerous thing to let a Negro know navigation." The labors of these men, however, were mostly concentrated in short-distance or "green water" journeys. On the West African coast, African navigators also occasionally took control of European sailing vessels. In the late eighteenth century, British slavers in the Bight of Biafra sometimes hired black pilots to navigate the turbulent waters of that part of the coast. Hugh Crow recorded the contracting of an African pilot at Bonny locally called "My Lord," a man whose familiarity with geography of the coast and commercial ports located in the Bight surely made him an attractive navigator for the English ship traveling between points of disembarkation.

Navigational prowess was not the only matter of concern. For instance Crow noted that African pilots "considered it indispensable to the safety of the ship to perform certain ceremonies" before embarking, which included communicating with the spiritual forces that governed the success or failure of voyages traversing the sea. ⁶³ This suggests that African navigators understood their mastery of maritime environments not merely in scientific or

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⁶⁰ Kevin Dawson, "The Cultural Geography of Enslaved Ship Pilots," in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, James Sidbury, eds., *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 163-184.

⁶¹ James Walvin, An African's Life: The Life and Times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745-1797 (New York: A & C Black, 2000), 70.

⁶² Michael J. Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World,* 1680-1783 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 109, 174; Dawson, "Cultural Geography of Enslaved Ship Pilots," 163-184. Linda Rupert also identifies a free black ship captain in Curação in 1749, see Linda M. Rupert, *Creolization and Contraband: Curação in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2012), 200

⁶³ Hugh Crow, *Memoirs of the late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool* ... (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, And G. and J. Robinson, 1830), 35.

technical terms, as rationalized manipulations of predictable earthy forces, but in supernatural or spiritual dimensions as well. The willingness of white slaving merchants and crews to cede control of deep water sailing vessels to African and *pardo* mariners bespeaks both the navigational expertise of these men as well as the absence of a rigid exclusion of non-whites from entering prestigious and skilled maritime professions. Surprisingly, captains of slaving ships coasting along the African coast embraced or at least tolerated such heterodox navigational methods.

Even the occupation of captain—the most powerful position aboard, which required an extensive knowledge of navigation, West African commerce and the management of shipboard personnel during the course of often perilous journeys—occasionally was inhabited by men of African descent. In addition to the aforementioned André Pinto de Silveira, slaving ship papers identify a number of pardo captains working regularly during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century: Antônio de Santa Isabel, Innocêncio Marques de Santa Anna, Vicente Ferreira Milles, Caetano Alberto de França, Joaquim Marques Loureiro, Manoel Marques Loreiro (whose father was also a slaving ship captain in the mid eighteenth century), Prudêncio Vidal de Albuquerque Vianna and Jozé Antônio de Souza, who all recorded their profession as captain for ships traveling to West Africa. Captains, who sometimes owned the ships they navigated, recruited crew members, were responsible for loading trading cargoes on ships, as well as safely and efficiently navigating to the West African coast. Once anchored, captains would venture ashore, setting up temporary lodges on coastal beaches, or staying in small crude trading forts erected by Brazilian slaving merchants within West African communities. Along with a ship's clerk and apprentice, who sometimes accompanied them, captains would distribute duties to local rulers, porters, and canoemen, trade with local merchants and attempt to secure the most beneficial terms

possible. Upon completion of their trade, captains were responsible for loading the enslaved men, women, and children who comprised the captive cargo aboard, and ensuring a safe return voyage, avoiding slave revolts, storms, shipwrecks and other catastrophes. Captains made the final navigational decisions, and delegated labor tasks among various members of the crew. This was a position, as Marcus Rediker has argued, of almost absolute authority on deep-sea sailing vessels. As both the most skilled and best compensated member of the sailing crew, his will superseded all others. Captains' ability to demand almost absolute obedience from crew members was derived, in part, from their capacity to employ the lash and other forms of corporal punishment as a disciplinary mechanism. Rediker also argues that the backing of wealthy merchants empowered them vis a vis wage-earning common sailors. Shipboard labor was also organized according to a strict hierarchical ideology which demanded crews to treat superiors aboard with absolute deference.⁶⁴ It is important to note, however, that this characterization of the relations between captain and crews—while holding some correlation for Bahian vessels—was a more accurate description of labor relations in the North Atlantic, borne as it was from the very specific relations between workers and capital in early modern England. Brazil, by function of its status as a slave society, operated under very different modes of social conduct and interaction.

Distribution of wages was one area, however, in which the hierarchy between ships' crew members was readily apparent, however. Variations in average wages for slaving ship crew members were strongly correlated with occupation and the corresponding level of skill, experience and responsibility that it was presumed to entail. Captains during the course of a round trip from Bahia to the Mina Coast, for instance, made an average of 1695.5 milreis, or over 40 times what cabin boys did for the same voyage. (See Figure 3.5). Wages paid to

⁶⁴ Rediker, *The Slave Ship*, 6-7.

officers were markedly higher than those for common sailors and servants (including cabin boys and slaves), though there was wide variation among officers as well. Mariners' race and legal status, whether born free, manumitted or freed, or enslaved, also influenced their remuneration on slaving voyages. African or African descended mariners received on average less than their white counterparts in all occupations except that of carpenter and ship captain. Enslaved mariners regularly collected lower average wages than their legally free counterparts, even those who shared their racial ascription. Black common sailors for instance, averaged 49.3 milreis per voyage, but free black sailors earned 58.7 milreis, significantly more than the 43.2 mil reis paid to enslaved sailors. The average wage for white sailors, meanwhile, was 80.9 milreis, substantially more than either group. Because enslaved mariners comprised 59.3 percent of all black seafarers on slaving voyages, collectively seamen of African descent—including those born in Portugal, the Atlantic Islands, and Brazil—received lower wages than whites.

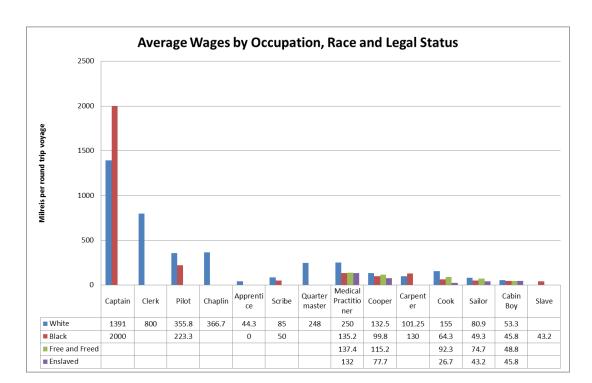


Figure 3.5. Wages for Bahian Mariners on Slaving Ships, 1811-1835

Despite this bias, racial identity and enslaved status did not exclusively determine financial compensation. Rank and experience were just as influential, with more seasoned mariners usually commanding higher wages. (See Figure 3.6)

Figure 3.6. Average Wage by Rank

Occupation	Average Wage	Surgeon	225
First Pilot	429.7	First Barber/Sangrador	147.4
Second Pilot	324.6	Second Barber/Sangrador	69.3
Third Pilot	140		
First Cooper	124		
Second Cooper	68.1		

African and enslaved seaman also tended to be employed as mates or assistants to higher ranking officers with more technical training and expertise. Furthermore, African and enslaved mariners employed as officers in skilled occupations regularly received more than

whites who labored as common sailors or cabin boys. Enslaved *sangradores* earned substantially more than some white officer aboard, including scribes, apprentices. Their average salary also exceeded that of white sailors, and cabin boys. Black or enslaved coopers, cooks and carpenters were also regularly paid more than white mariners in lower status occupations. The variety of skills required to run a slaving vessel provided ample opportunities for specialization and advancement, even for enslaved African mariners. An analysis of wages reveals that racial discrimination did impose restrictions on what kinds of occupations African and creole seafarers were allowed to gain entry to, and depressed levels of compensation for similar work. This analysis also illustrates the fluidity of shipboard life which allowed skilled and experienced African seaman to access to unparalleled wage-earning opportunities within a colonial slave society.

The Rhythms of Everyday Life aboard a Slaving Vessel

Contemporary observers almost uniformly depicted quotidian life aboard deep-sea sailing vessels as highly regimented, and slavers were no exception. Bahian sailors, captains and vessels, specialized in specific maritime routes, types of vessels and commerce. For those who navigated between Bahia and the Mina Coast, the return voyage typically lasted between 40 to 50 days. During the course of a round-trip voyage, slaving vessels commonly first landed on the shores of the Mina Coast, then cruised southward trading for slaves in towns east of the River Volta including Porto Novo, Badagry and Lagos, stopping for provisions on São Tomé or Príncipe and then returning directly to Bahia. (See Figure 3.7) Unlike slaving ship sailors who originated in European entrepôts, Bahian based mariners

⁶⁵ Marcus Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seaman, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 89; Jaime Rodrigues, De Costa a Costa: Escravos, Marinheiros e Intermediarios do tráfico negreiro de Angola ao Rio de Janeiro (1780-1860) (São Paulo: Editora Schwarcz LTDA., 2005), 170.

were spared the tedium and augmented risk that accompanied a triangular voyage between Europe, West Africa and the Americas—a slaving ship voyage originating in Liverpool at the end of the eighteenth century lasted on average one year.⁶⁶

Figure 3.7: Average Length of Voyage in Days between Africa and Bahia by African Region, 1790-1824⁶⁷

Years	West Africa	West Central	Southeast
		Africa	Africa
1760-94	46	37	-
1795-99	45	40	-
1800-1804	47	37	-
1805-1809	46	36	-
1810-14	41	35	47
1815-1819	40	28	62
1820-24	-	35	63

Mariners, both enslaved and free, were contracted before ships set sail, either by the vessel's owner or the captain. On Bahian vessels, captains and ships' owners were often one in the same. During this period, sailors and captains negotiated pay according to the length of voyage and the level of experience of the employed seaman; an enslaved mariner's wages were sometimes negotiated by his owner. Such was the case for *preto* cook Antônio de Carvalho who was contracted to work aboard the *Saibu* on its voyage from Pernambuco to Lisbon with a layover in Rio de Janeiro in 1800. Carvalho's owner, Jozé de Mello, agreed to lease out his personal cook to the *Saibu*'s owner for 60\$000 reis for the round trip voyage, receiving 9\$920 reis before the voyage commenced and the remainder once it had

⁶⁶ Stephan D. Behrendt, "Crew Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave* Trade (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1997), 49-71, 54.

⁶⁷ Taken from Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 149.

⁶⁸ Rodrigues, De Costa a Costa, 161.

concluded. Upon reaching Lisbon, however, Antônio de Carvalho received a head injury that necessitated care at a local hospital. After waiting for five days for the captain to retrieve him as he had promised, Carvalho concluded that he had been abandoned in port, losing the remainder of his wage. In Antônio's case, his enslaved status helped him lodge a civil case for libel, demanding restitution of wages with the *Juízo de Índia e Mina* utilizing the backing of his master. ⁶⁹ Carvalho was able to litigate for restitution because Portuguese maritime law provided avenues for sailors to lodge legal petitions against captains who they felt had unlawfully withheld wages. Sailors were prevented from doing so before arriving at their destinations, however, as the *Portuguese Commercial Code* ordered:

The officers and crew people, cannot bring litigation against the captain or ship before the end of the trip, under penalty of loss of their entire salary. However, finding the ship in a good harbor, the officers or people of the crew or mistreated persons, or those whom the captain has not given necessary support may demand a resolution of their contract before the consul, and in the absence in front of the magistrate of the place.⁷⁰

The law furthermore compelled captains to pay crews within 24 hours of arrival on shore, giving mariners in the Luso-Atlantic equivalent legal protection to their counterparts in the Anglo-Atlantic.⁷¹Owners of enslaved seamen also had legal standing to lodge complaints for failure by captains to pay wages, and because maritime masters were so often personally involved in seafaring themselves, they were familiar with the legal options available to sailors.

⁶⁹ ANTT, Feitos Findos, Juízo da Índia e Mina, Maço 40, Caixa 40, No. 9, Acção de Libello em que he com Autos Antônio de Carvalho homem preto Contra Manoel Jozé de San Bernardo Capitão do Brigue, 1800.

⁷⁰ NAL, FO 315/44, no. 32, Papers of the ship *Emprenhendedor*, "Obrigações Mandadas Trasladar Neste Lugar Pelo Artigo 1442 do Codigo Commercial Portuguez."

⁷¹ George F. Steckley, "Litigious Mariners: Wage Cases in the Seventeenth-Century Admiralty Court," *The Historical Journal* 42:2 (1999), 315-345.

A survey of enslaved seamen laboring on the Bahian slave trade demonstrates that most were owned by individuals who were directly or indirectly involved in maritime commerce, either as investors or officers aboard slaving vessels. Enslaved mariners often labored under the supervision of their owners who worked as captains or pilots aboard slaving vessels. For these men, negotiations for pay and terms of employment were less complicated than for enslaved mariners hired out as wage laborers by owners not involved in the slave trade in any capacity. Because of their ability to supervise their slaves directly, maritime masters also had less cause for concerns that their enslaved property would attempt escape while at sea. The many other residents of Salvador whose slaves were contracted to labor on transatlantic voyages, however, had little authority or supervision over their slaves during the period of the voyage. In some ways, enslaved mariners' independence from their masters was comparable to autonomy of other wage earning slaves for hire (or escravos de ganho)—who worked as skilled artisans, including barbers, carpenters, shoemakers and resided in urban Salvador. Many of these wage-earners lived almost completely self-sufficient lives, occupying residences apart from their owners, and only meeting periodically with their masters to relay a fixed portion of their earnings. 72 As British Vice-Consul, James Wetherell noted for escravos de ganho in mid nineteenth century Bahia:

master[s] direct the slave to pay him at the rate of, it may be, about one shilling a day; this frequently is the case, and all the slave can raise above that sum which his master demands, belongs to himself. In the process of time those who are industrious raise

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⁷² For a discussion of wage earning slaves in Salvador and urban Brazil generally, see Mieko Nishida, *Slavery and Identity*, 20- 21; Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 109-112; João José Reis, "The Revolution of the Ganhadores: Urban Labour, Ethnicity, and the African Strike of 1857 in Bahia, Brazil," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29:2 (May 1997), 355-93; Luiz Carlos Soares, "Os escravos de ganho no Rio de Janeiro do secúlo XIX," *Revista Brasileira de História* 5:16 (1988), 107-42.

sufficient money to pay the price their master values them at, and when such is the case, the slave can claim his freedom.⁷³

Slave holders who employed their slaves as wage earning mariners exchanged the prospect of receiving handsome incomes for the risk that enslaved sailors would escape during the course of a voyage. Owners who hired out their slaves earned an average of 10 to 20 percent profit on their initial investment in the slave's purchase price, making it a very lucrative form of slaving holding in Brazil's urban centers during the period.⁷⁴ The promise of profit incentivized many slaveholders to grant their slaves greater autonomy, allowing them to live outside of their household, and labor in the absence of their direct supervision.

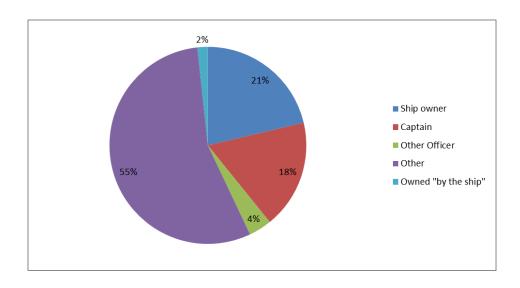


Figure 3.8: Distribution of Owners of Enslaved Mariners

After crew members had been contracted, mariners began the arduous work of loading the cargo alongside Salvador's dockworkers. A safe voyage was assured by carefully

⁷⁴ Klein and Luna, Slavery in Brazil, 112.

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⁷³ James Wetherell, *Brazil: Stray Notes from Bahia: Being Extracts from Letters, & c., during a Residence of Fifteen Years*, ed. William Hadfield (Liverpool: Webb and Hunt, 1860), 16-17.

distributing weight evenly throughout the vessel.⁷⁵ Portuguese and Brazilian mariners were noted to perform this task while singing. Songs called *salomas* accompanied by drums, trumpets and fifes floated through the air as sailors lifted heavy bales of *fazendas* or trading goods on rudimentary pulley systems.⁷⁶ Once cargoes were completed, merchant ships ceremoniously departed from the Bay of All Saints, accompanied by music performed by roving bands of black musicians stationed on launches, who serenaded ships on the first days of taking on cargo, as well as their departures and arrivals.⁷⁷ These ceremonies of embarkation, common in many seafaring traditions, acted as rituals to pacify the mysterious and potentially life-threatening forces symbolized by the sea, and marked the passage from the distinct realm of the land to that of the ocean. Such actions ultimately aimed to manage the risks associated with sea travel, and augment the probability of a successful voyage, endowing seamen with a greater perceived sense of control over their unpredictable journeys.⁷⁸

Departure was followed by a set repertoire of duties accorded to each member of the crew once the ship had set sail. Maintenance of the ship required routine tasks to be performed at specific times each day during regular intervals called watches, including setting

⁷⁵ Rebecca Jo Tannenbaum, *Health and Wellness in Colonial America* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 106.

⁷⁶ Rodrigues, *De Costa a Costa*, 206.

⁷⁷ Thomas Lindley, *Narrative of a voyage to Brasil* (London: J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1805), 71.

⁷⁸ Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong, Between the Sea & the Lagoon: An Eco-Social History of the Anlo of Southeastern Ghana, c.1850 to Recent Times (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2001), 18; John J. Poggie, Jr. and Carl Gersuny, "Risk and Ritual: An Interpretation of Fishermen's Folklore in a New England Community," The Journal of American Folklore 85:335 (1972), 66-72. For a description of the rituals of baptism performed by seamen upon the first crossing the equator see Jaime Rodrigues, "A new world in the Atlantic: sailors and rites of passage crossing the Equator, from the 15th to the 20th century / Um mundo novo no Atlântico: marinheiros e ritos de passage na linha do equador, séculos XV-XX," Revista Brasileira de Historia 33:65 (2013), 236.

and managing the sails under the guidance of the captain or pilot, dropping and raising anchor, manning the guns, and preserving the soundness of the ship by repairing rigging, sails, spinning cordage, caulking and cleaning the decks and hull. Stores of trading goods, including perishable items like tobacco, gunpowder and provisions needed to be tended to in order to prevent spoilage from humidity. Even mealtime was highly regulated as the crew was organized into messes for the allocation of provisions.⁷⁹

Despite all this regimentation, shipboard labor was punctuated by dangerous and unpredictable events and that provoked sheer terror among crews. Especially common were storms caused by movements of high pressure systems or *pamperos* which moved north from the Antarctic in the months of May, June and July. So South Atlantic trade winds, though, were much more reliable than their northern counterparts, making journeys from Brazil to West Africa less disposed to delay. Encountering storms was dangerous in a multitude of ways. Masts could snap in half or "cut away," rendering vessels difficult to navigate and compromising the soundness of the hull. Tornadoes were noted to be especially common off of the West African coast, striking quickly and driving ships eastward. One Portuguese captain sailing off the coast of Mozambique attested to the dangers of sea storms once captives had been embarked:

Suddenly, the weather closes in, and the sea rises so high and forcefully that the ships obey the waves without course or control, at the mercy of the winds. It is then that the din from the slaves, chained to one another, becomes horrible. The clanking of the irons, the moans, the weeping, the cries, the waves breaking over one side of the ship and then the other, the shouting of the sailors, the whistling of the winds, and the continuous roar of the waves....Some of the food supplies are pushed overboard...Many slaves break their legs and their arms, while others die of

⁷⁹ Rediker, *The Slave Ship*, 232-233.

⁸⁰ Miller, Way of Death, 322.

⁸¹ William Reid, *An attempt to develop the law of storms by means of facts* ... (London: John Weale, Library of Civil, Military, and Mechanical Engineering, 59 High Holborn, 1850), 491-2.

suffocation. One ship will break apart from the fury of the storm and sink...The other drifts on, dismasted, ruined by the force of the ocean...on the verge of capsizing.⁸²

In such situations mariners, could do no more than ride out the storm with their fellow crew members and hope for the best. Conversely, the climatic opposite of a storm, becoming becalmed or the loss of all wind, could also break routine. Sailors on a ship traveling from the Bight of Benin to Bahia in the late seventeenth century, after experiencing a lack of wind for several days, which completely halted the voyage's progress, resorted to kneeling and praying to a figure of Saint Anthony affixed to the ship's deck. 83 Overall, outbound voyages vacillated between tedium and turmoil, routine and risk. Such abrupt changes in weather could also greatly increase the length of slaving voyages, further imperiling the health and safety of the inhabitants of the floating wooden world. The possibility of running out of provisions, primarily water, was an especially dangerous prospect for slaving voyages. Portuguese law attempted to forestall such an outcome through regulation. One alvará codified in 1684, mandated water rations at 1 canada (2.622 liters) per day for the enslaved individuals held in cargoes—though this rate fluctuated in the following 140 years. Even so, captains were known to under-stock the number of water casks in cargoes in order to maximize the number of captives ships could hold below decks.⁸⁴ Mohommah Gardo Baquaqua recalled that in the mid nineteenth century, as an enslaved young man transported

⁸² Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 428.

⁸³ Thomas, The Slave Trade, 428.

⁸⁴ Miller, *Way of Death*, 419-424.

across the Atlantic in the hold of a Brazilian slaving ship he suffered from excruciating thirst, and was allotted only a pint of water a day.⁸⁵

Food was no less vital in securing the success of slaving expeditions, often becoming a locus of conflict and a signifier of status aboard slaving vessels. Bahian ships, like the Nossa Senhora da Esperança in the mid eighteenth century, carried provisions from Salvador with the intention of feeding captives with them on the return journey. The ship carried 76 alqueires (1048.8 liters) of "good beef from the Bahian hinterland," and 1579 algueires (21790.2 liters) of flour from Bahia. 86 Ship captains also acquired a significant proportion of a voyage's provision while passing along the West African coast. While anchored near the island of Príncipe, Nossa Senhora da Esperança's captain, Antônio da Costa Basto purchased an additional 40 algueires of beans, 30 algueires of corn, 2 barrels of dendê oil, 2 barrels of sweet oil "better than brought from Bahia," 1 barrel of fish, 1 pipe of vinegar, and 1 barrel of fish oil.87 The schooner Paquete Volante traveling from Bahia to Cabinda arranged to bring a small amount of aguardente (or cane liquor), sugar and powdered tobacco for the enslaved men and women on board, at a total of 1:046\$600 reis in 1811.88 Provisions on these vessels, like many others were divided between those designated for the captain and officers, and those for the "captives on board." The brig Conceição Condê dos Arcos also procured food native to the West African coast, and stocked beans, corn, dendê oil, 100 chickens, 500 yams and

⁸⁵ Mahommah Gardo Baquana, *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America*, 2nd ed., eds. Robin Law and Paul Lovejoy (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009), 154.

Other Bahian ships, including the *Comerciante*, *Desforço*, *Paquete Volante* also carried a substantial amount of provisions, in flour and dried beef from Bahia for the provisioning of African captives. Each *alqueire* was officially 13.8 liters, see Miller, *Way of Death*, 709. AHU, ACL, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Documento 12420, Extract of the cargo that Captain Antônio da Costa Basto took from Bahia for the Mina Coast, January 2, 1770, Lisbon.
 AHU, ACL, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Documento 12420, Extract of the cargo.
 ANRI, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 372, Pacote 1.

clothing "for the slaves" while in port at Grand Popo in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Such efforts were in fact a crucial part of managing the enslaved cargo, as Portuguese doctors often advised feeding enslaved Africans foods they were accustomed to eating in their homelands, as a measure to stave off "melancholia" and death. Captains (and sometimes crews), by contrast, typically ate costlier fare sometimes imported from Europe. Captain Antônio da Costa Basto kept 2 large bags of pork, 12 bottles of aguardente, 6 arrobas of noodles, 3 barrels of fish, 2 barrels of flour from Lisbon, 7 arrobas of biscuits, 2 arrobas of pounded barley, 4 arrobas of butter, one bag of imported "Moorish cabbage," 1 barrel of olive oil, 5 arrobas of ham, 4 arrobas of chickpeas, and 1 copper pot for his own personal use in his personal stock. The Nossa Senbora da Esperança even stocked separate cauldrons to prepare food the captives below decks, and sick slaves and crew members. Other descriptions, however, suggest that Brazilian slaving crews ate "a very thin gruel and a kind of meal, or rather, small grain (manioc flour), with a small piece of smoked meat or fish as accompaniment. Slaves received the same.

Captains, officers, crew members, and captives' daily experiences diverged not only in the food and water provided to them, but also in living conditions, especially in the space allotted them and the ways they were able to occupy the minimal space of the slaving vessel. Captains and other officers occupied their own cabins, while common sailors and cabin boys sometimes were required to sleep in hammocks in the cargo hold with the captives, or on

⁸⁹ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 375, Pacote 1.

⁹⁰ ANTT, Junta do Comércio, Maço 10, Caixa 36, Letter of Dom Miguel Antônio de Mello, March 12, 1799.

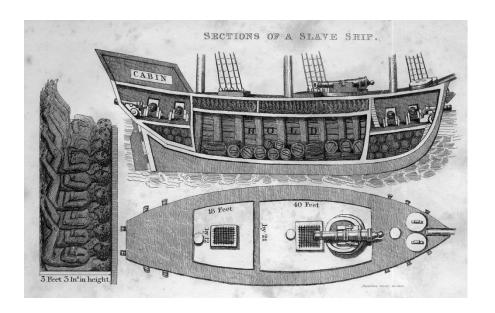
⁹¹ An *arroba* equaled 15 kilograms, while a barrel equaled 85 liters, see Miller, Way of Death, 709

⁹² AHU, ACL, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Doc. 12420, Extract of the cargo.

⁹³ "Farine" was likely manioc flour made into porridge. H. C. Monrad, "A Description of the Guinea Coast and its Inhabitants," in *Two Views from Christiansborg Castle*, trans. by Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Legon, Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009), 224.

deck in the open air during the return voyage from West Africa. ⁹⁴ Below decks enslaved men and women and children were divided into separate compartments, with male captives remaining shackled through most of the voyage while women were allowed to move more freely. Cargo holds carrying enslaved men and women often retained humidity, causing rampant skin infections among the captives, they were rarely cleaned and thus accumulated the stench of human waste, blood, sweat, and sometimes the deceased. Visual depictions of Brazilian slavers during the mid-nineteenth century emphasized the confined space allotted captives, as well as the absence of sufficient ventilation.

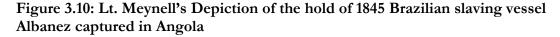
Figure 3.9: "Sections of a Slave Ship," by Robert Walsh



Robert Walsh, Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829, (Boston and New York: 1832), Vol. 2, facing title page.

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⁹⁴ ANTT, Junta do Comércio, Maço 10, Caixa 36, Letter of Dom Miguel Antônio de Mello, March 12, 1799.





"Hold of Brazilian Slave Ship, 1845," Image E029 as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library.

Conditions for slaves changed over time, however. Both Robert Walsh and Lieutenant Meynell portrayed captives on Brazilian slave ships as perpetually chained below deck. These measures, however, appear to be more characteristic of the operation of the slave trade after British vessels began capturing illegal slavers on the West African coast beginning in 1810, when the physical confinement so associated with slaving ship passages became more pronounced. Captains attempting to elude British surveillance would have avoided allowing slaves on deck during the return voyage. Earlier depictions of Brazilian slavers emphasize the relative liberty that captives experienced aboard south Atlantic vessels. H.C. Monrad, a Danish traveler and abolitionist, noted in the beginning of the nineteenth century that enslaved men and women on Portuguese vessels from Brazil were "treated the

most mildly." He went on to note that "only very few of them are chained in the hold; most of them are on deck, and to a degree, mingle with the crew." Brazilian ships, Monrad argued, were less prone to slave revolts as a result of this more humane treatment, observing that as a passenger on a Brazilian slave ship that "never did I see anyone actually flog the slaves; they scarcely thrust them away with mockery and disdain. Rather, I often saw the sailors make as much of the small Negro children as if they had been their own." "What surprised me most," Monrad wrote, "was that slaves were not even imprisoned at night, but that most of them slept on deck with a sail spread over them," though he did note that physical punishment was meted out occasionally following arguments between slaves. 96

Monrad's travelogue also revealed his contention that African crew members were vital to maintaining this peace, as the enslaved people held in cargoes "who know the method of treatment on the Portuguese ships, show little fear...they see that their comrades [Africans] often come back to the Coast as sailors, and conclude that the condition of all of them is equally fortunate." Perhaps Monrad's observation that "a freedom and equality holds sway on Portuguese ships which I have met nowhere else among the other nations" oversimplified the often contentious relationship between captives and crew members. ⁹⁷ He also detailed, however, the cruelty and casual acts of violence that characterized French and Dutch captains' and crews' interactions with African captives, criticizing the brutality of the slave trade in general unlike the pro-slave trade voices of the era, as he highlighted Brazilian slavers as exceptions. Monrad's suggestions that African mariners were more apt at managing enslaved men and women in the cargo supports an earlier contention by

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⁹⁵ Monrad, "A Description," 223.

⁹⁶ Monrad, "A Description," 223

⁹⁷ Monrad, "A Description," 223-224.

Portuguese merchants and administrators that African crews were better personnel on slaving voyages than whites.

Monrad's depiction of life aboard slaving vessels also emphasized the unique role that Catholicism played in the lives of crew members, both black and white. On nearly every Brazilian ship calling at Accra on the western Mina Coast, Monrad noted, "there is a priest, and as soon as the slaves come aboard they are christened, and a crucifix is hung around their necks. Then they are good Christians who must be treated tolerably."98 In addition, Catholic mores dissuaded captains and crews from sexually abusing "Christianized" African women. Religion was important, because seafaring life consisted of more than mundane routine; it was also permeated by ritual—both Catholic and not—as well as widely-held beliefs in the supernatural forces could deliver crews to safety in dangerous circumstances. Slaving vessels, like many others, were named after patron saints throughout the eighteenth century. Pierre Verger has argued that attempted to render slaving "respectable" by evoking "patron saints of slavers, their ships and the merchandise they carried." But the practice was much older than the slave trade, and had roots in Iberian sailors' intercession of patron saints to obtain safe passage for their ships. 100 In addition, saints which were seen as particularly miraculous, such as São Francisco de Paula, were often venerated by African sailors who took the names of such saints in order to evoke their protective powers. Illustrative of the widespread identification of seafarers with Catholic ritual is Jean-Baptiste Debret's depiction of a group of sailors' "devout gratitude" to the patron saint who

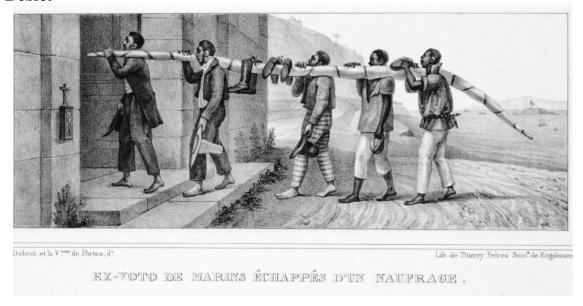
⁹⁸ Monrad, "A Description," 223.

⁹⁹ Verger, Trade Relations, 235.

Montserrat Barniol, "Patrons and Advocates of the Sailors: The Saints and the Sea in Catalan Gothic," *Imago Temporis, Medium Aerum,* Vol. 6 (2012), 252.

saved their lives as they crossed the city to light a votive candle at the Nosso Senhor dos Navegadores (Our Lord of the Navigators) Church.

Figure 3.11: Sailors visit *Nosso Senhor dos Navegadores* as Depicted by Jean-Baptist Debret



Jean Baptiste Debret, *Viagem Pitoresca e Histórica ao Brasil*, *Vol. 3* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora-Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1972), Prancha 6.

Seamen also expressed their Catholic faith by giving alms to various religious institutions in their home communities. For instance, the sailors on the *Nossa Senhora da Guia*, who left Bahia for Cabinda with nineteen crew members, including six African men, made a donation to a local Bahian church in 1829.¹⁰¹ Sailors from the *Firmeza* also contributed to the *Igreja Santa Barbara* in 1838, while the crew of the *Não Lêndia*, both black and white had given alms to the *Senhor do Bom Fim* for "salvation."¹⁰²

 102 NAL, FO 315/45, Papers of the *Ship Firmeza*, NAL, FO 315/45, Papers of the ship $N\tilde{ao}$ *Lendia*.

¹⁰¹ NAL, FO 315/43 N. 25, Papers of the Nossa Senhora da Guia

Many slave captains adhered to Catholic practices during voyages, stocking ships with religious paraphernalia. Accordingly, mass was a regular part of shipboard routine, as was veneration of the ship' patron saint. The Bahian slaving vessel, Nossa Senhora da Esperança e São José, left the Bay of All Saints carrying "one chest with all the ornaments necessary for mass," and three images of the Altars, one of Jesus Christ, one of Our Lady of Hope and one of Saint Joseph. 103 Such articles, besides being a significant investment, were also seen as a central aspect of a ship's communal life. For instance when French corsairs seized a Bahian slaving vessel off the western Mina Coast in 1795 the pirates—while taking the ship's aguardente, provisions, tobacco, gold and sailors' clothing—also "destroy[ed] the ornaments of their Mass, their images, the priests gowns, etc. and taking their silver cup, drinking out of it Brandy, wine and then beating it with a hammer and then throwing it overboard." Their blasphemous actions riled the Bahian ship's crew. Enslaved mariners frequently participated in these quotidian religious rituals while aboard, as most were characterized by their owners as loyal Catholics. When Dutch pirates seized the above mentioned Esperança, two of the ship's nine enslaved mariners escaped and another was taken prisoner by the Dutch ship. A subsequent letter penned by the ship's owner demanded the return of the missing men, and made the case on purely religious grounds. He argued that the men, all "acculturated" Catholics, "should not remain in unholy and heretical lands." In the event that they had already died, however, he required the return of their value. 105 One of the escaped mariners was owned by the Archdeacon of Bahia, who likely provided him with religious instruction.

¹⁰³ AHU, ACL, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Doc. 12420, January 2, 1770, Lisbon, Extract of the cargo...of the *Nossa Senhora da Esperança*.

¹⁰⁴ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 196.

AHU, ACL, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Doc. 12420, Extract of the cargo that Captain Antônio da Costa Basto took from Bahia for the Mina Coast, January 2, 1770, Lisbon.

The Portuguese Crown endorsed the centrality of Catholic ritual aboard slaving vessels, requiring them to employ a chaplain as one of the ship's officers. These men were tasked with directing shipboard religious practice. In addition to ministering to crews, chaplains were also responsible for baptizing slaves as they arrived on the ship, though captains' adherence to this edict was intermittent throughout the period of the slave trade. A 1799 petition to the Crown by thirty-eight of Salvador's merchants characterized the requirement to hire a chaplain as "burdensome." Though ships calling at Angola were required to carry chaplains, captains often avoided carrying clergymen as they also had the responsibility of reporting to the Crown the number of slaves which died during the voyage, deaths which captains could ultimately be held financially responsible for. ¹⁰⁷ Chaplains might cause other tensions aboard. In the early nineteenth century, Monrand noted that

Portuguese captains are often dissatisfied with their padres ... and accuse them of, instead of instructing the slaves, intriguing and causing unrest among the crew. But the true reason for this, undoubtedly, is that these padres keep a sharp lookout on the captains, and, when they have returned home, can report them, and have them punished if they have treated the slaves inhumanely.¹⁰⁸

In these conflicts, the captain's absolute authority on board was diminished; indeed, chaplains may have played the most active role in limiting the power of captains aboard slaving vessels. Their influence likely explains the relative paucity of Catholic priests aboard most ships despite the law; only nine voyages between 1811 and 1839 listed a chaplain on the crew manifest.

¹⁰⁶ Verger, Trade Relations, 95.

¹⁰⁷ Miller, Way of Death, 407.

¹⁰⁸ Monrad, "A Description," 223.

A Shipboard Fraternity of Men

Life aboard a Brazilian slavers for members of the crew, was not entirely distinct from the maritime experiences in the North Atlantic. One key feature of shipboard life on long distance seafaring vessels, regardless of origin, was the salience of fraternal relations among crew members. Emma Christopher has argued that English mariners' relationships with one another constituted a form of "fictive kinship" and that though white seaman may not have treated black mariners as equals, "they regarded them as fellow members of the crew, trusted them as co-workers, and, on occasion rebelled with them against a ship's officers." Jeffry Bolster notes that the nature of maritime labor, which required sometimes dozens of men to work in conjunction to accomplish a particular task, tended to create an integrative social climate regardless of racial difference: "collective work tended to pull black and white shipmates together."110 In the South Atlantic, mariners also formed strong emotional bonds, creating a sense of occupational solidarity unique in the early modern world. In their own testimonies, African and creole sailors often expressed the sentiment of solidarity with their fellow crew members, which was so intense it superseded other forms of identification especially those of race, nation and ethnicity. 111 In the few instances when African and creole mariners mobilized collectively while on slaving ships, it was never in support of the plight of the enslaved men, women and children held in cargoes who perhaps shared their language, ethnicity or birthplace; rather, it was with their maritime brothers and superiors.

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¹⁰⁹ Rediker, The Slave Ship, 231; Christopher, Slave Ship Sailors, 16.

¹¹⁰ Bolster, Black Jacks, 82.

Emma Christopher makes a similar point for black sailors on British and American slaving vessels, arguing: "[their] cultural ties and professional identity in some ways cut across the divisions of skin colour, even in the highly divisive setting of a slave ship." See Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors*, 17.

The imperative for crews to work together to stave off moral threats coupled with the perceived necessity of subordinating individual interests to the well-being of the entire ship underpinned this collective ethos. Portuguese laws governing maritime conduct, specifically those elaborated in the *Portuguese Commercial Code*, required all crew members to mobilize and assist the captain in the case of "attack of the ship or [if] disaster befalls the ship or cargo." Such guidelines augmented the authority of the captain, but also encouraged common sailors and other mariners in the lower end of the shipboard hierarchy to understand obedience, subordination and collective action as necessary to maintain the safety of everyone. This governing principle effectively concealed the personal power of captains under the guise of the necessity to act for the defense of the vessel by submitting to the captain's orders. Such entreaties were framed reciprocally, however, as loyal seamen who did valiantly come to the aid of their seafaring brethren were offered guarantees they would be taken care of if harm should befall them.

Every one of the crew who falls ill in the course of the journey, both in the service of the ship, or in a fight against the enemy, or pirate, was wounded or mutilated, will be paid their wages, treated and cured, and in the case of mutilation, damages will be paid at the discretion of the judge. 113

Portuguese maritime laws ideally aimed to protect not only merchants and captains, but crew members as well.

In the event of conflict with outside forces, Bahian mariners both black and white quickly mobilized in the service of their captains, actively defending the ship against perceived threats. One example of this occurred in 1777, when an English captain, Mr.

 ¹¹² NAL, FO 315/44, no. 32, Papers of the ship Emprenhendedor, Obrigações Mandadas Trasladar
 Neste Lugar Pelo Artigo 1442 do Codigo Commercial Portuguez
 ¹¹³ Ibid.

Chalmers, invited the captain of a Bahian slaving brig, Jozé Gonçalvez Marques, to his cabin while on the on the Mina Coast, for the purpose of exchanging his goods for Brazilian tobacco. Chalmers claimed that after he and the Portuguese captain had agreed to a barter of 160 rolls of tobacco for unspecified "quality" English goods, one roll of tobacco was lost overboard while his crew was transporting it to their vessel. Marques accused Chalmers' men of stealing the missing item, which provoked Chalmers to return to the Bahian vessel to settle the matter. The Bahian captain then refused further commerce and accused Chalmers of handling his tobacco recklessly; he then ordered the ship's mate to fire at the English captain with a musket. Only at the last moment was Chalmers able to escape a bullet. On the order of the said mate, three enslaved sailors "immediately came, and seized hold [him]; and throwed [sic] [him] overboard." The mate continued to fire as he swam away. Chalmers quickly retaliated, twenty-four hours later he put Marques in irons, and confined the "three Negroes for the Villainous attempt they made to murder [him]." In the process of extracting his retribution, Chalmers ordered the "beating and ill using many of the Bahian [crew]" and detained the Brazilian vessel. 115 The English Captain demanded the three slaves as recompense for the damage done to him at the hands of the Marques. The three unnamed slaves, like any other member of the crew were expected to mobilize on their captain's behalf, resorting to violence if necessary. The English mariner's treatment of the enslaved seamen as property who could be traded for financial losses at sea, set them apart from their free colleagues who did not face such risks. The Dutch Director-General and Council of Elmina then intervened, convincing the governor of Cape Coast Castle to urge Chalmers to make amends with Marques by returning his enslaved seamen, warning of the "ill

¹¹⁴ NAL, SP 89/85, 364.

¹¹⁵ NAL, SP 89/85, Letter of January 31st, 1778, 363.

consequences ... that might attend the detaining [of the slaves]."¹¹⁶ It is unclear if Marques attempted to recover the seaman because of personal loyalty, out of a motivation to recover the lost capital they represented, or because he did not want to have to explain their loss to their owners in Bahia. Soon after the event, the Bahian brig sailed away, with the three enslaved seaman still in English custody, stranding the men and indicating their ultimate disposability.

Decades later, another incident involving English seamen who clashed with a Bahian crew ended with deadlier results. In 1821, in the aftermath of the slaver Volcano's capture by a British anti-slaving vessel in West Africa, a British prize-crew boarded the vessel and navigated it Sierra Leone for adjudication. Six weeks into the voyage, a midshipman named Castles, who had been given command of the Volcano, was attacked by the Portuguese captain with a cutlass and thrown overboard. Shortly after, the Bahian crew shot and killed the British quartermaster. Two African sailors who were part of the British crew jumped overboard, and the Bahian ship's black cook and another Portuguese sailor killed the remainder of the British crew aboard. Two more African sailors working with the British were captured in the slave hold, and taken to Bahia before being sold to plantations in the interior. One of the captured men—identified as "Quashie Sam"—eventually escaped to the coast, and was able to board a British ship of war stationed in Bahia, eventually making his way back to Freetown. 117 The motivations of the black sailors who mobilized to take back the Bahian ship may have been conceivably based on loyalty to his captain, or self-interest. Enslaved African sailors captured on Brazilian slavers were customarily taken to Sierra Leone and liberated there, where they would serve as apprentices for a period of 14 years in

¹¹⁶ NAL, SP 89/85, 365, Letter of January 27th, 1778.

¹¹⁷ Siân Rees, Sweet Water and Bitter: The Ships that Stopped the Slave Trade (London: Vintage, 2010), 57.

settlements in and around Freetown, even though many had resided in Brazil for years, had established social relationships there, and considered themselves Portuguese subjects. Seaman seeking to avoid such a fate would have thrown their lot in with their rebelling crew members, despite the likelihood of returning to slavery. Mariners whose vessels were captured by pirates, or other hostile groups lost their wages for such interrupted voyages, and owners were not financially responsible for any instruments, freights or other goods lost by seafarers. These mariners also could have been acting in defense of their seafaring "brothers," by loyally protecting their fellow crew members, or were merely attempting to prevent a loss in their own wages.

The language deployed by African and creole mariners also revealed the depth of such fictive kinship bonds. Antônio Neves, a freed Gege man who labored as a barber referred to his ship mates as his "companion sailors." While 20 year old Manoel da Silva, a free *pardo* man testified that he lived in the home of his "comrade" Bernardino, who was also a sailor. In more adverse circumstances, the brotherhood offered by fellow mariners could be vital to survival. Such was the case for a sailor from the Cape of Good Hope, Domingos, who reported in 1857 that five years earlier he had been abducted by the crew of a Portuguese war ship, the *Conde de Villa Flor*, as he labored aboard a local vessel on the south African coast. Once aboard he was deceitfully enslaved, forced to serve aboard the ship, only surviving the ordeal with the support of his "companions [also] impressed aboard various

¹¹⁸ Walter Hawthorne, "Gorge: An African Seaman and his Flights from 'Freedom' back to 'Slavery' in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Slavery & Abolition* 31:4 (September 2010), 411-428

¹21 *Ibid*.

ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 445, Acção de Padre Jozé Dias Alvares, Aug. 3, 1811.

¹²⁰ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 369, Papers of the ship *Desforço*, no pagination.

ships of war as sailors."¹²² Domingos and his comrades, according to the African man who revealed his story to naval officers after escaping from his "owner" to Lisbon's royal shipyards, found the companionship of his fellow sailors in their experience of shared suffering and victimization an emotional resource.

Such mutually supportive attitudes extended beyond just the interactions of common sailors and enslaved mariners. Relations between captains and officers and common sailors were also sometimes characterized by mutual respect and collegiality. Jaime Rodrigues points out, interactions between subordinates and captains aboard Brazilian vessels were dictated by the imperatives of paternalism, which necessitated both hierarchy but also the ideal of reciprocity in a moral economy. ¹²³ Captains might solicit advice from crew members during the course of storms, for instance. ¹²⁴ In the early nineteenth century, British traveler Thomas Lindley characterized Brazilian sailors as existing in a state of "licentious freedom," commenting that "on board of [a] ship an order is seldom issued without the sailors giving their opinion on it, and frequently involving the whole[of the crew] in dispute and confusion." Lindley furthermore lamented that captains called crew members "comrade" and that the "unreserved freedom" allowed by such informal relations was "productive of the most pernicious consequence; you get no command promptly obeyed." This culture of negotiation between officers and crew members, read to Lindley, accustomed to a more rigid hierarchy between ranks in England as insubordination. The Englishmen explained that mild

¹²² Arquivo Central da Marinha Lisboa, Caixa 311-1, Letter No. 368, Inspecção do Arsenal da Marinha do Pará, March 31, 1857.

¹²³ Rodrigues, *Da Costa a Costa*, 193-194.

¹²⁴ Rodrigues, *Da Costa a Costa*, 194.

¹²⁵ Thomas Lindley, Narrative of a voyage to Brasil, 69-70.

corporal punishment was not totally absent, however, as officers frequently carried walking sticks on deck to "use as occasion require." ¹²⁶

The unique collaborative culture of Brazilian shipboard life, however, may have been necessitated by the unique dangers inherent to slaving voyages. Captains tasked sailors with monitoring the up to 600 enslaved men, women and children with the goal of preventing attacks, uprisings or slave suicides. Crews and officers had to work together to ensure the safety of the entire crew, in volatile circumstances. These moments of potential crisis fostered a sentiment of interdependence between crew members despite differences in rank, race, and ethnicity. Many Bahian vessels carried large caches of arms including shot guns, knives and swords, in addition to the pieces of artillery mounted on the deck. Weapons were readily available for enslaved crew members to use in the event of pirate attack, or slave revolt, though such eventualities were rare. On Brazilian ships during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were only twelve recorded instances of slave insurrection and only one of these originated in Bahia. Pirate attacks were much more common, especially in the wake of the Dutch capture of São Jorge da Mina Castle in Elmina in 1637. Though piracy by the mid eighteenth century was less of a threat than it had been in the seventeenth, the possibility that such events might occur lingered in the minds of many merchants and

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¹²⁶ *Ibid*.

¹²⁷ The *Esperança Feliz* travelled with six muskets, 5 cutlasses, 16 pounds of gunpowder, and several cannonballs in 1821. While the *Dezengano* travelled to the Mina Coast with 16 enslaved mariners aboard and 4 barrels of knives in the principal cargo, while investor Antônio de Espírito Santo carried 3 shotguns, 2 blunderbusses, and 2 silver tipped knives in his personal trading cargo, the *Terceira Rosalia* carried 500 shotguns and 50 barrels of gunpowder, for instance. AHI, Colleções Especias, Comissão Mixta, Lata 15, Maço 1, Pasta 1 Papers of the *Esperança Feliz*, Lata 10, Maço 3, Pasta 2, Papers of the *Dezengano*, and Lata 28, Maço 2, Pasta 1, Papers of the *Terceira Rosalia*.

¹²⁸ Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, Voyage Identification Numbers: 3068, 3192, 3433, 4035, 4563, 7071, 8119, 8898, 11265, 40302, 48583, 49378.

seamen. ¹²⁹ Such a reality necessitated a degree of crew cohesion and solidarity that integrated enslaved, African and creole common sailors into a fraternity aboard slaving vessels. Ties of solidarity between crew members, and the insistence that crew members regardless of legal status, station, or race shared an interest of maintaining the order on transatlantic voyages, largely precluded African seaman from encouraging or joining in on slave revolts perpetrated by enslaved Africans held in the cargo. There is only one recorded incident of an enslaved crew member joining in a shipboard revolt by men and women imprisoned in the cargo, an event that occurred on the *Feliz Engenia* while traveling from Benguela in 1812. Enslaved crew members attacked, injured and tied up the small number of white mariners serving aboard, then fled for shore on the ship's longboats, along with the enslaved men and women in the cargo-hold. ¹³⁰

Beyond disputes between crews and the enslaved, conflict between mariners was not absent on slaving vessels. Strife tended to revolve around issues of money, trade and wages, as well as insubordination and transgression of shipboard hierarchies. In 1839, aboard the *Firmeza*, the ship's cook Zé verbally insulted the quartermaster after the officer had issued a command. The captain questioned Zé's (short for Jozé) after the incident, and reprimanded him for the "disgrace" of a superior. The mariner explained that "on board he only knew of the captain's ability to issue reprimands" and that "he was not lame nor a dwarf" a comment that indicated Zé thought the quartermaster had little right to issue orders to him, and was not in fact his superior. The captain reiterated his opinion that Zé had demonstrated a "lack

¹²⁹ See Chapter 2.

¹³⁰ Miller, Way of Death, 409-410; Jaime Rodrigues, "Escravos, senhores e vida maritíma no Atlântico: Portugal, Africa e America portuguesa, c. 1760-c.1825," *Almanack Guarûlhos* n. 05 (2013), 155.

of respect" and reminded him that "sailors were subject to officers, and sailors did not have the right to act as officers." ¹³¹

Though the contretemps between Zé and the quartermaster did not end in violence or lasting turmoil, conflicts between crew members could at times escalate to violence. In 1823, on the Portuguese schooner *Sinceridade*, a British warship discovered that the vessel's clerk had been murdered in a plot between the captain and two of the members of the crew. The conflict arose when the clerk, while stationed ashore on the West African coast in a separate house from the captain allowed the "king of the country"—likely a local strongman and commercial agent—to steal "a great many long coats and other articles." After the theft, the captain quarreled with the clerk and placed the man in irons, seized his goods and a slave he had already purchased, and sent him back to the Sinceridade to be placed him in the hold, where the captain ordered he stay until the return to Bahia. Soon after, the captain ordered the boatswain, Manoel Justino da Silva, who had been reprimanded for insubordination, ignoring orders and thinking "himself as good as the captain" along with the pilot to be sent ashore in irons. After several days, Da Silva returned to the Sinceridade, along with seaman Antônio Duarte who carried a letter from the captain. According to the Manoel Justino da Silva, the letter instructed two sailors aboard, Juan de Silva and Manoel the Spaniard to kill the clerk, threatening that if they did not "the captain [would] come on board with a number of Black men and kill us all." The same evening as the letter was delivered; the clerk left the hold to sleep on deck along with the creole cook, Jozé de Souza, Antônio Domingos, Manoel the Spaniard, and Manoel Justino. At about eleven o'clock, the

¹³¹ NAL, FO 315/45, Papers of the Ship Firmeza, Letter no. 370.

¹³² ANTT, Junta do Comércio Maço 62, Caixa 203, Testimony of the British Portuguese Mixed Commission Sierra Leone, April 21, 1823.

boatswain recalled that both Manoel Justino and Manoel the Spaniard hesitated in killing the clerk, but fearing for their own lives struck the man in the head with an axe, stabbed him in the stomach, and then quickly threw his body overboard along with his bloody mattress and bed clothes. The seaman then called to everyone aboard, declaring that the clerk had thrown himself overboard. The captain, once returning to the ship then thanked the men. ¹³³ The bloody end of the clerk provides and illustration of the "casual violence of all kinds" that Marcus Rediker has argued punctuated shipboard life. The crux of the conflict between the unnamed captain, clerk and boatswain, while aggravated by lack of adherence to the occupational hierarchy of the ship, was ultimately about the loss of valuable trading goods on the West African coast, which had crippled the purpose of the voyage.

Captains and ship owners also quarreled with crew members over the commercial prerogatives allowed sailors during slaving voyages. Joaquim Jozé de Andrade Silva Menezes, a quartermaster on the São Lourenço, traveling from Bahia to the Mina Coast testified that he had stowed several pipas of aguardente in his cabin, disagreeing that he should pay freight fees to the owner of the São Lourenço. Silva Menezes also was promised a portion of his pay in trading goods, namely thirty rolls of tobacco when the ship arrived in West Africa. ¹³⁴ While on the coast though, the captain of the ship, Manoel Feliz de Brito, used eight rolls to pay duties to Portuguese slave trader Francisco Felix da Souza in Little Popo, or else the ship would not have been allowed to leave the port. Silva Menezes sued the ship's owner,

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¹³³ ANTT, Junta do Comércio Maço 62, Caixa 203, Testimony of the British Portuguese Mixed Commission Sierra Leone, April 21, 1823.

¹³⁴ A pipa was a cask of approximately 50 liters in volume, Miller, Way of Death, 712. Bahian tobacco was twisted into ropes and wound into rolls which were then soaked in molasses and encased in leather, each roll weighed approximately 80-96 pounds. Stuart B. Schwartz, Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985),85; G. A. Robertson, Notes on Africa: particularly those parts which are situated between Cape Verd and The River Congo, Vol. 1 (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, Paternoster Row, 1819), 281.

Joaquim Jozé de Andrade, for libel, asking for restitution of the lost ten rolls of tobacco, as well as additional slaves, West African textiles, and other goods that the owner claimed were destroyed in a fire in Onim. In his defense, Andrade argued that Silva Menezes had stolen gunpowder and firearms from the cargo of the São Lourenço and thus he owed Menezes no additional compensation. In his suit, Silva Menezes solicited the testimony of thirteen of his fellow crew members, including several African and creole sailors. All of them corroborated the quartermaster's story, and vouched for the honesty of their companion mariner. Freed African Benedicto Luiz Teixeira, aged 24 argued that Silva Menezes was a "truthful man, and incapable of lies," while Reverend João Antônio Ferreira, claimed that he was an "honorable man" and that the gunpowder the owner alleged that the quartermaster stole, was in fact used to defend the São Lourenço against an English ship of war during a fire fight. 135 Despite the support of his fellow crew members, Silva Menezes' suit was unsuccessful in securing restitution. The Real Junta do Comércio, Fábricas e Navagações, which had heard the case, ruled that by illegally carrying trade goods without paying freights, the quartermaster had "defraud[ed] the owners of the ship." The result of Silva Menezes' case demonstrates both the willingness of mariners to use legal means to seek redress for wrongs they perceived by their superiors, as well as the difficulty in securing a favorable rulings from the legal bodies who heard such claims.

Central to Silva Menezes' petition was his emphasis on his identity as a mariner, and his loyalty to maritime professions as an iteration of his own honor. He insisted that he was capable of fulfilling any occupation on board, and no one could do it better because:

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¹³⁵ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 411, Libello Civil de Jozé Pereira Inácio por Joaquim Jozé de Andrade e Silva Menzes, 34-41.

since an early age [Menezes] had engaged in seafaring, due to having a natural propensity to be 'a nautical,' he has exercised this profession for more than 30 years, and has already conducted ten or eleven voyages to the Mina Coast, once as a captain, and others as a First and Second Pilot, and has not only navigated to the Mina Coast, to different ports, many in America and Europe, arriving in France, England, always working on Ships, where we transported, and therefore did not become a Cooper, Shoemaker, or Tailor, like others, always exercised maritime professions, at the age, he cannot learn another office or second Art. ¹³⁶

Like many seamen, he avowed loyalty not only to his crew mates, but to the seafaring life as well. These protestations of identity were central to how he represented himself in a judicial context. For African and creole sailors, evoking their occupational identities as mariners were central in how they represented themselves not only to legal authorities but to the world at large.

Maritime Marronage and the Atlantic Praxis of Freedom

On July, 23 1739, Juan Jozeph, a free born black mariner from Havana, living in São Tomé in the Bight of Benin, petitioned the Portuguese *Concelho Ultramarino*, appealing to the "piety and clemency" of the King of Portugal to rectify the "insult of one of [his] vassals." Jozeph demanded to be reimbursed for "pains and injuries" inflicted by Domingos Luis Coelho, who had usurped, as Jozeph saw it, the "liberty that he had always possessed." In the petition, Juan Jozeph recounted the tumultuous and in many ways remarkable years leading to his entreaty. He explained that he had come to the island after being enslaved by an English ship on a voyage from the Caribbean to Corsica, eventually he escaped to São Tomé "in order to be in a Catholic kingdom, which he's always professed [the Catholic faith] and has always kept him safe." After escaping, Jozeph was imprisoned by local officials, and delivered to local pastor Manoel Luis Coelho, who held Juan Jozeph's *carta de alforria* or letter

¹³⁶ *Ibid*.

demonstrating his legal freedom. After Manoel Luis passed away, Juan Jozeph remained living in his home, "in liberty," "without the dependence of a captive," living a financially independent life. After Manoel Luis Coelho's brother, Domingos arrived on the island, with "ambition and little fear of God," he hid his *carta de alforria* on the pretext of guarding it, and imprisoned Juan in a private cell in his home, claiming that Jozeph was his property. In the following four months, Juan attested, that he existed in a state of "continuing torment," as Coelho attempted to sell the man to various buyers. Jozeph always protested that he was free, a gambit which was initially successful in thwarting Coelho's plans to sell him.

Eventually, Juan was sold to a French captain, and for two years following he found himself subject to various "jobs and sales" before arriving in the "ports of the Kingdom of France." While there he was advised by his confessors before fleeing London and then to Lisbon.

Once he returned to São Tomé, Jozeph petitioned the Crown to punish Coelho, who had since returned to Rio de Janeiro, with the help of the colony's *oriador* João Coelho de Souza, who corroborated Jozeph's story.¹³⁷

There is no record documenting the outcome of Juan Jozeph's petition, however the letter provides one example of how seamen of African descent navigated competing imperial administrative jurisdictions, dense commercial networks and the ever present threat of enslavement or re-enslavement within the maritime Atlantic. Juan Jozeph's description of his journey from freedom to slavery and back again took place over huge geographic distances, indicating the high degree of mobility black mariners experienced in the Atlantic world. He also left indication of how he conceptualized this variegated maritime world. Not

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¹³⁷ AHU, São Tomé, Caixa 7, Documento 21, July 23, 1739.

¹³⁸ For a discussion of competing imperial claims of jurisdiction see Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

as an amorphously undifferentiated zone, but according to his own experiences, as a space constituted of distinct realms of royal and religious authority. Juan several times evoked his attempts to gain access to Catholic kingdoms and contact fellow Catholics, seeking trusted advice from men like himself while in France: black, enslaved Catholics. Though he framed such choices in the language of religious devotion, they also reveal the strategies the Juan himself saw as best assuring his "liberty." Jozeph sought out Catholic authorities and realms as part of a tactic to live an independent life, where he could assert legal claims in front of Portuguese royal administrators. Juan understood the benefits of residing in Catholic realms, which contrary to Protestant English ones, allowed baptized enslaved men and women some measure of "legal personality" or the right to own personal property, some measure of personal security as well as the ability to stand before legal bodies and authorities. The fact that Juan was able to argue his case to the *Concelho Ultramarino* with the backing of the colonial *ovidor* attests to the fact that many occupants of the maritime Atlantic saw

Portuguese, Catholic realms as favorable venues to assert legal claims because the legal codes

¹³⁹ The original argument that slaves had a measure of legal personality in Latin American slave societies was first argued by Frank Tannenbaum, and despite critiques, his theory of legal personality has regained credence from a number of recent social histories. See Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen (New York: Random House, 1946); Herbert S. Klein, African Slavery in Latin America, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 5; Alejandro de la Fuente, "Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited," Law and History Review, 22:2 (Summer 2004), 339-369; Brian Owensby, "How Juan and Leonor Won Their Freedom: Litigation and Liberty in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," Hispanic American Historical Review, 85:1, (February, 2005), 39-80; Brian Owensby, "Legal Personality and the Processes of Slave Liberty in Early-Modern New Spain," European Review of History 16, (2009), 365-82; Carlos Aguirre, "Working the System: Black Slaves and the Courts in Lima, Peru, 1821-1854," in Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod, eds., Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 202-221; Sherwin K. Bryant, "Enslaved Rebels, Fugitives, and Litigants: The Resistance Continuum in Colonial Quito," Colonial Latin American Review, 13:1 (2004), 7-46; Roquinaldo Ferreira, Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Chapter 3. For analysis of the absence of legal personhood for mariners in the Anglo Atlantic see Lee Wilson, "Masters of Law: English Legal Culture and the Law of Slavery in Colonial South Carolina and the British Atlantic World, 1669-1783," (PhD Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2014).

of these jurisdictions recognized enslaved men and women as persons with some degree of legal standing. Ultimately, Juan Jozeph's strategies were effective; initially at staving off being sold by protesting that he was free to potential buyers, and finally by successfully escaping to a territorial domain that recognized his legally free status. Juan ably navigated a maritime Atlantic comprised of competing jurisdictional realms, finding the one that was most favorable through information he gathered from men like himself: cosmopolitan slaves.

Juan Jozeph's story is in many respects exceptional, but he was far from unique. Many other enslaved sailors devised strategies similar to Jozeph's when attempting to secure their legal manumission. Though maritime *marronage* was fairly infrequent throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Portuguese Atlantic, enslaved mariners most commonly fled strategically and deliberately rather than spontaneously, taking advantage of free soil laws and favorable legal jurisdictions in order to enhance their chances of escaping bondage. If as Herman Bennett argues, enslaved Africans in colonial Mexico developed "legal consciousness" or the awareness of "rights and obligations" endowed by colonial law and the ability to access colonial legal institutions and utilize litigation to further their aims, Juan and other enslaved seaman displayed a similar jurisdictional consciousness, demonstrating their awareness of differentiated legal landscapes governed by differing legal principles within the Atlantic. ¹⁴⁰ Because mobility was an innate part of their profession, these men—in contrast to the vast majority of land locked slaves—could access alternative jurisdictions while traveling abroad.

Many decades later, in 1822, 25 year old Jozé Manoel, an African sailor from Cabinda arrived in Porto on a smack hailing from Bahia. While in port, Jozé Manoel escaped his

¹⁴⁰ Herman Bennett, Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 1-7.

vessel, and traveled to Lisbon, quickly making his way to the *Real Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rozario*, a Catholic brotherhood housed in the *Igreja do Salvador*. The enslaved man, and the brothers at the *Igreja do Salvador* claimed he had escaped in order "to be catechized and baptized there." His owner Jozé Manoel Fernandes argued that the enslaved man had not escaped not because of spiritual motivations, but rather because the seaman "only wanted to be free from his slavery." An official at the church countered that Jozé, a "miserable black man," did not want to return to his pagan existence ... [and] this was his primary, true motivation." While Jozé Manoel was not successful in attaining his manumission, as the *Casa da Índia* ruled that it was "impractical to free" him; the administrative body ordered that the man "be instructed in the dogmas of your Holy Faith," before being delivered back to his ship and owner. Jozé Manoel's claim was also partially based on his appeal to freedom based on a 1761 law which transformed the Portuguese metropole to a free soil state. He was only one of many slaves to attempt use the *Alvará* of September 19, 1761 to gain his manumission in the decades after its adoption.

The 1761 *Alvará* or a royal decree was enacted by King D. José I under the advice of Portuguese modernizer Marques de Pombal, and was intended to make it more difficult for owners to transport or traffic their slaves into the Kingdom of Portugal by granting freedom to slaves who stepped foot on Portuguese soil. Furthermore, the law sought to strengthen the importation of slaves to colonial territories, and decrease the number of African descended people residing in the metropole. Though the text of the law iterated that its purpose was not to free enslaved men and women already residing in Portugal and that it did

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¹⁴¹ Arquivo Central da Marinha, Lisbon, Caixa 311-1, Casa da Índia, April 10, 1822.

¹⁴² Cristina Nogueira da Silva and Keila Grinberg, "Soil Free from Slaves: Slave Law in Late Eighteenth-and Early Nineteenth-Century Portugal," *Slavery & Abolition* 32:3 (2011), 431-446.

not constitute an invitation for slaves from far-flung parts of the Empire to enter the metropole to gain freedom, enslaved subjects of the Crown increasingly interpreted it as such. ¹⁴³ King D. José I subsequently amended the law with several "notices" which excluded enslaved "professional sailors" from gaining manumission by arriving on Portuguese soil under the condition that they had been registered as part of their ship's crew before leaving their port of embarkation by 1776. The amendment recognized the vital role that enslaved African and creole mariners played in imperial commerce, arguing that "due to a lack of free white sailors, the crews are composed of slave sailors, it would be a blow to navigation in these ports of Brazil or the other colonies if the slaves who make up the crews of these ships became free as soon as they arrived in the port of this capital." The revision further indicates the frequency with which enslaved sailors arriving in metropolitan ports attempted to utilize the *Alvará* of 1761 to gain legal access to manumission.

Regardless, enslaved mariners offered their own interpretation of the *Alvará* after 1776. In 1780, for instance, four enslaved African men and one woman aboard the ship *Santissimo Sacramento e Nossa Senhora da Arabida* petitioned the Royal *Junta do Comércio* in Lisbon in order to "claim their freedom." The five had arrived in Lisbon under contested circumstances. The unnamed *preta* or black woman had come as a domestic servant for her owner, Teodorio Gonçalves, who also owned the four African men. According to the men

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The law read: "it is not my intention, neither with respect to the black men and women who are already present in these Kingdoms as well as to those who come here within the aforementioned terms, to change anything through this law; nor for slaves to leave my overseas domains under the pretext of this law. Much to the contrary, I order that all free black men and women who come to these Kingdoms to live, trade or serve, using their full freedom to which they are entitled, necessarily bring the papers from the respective Chambers from which they left showing their sex, age, and figure, so that their identity is given and that state whether they are black, freed, and free. And if any come without these papers as stated, they will be arrested and fed and sent back to the places from whence they came, at the expense of the people in whose company or the ships came or are." *Ibid*, 432. ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 436.

themselves, they were not mariners in Bahia, where the *Santissimo Sacramento* had traveled from. Rather, two of the men, Amaro and Sebastião, were employed as sedan chair carriers and domestic servants, while Antônio knew "a bit of the profession of a tailor," and Pedro had only sailed on one voyage from Bahia to the Mina Coast. The men went to lengths to establish that the free soil exemption for mariners did not apply to them, arguing that in the ship's *matricula* or muster roll they were listed as "servants" and while aboard the *Santissimo* they "only pulled some cables on deck, but never...caulked, unfurl[ed] or hoist[ed]sails, or govern[ed] the helm." The men's petition also expressed a subtle reading of the *Alvará* of 1761. On the one hand, they recognized that the law sought to restrict enslaved people's ability to travel to Portugal:

even though this Alvará had as its object curbing the excesses and debauchery absent in the laws and customs of other civilized Courts which were transported annually from Africa, America and Asia, to this Kingdom an extraordinary number of African slaves, and that in doing so the Oversees Kingdom significantly lacked them [slaves], for cultivation of the land, mines, and they [slaves] only come to this continent to participate in vices. 146

At the same time, the petitioners asserted that the *Alvará* "also addressed the benefit of the Liberty of slaves...for the benefit that they become freed." ¹⁴⁷

As for the *Alvará* of February 22, 1776, the petition argued that it was "not only conceived in the same spirit" as the 1761 *Alvará*, but "in no way opposes the favor of Liberty of slaves, which are transported to these Kingdoms," including "the enslaved mariners of any quality of ship," barring some exemptions, including slaves who were listed

¹⁴⁵ AHU, ACL, CU Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 180, Documento 13437, Consulta da Junta do Comércio do Reino, December 19, 1780.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

in the *matricula* and earned wages from the voyage. The enslaved seamen's petition argued that Teodorio Gonçalves had merely registered them as part of the ship's crew to avoid the obeying the 1761 Alvará, and his true purpose was to transport them back to Bahia to labor as personal servants, and that in doing so he had partaken in a "fraudulent pretext" to subvert royal justice. The members of the *Junta do Comércio* ultimately denied the four men's petition, but freed the woman. Their decision, however, was not unanimous, with the Vice Provedor, Francisco Nicolão Roncon favoring freeing all the seamen save for Pedro. The deputies, who voted to allow the four men to remain enslaved, did so with the explicit language of preventing the disruption in commercial navigation to Portugal from the colonies. They reiterated the importance of the 1776 Alvará to remedy the deficiencies of the 1761 law, which had "impeded the increase in the number of people necessary for the sailing of ships of that continent [Europe], [by] not being able to bring slaves, even in the profession of sailor, which is very useful and necessary for [commercial] Navigation." ¹⁴⁸ They also argued that they had found no evidence of Gonçalves' fraud, but rather in keeping his enslaved mariners as servants before a return voyage to Bahia, he was acting no differently than many other slave owners. In short, the *Junta do Comércio's* ruling left less latitude for enslaved mariners hoping to secure manumission by landing on the "free soil" of Portugal, however the practice of maritime marronage through the invocation of the law of September 19, 1761 continued through the mid-nineteenth century, even after the exemption for mariners registered on ships was again reiterated by the Crown in 1800.¹⁴⁹

Enslaved mariners laboring outside of Portugal and its possessions also attempted to utilize the law, as in 1791, when two black sailors arrived in Lisbon on a French ship seeking

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁹ Gazeta de Lisboa, No. 14, April 8, 1800, (Lisbon: Na Regia Officina Typografica), no pagination.

manumission. ¹⁵⁰ While in January 1776, Francisco de Paula, an enslaved mariner in Rio de Janeiro appealed to the Portuguese Court while in Lisbon to free him under the auspices of the 1761 law because his owner, Coronel Arielino da Fonseca Coutinho had refused De Paula's request to allow him to purchase his manumission several times. Francisco de Paula not only made reference to the free soil *Alvará* in support of his petition, but also articulated additional rationales for why he deserved his liberty. The mariner suggested that his market value had already been recovered by Coutinho, arguing that he had already earned him "five or six times his value," in the twenty years he had served as a mariner, protesting that he should be "cut" from his master or allowed to pay for his own freedom. De Paula's emphasis on his own financial independence echoed Juan Joseph's insistence 37 years earlier that he was free because he did not depend on others for his own subsistence. Furthermore, he claimed that during his long career, he had labored on diverse vessels, and traveled often to America, Asia, and Africa, highlighting his own cosmopolitanism and the value of his skilled labor to Portuguese imperial commerce. ¹⁵¹ Like many of these petitions, De Paula's case has no recorded resolution.

In 1797, four enslaved seamen similarly emphasized their service to the Portuguese royal navy when attempting so secure their *cartas de liberadade*. Joaquim Thomas, Francisco Pedro, Jorge Joaquim, e Joaquim Corrêa de Brito, appealed to the Portuguese Crown, by evoking the September 9, 1761 *Alvará*. The men testified that they had several years earlier labored as enslaved mariners aboard a ship based in Pernambuco before being captured by a French vessel where they remained for three years as enemy captives. After the French vessel was taken by an English one, the men were transported to London where they sought

¹⁵⁰ Nogeira and Grinberg, "Soil Free from Slaves," 435.

¹⁵¹ BNRJ, C420, 49, Requerimento de Francisco de Paula, January 16, 1776.

the protection of the Portuguese consul, eventually returning to Lisbon where they lodged their petition. In addition to evoking the 1761 *Alvará* in order to "regain...their natural liberty" the mariners argued that after receiving their manumission letters they would continue to serve in the Royal Armada as seamen. Much like Francisco de Paula, Joaquim, Francisco, Jorge and Joaquim Corrêa rhetorically highlighted their allegiance and fealty to the Portuguese Empire, as well as the vital service they performed for the Kingdom in the form of maritime labor.

Enslaved sailors who were captured by enemy ships also used their status as "prisoners of war" to advocate for their own legal manumission, even if they had not been legally free before being taken. In 1802, Luis da Silva, former slave of Francisco Jozé de Souza, a slave trafficker in Bahia, petitioned the Portuguese Crown to issue his *carta de liberdade* after being captured by a Spanish ship of war while traveling from Bahia to Pernambuco with a cargo of over one hundred slaves. Da Silva, along with the other crew members of the ship, was then taken to Buenos Aires, though eventually he was collected by his owner. The creole mariner testified that upon his release, the Spaniards declared him free as a prisoner of war, and they endowed him with a *carta da liberdade* and a passport, the former of which was confiscated by his owner when the two arrived back in Bahia, "returning him to captivity." In addition to evoking the 1761 *Alvará*, Da Silva, like many of the other enslaved seaman who petitioned for manumission highlighted his maritime service as a justification for his liberty; claiming that as a liberated man it was "his destiny to pursue maritime life" within any port of the Portuguese Empire. 152

¹⁵² AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 224, Documento 15554, Requerimento de Luis da Silva, March 4, 1802.

Maritime marronage under the auspices of the 1761 Alvará continued unabated into the nineteenth century, eventually becoming so prevalent that authorities in Bahia protested to the Portuguese Crown that the law was having deleterious effects on the captaincy's economy. In 1804, when an enslaved Bahian man, Vicente Antônio Telles, appealed to the Crown for manumission under principle of the law, Visconde de Anadia used the opportunity to lament to metropolitan authorities the ill effects of the free soil law on the Bahian economy. He argued that in the ten years since Brazilian slaves began running away en mass to Portugal, the law had resulted in "ruinous consequences" for the colony. The Visconde elaborated that "slaves [were] the most important property held by settlers in Brazil, [especially] when they are taught and know a trade ... and when they are not available in the complicated sugar and tobacco mills, an entire harvest is lost." He argued that "the sugar masters, cauldron stirrers, carpenters, and other [enslaved] artisans ... are the most ladino [acculturated] and most attentive, with the greatest propensity to run away." In consequence, the colony lost the vital skilled labor which was necessary to carry out its primary commercial activities, and limited slave holders' power over their own slaves, as the Visconde explained. Frequently, fugitive slaves sought their manumission in front of metropolitan legal bodies while their masters were absent, and some never received an explanation for the freeing of their former slaves. Such jurisprudence, according to the Visconde, "rewarded a crime" and promoted disorder in the colonies by "importing slaves from the coast of Africa, and then declaring them free without hearing from their owners." Enslaved sailors and other tradesmen had been so successful in utilizing the Awará, that the Visconde accused Portuguese law as demonstrating "benign love to the slaves," to the "detriment of their masters" and warned that for slavery and thus agricultural production to

flourish in Brazil, "it [was] necessary to support the rights of slave masters" above the legal claims of slaves.¹⁵³

After Brazilian independence from Portugal in 1822, claims like these were more difficult to make, and there was continuing ambiguity as to the applicability of the law of 1776 to enslaved mariners of Brazilian origin. The Portuguese royal administration, however, extended the law to the newly founded sovereign territory, arguing that due to "the Alvará of 10 de Marco de 1800 African slaves, that come from the Overseas ports to this Kingdom registered in the crews of commercial vessels, do not acquire by this circumstance liberty, and these slaves should return on the same vessels, or in any other...although this legislation has much more reason to be applied to slaves in the Empire's ships coming from Brazil, which today forms an independent and foreign nation." This official clarification did little to deter enslaved mariners from evoking the law. In 1839, Joaquim Antônio da Costa, a black *grumete* on a Portuguese schooner arrived in Lisbon, requesting to take advantage of the Law of 6 of June 1776, which he argued "favor[ed] the liberty of man, which has always existed as a presumption of the law."

The rhetoric employed by African and creole seafarers and others in seeking to apply the *Alvará* of 1761 to their circumstances reveals a sophisticated knowledge of colonial law, as well as the ability of highly mobile slaves to construct networks of information which disseminated knowledge of metropolitan legal principles throughout the Portuguese Empire, and sometimes beyond to French ships or rural sugar plantations in Brazil. The protestations of the Visconde de Anadia highlighted the effectiveness with which enslaved men and

¹⁵³ AHU, ACL, CU Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 233, Documento 16095, Aviso do Visconde de Anadia, September 17, 1804.

¹⁵⁴ Arquivo Central da Marinha, Lisboa, Caixa 311-1, Lisbon, July 22, 1839

women were able to achieve their manumission using the principle of free soil, as well as how maritime travel to the metropole facilitated *marronage*. Enslaved men and women utilized knowledge of the law, as well as strategies to represent themselves as "insiders" or Portuguese imperial subjects or vassals, Catholics and members of the Royal Armada to strengthen their appeals to royal authority. The law also revealed the limits of slaveholders' power over their slaves, and the intervention of the Portuguese imperial state and its legal prerogatives into master-slave relations. The rhetoric of manumission petitions, however, also demonstrated the tension between legal principle and lived experience, the latter of which enslaved litigants consistently highlighted as a justification for their freedom.

For many enslaved mariners, the agency and mobility afforded by maritime life led to a divergence between the proprietorship of legal freedom and the quotidian experience of self-possession and independence that formed the basis of seafaring life and labor. While the mobility afforded by seafaring made traveling to favorable jurisdictions easier, many enslaved seaman fled while in their home ports. Because the maritime labor force in urban port cities in Brazil were heavily populated by both enslaved and free blacks, enslaved seamen found maritime work an excellent cover for passing as free. In 1830, for instance, an African sailor from Mozambique named Fernando fled a ship in Rio de Janeiro. The man, according to his owner, "had the habit of denying his master, and claiming to be free." Fernando's owner speculated that the man had escaped to São Matheus or Bahia, where he supposed that Fernando was claiming to be a "freed sailor." Fernando's escape appeared to be successful, as his owner, Joaquim Antônio Rodrigues still had not located the man three years later. In

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¹⁵⁵ Mariana Candido, "African Freedom Suits and Portuguese Vassals Status: Legal Mechanisms for Fighting Enslavement in Benguela, Angola, 1800-1830," *Slavery & Abolition* 32:3 (2011), 447-459.

¹⁵⁶ BNRJ, Jornal do Comércio January 19, 1833.

the same year, another African seaman, Antônio born in Angola, also escaped his owner while serving on a ship. Antônio's master supposed that the enslaved mariner had remained in the seafaring profession after his escape, guessing that "he ran away aboard some ship, or boat in this port, because he very much enjoyed the maritime life." Another enslaved sailor, 16 year old Satiro who was born in Bahia, worked as a tailor and sailor, escaped with his master observing that he likely retained his profession because he was "very keen on the service of the sea." 158

In other instances, enslaved mariners fled on the spur of the moment, sometimes with the help of other mariners. In 1833, a 14 year old enslaved sailor from Cabinda escaped his master in the company of "another boy from Cabinda, wearing an English sailor's cap."¹⁵⁹ Enslaved sailors also took advantage of crises on board to run away, such as pirate attacks or capture by foreign vessels. In 1768, a Bahian slaving ship attacked by Dutch pirates lost several enslaved mariners, who escaped to shore on the West African coast during the chaotic event. One African enslaved seaman escaped from the Brazilian vessel on which he served, because of the "poor treatment" he had received at the hands of the vessel's quartermaster.

Ultimately many enslaved sailors declined to run away. The lucrative nature of long distance seafaring encouraged many seaman to defer "freedom" until it could be purchased. Coratação was the process whereby enslaved men and women purchased their own liberty by offering regular payments to their masters. Often the price was agreed upon before the

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¹⁵⁷ BNRJ, Jornal do Comércio, March 7, 1833, 4.

¹⁵⁸ BNRJ, Jornal do Comércio, April 12, 1833, 4.

¹⁵⁹ BNRJ, Journal do Comércio, March 20, 1833, 4.

¹⁶⁰ AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Documento 12423, January 4, 1770, Bahia.

¹⁶¹ Arquivo Central da Marinha Lisboa, Caixa 311-1, Letter no. 368, Inspecção do Arsenal da Marinha do Pará, March 31, 1857

captive was legally manumitted and could take many years to come to an end. The benefits of legal manumission, proved attractive to many enslaved people. Because though the process was a costly one that could take many years, it conferred upon the manumitted legal freedom and all the protections which it entailed, including the right to hold property, initiate litigation, and move freely without fear of re-enslavement. Furthermore, this financial incentive bonded enslaved mariners even more tightly to the lucrative slave trading commerce, as investment in the slave trade became an attractive avenue for mariners to accumulate money and thus secure their individual freedom.

CHAPTER 4

African and Creole Sailors, Small-Scale Trading and the South Atlantic Exchange

On November 20, 1767, a slaving vessel captained by Antônio da Costa Basto left the port of Salvador da Bahia for the Mina Coast, carrying a cargo of tobacco, aguardente, sugar, silk and buzios.¹ A few short months after its departure, the Nossa Senhora da Esperança e São José was captured by Dutch pirates in Cabo Lau and taken to São Jorge da Mina Castle, where the crew was imprisoned and interrogated before finally being released. As the Nossa Senhora da Esperança's trade goods were confiscated, the ship's owner Jozé de Souza Reis petitioned the Dutch government for restitution of the lost cargo, which he estimated to have a value of 14:831\$836 reis. De Souza Reis, however, was not the only party that stood to be inconvenienced by the confiscation. The ship's papers revealed a total of 36 individual investors in the cargo, as well as two catholic brotherhoods comprised of enslaved and free Africans. These organizations, the Irmandade do Sacramento da Matriz de Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia and the Irmandade do Senhor do Bonfim, collectively owned 26 rolls of tobacco valued at 73\$288 reis. Additionally, the ship employed nine enslaved African mariners, seven of whom were sailors and two barbers.² The ship's manifest listed "one cargo of the owner

¹ Aguardente is liquor distilled from sugar cane juice, buzios or cowry shells from the Indian Ocean, were frequently used as currency in slave trading polities in West Africa including Dahomey, Whydah and Lagos.

² By 1775 in Bahia, of 40 ships based in the Port of All Saints, 443 of 1096 of registered sailors were identified as "Preto" and 392 as enslaved, meaning that 40.4 percent of the long distance seafaring labor force was African and 35.8 percent enslaved. A majority of these men were laboring on vessels travelling to African ports. From the period 1811 to 1839, over 49 Bahian ships were captured by British anti-slaving forces on Africa's west coast. 1,355 men labored on these ships, 36 percent of whom were African, 10.3 percent Brazilian born but of full or partial African descent, and 27.8 percent enslaved. See Chapter Three.

of the ship, Senhor Jozé de Souza Reis for the account of his African mariners that comprises 40 rolls of tobacco at a total value of 480\$000 reis." Reis had also invested additional sixteen rolls of tobacco at a value of 192\$000 reis on behalf of his slaves. As the manifest of the *Nossa Senhora da Esperança* thus indicates, as early as 1767 Africans in Bahia were collectively investing in transatlantic commerce in order to gain access to West African goods such as textiles and palm oil.⁴

This portrait of investments aboard slaving vessels provides a sharp contrast to the existing historiography of the transatlantic trade. To date, this literature has paid ample attention to a small coterie of investors, financiers, insurers and merchants, whom scholars have assumed were the economic engines of the "infamous trade." The demographic profile of this group of commercial agents—who neither procured captives on the African side of the trade, nor employed them on plantations in the Americas—has been overwhelmingly male, European or of European descent, wealthy and/or upwardly mobile.⁵ This well-worn

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³ The manifest lists the men's names as follows: Matheus, Gege, sailor, Manoel, Angola, sailor, Christovão, Angola, sailor, Joaquim, Gege, barber, Tomas, Gege sailor, Felippe, Gege, sailor, Ignacio, Gege, barber, Joaquim, Gege, sailor, Domings, Gege, sailor. "Gege" refers to Africans transported from the West African slaving port Whydah during the mid to late eighteenth century. AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Documento 12423, January 4, 1770, "Letter from the Governor of Bahia."

⁴ For information on West Africans in the *Irmandade do Senhor do Bonfim* see Josildeth Gomes Consorte, "Sincretismo e Africanidade em Terreiros Jege Nagô de Salvador," in *Sociedade, cultura e política:ensaios críticos*, Eds. Ana Amélia da Silva, Miguel Wady Chaia (Brasil: Universidade Pontifica Comillas, 2004), pp. 195-203, 197-198, and for the *Irmandade do Sacramento da Matriz de Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia* see AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 50, Documento 4440, March 11, 1735, Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino ao rei D. João V. ⁵ For studies of slave trading merchants see Manolo Garcia Florentino, *Em costas negras: uma história do tráfico atlântico de escravos entre a Africa e o Rio de Janeiro, sèculos XVIII e XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: ARquivo Nacional, 1995); Robert W. Harms, *The Diligent: A Voyage Through the Worlds of the Slave Trade* (Reading, Massachusetts: Oxford Press, 2002); Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism, and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Helen Nader, "Desperate Men, Questionable Acts: The Moral Dilemma of Italian Merchants in the Spanish Slave Trade," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 32:2 (2002), 401-422; Linda A. Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese*

emphasis on West African merchants that shaped the trade through their particular commodity preferences and business practices. Recent innovations, however, have continued to ignore the commercial activities of those traders who do not appear in major institutional records such as the papers of monopolistic slave trading companies or merchant houses. This chapter rectifies this absence by identifying a vibrant world of African and creole commercial activity that operated at the margins of the trade. By illuminating the diversity and complexity of slave trading operations between the Mina Coast and Bahia, this chapter reveals the often *ad hoc* commercial exchanges and social relationships which characterized the majority of transactions between a vast array of merchants, officers, seamen, slaves and interpreters, and shows how these exchanges connected the West African coast to the New World.

Sailors as Commercial Agents

To explain how the *Nossa Senhora da Esperança e São José* came to be a vehicle of Afro-Bahian investment, it is first necessary to understand the unique organization of the trade between Salvador and the Bight of Benin. From the early sixteenth century until the effective end of the trade, Bahian slaving vessels incorporated a diverse group of stakeholders that included not only slaving ships' captains and crew, but also residents of Bahia and, in rarer

Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century (Boston: Brill Press, 2007); James A. Rawley, London, Metropolis of the Slave Trade (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003).

⁶ See George E. Brooks, Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society and Trade in Western Africa, 100-1630 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993); John Thornton, Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁷ The region denominated the Mina Coast by Portuguese and Brazilian slavers is analogous to what British slavers designated the Slave Coast, stretching from the Volta River east to Onim (present day Lagos).

instances, enslaved men and women on shore. In contrast to the 1731 voyage of the French slaving ship the *Diligent*, whose financiers, the Billy Brothers, were two well connected, and independently financed merchants, Bahian vessels were often funded from multiple sources located in various social strata. Indeed, Salvador merchants' attempts to maintain a *de facto* monopoly on the trade in locally-produced commodities (in the face of significant opposition in the metropole) was achieved, as I argue in this chapter, through a reliance on familial and patronage ties that increasingly linked the interests of the city's economic elite to those of its African population.

The origins of this system lay in the reluctance of Brazilian merchants to organize their trade through a chartered monopoly company. Unlike other European traders who plied the West Coast of Africa for slaves, gold, ivory, and pepper during the roughly four centuries of the trade, Bahian slavers often conducted trading activities apart from factories or *feitorias* on the coast in wake of their defeat and expulsion from Elmina by the Dutch in 1637.8 Instead of organizing trade through a fixed territorial base on the African coast and orchestrating uniform methods for procuring slaves or routinizing timetables for the anchorage and lading of ships through a royally appointed bureaucracy, Bahian merchants, ships officers and crews produced their own set of commercial procedures which diverged sharply from the practices of other European traders and the expectations of Royal administrators in Lisbon.

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⁸ Though Brazilian traders did eventually construct São João Baptista de Ajudá Castle in Ouidah (Ajuda) in 1721, most trade continued to be conducted in ports further east in small private houses owned by slaving ship captains. Most Brazilian ships avoided the Gold Coast during the early decades of the eighteenth century because of the prevalence of Dutch piracy there.

As Pierre Verger points out, the unique contours of the trade between Bahia and the Mina Coast (regularized in the early eighteenth century and carried out until the midnineteenth century) were largely the results of commodity preferences held by African merchants as well as the political power of the merchant community in Bahia which continued to elude the control of metropolitan administrators. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro argues that the Bahian-West African trade deviated from the classic "triangular" pattern, instead functioning bi-laterally. Agricultural byproducts of sugar and tobacco produced by Bahian planters for European markets—including cane liqueur called *agnardente* and molasses soaked inferior quality tobacco or *soca*—were exchanged by Bahian merchants and their representatives for West African slaves and goods such as palm oil or *azeite de dendê* and "coastal" textiles or *pannos da costa.* 10

Throughout the period, efforts by Portuguese administrators—including the Marquis de Pombal—attempted, yet ultimately failed to set the terms of trading operations, and to divert a proportion of the trade's profits to royal coffers. Instead, Bahian local administrators, ship captains, merchants and sailors colluded to maintain control of the trade through the disregard of taxation decrees and non-compliance with royally mandated limitations placed on the size and composition of cargoes. Moreover, these parties attempted to control the frequency of transatlantic voyages themselves, instead of adhering to the convoy system which metropolitan authorities preferred. In addition to the "excessive liberty" with which merchants and their associates engaged in the slave trade, the financial resources of Bahian slavers were sharply distinct from other European slavers on the West

⁹ Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations Between the Bight of Benin and Bahia, 17th-19th Century* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1968), 12-35.

¹⁰ Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, O Trato dos Viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul (São Paulo: Editoria Schwarcz, 2000), 11-42.

African coast. Comparatively, Brazilians were at a disadvantage with their European counterparts, suffering from chronically low levels of capitalization and forced to conduct transatlantic commerce using Brazilian manufactured vessels with smaller cargo capacities than those found in Europe. All told, Bahian traders confronted myriad disadvantages, including little access to monetary capital, the absence of a trading company to provide long-term credit or absorb short-term financial losses, few factories within which they could accumulate trade goods on the West African coast, and insufficient means of military protection against hostile Europeans. In response, Bahian traders adopted a set of commercial practices to mitigate these liabilities and in the process provided a space for the economic initiative and influence of a group of actors—including ships' officers and sailors both enslaved and free, as well as the relatives and dependents of slaving merchants—excluded or inactive in other slave trading Atlantic communities. Ultimately, African and creole sailors, slaves and traders were able exercise substantial economic agency in the Bahian slave trade because of its unique operational structure.

Despite the increasingly interventionist methods utilized by the Portuguese Crown to reap greater income from the taxation of cargoes, those laboring on transatlantic voyages were successful in controlling and profiting from a substantial portion of ships' cargoes throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Beginning with the Crown's allowance of the *caixa de liberdade* or "liberty chest" on royal ships navigating between Lisbon and Goa in the mid sixteenth century, officers, sailor and cabin boys were allowed to carry a portion of trading goods on any ship on which they worked. Each crewmember was allowed a standard size chest or bundle of goods allocated on a sliding scale according to their shipboard rank. Captain-Majors, for instance, were allowed 15 chests measuring four feet in

¹¹ Verger, Trade Relations, 76-79.

length and three feet in height, while cabin boys were allowed only one bundle of goods. ¹² These articles, usually consisting of spices, textiles and hardwoods in the case of the India trade, were duty and freight free and acted as a form of compensation to offset the extremely low wages the Crown offered to seaman employed on the highly dangerous route from India. By 1647, however, the Crown sought to abolish *caixas de liberdade*, as seamen increasingly began to abuse the privilege by overstocking Royal ships with privately owned merchandise, and circumventing the payment of duties and customs on lucrative Asian textiles. In the 1660s ships from Goa began regularly stopping in the Brazilian port of Bahia, where sailors traded Asian goods for sugar, tobacco, gold and hides, leading to greater abuses of the *caixa de liberdade* system. Instead, the Crown preferred all Asian textiles to be imported to the metropole and then re-exported to American colonies with steep duties attached. Royal regulation, however, was never able to effectively halt the practice. ¹³ By the end of the century, *caixias da liberdade* comprised 90 percent of the volume of all cargoes on the *naus da India.* ¹⁴

This early precedent in small scale trading by mariners laboring on long-distance trading routes quickly spread to other branches of the Portuguese imperial trade. Trading routes to Africa and Brazil soon adopted the practice, frustrating the Crown's efforts to exact greater income from transatlantic, intra-imperial trade. Between 1759 and its dissolution in 1780, for instance, administrators of the General Company of Pernambuco and Paraíba regularly issued admonitions to captains and crews who navigated company ships between the Brazilian and African coasts. Though the correspondence emanating from

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¹² C.R. Boxer, From Lisbon to Goa, 1500-1750: Studies in Portuguese Maritime Enterprise (London: Variorum Reprints, 1997), 52-53.

¹³ Boxer, From Lisbon to Goa, 63-64.

¹⁴ Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Transforming Atlantic Slaving: Trade, Warfare and Territorial Control in Angola, 1650-1800* (PhD Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2003), 53-54.

the General Company of Pernambuco and Paraíba's headquarters in Lisbon mostly pertains to the trade between Lisbon and Pernambuco's capital and port city, Recife, a number of letters record the censuring of Brazilian captains and crew for exporting sugar, tobacco and slaves without paying mandated freight fees. These complaints reveal the pervasive nature of clandestine trading activities between Brazil and the West African coast, between Brazil and metropolitan ports of Porto and Lisbon, as well as the ongoing collusion of ship captains, officers and crew members in engaging in illicit commercial activities.

Brazilian vessels travelling to the Portuguese metropole were especially prone to smuggling lucrative commodities. In July 1774, Captain Jozé Bernardo of the Company ship *Nossa Senhora da Gloria e São Joaquim* travelled from Paraíba carrying licenses which grossly under-reported the tonnage of goods aboard the ship. While the *charrua* carried over one thousand *arrobas* of sugar, owned jointly by the officers and crew members, the navigational licenses on board only declared one hundred and eight *arrobas* of sugar. The Intendant and Deputy Intendant of the Company complained of the "scandalous abuse" of cargo licenses, and also declared that it was in the Company's interest to regulate and moderate the amount of goods that mariners could legally carry on the Company ships on which they labored.¹⁵

Two years later, on August 17th, 1776, the Company's Intendant and Deputy

Intendant again noted the need for the Company Board to take decisive action to curb the pervasive contraband trade carried out by ships' crews. The General Company of Pernambuco and Paraíba, claimed administrators, was suffering losses in metropolitan trade with Rio de Janeiro and Bahia in both leather and sugar. These losses were the result, the administrators argued, of fraudulent actions by crew members on Company ships who used assumed names in order to smuggle sugar into Portugal, with most ships employing crew

¹⁵ ANTT, Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba, Livro 383, Copiador de Pernambuco, 39.

members who regularly traded fifty kilos of the valuable commodity. Administrators viewed crew members' use of Company ships and Company funded voyages for personal profit to be a violation of the separation of private and national or royal interests. To remedy this situation, the administrators recommended that the Directorate should reduce the number of licenses dispensed, and only allow company licenses to those individuals who they recognized. The limiting of licenses did little to stem the tide of contraband, however. On September 6th, 1776, the ship *Voador* was discovered with over 1,724 *arrobas* of sugar—a cargo which was greater than the sum allowed for in the bylaws of the Company. To stem such abuses, metropolitan administrators recommended limiting the volume of sugar which mariners could transport on Company ships. For officers, including chaplains, allowances for sugar freights were to be limited to between ten and twelve kilos; sailors were to be allowed five to six kilos while other crew members including servants and cabin boys were permitted up to four kilos. All sugar not stowed in the manner dictated by the Company—in loafs or elongated cakes—such as that found in barrels, bags or boxes would be deemed contraband and thus subject to seizure.¹⁷

These measures, which aimed to curb the informal maritime practice of officers and crew members of trading voyages owning a portion of a vessel's cargo, were not implemented without contestation. Sailors and officers arriving in Lisbon during the month after the institution of these rules protested the new requirement that they receive approval from the Company's board before embarking in Lisbon instead of passing through customs unimpeded as they previously had done. Administrators reiterated the necessity of the measure, arguing that company ships arriving in the city of Lisbon had been found carrying

¹⁶ ANTT, Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba, Livro 383, Copiador de Pernambuco, 81-92.

¹⁷ ANTT, Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba, Livro 383, Copiador de Pernambuco, 83.

cargoes of which a fifth of their total volume belonged to officers and crew. Less than two years after the administrators of the General Company of Pernambuco and Paraiba had issued these restrictions, it became clear that they had had little effect on the mechanics of transatlantic trade from the colony's northeastern coast. Administrators noted in June of 1778 the futility of such bylaws, when members of the Company's Directorate were found smuggling goods from Lisbon to the ports of Bahia and Pernambuco in their boats and smacks. Furthermore, navigators were not paying the Royal tenth in taxes on the sugar produced and shipped from Bahia, as they colluded with Pernambuco's *Procurador* to register the port of departure for ships carrying sugar to Portugal as Recife as opposed to Salvador.

1778 marked a turning point in the history of the charter company, as recognition grew that the shipment of goods to metropolitan ports had proven less efficient than the irregular private voyages that had comprised the trade before the Company's formation. For the Company's Intendant and Deputy, the inability of the Directorate, ship captains and crews to follow Company edicts and subordinate their private interests to national ones undermined the value of colonial commodities and would soon result, they feared, in financial insolvency. In November of 1778, administrators in Lisbon again warned of continued smuggling, which was especially prevalent, they argued, in the ports of Brazil and the Mina Coast. After discovering a voluminous cache of contraband goods aboard the Brazilian ship *Bom Jezus de Boncass*, which belonged to the ship's officers and crew who had neglected to pay freights and duties, ¹⁸ administers became confident that they could resolve clandestine trading activities with rigorous inspections conducted upon departure and arrival. ¹⁹ Administrators called for the restriction of licenses for the transportation of goods

¹⁸ Duties for cargoes carried on company ships had been mandated at 2 percent in 1762.

¹⁹ Administrators targeted contraband goods carried by Company ships' captains and crew because they felt they undercut the market value of colonially produced commodities in

under private names as a means to maintain profitability of the colonial sugar and leather trade.

Though administrators in Lisbon had long been wary of what they believed to be the prevalent and detrimental smuggling conducted in Brazilian ports since the creation of the General Company of Pernambuco and Paraiba, it was only in early 1779 that officials became convinced that Lisbon had failed to curb pervasive and intractable smuggling occurring under the guise of company shipping and navigation. The intendant and deputy wrote on March 20th, 1779, that "We are convinced that this Directorate has no interest in the Company's ships [which] come barely loaded, and [displaying] great disparities between the charters [and the actual freights]."20 The Directorate neglected to take action, and remained apathetic towards the pervasive smuggling by ships' crews, which according to officials had caused a breakdown in leather and sugar shipping. In the same year, officials found illicit cargo held by officers and crew members on the Nossa Senhora da Gloria, 21 and the ship Ritte.²² On the Nossa Senhora da Gloria, 32 individuals owned a portion of the contraband sugar, disguised in sacks, including all of the ships officers, fifteen sailors and two individuals related to crew members. 23 In 1778, another ship arrived in Lisbon from Pernambuco carrying 982 kilos of sugar, while only being licensed for 275. In addition, crew members had also smuggled ten bags of cotton and 176 arreteis of Ipecacuanha into the

Portugal, as these goods—sugar especially—were sold for much lower prices that the Company sanctioned goods.

²⁰ ANTT, Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba, Livro 383, Copiador de Pernambuco, 133, March 20, 1779.

²¹ ANTT, Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraiba Junta de Liquidação, Correspondencia para a Companhia, 1771-1790, Letter of August 6, 1779.

²² *Ibid*, Letter of July 21, 1779.

²³ Although the ships officers disputed the illegality of their cargo; *Ibid.*, Letter July 9, 1779.

capital city.²⁴

Mariners smuggling a portion of unlicensed goods aboard transatlantic voyages was only one aspect of a diverse array of commercial practices that fell under the Crown's designation of "contraband." In addition, the Crown included trade between Portuguese subjects and foreigners—a practice especially prevalent in the empire's Brazilian port cities and on the West African coast—as well as the smuggling of prohibited goods such as gold to non-Portuguese buyers. The pervasiveness of unlicensed goods on ships traversing the Atlantic was not restricted to voyages traveling to Portugal. Officers and crew also commonly carried licit and illicit trade goods from the northeastern ports of Brazil to several ports on the West African coast. Influenced by the caixas de liberdade found on ships venturing from Goa and stopping in Bahia, the practice also was rooted in the need to generate profits for lengthy and costly trading voyages in the context of the limited monetization of Salvador's economy. In lieu of a small number of investors who advanced large sums of capital for individual trading voyages with the expectation of a large financial return (as was the case for slaving merchants in eighteenth century Nantes), Bahian slaving vessels attracted a collection of smaller investments—including those made by crew member and officers—in trade goods procured directly from producers.²⁵ This practice, although not explicitly prohibited by Royal administrators in either the Overseas Council or the governing board of the General Company of Pernambuco and Paraíba, was both discouraged and seen as a potential threat to the metropole's ability to accrue profits from the mercantile trade. The Directorate of the company's allowance of even a small portion of ship cargoes to be

²⁴ Ipecacuanha is a Brazilian derived plant whose roots were used to make emetic syrup; *Ibid*, Letter of September 11, 1778.

²⁵ For a discussion of the profitability of transatlantic slaving based in Nantes, France see Robert Stein, "The Profitability of the Nantes Slave Trade, 1783-1792," *The Journal of Economic History* 35:4 (1975), 781.

privately owned by officers and crew members was itself likely a concession to the interests of mariners and a tacit recognition that they had little power to eradicate such practices. Indeed, the very metropolitan officials tasked with regulating contraband often colluded with mariners and merchants in Portugal's Brazilian colonies to ignore smuggling or profit from it themselves. That such activities, which developed not *because of* but *in spite of* metropolitan efforts, flourished in the face of bureaucratic interference demonstrates that such commercial and labor practices were widespread and durable. Indeed, officers and crew members who avoided paying freights and duties were rarely punished and crew held cargos added to the profitability of risky transatlantic voyages.

Though it is difficult to trace the volume imported and exported goods possessed by ships' officers and crews over the long term, a small number of detailed ship manifests survive, which demonstrate the singularity of Bahian oceanic trading practices. Though the voyages detailed above arrived in Portugal, small scale trading practices by mariners were also endemic on routes between the northeastern ports of Brazil and the west coast of Africa. On these passages, officers and crew members exchanged Bahian products including tobacco and *aguardente* for West African slaves, textiles and agricultural products.

After embarking from the port of Onim in November of 1810, the Brigantine *Divina Providencia* suffered the devastating loss of 65 captives and 391 *pannos da costa* or country cloths during an unspecified accident on the return voyage to Salvador da Bahia. In addition, one captive (a young adolescent) had earlier died while the ship was waiting to disembark from the African coast. Collectively, these 65 captives had 35 separate owners listed, in addition to nine individuals residing in Bahia who owned portions of the ship's cargo of *pannos da costa*. Included among these proprietors were eight of the ship's crew members: the *Divina Providencia*'s captain recorded his father, Jozé Joaquim de Santa Anna as the owner of

an adolescent male; the pilot, Francisco de Madereira Barboza, claimed the loss of one adult male, two adolescent males and two adolescent females; the second pilot, Domingos Francisco Roza, jointly owned one adult female captive along with the ship's owner Lieutenant Colonel Ignacio Antunes Guimarães. In addition, the quartermaster owned two captives, the ship's barber Manoel Ana owned an adolescent female and an adult female captive; Domingos Francisco Roza, the second pilot jointly owned a female slave with Guimarães. Officers aboard the *Divina Providencia* were not the only members of the crew to invest in captives and West African goods, however. Two sailors on the ship—Manoel Teles de Brito and Costodio dos Santos—had purchased four slaves in Onim. ²⁶ Perhaps most notably, the ship's second barber (and a slave of Captain Vicente Miles) owned 49 *pannos da costa.*

While ships' officers were the most likely to make small scale investments in trading cargoes, crew members occupying the lower rungs of the shipboard occupational hierarchy (including sailors and cabin boys) also invested in trade goods. Their ability to do so represents a sharp contrast to dominant historiographical paradigms that have emphasized the limited economic agency exercised by sailors and other non-officers aboard English and Norwegian slaving ships. As Leif Svalesen has described for the Norwegian slaving ship the *Fredensborg*, and Richard B. Sheridan had noted for English vessels, only officers were permitted the privilege to invest in European goods to trade in West Africa.²⁷ In addition, two historians of British slaving voyages—Emma Christopher and Marcus Rediker—have argued that common sailors labored for paltry wages which were subject to arbitrary

²⁶ Aquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Secção Colonial e Provincial, no. 568-1, "Termos dos Cativos Mortos 1810-1811."

²⁷ Leif Svalesen, *The Slave Ship Fredensborg* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2000), 110.

reductions.²⁸ Indeed, Rediker argues in several works that sailors comprised the Atlantic world's first wage laborers, and that their economic interests remained inherently antagonistic to authoritarian and exploitative labor regime enforced by ship captains.

Rediker's famous argument that sailors comprised the modern world's first proletariat class, however, is not accompanied by any systematic analysis of wage earning or investment practices by sailors employed on British vessels.²⁹

By contrast, Luso-African Atlantic mariners were frequently able to profit from the trading activities they conducted. Crucially, these profits were achieved with both the aid and acceptance of captains and officers. In July 1811, the slaving ship *Lindeza* left the port of Salvador carrying 12:867\$106 reis in its principal cargo. The captain, Antônio de Cerqueira Lima owned two enslaved sailors laboring on board: Joaquim "of the Mina Nation" and Jozé, also a Mina. Cerqueira Lima invested 228\$000 reis of trading goods including denim and British printed cloth "for the account of my two slaves." Two more enslaved men also invested in the voyage: Luiz, a Mina sailor on the *Lindeza* who was owned by the ship's

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³¹ *Ibid*.

²⁸ Emma Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730-1897* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 23-4. Richard Sheridan specifies that slaving ship surgeons could purchase "privilege slaves" on the West African coast. See Richard B. Sheridan, "The Guinea Surgeons on the Middle Passage: The Provision of Medical Services in the British Slave Trade," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14:4 (1981), 610. ²⁹ Marcus Rediker's work has made broad generalizations about the nature of maritime labor in the early modern Atlantic by solely focusing on Anglophone sources. He has argued that sailors aboard slaving ships displayed an acute awareness of their class identity as proletarians, both because of their low wages and the frequent discipline administered by authoritarian ship officers and captains. Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2007), 230; *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005), 24.

Trade goods included 1706 rolls of tobacco, 2226 canadas of aguardente, as well as an array of textiles, hats, and household goods. The value was estimated as worth 3766 onças on the Mina Coast; at the time an adult male slave cost approximately eleven onças. Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Coleções Especias, Comissão Mista, Lata 19, Maço 3, Pasta 2, Papers of the *Lindeza*.

proprietor Jozé Cardozo Marques, and Bernardo, who was not employed on the ship in any capacity.³² Additionally, six of the *Lindeza*'s crew and officers owned a portion of the cargo, including the freed African cooper Joaquim Gomes Rosa. Rosa's investment was quite substantial, at 246\$566 reis, more than double what he received in wages.³³

In another such example, the apprehension of the *Divina Providencia* by British antislaving forces near the port of Onim revealed 235 African captives on board and a crew of 34 men, 23 of whom were African, and 17 of whom were enslaved. The ship's African crew members included Lino Ricardo, identified as a barber from the "Mina nation" and earning a salary of 80\$000 reis. Crucially, this African mariner also owned 85\$800 reis in trade goods, which included tobacco, aguardente, and pannos da costa. The tobacco held by Ricardo was two and a half percent of the ship's total tobacco cargo. Elias da Matta, a freed African sailor also identified as hailing from the Mina Coast—owned 16\$800 in goods, while Antônio Francisco, a sailor from Angola was paid 40\$000 reis and owned 9\$600 reis in goods. Due to the general recognition in Brazilian society of customary slave *peculium*—property held by enslaved individuals—captive members of crews also conducted trading on transatlantic voyages. 34 Caetano and Manoel, both enslaved Mina men and sailors aboard the *Providencia*, jointly owned 19\$200 reis in goods aboard the ship. In addition to the 235 enslaved Africans aboard the Divina Providencia, the ship also carried a substantial cargo of West African products, notably azeite de dendê and pannos da costa on its return journey to Bahia. Such goods were intended to be purchased by West Africans living in Salvador, and traded by petty

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³² The two men invested 45\$700 and 14\$050 reis worth of tobacco and *aguardente* respectively.

³³ Rosa's salary for the round trip voyage was 100\$000. *Ibid.*

³⁴ Stuart Schwartz, Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 252.

African traders within the city and its hinterlands. The enslaved and freed African sailors who exchanged Bahian tobacco and *aguardente* in West African ports acted as vital conduits in a chain of commodity exchange which introduced and strengthened the influence of African material culture in Salvador and its surroundings.

Another ship apprehended in the same year, the Bahian Brigantine São Miguel de Triunfunte, had a crew of 41 mariners that contained 22 enslaved men, 24 African born mariners, as well as two indigenous crew members (Indios). All told, Africans and Brazilian-born blacks together made up 70 percent of the crew. The ship left Bahia on August 27, 1811, with a principal cargo that included 2,750 rolls and eighteen barrels of tobacco worth 11,285\$400 reis, 31 leather sacks of cowry shells worth 1,167\$379 reis, 114 iron bars worth 163\$687 reis, and aguardente worth 351\$000 reis, in addition to a multitude of other trade goods. The Triunfunte's captain, 44 year old João da Silveira Villas Boas, left the port of Salvador with a 204\$000 reis investment in aguardente. In addition to the ship's owner Joaquim Francisco Carneiro, investors in the ship several included several inhabitants of Salvador. Notable among these was an African identified as Joaquim Nagô who had invested 12\$622 reis, three slaves of Manoel Vicira Mendes Leitão, Nazaro Feira Carneiro, and Joaquim dos Campos who collectively owned 24\$097 reis worth of aguardente and 28\$800 reis worth of sugar, Maria da Conceição, who was identified as preta or African and had invested 21\$600 reis in the voyage, as well as numerous others. A declaration of the ship's cargo

ANBJ, Fundo Junta do Comércio, Fábricas e Navagações, Caixa 410, Pacote 1, 5-14.
 Including: Joaquim Gomes Perreira, Victorino dos Santos Perreira, Jozé Joaquim da Santa, Nicolão da Silveira e Souza, Canas de Anna Joaquina de Asumpção, Maria de Asumpção, Andre de Madeiros, Anna Maria, Ignacia Maria do Rozario, Joaquim da Costa, Anna Joaquina de Asumpção Manoel João dos Reis, Domingues Francisco de Oliveira, João Luis de Abreu, Maria Victoria Carolina, Jozé Antônio de Cerqueira Braga, Maria Victoria, Bernardo da Piedade, Dona Ambulina Clara, Joanna Maria, Manoel Francisco Ramos, João

claimed 608 rolls of tobacco on board upon embarkation and demonstrates the diversity of small scale investors in the transatlantic voyage indicative of the period (See figure 4.1).³⁷

Figure 4.1. Investors on the Brigantine São Miguel de Triunfante

Name/Relationship to Ship	Rolls of Tobacco
João da Silveira Villas Boas, Captain of São	240
Miguel Triunfante	
Jozé Antônio, Second Pilot	12
João da Silveira Villas Boas Junior, Third Pilot,	20
Scribe and son of Captain	
Jozé da Silva Guimares, Quartermaster	30
Joaquim de Santa Anna Penna, First Cooper	16
Ignacio Roiz Ferreira, Second Cooper	8
Jozé Joaquim and Felipe Fernandes, Sailors	5
Antônio, Sailor and slave of Joaquim Jozé Maria	7
de Campos	
Sargento-mor Joaquim de Santa Anna Mundim,	10
none specified	
Jozé Francisco da Silva, none specified	3
Joaquim Francisco Carneiro, owner of the São	20
Miguel Triunfante	
Manoel Vieira Mendes Leitão, none specified	20
Joaquim Jozé Maria de Campos, owner of 3 of	50
the ship's enslaved sailors	
Manoel João do Reis, owner of 3 of the ship's	25
enslaved sailors	
Francisco Domingues de Oliveira, none	12
specified	
Luis dos Santos Lima, none specified	10
Manoel Joaquim Alvez, none specified	15
Preto Cosme, slave of Manoel da Silva Cunha	4
Preto Miguel Maciel, slave of João Maciel de	4
Souza	
Preto Marcaro, slave of Boaventura Ferreira da	4
Roxa	
Preto João, slave of Francisco Joaquim Carneiro	5
(owner)	
Pretos Luiza, Ianoario, Manoel, and Antônio,	4
slaves of Francisco Joaquim Carneiro	

da Silveira and son, Dona Francisca Massado do Sacramento e Sa, Felipe Roiz, and João

Joaquim, Jozé Antônio and Antônio Martins.

³⁷ ANRJ, Fundo Junta do Comércio, Fábricas e Navagações, Caixa 410, Pacote 1, Relação das quantidades, May 2, 1819.

Pretos Alexandre and Domingos, sailors and	6
slaves of Francisco Joaquim Carneiro	
Pretos Joaquim da Costa, and Maria, slaves of	5
Francisco Joaquim Carneiro	
Pretos Francisco and Vicente, sailors and slaves	6
of Francisco Joaquim Carneiro	
Pretos Caetano, Euzebio, Custodio, and	6
Francisco, sailors and slaves of Francisco	
Joaquim Carneiro	
Preto Joaquim, sailor and slave of Francisco	7
Joaquim Carneiro	
Anna Joaquim da Assuncam, none specified	8
Julianna Maria and Anna Rosa, none specified	12
Joaquim Jozé de Magalles, none specified	10
Andre de Medeiras, none specified	20
Anna Maria, none specified	4
Total	608

The collection of investors on this particular ship is remarkable not only for the large number of participants, but also the diversity of racial and legal statuses of the individuals involved. The São Miguel de Triunfante's captain, João da Silveira Villas Boas, possessed the largest investment in tobacco on the ship, at 39.5 percent of the entire tobacco cargo's total. This number represented a much larger percentage than the vessel's owner, Francisco Joaquim Carneiro, who only owned 3.3 percent of all the tobacco rolls aboard upon departure. The ship's officers and crew—excluding Captain Villas Boas—collectively owned 19.1 percent of the Triunfante's tobacco cargo. These investors include nineteen enslaved individuals, fifteen of which belonged to the ship's owner. Five of these investors are explicitly identified as Africans, one from Angola, and four from the "Mina nation," although it is likely that two of Carneiro's slaves who were not crew members on the Triunfante (Joaquim da Costa and Maria) were African as well. Cosme, Miguel Maciel and Marcaro, enslaved investors whose owners were not part of the crew or investors in the

voyage, were also likely to have been born in Africa. All told, enslaved investors cumulatively accounted for 58 rolls or 9.4 percent of the voyage's tobacco cargo.

Access to investment in transatlantic trade by enslaved Africans and Brazilians residing in Salvador was not available to all, as connections to ships' owners, investors, captains and other officers largely determined who could invest in the trade. Enslaved sailors such as Domingos and Alexandre had the greatest access to such commercial activities, using their jointly owned tobacco to purchase a young boy in Ajudá estimated to be worth 90\$000 reis. ³⁸ Captain Villas Boas also purchased an adult female slave on the Mina Coast. Many of the *Triunfante*'s enslaved investors purchased West African goods on the coast in lieu of slaves, however.

In addition to these thirty-five investors in *aguardente* on the ship and an additional twenty-two who had invested in tobacco, a majority of the ship's officers and crew members owned small portions of trade goods as the ship left the Bay of All Saints. The second barber, Ignacio Rodrigues Ferreira—identified as a freed creole from Bahia—owned, along with two enslaved sailors, Angolan Manoel and Antônio from the "Mina nation," 22\$950 reis worth of *aguardente*. Alexandre, a slave of Gualter Martins also identified as Mina had invested 22\$950 reis in *aguardente*. Alexandre, a slave of the ship's owner, Francisco Joaquim Carneiro jointly owned 9\$565 reis in *aguardente* with Domingos do Rozario, the ship's barber and Brazilian born slave of Francisco Luiz de Souza. Rozario also owned 10\$400 reis worth of *aguardente* individually. The first pilot, Manoel Patricio da Santa had invested 95\$200 reis in sugar, and cloth. The ship's second pilot, Jozé Antônio possessed 23\$715 reis in *aguardente*

³⁸ *Ibid*, "Conta de Venda de 222 Captivos vendos da Costa da Minna," 23 March, 1813, 86.

³⁹ Manoel and Antônio were listed as the slaves of fellow investor on the voyage Joaquim Jozé Maria de Campos.

and the quartermaster, Jozé da Silva Guimarães held 21\$420 reis in liquor as well. The first cooper, Joaquim de Santa Anna, a freed *pardo* or mixed race man from Bahia held 25\$600 reis in *aguardente*. Sailors Jozé Joaquim and Felipe Fernandes, both from Santa Catarina, jointly owned 12\$000 reis of *aguardente*. Finally, a freed slave from the Mina nation named Francisco Alves de Carvalho possessed 3\$200 reis of *aguardente* while Joaquim dos Reis, slave of Manoel João dos Reis from the Mina nation owned 4\$800 reis in *aguardente*.

The São Miguel de Triunfante had not completed all of its trading transactions on the Mina Coast before its capture in Ajudá by a British anti-slaving vessel on April 5th, 1812. The cargo at that date included 132 African captives, 28 rolls of tobacco and eight pipes of aguardente, among other trade goods. The ship also carried West African trade goods in addition to captives on its return voyage, including 454 pannos da costa and 34 barrels of palm oil. The pilot Manoel Patricio da Silva, quartermaster Jozé da Silva Guimarães, barber Domingos do Rozario, cooper Joaquim da Santa Anna, second cooper Ignacio Rodrigues Ferreira and unidentified preto sailors owned a portion of the ship's palm oil cargo. Rozario also possessed more extensive and unusual holdings including seven "large corals" and two large and three small pannos da costa. 40 The petition authored by Carneiro seeking restitution from Great Britain as a result of the seizure fails to detail which individuals aboard the Triunfante were conducting trade on shore at Ajudá during the seizure, but they do reveal that unnamed crew members were engaged in negotiation with Francisco Felix de Souza, the wealthiest and most prominent merchant engaged in the trade on the Mina Coast during the early nineteenth century. Feliz de Souza, in conjunction with "various negros de terra" or African commercial auxiliaries who worked for or with the Portuguese trader, were in the midst of selling slaves and pannos da costa in return for 95 onças of tobacco, aguardente, and

⁴⁰ ANRJ, Fundo Junta do Comércio, Fábricas e Navagações, Caixa 410, Pacote, 25.

other goods including various textiles when their transaction was interrupted by the British seizure of the ship and all goods aboard.⁴¹

The Bahian ship *O Beato Antônio*, captured by British anti-slaving forces in 1815 on the Mina Coast demonstrated a similar distribution of ownership of the trade goods found aboard the ship (See figure 4.2).⁴²

Figure 4.2. Investors on the ship O Beato Antônio

Name, Position onboard	Trade Goods	Value in reis
Manoel Caetano da Sa, Pilot	1 ancoreta of aguardente	15\$800
Antônio Jozé Carneiro,	13 rolls of tobacco	200\$000
Quartermaster		
Ignacio Garcia Roza, none	None specified	84\$360
specified		
Innocêncio Jozé Ribeiro,	1 ancoreta of aguardente	38\$000
pardo, Cooper		
Agostinho Jozé Ricardo, slave	1 ancoreta of aguardente	18\$000
of Manoel Jozé Ricardo,		
Barber		
Salvador Francisco	13 rolls of tobacco	42\$380
Gonçalves, none specified		
Luiz da Rocha, none specified	6 rolls of tobacco	19\$560
Estanislau Lopez do Azedo,	12 rolls of tobacco	36\$000
none specified		
Jozé Joaquim Alvez Pereira,	10 rolls of tobacco	32\$000
none specified		
Narcira Maria das Neves,	4 rolls of tobacco	13\$000
none specified		
Manoel Jozé de Almeida,	Goods	107\$800
none specified		
João Jozé Miereles	1 ancoreta of aguardente	72\$800
Gonçalo Gonçalves de	1 ancoreta of aguardente	136\$905
Oliveira		
Francisca Romana da	Goods	45\$600
Conceição		
João Miz Falcão	1 ancoreta of aguardente	43\$600
Jozé Durans Silva Payo	10 rolls of tobacco	30\$000
Severiano Machado	Tobacco in barrel	36\$000

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 15.

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⁴² ANRJ, Junta do Comércio, Fábricas e Navagações, Volume 370, Pacote 1.

Lauriana Maria da Conceição	Goods	32\$200
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The holdings of the *Beato Antônio*, like the *Divina Providencia* and *São Miguel de Triunfante*, depict a trading cargo comprised of investments by a diverse array of individuals. While a smaller proportion of the *Beato Antônio*'s cargo was the property of its crew members, one enslaved seaman, Agostinho Jozé Ricardo, was among those who owned a portion of the ship's trading goods.

Evidence from other Bahian vessels seized by the British during their anti-slaving campaign on the West Coast of Africa also indicates that seamen were engaged in trading activities on the Mina Coast of their own initiative and volition. On the Firmeza in January 1839, for example, Jozé, the enslaved seamen of the captain Manoel Fonsavelo, purchased an adolescent boy from a African merchant in Agoué, with the approval of his owner, for thirteen onças of trade goods, which included one onça of gun powder and one shotgun. Another sailor on the Firmeza, Adolfo—identified as being from the "Benin nation"—had three years earlier secured his own manumission by substituting an adolescent Nagô boy that he had purchased on the West African Coast for his own captivity. His former owner, Manoel Jozé Dias, also recognized Adolfo's "fidelity and friendship" during the twenty years in which he served Dias as a contributing factor in his manumission. The slaving brig Comerciante, owned by Portuguese merchant residing in Bahia, Francisco Ignacio de Siqueira Nobre, was captured while returning from the West African coast in 1822 while holding 612 captives, ivory, palm oil and coffee on board. The preto forro or freed African barber

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⁴³ The British campaign began in 1811.

⁴⁴ NAL, FO 315/45 no. 24.

⁴⁵ NAL, FO 315/45, Papers of the ship Firmeza.

⁴⁶ AHI, Coleções Especias, Comissão Mista, Lata 7, Maço 5, Pasta 1, Papers of the *Comerciante*, 1822.

employed on the vessel, Leandro Jozé da Costa, identified as Gege, received a 200\$000 reis salary for his labor on a round trip voyage from Salvador to the West Coast of Africa. His employer Siqueira Nobre also agreed that as part of his compensation he would be allowed to transport one slave on the ship from the African coast without paying fright to the ship's owner. In another instance, one of Da Costa's fellow officers, Antônio Joaquim, the cooper and Angolan slave of Siqueira Nobre, received no pay for the voyage but had the privilege of waived freight costs for the transportation costs of a small boy he had purchased on the African coast "from his own account," together with one of Siqueira Nobre's other enslaved seaman, Antônio Jozé.⁴⁷

Scant evidence details the nature of interactions between freed and enslaved seamen and African merchants that produced such exchanges. Few descriptions exist, however, which detail commercial transactions on the West African Coast. The above mentioned Nossa Senhora da Esperança e São José sent ten rolls of tobacco worth 120\$000 reis on shore in the care of the ship's enslaved African sailors so they could "purchase what was necessary" for the proprietor of the vessel. Because most of these sailors were from the Mina Coast where the ship was conducting its trade, they would have been ideal brokers to secure necessary provisions for the ship. While ashore, these mariners who had trade goods of their own aboard could have easily engaged in commerce for their private benefit. On other occasions, African traders boarded Brazilian slaving vessels and interacted with the crew. In 1822, for instance, the Brigantine Commerciante sat docked at the port of Camarão located on the river of the same name. Several African merchants approached the ship in canoes in order to conduct business with the Brazilian mariners aboard. The captain Domingos

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 21.

⁴⁸ AHU, ACL, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 164, Documento 12420, Jan. 2, 1770, Lisbon.

Ribeiro Folha reported that the crew has opened a pipe of *aguardente* to drink with the African merchants while conducting trading negotiations. According to Folha, trade relations between African merchants and Brazilian mariners customarily began with the initial offering of *aguardente* to sellers on the coast, as the tradition was a necessary precursor to trade. Also noteworthy in Folha's description is his contention that these unnamed African merchants were conversing, drinking and trading with the "members of the ship's crew," which he also characterized as a customary practice. ⁴⁹ Trading conducted aboard ships would have facilitated sailors, cabin boys and lower ranking laborers' engagement in trade, as other sources reveal that sometimes common sailors did not disembark in every port in which trade was conducted by slaving ships. ⁵⁰ Another anecdote suggests that sometimes common sailors did go on shore to conduct trade individually with African *caboceiros*, ⁵¹ exchanging their own goods for palm oil, textiles and slaves. ⁵²

Trading by mariners, including the enslaved or freed, became an accepted and common practice. As seen above, merchants even encouraged this small scale commerce by offering mariners payment in carrying costs and freight in lieu of wages. This commercial flexibility on the part of slaving merchants and captains demonstrates that the inherently antagonistic relationship that Marcus Rediker depicts between authoritarian captains and

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⁴⁹ AHI, Colleções Especias, Commissão Mista, *Commerciante*, Lata 7, Maço 5, Pasta 1, 3, 64. ⁵⁰ AHI, Colleções Especias, Commissão Mista, *Emilia*, Lata 13, Maço 1, Pasta 1, 353.

⁵¹African rulers or middlemen in the Atlantic trade.

⁵² John Thornton draws a useful distinction between "shipboard trading" in which all commercial transactions and negotiations were conducted on board vessels anchored off the West African Coast, and "factory trade" which was performed within the confines of a permanent or temporary post located on the coast. Usually one type of trade was more prominent in certain regions; in the Niger Delta shipboard trading was more common than in more established slave trading ports such as Ajudá. Relationships between African merchants and European and Americans crews in shipboard forms of trading tended to be more fleeting and anonymous. John K. Thornton, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World*, 1250-1820 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 248-249.

merchants and rebellious common sailors must be qualified and revised in the context of the Bahian transatlantic slave trade. Because of the organization of the trade from Salvador, the commercial interests of merchants, officers, sailors and even the enslaved could be complementary, rather than intrinsically oppositional. Enslaved and freed African and creole mariners took advantage of this environment to invest in the West African trade in slaves and material goods such as palm oil and pannos da costa that could be sold to West African slaves and freed men and women residing in Bahia.

Through the course of a lifetime, an African born sailor could accumulate a small amount of wealth and pay for his manumission. Moreover, enslaved and free sailors often pooled their money when making investments, and sometimes become lenders to their crew mates. In 1824, when an Angolan sailor named Antônio Jozé da Silva travelled to the West African coast on a slaving vessel, he drafted a will in the event he died during the course of the voyage. Married to an African woman with one child, Silva left 20\$000 reis in alms for the poor while bestowing to his inheritors one enslaved woman recently purchased in Africa for which he had yet to pay duties. The mariner had also lent a considerable amount to his shipmates; for the quartermaster Jozé Luis Fernandes, Silva had left 20\$000 reis for "safe keeping." In addition to his wages of 80\$000 reis, he had lent money to Manoel de Jezus, from Mahi, West Africa, Joaquim, a cabin boy, Jorge (whose relation to da Silva was not identified) and Antônio Pereira another cabin boy 400\$000 reis. He also declared that his slave Pedro was to be freed upon his death, and live "as if he had been born to a free womb."53 Antônio Jozé's assets attest to the ability of enslaved seamen and the slaves of

British anti-slaving vessels. APEB, Livro de testamentos n. 11, f. 32. Testamento de Antônio

José da Silva, 1824.

⁵³ Antônio da Silva had also lost a wage of 15\$000 reis per month on a slaving voyage he was to take from Angola to Pernambuco when the vessel, owned by Jozé Vieira was captured by

Bahian merchants to engage in the slave trade as small scale traders, forging a much different relationship to transatlantic commerce than has previously been understood.

The unique commercial practices of Bahia's transatlantic commerce also had ramifications for Salvadorian society itself. Enslaved African and creole mariners utilized their access to the lucrative trans-Atlantic trade to purchase their manumission at a higher frequency than slaves employed in other professions, thus adding to the growing free black population in the city. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the rise of a prosperous group of African and creole traders whose wealth came from the slave trade. As Cândido Eugenio Domingues de Souza has argued, Salvador's slaving ship captains in the first half of the eighteenth century earned incomes equivalent to other professionals engaged in various forms of manual labor such as barber-surgeons, musicians, and shop owners. Despite this, captains aspired to the status of the city's elite class of landed gentry, a group composed of six families accounted for 58.43 percent of the wealth of the city. Through consumption of luxury goods, as well as membership in colonial military orders and Catholic brotherhoods, slaving ship captains were able to emulate the wealthier denizens of the city. Their attempts to augment their status were undoubtedly facilitated by their origins. All the men were old Christians of Portuguese descent, and the majority were married to Portuguese women, all critical precursors to elite social status in colonial Brazil.⁵⁴ By the late eighteenth century, however, a handful of Africans and creoles with ties to the slave trade had also achieved an unprecedented prosperity and, to a degree, social recognition by their Portuguese peers.

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⁵⁴ Cândido Eugenio Domingues de Souza, "Perseguidores da especie humana": capitaes negreiros da Cidade da Bahia na primeira metade do seculo XVIII (Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social da Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 2011), 87-107.

Maritime Trade and African Social Mobility

One such case is demonstrated by the case of the African merchant, João de Oliveira. In a 1766 clemency petition to the Portuguese Crown—dispatched after he had been falsely accused of participating in the contraband African trade—Oliveira identified himself as originally hailing from the Mina Coast, where, as he relayed, he had been captured as a youth and transported to Brazil. There he labored on a slaving ship based in Pernambuco. Though Oliveira did not pinpoint what occupation he performed on the ship, he revealed that while a sailor he converted to Catholicism and later returned to the West African Coast as a merchant where he "recuperated his primary and natal liberty" by purchasing his manumission from his owner. After becoming a free man again, Oliveira argued, he had led an exemplary life as a Portuguese subject. Devoted to Jesus Christ, Oliveira payed for the care of the widow of his former Patrão (patron) and owner, as well as regularly donating alms to Catholic brotherhoods in the city. After his conversion, Oliveira continued in the slave trade, no longer as a mariner but as a merchant exchanging Bahian tobacco for slaves. Oliveira's slaving enterprises eventually became so successful that he, using his own money, opened the ports of Porto Novo and Onim to the Brazilian trade around the year 1758. Access to the trade in these two ports became especially vital in allowing Bahian traders to continue to profit effectively, particularly in the wake of the Kingdom of Dahomey's periodic closures of routes connecting slavers in the interior to the coastal port of Ajudá in 1758. ⁵⁵ Oliveira's actions in securing trade in Porto Novo and Onim allowed Bahian merchants to retain their advantage in the Mina trade, as captives were less

⁵⁵ The Dahomaen king restricted the supply of slaves to the coast attempted to increase the value of one captive from eight to twelve rolls of tobacco to thirteen to sixteen rolls.

expensive in these less established commercial ports.⁵⁶ Indeed, Oliveira's importance to the Bahia's merchant community was illustrated by the loyalty demonstrated by eighteen of its members who signed his petition for clemency in light of his "unwavering contributions to Portuguese navigation."⁵⁷

The early nineteenth century also saw a number of *pardo* or persons of mixed African and Portuguese descent attaining positions as slaving ship captains and sometimes ship owners. Only one of these men, Innocêncio Marques de Santa Anna, left substantial records with which to reconstruct the trajectory of his maritime career, however. Santa Anna's first gained the notice of Francisco da Cunha Meneses, the governor of Bahia in February 1805, after he accompanied two Dahomaen ambassadors to Salvador as their interpreter. Santa Anna, a *pardo* native of Bahia, had fallen captive to Dahomey's king Adandozan after a military assault on neighboring Porto Novo, where he conducted slave trading as part of the crew of the Bahian curvette *Diana*. Santa Anna's utility both in the Dahomaen court as an interpreter, and later as a source of information pertaining to West Africa's trade and politics (as discussed in chapter 2) ultimately led to his appointment as the captain of the fourth militia regiment of *pardo* men in Salvador by the captaincy's governor.⁵⁸

In addition to this recognition, Santa Anna soon after achieved the position of captain aboard the Bahian brigantine *Nossa Senhora das Necessidades São Jozé Desforço*, which transported 207 captives from the Mina Coast to Bahia in 1807. Wealthy merchant José Tavares França owned the *Desforço*, and in the following years Santa Anna was employed as a captain on two additional slaving voyages to the Mina Coast between 1809 and 1810. After

⁵⁶ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 167-168.

⁵⁸ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 231-234.

⁵⁷ AHU, CU, Bahia-Avulsos, Caixa 105, Documentos 8246-8249.

leading five more slaving voyages to the Mina Coast between the years of 1811 and 1816, Santa Anna purchased his own slaving vessel, the *Santana Flor de Africa*, which he also navigated.⁵⁹ In subsequent years, Santa Anna also acquired the *Juliana, Santana*, and *Flor d'America*, making him one of the most preeminent slavers in Salvador at the time, and a respected inhabitant of the city's exclusive *Pilar* parish.⁶⁰

The social mobility experienced by Santa Anna was not only a result of his noted intelligence, which had impressed Adandozan in Dahomey and authorities in Bahia, but also the opportunities for wealth and social advancement that the transatlantic slave trade provided for ambitious individuals undoubtedly contributed to his social mobility.

Innocêncio Marques da Santa Anna's rise to commercial prominence also illuminates a social and economic context in which number of other traders who used the slave trade to gain prosperity and social status in spite of their origins. Capitalizing on this economic environment, several other slaving ship captains of the period also eventually acquired enough wealth to become proprietors of their own vessels. For instance the *pardo* navigator, André Pinto da Silveira, declared himself to be of unknown parentage; these humble origins, however, did not prevent him from attaining the position of slaving ship captain. Early in his career, Pinto da Silveira worked on three occasions as navigator for the brigantine *Scipiao Africano*, which voyaged to the Mina Coast for owner Francisco Nicolau da Costa between 1813 and 1814. In subsequent years he established his own *feitoria* in Porto Novo on the Mina Coast where he was actively trading in 1820. In 1824, he acted as captain of the

⁵⁹ Voyages of the Slave Trade Database,

http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/index.faces, accessed December 16, 2013.

⁶⁰ Verger, Trade Relations, 393.

⁶¹ AHI, Colleções Especiaes, Commissão Mista, Lata 9, Maço 2, Pasta 1, *Crioula*, 113.

⁶² Innocêncio Marques da Santa Anna also acted as captain of the ship in 1816.

⁶³ AHI, Colleções Especias, Commissão Mista, Lata 13, Maço 14, Pasta 1, *Emilia*, 277.

slaving vessels *União* and *Crioula* before becoming the holder of the slaving schooner *Três*Manoelas, which completed two voyages between Havana and Onim between 1834 and 1836, as well as the *Empreendedor*, which was captured off the Mina Coast in 1839 and condemned. Silveira's final recorded endeavor in the slave trade—which by this time was under active suppression by both British and Brazilian authorities—was the acquisition of the Brig *Paquete*Africano, captured and condemned leaving Onim in 1840.64 Silveira continued his commercial activities in a different capacity, however, as a merchant of West African goods in Onim and Ajudá, where he had settled. 65 During the same period *pardo* Caetano Alberto da França was also active in the West African trade, navigating seven voyages between the years 1818 and 1824. 66

Anecdotal evidence also suggests that by 1835, a number of slave merchants operating in the city of Salvador were "men of color" who had amassed considerable personal wealth from the transatlantic trade. British Vice-Council in Salvador, John Hocart Robillard, claimed in 1835 that:

It is notorious here that the greatest dealers in Slaves in Bahia, are the Men of Color, and the rich free Negroes: I would not make a severe remark, but simply call attention to the facts. Two rich blacks have chartered an English Brig of 181 Tons Register, for ... 8,000 milreis paper money, to go to the Ports on the Coast of Africa, with their Families and Property.⁶⁷

The two "rich free negroes" that Robillard identified were Antônio da Costa and João Monteiro, traders residing in Salvador who became part of the exodus of freed Africans residing in the city in the wake of the 1835 Malê revolt. The swift police response to the

⁶⁴ Voyages of the Slave Trade Database, http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/index.faces, accessed December, 28, 2013.

⁶⁵ Verger, Trade Relations, 405.

⁶⁶ Verger, Trade Relations, 405.

⁶⁷ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 319.

uprising led by a small group of Muslim freedmen in the city included the arrest of between 300 and 400 people, and the expulsion of nearly 150 from the city. In the immediate wake of police suppression, which indiscriminately targeted freed Africans, more than 700 passports were issued for return to West Africa. And though it is unclear if Da Costa and Monteiro were engaged in slaving, they did conduct a trans-continental trade in agricultural goods. 9

Four years after Da Costa and Monteiro returned to the West Coast of Africa, other Africans, initially carried to Brazil as slaves, continued to invest in the transatlantic slave trade. Tobias Barretto Brandão, a freed Gege man and one of the passengers on the Bahian ship *Gratidão* which was seized by British anti-slavers off the coast of the Bight of Benin after leaving Agoué, was among those who conducted business on the Mina Coast in this period. Letters discovered on the *Gratidão* suggest the extent of Brandão's trading activities, which had lasted for at least two years, as well as the names of several of his business associates residing in Agoué, Ajudá, Onim and Salvador. These included Elias Domingos de Carvalho, Antônio Caetano Coelho, Seca Medair, Joaquim de Almeida, Agostinho de Freitas, and Antônio Vieira dos Santos. Brandão was transporting 200\$120 reis worth of goods which included tobacco, leather and honey from Bahia to Joaquim de Almeida, another freed African, identified as the "assistant of the Port of Agoué." Almeida also conducted business for Vincente Roiz Pacheo, procuring *pannos da costa*, as well as African soap and pepper from Agoué for tobacco. Other residents of Bahia also became involved in the transatlantic trade in sugar, *aguardente* and tobacco through Almeida, who worked with

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⁶⁸ Verger, Trade Relations, 316.

⁶⁹ They were part of the commerce which exchanged tobacco, sugar and salted beef for palm oil, kola nuts, West African textiles, beads and other items. See S.Y. Boadi-Siaw, "Afro-Brazilian Culture," in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* Vol. 5 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 106.

⁷⁰ House of Commons Papers, Vol. 42, 115-116.

⁷¹ NAL, FO 315/48/48, Letter to Joaquim de Almeida, Bahia, September 5, 1840.

several African associates on the coast identified in letters as Senhora Thomazia and Senhor Francisco Nagô.⁷²

Four years later, when Joaquim de Almeida (Brandão's associate in Agoué) composed his will, he revealed the extent to which the illicit slave trade, and his personal investments, linked commerce in Cuba, Salvador and the coastal entrepôts of the Mina Coast. Almeida, who identified himself as being from Mahi in the West African interior, first entered the trade as enslaved man; his master, Captain Manoel Joaquim de Almeida, owned and operated a slaving vessel. Eventually Joaquim de Almeida established his own slaving factory in Onim⁷³ and navigated fourteen voyages to the Mina Coast between the years 1811 and 1827.⁷⁴ Although there is no evidence that directly confirms Joaquim de Almeida's occupation as a mariner in the transatlantic trade during his enslavement, the fact that his owner labored as a slaving captain makes the probability that he did so far greater. Indeed, slaving ship captains frequently owned one or more of the enslaved mariners present on their voyages. Pierre Verger estimates that Almeida gained his manumission sometime before 1835, and continued in his former master's profession, dividing his time between Salvador and the Mina Coast during the next ten years. 75 In 1844, before returning to Agoué for his retirement, Almeida fashioned a will to arrange for his property to be dispensed according to his wishes if he died during passage. Almeida declared his wealth to include 4,721\$850 reis, a quarter of the cargo aboard the ship *Joanito* (traveling to the West African coast in 1844) which he estimated at 7:000\$000 reis, the value of 36 slaves in Havana and the value of 20 slaves in Pernambuco in the possession of Manoel Joaquim Ramos e Silva. He

⁷² NAL, FO 315/48/48, Letter to Antônio Caetano Coelho, Bahia, August 11, 1840.

⁷³ André Pinto da Silveira was also an active trader at his factory.

⁷⁴ Voyages of the Slave Trade Database, http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/index.faces, accessed January 2, 2014.

⁷⁵ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 418.

also held nine slaves in his possession in Bahia, four women and five men, all of African origins. Furthermore, Almeida declared a number of debts in his testimony, indicating his good standing and connections among other transatlantic traders and financiers. He promised 600\$000 reis to his business associate, and resident of Bahia, Joaquim Alves da Cruz Rios, to cover a debt, and as well as 4:000\$000 reis to Thomazia de Souza Paraiso, a freed African woman with whom Almeida conducted business with on the Mina Coast in 1840. Almeida claimed that Thomazia had loaned him the sum without a formal contract, indicating their business dealings, which had persisted for at least four years, had apparently involved a high degree of trust. Almeida also claimed to repay two additional creditors, Maria Francisco Roiz Seixas, and Francisco da Costa Franco, to whom he owed 100\$000 reis each.

Joaquim de Almeida's will reveals the extent to which he both acted as a loyal client to his former master, Manoel Joaquim de Almeida, and a as benevolent and generous patron to both a handful of his slaves and the children of his African friends residing in Salvador. In fealty to his former master, Almeida named him as executor of his estate and bequeathed him a total of 1:800\$000 reis. Additionally, he made arrangements to manumit two of his female slaves, Felissima (identified as Mina) and Benedita (Nagô) as a "reward for their good services to me." For another Nagô woman, Roza, he provided 200\$000 reis for the purchase of her liberty from her master Rapozo Ferreira, and provided additional manumission funds for a young creole girl, Benedita, the daughter of an unnamed Gege woman. To his godson Felix, he bequeathed 50\$000 reis, and to the two children of his "good friend" a freed African and Gege, Benedito Ferraz Galliza and his Hausa wife

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 475-6; NAL, FO 315/48/48.

⁷⁷ NAL, FO 315/48/48.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

Henriqueta Joaquina de Bomfim, Almeida left 600\$000 reis. The remainder of his estate, Almeida declared, was to be equally divided between Soteiro, the son of his slave Felissima and likely his illegitimate son, Thomazia de Souza, and the above mentioned Benedita, who was also possibly an illegitimate daughter.

Joaquim de Almeida's extensive social, familial and commercial connections both within the city of Salvador and on the West Coast of Africa illustrate how deeply business and personal relationships were intertwined in this period. Patronage ties involving current and former masters and African slaves could evolve into lasting trading and credit agreements which spanned the Atlantic Ocean. Like João de Oliveira seven decades before him, Joaquim de Almeida's remarkable journey from enslaved mariner to slave merchant is emblematic of the larger complexities of the transatlantic commercial exchange conducted between Salvador and the Mina Coast. Fundamentally, his story complicates simplistic divisions between master and slave, trader and sailor, African and Brazilian. On the one hand, he was able to successfully integrate himself into a merchant community which had made him a slave and displaced him from his homeland. And through his own actions and commercial expertise, he was able to invest in that same merchant community and its trade. He embraced Portuguese cultural norms such as Catholicism and patronage, through which he was able to negotiate his own path to freedom, and purchase the manumission of others.

Such a narrative thus blurs the lines between actions coded as either resistance or accommodation. Both Almeida's and Oliveira's stories mirror the complicated trajectories of a multitude of African and Afro-Brazilian sailors whose lives and labors were spread across the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean. As Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca and David Treece have recently pointed out, the creation of an Atlantic culture was not simply

the result of conflict and tension between a white capitalist European Atlantic and a black or proletarian one.⁷⁹ The men described in this chapter cannot be reduced to a maritime working class exploited by slave traders. Though they labored for wages, they also traded of their own volition. They did not rebel against the commercial activities of Portuguese and Brazilian merchants; they sustained them, and substantially influenced them in the process.

The Auxiliary Trade in West African Goods

The rise of African merchants and, more commonly, a cohort of aspiring black commercial agents in Salvador cannot be understood without due attention to the ways West Africans of lower social status—agricultural hands, street vendors and market women—were active participants in this commercial culture. Through their aesthetic and culinary preferences, African residents of Salvador created a market for West African material goods in the captaincy during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition to Salvador's extensive trade in slaves, the decentralized and *ad hoc* trading practices in Ajudá, Porto Novo, Badgary and Onim fostered a simultaneous trade in West African food stuffs, especially in palm oil, and in West African textiles or *pannos de costa* in Bahia, which continued after the effective suppression of the transatlantic slave trade.

The trade in palm oil between Bahia and the West African coast began as a byproduct of slavers' need to feed African captives during transatlantic voyages. Judith
Carney's study of African derived vegetation in the Americas has revealed the extent to
which European slavers relied on African crops (particularly rice, yams, sorghum and millet)
to provide sustenance on both the shore (in factories where captives were held until

⁷⁹ Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca and David H. Treece, *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2007), 9.

departure) as well as during the ocean voyage itself.80 Indeed, captains of British, Swedish, Portuguese and Brazilian ships all recorded the use of palm oil in slave provisions on board from the earliest period of the slave trade. In 1508, a Portuguese mariner named Duarte Pacheco Pereira described the earliest engagement with one of the most powerful slave trading kingdoms in the Bight of Benin as involving commerce "with our friend King d' Arda [Allada], nearby Mina, we send to trade for Negro slaves, ivory, lengths of cloth, palm oil, and many vegetables like yams and other foodstuffs."81 Indeed, the trade from the Mina Coast had never been exclusively a slave trade, but involved a multitude of commodities. The use of African provisions aboard slaving ships was partially born out of necessity. Though African foodstuffs were readily available and economical, however, captains' provisional choices also represented an attempt to pacify their African captives. Familiar foodstuffs, even if they were not a strict necessity to keep the enslaved alive, could provide a small source of familiarity to fearful and desperate bondspeople. On British slaving vessels, for instance, officers in the late eighteenth century provided captives held in the cargo with dried shrimp, flour and palm oil to make a stew they were familiar with from their homelands. 82 The impulse to afford a measure of accommodation to captives aboard ships, however, was born out of strategy rather than altruism. On occasion, slavers meted out small comforts such as tobacco and liquor in hopes of preventing violent uprisings. On the Fredensborg, the vessel's cook mixed palm oil into captives' daily ration of porridge, and also

⁸⁰ Judith Carney and Richard Nicholas Rosomoff, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 121-124.

⁸¹ Verger, Trade Relations, 134 f.1.

⁸² Slaving ship captain Hugh Crow claimed that when provisioning ships, captains carefully studies captives' "personal comfort." Hugh Crow, *Memoirs of the late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool* (London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, And G. and J. Robinson, 1830), 146-147.

provided palm oil which slaves voluntarily applied to their skin.⁸³ The earliest record of palm oil on a Brazilian slaving vessel appears in 1724, when Bento de Arousio de Souza traded 259 ounces of gold to the Royal African Company agents at Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast, for 65 slaves, and provisions for the journey which included 80 chests of corn, 50 pounds of Malaguetta pepper, 4 bushels of salt, and 30 gallons of palm oil.⁸⁴ As on Swedish ships, captives aboard Brazilians ones were administered porridge of Manioc flour, palm oil, vinegar, pepper and salt.⁸⁵

By the late eighteenth century, however, trading voyages returned from the Mina Coast bearing palm oil and textiles were intended not only as provisions for captives, but also for consumption in Bahia. In 1797, the captaincy reported that eighteen ships had carried 3938 captives to Bahia from the Mina Coast worth a sum of 392:800\$000 reis. The second largest import from West Africa in the same years was gold powder, worth 12:220\$000 reis, while *pannos de costa* and palm oil imports combined comprised a value of 6:000\$000 reis. In 1811, the *Divina Providencia* registered an impressive cargo containing six barrels of palm oil and 550 "diverse" *pannos da costa*, the value of which was estimated to be 1:873\$000 reis. As mentioned earlier, African crew members owned a portion of these goods. An inventory of the estate of Bahian slave trader, Manuel Francisco Moreira in 1836, reveals that he had purchased 8 ½ canadas of dende oil for the 120 enslaved Africans

⁸³ Hugh Crow also claimed that slaves were provided with palm oil to apply after baths, as it was "their favorite cosmetic." Crow, *Memoirs*, 147; Svalesen, *Slave Ship Fredensborg*, 112, 119. ⁸⁴ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 41 f. 82.

⁸⁵ Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 121-122.

 ⁸⁶ In comparison, in the same year 253 *pipas* of oil from Portugal were imported to the captaincy at a value of 25:300\$000 reis, APEB, Secção Colonial e Provincial no. 138, 278.
 87 ANRI, Junto do Commercio, Fábricas e Navegações, Caixa 410, *Divina Providencia*, 5.

who had recently arrived on his plantation. ⁸⁸ The inclusion of palm oil among slave food stores—purchased rather than cultivated, imported rather than locally produced and used as a condiment or seasoning rather than as an essential staple—signals the possibility that African slaves residing in rural Bahia were capable of exerting some control and choice over their diets, and that their owners would accommodate their preferences.

Palm oil was even more abundant in urban settings. Travelers to the captaincy's port city observed the ubiquity of African derived foodstuffs on the streets of Salvador throughout the nineteenth century. Thomas Lindley, an English traveler, noted that the African majority residing in Salvador in 1802 were "indulged to licentiousness, not-overworked, and enjoying their native vegetable food, the negroes are cheerful and content." Though a series of revolts in the city beginning in 1807 belied Lindley's assertion of contentment, other sources confirm that African vegetation—including the "African eggplant," okra and sesame—had been present in the northeast of Brazil since the late-seventeenth century after having been introduced by Angolan slaves. Some observers characterized these African derived foods made with imported West African oil including "mocotós ... carurus, vatapás, mingaus, pamonhas," and fritters fried in the same substance: "papas de milho, acassás, acarajées, abarás" as "insignificant and vile." As the nineteenth century wore on, common street foods prepared by Africans were widely consumed. James Wetherell noted in the mid nineteenth century that "Carrarú is a dish eaten by the blacks, but is much esteemed by the whites, and is, to my tastes very delicious. It is made of fish or fowl,

⁸⁸ APEB, Secção Judiciária, Inventario de Manoel Francisco Moreira, Salvador, 1836, 05/1959/2431/04.

⁸⁹ Verger, Trade Relations, 430.

⁹⁰ Carney, In the Shadow of Slavery, 124.

⁹¹ Luis dos Santos Vilhena, *A Bahia do século XVIII*, vol. 1 (Salvador: Itapuã, 1969), 130.

several kinds of vegetables cut small [principally okra] ... all mixed with palm oil." By the end of the century, anthropologist Nina Rodrigues characterized the culinary culture of Africans and their descendants in late nineteenth century as the dominant food source in urban Salvador, the preparation of which was controlled by African women, who "in shops or quitandas [street stalls], in the doorways of homes, or in the streets carrying trays, are the practitioners of the urban prepared food commerce, especially in African cuisine, which is representative of the tastes of the population, including condiments, fruits, vegetables, and products from the African coast (xoxo, abuxo, palm oil, banha, obi..." As Richard Graham argues, foodstuffs prepared by African women were the most predominant marketable goods in the city during the nineteenth century. The diversity of ingredients and their origins as well as the methods of preparation (including grilled meats and fish, stews, fritters and porridges combined American—manioc, corn—and African derived ingredients—okra, palm oil, rice) indicates that Afro-Bahian culinary habits cannot be simply characterized as African "retentions." Not only was the food produced by African women diverse, but so was the clientele consuming these aliments, items such as palm oil, okra and black eyed peas were identified as African in origin by foreign observers, but the monopoly that female African ambulant vendors held on the city's prepared food supply also meant that Africanderived ingredients and food preparations were consumed by a wide swath of the city's population, where they were absorbed into a broader urban culinary culture.

West African foodstuffs may have been initially prized by displaced, isolated and newly arrived captives due to familiarity and the centrality of these ingredients to culinary

⁹² James Wetherell, Stray Notes from Bahia, (Liverpool: Webb and Hunt, 1860), 123

⁹³ Nina Rodrigues, Os Africanos no Brasil, Ed. 3 (São Paulo: Companhia Editoria Nacional, 1945), 173.

⁹⁴ Richard Graham, Feeding the City: From Street Market to Liberal Reform in Salvador, Brazil: 1780-1860 (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2010), 41.

habits and experiences that pre-dated personal enslavement. It is also equally likely, however, that the social and cultural meanings attached to palm oil and its consumption were redefined within a new context. Rodrigues' assertion that Afro-Bahian cuisine represented the "tastes of the population" reflects Pricila Parkhurst Ferguson's contention that food functions not merely as a commodity or as simple subsistence, but rather a "cultural field," through which certain values and aesthetics are selected, asserted and assessed by group consensus. 95 In Ferguson's analysis, food acts as an identity marker. For Sidney Mintz, food and communal choices about which foods to consume reveal food's function as an instrument in creating social investments in a particular community. As Mintz argues, food is a central means of social reproduction. ⁹⁶ West African market women, ambulant vendors and quintandeiras culinary choices suggest that they selectively appropriated aspects of Native American diets and vegetation, while also incorporating items they would have been familiar with in their homelands. These choices distinguished them by highlighting their African derivation, but also achieved the practical aims of providing a source of income and, in Graham's words, "fed the city." These culinary choices, both practical and symbolic, helped to define both a distinctive African identity through a tangible and visible connection to West Africa, as well as a broader Salvadorian identity based on the intermingling of diverse material cultures. And though they produced food for a broad swath of Salvador's population, these women were the predominant consumers of palm oil either by purchasing it, or perhaps acquiring it through their personal relationships with the African mariners who brought *dendê* into the port.

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⁹⁵ Pricilla Parkhurst Ferguson, Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1-10.

⁹⁶ Sidney W. Mintz and Christine M. DuBois, "The Anthropology of Food and Eating," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002), 109-110.



Figure 4.3. A Bahian market woman and a fisherman meeting

Johann Moritz Rugendas, Voyage Pittoresque dans le Bresil. Traduit de l'Allemand (Paris, 1835)97

African (and sometimes Brazilian born) women were also the primary consumers of the *pannos da costa*, using the imported West African textiles as a prominent feature of their very distinctive dress. In the mid nineteenth century British traveler James Wetherell described the unique and elegant character of local dress for "black women":

The upper part of the dress above the petticoat is made of fine muslin, plain or worked, sometimes so transparent as to form scarcely a cover for the body from the waist upwards. The part round the bust is edged with broad lace; small armlets, richly worked, are joined with a double gold button; this upper part of the dress is so loose that one shoulder of the woman almost always remains bare. The skirt of the dress is very voluminous forming a complete circle when placed upon the ground; the lower edge is bordered with lace or

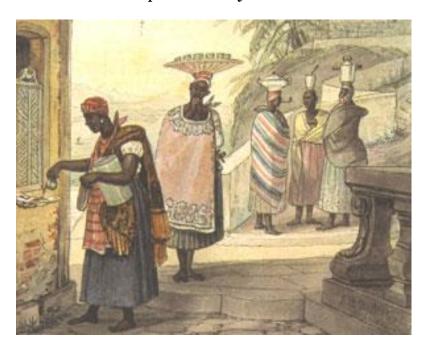
⁹⁷ "Fish Seller, Bahia, Brazil, 1830s," Image NW0282, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library

has a white arabesque pattern sewed upon it; the inner petticoat is likewise edged with lace. The feet, bare are inserted into small shoes, which just cover the tips of the toes, and the heels very high and small, do not reach the heel of the foot. The arms are covered with bracelets of coral and gold beads, &c. The neck loaded with chains and the hands with rings ... **A handsome coast cloth** is thrown over the shoulder. These cloths are woven into small stripes of colored cotton from two to four inches wide in striped or checked patterns and the slips sewed together to form a shawl....the favorite color now is bluish gray ground with dull crimson stripes. A large handkerchief of white net or lace or colored muslin with white lace border or black net is most gracefully made into a turban for the head, and curious earrings complete the costume. Spite the ridiculous shoes the women walk in a very graceful manner occasionally when handsomely dressed.⁹⁸

The amalgam of diverse textiles worn by African and creole women, including muslin, lace, netting, calico and *pannos da costa*, indicates a marked tendency towards appropriation of material from various origins—including West Africa, Europe, India and Brazil—as well as the creation of a variable patchwork of formerly distinct styles, resulted in a unique style of dress derived from African, American and European influences. The silhouette described by Wetherell, a circular full skirt with several layers, reveals a reference to feminine styles prevalent in Europe, while the shoulder baring muslin top, and accumulation of gold bracelets were indicative of the availability of that precious metal in Brazil as well as the necessity of wearing light clothing in the tropical climate of the city. Intermingled with gold ornamentation were coral amulets and bracelets probably derived from the "large corals" imported from West Africa such as those carried by Mina barber Domingos do Rozario on the *São Miguel de Triunfante*. No references exist to West African men residing in Brazil wearing coral jewelry, although many wore gold in ear and nose piercings.

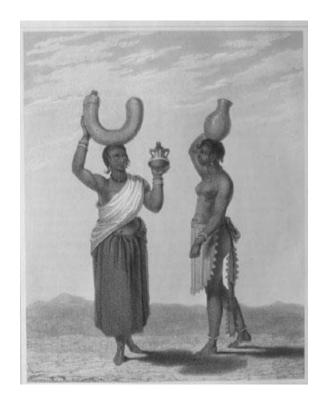
⁹⁸ James Wetherell, quoted in Verger, Trade Relations, 464.

Figure 4.4. Bahian Women in Imperial Rio de Janeiro



Jean Baptiste-Debret, *Viagem pitoresca e histoórica ao Brasil, Vol. 2* (Belo Horizonte: Editora Itatiaia; São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1989), prancha 52

Figure 4.5. Market women in the Upper Niger Region, 1822-1824



Dixon Denham, Narrative Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824 (London, 1826), facing p. 46.⁹⁹

The use of pannos da costa as a kind of cape or a shawl appears to be constant for both African and Brazilian born women, and is similar to how the "wrapper" was used in the Lower Niger Basin in West Africa during the same period. Many travelers make reference to pannos da costa, indicating it was common knowledge that these textiles originated in West Africa, and that Brazilian traders in Onim and Allada were the primary purchasers of these cotton cloths, which were "held ... in much estimation by the black population [there]; probably not only on account of its durability, but because it is manufactured in a country which gave many of them, or their parents, birth." Another observer noted that Brazilian ships frequented Onim "in search of this merchandise [textiles] so highly esteemed by the peoples of African origin transplanted to those distant lands." The stripped or checkered patterns on cotton textiles dyed with indigo and woven on vertical hand looms by women in in the Lower Niger basin were distinctive to the region, and easily identifiable. 102 The inland West African polity Oyo was the center of production in the early nineteenth century, and by the end of the eighteenth century weavers had begun to incorporate red thread taken from Indian taffeta imported by slave traders, making designs even more complex. Textiles were then transported to coastal polities like Benin and Oyo, although constant unrest and

⁹⁹ Kanemboo [Kanem] market women ... unmarried woman of Soudan," Image Reference 046 as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite, and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and the University of Virginia Library.

John Adams, Sketches taken during ten voyages to Africa between the years 1786 and 1800... (London: Hurst, Robinson and Co.: 1822), 25; Verger, Trade Relations, 416, 449.

¹⁰¹ Philip Curtin, Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 263.

¹⁰² Men wove horizontal strips of cloth four inches wide. Curtin, Africa Remembered, 232.

violence in the region continually interrupted and displaced production. ¹⁰³ The intensive labor, and specialized knowledge required to make *pannos de costa* explains the considerable monetary value of these textiles in Brazil. As James Wetherell revealed that in 1860, one fabric cost 50\$000 reis; the wearer thus had to have access to monetary income in order to purchase one. ¹⁰⁴ The value of this textile may also explain the prevalence of *pannos de costa* in the dress of African and Creole women, but not men. As Luis Nicolau Pares has explained, African women living in urban Bahia were often more independent and financially secure than African men, as their predominance in ambulant vending in the city allowed them greater access to currency and the significant disposable income necessary for the purchase of an expensive decorative textile. ¹⁰⁵

Textiles, like food, are not just commodities or objects, but are also endowed with significant social meanings. Just as cloths imported from Europe and Asia in West Africa were coveted for the social status and distinction they lent their wearer, rare and expensive *pannos da costa* in Bahia performed a similar role. These textiles were considered just as luxurious as gold jewelry for African and American born women alike. This sartorial prestige would have been a useful support for women who conducted their lives on the street, attracting customers through their rich appearance as well as the products they were selling. Wearing such garb was not simply a form of cultural expression; itinerant market women sold these textiles as well.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Colleen E. Kriger, *Cloth In West African History* (Oxford: Altamira Press, 2006), 131-134.

¹⁰⁴ Verger, *Trade Relations*, 465.

¹⁰⁵ Luis Nicolau Parés, *The Formation of Candomblé: Vodun History and Ritual in Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 97-98.

¹⁰⁶ Verger, Trade Relations, 463.

These material goods, in addition to displaying one's symbolic association with West Africa, also provided income for West Africans living in Bahia and connected Africans residing in the city to those in the hinterlands. Furthermore, pannos da costa imported from West Africa to Salvador were distributed to consumers living outside the city through the social and commercial networks which freed Africans living in the port created with enslaved and freed Africans and Creoles in the rural interior residing on plantations. In 1797, the same year in which the Board of trade estimated imports of pannos da costa and palm oil at 6:000\$000 reis annually, Portuguese observer Luis dos Santos Vilhena lamented the ease with which local black women (both enslaved and free) acting as ambulant petty vendors were able to monopolize textiles and food stuffs arriving in Salvador's active harbor. These women dotted the streets carrying "small boxes of cloth, most of it contraband, pilfered or purchased from foreign vessels ... which leave loaded with money." Cloth from the Mina and Guinea coasts was even more prized, as they were imported free of tax for local vendors (unlike European or Asian textiles). These petty vendors or ganhadeiras colluded with soldiers, and also utilized protection from their owners in order to evade paying customs on imported cloth. Vilhena further explained that "no one disturbs them nor demands account from them out of respect to the powerful houses to which they belong." Similar to Richard Graham's depiction of the near complete control urban black women exercised over the city's food supply as small scale vendors, African (as well as other) textiles were circulated by the same population, eventually becoming ubiquitous on the streets of Salvador and beyond.

In 1807, when Antônio, a Gege slave of Manoel Pereira Mimozo was arrested by Bahian authorities in his *senzala* (slave quarters) on the Osso do Boi plantation in Santa Anna de Cattu, he was found sleeping with three African freedmen from Salvador. Jozé, Agostinho and Benedito, who were also Geges had come to Cattu to sell *pannos de costa* to the

Africans living on Antônio's plantation and surrounding ones. Antônio's wife, identified as Jeronima Crioula—also a slave of Manoel Pereira Mimozo—denied claims that Jozé, Agostinho and Benedito had come to their home to surreptitiously practice Candomblé; instead, she claimed they were honorable vendors of chicken and textiles who slept in her home in order to conduct business. The men were also there to visit another enslaved Gege man Benedito, who was residing on the same plantation and corroborated Jeronima's story. Benedito claimed the men as close friends who encouraged him to join their venture by distributing their goods in the rural parish, Jozé, Agostinho and Benedito had characterized their trade of *pannos da costa* as a "good business," suggesting that the demand for decorative textiles was significant in the interior as well as urban Salvador. Benedito also revealed that the three men had other business partners residing in the area including *Cabra* woman Efigenia, to whom they delivered textiles to be distributed in Sitío da Palma. ¹⁰⁷

This small-scale commercial network, built on the sociability of Africans of the same ethnic derivation residing in both the city and the interior demonstrates how elaborate the exchange of West African goods had become by the early nineteenth century. Articles manufactured in the West African interior in the Niger River basin made their way to the coast in the hands of merchants involved in the slave trade. Once there, freed and enslaved African mariners purchased them and transported them across the Atlantic. As they arrived in port in Bahia, they were either purchased or given to African vendors in the city. A portion of these articles were then transported and sold into the interior by mobile African freedmen and their rural associates. At each node of this long journey, Africans and their descendants were involved in or controlled the production, exchange and consumption of

¹⁰⁷ Rachel E. Harding, A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 173-175.

such commodities. Historians have debated the extent to which enslaved men and women living in Bahia during this time period created their own economies of commodity and currency exchange, with most focusing on how enslaved individuals marketed surplus agricultural products cultivated on slave provisions located on rural plantations. This study suggests that equally important as the domestic production of commodities by enslaved and freed people in early nineteenth century city of Salvador and its surroundings were materials procured through the transatlantic trade by African petty traders for African consumers.

Conclusion

The micro-economics of the Bahian slave trade allows us to reevaluate our understanding of the life trajectories and quotidian experiences of enslaved Africans in the South Atlantic. West African peoples' relationship to the transatlantic slave trade cannot be reduced to simply one of victimization as they were transformed, passively, from human beings to objectified and exploited commodities. West Africans on both the African continent and in Brazil engaged with the emerging Atlantic commerce as consumers, traders and laborers, even after the point which they had been enslaved and displaced. This evidence also allows us to reassess our understanding of the operation and inter-personal dynamics of the transatlantic slave trade. The commercial and personal relationships created through transatlantic trade were dynamic and fluid rather than intractable and predetermined. Power, agency and choice were not sole province of European actors and their descendants, even on board the sometimes volatile, tense, and terror filled environment of the slave ship. Rather, Bahian transatlantic commercial practices were quite compatible with the material preferences, commercial agency and influence of West Africans as long as those preferences

¹⁰⁸ B.J. Barikman, "A Bit of Land, Which They Call Roça," 665; Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 159.

and actions facilitated the profit, longevity and stability of the trade. Particularly telling is the willingness of slaving ship owners and captains to allow their bondsmen to engage in transatlantic commercial activity, an accord that would not have been permitted if it threatened their ultimate aims. By giving their captives a measure of autonomy and agency, they gained loyalty and cooperation from enslaved Africans tasked with carrying out skilled labor such as navigation, carpentry, cooking, medical treatment and translation on board slaving ships and on the West African coast.

CHAPTER 5

Healers, the Bahian Slave Trade and the Circulation of African-Derived Medicinal Knowledge in the Atlantic World

On December 1, 1827, the slaving patacho¹ *Novo Dispique* left the port of Molembo with a small of cargo of 118 enslaved Africans contained in its hold and a sizable crew of 24 men.² The ship's owner, Antônio Pedroso de Albuquerque, was just embarking on a long career as the owner of several slaving vessels, while the captain of the patacho, Antônio Lacerda Peixoto, would only serve on a slaving vessel once more.³ Problems arose in the initial days at sea, however, as slaves on board began to display signs of illness; two weeks later, fourteen bonds people had died from a disease that the captain speculated they had contracted while still on the African coast. The mortality rate of this particular voyage (11.9%) was by no means anomalous. As a result of highly infectious conditions created by over-packing slaves into poorly ventilated cargo holds—often without sufficient food and water—mortality rates for slaving vessels arriving in Bahia between the years 1776 and 1830 averaged 6.8%.⁴

¹ A patacho or pataxo is a small, two masted ship.

² One year later the same vessel was recorded as having carried 449 slaves to Bahia. *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, voyage identification number 46978, accessed July 22, 2014.

³ Including the Brig *Novo Brihante* (1825), the Brig *Principe de Guiné* (1826 captured by British anti-slaving vessel), the Brigantine *Venus* (1827 condemned by the mixed commission), the Brig *Venturoso* (1827 condemned by Mixed Commission), the Brigantine *Crioula* (1827 condemned), Schooner *Terceira Rosalia* (1828, condemned), Brig *Pedrososo* (1829) the schooner *Campeadora* (1830), the Schooner *Flor de Etiopia* (1830), the Brig *Veloz* (1836, condemned slave insurrection) the Schooner *Coquete* (1840), Schooner-brig *Picão* (1841 x 3, 1842), *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, accessed July 22, 2014.

⁴ Joseph C. Miller, Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730-1830 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 428-442. Between the years 1831 and 1851, mortality of captives rose sharply and averaged 19.9 percent, thus the period described represents a nadir of captive deaths during the transatlantic voyage, see David Eltis and David Richardson, Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 185-187.

Ignoring such factors, however, Captain Peixoto was convinced that the blame for the journey's disastrous beginning could be laid entirely at the feet of the ship's sangrador,⁵ the freed Gege man Pedro Antônio de Oiteiro, who had disembarked with the crew at Salvador. The treatment of the dying captives was the crux of the matter, with Peixoto charging that Oiteiro had failed to apply any remedies from the ship's medicine chest or improve the diets of captives with fading health. Oiteiro had, in his captain's mind, failed to apply treatments which were in keeping with the "manner of the trade." Furthermore, Peixoto charged that the African sangrador had not even been able to diagnose the illnesses that afflicted the terminally ill slaves. As a result of these accusations, Oiteiro was expelled by the captain of the Novo Dispique, a drastic move that forced the other officers (including Peixoto) to take over his duties, despite their "lack of practice" and knowledge of medical techniques. The captain's allegations delineate the repertoire of duties expected of medical personnel aboard slaving vessels, which included those labeled sangradores, barbers and surgeons. These obligations included identifying illness, formulating and dispensing effective medicines, treating wounds as well as monitoring the diets and overall health of captives and thus preventing the spread of infectious diseases on board ships.

As significant as the delegation of these practices, however, was Peixoto's insistence that he, as well as the other officers, had been betrayed by the "deceitful" African man, in whose abilities they had placed their "good faith" to keep the captives below decks alive. The slavers' declaration of trust in the skills of Oiteiro was perhaps used to guarantee that owner of the *Novo Dispique* would delegate all responsibility for the lost profits caused by dead captives to the *sangrador*, and ensure that he and the other officers would avoid

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⁵ Sangrador literally translates to "blood-letter."

⁶ NAL, FO 315/41, Papers of the *Penha da França*, letters no. 12 and 17.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ NAL, FO 315/41, Papers of the *Penha da França*, letter no. 17.

culpability themselves. Alternatively, however, Peixoto's characterization suggests the degree of responsibility (and corresponding power) that white captains frequently ceded to *sangradores* and barbers, the vast majority of whom were African, and a proportion of whom were enslaved.

As this chapter shows, such healers were often highly valued and well compensated for their skilled labor, comprising the most affluent and upwardly mobile contingent of black mariners within the port city of Salvador. These men were charged with the most important of tasks. Owners and captains expected that their African medical personnel would be effective at maintaining the health of crews and slaves alike. But African and Creole sangradores and barbers working as healers aboard slave ships also occupied a precarious position. On board, healers worked in the most dangerous of circumstances, treating slaves within tight enclosures and coming in to contact with highly infections captives and deadly pathogens. In addition, white captains had a propensity to view African and Creole lay healers as both incompetent and sometimes dangerous. As Oiteiro's case demonstrates, such men were often subject to scapegoating if they failed to maintain the health and thus value of the precious human cargo aboard. A fraught task, the factors which most influenced the health of captives—including quality and amounts of rations, space allotted to each captive below decks, health before boarding ships, and voyage length—were outside the control of sangradores and barbers. Illustrative of just how subjective assessments of the effectiveness of African sangradores and barbers by white captains could be, Oiteiro was not banished from the Bahian trade with his reputation in ruins. Rather, within two years he was hired to labor on another slaving vessel, the *Emilia*, and served without incident. All told, the case of Oiteiro points to the ways in which the efficacy of African and creole healers' labor aboard

⁹ NAL, FO 315/43 No. 23, Papers of the Emilia.

ships—evincing a syncretic approach to healing informed by *both* African and European knowledge—was subject to the imperatives of commerce, evolving medical discourses, and intensifying notions of racial hierarchy.

Centrally, this chapter also argues that African medical practitioners laboring in the Bahian slave trade were also part of a larger transatlantic circulation of medical knowledge and materials centered on and facilitated by the transatlantic trade in human beings. In the Portuguese commercial world, slave traders to Spanish America merchants had begun to employ African lay healers as early as the seventeenth century to treat enslaved men and women once they arrived in port. 10 By the eighteenth century, it became commonplace to assume that Africans could care better for Africans. From the dawn of the nineteenth century on, however, academically-trained, European health practitioners increasingly questioned and attempted delegitimize the healing knowledge and quality of care provided by African practitioners. In turn, these medical professionals attempted to influence Crown policy, which dictated the official (often ignored) standards of health care and nutrition of slaves below the decks of sailing vessels. 11 Making a claim to intellectual supremacy, European trained surgeons' increasing argued for the essential incompetence of African medical practitioners, an argument that was buttressed by growing assumptions about the racial and intellectual inferiority of black-skinned people. Despite these developments, Africans, continued to comprise the overwhelming majority of all sangradores and barbers laboring in the Bahian slave trade, mirroring the composition of Bahia's population of medical practitioners as a whole. This was unique in the Atlantic world; on

¹¹ Miller, Way of Death, 434-5.

¹⁰ Linda A. Newson and Susie Minchin, From Capture to Sale: the Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century (Boston: Leiden, 2007), 273.

both French and British slaving vessels, medical practitioners were uniformly European,¹² and by the late eighteenth century were entirely trained in the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh and Trinity College in Dublin.¹³

This unique class of laborers on Bahian slave ships thus operated at the intersection of the various and often competing imperatives of commercial agents, scientists, and colonial administrators. Imperial prerogatives to lessen shipboard mortality rates of slaves, merchants' efforts to keep investment costs on slaving voyages low by employing inexpensive labor, and competing claims to healing knowledge by physicians and African barbers and *sangradores* all contributed to healers' ambiguous and sometimes precarious position. Yet during this period, the Luso-African trade became a site of medical knowledge exchange, which offered a space open to African medical practitioners' creativity, knowledge and agency. Some scholars, such as James Sweet, Karol K Weaver, and Sharla M. Fett, have argued that such influence was essentially counter-hegemonic, or that Africans in the Americas created a counter-culture of medicine and health. In the Bahian case, however, no such clear conclusion can be reached. In their appropriation of both European and Amerindian remedies in their therapies, African medical practitioners working aboard slaving ships remained crucial in sustaining the longevity and profitability of the transatlantic slave trade by maintaining low mortality rates among enslaved Africans.

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¹² Richard B. Sheridan, "The Guinea Surgeons on the Middle Passage: The Provision of Medical Services in the British Slave Trade," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14:4 (1981), 611.

¹³ Sheridan, "Guinea Surgeons," 612.

¹⁴ James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Karol K. Weaver, *Medical Revolutionaries: The Enslaved Healers of Eighteenth-Century Saint Domingue* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Sharla M. Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health and Power on Southern Slave Plantations*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Medicine in Colonial Brazil

In contrast to British and French models of slaving, academically trained doctors never became common place on Bahian vessels. ¹⁵ In lieu of formally-trained surgeons and physicians, Bahian ships instead relied on barbers and *sangradores*. ¹⁶ Ironically, the two maritime personnel with the greatest influence over captive health—the barber or *sangrador* and the cook were usually black or African on Bahian slaving vessels. The predominance of lay African born medical practitioners in Bahia also mirrored other colonial Brazilian urban centers with majority black and enslaved populations such as Rio de Janeiro. This is in part explicable when one considers the development of medical institutions in Brazil. Until 1808, when the newly relocated Portuguese Crown created the *Fisicatura Mor* (Royal Medical College), the colony lacked medical schools and other forms of institutionalized medical knowledge.

This absence forestalled the ascendance of academically trained surgeons over lay practitioners. Instead, a paucity of credentialed surgeons in the Portuguese colony led to a proliferation of barbers who were trained—similarly to other artisans—by a master barber in barbershops where practitioners performed a range of services including cutting hair, pulling teeth, bleeding patients and performing minor surgeries. They acquired knowledge and practice through application of their trade under supervision, rather than the abstract study of medical treatises and theories of nutrition, disease and pharmacopeia. Furthermore,

¹⁵ James Walvin, *The Zong: A Massacre, the Law and the End of Slavery* (New Haven: Yale Press, 2011), 53. After the passage of the Dolben's Act in 1788, British vessels were required to have a surgeon on board. Moreover, surgeons represented the vast majority of medical personnel on British slave ships.

¹⁶ A.J.R. Russell-Wood argues for the predominance of Africans, African descendants in the eighteenth century throughout Brazil. In Bahia from 1741-49, of 38 registered barbers 17 sere slaves and 21 were free blacks or *pardos*. In 1810-22 of 33 barbers, 13 were free blacks or *pardos*, while 20 were slaves. A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1982), 57.

barbers—unlike the numerous African and creole lay healers (or *curandeiros*) who also roamed urban streets and plazas—received authorization from the Portuguese Crown to ply their trade in the form of temporary and permanent licenses (*provisões* or *cartas*) which were often paid for by their owners, slaving ship captains, master barbers or the owners of the shops in which they were employed. As both Tânia Salgado Pimenta and Mariza de Carvalho Soares point out, the granting of licenses to African (both enslaved and freed) barbers and *sangradores* legitimized the range of medical therapies they performed, as well as the profession itself. Licenses also served to endorse the competency of individual practitioners through the administration of exams before certification. Undoubtedly, the royal government's attempts to institutionalize and regulate *sangradores* and barbers developed from a recognition that African medical practitioners were already an integral part of the colonial slave society in which a sizable portion of the population was chronically ill and largely incapable of paying for treatment by European physicians and surgeons.

In the port city of Salvador, for instance, the unfavorable combination of endemic poverty, malnutrition, poor urban sanitation, frequently rancid food and medical provisions contributed to insalubrious living conditions for most of the city's freed and enslaved population. In addition, the routine introduction of epidemic diseases such as leprosy, yellow fever, and dysentery by sailors, slaves and passengers on ships arriving from Asian, African and European ports heightened a perilous epidemiological environment. ¹⁹ Damp and

¹⁷ Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "African Barbeiros in Brazil Slave Ports," in Jorge Canizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, James Sidbury, eds., *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 218.

¹⁸ Soares, "African Barbeiros," 218; Tânia Salgado Pimenta, "Terapeutas Populares e Instituições Médicas Na Primeira Metade do Século XIX," in Sidney Chalhoub, Vera Regina Beltrao Marques, Gabriela dos Reis Sampaio, Carlos Roberto Galvão Sobrinho, eds., *Artes e Oficios de Curar no Brazil* (Campinas: Editoria Unicamp, 2003), 311.

¹⁹ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists*: The Santa Casta de Misericordia of Bahia, 1550-1755 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 260-271, 288-290.

unsanitary living conditions in Salvador's crowded lower city, especially during the heavy rains in the summer months of November, December, and January exacerbated outbreaks of respiratory and pulmonary infections such as tuberculosis, rheumatic fever and agues.²⁰ Heavy rains also tended to wash animal and human waste into low lying areas of the city, where many poor and enslaved lived, resulting in increased incidents of dysentery and typhoid.²¹

The French artist Jean-Baptiste Debret noted that slaves in early nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro were particularly susceptible to respiratory disease for which they sought treatment from the city's ambulant "African surgeons." Debret attributed the prevalence of these ailments to alcoholism rather than environment, however, while identifying a number of parasitic ailments and contagious skin diseases he viewed as endemic to the enslaved population, including scabies and boils. ²² Other observers observed yaws (a type of treponematosis that caused a nonveneral form of syphilis), ²³ the so-called "guinea worm" (nematode parasites) which was contracted through drinking water contaminated with fleas caring *D. medinensis* and afflicted the intestines, ²⁴ and "bicho de pe," a painful skin disease caused by the penetration of sand fleas (*Tunga penetrans*) into the feet. ²⁵ These maladies commonly afflicted enslaved and African people. Though the latter parasite originated in the Americas and was only introduced to western Africa through sand carried as ballast by slaving vessels from Brazil, contemporary doctors such as Luiz Antônio de Oliveira Mendes

²⁰ Russell-Wood notes that in November and December of 1742, and the first eight months of the following year there were over 5,000 deaths from respiratory related illnesses in the city, see Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists*, 289.

²¹ Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, 289.

²² Jean-Baptist Debret, *Viagem Pitoresca e Historica ao Brasil*, Vol. I (São Paulo: Editoria da Universidade de São Paulo, 1972), 268.

²³ Miller, Way of Death, 429.

²⁴ Weaver, Medical Revolutionaries, 24.

²⁵ Jorg Heukelbach, "Tungiasis," Revista do Instituto de Medicina Tropical de São Paulo 47:6 (São Paulo, 2005), 307-313.

associated the disease with indigenous Angolans and newly arrived African slaves to Brazil.²⁶ In his characterization, Mendes echoed a broader impression of the enslaved, and especially of the newly arrived *boçais* (un-acculturated) as especially disease-ridden (*bichados*).²⁷ An account from 1847 described the symptoms and treatment of the infamous and pervasive *bicho*:

It first appears as a slight spec, and is surrounded shortly by a livid colour. It soon increases and forms a bag, filled with young, which requires to be skilfully removed, otherwise, if the bag be broken there may be some left in the skin. From constant practice, the blacks are the best operators. After extraction, snuff, or lime scraped from the white-washed walls, is generally put into the wounds to kill the embryo bicho, should such be left. Erisypelas has been known to supervene in cases where the *bicho* has been carelessly taken out, and blacks are occasionally met with who have lost their toes consequent upon unskillful extraction.²⁸

In response to the pervasiveness of chronic illness in the enslaved and freed black urban population of Salvador, African *curandeiros*, midwives, barbers and *sangradores* specialized their healing skills not only according to nature of the ailments they treated and the manner of therapy they provided, but also according to which segment of populace they served. Debret, for instance, distinguished between ambulant barbers—who served *escravos de ganho* laboring on urban streets as porters, food and textile vendors, sailors, errand boys and artisans, mostly providing haircuts and shaves—and barbers who labored in shops, whom the Frenchman characterized as "master[s] of a thousand talents." The latter group, Debret observed, had access to a broader range of tools and were able to skillfully perform a range of therapies included barbering, bleeding, tooth extraction, and the application of leeches.²⁹

²⁶ Luiz Antônio de Oliveira Mendes, *Memorias economicas da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa para...* (Lisboa: Typografia da Mesma Academia, 1812), 56.

²⁷ Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, 261-2.

²⁸ James Wetherell, Brazil. Stray Notes from Bahia: Being Extracts from Letters, &c., During a Residence of Fifteen Years (London: Webb and Hunt, 1860), 18.

²⁹ Zepher L. Frank, *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 109. An observer also noted in

The clientele of barbers located in modest shops were observed to be more varied, and included middle class urban residents as well as impoverished or enslaved Africans.³⁰ Another category identified by Debret—"African surgeons"—a group who likely considered themselves either curandeiros or sangradores, diagnosed illnesses, provided medications, talismans, and applied blistering cups and bled patients in public streets and squares.³¹ Furthermore, these ambulant healers provided "comfort" and solutions to African and enslaved men and women who did not have access to alternate means of treatment, including those whose masters did not provide medical care (some wealthier houses contracted surgeons to treat their slaves) or freed individuals who were too poor to afford the attention of a white or *Pardo* surgeon.³² Sometimes labeled "popular healers," these men (women were also present as assistants, or provided midwifery services to female friends and relatives)³³ provided vital medical attention for those who, due to malnutrition, poverty, overwork and heightened exposure to pathogens were most vulnerable to disease and injury. In return, medical practitioners were accorded respect and deference by the community of enslaved and freed Africans because of their unique and superior practical (as well as spiritual) knowledge.

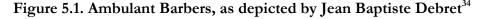
Salvador in 1844 that barbers were "not only expert at shaving and hair-cutting, but draws teeth and bleeds with leeches, besides being a musician; thus, whilst the master is performing any of the operations of his profession, his companions will endeavor to soothe the soul, or drown the cries of pain." See Wetherell, *Brazil*, 33.

³⁰ Debret, Viagem, 151.

³¹ Debret, Viagem, 268.

³² Debret, Viagem, 268.

³³ Debret, *Viagem*, 268; Pimenta, "Terapeutas Populares," 323.





Jean Baptiste Debret, *Viagem Pitoresca e Histórica ao Brasil, Vol. 1* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora-Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1972), Prancha 11

African medical practitioners served an almost exclusively black clientele. The proclivity for African healers to attract urban Salvador's enslaved population as patients extended to the city's slave trade, where African-born men made up 82 percent (43 of 52) of medical practitioners aboard ships where the birthplace of crew members was recorded between the years 1811 and 1829. In addition, Brazilian born men of at least partial African descent made up an additional 16 percent. Unlike the African barbers, *sangradores*, and curandeiros who treated blacks in the city, the predominance of Africans as medical personnel aboard slaving ships did not reflect the preferences of the men and women whom they treated. Instead, the captains and owners of ships contracted freedmen, or *escravos de ganho*, whose owners resided in Salvador. Others were the slaves of ship captains or owners, some of whom were prosperous slave merchants themselves. As such, the predominance of

³⁴ Debret, Viagem Pitoresca, 2:149-50 (plate 11).

³⁵ Joaquim de Moraes, a freed African and *Sangrador* on the *Emilia*, testified that he was appointed by the ship's owner Manoel Francisco Moreira. AHI, Coleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Lata 13, Maço 14, Pasta 1, Papers of the Ship *Emilia*, 345.

Africans laboring as barbers and *sangradores* in the Bahian slave trade reflected a *preference*; specifically, the view widely held by slavers that Africans were the most effective medical practitioners on slaving voyages.

Indeed, while Africans made up 46 percent of all maritime personnel on slaving vessels in the same period, they monopolized the positions of barber, surgeon and sangrador.³⁶ When the British and Portuguese crowns agreed to a partial abolition of the slave trade in African ports north of the equator in 1817, an amendment to the treaty enacted in 1818 stipulated that "If Surgeons do not sail on board such Vessels, on account of the impossibility of procuring them, or for some other reason equally conclusive, the Owners shall be obliged to carry with them black Sangradores, experienced in the treatment of diseases with which the Slaves are commonly afflicted, and in the remedies proper for curing them."³⁷ This sentiment expressed a widespread view that certain diseases were unique to geographic areas such as Africa, and that local peoples were more familiar with both the constitutions of those stricken with such diseases as well as how to treat them, and thus merchants often deferred to African therapists and caretakers to treat their enslaved property.

The notion that African-born people differed physiologically from Europeans because of differences in the climates of the two regions, and thus contracted distinctive illnesses which only other Africans understood how to treat, had precedent in eighteenth century understandings of race, theories of pathology and medical knowledge. In 1705, Dutchman Willem Bosman described the effectiveness of a number of botanical treatments used on the Gold Coast: "the chief Medicaments here in use are...Limon or Lime-juice, Malaget ... Cardamom, the Roots, Branches and Gumms of Trees, about thirty several sorts

³⁶ See Chapter 3.

³⁷ British and Foreign State Papers, 1820-1821 (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1830), 23.

of green Herbs which are impregnated with an extraordinary Sanative Virtue." Though Bosman noted that these remedies "seem[ed] pernicious ... [they were] found very successful," and he marveled that:

'tis much to be deplored that no European Physicians has yet applied himself to the discovery of their Nature and Virtue; for I don't only imagine, but firmly believe, that they would prove more successful in the practice of Physick than the European Preparations, especially in this Country, because before they reach us they have lost all their Virtue, and are mostly corrupted; Besides which our Constitution is in some measure changed here by the Climate; and therefore this Country Remedies, in all probability, are better for our Bodies than the European.

The unfamiliarity of the diseases and botanical medicines available in this new environment, however, rendered most European derived knowledge useless. For the treatment of a variety of illnesses common on the coast he explained: 'I have seen several of our country men cured by them [inhabitants of the Gold Coast] when our own physicians were at a loss what to do." He continued, "the strange Efficacy of these Herbs, that I have several times observed the Negroes cure such great and dangerous Wounds with them, that I have stood amazed thereat."

In 1708 Danish minister Johnnes Rask described how Africans on the Gold Coast near Accra prepared a mixture of ground malaguetta pepper and citron juice, water or brandy which they applied to their necks and faces for headaches, or on the back or limbs for muscle pain. Rask himself also sought this treatment when he contracted dysentery, explaining: "I have myself massaged with it every second hour, and have found some relief from the insufferable pain that accompanies that malady." The Dane was particularly

³⁸ Willem Bosman, A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea ... (London: James Knapton and Dan. Midwinter, 1705), 225.

³⁹ Bosman, A New and Accurate Description, 225.

⁴⁰ Johannes Rask, "A Brief and Truthful Description of a Journey to and from Guinea." In *Two Views from Christiansborg Castle*, trans, by Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Legon, Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009), 48.

sanguine about the various methods of medicine he encountered on the West African coast, explaining:

they [West African] know very well, how, very quickly to heal external soresfrom a cut or being pierced—better than our own doctors with all their expertise, if the injured one is not too badly hurt. And truly, it would be a very serious wound before they would not be able to heal it, and do it so well, as I have often seen with wonder. They moisten the would daily with water, but preferably with palm wine, if the injured person can tolerate it, and put that into the sore; they then dip a wick of linen fibre into the palm oil and put that on the sore. After that they rub all around the sore very well with that same oil, bind a cloth around it, and it does not take a long time before it is quite healed. Thus I have mused, when picturing our apothecaries in Europe—filled with countless beakers and glasses, boxes and bottles, from floor to ceiling; and thinking of the numerous saws, knives, stilettoes, scissors, forceps, awls with which our surgeons load their chests and cupboards—things of which the Negroes know nothing and have not even heard of them, yet they are much better suited than we are, as regards their health care.41

Like Rask, Europeans and Americans involved in the slave trade in various capacities also commonly sought treatment from African healers when in port, as a Brazilian sailor did when he sought relief from yaws near Christiansborg Castle in Accra. An enslaved agricultural hand at the Castle offered the sailor a variety of local nut widely known to be a treatment for the common ailment. After returning to his ship and experiencing a violent episode of pain, the man made a startling recovery and returned to thank the unnamed African for the "wonderful cure" he had given him. 42

The reliance on enslaved Africans to provide medical treatment extended to the slaving ship as well, as Europeans unfamiliar with local ailments deferred to their enslaved cargo. In 1760, Danish slave merchant Ludewig Ferdinand Romer explained in his Reliable Account of the Coast of Guinea:

A Ship's medicine chest should only contain anti-scorbutics and anti-

⁴² Rask, "Brief and Truthful Description," 112.

⁴¹ Rask, "Brief and Truthful Description," 113.

venerics. Should the slave fall victim to the (endemic) illnesses of the land, such as worms, etc., a couple of female slaves can be allowed to take over, after we have supplied them with mallaget and piment, palm oil, and citrons, from which they can prepare medicines, and the sick will feel well afterward.⁴³

And in 1737, the British barber-surgeon John Atkins described the effectiveness of West African treatments for "Chicoes or Worms," which entailed removing the worm over a course of days from the wound. British surgeons, Atkins believed, did not have the patience to perform such a treatment effectively. Other travelers to the West African coast similarly extolled indigenous remedies. T. Aubrey, another British mariner, criticized European doctors' overuse of bleeding and purging to treat African captives suffering from deadly fevers or smallpox, instead endorsing native treatments of keeping the ill hydrated and feeding them oranges. In 1745, William Smith complemented the efficacy of the healers on the Gold Coast, remarking:

in Sickness, as I have already observ'd, they use the utmost Diligence for a Recovery, and make Use of Physicians, who are, many of them, as great Cheats as any in Europe. I must however say, that the Medicaments, Plants, Herbs &c. have such Virtues here, that they really perform very surprising Cures. 46

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Habits, Buildings, Education, Manual Arts, Agriculture, Trade,... (London: printed for John Nourse, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar, 1745), 225.

⁴³ Abena Dove Osseo-Asare, *Bitter Roots: The Search for Healing Plants in Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 82-83.

⁴⁴ John Atkins, *The Navy-Surgeon*, 26-8. A more detailed description comes from the midnineteenth century at Jaqua-town: "A small semilunar incision was first made in the skin of the forearm, to expose the extremity of the worm, and moderate pressure used to facilitate its protrusion; it was then seized, and cautiously drawn forth to the extent of one or two inches. Two ligatures, constructed from the exsiccated fibers of some gramineous plant, were next applied to that portion of the worm nearest the orifice in the skin, the other part being nipped off; the extremities of both of these ligatures were of sufficient length to encircle the limb, round which they were fastened. A young plantain leaf, smeared over with palm oil, was then placed over the wound, and friction carefully employed with the same oleaginous fluid on the skin, along the course of the worm. This process was daily performed, and a small portion of the worm regularly exposed, until the whole was gradually withdrawn; a perfect cure being the result." 44

⁴⁵ Thomas Aubrey, *The Sea Surgeon, or the Guinea man's vade mecum...* (London, 1729), 107-8. ⁴⁶ William Smith, Surveyor, *A new voyage to Guinea: describing the customs, manners, soil, Climate,*

In a similar vein, the French governor of the Island of St. Louis, Jean Baptiste Durand, approvingly noted that within communities living on the banks of the Senegal River, "old women ... cure diseases, and fulfill their task with great zeal and astonishing success, particularly in cases of wounds; they employ simple herbs, which abound in fields and woods." He also concluded that "intermittent fevers" common in the area were regularly and effectively treated with local "simple remedies." At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Danish clergymen H.C. Monrad noted that because of the lack of European doctors on the Gold Coast, "we [Danes] sometimes place ourselves in the hands of the Negroes, who also concern themselves with treating [fever] ... They use a purgative agent which is made of the bark of a certain tree; of warm baths, in which there are various bitter and astringent herbs; and of cupping."

As Susan Scott Parrish has argued for Anglo-Americans, Portuguese merchants "constructed African expertise spatially, topically, and temporally rather than in an essential hierarchy of superior and inferior." Instead of insisting on the universal superiority of European physicians and European derived methods of medical treatment, Europeans on the West African coast deferred to the greater experience of indigenous medical practitioners in treating local diseases. In Brazil, acceptance (and sometimes endorsement) of heterodox medicinal practices was facilitated by the perceived African familiarity with ailments

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⁴⁷ Jean Baptiste Leonard Durand, A Voyage to Senegal: or Historical, Philosophical, and Political Memoirs... (London: Richard Phillip, 1806), 109.

⁴⁸ Durand, Voyage to Senegal, 109.

⁴⁹ H. C. Monrad, "A Description of the Guinea Coast and its Inhabitants," in *Two Views from Christiansborg Castle*, trans. by Selena Axelrod Winsnes (Legon, Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2009), 204.

⁵⁰ Susan Scott Parrish, "Diasporic African Sources of Enlightenment Knowledge," in James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, eds., *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 286.

particularly widespread in the enslaved African population, as well as the proper treatments necessary to cure them.

Slave Trade Barbers and Sangradores

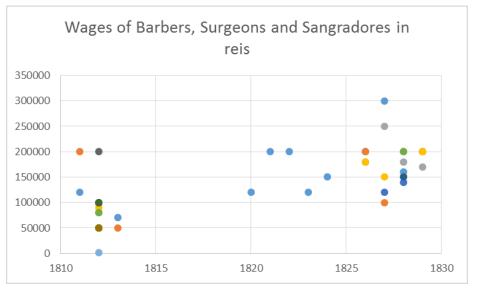
In the period from 1811 to 1829, a survey of 51 ships originating from Salvador that carried crew manifests reveals that 45 employed at least one medical practitioner, and seven employed two. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, therefore, over 88 percent of slaving vessels carried surgeons, sangradores, or barbers. All told, the vast majority of African captives transported by Bahian ships during this time period had access to some form of specialized medical care, although academically trained surgeons were extremely rare. At the beginning of the century, slaving merchants overwhelmingly favored contracting barbers to treat their crews and enslaved cargoes, with only nine percent of the 22 barbers registered in the years after 1815. In the period from 1815 to 1829, 28 sangradores were registered on Bahian ships, indicating a shift to slaving merchants employing almost exclusively bleeders on their vessels. In 1827, a freed African sangrador Francisco Joaquim dos Santos listed the specialties of his "art" as: bleeding, scarifying, applying cups and leeches." These duties exactly match those required of barbers in 1782 by the royal *Junta de Protomedicato*.⁵² Therefore, the prevalence of *sangradores* in the later period indicated a change in title rather than a shift in medical practices. In 1826 on the ship Vendedora, for instance, Vicente Francisco Camaxo's registered occupation was listed as "barber or sangrador," indicating that the two titles were indeed interchangeable. The wages of barbers, surgeons and sangradores likewise remained commensurate, though wages for all medical practitioners aboard slaving ships gradually increased during the initial decades of the nineteenth century (see figure 5.2).

⁵¹ Pimenta, "Terapeutas Populares," 307.

⁵² Jean Luiz Neves Abreu, *Nos Dominios do Corpo: O Saber Médico Luso-Brasileiro no Seculo XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fiocruz, 2011).

Medical personnel also continued to be the highest paid African and creole crew members aboard slaving ships, with compensation on a par with other officers (including quartermasters and coopers), though lower than mariners engaged in navigational duties.

Figure 5.2. Table of Wages



Medical personal not only treated valuable human commodities; they were also valuable themselves. If enslaved, their owners regularly appraised medical practitioners' value above other enslaved men working in skilled trades. In 1827, the prominent Bahian slave merchant and ship owner, José de Cerqueira Lima, argued that his enslaved *Sangrador* Barilio was worth 800\$000 reis because of his "fine figure," and his "great expertise at his art." Twelve other enslaved crew members, all common sailors and all "expert in the practice of the sea" were valued at 500\$000 reis. Five years earlier the owner of the *Nova Sorte* had estimated the value of two enslaved common sailors at 200\$000 reis each. While in 1812,

⁵³ AHI, Colleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Lata 18, Maço 3, Pasta 1, Papers of the Ship *Independencia*, 11.

⁵⁴ Lima's estimates were inflated for the period, however. The seasoned slaving merchant, whose ships were regularly seized by British anti-slaving forces most likely attempted to claim restitution at higher rates in order to profit.

⁵⁵ AHI, Coleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Lata 23, Maço 4, Pasta 1

the *Lindeza* had also appraised its enslaved sailors at the same value.⁵⁶

The heightened value attributed to the skill of barbers and *sangradores* allowed these men to experience greater economic and legal upward mobility than seafaring peers laboring in other occupations. Such men more frequently invested in slaving voyages, both in slaves and material goods, giving them a personal stake in the successful transportation of the enslaved cargo.⁵⁷ The recorded ages of slave trade barbers and sangradores indicates that they were usually younger than the other officers aboard, and most likely were younger than African and creole medical practitioners on land, with 76.5 percent below the age of 40 (See Figure 5.3). The youngest sangrador was seventeen years old. The paucity of middle aged barbers and sangradors in crew manifests likely reflected their upward social trajectory. Their inexperience and enslaved status could depress their wages, and thus make them more affordable for merchants looking to cut costs. Multiple successful voyages, however, could lead to barbers amassing a sizable enough personal wealth to purchase manumission. Fully 48.7 percent of African and creole barbers were freed, a much higher percentage than the general population of Salvador.⁵⁸ Many freed African healers likely left the slave trade altogether, preferring to labor in less dangerous circumstances, though the high retention of freedmen in the ranks of slaving ship crews illustrates that the lucrative nature of seafaring work continued to attract medical practitioners to the trade. African sangrador Joaquim de Moraes, for instance had lived in Salvador for seven years, but had already secured manumission, pointing not only to the frequency of manumission for medical practitioners

⁵⁶ AHI, Coleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Lata 19, Maço 3, Pasta 2.

⁵⁷ British barber-surgeons also were permitted to buy "privilege slaves" on the African coast as a condition of their employment. Sheridan, "Guinea Surgeons," 610.

⁵⁸ The percentage of freed Africans working in the slave trade in Salvador was also much higher than what Mariza de Carvalho Soares found for the trade in Rio de Janeiro. Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "African Barbeiros," 221.

but rapidity as well.⁵⁹ He continued to labor in the slave trade despite his freed status, and was not coerced into doing so by an owner. 46.1 percent of barbers and sangradores were enslaved, also revealing that working in the slave trade was a common starting point for medical practitioners, who were likely just beginning their careers and were forced to take less desirable posts before they had accumulated much experience.⁶⁰ Unlike barbers and sangradores trained on land, slave trade medical personal either trained under a primary barber as a "second" or steward, or did not receive any formal training at all.

Figure 5.3. Age Distribution of Barbers and Sangradores

10s	20s	30s	40s	50s
1	6	6	3	2
5.9%	35.3%	35.3%	17.6%	11.7%

Healing in the Slave Trade

The responsibilities of barbers and sangradores began on the West African coast, where they would assess potential slaves for purchase, and ready enslaved men and women for transport along with captains. African ports with a more regularized trade with Portuguese and Brazilian merchants (such as Whydah, and later Porto Novo, Onim, Badagry and Agoué) usually contained small *feitorias* owned by individual traders or slaving ship captains. In less frequented ports, captains, clerks and other personal erected short-term camps on the port's beach from where they could conduct business transactions. While on shore, medical examinations by ships' sangradores and barbers played an integral role in the

⁵⁹ AHI, Colleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Papers of the *Emilia*, 345.

⁶⁰ This aspect also mirrors the British trade, which commonly employed barber-surgeons who could not find jobs in England and Scotland because of lack of experience. Sheridan, "Guinea Surgeons," 611.

process of negotiation with West African merchants. Medical personnel carefully examined captives in the most intimate ways, appraising their eyes, teeth, skin and genitals. This humiliating procedure sought to deduce if slaves were suffering from any infectious diseases, and if they were healthy enough to withstand the taxing voyage to the Americas. Portuguese traders were notorious among their peers for their preference of adolescent male slaves (molecãos) and young boys (moleques). African merchants sometimes shaved older captives and rubbed their faces with pumice stone to create a beardless appearance, while buyers or barbers would lick the cheeks of young male captives to discern their true age. In order to obfuscate the true age and health of captives, they were often rubbed down with palm oil to disguise skin conditions, and sometimes shaved of any gray hair by African merchants. Observant assessments of age and health by barbers, sangradores and captains were thus an integral part of maintaining a profitable business.

After slaves were purchased, they were gathered and placed in baracoons, waiting for embarkation. Robin Law describes the conditions in which slaves were held in port as frequently deplorable. In Savi, for instance, slaves were kept in irons within European held "trunks" or huts before they could be carried aboard sailing vessels. ⁶⁴ One European visitor in the eighteenth century complained of the "horrid stench" resulting from the absence of latrines, and the paltry provisioning which amounted to little more than bread and water. ⁶⁵ Over a century later, freedman and abolitionist Mahommah Baquaqua described his disorientation before journeying from Little Popo to Pernambuco:

⁶¹ Adolescent females were labelled *moleconas*.

⁶² Robert Harms, The Diligent: A Voyage Through the Worlds of the Slave Trade (Basic Books: New York, 2002), 247-8

⁶³ Robin Law, Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving "Port," 1727-1892 (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 141.

⁶⁴ Law, *Ouidah*, 137.

⁶⁵ Law, Ouidah, 140.

As soon as the slaves were all put into a pen, and placed with our backs to the fire, and ordered not to look about us, and insure obedience, a man was placed in front with a whip in his hand ready to strike the first who should dare to disobey orders: another man then went round with a hot iron, and branded us the same as they would the heads of barrels or any other inanimate goods or merchandize.⁶⁶

Though branding slaves with a hot iron as a means to identify ownership had disappeared from the British slave trade by the end of the eighteenth century, ⁶⁷ it continued to be a routine part of the Bahian trade. As such, *sangradores* and barbers, if they were part of the ship's onshore crew, would have been responsible for this practice. Because many Bahian ships had multiple investors, up to different 50 signs would be branded onto the bodies of slaves on the arms, chest, or shoulders, as well as barrels, boxes and pipes containing trade goods from the coast. Here too they drew on their expertise, lubricating irons with palm oil to prevent hot irons from sticking to the skin. In 1813, however, royal regulation sought to replace branding with the more humane forms of identification, including metal bracelets or collars. Five years later, branding by hot iron was made illegal in favor of branding with silver *carimbos*, ⁶⁸ though Baquaqua's experience demonstrates that during the period of the illegal slave trade this prohibition was often ignored. ⁶⁹

The process of branding enslaved men and women and housing them onshore was often a dangerous one. In 1807, as the Bahian brig *Intrepido* left Onim on the Mina Coast, the 600 slaves waiting on land under the eye of the brig's quartermaster suddenly fell prey to an aggressive contagion which swept through the barracoon which housed them. "No one

⁶⁶ Mahommah Gardo Baquaqa, *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America*, eds., Robin Law and Paul Lovejoy (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009), 149-150.

⁶⁷ Rediker, The Slave Ship, 268.

⁶⁸ For an example of brands see Aquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Secção Colonial e Provincial, no. 568-1, "Termos dos Cativos Mortos 1810-1811," By the early 1800s British slaving vessels were no longer using brands, see Rediker, *The Slave Ship*, 268.

⁶⁹ British and Foreign State Papers, 22. Miller, Way of Death, 405.

escaped death" during the onslaught, save 30 odd slaves who remained alive, though gravely ill. 70 The insalubrious conditions in barracoons—including an absence of adequate nutrition and clean water, exposure to feces, and close contact with other contagious captives—made such epidemiological catastrophes all the more likely. As Joseph Miller has argued, enslaved men and women held in similarly squalid conditions while awaiting embarkation in Luanda for a period of up to several weeks had a decisively negative effect on shipboard mortality rates, claiming the lives of 10 to 15 percent of all slaves captured intended to be taken to the Americas.⁷¹ Though no exact estimate exists for the Mina Coast, anecdotal evidence suggests an equal prevalence of epidemic disease there. Such an environment necessitated vigilant captains and medical practitioners to carefully watch for any signs of disease present before embarkation. In 1820, a pardo ship captain named Vicente Milles Ferreira received five enslaved men and five women in his feitoria located in Onim. Quickly, Ferreira observed an almost undetectable smallpox mark on the face of one of his female slaves. In response, he quarantined her to prevent the disease from spreading to the other slaves, before sending her to be treated by Senhora Janinha Gomes, likely a local medical practitioner located in Onim.⁷²

The months spent on land trying to collect captives, material goods and provisions were also highly dangerous for mariners, particularly for captains who had the closest contact with slaves during this segment of the voyage. Indeed, the aforementioned Captain Ferreira had contracted a vicious fever which left wounds on his legs while in residence at his *feitoria*. Ferreira claimed this kind of ailment was common on what he termed the "pestilent" coast. He treated the illness by imbibing liquid laudanum and quinine (*agua de*

⁷⁰ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 411, Pacote 1, Acção de Libello Civil, 7.

⁷¹ Miller, Way of Death, 440.

⁷² AHI, Colleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Lata 13, Maço 14, Pasta 1, Papers of the *Emilia*, 236.

inglaterra) which proved effective after five days.⁷³ Domingos Jozé de Faria, a pilot who was working on the ship *Emilia* and had called at Ferreira's *feitoria* to collect slaves fell ill during the same period, likely contracting the virulent fever. The sangrador on board, freed Gege man named Lourenço Domingos dos Santos found the existing medicines on the ship inadequate, and as such went on shore to procure a cure, never to return. Dos Santos likely either abandoned ship, or fell ill himself. Shortly after the sangrador's disappearance, the Emilia was taken by British anti-slaving forces, during which time three more enslaved sailors ran away, 74 though Faria survived and was taken into custody by the British. Common sailors also frequently fell ill, either from contracting contagious diseases—especially venereal disease—from contact with local African peoples, drinking water or eating foods which contained parasites. British sea-surgeon John Atkins theorized that the prevalence of illness among European sailors on the West African coast was due to their exposure to foods and climates to which they were unaccustomed and ill-suited, with their European constitutions making them more prone to the ravages of tropical fevers or "distempers." A more reasonable explanation, however, was Europeans' absence of immunity which, coupled with exposure to new pathogens in the West African environment, led to disproportionate levels of illness on the coast.

If officers, crew members and captives survived the long wait in port communities, they still faced myriad dangers after they left the shore. The treacherous crossing from shore to ship on the Mina Coast was almost always navigated by canoe-men hired from Accra on the Gold Coast; there, the heavy surf and sand bar running parallel to the coast impeded

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⁷³ *Ibid*, 261.

⁴ *Ibid.* 343.

⁷⁵ John Atkins, *The Navy Surgeon, or a Practical System of Surgery,* IV-9.

access by Europeans unaccustomed to navigation in such conditions. ⁷⁶ Even with experienced canoe-men vessels could still overturn, casting shackled slaves into the sea and to an almost certain drowning.⁷⁷ After boarding the ship, slaves were stripped of their clothing (a precaution to prevent uprisings as well as the spread of typhus, which was carried by lice), 78 separated by sex, and placed in the claustrophobic cargo hold which Baquaqua called "that horrible place [that] will never be effaced from my memory." Throughout the voyage, sailors periodically removed slaves from the hold, especially women who were seen as less dangerous and were sometimes compelled to cook, clean the decks and mend crew members' clothing. 80 On other occasions, captives were permitted (or forced) to sing and dance on deck, which was thought to improve health and spirits.⁸¹ On the Conceição Conde dos Arros, which sailed from Bahia to the Mina Coast in October 1813, captain Vincente Ferreira Milles purchased three drums (tambores) and two African instruments called "gomgoms for the captives."82 Apart from such instances, male captives were only brought on deck for meals, which occurred two or three times a day, and only in small groups. 83 Such stagnant conditions often took a lasting toll on captives, weakening their already tenuous health. Baquaqua characterized life below decks thusly: "the hold was so low that we could not stand up, but were obliged to crouch upon the floor or sit down, day and night were the same to us, sleep being denied us from the confined position of our bodies, and we became

⁷⁶ Robin Law, "Between the Sea and the Lagoons: The Interaction of Maritime and Inland Navigation on the Precolonial Slave Coast," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 114:29/1 (1989), 209-237, 210-211.

⁷⁷ Baquaqua, Baquaqua, 151-152.

⁷⁸ Law, Ouidah, 145-6; Sheridan, "Guinea Surgeons," 606.

⁷⁹ Baquaqua, Baquaqua, 153.

⁸⁰ Rediker, The Slave Ship, 268-269.

⁸¹ Rediker, The Slave Ship, 332

⁸² ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 375, pacote 1, Papers of the *Conceição Conde dos Arcos*.

⁸³ Miller, Way of Death, 413.

desperate through the suffering and fatigue."84

In the face of these debilitating circumstances, sangradores and barbers struggled to maintain the often deteriorating health of captives. The charge of providing treatment meant that unlike most other of the crew members, medical officers had to go below decks into the hostile and dolorous world of the captives. James Barbot described the difficulties of administering to sickly slaves in this environment, asserting that "they cannot do [it] leisurely between decks, because of the great heat that is there continually, which is sometime so excessive that the surgeons would faint away, and the candles would not burn."85 Here, medical practitioners drew on their African backgrounds to aid them in treating and controlling enslaved Africans held on slaving vessels. Fluency in both Portuguese and West African languages could facilitate communication between crews and captives. In 1822, for instance, sangrador Joaquim de Moraes was only able to identify which port he was in by speaking to soon to be exported slaves, and recognizing their spoken language as Nagô (Yoruba) and Hausa. 86 Linguistic familiarity helped medical practitioners to not only treat ill slaves, but also prevent violent rebellion. In 1812, the owner of the ship *Prazeres* explained in his letter of orders to the ship's officers that the quartermaster and barber should take care of any uprisings which "ordinarily occurred." Luiz Jozé Gomes explained, furthermore, that captives often treated with little "care and love" by officers were more prone to rebellion. Discrepancies in food rations between captives who belonged to the principal cargo, and those belonging to individual crew members were especially conducive to uprisings, he argued. Rather, crew members should attempt to convince all captives that they belong to

⁸⁴ Baquaqua, Baquaqua, 152.

⁸⁵ James Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of the Fathers: A Study of the Atlantic Slave Traders, 1441-1807* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1967), 3.

⁸⁶ AHI, Coleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Lata 13, Maço 14, Pasta 1, Papers of the Emilia, 347-8.

one owner by treating them equally; such an artifice, he hoped, would not only prevent slave conspiracies planned in secret, but would also ensure a speedy departure from the West African coast.⁸⁷

Medical Substances and the Transatlantic Exchange

Beyond efforts to quell sometimes hostile and ill captives, medical practitioners aboard ships also were responsible for managing, synthesizing and dispensing medicines on board. Sizable amounts could be spent by captains and owners to stock slaving ships with the medicine necessary to treat both crew members and the enslaved. The Bahian Comerciante which left for the West Coast of Africa in 1822 invested 212\$320 reis in a medicine chest or botica provided by boticario Agostinho da Costa, which comprised 5.6 percent of the total investment made for the voyage. The expense was greater than the amount spent on water barrels, and almost equivalent to what owner Francisco Ignacio de Siqueria Nobre spent on the 800 iron shackles he had purchased for the ship. Freed Gege barber Leandro Jozé da Costa would have used the contents of the said chest in his treatment of the 112 slaves aboard. 88 Likewise Manoel José Freire de Carvalho paid a *boticario* in Salvador 77\$140 reis for "drugs and vaccines" to stock his ship, the Esperanca Feliz, during its voyage to Onim in 1821.89 Unlike many slaving vessels, the Esperanca Feliz employed a Bahian born surgeon named Joaquim José Baptista, the 23 year old man identified himself as pardo, married and living in Arcal de Lima. The Schooner *Paquete Volante*, going from Bahia to Angola also recorded spending the sum of 192\$400 reis on its botica. While the brigantine Venus paid boticario Manoel Joaquim Dias e Sampayo 115\$510 reis for the contents of its botica, to be

⁸⁷ AHI, Coleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Lata 26, Maço 6, Pasta 2, Papers of the *Prazeres*, 64-8.

⁸⁸ Arquivo Historico de Itamaraty, Comissão Mixta, Lata 7, Maço 5, Pasta 1, 27.

⁸⁹ AHI, Comissão Mixta, Lata 15, Maço 1, Pasta 1.

⁹⁰ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 371, Pacote 1.

used by the ship's barbers Manoel dos Reis a freed African man from the Mina coast.⁹¹ Reis' and second barber Pedro Perreira combined wages equaled 175\$000 reis, less than the cost of the medicine chest.

The contents of these medicine chests demonstrate that barbers and *sangradors* were adept in both European and American derived *materia medica* (or pharmacology), medicinal formulation (or pharmacopeia) and treatment, as well as African derived therapies. The material culture of the slave ship barber and *sangrador* included both plant based and mineral medicines, as well as instruments for treating wounds, blistering and bleeding. Most commonly, the owner of the slaving vessel provided the contents of the medicine chest, including equipment for measuring, synthesizing and applying medical compounds.

Sometimes, however, African medical practitioners supplied their own equipment. For instance, the *São Miguel de Triunfante*'s Gege barber, Domingos do Rozario, carried 17\$000 reis in the "implements of his profession." Writing in 1727, British barber surgeon John Atkins argued that slaving ship medical personnel ought to have "considerable" influence in choice and quantity of medicine to be taken aboard. In the Bahian trade, conversely, barbers and *sangradores* had little input in determining which medicines were taken aboard, and were forced to work with whatever was supplied.

A review of the contents of slaving ship medicine chests illustrates the vast array of medical resources with which barbers and *sangradores* were expected to recognize and utilize in treatment of captives. A Bahian vessel voyaging to Badagry in 1812 supplied Barbers Manoel dos Reis and Pedro Pereira with a total of 46 medical ingredients and compounds, as well as implements for fabricating and applying medicines including a spatula, a mortar and

⁹³ Atkins, The Navy-Surgeon, V.

⁹¹ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 372, Pacote 1, Papers of the *Venus*, 3.

⁹² ANRJ, Fundo 7X Junta do Comércio, Caixa 410, Papers of the São Miguel de Triunfante, 25.

pestle, glass bottles, sacks and boxes. These men had at their command a wide array of tools with which he could perform their healing "art." Early nineteenth century academic pharmacology divided materials used to synthesize medicinal compounds into botanical and mineral branches, with the majority of remedies being plant-based.⁹⁴ Medicines were further sub divided into "simple" ingredients combined to create specific remedies and compounds which were already fabricated in apothecary shops and could be applied without additional preparation. Boticarios on land, and barbers and sangradores at sea regularly concocted or encountered a set repertoire of remedies. These included tonics to treat respiratory and digestive ailments, astringents to desiccate open wounds, sores and ulcers, electuaries or surgery syrups comprised of many ingredients taken orally, poultices made of a flour base and applied to skin for soreness and inflammation, ointments and emollients used to treat burns, wounds, blisters, skin inflammation and infection and plasters, applied externally but used to treat internal fractures or dislocations and external wounds. 95 Mercury based medicines were used to treat syphilis and the common ship board ailment yaws, while a number of aromatics were also common on board to make medicines more palatable, alongside analgesics such as laudanum and opium to provide comfort to ill slaves. Each of these classes of remedy had multiple variations, and could be comprised of a diversity of ingredients depending upon the specific ailment and what materials were available.

The contents of the *Venus* and two additional slaving vessels from the years 1824 and 1839 (see figures 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7) reveal a marked continuity in the types of medicine employed aboard slaving vessels during the period. Indeed, a majority of therapies used to treat African captives in the early nineteenth century were also employed by barbers to treat European sailors and soldiers laboring on eighteenth century Portuguese ships engaged in

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⁹⁴ Jacinto da Costa, *Pharmacopea naval*, e castrense, 1-2.

⁹⁵ Newson and Minchin, From Capture to Sale, 274-277.

the India trade. Many of the botanical medicines such as rosemary, poppies, elderberry, cinnamon, lavender, saffron, parsley, and rose found aboard slaving vessels had been widely available in Iberia since the middle ages, where they were cultivated in gardens and used to treat common illness. Some of these plants were imported from Europe; others had already been successfully introduced to New World environments in the sixteenth century and were grown locally. 97 Botanical substances such as cocoa, Marcela, Jalapa, Quina (used to fabricate Quinine), Ipecacuanha, and Simaruba bark had been introduced to Europeans by indigenous populations in the Americas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, becoming important New World imports to Europe. Medicines labeled "Quina," which was present in various forms on all Bahian slaving ships were, despite their name, not the same plantderived anti-malarial from Peru first introduced to Jesuits by indigenous people. Rather, they were produced from various forms of locally available trees thought to have the same properties as Quinine because of their bitter character and their success in treating fevers.⁹⁸ Sarsaparilla, with origins in Central and South America, was carried on both the *Venus* and the Dois Amigos Brasileiros, and had become a popular treatment for syphilis, pox, yaws and gonorrhea for Dutch barbers working in the slave trade in the seventeenth century. Local people on the Gold Coast were avid consumers of a sarsaparilla-infused ointment favored by the Dutch, and procured it off slaving vessels to treat yaws and small pox as well.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ C.R. Boxer, From Lisbon to Goa, 1500-1750: Studies in Portuguese Maritime Enterprise (London: Variorum Reprints, 1997), 124-130.

⁹⁷ Robert A. Voeks, Sacred Leaves of Candomble: African Magic, Medicine and Religion in Brazil (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 22-23.

⁹⁸ Spix and Martius, *Travels in Brazil, in the years 1817-1820*, Vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), 213-4; Lycurgo de Castro Santos Filho, *Historia Geral da Medicina Brasileira, Volume Primeiro* (Editora de Universidade de São Paulo: São Paulo, 1977), 122.

⁹⁹ Rask, *Two Views from Christianborg*, 112; De-Valera N.Y.M. Botchway, "A Note on the Ethnomedical Universe of the Asante, an Indigenous People in Ghana," in Effie Gemi-Iordanou, Stephen Gordon, Robert Matthew, Ellen McInnes, and Rhiannon Pettitt, eds.,

Europeans also appropriated Asian therapeutics during this period, introducing Asafetida, camphor and Senna into their medicinal repertoires, indicating the breadth and diverse origins of Enlightenment era pharmacopeia stemming from Europeans' extensive contact with peoples and botanical environments around the globe.

Critically, African derived remedies also appeared in the medicine chests of Bahian slaving ships. Arabic gum or acacia gum, harvested from the trunks from the acacia tree prevalent in the Sahel region on the southern littoral of the Sahara desert comprised one of the first West African exports to Portugal. By the eighteenth century, the area around the mouth of the Senegal river was the sole supplier of the substance to Europe. 100 In the early nineteenth century local peoples extracted gum for export to Europe for "manufactures and medicine," and also ate it "in a crude state" for medicinal purposes. Portuguese physicians utilized the substance to treat ulcers, diarrheas, prepare medicinal gums, and make viscous solutions. Tamarind pulp, extracted from the fruit and made into syrup, was used to treat fevers and scurvy, and also acted as a laxative. The Portuguese had first encountered it in Western Africa and on India's Malabar Coast in the sixteenth century, where local populations were using it as a medicinal substance. Later it was transplanted to South America, and it is likely that the supply housed on the Dois Amigos Brasileiros originated from trees in Bahia. Tamarind's utility as an anti-scorbutic would have been especially applicable to Luso-African trade, where many enslaved men and women suffered from vitamin C deficiency that caused scurvy. The disease was so prevalent in the transatlantic slave trade, killing up to 2,000 slaves annually in Salvador, that one contemporary barber-surgeon

Medicine, Healing and Performance (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 162; John Korst, Domestic Medicine: A Treatise on the Practice of Medicine, Adapted to the Reformed System, Comprising a Materia Medica, with Numerous Illustrations (Sewell, 1859), 556-557.

¹⁰⁰ James L. A. Weed, Jr. "The Trade in Gum Arabic: Prelude to French Conquest in Senegal," *Journal of African History*, vol. 26, no. [?] (1985), 149-168, 149.

¹⁰¹ Jean Baptiste Durand, Voyage to Senegal, 141-2, 157.

believed it to be a communicable disease originating in Angola and dubbed it "mal de Loanda" or Luanda sickness. The symptoms, which often came on slowly and only became apparent well into the transatlantic journey included ulcerated gums, lips, throat and nose, loose teeth, fatigue, respiratory distress, and bruising. The arrival array as 1741, Portuguese barbersurgeons treating slaves in Brazil touted the efficacy of treating the disease through changes to diet, advocating for the inclusion a range of fresh vegetables and meats in the diets of the enslaved. Tamarind pulp's high concentration of Vitamin C made it an effective means of treating severe malnutrition from which many enslaved men and women suffered during the transatlantic voyage. The mid-eighteenth century, European travelers had observed that Africans utilized the fruit to "make a Drink of it, mixed with Sugar, or Honey and Water. They also preserve it as a confection to cook and quench Thirst; and the Leaves chewed produce the same effect." Slavers also used the fruit to improve the taste of stagnant water and combat scurvy. Other anti-scorbutics found aboard slave ships such as "scurvy grass" would have also been integral in preventing the disease in the absence of other fresh fruits and vegetables on board.

As John Atkins noted in 1725, however, herbs and other botanical medicines often decayed in the first half of slaving journeys in tropical climates, rendering them unusable,

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¹⁰² Junia Ferreira Furtado, "Tropical Empiricism: Making Medical Knowledge in Colonial Brazil," in James Delbourgo and Nicolas Dew, eds., *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (Routledge: New York, 2008) 144-5; Miller, *Way of Death*, 383.

¹⁰³ Sowande' Mastakeem, "'I Never Have Such a Sickly Ship Before': Diet, Disease, and Mortality in 18th Century Atlantic Slaving Voyages," *Journal of African American History* 93 (Fall 2008), 483-485.

Joseph Miller has emphasized that most of the ailments from which enslaved people suffered during the transatlantic voyage were the result of poor nutrition in the months leading to sea travel, as enslaved men and women were often the victims for drought and famine in their native communities, and were further malnourished during their trek to the Angolan coast. Miller, *Way of Death*, 424-426.

¹⁰⁵ Judith A. Carney and Richard Nicholas Rosomoff, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 70.

and forcing medical personal to procure substitutes in West African port towns. 106 This process required drawing on the botanical expertise of local Africans, because Europeans largely lacked knowledge about local flora. 107 That said, Portuguese and African methodologies of using botanicals to treat illness were compatible enough that Africans expertise in local flora was easily appropriated by European slave ship medical personnel. Indeed, Atkins claimed he had found near equivalents to the medicines he was accustomed to using in large quantities on the coast. Other European descriptions of medicinal praxis on the West African coast reveal a pronounced desire to incorporate African procured medicinal substances for European usage. Calumba, a bitter root used by African peoples in Mozambique to treat venereal disease, dysentery and diarrhea (and carried in the medicine chest of the ship *Dois Amigos Brasileiros*) was introduced first to the Portuguese in as early as the seventeenth century, becoming a staple export, 108 and later transplanted to a number of British colonies in the Indian Ocean. Jean Baptiste Durand, for instance, insisted that the biodiversity of the fertile areas surrounding the Senegal River was home to a variety of effective plant-based cures for common diseases. He identified a class of medical practitioners in the area—"apothecaries," as he put it—who synthesized remedies from local flora such as tree bark. Johannes Rask labelled palm oil, which was used to treat wounds, epidermal infections, and bruises as the "most excellent medical agent" on the Gold Coast. 109 In the late eighteenth century, Brazilian physicians also advocated the use of a mixture palm oil, lead carbonate, and corn flour to make a plaster to treat painful boils caused by bacteria,

¹⁰⁶ Atkins, The Navy Surgeon, IV.

¹⁰⁷ Atkins, *The Navy Surgeon*, IV.

William Woodville, Sir William Jackson and George Pratt, Medical Botany: Containing Systematic and general descriptions, with plates of all the medicinal plants, comprehended in the catalogues of the materia medica Vol. 5, (Royal Colleges of Physicians of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, 1832), 23.

¹⁰⁹ Rask, "Brief and Truthful Description," 56.

or scabies. Palm or *dendê* oil was used broadly in the West and Central West Africa to treat skin ailments. Similarly, Durand extolled the benefits of palm oil, which Africans used to protect their skin and render "joints supple," and which healers used to ease the pain of gout. Various communities in the area also cultivated aloe, which local healers used as a cathartic. He identified local people providing effective treatments for dysentery to foreigners, but noted that they preferred to prevent it through the preservation of "a medium between excess and privation." Indigenous peoples in Sierra Leone, nearby to the recently established colony of Freetown, had introduced the English to "virtues" of a "new kind of Peruvian bark" in the treatment of fevers, as well as the kola nut, already a familiar trading good for the Portuguese, for the same purpose. At the end of the eighteenth century this "new Peruvian bark" had already been spirited away to London laboratories in order deduce additional medicinal properties.

This process of adaptation and appropriation was also mirrored in the healing practices of Africans in the New World. As geographer Robert Voeks has argued, enslaved peoples introduced African horticulture to colonial Bahia in the sixteenth century, as Africans transplanted and cultivated species which had been used for food as well as sacred healing rituals in West Africa. Slaving ship practices of procuring local healing plants on the African coast for their return journey makes it likely that some of these transplants were facilitated by seafaring African medical practitioners. Like Europeans who found substitutes for botanical substances with which they were familiar on the African coast, enslaved people

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¹¹⁰ Durand, Voyage to Senegal, 167.

¹¹¹ Durand, Voyage to Senegal, 168.

¹¹² Durand, Voyage to Senegal, 157.

¹¹³ Durand, Voyage to Senegal, 109.

¹¹⁴ Durand, Voyage to Senegal, 91.

¹¹⁵ Transplanted species include the dende palm or *Elaeis guineensis*, "akoko" or *newbouldia laevis*, kola or *garcinia kola Hackel*, malaguetta pepper or *aframomum melegueta K. Schum*, Robert Voeks, *Sacred Leaves*, 23-32, 169-191.

also discovered and utilized locally available flora with similar properties to species they knew at home. And because botanical knowledge occupied such a central place in African medicinal and spiritual practices, the multitude of plant derived therapies found on Bahian slaving vessels would have been a familiar form of healing to many of the African born sangradores and barbers laboring aboard. As Voeks points out, however, Africans' use of these botanical substances were situated within a specific spiritual cosmology premised on the permeability of the supernatural and physical realms, where the manipulation of natural substances including plants, blood, and palm oil could affect supernatural forces responsible for both illness and healing.¹¹⁶

On nineteenth century slave ships, this dimension of herbal medicine may or may not have been present in the actions of African medical personnel. Though like African peoples, many Europeans—including the Portuguese—had a long history of understanding certain medicinal and botanical substances as imbued with divine properties, a belief which survived in colonial Brazil into the early nineteenth century. Even if the theoretical impetus driving the use of botanicals differed for Africans and Europeans in the New World, the praxis of medicinal herbalism was commonly utilized by both during this period. Brazilian physicians recommend baths and hot teas infused with herbs to treat ill slaves on board slaving vessels, practices which African lay healers also employed on land to treat various ailments. In Angola, Damião Cosme prescribed herbal teas to treat a number of

¹¹⁶ Voeks, Sacred Leaves, 69-114.

¹¹⁷ Atkins also describes various physical substances of the human body as divine, Atkins, *The Navy Surgeon*, 31; Vera Regina Beltrão Marques, "Medicinas Secretas: Magia e Ciencia No Brasil Setecentista," in *Artes e Oficios de Curar no Brasil*, eds Sidney Chalhoub, Vera Regina Beltrao Marques, Gabriela dos Reis Sampaio, Carlos Roberto Galvao Sobrinho (Editora Unicamp: Campinas, 2003), 171.

¹¹⁸ On the use of baths in the slave trade, Miller, Way of Death, 412; Francisco Damaio Cosme, Tractado das queixas endemicas, 185, 197. For a description of herbal baths in Afro-Bahian healing practice see Voeks, Sacred Leaves, 98-100.

ailments including indigestion, stomach pain, Cholera and more generally "illnesses of this country," though it is unclear if he incorporated local medicinal practices when making this recommendation. Herbal teas were utilized as a therapy throughout the West African coast, including a mixture of lime juice and malaguetta pepper to treat colic in Accra, a tonic of the bark of the "Tandoorue" (Tannuro) tree and pepper for stomach pains and constipation in the same region. As Osifekunde, a man originally from Ijebu (north of Onim) who was enslaved and taken to Brazil around 1810 reported, in his community a class of men called *olouchigou* or doctors treated fever by "building a large fire and drinking hot infusions of a plant called Ewe eloukeze." Osifekunde also recounted that he had found no substitute in Brazil, indicating that he sought out medical equivalents of substances he was familiar with in West Africa. 120

By the end of the eighteenth century, bathing became a common method of disease prevention and treatment on Brazilian slaving vessels. 121 West Africans also had extensive experience with this technique, as curative herbs were also commonly administered through hot and cold baths. While in Brazil, African *curandeiros* frequently utilized a wide variety of herbs infused in baths to treat muscular ailments, wounds, and inflammation, and "nervous fevers." Some of these herbs had African origins, such as the "Raiz de Pipi," a plant described as originating in "Guinea" which lay healers used to treat paralysis in the early nineteenth century. European naturalists also noted the popularity of the *Guiábo* (okra) in Brazilian healing methods, which was "introduced by the negroes from Africa." *Guiábo*'s leaves were boiled and used to make a "softening" poultice for internal wounds and

¹¹⁹ Bosman, A New and Accurate Description, 225; Botchway, "A Note on the Ethnomedical Universe of the Asante," 162-163.

¹²⁰ Philip D. Curtin, Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 260.

¹²¹ Miller, *Way of Death*, 411-412.

fractures. 122 In the Bight of Biafra in the mid-nineteenth-century, healers near Bonny and New Calabar also used "heated sand-baths, ablutions of hot water, and ... vapour-baths" to treat fevers, where the patient was "held over [the bath], water being slowly dropped thereon, so that the steam, as it ascends, may act on the affected portion of the body."123 British physician William Daniell furthermore asserted the vast superiority of these treatments over commonly used European remedies such as blood-letting, saline purgatives, and large doses of calomel (mercury chloride). 124 In addition, H.C. Monrad described an effective treatments for "coastal fever" and yellow fever performed on the Gold Coast in the early nineteenth century. For the former, he observed "the Negroes use nearly boiling herb baths into which the patient is lowered during his paroxysms, and is covered with a kente or sheet. Sometimes they smear the entire body, from top to toe, with finely ground Spanish pepper, which causes a burning heat." When the Dane contracted yellow fever, he sought out a local practitioner for treatment. The man "cured [Monrad] both simply and rapidly," by washing his body three times a day "in water in which a number of both nicely scented and bitter herbs had been soaking for a long time. In addition, I had to drink three handfuls, each time, of the same water in which I was being bathed." The treatment continued for three days, in addition to the baths, the "doctor called upon his fetish very frequently, and forbade me to eat palm oil or legumes during the cure, which, he told me very seriously, his fetish had forbidden."126

¹²² John Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich P. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1817-1820*, Vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), 98. ¹²³ William F. Daniell notes the use of baths and sudorific to treat fevers which he believes the local people adopted from Europeans whom they came in contact with during the course of trade, that that is unclear. See Daniell, *Sketches of the medical topography and native diseases of the Gulf of Guinea, Western Africa*, 120.

¹²⁴ Daniell, *Sketches*, 120.

¹²⁵ Monrad, "A Description," 205.

¹²⁶ Monrad, "A Description," 206.

The realm in which African and Portuguese derived medical practices were the most compatible was the practice of bleeding and purging, a technique that became the most common form of treatment for contagious disease aboard Bahian slaving ships. Portuguese medical practitioners had long been noted as enthusiastic blood letters. In 1702, Willem Bosman observed that the Portuguese living on the West African coast where so fond of phlebotomy that they bled themselves fifty times a year which made them appear to be walking ghosts rather than men. 127 While in 1725, Atkins noted that violent fevers which sometimes seized slaving ships' crew members were treated by Portuguese barbers who "presume[d] themselves best judges in the Country distemper," with consisted of course of six or more bloodlettings over the course of a two day period, twice as often than Atkins himself recommended. 128 Medical treatises, such as *Tratado das queixas endemicas, e mais fataes mesta Conquista* penned by doctor Francisco Damião Cosme in 1770, advised barbers and surgeons to treat slaves afflicted with a number of infectious diseases with bleeding. Slaves kept in tightly packed holds, frequently contracted communicable diseases such as the notorious bloody flux or dysentery, the symptoms included inflammation, delirium, severe

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¹²⁷ Willem Bosman, A new and accurate description, 414.

¹²⁸ Philip Curtin argues that the Portuguese practiced blood-letting so frequently on the African coast because they assumed that immunity to illnesses common on the coast was produced by eating native foods. Therefore, blood manufactured by the body in Europe had to be removed and slowly replaced with blood produced while the patient was in Africa. The British, however, believed that a hot climate caused blood to expand, so periodic bleeding would prevent excessive pressure. This logic is echoed in ... History of Africa where he notes the "excessive heat of the climate, soon begin to display their pernicious effects on them by the excessive effervescence of the blood, which can be kept under by no other method than by frequently letting it out, and in such great quantities as would be deemed extremely dangerous in their [Europeans'] own country; so that...they must make what haste they can to exchange their old blood for a new sort, which is more suitable to the country." See Anon., The Modern Part of an Universal History, From The Earliest Accounts to the Present Time. Compiled from Original Authors. Volume VIII, (London: C. Bathurst, J.F. and C. Rivington, A. Hamilton, T. Payne, T. Longman, S. Crowder, B. Law, J. Robson, F. Newbery, G. Robinson, T. Cadell, J. and T. Bowles, S. Bladon, J. Murray, J. Nichols, J. Bowen, and W. Fox, 1781), 92; Philip D. Curtin, The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850, Vol. 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 83; Atkins, The Navy Surgeon, 359-360.

diarrhea, bloody stools and death, alongside what Cosme called bilious or malignant fevers, which resulted in indigestion, skin rashes, strokes, and body pain, as well as pleurisy or inflammation of the chest and lungs. To restore health, Cosme prescribed bleeding in conjunction with medicines taken in teas or tonics containing sudorifics, emetics, and purgatives. Such solutions of bodily purging, including bleeding, and forced vomiting were necessary, Cosme argued, to cleanse the body of "corruption" and re-establish the balance of the humors. ¹²⁹ Such drastic steps were essential, he argued, if any sufferers were to successfully combat the most "ardent" fevers common on the West African coast. ¹³⁰ Powerful emetics such as Ipecacuanha, purgatives or laxatives including Jalapa, castor oil, Manna, Senna, poppies, and cream of tartar, diaphoretics (Elderberry) were common in slaving ship medicine chests. Medical practitioners followed these treatments by giving patients food, water, wine, tea and analgesics such as laudanum dissolved in vinegar, though fresh water was often in short supply on slaving voyages as captains under rationed water casks to make room for more slaves and other cargo, and where it was present, it was often was contaminated. ¹³¹

The practice of bleeding and other forms of purging were founded upon the Hippocratic-Galenic model of physiology. Brought to medieval Iberia by Moorish intellectuals, it remained the dominant medical doctrine there until the seventeenth century. During this period, Catholic missionaries administrating colonial hospitals and colleges utilized these theories in their education and practice, thus popularizing it in Portuguese and Spanish America. Early modern medical practitioners posited that, according to the humoral doctrine, illness resulted from a disequilibrium of the four fluid elements or humors that

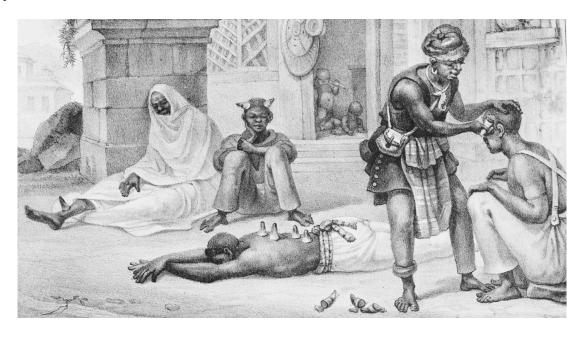
¹²⁹ Cosme, Tratado das queixas endemicas, 174-5, 187, 252.

¹³⁰ Cosme, Tratado das queixas endemicas, 189.

¹³¹ Miller, *Way of Death*, 422-423.

comprised the body: blood, phlegm, yellow bile (or vomit) and black bile, ¹³² with blood being the dominant humor. Healing thus required a restoration of humoral balance through cleansing one or more of humors through various forms of purging or through the expulsion of stagnant blood by opening of veins, blisters or the application of leeches. The humoral equilibrium model was an attractive means of explaining health and illness because it offered a concrete theory of causation for most afflictions, as well as prescribed methods for curing. ¹³³

Figure 5.4: An "African Surgeon" at work blood-letting on the streets of 1830s Rio de Janeiro



Jean Baptiste Debret, Viagem Pitoresca e Histórica ao Brasil, Vol. 2 (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora-Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1972), Prancha 46

Contemporary observers noted the prevalence of blood-letting as the primary therapy provided by that African barbers and *sangradores* urban settings. Though no

¹³² George M. Foster, "On the Origin of Humoral Medicine in Latin America," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1:4 (1987), 358-363.

¹³³ George M. Foster, "The Validating Role of Humoral Theory in Traditional Spanish-American Therapeutics," *American Ethnologist* 15:1 (1988), 120-35.

documentation exists of the methods of blood-letting by African practitioners in the slave trade, descriptions of their activities on land provide a window into their practice. A depiction from early nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro illustrates an African healer consulting with four patients (all black) in the street outside his shop and applying "mysterious small cone[s] made of ox horn" as blistering cups to the backs and forehead of his clients. In Salvador, the practice of bleeding was so common that in 1799 the Brazilian physician José Pinto de Azeredo decried "the extraordinary abuse of bleeding," which was particularly prevalent there. ¹³⁴ Another visitor noted "the blacks have doctors amongst themselves," by whom:

The operation of bleeding is most skilfully performed, but rather more roughly than a white person would like. The patient seats himself on a low stool and bares his back, whilst the operator produces a razor (which he sharpens on his hand), three or four horns, like powder flasks, and a calabash bowl. He raises the flesh on the back between his finger and thumb, and, holding it tightly, dexterously cuts the flesh several times, immediately applies the horn and exhausts the air by putting his mouth to the smaller end, which done, he stops the orifice, and leaves the horn; this is fastened on the back of his patient for about ten minutes. It is nothing more than cupping, but must be more painful. They bear the operation, however, with great fortitude; and I have repeatedly watched their faces to discover signs of pain, but have only done so when the air is being exhausted from the horn, and the blood is beginning to flow.¹³⁵

Another description echoes the use of cupping and bleeding for pain relief as well as the popularity of the practice among the black population in Rio de Janeiro:

For rheumatic pains, they use cupping, in a curious way, and a negro is generally the operator. I was one day passing through a street, in the rear of the palace, and I saw a negro doctor administering to some patients, who were sitting on the steps of a church. He bound the arm and shoulder of a woman, who seemed in great pain; and making slight scarifications in several places with the broken blade of a razor, he patted the parts with the flat, till the blood began to ooze out; he then placed small cow-horns over them, and applying his mouth to a perforation at the tip, he dexterously exhausted the air, and then stopping it with clay, it remained firmly

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¹³⁴ José Pinto de Azeredo, *Ensaios Sobre Algumas Enfirmidades d' Angola* (Lisboa: Na Regia Oficina Tipographica, 1799), viii-ix.

¹³⁵ Wetherell, Stray Notes from Bahia, 4.

attached to the skin. In this way he fastened seven horns from the elbow to the shoulder, where they exhibited a very extraordinary appearance. When removed, the arm was covered with blood; and the woman said she was greatly relieved. 136

The striking consistency of these depictions indicates that bleeding praxis was more or less similar throughout urban Brazil. African blood letters commonly utilized ox horns in place of blistering cups (found on slaving ships) to create a vacuum over the lacerated flesh, which helped to expel a greater quantity of blood.

Mariza de Carvalho Soares has hypothesized that blood-letting in early nineteenth century Brazil was derived from West African precedents practiced by Hausa peoples which were introduced to other Africans in the Americas. In this context, bloodletting was governed by the principle of *magani* or "restoration," wherein treatment entailed correcting what is out of order, and re-establishing *lafiya* or well-being. Wanzami or medical practitioners responsible for restoring *lafiya* most commonly used cupping to achieve their desired ends. Soares' argument, though based on descriptions taken from contemporary West African ethnography, is almost identical to those described for nineteenth century Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. Though it is clear that the modern Hausa practice of blood-letting was likely related to nineteenth century Brazilian practice, enslaved people displaced from other parts of Africa to Bahia during the same period also utilized blood-letting in their therapies. In 1770, peoples in the interior of Angola were noted to practice bleeding from the nose, while three decades later in Luanda José Pinto de Azeredo revealed doctors were obstinately engaged in bleeding as treatment for a range of fevers. Another visitor

¹³⁶ Robert Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, Vol. 1 (London: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook, 1831), 230.

¹³⁷ Blistering cups or ventozas would also create a vacuum when heated.

¹³⁸ Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "African Barbeiros," 225-226.

¹³⁹ Soares, "African Barbeiros," 226-227.

¹⁴⁰ Azeredo, Ensaios Sobre algumas Enfermidades d'Angola,

to Angola noted that "they [local people] are also very fond of being cupped for any pain, and it is rare to see a man or woman whose back or shoulders do not bear signs of this operation." He went on to describe Bunda people as "very skillful in the use of the lancet," and remarked on the predominance of blood-letters operating in the city of Cambambe.¹⁴¹

Bleeding was a well-established practice both in Angola of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and for Hausa people in the West African interior. In the Bahian trade sample under consideration, only three of all medical personal were born in Angola, with two claiming Hausan ethnicity. The remainder of the medical personnel on board Bahian vessels identified themselves (or were identified by their owners if enslaved) as Gege (eight), Nagô (one), and one Tapa (Nupe). In addition, one man is specified as being from Cabinda, one from Benin, and two from São Tomé. The vast majority of African medical practitioners, 24 in total, declared that they were from the Mina "nation" or the "Mina Coast," an area stretching from Volta River to Onim. European observers from the early eighteenth century noted the prevalence of bloodletting on the western Mina Coast for headaches and rheumatisms, while in Ouidah cupping was performed with a calabash, and used both for facial scarification which left a portion of raised flesh on the cheeks as a form of communal identification.. ¹⁴² At the beginning of the nineteenth century, bloodletting was still practiced on the Mina coast, with Monrad reporting that the "Negroes and the Europeans do it regularly," and that he himself sought the treatment, likely from African practitioners. 143 Another account identified women as the primary practitioners of

¹⁴¹ Jochim John Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, Vol. 2 (London: MacMillan and Co., 1875), 262-3.

¹⁴² Rask, "Brief and Truthful Description," 113, 133.

¹⁴³ His description of the procedure is very similar to others noted in the Bight of Biafra and the Kongo: "The Negroes perform cupping using a small calabash in which there is a hole about the size of an ordinary copper shilling, and which, is otherwise, hollow. The air is removed from the calabash by a dry plantain leaf which has been dipped in palm oil and

bloodletting for the Fante speaking people on the coast, whom preformed it with "much dexterity." ¹⁴⁴

From the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, there are several depictions of blood-letting in the Bight of Biafra in West Africa. Notably, Olaudah Equuiano recollected that while a child in Igboland during the 1750s ritual specialists practiced *atama*, a "bleeding by cupping," and "were very successful in healing wounds and expelling poisons." Likewise, Hugh Crow noted that in Bonny the local people "appl[ied] certain remedies, chiefly decoctions of herbs and cupping, which they perform with a small calabash, after having made incisions ... for relief." In addition, Crow revealed that the Igbos in the same region "were very subject to head ache, and in order to relieve them we sometimes resorted to cupping. They were not strangers to the operation, but told us it was a remedy often had recourse in their own country." Another report from the southeast of the Niger Delta confirms the practice there as well:

in congestion of the vessels of the brain or its membranes, accompanied by much feberile excitement, relief is experienced from the native process of cupping, which consists in making three parallel longitudinal or horizontal incisions on either temple, from ten lines to an inch in length, and about eight lines apart. These incisions are performed by a sharp razor, or knife, and a small calabash is then applied, the air being then exhausted by burning paper or cotton *secundum artem*. After the abstraction

then lit. This calabash is then placed over an incision that has been made in the skin and the blood is drawn out. These incisions are usually made on either side of the head, under the temples, and on the back below the neck. They then apply charcoal and citron juice to the wound, and this results in blue stains on the face, as if from gunpowder. Monrad, "A Description," 203-204.

¹⁴⁴ Fourth Report of the Directors of the African Institution: Read at the Annual General Meeting on the 28th of March, 1810 (London: G. Ellerton, sold by J. Hatchard, 1810); "Substance of a Communication made by Henry Meredith, Esq. to the Secretary, dated Winnebah," 20th December 1809, 98.

¹⁴⁵ Douglas B. Chambers, "My own nation': Igbo Exiles in the Diaspora," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., Routes to Slavery: Direction, Ethnicity and Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade (New York, Routledge, 1997), 72-97, 89.

¹⁴⁶ Hugh Crow, *Memoirs of the late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, and G. and J. Robinson, 1830), 225.

¹⁴⁷Crow, *Memoirs*, 227.

of a few ounces of blood, the wounds are dressed with a black carbonaceous matter, manufactured from the oil lamps. 148

Doctor William F. Daniell remarked that "this mode of cupping is one constantly adopted by the natives in the Bights in all painful affections of the head." He also observed "a series of deep scarifications … bathed with hot fomentations to promote the free oozing of the blood" to alleviate the pain of rheumatism, ¹⁵⁰ as well as to treat apoplexy and respiratory congestion. In addition, the aforementioned Osifekunde recalled that in the late eighteenth century in Ijebu local healers performed bloodletting using "small hollowed out calabashes…applied over a wick made of old calabash fiber soaked in oil and lighted." Finally, evidence also points to the prevalence of the practice in seventeenth century Kongo. ¹⁵²

Taken together, it is clear that bleeding was a common, and concurrent practice in

¹⁴⁸ William F. Daniell, M.D., Sketches of the Medical topography, and Native Diseases of the Gulf of Guinea Western Africa (London: Samuel Highley, 32, Fleet Street, 1849), 94.

¹⁴⁹ Daniell, Sketches, 94.

¹⁵⁰ Daniell, *Sketches*, 95, 113.

¹⁵¹ Curtin, Africa Remembered, 260.

¹⁵² Olfert Dapper's History of Africa described common treatments for headache and fever, "against these they make use of the sandal wood, whether red or grey, though the former is most esteemed; this being reduced into powder, and mixed with palm oil, they make into an excellent ointment, with which they anoint the patient all over. But if it doth not allay the pain in the head, they have recourse to bleeding in the temples by incision and suction." He also noted that a similar treatment was utilized for "violent colics" or npichi in Kikongo, which he assessed as effective in "prevent[ing] vast numbers dying." He criticized however, the crudity of cupping: "They have use of phlebotomy, but for want of lancets and incisionknives, perform the operation in an aukward manner, though in imitation rather of our cupping than bleeding; instead of cupping-glasses, to which they are strangers, they use a small calabash, horn or shell, perforated on the top. These they apply to an arm, leg, belly, or head, or any other part which they imagine to be the seat of the distemper, after having first made a deep gash with a knife in the skin. They next put their mouth to the whole of the calabash, or horn, and suck the blood till it is full. This they repeat till they have drawn a sufficient quantity of it from the patient; in some cases they will, instead of a calabash, make use of an earthen pot...and apply it with a lighted tow, as we do our cupping-glasses." See Dapper, The modern part of An Universal History, Vol. 13, 91-91.

the Bight of Benin (where the majority of Bahian barbers and sangradores originated), the Bight of Biafra, Angola and urban Brazil. Though Portuguese and later Brazilian practices of blood-letting were similar, there were some differences. Crucially, most physicians advised taking blood from the foot or arm rather than the forehead and back, which was more common in African derived therapies. That said, the evidence suggests that blood-letting, as it was practiced in colonial Brazilian cities and slaving ships, likely evolved from a variety of Western African healing influences as African peoples from various origins interacted with one another, shared knowledge and sought relief. African practitioners utilized bleeding because it could easily be adapted to the most hostile and insalubrious of New World settings, and patients, familiar with it from their homeland, placed faith in its effectiveness.

Critically, blood-letting and botanical pharmacopeia demonstrate the emergence of highly hybridized or syncretic medical culture within the slave trade that cannot be characterized as essentially "European" or "African." Instead, medical practitioners incorporated ideas, practices and healing substances from both traditions. Because management of sickness was such an integral part of the slaving business, both European and African medical practitioners were compelled to produce new forms of medical knowledge in an attempt to combat the rapid and horrific spread of disease on board slaving ships, in African port cities and in American slave societies such as Salvador. Africans and Europeans encountered new and unusual illnesses, and appropriated therapies from one another to manage the debilitating symptoms which resulted from such pathogenic exchanges. Medical knowledge derived from Africa, including methods of treatment and the application of specific herbs was seen by Europeans as useful, effective and legitimate. The pluralistic landscape of medical therapy in colonial Brazil, combined with the perilous living and working conditions of many Africans and their descedents, nurtured a class of medical

practitioners from diverse origins who utilized manifold methods. This creation of new medical knowledge, however, went hand in hand with the rapid and intense commercialization spurred by the slave trade, which resulted in a large population of chronically ill people exposed to a variety of nutritional and infectious diseases. African barbers and *sangradores* drew on medical therapies they knew to be effective from their old world backgrounds. They did not, however, create a medicinal culture separate from and antagonistic to "white" or European forms of medicine. Rather, slaving ship merchants enthusiastically sought their expertise to facilitate their transatlantic commerce. African healers meanwhile commercialized their medical praxis, earning money from their knowledge and skill, which ultimately facilitated the ongoing profitable operation of the slave trade in Bahia and their personal advancement.

The Limits of Slave Ship Medicine and Transatlantic Medical Knowledge Exchange

Slaving ship medical practitioners conducted a variety of treatments to combat shipboard scurvy, small pox, yaws, dysentery, and fevers which in part contributed to the decline of mortality rates over the eighteenth and ninetieth centuries. That said, epidemic catastrophes were still commonplace. In 1810, the brigantine *Ligeiro* was traveling from the Mina Coast to Salvador when 84 of the ship's 466 slaves died from a contagious illness, which eventually killed the captain and a portion of the crew. In 1827, a ship leaving Cameroon quickly lost its mast in a storm, slowing the voyage considerably. After illness struck both the captives and crew, slaves below decks refused ship provisions of manioc and salted beef. The unnamed epidemic disease spread throughout the ship, eventually killing

¹⁵³ Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010), 139.

¹⁵⁴ Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2008), 147.

percent). Such epidemics were largely unpredictable, and contemporary therapeutic practices could alleviate symptoms but do little to stop the contagious spread of disease on tightly packed, poorly ventilated and provisioned slaving ships. A description of the Bahian slaving vessel the *Feloz* revealed that the 562 slaves aboard were held below deck, with only three feet of space for clearance. Allowing no space to shift positions, captives were packed so tightly they sat between each other's knees. The only ventilation consisted of a grated hatchway which made the temperature of the cargo hold unbearable. 55 bonds people had already perished from dysentery and other diseases along with eight or nine crew members, though no there was no sign of disease aboard when the ship had set sail seventeen days earlier. Six additional slaves occupied hammocks on deck as they were treated for fevers, and the remainders of the slaves below decks were so incapacitated that few could stand. 156

In the face of such disasters, sometimes ill and contagious captives were thrown overboard while still alive by fearful crews, before disease could spread. ¹⁵⁷ Bahian administrators also took precautions, quarantining newly arrived African slaves and crews for 40 days before they could enter the city. ¹⁵⁸ If ill captives could not be cured before arriving, slavers treated them as they would any other damaged piece of cargo, labelling them as "defective captives" or "refuge" slaves to be sold at below market value. On a voyage in 1813, 21 slaves were labeled as "refuge," including one African man with a head injury, nine men and adolescent boys suffering from stomach injuries, one man "bleeding from the mouth," two men afflicted with "scurvy and were very thin," one man and woman labeled

¹⁵⁵ Miller, Way of Death, 426.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Walsh, *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, Vol. 2 (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1830), 479-485.

¹⁵⁷ Leonardo Marques, "Slave Trading in the New World: The Strategies of North American Slave Traders in the Age of Abolition," *Journal of the Early Republic* 32 (Summer 2012), 233. ¹⁵⁸ Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia," 147.

"dumb" or mentally incapacitated, alongside one adolescent boy suffered from inflamed lymph glands and "very thin." These slaves were sold for half the value of their healthier counterparts. Sometimes barbers and *sangradores* would take advantage of sick slaves who had arrived in port, purchasing them at lower prices in the city's slave market, treating them and then selling them later for a profit. Alternatively, they might be kept as their own. One African barber laboring in the slave trade, Ventura Ferreira Milles, died in 1844 as the owner of seven African slaves, for instance. In other cases, Bahian slavers sent "refuge" slaves to the more remote Brazilian province of Maranhão (including slaves "infected with epidemic illnesses and smallpox,") where buyers had little choice as the volume of the slave trade was much smaller.

The persistence of disease induced mortality in the slave trade caused European physicians to rethink their theories of pathology. As a result, there was a declining explanatory emphasis on humoral disequilibrium or corruption and an increasing focus on environment and nutrition, as well as racial difference, to explain the rapid spread of pathogens. In the late eighteenth century a number of physicians employed in Angola attempted to force the Portuguese Crown to impose greater regulations on how captives were housed before departure from Africa, and to improve how they were treated on board slaving vessels. An important element of such critiques, however, was the dismissal of the skill and knowledge of African barbers and *sangradores*. Their insistence on self-consciously humanitarian and empirically-informed remedies ultimately caused them to construct African healing knowledge and praxis as inherently unscientific and superstitious. Though

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ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 411, Papers of the São Miguel Triunfante,
 Claudio de Paula Honorato, "Valango: O mercado de escravos do Rio de Janeiro, 1758-1831," (dissertação de mestrado em história, Niteroi, UFF, 2008).

¹⁶¹ APB, Tribunal de Justiça. 05/1977/2449/10, Inventory of Ventura Ferreira Milles, 1846. ¹⁶² Walter Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: Culture Identity and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1830* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 2010), 127.

widespread acceptance of medical heterodoxy marked Bahian slavers' attitudes, then academically trained physicians increasingly voiced their disapproval of African medical practitioners as they proclaimed the exclusivity the effectiveness of their own healing knowledge.

For instance, the Bahian-born Luiz Antônio de Oliveira Mendes, a member of the Royal Academy of Science who had attended medical school in Coimbra, charged in 1793 that black sangradores ordinarily employed in the trade were "horrible surgeons." A letter to the Conselho Ultramarino penned six years later by Miguel de Mello Antônio echoed Mendes' sentiments, and advocated for sweeping reforms of what Mello saw as the inhumanity of the slave trade from Luanda. It was imperative for the Portuguese Crown to intervene, Mello asserted, because of the "sordid ambition" and greed of slaving ship owners who disregarded the high mortality rates within the slave trade. Inspired by similar reforms in the British slave trade, advised that in order to prevent epidemic disease aboard slaving ships, the quality and quantity of provisions had to be improved, the length of voyages shortened, and tightpacking of bondspeople in the cargo hold had to be abandoned. He dismissed the efficacy of medicine to cure infectious disease where conditions were so horrid that "the hand of man is not able to prevent or remedy." ¹⁶⁴ In addition, the slave hold was to be washed everyday with water and vinegar, ventilated to reduce humidity and smoked with herbs. Furthermore, the captain and surgeon should take care to bring each slave above decks every day, and give them a ration of anti-scorbutics in lieu of geribita or cane liquor which Mello argued was detrimental to the health of slaves as well as to shipboard tranquility. Instead, captains and

¹⁶³ Luiz Antônio de Oliveira Mendes, *Memórias Económicas da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, Para o Adiantamento da Agricultura, Das Artes, e Da Industria em Portugal, e Suas Conquistas, Tomo IV*, (Lisboa: Typografia da Mesma Academia, 1812), 29-30; Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "African Barbeiros," 217 f. 30.

¹⁶⁴ ANTT, Junya do Comércio, Maço 10, Caixa 36, Letter of Miguel de Mello Antônio, March 12, 1799.

surgeons should rinse slaves' mouths with vinegar and water as preventative measure to lessen the spread of epidemic disease. 165 Such recommendations revealed a reconceptualization of pathology, in which nutrition and environment played a greater role in contracting illness than did humoral disequilibrium. Mello also bitterly criticized black sangradores and barbers whom he dismissed as "ignorant" and lacking the skills to accurately diagnose disease or apply the appropriate medicine for treatment. Instead, they "only knew how to bleed, apply blistering cups and scarify." His critique constructed African and creole medical practitioners as both deficient and deviant, and faulted their prevalence in the slave trade for the high mortality rates experienced by enslaved people aboard slaving vessels. Mello juxtaposed the asserted ignorance and incompetence of barbers and sangradores with the scientific training of surgeons, who he argued were much better equipped to keep captives healthy on slaving vessels because of their empirically-rooted methodology.

In Brazil, as well as on the African coast, African medical practitioners were coming under attack for their supposed incompetency. Physicians lodged critiques against the profession in increasing racialized language, questioning not only the legitimacy of their therapies, but the innate ability of African peoples and slaves to provide effective medical care. In 1828, the British abolitionist Robert Walsh faulted the loss of 55 slaves and 8 crew members aboard the *Feloz* on the ship's medical practitioner claiming "This mortality did not arise from want of medicine. There was a large stock ostentatiously displayed in the cabin, with a manuscript book containing directions as to the quantities; but the only medical man on board to prescribe it was a black, who was as ignorant as his patients." By 1831, the Sociedade de Medicina in Rio de Janeiro sought to disqualify *sangradores* and barbers from

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* Vol. 2, 484-485.

professionally licensed status altogether, complaining that "these professions ... are not only for free men, [but for the] still ignorant, without principles, and are made up of unacculturated [African] slaves, on commission from their owners, thereby giving rise to unpleasant and inconvenient and very sad ... infractions of the laws that exist."

Thus it was not only *sangradores*' and barbers' lack of academic training that physicians and surgeons objected to, but rather their unfamiliarity with Luso-Brazilian culture, language and knowledge. Without access to said expertise, and familiar with only African derived medical knowledge, physicians assumed lay practitioners to be fundamentally inferior. Ten years later, another critic of the profession lamented that the ranks of *sangradores* were filled by:

ordinary stupid Africans, that sometimes do not even know how to express themselves, [and] learn to blood-let on the stocks of sprouts and then armed with sharp lancets, take their irons, often murderously on very delicate parts, intruding in to do the most difficult and dangerous bleedings, then, divested of the simplest (most harmless) knowledge, and... produce such evils that daily viewers are unmoved.¹⁶⁹

Implicit in this logic was the notion that blood-letting itself was a dangerous and antiscientific practice, mired in the backwardness and superstition of lay healing therapies derived from Africa.

Such shifting attitudes were informed by physicians' and surgeons' increasing sense of their own profession as uniquely able to provide legitimate and effective medical care, alongside the hardening of racial binaries. Academically trained physicians no longer assumed themselves to be but one form of healing among a variety of complementary therapies also provided by barbers, *curandeiros*, and midwives. Rather, they assumed a mantle

¹⁶⁸ Pimenta, "Terapeutas Populares," 319.

Pimenta, "Terapeutas Populares," 320.

as the exclusive providers of efficacious care. ¹⁷⁰ Physicians argued that African medical practitioners had failed to conform to their self-consciously empirically based forms of therapy, and de-legitimized African knowledge as an essentially anti-modern superstition, eliding the hybrid nature of African medical knowledge in Brazil which appropriated both European and African precedents.

The presumption that slave ship medicine was ineffectual and barbaric has also permeated contemporary scholars' descriptions of the trade, ¹⁷¹ a characterization which has sometimes obscured the complexity and dynamism of shipboard medicine. The slave trade fundamentally altered Atlantic landscapes of medical knowledge, both through incorporating African medicine and challenging pre-existing theories of disease. African medical practitioners were central to this evolution, providing not only their labor but also skill and knowledge to the treatment of captive slaves and crews. Despite credentialed surgeons' efforts to enact greater regulation of medical practitioners both in Brazilian cities, slaving merchants and captains operating in the early-nineteenth century continued to employ African and creole barbers and *sangradores* in large numbers. African medical practitioners themselves remained an integral part of the Luso-African commercial world created by the slave trade. In 1830, a group of 51 men returned to Bahia from Onim on an American brig. Of the group, 29 were African, born on the Mina Coast. Seven barbers and a host of other artisans were listed among the African passengers including Ventura Ferreira Milles, former slave of slaving merchant Vincente Ferreira Milles. They had brought with them a cargo of palm oil and African textiles which they had invested in and were carrying back to sell to the West African population living in the city of Salvador, and beyond. These men, all former slaves, had utilized their lucrative skills as highly mobile medical practitioners to amass

¹⁷⁰ Pimenta, "Terapeutas Populares," 319.

¹⁷¹ Miller, Way of Death, 420.

fortunes large enough to invest in foreign trade, while continuing to foster their transatlantic connections in freedom.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons and Command, Volume 19 (Great Britain: H.M. Stationary Office, 1831), Enclosure No. 62, 116.

CONCLUSION

Paul Gilroy's 1993 text *The Black Atlantic* remains a seminal theorization of the transcultural and ideologically radical roots of modernity. Therein, life aboard eighteenth century sailing vessels is deployed as a metaphor for the boundary-crossing politics that Gilroy argues defines the black experience. He explains that on ships "sailors [moved] to and fro between nations, crossing boarders in modern machines that were themselves microsystems of linguistic and political hybridity." The figure of the black sailor, in his formulation, becomes the locus of the cultural, intellectual and ideological hybridity that defined the Atlantic world. Drawing on the works of Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, Gilroy argues that the early modern black sailor was an anti-capitalist radical, who spread anti-slavery ideas throughout the communities of the Atlantic basin, further noting that "a quarter of the British navy was composed of Africans for whom the experience of slavery was a powerful orientation to the ideologies of liberty and justice."

Though Gilroy's Black Atlantic is populated exclusively by actors from Britain and its colonies, the essential hybridity which he argues characterized seafaring life can easily be applied to the maritime world of African and creole sailors in the Luso-African Atlantic. Within the South Atlantic, linguistic, commercial, and cultural elements of the Lusophone world circulated and combined with practices derived from a variety of West African communities. The hybridity of Luso-African Atlantic is particularly apparent when one considers that the success of Portuguese maritime activities was highly dependent on the seafaring expertise of Africans on both sides of the Atlantic. Though hybridity was constant

¹ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 12.

² Gilroy, The Black Atlantic, 13.

in the Atlantic, it developed from very distinct influences, and resulted in divergent outcomes. As *The Sea and the Shackle* illuminates, the salience of liberal democratic and anticapitalist ideology was much less pronounced in the Luso-African "Black" Atlantic. And while West African derived consumption habits, medicinal practices and maritime strategies thrived in the South Atlantic, they were far less prevalent in the North.

In addition to providing a valuable contrast to the scholarly consensus on how labor, commerce and slavery functioned in the North Atlantic, this study also seeks to offer a new perspective on how historians can understand the formation and operation of the Atlantic world system. The current literature has largely characterized mariners' place within the Atlantic as exclusively that of laborers and proletarians, and has thus theorized that the only agency expressed by these men could have been in opposition to capitalism. Like seafarers, enslaved Africans and their descendants are understood to have a similarly one-dimensional relationship to the expanding commercialization created and sustained by transatlantic travel.

In contrast, this study reveals that these actors cannot be placed into neatly discrete categories. In the South Atlantic, slaves could also be traders, and mariners could become merchants. Because the subjects of this work engaged in a multitude of commercial activities over the course of their lifetimes, their motivations remained complex and variable, and cannot be reduced to simple coercion or alternatively reactive resistance. Because of the multiple roles they inhabited, African and creole mariners of the Luso-African Atlantic were more akin the Central African "brokers" as described by Robert Harms than the proletarian sailors depicted by Marcus Rediker.³ Such brokers or middle men connected distant

³ Harms' work analyses the commercial strategies of Bobangi canoemen who connected merchants to up rivers suppliers through waterborne travel. Robert Harms, *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow: The Central Zaire Basin in the Era of the Slave and Ivory Trade, 1500-1891* (New

merchant communities, and were often defined by their ability to convert their cultural and linguistic flexibility and expertise into commercial capital, as many African mariners did.

By re-conceptualizing the role of mariners and slaves in the Atlantic system, *The Sea and the Shackle* also reimagines how transatlantic commercial networks functioned in practice. Bahian slave trading utilized African intermediaries, operated through corporate rather than individual investments, while maritime labor was motivated by trading privileges rather than violence and wages exclusively. Finally, the Bahian slave trade was responsive to enslaved Africans' specific commodity preferences. This model of commerce, rather than being strictly structured by the actions and desires of a small group of wealthy merchants, was decentralized and flexible, relying on a transatlantic network not only of merchants but of slaves, ship captains, small-scale traders, and commercial auxiliaries. Bahian transatlantic commerce operated effectively by knitting together the interests of a group of very diverse actors, rather by than consolidating the exclusive control of a monolithic group.

This fresh perspective on the transoceanic interactions that characterized the Luso-African Atlantic offers scholars the ability to ask new questions about the connected histories of these two regions. The existence of a transatlantic trade in African textiles and palm oil suggests that an Atlantic trade grew out of a smaller regional trade in these commodities, one that existed before the era of the slave trade. That Africans in the diaspora were able to successfully expand this trade with a decided paucity of resources leads us to ponder the various ways that transoceanic consumer markets were created and sustained during the early modern period. Instead of focusing exclusively on the power of merchants

Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 82-85. For more on brokers see, James F. Searing, "Brokers," in *The Princeton Companion to Atlantic History*, edited by Joseph C. Miller, Vincent Brown, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Laurent Dubois, Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 68-70.

to create consumer tastes, the development of such a market points to an alternative theory of Atlantic commercial life. Furthermore, this study can be used to re-evaluate the financial basis of transatlantic trades more generally. It suggests that, for instance, that corporate, rather than individualistic modes of investment were perhaps more commonplace than has traditionally been assumed. Finally, such research allows us insight into the ways in which material exchange shaped identity formation in the African diaspora. As scholars have noted, palm oil and textiles played an integral role the performance of certain forms of spiritual worship, particularly in the religion of Candomblé. That Africans in the diaspora actively sought out these liturgical materials was not simply a result of cultural preference, but owed much to the development of transatlantic trade. More than anything, this study argues for the necessity of linking the economic history of the Atlantic with the cultural history of the African diaspora.

Ultimately, however, this study contains a central paradox. While the slave trade functioned as a vehicle for individual social mobility for the enslaved and free African and creole mariners who labored within it, their labor and expertise facilitated the operation and expansion of transatlantic slave trading commerce, a process that came to ensnare millions in the often deadly traffic in human beings. If scholars are to begin to fully reappraise Gilroy's oppositional "Black Atlantic" and the wide-ranging and influential intellectual progeny of his

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⁴ Indeed, scant evidence suggests that in the North Atlantic sailors also invested in the slave trade though not explicitly permitted to do so by law. Lee Wilson details the case of a slaving ship sailor in colonial South Carolina who owned fifteen slaves on the vessel. More systematic study is needed to appreciate whether or not such practices were commonplace. Lee Wilson, "Masters of Law: English Legal Culture and the Law of Slavery in Colonial South Carolina and the British Atlantic World, 1669-1783," (PhD. Dissertation: University of Virginia, 2014), 164-165.

⁵ Luis Nicolau Parés, *The Formation of Candomblé: Vodun History and Ritual in Brazil*, trans, by Richard Vernon (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 117, 271; J. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 31, 119, 140, 233.

original formulation, it will require reckoning with a dark irony that was at the heart of economic enterprise and social relations in the maritime South Atlantic.

EPILOGUE

On October 27, 1835, 35 year old Tobias Barreto Brandão, a freed gege man and slave trader wrote a letter to the President of the Providence of Bahia. In it, he recalled the good conduct he believed he had always exhibited since coming to the city of Salvador at the age of seven as a slave, having never having been a target of suspicion like many freed Africans of the city. While attempting to travel to the island of Príncipe on business, however, Brandão was "unjustly arrested" after failing to have on his person the passport required by the Chief of Police. Though the African recorded his occupation as "tailor" on his passport, he was in fact a transatlantic merchant who had regularly travelled back and forth between Bahia and West Africa for years. Brandão argued that his conduct was legitimate, and he should be released immediately. The timing of Brandão's detention was no accident; it was but one signs of the changing place of African born sailors and traders in the currents of Bahia's transatlantic commerce.

Nine months earlier, one event had irrevocably altered white elites' attitudes towards the city's freed African population, as well as the desirability of the slave trade itself. In the dead of night, a group of fifty to sixty African rebels, after a skirmish with national guardsmen, attacked the city jail in Salvador's Palace Square and attempted to free African prisoners there. After proving unsuccessful, the group spread throughout the city, attracting additional rebels to their cause. Several hundred men then attacked two police barracks, but once cavalry men joined the city's police and military defense, the tide was quickly turned against the rebels, who then attempted to escape. Though the Muslim rebels who had planned the attack predicted slaves from the rural areas surrounding the city would join their

¹ NAL, FO 315/48, No.48, Papers of the Gratidão.

insurgency, the movement never expanded past a few hundred urban slaves and a handful or small rebellions on plantations.² The men's objectives reportedly included killing as many whites as they could in the city and inverting Salvador's racial hierarchy by establishing themselves as local elites.

Once the dust had settled the following morning, authorities in Salvador began a massive manhunt to locate, question and punish all the conspirators. This process was accompanied by widespread panic over the possibility of additional slave revolts gripped the city. For local authorities who had strongly supported the contraband transatlantic slave trade, despite its illegality after 1831, the rebellion became the only just cause for its termination, driven by the fear that Salvador was unwittingly importing an enemy population of hostile Africans. In early March of 1835, the President of the Province, Francisco Gonçalves Martins, addressed the General Assembly and urged for the "absolute prohibition of all direct trade with the ports of Africa." He argued that:

the fatal and dangerous consequences which may result from similar attempts [of rebellion] should open our eyes, Gentlemen, to the urgent necessity of taking serious and efficacious measures to prevent them. The first, in my opinion, should be directed towards preventing entirely the contraband of slaves, which in spite of the prohibition and of the penalties inflicted by the law, continues to be carried on clandestinely with scandalous recklessness.

Continuing the slave trade, Martins proclaimed, would only ensure that "every slave disembarked on our shores is a fresh barrel of powder thrown into the mine."

² João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1993), 73-92.

³ Correspondence with the British Commissioners, at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam: relating to the slave trade, 1835: presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty (Great Britain: Foreign Office, Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, 1836),

The Mâle revolt—labeled as such because its participants were African Muslims—created a lasting anti-African sentiment in the city, resulting in increasing legal restrictions on the African population in the city. The President touted such measures as necessary, asking for the "full authority to expel from the Brazilian Territory all free Africans who may become dangerous to our tranquility; such individuals not being born in Brazil, with a language, religion, and habits different from ours, and having by the late events shown themselves inimical to our peace, ought not to enjoy those securities which the constitution guarantees only to Brazilian citizens." Martins, together with the chief of police quickly mobilized to indiscriminately arrest freed Africans throughout the city, eventually trying 301 men and women as conspirators. The range of penalties for those found guilty, (only 28 were acquitted) ranged from death to flogging to prison, to deportation. A number of convicted insurgents eventually convinced authorities to allow them to travel back to West Africa, spurring a minor exodus of freed Africans from the city.

In light of widespread concerns about public security among the city's white population, police and local authorities became increasingly obsessed with possible subversive activities by the enslaved and free African and black population. In addition to repressing the practice of Islam, the sale and importation of African goods, and public gatherings of enslaved people, black mariners soon became targets of similar suspicions. Of all the accused Mâle conspirators, seven were boatmen (including six slaves and one

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First Enclosure in No. 170, Extract from Speech of the President of Bahia, Bahia, March 1, 1835, 238-239.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil, 189-222.

⁶ Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil, 206.

⁷ Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil, 220-221.

freedman), and one was a fishermen.⁸ Some insurgents were also carried into Salvador from surrounding plantations on lighters navigated by slaves in the days preceding the revolt, giving rise to the fear that black mariners were fomenting sedition in the countryside.⁹ The uncontrolled mobility of local black seamen, as well as their numerical dominance in the port gave rise to suspicions that such men could overtake one of the most important strategic locations of the city, or harbor fugitives if they so choose. In 1850, the municipal council prohibited all slaves and freedmen from employment in Salvador's port, and took measures to attract whites to maritime occupations.¹⁰

These regulations, together the increasing scrutiny of the African population of Salvador, and the gradual decline of the illegal slave trade after 1831, marked the dissolution of the vibrant Luso-African maritime culture that had once defined the port city of Salvador. Though West African freedmen and merchants—many of them Candomblé practitioners—residing in Bahia continued to make the passage back and forth to Africa to trade in sacred West African goods and solidify religious ties on the other side of the Atlantic, African mariners played a diminishing role in these transatlantic interactions. Ships travelling to West Africa became smaller and fewer in the decades following the Mâle revolt. The intimate ties of commerce, politics, and culture that had bound these two regions together—connections forged in large part by African and creole mariners—continued on, though in notably different ways.

⁸ Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil, 166.

⁹ Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil, 77.

¹⁰ Dale Torston Graden, From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil, Bahia, 1835-1900 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 37-39.

¹¹ L. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Relgion: Tradtion, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 95.

APPENDIX 1

1.1. List of Bahian Slaving Vessels Captured by British Anti-Slaving Forces Whose Ships Papers were included in this Study

No.	Ship's Name	Date of	Reference
		Capture	
	Arquiv	o National do	Rio de Janeiro
1	Venus	1811	Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio,
			Caixa 372
2	Urbano	1811	Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio,
			Caixa 371
3	São Miguel Triumfante	1812	Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio,
			Caixa 410
4	Divina Providencia	1812	Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio,
			Caixa 410
5	São Lourenço	1812	Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio,
			Caixa 410
6	Dezengano	1812	Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio,
			Caixa 369
7	Desforço	1813	Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio,
			Caixa 369
8	Intrepido	1812*	Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio,
			Caixa 411
	Arquiv	o do Itamaraty	Rio de Janeiro
9	Destino	1812	Comissão Mixta, Lata 10, Maço 2,
			Pasta 2
10	Feliz Americano	1812	Comissão Mixta, Lata 15, Maço 4,
			Pasta 2
11	Flor do Porto	1812	Comissão Mixta, Lata 16, Maço 4,
			Pasta 2
12	Lindeza	1812	Comissão Mixta, Lata 19, Maço 3,
			Pasta 3
13	Prazeres	1812	Comissão Mixta, Lata 26, Maço 6,
			Pasta 2
14	Emília	1820	Comissão Mixta, Lata 13, Maço
			14, Pasta 1
15	Dez de Fevereiro	1821	Comissão Mixta, Lata 10, Maço 3,
			Pasta 1
16	Esperança Feliz	1821	Comissão Mixta, Lata 15, Maço 1,
			Pasta 1
17	Comerciante	1822	Comissão Mixta, Lata 7, Maço 5,
			Pasta 1

18	Dois Amigos Brasileiros	1822	Comissão Mixta, Lata 11, Maço 2,
	_ 010 12111g00 21401101100	1022	Pasta 1
19	Crioula	1823	Comissão Mixta, Lata 15, Maço 1,
			Pasta 1
20	Heroina	1826	Comissão Mixta, Lata 17, Maço 4,
			Pasta 1
21	São Benedito	1826	Comissão Mixta, Lata 28, Maço 4,
			Pasta 1
22	São João Segunda	1826	Comissão Mixta, Lata 28, Maço 5,
	Rosalia		Pasta 1
23	Tentadora	1826	Comissão Mixta, Lata 30, Maço 1,
			Pasta 1
24	Venturoso	1826	Comissão Mixta, Lata 31, Maço
			47, Pasta 1
25	Providência	1826	Comissão Mixta, Lata 27, Maço 2,
			Pasta 1
26	Independencia	1827	Comissão Mixta, Lata 18, Maço 3,
	7	400=	Pasta 1
27	Príncipe de Guiné	1827	Comissão Mixta, Lata 27, Maço 1,
20		4005	Pasta 1
28	Trajano	1827	Comissão Mixta, Lata 30, Maço 2,
20	Tanada Daada	1020	Pasta 1
29	Terceira Rosalia	1828	Comissão Mixta, Lata 28, Maço 2, Pasta 1
20			Pasta 1
441	São Antônio	1929	Comissão Mixto Lata 21 Mago 2
30	São Antônio	1828	Comissão Mixta, Lata 21, Maço 2,
30			Pasta 1
	Na	tional Archives, I	Pasta 1 London
31	Na Andorinha	tional Archives, I	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14
31 32	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza	tional Archives, I 1828 1828	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12
31 32 33	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15
31 32 33 34	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2
31 32 33 34 35	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 1
31 32 33 34	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 1 FO 315/41 No. 6
31 32 33 34 35 36	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 1 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5
31 32 33 34 35 36 37	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 1 FO 315/41 No. 6
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 1 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/42 No. 20
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago Sociedade	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 1 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/42 No. 20 FO 315/41 No. 3
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago Sociedade Triumpho	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 1 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/42 No. 20 FO 315/41 No. 3 FO 315/42 No. 11
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago Sociedade Triumpho União	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/42 No. 20 FO 315/41 No. 3 FO 315/42 No. 11 FO 315/42 No. 11 FO 315/42 No. 13
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago Sociedade Triumpho União Zepherina	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/42 No. 20 FO 315/42 No. 3 FO 315/42 No. 11 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/44 No. 8
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago Sociedade Triumpho União Zepherina Emelia	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/42 No. 20 FO 315/42 No. 3 FO 315/42 No. 11 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/41 No. 8 FO 315/42 No. 19
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago Sociedade Triumpho União Zepherina Emelia Emília	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/42 No. 20 FO 315/42 No. 3 FO 315/42 No. 11 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/42 No. 19 FO 315/43 No. 23
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago Sociedade Triumpho União Zepherina Emelia Emília Não Lendia	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/42 No. 20 FO 315/42 No. 3 FO 315/42 No. 11 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/42 No. 19 FO 315/43 No. 23 FO 315/44 No. 24
31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46	Na Andorinha Bella Eliza Donna Barbara Clementina Nova Viagem Penha de França Santa Effagenia Santo Iago Sociedade Triumpho União Zepherina Emelia Emília Não Lendia Nossa Senhora da Guia	tional Archives, I 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 1828 182	Pasta 1 London FO 315/42 No. 14 FO 315/42 No. 12 FO 315/42 No. 15 FO 315/41 No. 2 FO 315/41 No. 6 FO 315/41 No. 5 FO 315/41 No. 3 FO 315/42 No. 11 FO 315/42 No. 11 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/42 No. 13 FO 315/44 No. 8 FO 315/43 No. 23 FO 315/44 No. 24 FO 315/44 No. 25

50	Tentadora	1829	FO 315/43 No. 21
51	Umbelino	1829	FO 315/43 No. 27
52	Emprehendedor	1839	FO 315/44 No. 32

^{*}The Intrepido was not captured by the British

1.2 Traffic to the Port of Salvador da Bahia in 1808¹

List of Ships that Enter and Leave the Port of the Captaincy of Bahia in 1808			
Arriving from	Number	Leaving for	Number
Alagoas	16	Alagoas	6
Alcobaça	3	Alcobaça	1
Bangala	1	Angola	1
Buenos Aires	1	Bahia	4
Cabo Verde	1	Caravelas	23
Caravelas	21	Calhao de Lima	1
Bahia	2	Mina Coast	17
Corolipe	4	Charleston	1
Mina Coast	22	Gibraltar	8
Cotenguiba	56	Spain	1
Island of Príncipe	1	Island of Madeira	7
Islando of Madeira	7	Island of Barlavento	1
England	32	England	21
Lisbon	16		1
London	3	Lisbon	1
Macão	1	London	4
Monte Video	2	Maranhão	3
Paratí	1	Para	1
Parnagua	3	Parnugua	3
Pernambuco	14	Paratí	1
Porto Calvo	1	Pernambuco	8
Porto de Pedras	1	Rio Grande	90
Rio Grande	80	Rio de Janeiro	35
		Rio de São Francisco do	
Rio de Janeiro	35	Norte	2
Rio de São Francisco do		Rio de São Francisco do	
Norte	5	Norte	2
Rio de São Francisco do		Rio de São Francisco do	
Sul	1	Sul	1
Rio Real	5	Rio Real	6

¹ ANRJ, Fundo 7X, Junta do Comércio, Caixa 448, "Mappa dos Navios que Entrarão, e sahirão do Porto da Capitania da Bahia em 1808"

Santa Catheirna	4	Santos	5
Santo Antônio Grande	3	São Matheus	15
Santos	2	Sergipe d' El Rey	5
São Matheus	13	Santa Cahterina	4
Sergipe d' El Rey	5	Santo Antônio Grande	4
Una	1	Santo Antônio Menim	2
Total	364	São Tomé	1
		Torre	1
		Total	285

1.3 Slaves Exported from the Bight of Benin²

Years	Number of Slaves
1601-1625	3,528
1626-1650	6,080
1651-1675	52,768
1676-1700	207,436
1701-1725	378,101
1726-1750	356,760
1751-1775	288,587
1776-1800	261,137
1801-1825	201,054
1826-1850	209,742
1851-1866	33,867
Total	1,999,060

 $^2\mathrm{Figures}$ from Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.

APPENDIX 2

2.1 The contents of the Venus' *botica* provided by Manoel Joaquim Dias e Sampaio in 1812:

Camphor (Alcamfor)	East Asian derivation, used to treat ardors of the stomach and bladder, persistent fever
Rose Water (agoa rozada)	Used as an astringent, aromatic medium to dissolve other substances
Nutmeg (Noz moscada)	South Asian derivation, used to make several compounds including an antiseptic, aromatic powders, oils to treat flux, cough, vomiting, diarrhea
Paxorins	Unidentified
Arabic Gum (Goma arabica)	North African derivation, used to treat ulcers, prepare medicinal gums, dissolved in water to make viscous solutions, and treat diarrhea
Saffron (Asafrao)	Mediterranean derivation, used as a component in tonics to treat dysentery, cough, fevers, infectious disease
Almond Oil (Oleo de Amendoas)	Middle Eastern derivation, used as an astringent
Spirit of Vitriol/Sulphuric Acid (Espiríto de Vitriolo)	
Extract of Saturn (a mixture of lead, acetate, and lead oxide)	Dissolved in water to make a sedative, to treat inflammations, and ulcers
Powdered Cream of Tartar (Cremor de Tartaro em pó)	Used to make purgative syrups, electuaries, pastes, pills, to treat fevers, hemorrhoids
Deer antler shavings (Raspas de Veado)	Used a variety of chemical compounds including silver nitrate, muriatic acid/marine salt added to tonics to treat infectious and contagious disease, fevers
Marcela	South American derivation, used to make infusions, to treat colic, epilepsy, nausea, and gastric problems including diarrhea and dysentery, also used as a pain reliever and anti-inflammatory
Red Poppies (Papoulas Rubras)	Mediterranean derivation, used to make a syrup to treat chest afflictions, (bloody) cough, general anodyne, emollient, purgative
Flower of Sabugueiro (Elderberry)	European derivation, used as diaphoretic, expectorant, to treat scarlet fever, rubella, pulmonary hemorrhages, skin ailments
Spirits of Cinnamon (Espiríto de Canella)	Mediterranean, South Asian, North African derivation, used to treat typhoid fevers,

	digestion, uterine hemorrhage
Tincture (Tinteira de composta)	or alcohol to make distillations
Water of Cinnamon (Agoa de Canella)	Aromatic used to make tonics
Manna (manna novo)	From the Mediterranean, as a syrup from the
	Manna tree or powdered, used as a purgative,
	to treat dropsy
Camel Ointment (Unguento de camelo)	Used to treat wounds
Alcea Ointment (Unguento de Alcea)	Derived from the flower of the mallow
Incea Ontinent (Onguento de Tucca)	family, found in Europe and Asia, used to
	treat wounds, cleansing to ulcers, used for
	treatment of dysentery
Maca Caustica (poisonous apples)	Not used for treatment
Powdered Peruvian bark/Quinine (Casca	Peruvian derivation, used to make tonic, an
Peruviana em pó)	expectorant, to treat pulmonary infection,
1 /	malaria, and fever, anti-inflammatory,
	analgesic
Spirits of Rosemary (Molhos de Alecrim)	European derivation, infused in water to
	create tonics, antiseptic vinegar to treat
	infectious disease, fevers
Spirits of Lavender (Molhos de Alfazema)	Used as an antispasmodic
Spirits of White Vitriol (Molho de Vitriolo	Used to make eye drops, astringent powders,
branco) (zinc sulfate)	to treat ulcers,
Spirits of Bitter Salt, Epson Salt, suphate of	Used as a sedative in small doses, or a diuretic
magnesia (Espiríto de Sal amagro)	or purgative for constipation, cramps
Pure Saltpeter (Nitro puro)	Taken orally for typhus, syphilis, tetanus,
	atonic dysentery, chronic hepatitis, pulmonary
	hemorrhage
Salt of Wormwood (Sal de Losna)	Used for fevers, stomach ailments, dysentery
Powdered Jalapa (Jalapa em pó)	Brazilian and Central American
	derivation(from Indigenous usage), powdered
D 1 1 D1 1 1 (D 1 1)	root, strong purgative
Powdered Rhubarb (Ruibarbo em po)	Asian derivation, laxative
Rose honey (Mel rozado)	Used in combination with other medicines
Basilicon ointment (unguento bazilicão)	Made of rosin, wax, olive oil, and Burgundy
W/1:	pitch used on blisters, ulcers, burns, sores
White ointment (Unguento branco) (of lead	Use on burns, for skin ailments, cooling and
oxide, wax and oil)	drying Dortugues derivation used as smallight
Linseed (Linhaca)	Portuguese derivation, used as emollient, laxative and diuretic
Emollient herbs (Ervas Emolientes)	Emollients
Cipo (or Ipecacuanha)	Brazilian derivation, emetic, used to treat
	dysentery
Ervas Peitoraes (pectoral herb)	Used for cough, consumption, respiratory
	illness
Sarsaparilla (Salcaparilha escolhida)	Brazilian derivation, used as a sudorific,
	antirheumatic, diuretic, to treat buboes,

	syphilis
Common Plaster/Poultice (emplasto	Made of flour base, applied to skin for
commun)	soreness and inflammation
Gummed Plaster/Poultice (emplasto	Or emplasto diaquilou gomado, made of lead
gomado)	oxide, olive oil and water, used as an
	emollient
Comforting Plaster (emplasto confortativo)	Applied to skin to heal fractures and wounds
Soapy Liniment (Linimento saponacio)	Soap made with opium, used to treat
	inflammation, rheumatic pain
Liquid Laudanum	Portuguese derivation, opium based sedative,
	used to treat gonorrhea and fevers
Spirits of Cochlearia (scurvy-grass)	European derived, used in mouthwashes to
	treat scurvy, bleeding gums, hemorrhages
1 Spatula	Instrument to make shavings
Fuming Nitrous Acid (ácido nitroso fumante)	Used to synthesize Nitric ether, to treat
	nervous fevers, apoplexy
1 Mortar and Pestle (almofariz)	Used to pulverize herbs and other medicinal
	components
Dissolution of Alum stone (agoa forte)	used to dissolve other elements, astringent
	used to dry ulcers, wounds and treat warts
Glass bottles, sacks and boxes	

Table based on information in¹

¹ Theodoro J.H. Langgaard, Diccionario de medicina domestica e popular...Com 236 figuras intercaladas no texto, Vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Eduardo & Henrique Laemmert, 1865); J.B. Fonssagrives, Tratado de Hygiene Naval ou da Influencia das Condicoes Pysicas e Moraes em Que Esta O Homem do Mar (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1862); Jacinto da Costa, Pharmacopea naval, e castrense: offerecida ao illustrissimo senhor, Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Impressão Regia, 1819); Pharmacopeai Geral Para o Reino, e Dominos de Portugal Publicada por Ordem da Rainha Fidellissima D. Maria I, Tomo II Medicamentos Simples, Preparados, e Compostos (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1794); Caetano de Santo Antônio, Pharmacopea Lusitana Augmentada Methodo Pratico de Preparar os Medicamentos na forma Galenica, e Chimica, Quarta Edição (Lisbon: Mosteiro d eS. Vicente de Fora, Camara Real de Sua Magestade Fidelissima, 1754); Francisco de Fonseca Henriques, Medicina Lusitana, soccorro delphico, a os clamores da naturesa humana...(Amsterdam: Caza de Miguel Diaz, 1731); Lourival Ribeiro, Medicina No Brazil Colonial (Rio de Janeiro: 1971).

2.2 Contents of the *botica* of the Firmeza (1839)²

Burnt Wine (Vinho queimado)	Used to treat fevers
English Water (Agua de inglaterra)	Made of magnesium sulfate and quinine,
	treats fever, malaria, analgesic
Basilicon ointment (unguento bazilicão)	To treat used on blisters, ulcers, burns, sores
Tamarind Pulp (polpa de tamarindos)	Sub-Sahara African derivation, treats scurvy,
1 4 1	fever, intestinal ailments
3 Syringes (Siringas)	
1 balance (balanca)	
Pectoral herbs	"To make hot tonics for cough and fever"
Emollient herbs	"To make a hot bath for pains"
Oats (Civada)	
Marcela	South American derivation, used to make
	infusions, to treat colic, epilepsy, nausea, and
	gastric problems including diarrhea and
	dysentery, also used as a pain reliever and
	anti-inflammatory
Elderberry Flower (Flor de Sabugo)	Emollient
Mustard	"for the poultice, and given with vinegar for
	bladder pains"
Castor Oil (Oleo de Recino)	Mediterranean, Asian and African derivation,
,	used as a purgative or enema, to treat skin
	conditions
Lavender (Alfazema)	Used to make hot tonics to treat fevers and
	cough
Parsley (salsa)	Used to infuse tonics, as a diuretic
Thread	
Blistering cups (Ventozas)	Used for cupping, when heated and laid on
	skin, attracts blood to the capillaries
Deer antler shavings (Raspas de Veado)	Used to treat infectious and contagious
	disease, fevers
Arabic Gum (Goma Arabia)	North African derivation, used to treat ulcers,
	prepare medicinal gums, dissolved in water to
	make viscous solutions, and treat diarrhea
Magnesium Sulfate/ Epsom Salt (Sulfaeto de	2-12 grams to produce vomiting or purging,
Guinap.a)	treating fevers
Liquid Laudanum	Analgesic
White ointment (Unguento branco) (of lead	Use on burns, for skin ailments, cooling and
oxide, wax and oil)	drying
Arceo Balm (Balsamo de Arceo)	Made of tallow, turpentine and lemon
Ointment for Scabies (Unguento para as	
Sarnas)	
Alvacada	Unidentified

 $^{^{2}}$ NAL, FO 315/45 Papers of the $\emph{Firmeza},$ no. 34

Poultice of Spanish Flies (Emplasto de	Used to treat ulcers, wounds and sores
Cantharidas)	,
Powdered Ipecacuanha	South American derivation, powerful emetic
Powdered Jalapa	South American derivation, powerful
	purgative
Balsamo Catholico (anodyne balsam)	Made of castile soap, camphor, saffron and
	spirit of whine, used to treat pain
Antimony potassium tartrate/ Emetic Tartar	Used as an emetic
(Tartaro emetico)	
Pos de Joanes	Used to treat ulcers, yaws and wounds,
	particularly relating to venereal disease, mixed
	with sweet mercury
Sweet Mercury (Mercurio doce)	Used to treat ulcers and wounds, particularly
	relating to venereal disease (syphilis)
Alum (Pedra Hume)	Used as an escharotic for diseased skin, to
	treat smallpox
Lipis Stone (Pedra Lipis)	Used to make liquid astringent, and treat the
	bloody flux (dysentery)
Verdeta em pó	Not identified
Gummed diaquilon plaster (Emplasto	Plaster made of lead oxide, olive oil and
diaquilon gomado)	water, used as an emollient
Poultice with Mercury (Emplasto de Bans	Not identified
com mercurio)	h
Perolas da Familia	Not identified
Powdered Rhubarb (Ruibarbo em pó)	Asian derivation, used as a laxative
Powdered Peruvian bark/ Jesuit's Bark/	Peruvian derivation, used to make tonic, an
Quinine (Quina em pó)	expectorant, to treat pulmonary infection,
	stomach and intestinal problems, and
	gastronal or bilious and typhoid fever, pain-
D 1 1 C CT + /C 1	killing and anti-inflammatory
Powdered Cream of Tartar (Cremor de	Used to make purgative syrups, electuaries,
Tartaro em pó)	pastes, pills, to treat fevers, hemorrhoids
Saltpeter (Nitro em pó)	Taken orally for typhus, syphilis, tetanus,
	atonic dysentery, chronic hepatitis, pulmonary
Extract of Satura (a minture of load agotate	hemorrhage
Extract of Saturn (a mixture of lead, acetate, and lead oxide) Extracto de Saturno	"para fazer agua de bijeto"
Silver nitrate (Pedra infernal)	Used to desiccate tumors, warts, ulcers,
onver muaic (i cura internai)	cauterize wounds
Camphor (Alcamfor)	East Asian derivation, used to treat ardors of
Campion (Aucannor)	the stomach and bladder, persistent fever
Flaxseed (Semente de Linhaça)	To treat hernias, sores, as an emollient, and to
inasced (centence de Linnaya)	make ointments
Almond oil (Oleo de Amendoas doces)	Astringent, emollient
White Vitriol (Vitriolo branco)	"Put in water to cure eye pain"
Nutmeg (Noz moscada)	South Asian derivation, used to make several
radines (1102 moscada)	podui risian denvadon, used to make several

	compounds including an antiseptic, aromatic powders, oils to treat flux, cough, vomiting, diarrhea
T'	
Tincture of Spanish-flies (Tintura de	Made of powdered Spanish flies (common in
Cantharidas)	Brazil) and alcohol, stimulant, rubefacient,
	used to raise blisters, treat asthma, tumors,
	some paralysis, toothache, bruises, respiratory
	illness
Opodeldoc	Liniment, mixture of castile soap, alcohol, and
	herbs including camphor and wormwood, to
	treat bruises and swelling
Asafoetida	Central Asian derivation, used to make
	tincture to treat abscesses, venereal disease,
White lead (Alvaiade)	Used as an astringent to treat skin abrasions.
Cathartic Salt/ Sodium Sulfate/ Glauber's salt	"For purges"
(Sal Catartic)	
Burraxinha para os direr gatorios	Unidentified
Sedelites	To treat fevers and hemorrhoids
Bitter Water (Agua Amarga) emetic tarter	Used to treat constipation, "Take one dose in
dissolved in water	the morning and the other at night, in
	intervals of thirst"

Table based on information in³

2.3 Contents of the *botica* on the *Dois Amigos Brasileiros* in 1824⁴

Rose Honey (Mel Rosado)	
	Used to treat strokes, convulsions, (bloody) cough, abscesses, poor blood circulation, small pox lesions
Catholic Balsam (Balsamo Catholico)	
Powdered Cream of Tartar (Cremor de	

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Theodoro J.H. Langgaard, Novo formulario medico e pharmaceutico ou Vademecum medicum, (Rio de Janeiro: Eduardo & Henrique Laemmert, 1868), Eugene Soubeiran, Nuevo tratado de Farmacia Teorico y Pratico, Vol. 3 (Lima: Espresada Sociedade, 1817), Antônio Gomes Lourenço, Cirurgia Classica, lusitana, anatomica, farmaceutica, medica, a mais moderna, (Lisbon: Officina de Antônio Rodrigues Galhardo, 1761), Ephraim Chambers, Cyclopaedia, Or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, (London: W. Innys, A. WArd, J. and P. Knapton, 1743), Manuel Hernandez de Gregorio, Diccionario Elemental De Farmacia, Botanica, y Materia Medica, Vol II, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1803), Caetano de Santo Antônio, Pharmacopea lusitana augmetnada: methodo pratico de prearar os medicamentos, (Lisbon: Mosteiro de s. Vicente de For a, 1754), Jeronymo J. de Figueiredo, Flora Pharmaceutica e Alimentaria Portugueza, (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1825)

⁴ AHI, Coleções Especiais, Comissão Mixta, Lata 11, Maço 2, Pasta 1, Papers of the *Dois Amigos Brasileiros*, 77-79.

tautaua am ná)	
tartaro em pó)	
White ointment (Unguento branco)	
Spirit of Sal Ammoniac (Espirito de Sal	
ammoniaco)	1. 1
Anodyne medicines (Medicamento anódino)	Analgesic, pain relief
Rhubarb syrup (Xarope de Ruibarbo)	
Mercurio doce	
Sulphuric Mercury (Mercurio sulfurico)	
Nitric Acid (Acido nitrico)	
Castor Oil (Oleo de Ricinos)	Purgative, laxative, anti-inflammatory
Powdered Rhubarb (Ruibarbo em pó)	
Arceu balsam (Balsamo de Arceu or	Stimulant and digestive ointment, to dress
Unguento Elemi)	ulcers, made with Turpentine
Compound Rose Ointment (Unguento	
Rosado composto)	
Opium (Opio)	Analgesic
Solimao	Not identified
Pedra Infernal	Not identified
(?)torios de Tartaro	Not identified
Sheets of tin (Folhas de Flandres)	Used to make a face mask to punish slaves,
	prevents eating and drinking by covering the
	mouth of the wearer
12 Cups for blood-letting (Ventozas)	
1 pair of scissors	
1 cast (estreito)	
Large laces for bandages (cadarco largo para	
ataderas)	
3 volume measures	
1 Mortar and pestle	
1 New balance with all of her weighs and	
measures up to 24 grams in silver (Balanca	
nova com todos os seus pezos e granatarios	
ate 24 grams de prata)	
2 Syringes	
2 Pipes	
Ointment of Althea (Unguento de Althea)	Used to treat hemorrhoids
Powdered Spanish Fly (Cantharidas em po)	Used to treat ulcers, wounds and sores
Assafoetida (Asafetida)	Middle Eastern and South Asian derivation,
	plant used as an antispasmodic, expectorant,
	diuretic, and to treat digestive problems
Lead Salt (Sal de Chumbo) or Sal de Saturno	Used to cleanse and cauterize ulcers
Pedra Lipes	
Senna (Senne)	Common in Asia, Americas, Europe and
	Africa, used as a purgative, to treat fever,
	venereal disease

Flower of Sulphur (Flor de Enxofre)	
Linseed (Linhaca)	Portuguese derivation, used as emollient,
Imiseca (Iminaca)	laxative and diuretic
Mustard (Mostarda)	Middle Eastern, and Indian derivation, used
(Modulat)	to treat rheumatism, sciatica
Cocoa Butter (Manteiga de Cacão)	Central and South American derivation,
8	emollient
Barley (Cevada)	
Arabic Gum (Coma Arabia)	North African derivation, used to treat ulcers,
	prepare medicinal gums, dissolved in water to
	make viscous solutions, and treat diarrhea
Simaruba Bark (Cascas de Simaruba)	South American derivation, used to treat
	dysentery
Alum (Alumem)	Not identified
Salsaparrilha	
White Vitrol (Vitriolo branco)	Purgative
Thread (Fios)	
Pectoral herbs (Especies peitoraes)	Used to treat respiratory ailments
Antiscorbutic herbs (Especies antscorbuticas)	Used to treat scurvy
Vulnerary herbs (Especies vulnerarias)	Used to treat wounds
"Legitimate" Agua de Inglaterra (Agua de	Used to treat malaria, fevers
Andre Lopes)	
Quinine Wine (Vinho quinado)	Used to treat malaria, fevers
Manna	From the Mediterranean, as a syrup from the
	Manna tree or powdered, used as a purgative,
	to treat dropsy
Unguento Basilicão	Ointment
Tamarind Pulp (Polpa de Tamarindos)	Antiscorbutic to treat scurvy
Powdered Quinine (Quina em po)	South American derivation, used to treat
	fevers
Doubled dissolution of Alum (Agua forte dobrada)	
Anti-scorbutic Electuary (Electuario	
antscorbutico)	
Bruised Quina bark (Quina contuza)	Anti-malarial, used to treat fevers
Electuary of Senna (Electuario de Senne)	Common in Asia, Americas, Europe and
	Africa, used as a purgative, to treat fever,
	venereal disease
Pos de Dover	Used to treat fevers, and rheumatism,
	mercury used to treat venereal disease,
	understood Gonorrhea as a kind of leprosy,
	mercury as a treatment of gonorrhea, syphilis
M	and yaws
Mercury chloride (Calomelanos preparados)	Purgative, cathartic
Cinnamon Water (Agua de Canella)	Aromatic used to make tonics

Pepper mint Water (Agua de hortelaa	Aromatic used to make tonics
pimenta)	Attornatic used to make tornes
Mercurial ointment (Unguento mercurial)	To treat lesions characteristic of syphilis
	Not identified
Viscous Plaster (Emplastro visicatorio)	
Ointment of Saturn (Pomada de Saturno)	To treat lesions characteristic of syphilis
Epsom Salt (Sal de Epsom)	Emetic
Fine Turpentine Salt (Sal de Terebenthina fina)	Not identified
Saltpeter (Nitro purificado)	Taken orally for typhus, syphilis, tetanus,
	atonic dysentery, chronic hepatitis, pulmonary
	hemorrhage
Tincture of Quinine (Tintura de quina	
composta)	
Liquid Laudanum (Laudano liquido de Londres)	Analgesic
Sweet Almond Oil (Oleo de amendoas doces)	Emollient, astringent
Lead Vinegar (Vinagre de Chumbo)	
Copaiba Balsam (Balsamo de Cupaiba)	Brazilian derivation, local to Bahia treats fever
	and mucous inflammations, especially
	gonorrhea and bronchitis, yellow fever,
	pneumonia, tuberculosis, appetite stimulant
Rose water (Agua rosada)	Aromatic
Turpentine Spirits (Espirito de Terebenthina)	Used to treat small-pox lesions
2 Varas de Elefante	Not identified
Linen cloth	
1 knife	
Powdered Jalapa (Jalapa em pó)	Brazilian and Central American
	derivation(from Indigenous usage), powdered
	root, strong purgative
Powdered Pink Root (Lombrigueira em pó)	Used to treat intestinal worms
Ipecacuanha em pó	Emetic
Tincture of Spanish-flies (Tintura de	Made of powdered Spanish flies (common in
Cantharidas)	Brazil) and alcohol, stimulant, rubefacient,
,	used to raise blisters, treat asthma, tumors,
	some paralysis, toothache, bruises, respiratory
	illness
Agua da Rainha	Emetic
Papel aparado para atlacar	Unidentified
Pos de Joannes	Used to treat ulcers, yaws and wounds,
	particularly relating to venereal disease, mixed
	with sweet mercury
Emollient herbs (Especies emolientes)	
Carminative herbs (Especies resolutivas)	To relieve gas and aid digestion
Febrifuges herbs (Especies Febrifugas)	Herbs to reduce fever
Rose water (Agua rosada) Turpentine Spirits (Espiríto de Terebenthina) 2 Varas de Elefante Linen cloth 1 knife Powdered Jalapa (Jalapa em pó) Powdered Pink Root (Lombrigueira em pó) Ipecacuanha em pó Tincture of Spanish-flies (Tintura de Cantharidas) Agua da Rainha Papel aparado para atlacar Pos de Joannes Emollient herbs (Especies emolientes) Carminative herbs (Especies resolutivas)	and mucous inflammations, especially gonorrhea and bronchitis, yellow fever, pneumonia, tuberculosis, appetite stimulant Aromatic Used to treat small-pox lesions Not identified Brazilian and Central American derivation(from Indigenous usage), powdered root, strong purgative Used to treat intestinal worms Emetic Made of powdered Spanish flies (common in Brazil) and alcohol, stimulant, rubefacient, used to raise blisters, treat asthma, tumors, some paralysis, toothache, bruises, respiratory illness Emetic Unidentified Used to treat ulcers, yaws and wounds, particularly relating to venereal disease, mixed with sweet mercury To relieve gas and aid digestion

Marcela	South American derivation, used to make
	infusions, to treat colic, epilepsy, nausea, and
	gastric problems including diarrhea and
	dysentery, also used as a pain reliever and
	anti-inflammatory
Bitterwort or Gentiana lutea (Genciana)	European derivation, used to treat digestive,
	liver and bladder ailments, combined with
	purgatives
Calumba	East African derivation, the root is used to
	make tinctures and infusions, and used as a
	tonic and stomachic.
Virginia snakeroot (Serpentaria)	North American derivation, aromatic bitter to
	aid digestion
Lead carbonate (Alvaiade fino)	Luiz Antônio de Oliveira de Mendes
	recommends a mixture of lead carbonate,
	with dende oil, and corn flour, to make a
	plaster to treat painful boils caused by bacteria
Common plaster (Emplastro comum)	
Gummed plaster (Emplastro gommado)	
Plaster of hemlock (Emplastro de Cicuta)	Used to treat scirrhous tumors, cancers,
	scrofula (tuberculosis)
Stomatal Plaster (Emplastro Estomatico)	
Mercurial Plaster (Emplastro Mercurial)	
(?)nonjas	Unidentified
Teriaga magna	Emetic
Nutmeg (Noz mascados)	South Asian derivation, used to make several
	compounds including an antiseptic, aromatic
	powders, oils to treat flux, cough, vomiting,
	diarrhea
Rosemary (Alecrim)	Aromatic

The total value of the *Dois Amigos Brasileiros' botica* including instruments was 283\$920 reis by apothecary or *botocario* João Lourenco Seixas. ⁵ The ship's *sangrador* was Florencio da Silveira, a freed man from Angola. ⁶ Table based on information in. ⁷

⁵ AHI, Coleções Especias, Comissão Mixta, Lata 2, Maco 11, Pasta 1, Papers of the *Dois Amigos Brasileiros*, 9.

⁶ *Ibid*, 9.

⁷ Robert A. Voeks, Sacred Leaves of Candomble: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); Jornal de Coimbra Vol. 12 (Lisbon: Impressão Regia, 1818); Pharmacopea geral para o reino o dominios de Portugal, Tomo II, Medicamentos simples, preparados e compostos (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1794); Jacinto da Costa, Pharmocopea naval, e castrense, Tomos I & II (Lisboa: Impressão Regia, 1819); Robert Bartholow, A Practical Treatise on Materia Medica and Therapeutics (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897); Charles Edward Armand Semple, Aids to therapeutics and materia medica (London: Bailliere, Tindall & Cox, 1878); Robert Christison, A Dispensatory, or Commentary on the Pharmacopoeias of Great

2.4 Barbers, Sangradores and Surgeons on Bahian Slaving vessels: 1812-1829

Name	Occupation	Ship's Name	Year of Voyag e	Destinatio n	Age	Legal Status	Race	Origin / Place of Birth		Investment
Manoel dos Reis	Barber	Venus	1811	Badagry	25	Freed, single	Preto	Mina Nation	120\$000	
Antônio Gomes	Barber	Urbano	1811	Cabinda, Angola		Freed	Preto	Mina Nation	200\$000	
Domingos do Rozario	Barber	São Miguel Triunfante	1812	Ajuda		Slave of Francisco Luiz de Souza	Preto	Bahia	100\$000	13 canadas of aguardente, 34 canadas of dende oil, 7 large corals, 2 large pannos da costa, 3 small pannos da costa
Francisco Alvez	Second Barber	São Miguel Triunfante	1812	Ajuda						13 canadas of aguardente
Lino Ricardo Gomes	Barber	Divina Providencia	1812	Porto Novo, Badagry,		Freed	Preto	Mina Nation		85\$800, consisting of 10 rolls of tobacco
Domingos	Second Barber	Divina Providencia	1812	Porto Novo, Badagry		Slave of Ignacio Antunes Guimares (ship's owner)	Preto	Mina Nation	50\$000	4\$800
a Teixeira de Souza	Barber	São Lourenço		Ajuda		Freed	Preto	Nation		65\$500 consisting of 36 canadas of aguardente, and 10 rolls of tobacco
Raimundo	Second Barber	São Lourenço	1812	Ajuda		Slave of Domingos Jozé Correa		Bahia	50\$000	

Britain (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1842) Pierre Pomet, Nicolas Lemery, Josephy Pitton, A Complete History of Drugs, (J. and J. Bonwicke, S. Birt, W. Parkers, C. Hitch, and Wicksteed, 1748), Pedro Luiz Napoleao Chernoviz, Diccionario de medicina popular: M-Z, (E. & H. Laemmert, 1851), Lourival Ribeiro, Medicina no Brasil Colonial (Rio de Janeiro, 1971), Melvina Araujo, Das Ervas Medicinais a Fitoterapia (Atelie Editorial, 2002).

Joaquim de Nação Angola		Ü	1812	Porto Novo, Ajuda		Slave of Dona Francisca Maria do Sacrament o		Angola		
Antônio Neves	Master Barber	Desforço	1813	Badagry	"30 and some	Freed, single	Preto	Nation, Gege	70\$000	37\$750 consisting of 7 rolls of tobacco, 44 canadas de aguardente
Firmiano	Second Barber and steward (despensair o)	Desforço	1813	Badagry		Slave of Jozé Tavares Franca (ship's owner)	Creol e			15\$800, consisting of 40 rolls of tobacco and 10 canadas of aguardente
Ignacio Jozé	Sangrador	São Benedito	1831	Molembo		Freed	Preto	Gege	Private	
Leandro Jozé da Costa	Barber	Comerciante	1822	Rio de Camarão, São Tomé and Príncipe, Molembo		Freed	Preto		200\$00 and a "praca livre" to transpor t one slave free of freight	One young male slave
José Marques	Sangrador	Crioula	1823	Onim		Freed	Preto	Gege	120\$000	
Antônio Ribeiro Filgueira	Barber	Destino	1812	Porto Novo		Freed	Preto	Mina Nation	100\$000	
Antônio de Nasção Mina	Barber	Destino	1812	Porto Novo		Slave of Reverendo Padre João Mendes		Nation	50\$000	
Florencio da Silveira	Sangrador	Dois Amigos Brasileiros	1824	Badagry		Freed	Preto	Angola	150\$000	
Jozé Joaquim de Moraes	Sangrador	Emilia	1820	Ajuda, Cabo- Corso, Acara, Onim		Freed	Preto	Gege nation, born in Ajuda,	120\$000	12 rolls of tobacco, 2 ancoras of Aguardente, 1 adult male slave
Joaquim José Baptista	Surgeon	Esperança Feliz	1821	Onim	23	Free, married	Pardo	Bahia	200\$000	

Torilio	Barber	Feliz	1812	Porto	1	Slave of	Preto	Mina	200\$000	Orregad
	Darber	Americano	1012	Novo		Francisco	Preto	Nation	200\$000	102\$704
Reipia		Americano		Novo				Nation		
						Luiz Reina				consisting
										of 8 rolls of
										tobacco, 6
										pieces of
										clothand 72
										canadas of
										aguardente
Joaquim	Second	Feliz	1812	Porto			Preto		50\$000	Owned
Lopes	Barber	Americano		Novo		Domingos		Nation		48\$352 in
						Lopes				trade goods,
										consisting
										of 4 rolls of
										tobacco,
										and 37
										canadas of
										aguardente
Jozé de	Barber	Flor do	1812	Onim		Slave of	Preto	Mina	100\$000	
Nasção		Porto				Jozé de		Nation		
Mina						Souza				
Francisco	Sangrador	Heroina	1826	Ajuda			Preto	Mina	200\$000	
de Nasaret				'				Nation		
Barilio	Sangrador	Independenci	1827	Molembo		Slave of	Cabra	Bahia	300\$000	
		a				Jozé				
						Cerqueira				
						Lima,				
						owner of				
						the ship				
Agostinho	Barber	O Beato	1816			Slave of				1 ancoreta
Jozé		Antônio				Manoel				of
Ricardo						Jozé				aguardente,
										18\$000
Dionizio	Barber	Lindeza	1812	Onim	32	Freed	Cabra	Bahia	100\$000	Owned
Alves										213\$108 in
Pereira										trade goods,
										consisting
										of 74
										canadas of
										aguardente,
										containers,
										9 massos of
										beads,
										textiles
Felippe	Barber	Minerva	1823	Onim	40	Freed,	Preto	Mina		
Serra						single		Coast		
Antônio	Barber	Prazeres	1812	Cabo de		Freed	Preto		1\$000	
Jozé de				Palmas,				Nation	" - " - "	
Carvalho				Popo,						
				Ajuda,						
				Cabo						
				Corso						
Raymundo	Sangrador	Príncipe de	1827	Ajuda				São	100\$000	
Cardozo		Guiné	- \ _ '					Tomé		
Manoel	Surgeon	Príncipe de	1827	Ajuda	28			Bahia	250\$000	
Felicianno		Guiné								

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Firmiano	Sangrador	Providencia	1827	Onim		Slave of Joaquim Jozé de Oliveira, owner of the ship		Hausa	150\$000
Antônio Mendes	Sangrador	Terceira Rosalia	1828	Popo			Preto		160\$000
Antônio de Aranjo de Santa Anna	Barber	Tentadora	1826	Ajuda	30		Preto	Mina	200\$000
Luiz Joaquim Bahia	Sangrador	Trajano	1827	Molembo			Preto	Mina	120\$000
Vicente Francisco Camaxo	Sangrador or Barber	Venturoso	1826	Badagry	50		Preto	Mina	180\$000
Ignacio Gomes	Sota- Sangrador	Venturoso	1826	Badagry	50		Preto	Mina	180\$000
João	Sangrador	Nova Viagem	1828	Molembo		Slave of Vicente de Paulo Silva, the ship's owner		São Tomé	200\$000
Ignacio José	Sangrador	Sociedade	1828	Mina Coast, São Tomé, Molembo	43		Preto	Mina	180\$000
Luis Joaquim Bahia	Sangrador	Zepherina	1828	Cabinda, São Tomé	32	Freed	Preto	Gege	150\$000
Luiz Ignacio	Sangrador	Pehna da França	1828	Mina Coast				Benin	140\$000
Bento Jozé Gonsolvez	Sangrador	Uniao	1828		28	Freed	Preto	Angola	200\$000
Joaquim de Santa Anna	Sangrador	Triumpho	1828		20	Free	Creol e	Bahia	Private
Caetano Maciel	Sangrador	Emelia	1829	Ambriz		Freed	Preto	Mina	Private
Constantin o da Roxa	Sangrador	Bella Eliza	1828	Cabinda			Preto	Тара	Private
	Sangrador	Andorinha	1828	Cabinda, Mina Coast, São Tomé		Slave of Joaquim Jozé de Oliveira, the owner of the ship		Gege	Private
Joaquim	Sangrador	Donna Barbara	1828	Cabinda	17	Slave of Antônio Santa Anna	Preto	Nagô	Private

Jozé	Sangrador	Santa Iago	1828	Mina Coast, Cabinda, São Tomé		Slave of Geraldo Rodrigues Perreira		a	150\$000	
Honorio	Sangrador	Primeira Rosalia	1829	Cabinda	20	Slave of Maria de Jezus	Preto	Mina	200\$000	
Paulo (Pedro?) Antônio do Outeiro	Sangrador	Emilia	1829	Mina Coast, São Tomé, Molembo	46	Freed	Preto	Gege		
Domingos Antônio	Sangrador	Umbelino	1829	Cabinda	36		Preto	Mina	200\$000	
Jozé Egidio	Sangrador	Tentadora	1829	Molembo			Preto	Mina	170\$000	
Ternirano	Sangrador	Não Lendia		Cabinda		Slave of Joaquim José de Oliveira, owner of the ship	Preto	Hausa	250\$000	
Alberto Felis de Santa Anna	Sangrador	Nova Resolução	1829	Mina Coast, São Tomé, Cabinda			Preto	Mina		Owned 1 barrel of gunpowder, 1 barrel of aguardente and 2 shotguns

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