ETHNICITY AND ECONOMY:  
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORIGINS  
OF SLAVE ORGANIZATION IN BRAZIL. 

by 

Suzette McCord  
B.A., University of Nebraska, 1968

Submitted to the Department of  
History and the Faculty of the  
Graduate School of the University  
of Kansas in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree  
of Master of Arts.
ABSTRACT

The state of Brazil produced optimum opportunities for African slaves to organize ethnic associations and other institutions which allowed them to retain their African traditions. This thesis examines quilombos, slave revolts, and slave organizations in Brazil from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

The thesis argues that African cultural survivals were important to the way of life developed by slaves in the New World. It further stresses that ethnic forms—both political and social—provided the structural models for the most successful slave organizations.

Several conclusions emerge from this study. First, African slaves drew on their political and cultural experiences to recreate African institutions and to solve the complexities of multi-ethnic group interaction in Brazil. Second, acculturation theories for areas outside the United States need revision because they primarily derive from European biases which have caused researchers to miss much of the real dynamics of slave interaction in Brazil and the Caribbean. Finally, an understanding of African history is indispensable to an analysis of first generation slaves in the New World. Africa and Brazil have been linked economically and technically from at least the fourteenth century. Additional research needs to be conducted on this topic which would provide important evidence of Africa's influence on the world's economy.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several people played a part in the production of this thesis. I would like to thank my committee members for their extreme patience and guidance on many points. Dr. Thomas Lewin deserves special mention for his role as chairman directing, advising and coordinating the thesis as a whole. Dr. Elizabeth Kuznesof provided invaluable assistance and guidance on the Brazilian material. Dr. Richard Sheridan was particularly helpful in refining key points in the thesis.

I am indebted to the National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship under whose auspices I was able to conduct research at the Biblioteca National in Rio de Janeiro. I would like to thank Dr. Jon Vincent for facilitating my access to the Biblioteca National. Also, I am grateful to the staff of the Biblioteca National for their assistance in locating my sources.

I am totally indebted to Jan Linley and Mike F. Lechtenberg for their assistance and continuous moral support. I am particularly grateful to Janet Crow and Connie Randel, who not only typed this production but made several useful suggestions which improved the technical quality. Finally, I want to acknowledge my family for their unending moral support and encouragement. I particularly want to thank my mother, Lois R. McCord and my sister, Yvonne McCord for not only believing in me, but for never allowing me to forget it. I am extremely proud of and grateful to my father, Donald C. McCord, who constructed the maps in the appendices and provided technical advice on the other maps in the text.

iii
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I: THE LUSO-BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE ON THE AFRICAN COAST 1545-1850</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-European African Setting</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteenth Century Trading Forts</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Relations with the Kongo Kingdom 1482-1600</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luso-Brazilian Trade Patterns in the Seventeenth Century</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Coastal and Forest Kingdoms in the Seventeenth Century</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteenth Century Portuguese Trading Patterns</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Angolan Coast in the Eighteenth Century</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fall of Oyo and the Disruption of Yorubaland 1800-1850</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II: SLAVE AND SLAVE ORGANIZATION IN BRAZIL 1500-1888</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of the Brazilian Sugar Economy</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slave Composition 1545-1600</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Luso-Dutch Alliance 1575-1600</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeenth Century Slave Activities</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Growth of Subsidiary Industries</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gold Boom in the North</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves in the Mining Region</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cotton Boom in the North</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development in São Paulo</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slave Activities in the South</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III: QUILOMBOS: THE CREATION OF AFRICAN POLITIES IN BRAZIL</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Discussion of Quilombos</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Palmares Quilombo</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison Between the Kongo Kingdom and the Palmares Quilombo</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the Evidence</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilombos in the Mining District</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrosio and Grand Quilombos</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlotta Quilombos</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabaquara Quilombo</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

CHAPTER IV: ETHNIC SLAVE REVOLTS IN BAHIA 1807-1835 .......................... 121

Introduction ........................................... 121
Urban Conditions ...................................... 122
General Discussion of the Revolts ....................... 127
The Brazilian Reaction to the Revolts ................... 132
Historiography of the Revolts .......................... 137
Evidence of Ethnic Organization ......................... 141
The African Background ............................... 147

CONCLUSION ............................................. 156

APPENDICES ............................................. 158

Appendix A ............................................ 158
Appendix B ............................................ 161
Appendix C ............................................ 164
Appendix D ............................................ 166
Appendix E ............................................ 170
INTRODUCTION

Two major interpretations of African acculturation have emerged in the literature. The older tradition best known through the works of Melville Herskovits emphasizes African cultural survivals in the New World. Recent scholars such as Richard Price and Sidney Mintz have taken the opposite view that so called slave culture was developed out of their common experience in the New World slavery and not out of their common African heritage. For example, in "Toward an Afro-American History," Sidney Mintz states that runaway slaves created viable communities (maroons) in the hinterland after they acquired the techniques of cultivation in an alien environment. Mintz suggests that slaves did not use their African skills in the New World because of the heterogeneity of the slave population itself.

A major part of the literature on African societies in Africa and the New World has been written by anthropologists. This is in part due to the past neglect of Africa by historians. Despite the renewed interest in Africa and a growing recognition of the importance of the African cultural milieu in studies of New World slavery, African history has not been utilized as a vehicle to understand slave organizations, adaptations and contributions to the New World. Even New World history is frequently ignored by anthropologists. Rare indeed are studies which consider both African and New World sources.

Another point is that the majority of early anthropological studies done in Africa were commissioned by the British government. Colonial officials had a predetermined notion that African political and social systems were organized around kinship. The official attitude was inevitably reflected in the anthropologist's conclusions.
which prevented a full recognition of the depth and political genius of African societies. This means that until recently the importance of Africa's history and culture was not sufficiently understood or accounted for in acculturation studies. Such studies would benefit from a more balanced interdisciplinary approach with an increased reliance upon historical methodology as well as facts.

Extant primary evidence was written by abolitionists, planters, ex-slaves, and travelers. Travelers and planters were usually not familiar with African culture so their works are heavily influenced by European ethnocentrism. The abolitionists themselves were the unwitting victims of planter propaganda. Ex-slaves in turn wrote under the influence of the abolitionists; for example, Olaudah Equiano, whose account is frequently cited by modern scholars, was later active in the anti-slavery movement. The biased nature of these primary sources should be recognized because the uncritical acceptance of the prolific literature produced by planters and abolitionists has led to a perpetuation of a planter propaganda among modern researchers.

Planters sought to rationalize slavery by emphasizing the negative attributes of their slaves. They also played on the idea that they were subject to constant revolts (perhaps as a rationale for their harsh treatment). Another myth fostered by planters was the idea that they deliberately chose slaves of diverse ethnic origin to reduce the threat of rebellion. This implies that slaves of different ethnic backgrounds were influenced by ethnic antagonisms derived from their common advantage.

Sidney Mintz and Richard Price support this line of thought by emphasizing the heterogeneity of slave groups introduced in the New
World had in common only their enslaved state, all languages, institutions, and value systems developed in the New World are predicated upon New World conditions and not African traditions. It is true that an individual or society displaced from their cultural context and placed in a new situation will inevitably change. However, the model for slave organizations and institutions in the New World is going to be built on African values and experiences. To suggest otherwise would deny the strength and the richness of the African heritage. It seems reasonable that slaves would structure their organization upon African models rather than choose models from the society of their oppressors.

According to Sidney Mintz slavery in the New World created "a kind of babel." Slaves could not communicate with one another because of the diversity of their languages. This view overlooks the existence of extensive trade networks throughout Africa. The emergence of centralized states among the BaKongo, Asante, and Yoruba facilitated the development and florescence of trade and trade languages. A trade language was used by the Portuguese along the coast of West Africa and frequently slaves already spoke this tongue when they arrived in the New World. The Imbangala and BaKongo people from the Angolan and Kongo regions had a trade jargon based on the interchange of commonly used words. In fact, the resulting blend of vocabularies represents a major research problem for ethnic identification in Brazil where both groups were present in large numbers. Olaudah Equiano, an Ibo slave, who was sold to many masters before embarking for the New World comments on the ease of learning different African languages.

The languages of the different nations did not totally differ, nor were they so copious as those of the Europeans, particularly the English. They
were therefore easily learned and while I was journeying through Africa I acquired two or three different tongues.4

Perhaps the emergence of pigdin can be ascribed to the language difficulties between slave and master rather than that between slaves.

The emphasis on cultural diversity is based first, on the assumption that slaves were heterogeneous in social origin and second, that they were not imported in sufficient numbers to recreate African based social and political systems. Planters from Jamaica, Surinam and Brazil liked to claim that slaves would fight among themselves rather than unite against the plantation owners.

The fallacy of this claim is demonstrated by the frequent slave rebellions in these areas as well as the existence of maroons and quilombos. In fact, although the planters may have preferred to purchase a heterogeneous group of slaves they were limited by the availability of slaves in Africa. Slavers took what slaves were available and so did the planters.

In certain cases, slave groups from centralized African states with strong cultural traditions were imported in large enough numbers that they could dominate the internal political organization of slaves in those areas. The domination of one ethnic group within a number of African peoples was possible not only because of the numerical superiority of a particular African group but also because those within the dominant group shared traditions in social organization and authority patterns. The alliance of subordinate African peoples with the dominant group can likewise be understood in terms of commonalities among the ethnic traditions of the African peoples represented.
Examples of this include the BaKongo in the seventeenth century and the Fulani and Yoruba in nineteenth century Brazil. In Jamaica, the Coromantyne or Asante were imported in unusual numbers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and slave culture and political organization in Jamaica can be shown to follow the ethnic patterns of those cultures in that period.

The idea of a common culture is supported by Philip Curtin and Basil Davidson. Basil Davidson feels that Africans were both strong and numerous enough to apply African customs and beliefs in the New World. Philip Curtin states that slaves developed their way of life in the New World out of the commonalities of their African heritage. Both support the idea that West African societies have a bond because their languages are similar enough to provide a basis for communications and that their economic and social institutions while different were mutually understandable.⁵

This thesis supports the argument that African cultural survivals were important to the way of life developed by slaves in the New World. It goes further in arguing that ethnic forms--both political and social--provided the structural models for the most successful slave organizations. I have used the particular example of Brazil--the largest importer of slaves in the history of the African slave trade.

The problem of what constitutes an ethnic form is clearly central to the issue of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of African groups in the New World. Frederik Barth has defined an ethnic group as a population which

...shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms...and has a
The question of the boundaries defining a group becomes central to this question. However, boundaries may vary to define a more or less specific or inclusive group. For example, the revolt of 1835 was an example of multi-ethnic participation. In this situation, a particular ethnic group (Yoruba) provided the leadership and the bulk of the participants, but a larger African principle, Islam, provided the overall structure and the bond necessary for unified action which included other African ethnic groups. This is a case of a specific group operating within the bounds of a more inclusive group.

The Palmares quilombo affords another example of multi-ethnic cohesion. A specific ethnic group, the BaKongo provided the economic and political structure. However, the quilombo operated within the wider context of African culture based on shared agricultural technology, principals of communal property ownership, kinship and redistribution. These examples of specific ethnic organizing principles operating within an inclusive cultural background are also similar to multi-ethnic polities common in pre-colonial Africa. Africans drew on their political and cultural experience to solve the complexities of ethnic group interaction in Brazil. The multi-ethnic mode provided a larger unifying political structure at the same time that the maintenance of specific ethnic identities provided not only the motivation for organization but also the necessary skill to do so effectively.

In this thesis, I have approached the question of ethnicity in its relation to slave organizations from several directions. In
chapters one and two, I have analyzed the slave trade in its relation to the economic history of Brazil in order to determine the homogenity or heterogeneity of the slave population in different regions of Brazil by period and by the geographic and ethnic origins of slaves. From these chapters, it is clear that although, planters may have in certain periods (not always) preferred to purchase a diverse group of slaves to avoid revolts, that it was the political changes in Africa which most determined which slaves were most numerically predominant in a given region of Brazil in a particular period. Differences in the slave trade--such as the fact that Bahia had a separate trade on the Mina coast and the Bight of Benin--also determined differences in the ethnic makeup of slaves within a particular region. This analysis provided the basis for a further matching of the ethnic characteristics of the major slave groups present in a given region with the political and social structural models utilized within slave organizations developed in the region during the period.

At the same time that the primary focus of the thesis is on the ethnic core in New World slave organizations, I found that the economic and demographic formations within which slave organizations developed had considerable significance to the type of and composition of slave organizations developed. Quilombos--clandestine African slave communities--were the focus of this analysis in chapter three. Optimal conditions for the development of quilombos, which require the presence of a large uninhabited hinterland, existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Brazil. After this period Portuguese expansion into the interior and increased urbanization made revolts the form of reaction more often chosen in the nineteenth century. Three types
of quilombos are analyzed. The seventeenth century quilombo derived from the Northeastern plantation economy was a large multi-ethnic, self-sufficient centralized polity. Slaves escaping from the plantation in this period had no means of disappearing into urban structures and—even when their ethnic group was a lesser power in a particular quilombo—they were happy to be included. Quilombos developed around the eighteenth century mining economy tended to be smaller, to be more ethnically specialized (due to the specific mining skills of the Minas and also to new options created by urbanization and by the presence of a now freed black population), to be based primarily on economic rather than political principles, and to be involved with and dependent for resources on the Brazilian economy. The nineteenth century quilombo created by abolitionists in São Paulo can be seen in this context as the exception that proves the rule that an ethnic core or structuring principle was essential to the development of a successful quilombo. The abolitionist quilombo was highly heterogeneous, had no central political or religious organizing principle, and did not provide the necessary political or economic stability.

In chapter four, the ethnic bases and economic formations characteristic of slave resolts are analyzed. Revolts were the result of the more limited organizational choices available to slaves after the growth of cities and population in the backlands. Revolts were also a function of the formation of state structures in Africa. This had the effect of introducing not only large number of warriors but the ideology basic to nineteenth century state formation in Africa, Islam. The early revolts between 1807 and 1816 were less structured, smaller units with a more exclusive ethnic composition. Revolts between 1826
and 1830 represent a gradual evolution toward a more organized, multi-ethnic effort. This trend is realized by the inclusion of economic interests as well as ethnic goals in the 1830 revolt, which was the most successful prior to that of 1835. The culmination of this evolution was realized in the 1835 revolt which embraced the larger organizing principle of Islam within a multi-ethnic context.

The importance of economic and demographic circumstances to the kind of slave organization formed, as well as the specific goals and the political or economic principles structuring the organization are clear from this work. More important, however, is the salience of the ethnic core in each of the slave organizations which were successful as measured by length of organization, ability to provide economic organization and sustenance to members, and the existence of a commonly recognized governing body. The pattern of cultural survival in Brazil was dependent upon the strength and level of the mother culture. Those groups from centralized African states possessing strong concepts of self-identity either ethnic or religious tended to dominate slave organizations. They had the political acumen and economic experience necessary to reconstruct African society in the New World.
Footnotes


4. Equiano, Great Slave Narratives, p. 23


CHAPTER I
THE LUSO-BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE ON THE
AFRICAN COAST 1545-1850

Introduction

Brazil imported 4,192,018 slaves from Africa between 1545 and 1850. Portuguese slave ships brought more than slaves, they introduced African culture to the New World. Slaves from similar ethnic areas were imported in such concentrations that they not only retained their culture, but also maintained their religion and language in Brazil. An awareness of African history is therefore, indispensable to a clear understanding of African slave society in the New World.

The strongest examples of slave organization in Brazil occurred in the Northeastern captaincies and the mining districts where particular ethnic groups were concentrated. Therefore, the identification of ethnic groups in Brazil is vital for analyzing quilombo activity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Bahian revolts in the nineteenth century. This chapter examines the slave trade in Africa because exporting coasts and ports in Africa provide the clearest identification of ethnic composition in Brazil. An economic and political analysis of the African side of the slave trade is necessary because African political and economic developments determined which ports would be open, and what trade goods were acceptable. This had a direct effect upon Brazilian choice of ports and consequently, the ethnic groups available for export. Africans determined which ports would be open, the method and terms of trade, and what trade goods were acceptable. This had a direct effect upon the ethnic origins of Brazilian slaves.
This chapter will focus upon Bahian trade patterns because of the intense slave activity in the Northeast throughout the colonial period. The Bahian trade cycle included four major regions: the Guinea coast from 1550 to 1600, the Angolan coast during the seventeenth century, the Mina coast from 1800 to 1875, and finally, the Bight of Benin from 1770 to 1851. Bahia also supplied the mines with the most contentious slaves which resulted in the heightened slave organization in the mining district. There is a direct correlation between the trade cycles and slave resistance. For example, there was more quilombo activity during the Mina cycle and more revolts during the Bight of Benin cycle. The Angolan cycle did not generate a similar response from Angolan slaves. Rio merchants confined their activities to Lower Guinea, primarily the Kongo and Angola, throughout the slave trade. Angolans, in Northeastern Brazil and the mining districts, were generally led by groups from the Mina coast and the Bight of Benin.

An analysis of Portuguese trade with the Kongo Kingdom is also included because BaKongo slaves organized the first major quilombo in Pernambuco during the seventeenth century. This seeming anomaly is due to the structure of Pernambuco's trade. Unlike Bahia, Pernambuco did not have its own ships so it was forced to rely on Portuguese ships. This meant that most of the slaves came from first, the Kongo Kingdom, and second, Angola. Pernambuco was also the first sugar producing captaincy which meant that it received the bulk of slave shipments during the Kongo Kingdom trade cycle.

In order to understand the historical significance of African slave activities in Brazil, it is necessary to consider the African political and economic setting. In Brazil, unlike the United States,
the majority of the slaves were first generation Africans called 'salt water slaves' by the creoles. Slave revolts and quilombo activity have in the past, been explained as a reaction against the cruel ties of slavery. This may have contributed to revolutionary and fugitive activities, but slave organizations had a much greater historical importance than the "mere accidental explosion of desperate slaves against the tyranny of their inhuman masters." The Bahian revolts represent the recreation of events occurring in nineteenth century Africa. The Yoruba and Hausa, under the direction of the Fulani practiced Muslim politics in the New World.

The Pre-European African Setting

Three distinct environmental zones shaped the course of African history: the desert, the savannah and the forest region. Nomadic groups lived in the desert. Their wealth was based on cattle, sheep, and goats. They served as middlemen in the trans-Saharan trade and the main trade item was salt. The desert necessitates a low population density and transhumance, consequently, political systems tended toward segmentary lineages rather than permanent polities.

The savannah supported a dense population engaged in sedentary farming. Political boundaries in this period were not fixed, rather they shifted according to which outlying areas paid tribute to the center. The introduction of the horse and, later, guns revolutionized savannah society because they provided mobility and made possible the development of cavalry forces.

The forest region developed at a later stage, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. States in the forest region were smaller and
closer together because of communication and transportation problems. Military structure and weapons were completely different from those of the savannah. Forest states relied on infantries for protection because horses and cattle could not survive in the forest due to the tsetse fly. The dense forest also presented clearing and transportation problems. Forest peoples adopted labor intensive plantation systems and used slaves to clear the forest and to farm. Since it takes a large population to clear the forest, low population was one of the reasons for the late development of these states. The European introduction of cassava and maize produced a population increase which allowed polities to develop in the forest zone.

The uneven distribution of resources encouraged trade between the regions. Trading centers were located in the transition zones between regions. Centers of specialized production developed early in West Africa. Rock salt was mined in the Sahara and exchanged for gold. Centers specializing in iron production also developed. Other regions grew cotton and produced cotton cloth, an important trade item. As a result, an extensive internal trade developed between the different environmental zones. The economic exchange between people led to political and cultural exchanges. Specialized economic castes, such as blacksmiths, goldsmiths, leaders and traders also developed. Hausa and Djula traders were scattered throughout West Africa spreading their language and religion.4

Africans were familiar with multi-ethnic societies, and in fact, the presence of economic castes facilitated the acceptance of other cultures and created a common cultural base for West Africa as a whole. West Africa is extremely stable. It maintained its cultural integrity
for long ages because it was not subject to migrations and invasions like East Africa. Trade provided intensive intercultural contact and change. This meant that West African groups imported into the New World had a common basis for organization. The Portuguese did not understand this aspect of African culture. Most of the tension among slave groups involved West Africans, Angolans, and creoles. West African ethnic groups maintained separate ethnic associations; however, they joined forces for major organizations such as revolts or quilombos. The Portuguese thought that by importing different ethnic groups from one region, that they would prevent slave revolts. This policy backfired for it was West African groups, who, by and large, provided the leadership and organization for revolts.

Pre-sixteenth century Africa was characterized by the rise of Muslim political entities in the interior and the spread of Islam towards the south. States also began to develop in the intermediate zone between the savannah and the forest regions. Ife, Benin and Oyo were important forest states by the end of the fifteenth century. Perhaps the most important influence was the spread of Islam. Islam stresses literacy. Reading and writing brought the advantages of long distance communication because they linked Africa with the larger Islamic community in the North. In these early polities, Islam was the religion of the ruling class, the majority of the people did not convert. Non-Muslim rulers employed Muslim scholars in their courts and Muslim traders were welcome everywhere. This early Islamic influence was to set the stage for the development of nineteenth century Islamic states.
Fifteenth Century European Trading Forts

Europeans went to West Africa for gold, not slaves, in the fifteenth century. The Portuguese began trading for gold dust along the West African coast in 1442. In this early period, slaves were traded for gold, later Brazilian gold was smuggled to Africa to buy slaves. At first, slaves were obtained by raiding isolated coastal villages until the Portuguese realized that local chiefs were willing to sell slaves. The first feitora (trading factory) was established at Arguim in 1445.5

The Portuguese also penetrated the Gambia River in an attempt to tap the gold trade in that region. They were unable to establish contact and thus, had little impact on the interior gold trade. There were too many middlemen and the trade was still oriented towards the north and east. By 1482, the Portuguese were able to get gold through Elmina because the mines in modern day Ghana had been opened by this time and the Djula were willing to trade with the Portuguese. The Portuguese opened another trading fort at Axim in 1508. In an effort to obtain more slaves for the gold trade, the Portuguese opened trading relations with the Kongo Kingdom in 1483.6

Prior to the European presence on the coast there was little coastal development; African trade routes were oriented towards the interior. The Portuguese dominated European trade on the West African coast until 1600. This activity was limited to establishing trading forts on the coasts. These forts were mere depots for goods, the Portuguese had no political control. Land was rented from local states who charged, in addition a variety of other fees, duties and charges. Also the states charged for the privilege of trading, with separate
fees for anchorage, wood and water. A variety of brokers and interpreters had to be paid. Ceremonial goods were required to open and close negotiations. These fees and duties varied from coast to coast, depending upon local trading conditions and the strength of local African authorities. 7

This trade pattern was followed throughout the duration of the trade. Europeans were confined to the coast and forced to deal with African middlemen. The Europeans were actually content to remain on the coast, because of the high European death rate, there was barely enough personnel to man the forts. A Dutch report comments on African trading restrictions in the seventeenth century.

Nobody is allowed to buy anything from Europeans on this coast, except the agents and merchants whom the King has named for this purpose. As soon as one of our ships drops anchor, the people inform the King, and the King appoints two or three agents and twenty or thirty merchants whom he empowers to deal with the Europeans.8

Trade was conducted by barter. African traders drove hard bargains. An English sea merchant reported that:

These people are very clever in bargaining. They will not overlook a single bit of the gold they offer for sale. They use their own weights and measures, and they are very careful how they use them. Anyone who wants to trade with them must do so honestly, for they will not trade if they are badly treated.9

Trade on the Gold Coast was conducted in gold dust, the Kongo Kingdom used cowrie shells, while Angolan states preferred raphia cloth. These were only some of the many goods exchanged. There were multiple exchange rates for goods exported from Africa, while imported goods had a fixed rate. Slaves or ivory could be bargained for, but cloth, guns and iron had a fixed rate.10 These trading conditions existed on the
West African coast. A different set of conditions existed in Central Africa, namely in the Kongo and Angolan Kingdoms.

Portuguese Relations with The Kongo Kingdom, 1482-1600

The Portuguese kept absolute control over the Kongo and Angola, with the exception of a brief period between 1641 and 1648, when the Dutch held Luanda. There was no European competition and African rulers were not able to follow a policy of shifting alliances. The Kongo Kingdom chose a unique solution to the problem of encouraging European contact without losing territorial control of their realm. This approach failed eventually due to a combination of internal discord and Portuguese manipulation. Nevertheless, the Kongo Kingdom held its hegemony over the coastal kingdoms and sovereignty against the Portuguese from 1482 to 1550.

The Kongo was one of the most powerful kingdoms in Central Africa in the sixteenth century. The boundaries stretched from the Congo River in the north to the Stanley Pool and Nsele River in the east. The Loje River marked the southern boundaries. For a more detailed boundary delineation, please refer to the map on p. 20. Territories lying outside these borders to the east, southeast and south, recognized the sovereignty of the mani Kongo and sent tribute payments.11

Portugal first contacted the Kongo Kingdom in 1482. In 1483, the Portuguese returned to Mpinda and left four missionaries at the court, taking four Kongo nobles to Portugal. The mani Kongo decided to adopt Christianity and began converting his countrymen. This is one of the few examples of an African Kingdom choosing to adopt European ways. The King hoped by taking the initiative in adopting Portuguese culture that he would ensure a trade monopoly with the Europeans, and at the
The Kingdom of Kongo in the Sixteenth Century

Map II, The Kongo Kingdom
From Jan Vansina, Kingdoms of the Savannah.
same time control any ensuing political or cultural change. To this end, the ruler requested technicians, priests and teachers to establish schools and churches in his Kingdom. In addition, he requested possession of the island of São Tome and a fleet of ships to conduct direct trade with Portugal. These requests were denied by the Portuguese Crown because they wished to control the Kongo economically, judicially and religiously.12

Approximately 50,000 slaves were exported to Brazil between 1545 and 1600. Pernambuco imported 25,000 of this total from the Kongo, because Pernambuco, at this time, was the major producer of sugar and tobacco. Salvador (Bahia) was a close second with 20,000 slaves from Upper Guinea.13 Rio took the remaining 5,000 slaves. The presence of Kongo slaves in Pernambuco is significant because of the development of quilombo activity in this region by 1603. Slave trade statistics are provided in Appendix B.

At first, Portugal purchased slaves which they exchanged on the Gold Coast for gold dust. The slave trade increased in volume and importance after the development of sugar plantations on São Tome and Principe, in 1500.14 The demands for slaves increased so that by 1526 Portuguese traders and technicians began seizing Kongo citizens. Affonso I, the Kongo chief, complained to the King of Portugal:

There are many traders in all corners of the country. They bring ruin to the country. Everyday people are enslaved and kidnapped, even nobles, even members of the King's own family.15

The slave trade was threatening the political stability of the Kingdom. Affonso I restricted Portuguese traders to the capital and Mpinda, and appointed an inspection board to identify all slaves. This policy was
effective in controlling the Portuguese, but it became evident that rival Kongoese political factions were selling their own people to the slave traders. By 1530, four to five thousand slaves were annually shipped from Mpinda to São Tome.

A brief examination of the political structure is useful at this point, because it was reconstructed by Kongo slaves in the New World. In addition, the lack of clear succession rules contributed to the decline of the Kingdom by 1550. The Kongo was a centralized kingdom. The ruler appointed district officials and Provincial Governors. These officials could be removed from office at any time. The rulers nominated their relatives to key posts within the political structure. The office of 'Crowned Chief' was open to any candidate. Chiefs were chosen by a council of twelve men. The lack of clear succession rules was the major weakness of the system, because the Kingdom was open to civil warfare among the candidates.

Additional problems surfaced in 1520 and again in 1530, when Affonso I sent some silver rings to Portugal. The Portuguese knew there were copper mines in the Kingdom, now they were convinced that there were also silver and gold mines. The Crown repeatedly pressed the rulers for the location of the mines. They refused to believe that there were no gold or silver mines and took this as evidence of bad faith on the part of their allies.

The social experiment conducted by the Kongo rulers failed because the Portuguese were only interested in acquiring a trade monopoly and control of the mines in the Kongo. King Manuel of Portugal did not send enough craftsmen, priests or teachers to enact the far reaching program of social change envisioned by the mani Kongo. In addition,
the introduction of Christianity was opposed by many Kongolese nobles. Political factions formed and succession disputes erupted after the death of every king. The Kongo Kingdom was seriously weakened by these disputes. In 1550, Jaga invaders conquered the Kongo and seized the capital of São Salvador. The Chief fled to Horse Island in the middle of the Congo River. The island was very small, famine soon set in and many people sold their relatives to São Tomé merchants for food. Thus, the Jaga invasions were important in determining the ethnic composition of slaves in Brazil. Filippo Pigafetta, a sixteenth century Italian traveler, describes the situation of the royal court.

...forced by necessity, the father sold his son, and the brother his brother, everyone resorting to the most horrible crimes in order to obtain food. ...In this manner great numbers of slaves, natives of Congo, are found in the Island of St. Thomas, ...who were sold during this time of distress, and amongst them some of the royal blood, and other chief nobles.18

The fall of São Salvador intensified the export of Kongo slaves in the mid-sixteenth century. The growth of the Brazilian sugar industry in 1550 coincided with this tragedy. Since São Tomé and Principe served as gathering depots for slaves bound for Brazil, it can be assumed that many Kongolese slaves arrived in Brazil. The Brazilian Captaincy of Pernambuco imported 25,000 slaves from the Kongo between 1545 and 1600. Not all of the slaves were Kongolese, but clearly after 1550 a majority of the slaves were from the Kongo. Portuguese troops restored the Kongo ruler to his kingdom. Although, the mani Kongo continued to send ambassadors begging for help, the Portuguese turned their attention elsewhere. The Kongo had an established trade with Luanda in the ngola Kingdom to the south. The
Portuguese were also permitted to use this trade route and gradually the Portuguese usurped the *ngola* trade and established a trading post in Luanda in 1575.

The Kongo Kingdom continued to decline its rulers had lost the bid to retain their paramount position on the coast. Their misfortunes were in part due to Portuguese machinations and in part due to the lack of clear succession rules. Like other African nations in the nineteenth century, the Kongo misjudged European motives and lost their sovereignty in the effort. Garcia II of the Kongo, sums up the feeling of betrayal and devastation felt by the Kongo Kingdom, which had fallen from its former position of power in the sixteenth century.

...instead of gold and silver and other goods which function elsewhere as money, the trade and the money here are persons, ...It is our disgrace and that of our predecessors that we, in our simplicity, have given the opportunity to do many evils in our realm, and above all that there are people who pretend that we never were lords over Angola and Matamba. The inequality of the arms has lost the lands over there to us and our rights are being lost....

Garcia II allied with the Dutch because he wanted to be free of the Portuguese and he was tired of the slave trade. The Kongo rulers were the only polity to convert to Christianity in an attempt to maintain ties with Europe and still control their own Kingdom. Elsewhere on the coast, African rulers also sought to manipulate the Europeans by pitting them against each other. These policies were more successful because the Portuguese did not monopolize the upper coast of West Africa, as they did the Central African coast. There were other European nations present and African rulers took advantage of their greed to maintain a balance of power.
Luso-Brazilian Trade Patterns in the Seventeenth Century

European trade expanded in the seventeenth century along the Guinea Coast, the Danes, Dutch, English and French all built forts along the coast. Twenty-eight trading forts were built in Ghana by 1700. Africans continued to direct the trade. William Bosman, a Dutch official at Elmina confirmed African control of the hinterland.

There is no small number of men in Europe, who believe that the gold mines are in our power, and that we, have nothing more to do than to work the mines with our slaves. But you should understand that we have no means of getting to these treasures, nor do I believe that any of our people have ever seen a single one of these mines.20

In this period, Africans demanded reparations to the extent of attacking trading forts and seizing the goods and officials.21 Portuguese trade on the Mina Coast (Gold Coast) was affected by the rise of Dutch hegemony. The Dutch seized Elmina in 1637 setting the stage for a Bahian trade monopoly on the Mina Coast. At the beginning of the slave trade, Portuguese ships could transport Brazilian produce to Africa and African slaves to Brazil. The Mina coast was closed to Portugal after the Dutch conquest of Elmina. The Dutch, however, wanted access to Bahian tobacco because West Africans preferred this tobacco and demanded it in exchange for slaves. Therefore, in exchange for ten percent of the tobacco cargo, Bahian merchants were allowed to trade at Grand Popo, Whydah, Jaquim, and Apa. A reference map of the major trading forts has been included on page 25. In 1644, the Portuguese Crown authorized Bahian tobacco ships to sail directly to the Mina Coast to obtain slaves and then return to Bahia without going to Lisbon.22
African preference for Brazilian tobacco was the key to Brazil's freedom from Portuguese control. It also allowed Bahia to establish a monopoly on Mina slaves because Rio did not grow tobacco. Bahia produced three grades of tobacco, the first two grades were shipped exclusively to Portugal, leaving the third grade for the African trade. Third grade tobacco, called reject, had to be specially treated to keep it from molding or drying out. As a result, reject tobacco was rolled into heavier ropes and more liberally brushed with molasses than other grades. The aroma produced by this treatment was so greatly appreciated by the negroes that Brazilian tobacco became an essential item in the slave trade. M. Gourg, the director of the French fort at Whydah reported that:

Brazilian tobacco is better twisted, that is to say more sugared, and the rolls weigh more than ours; it is prepared with pure sugar while the tobacco we get from Lisbon is prepared with syrup and seawater. This dries out too soon and the negroes know it.

Although the French tried to duplicate Bahian tobacco, the experiment failed. The efficacy of Brazilian tobacco also affected the English trade. T.E. Bowdich, an English diplomat, complained that the Asante did not frequent the English fort at Cape Coast Castle because they preferred the Portuguese, (by which he means Bahian tobacco), which could only be obtained at Mina.

The seventeenth century slave trade was characterized by an increase in volume, approximately 561,000 slaves were exported to Brazil. Appendix C provides a regional breakdown. Although the term Mina is very ambiguous, it refers to people from Dahomey or Gegês, Asantes, and possibly Djulas. Groups imported from the Upper Guinea
Coast to Brazil include the Mandingos, Fulahs, and Jolofs. By 1624, 'slaves from Guinea' were no longer shipped to Brazil. Bahia preferred to trade on the Mina or Angolan coast because these areas had more slaves.

African Coastal and Forest Kingdoms in the Seventeenth Century

A number of small polities developed at the mouth of the Niger Delta. The Ijo states dominated the creeks of the Niger Delta with canoes manned by crews from trading houses. Houses were a new economic development and may indicate the emergence of another economic caste specializing in the slave trade. Canoe houses were organized around the extended family of the headman. Any trader could found a house provided he had sufficient money and followers. This kinship unit gradually acquired political and economic functions.

The European trade was controlled by the kings and the houses. Europeans were not allowed to trade directly, in fact, they were not allowed to build forts. The Ijo acted as middlemen, the Europeans advanced goods to the house heads who purchased slaves on the coast. The King also charged custom duties on European goods. The Delta trade was extremely profitable, as evidenced by the numerous wars between the Delta states. This system became increasingly more organized over time, reaching a peak in the eighteenth century.

Other than the Niger Delta activity, the newest and most important political development in the seventeenth century was the rise of the Asante Empire, which eventually dominated the region for two hundred years. The Asante Kingdom was not dependent upon European trade.
Asante had important trading links with Jenne, Timbuktu, and Hausaland. They exchanged gold for European guns and ammunitions, but like other African entities, the Asante restricted European trade to the coast. The Asante did not have much European contact until the eighteenth century when the Asante groups were unified under Osei Tutu and expanded their control to the coast.

Asante had friendly relations with Akwamu, a more powerful coastal state in the seventeenth century. The Asante learned from Akwamu's mistakes and proceeded to forge a powerful political structure. First, they reformed the army and began expanding territorially. From 1764 to 1824, the state underwent a number of political and economic reforms. A bureaucracy was instituted, and for the first time, officials were chosen on the basis of skill and ability. These officials owed their livelihood and position to the Asantehene, thus were bound by ties of loyalty and personal interest to the ruler.

The Asante became a major power in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Their capital at Kumasi grew into a large and bustling centre of political, commercial, intellectual and religious life. Here gathered men of action and men of thought: learned Muslims; chiefs and soldiers from the forest lands; envoys from many states; Djula merchants from Bobo, Kong and Jenne to the west and the north; Hausa Merchants from Kano, Katsina... Clearly the Asante Empire was an independent political development and was not the result of the European slave trade. The Portuguese did not trade directly with the Asante, however, some Asante slaves were exported to Brazil during the eighteenth century.
Eighteenth Century Portuguese Trading Patterns

The Bahian trade with Angola had declined by the end of the seventeenth century because of the ever increasing duties and surcharges levied in the ports of Luanda, Benguella, and Loango. Bahia continued to trade on the Mina coast because Bahian merchants enjoyed a privileged trading position and did not have to pay Portuguese port duties. The Portuguese Crown tried to re-establish control over the Bahian traders by banning all trade in Africa except in Angola. Bahian ships continued to trade on the Mina Coast, claiming that bad weather kept them from landing at Luanda. The smallpox epidemic at Luanda in 1685 gave Bahian merchants a perfect excuse to avoid the Angolan coast. Bahia continued to rely on the Mina coast into the eighteenth century. The Crown tried to convince the Brazilian public that Angolan's made better slaves than Minas. Several travelers commented that the Angolans made better servants and agricultural laborers. For example, Andre Antonil, a Portuguese priest traveling in Brazil, mentioned that "Maids from Luanda are more capable of learning skilled duties than those from other parts." The Conde de Galveias, a Bahian nobleman, wrote that negroes from the Mina coast had such a bad reputation that the senhores (gentlemen) of the sugar engenhos (mills) and tobacco plantations preferred Angolans. Louise Agassiz, an English traveler noted that Mina slave women were employed in markets because they did not make good servants.

...it is said that a certain wild and independent element makes them unfit for domestic service... they do not seem to me so affable and responsive as are the Congo negroes, but are, on the contrary, rather haughty.
The slave trade, however, was based on economic factors, not public, nor even Crown preference.

As long as the Mina coast continued to be profitable for trade, the Bahians preferred to trade there. Bahian slave ships were larger than the ships used in the Angolan trade, but Angolan ships carried more slaves. An average load on an Angolan ship was 370 slaves, whereas Mina slave ships carried 279 slaves. Ten percent of Angolan slaves died from overcrowding and neglect. The fatality rate aboard Mina ships was much lower and slaves arrived in better physical condition. Bahian merchants could sell Mina slaves at a higher price and also had more slaves proportionately to sell. In 1725, Angolan slaves sold for 30,000 cruzados, while Minas brought 62,000 cruzados. By 1742, 6,000 Minas a year went to Bahia.

The Fon people were the victims of constant slave raids by the trading states of Great Ardrah, Jaquim, Oyo and Whydah. The Fon consolidated to halt these constant aggressions and gain direct access to European trade goods, especially guns and munitions. Trade on the Mina coast was increasingly disrupted because the Fon consolidated, rose to power and started conquering the surrounding states. The resulting Dahomey Empire, under King Agaja, conquered Great Ardrah in 1725. Agaja took Whydah in 1728 and by 1732 Jaquim was seized. The kings of Dahomey dominated the coast for one hundred and fifty years. Whydah was the only remaining port.

The European trade was equally disorganized, frequently all the ships from different nations arrived at once. The African middlemen took advantage of the ensuing chaos to drive prices higher. Dahomean agents started procrastinating because those ships arriving later
offered more rolls per slave than those in the midst of negotiations. The Viceroy decried these sharp practices in a letter to the Governor of Pernambuco in 1742.

Each one of these men who commands slaving ships tries immediately 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.37

The net effect was that the price of slaves increased, while the value of tobacco fell, reducing the slavers' profits. This loss was passed on to the plantations and mines, increasing their operating expenses.38

Bahian merchants formed a trading company in 1743 to counteract these losses. An annual quota of twenty-four ships was established with four ships sailing every three months. The Marquis do Pombal opened the coast to free trade in 1751, but expected the director of the fort to control trade by allowing only one ship at a time to trade. The Viceroy, in 1756, attempted to point out the problems in this policy.

It will be difficult for the director of this fortress to have this new resolution respected. He will lack authority over the captains from Pernambuco and Parahyba, ...And even if the director can manage to discipline the captains of slaving ships, he will not be able to do so without running into difficulties with the negroes, because these people want a flourishing trade in their ports, so as to receive the greatest benefit. If we should want to deprive them by such coercive means, we would be running the risk of again being subject to similar insults as those which have already been carried out against our fortress.39

In fact, that is exactly what happened, the King of Dahomey held the Fort Director responsible for these policies.
Aboga, who is the Negro who governs this country, asked through his interpreter why the Portuguese director would not let Captain Manoel Antonio Matheus trade, and the lieutenant replied that His Majesty the King of Portugal forbade the said captain from trading. Aboga replied that if His Majesty of Portugal knew how to govern his country, King Daome also knew how to govern his.40

The King had already expelled several directors by 1743.

On 24 June, M. Bazile, the Portuguese director having left for Ardres, was captured en route by some Dahomeans, who took him to a secret place. The same day, Agaou, commander in chief of the King's army, invaded the Portuguese fort with his troops.41

The Europeans were completely aware that they were at the mercy of the Dahomean King, their forts could not withstand an armed confrontation, nor could they prevent the kidnapping and expulsion of their directors.

The French director was captured on the orders of the petty King Dahome while he was taking a walk a short distance from his fortress; they tied his hands and slipped a rope around his neck, and took him to the place where one of our ships (Portuguese) was and after leaving him tied up all night, they forced him to go away aboard the ship that would take him to this port of Bahia.42

Finally, the Count of Atougura explained that he had no means of intimidating the blacks in Africa.

There are many other ports on this coast, but attempting to trade in them would only mean experiencing the same inconveniences, insults and rudeness of similar petty kings.43

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Bahians started moving south to other ports to avoid the constant harassment and obtain slaves at a cheaper price. The kind of Ardrah, backed by the Oba of Oyo, opened a port at Porto Novo. The Oba opened the ports of Onim (Lagos) and Badagry. A slave in Whydah cost thirteen to sixteen rolls of tobacco, while a slave in Porto Novo cost between eight and ten
rolls. The Portuguese gradually shifted their trade to the Bight of Benin. The Bight of Benin dominated Bahian trade in the eighteenth century.

The Angolan Coast in the Eighteenth Century

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais in 1691 precipitated a gold rush and correspondingly, an increased demand for slaves. Although Bahia had a trading monopoly on the Mina Coast, the increased disruption of the Mina trade encouraged Bahian merchants to expand their trade to Angola. Tobacco was not a coveted trade item in Angola, however, brandy was acceptable. Brandy was in ready supply in the sugar cane regions around Bahia. Volume buying reduced their costs in Angola in spite of the increased duties at Luanda. Angolan slaves were sold at inflated prices in the mining regions, enabling the Bahian slavers to reap a handsome profit. The revival of the Angolan trade is a good example of Bahian enterprise.

Rio merchants attempted to dominate the trade, cutting into Bahian profits. Bahian merchants complained that they did not have enough slaves for the sugar cane plantations. The Crown responded by establishing quotas in 1703, "1200 slaves to Rio, 1300 to Pernambuco and Paraíba, and the remainder for Bahia." Rio and Luandan merchants resented Bahia's favored position. They complained that Bahian merchants took advantage of the quota to drive prices down because they were allowed to buy volume. Merchants from Rio and Luanda also knew that Bahian merchants did not need slaves on their plantations. Actually, Bahians were shipping Angolan slaves directly to Rio or sending them overland to the mines. Both of these practices were illegal.
Angola and the Congo Kingdom, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries

MAP IV. Angola and the Congo Kingdom
From Charles Boxer, The Portuguese Seabourne Empire.
Nor do they lack slaves for agricultural work on their plantations for apart from those that go from this port, they buy a large number along the Gold coast (Costa da Mina). ...And by this it can be seen that there is no lack of slaves in that city of Bahia, but that the profit of embarking them for sale in Rio was the motive behind their petition.46

Brazil imported an estimated 1,829,888 slaves in the eighteenth century. Of this total, 426,949 were slaves from Mina, while 1,402,939 were Angolan slaves. Rio took the bulk of the Angolan trade, most of these went to the mining districts. The majority of the slaves imported into Bahia went to the mining district. Pernambuco was not actively involved in the internal trade so the slaves stayed in the region. Ethnic groups from the Mina region included Dahomeans, Nágos or Yoruba, Asante and various other coastal tribes.

The Fall of Oyo and the Disruption of Yorubaland 1800-1850

The Oyo Kingdom in Yorubaland began exerting its influence after 1650, gradually annexing thirteen other kingdoms. The coastal Yoruba remained independent. Oyo was a savannah state with trading connections to the north. Oyo began military expansions in 1789 and by 1750 controlled Dahomey and territory to the Asante borders.

Oyo's power was based on its military, especially the calvary. There was a constant struggle between military factions on whether to build the Oyo Empire's wealth on military expansion or economically on the slave trade. In 1774, Alafin Abiodun decided to develop Oyo's empire on the basis of the slave trade; Oyo's military power declined. Oyo commanded the ports of Porto Novo and Lagos. The slave trade increased to unprecedented heights between 1780 and 1790. Military
MAP V. From Ajayi, History of West Africa, Vol. II.

Yoruba-Aja country showing the Old Oyo Empire—
(early 19th century)
strength continued to dwindle, some of the outlying provinces broke away.

Finally in 1820, military failures, combined with internal political collapse, led to the fall of the Oyo Empire. Unlike Asante or Dahomey, Oyo did not change its form of government before it got involved in the slave trade. Under the pressures of the new trade conditions, rebellious provinces, internal dissent and Islamic pressure from the north, the traditional political system did not work. Oyo collapsed in 1820 and the nineteenth century slave trade was almost entirely composed of Yorubas. 47

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Yoruba people shared a common language and a similar culture, as is reflected in their religious and political institutions. They were not united politically, nor did they have a common name for themselves. At this time the term Yoruba applied only to the people of Oyo. There were many subcultural groups organized into small kingdoms. There was no sense of Yoruba nationality, but there was a widespread consciousness of cultural identity. "The Yoruba emphasized the importance of speaking the same language, worshipping the same gods and sharing similar political institutions." 48 All Yoruba recognized a common origin from Ife, which acted like the Asante golden stool to create a sense of cultural unity.

Muslims played a significant, but not major, role in the Yoruba region. There were Muslim settlements in major towns like Oyo. Muslim preachers from these communities tried to influence local rulers and warriors. Muslim, Hausa, and Yoruba traders were prominent in the towns. Yoruba warriors believed in the power of Muslim charms and patronized the Muslim priests. Traditional religion also accepted
Islam as a powerful force. Individuals were advised to raise their children as Muslims if omens pointed toward a particular divination chant. This was another source of Islamic believers. There was a sizeable Islamic community in the Yoruba region before the Fulani jihad extended into Ilorin. Ilorin became a Muslim state with an emir. The Fulani attempted to extend Muslim influence throughout Yorubaland. Muslim leaders in Ilorin presented Islam as a new political system which could be used to build new states. Several Yoruba states allied with Ilorin and adopted Islam. 49

The Fulani invasion accentuated the decline of Oyo and threw the Yoruba Kingdoms into civil war. The Yoruba city states of Ibadan, Ijebo and Lagos took advantage of this chaos to raid neighboring kingdoms for slaves. 50 Another important consequence of the downfall of Oyo was that Yoruba influence was spread throughout the region. Yoruba populations migrated into the forest region where they maintained their cultural identity and even took political control of the regions where they settled. The instability of the region enhanced the status of warriors. Islam was associated with Oyo and the Yoruba diffusion spread Islam into the southern forest and coastal regions. 51

The influential presence of Muslims, the spread of Islam in Yorubaland, the rise of warriors, and the Yoruba sense of cultural cohesionness had a significant effect in Brazil. A series of major revolts shook Bahia from 1814 to 1835. This period coincides with massive imports of Yorubas, with some Hausas and Fulanis, into Salvador. There have been innumerable debates as to whether the revolts were Muslim. The fact that Islam was such an important factor in several Yoruba kingdoms lends credence to the Muslim argument. Since male slaves were
preferred, and most slaves were prisoners of war, there must have been a large number of warriors in Brazil. Equally significant is the fact that all Yorubas had a sense of a common cultural base, which enabled them to dominate other cultures in Yorubaland. Yorubas were able to use this same cultural unity to form ethnic associations and organize revolts in Brazil.

A total of 1,301,130 slaves were imported during the fifty year period between 1800 and 1850. This was almost as many slaves as were imported for the entire preceding century. By 1800, the slave trade was entirely disrupted on the Mina coast and Salvador moved to the Bight of Benin. Although Rio's major emphasis continued to be Angola, Rio began importing a few slaves from the Bight of Biafra. Salvador's preference for the Bight of Benin meant that large numbers of Hausa, Fulani and Yoruba slaves were concentrated in the city. This concentration of aggressive, ethnic conscious slaves led to the Bahian revolts. The far northern states of Pernambuco, Para and Maranhão actually imported more slaves from the Bight of Benin than did Bahia. However, these states did not have the same problems because the slaves were dispersed to cotton plantations over three states. They were also mixed with slaves coming via the internal trade from the South. Slaves in Bahia were not dispersed, instead they remained in the city where they had ample opportunities to organize and foment rebellion. See Appendix E for a more detailed representation.
Footnotes

1. This is my own figure based upon the data in the appendix. See the appendix for a more detailed discussion of the sources.

2. For a more detailed analysis of this concept, see Pierre Verger, Flux et reflux de l a traite des negres entre le Golf du Benin et Bahia de Todos os Santos: du dix-septième au dix-neuvième siècle, Paris: 1968.


6. Ibid., p. 316.

7. Philip Curtin, et al., African History, pp. 227-231. This chapter intends to demonstrate the strength of the local African economy and in no way represents an attempt to blame the slave trade on the Africans. The African response provides an example of the flexibility and developed level of political astuteness of African states. The successful kingdoms like Asante and Dahomey developed in response to the slave trade, but they were the result of African political change from a traditional mode to a more effective means of control. Warfare and state formation were not necessarily waged for the benefit of Europeans, that is to provide more slaves. African state formation was an African development not an attempt to copy European political systems. For another view of this issue see Walter Rodney, History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800, Oxford: 1970. Also see Walter Rodney, "West Africa and the Atlantic" Nairobi: 1967.


9. Ibid., p. 158.


12. Ibid., p. 56.

13. Again these figures are only approximate. They are included to give a general idea of the volume of the trade in the sixteenth century.

15. Vansina, p. 52.
16. Ibid., pp. 42-43.
17. Ibid., p. 68.
18. Filippo Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdom of the Congo and the Surrounding Countries: Drawn Out of the Writings and Discourses of the Portuguese Duarte Lopez*. London: 1970, p. 97. Duarte was a Portuguese attendant at the mani Kongo's court. The chief appointed him as an ambassador to represent the Kongo's interests before the Pope and the King of Spain. His mission was thwarted in Lisbon.
21. Ibid., pp. 210-212.
23. Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite*, p. 18. Reject Tobacco was grown for the African market. Portugal did not have a market for this grade nor could they exchange manufactured goods for reject tobacco because they needed this merchandise for their own trade in Angola where there was no demand for tobacco. It would have been pointless for the tobacco to go to Lisbon and then Africa. Also, there was an increased risk of spoilage.
24. Ibid., p. 12.
26. The Portuguese used the term mandingo in the sixteenth century to refer to a group of people living in Senegal. However, by the eighteenth century a mandingo was a sorcerer, usually a Muslim.
27. Nina-Rodriques, p. 119.


36. Ibid., pp. 231-232.


38. Ibid., p. 21.

39. Ibid., p. 166.

40. Ibid., p. 167.

41. Ibid., p. 147.

42. Ibid., p. 157.

43. Ibid., p. 162.

44. Ibid., p. 21.


46. Ibid., p. 190.


49. Ibid., p. 142-144.

CHAPTER II
SLAVES AND SLAVE ORGANIZATION
IN BRAZIL 1500-1888

Introduction

The establishment of a plantation economy in Brazil created a demand for slave labor. Regional economic development dictated how many slaves would be imported and their eventual dispersion in Brazil. The presence of many slaves concentrated in one region resulted in the formation of slave organizations—the focus of this chapter. There are in effect three factors which influence slave organizations, the economy, the ethnic group and the concentration of slaves. The most important is the economy because a change in economy will affect the other three. The economy not only determines where and how slaves will be concentrated but it shapes the slave's environment and opportunities as well. Organizational choices available to slaves also changed over time as economic and demographic conditions varied. For example, in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries quilombos were the favored form of slave organization because of the rural nature of Brazilian society. Revolts and black brotherhoods were the most common form of organization in the nineteenth century due to urban developments in the Brazilian economy.

Slaves were often from the same ethnic group or at least possessed a similar cultural background. On the sugar fazendas (plantations), the slave population outnumbered the Europeans so that many slaves were not exposed to white culture. This is further evidence that slaves reorganized themselves in the New World by drawing on their own (African) culture for organizing principles, because they were not exposed to European
culture. A number of important institutions developed which helped Africans retain their language, religion and culture. These institutions include a form of labor organization the negros de ganho, religious brotherhoods, and ethnic associations. Candomble and Islam were practiced privately because they were not accepted by the authorities. These private religious practices were of equal institutional importance for the slaves. In the cities, these institutions served as a starting point for ethnic associations and black brotherhoods to organize quilombos and rebellions. West Africans rather than Angolans tended to take the initiative in organizing and leading these organizations according to their own cultural precepts. Angolans had their own organizations and brotherhoods, however, in a mixed ethnic situation, such as quilombos or revolts, the West Africans tended to make the rules and become the leaders.

Portuguese economic policy primarily emphasized the accumulation of wealth by trading in luxury products because the Portuguese colonial empire lacked mineral wealth and its ships were smaller than other trading nations. As a result, Brazil's economic development has been a pattern of export booms followed by falling prices and regional depression. With each economic change there has been a subsequent movement of slaves from the declining region to the booming region. Thus, the slave population has followed the economic shift from region to region, starting in the Northeast on the sugar plantations, then moving to the interior mining districts, followed by the cotton fields of Maranhão and ending on the coffee fazendas in the South.¹

Slavery in Brazil produced three main types of laborers: o negro de campo (field hand), o negro domestico (domestic servant), and
MAP VI. Brazilian Captaincies
From Charles Boxer, The Portuguese Seabourne Empire.
o negro de oficio (skilled slaves or supervisors). The field hand was used on the sugar cane, tobacco, cotton and coffee plantations. Negros de oficio supervised the refining process, particularly the critical boiling stage on sugar cane plantations. Since the Portuguese relied on their slaves for everything, a negro de oficio was also a skilled slave. An oficio might be a mechanic, black smith, tailor, shoe maker or carpenter. The appearance of servants in the sugar areas and the mines towards the end of the eighteenth century indicates that many owners had more slaves than they could profitably employ because domestic work does not produce goods or money in absolute terms. Servants were principally used by wealthy merchants and landowners in the cities as status symbols.

Another type of laborer was the negro de aluguel (slave for rent). Plantation owners rented field crews to small landowners who could not afford to buy slaves. This is another indication that there were too many slaves. Slaves were also rented in the city. Many masters purchased slaves, taught them a trade and then sold them at a profit. Negros de ganho were self-employed, wage earning slaves. Ganhadores usually started as negros de aluguel and eventually went on their own, paying their masters a set percentage of their daily earnings. The negro de ganho was an urban phenomenon. Each time an economic cycle ended slaves were returned to the fields, rented or made negros de ganho in the cities.

Slave occupations were affected by Brazil's cyclical economy. As new economic sectors expanded slaves flooded into the area in response to labor demands. However, as production began to decline, there were too many slaves and not enough work. As a result, many owners could
not afford to feed their slaves so they began renting them or turning them loose in the cities as _negros de ganho_. Older and infirm slaves were granted their freedom to ease the burden of supporting unproductive laborers. Unlike Jamaica, Brazil had a slave surplus. Therefore the manumission process was easier, and there was a large ex-slave population. Slaves were allowed to purchase their freedom outright or on a time payment plan. The opportunity to buy freedom was closed to general farm and mine workers. Plantation slaves had less opportunity to earn extra money to purchase their freedom. Rural slaves were less acculturated than urban slaves, therefore they were more visible in cities as runaways. As a result many rural slaves chose escape to quilombos. Urban slaves like the _ganhadores_ and mine supervisors had a greater opportunity to accumulate capital to purchase their freedom. Urban slaves therefore had more options than their rural counterparts and they more frequently chose to purchase their freedom rather than run away.

Urbanization in the mining centers and coastal ports brought slaves together in unsupervised large concentrations. The anonymity of the cities allowed the slaves unprecedented freedom. This is first seen in the mining camps and then the ports. In Vila Rica and Salvador, slaves and ex-slaves owned property and other slaves. Freed men became artisans and craftsmen or opened up small liquor shops. Others engaged in smuggling or poaching gold and diamonds in unauthorized areas. The plight of most ex-slaves was not so rosy. Many were hard put to make a living and as a result continued in their former master's service without receiving food, clothing or housing.
Self-sufficient quilombos developed during the early plantation and mining cycles. These quilombos were at first successful because Portuguese settlements were concentrated on the coast leaving the hinterland unexplored and uninhabited. Such enterprises were possible only during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By 1800, Brazil's hinterland had been effectively penetrated and large scale quilombos were no longer feasible. Most quilombos thereafter, developed on a much smaller scale and unlike the earlier quilombos were not self-sufficient. Many survived by raiding the urban centers, a precarious existence at best. There were mine revolts in the eighteenth century but these differed in scope and orientation from the urban revolts of the nineteenth century. Nineteenth century urban slaves turned to revolt as a means of freedom because escape to the interior was no longer possible.

Development of the Brazilian Sugar Economy

Prior to 1550, Brazil was primarily known as the source of Brazilwood, parrots, and monkeys. Itinerant traders bartered with the local Amer-Indians to obtain these forest products. By 1550, the Portuguese began to establish permanent settlements along the Brazilian littoral. Sugar cane and a slave economy were introduced to ensure the economic stability of this venture. It is generally assumed that Africans were immediately used on Brazilian plantations, actually the Portuguese tried to use Indian labor first. Slaves were imported only after it became apparent that Indians were unsuited to plantation labor.

Indian slave labor was used extensively during this developmental stage of the sugar industry. The communities of São Paulo and São
Vicente specialized in capturing and selling Indian slaves, one indication of the early importance of native slaves for the fledgling sugar plantations. It also shows how quickly sugar cane dominated the Brazilian economy in that non-sugar producing sectors were dependent upon the sugar industry for economic survival. For example, wherever the sugar industry failed, as in São Vicente, the community survived because of the availability of native manpower and the demand for labor.\(^6\) This subsidiary development would not have been possible without the labor demand created by the sugar cane plantations.\(^7\)

Indian slaves proved to be an inefficient labor source. They were highly susceptible to European diseases and had trouble adjusting to the rigors and daily regimen of plantation labor. Faced with a rapidly declining Indian population, Brazilian moradores (land owners) began to seek an alternative labor supply. In addition, the rapid expansion of the sugar cane industry between 1550 and 1570 created the demand for a larger and more efficient labor force. The Portuguese turned to an existing slave trade in Africa as an additional labor source on New World plantations.\(^8\)

The Kongo Kingdom was already supplying slaves for Portuguese sugar plantations on the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe. The Portuguese simply expanded this slave trade to meet Brazil's increased labor demands. African slaves soon became the basis of the plantation economy in Pernambuco, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. The islands of São Tomé and Príncipe served as gathering depots for slaves from Lower Guinea. The Cape Verde islands provided a similar staging area for slaves from upper Guinea. The demand for slaves naturally centered in those areas which developed a sugar economy. Pernambuco, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro were
the three major slave importing regions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Sugar mills were grouped in three regions: the South, including the captaincies of São Vincente, Rio and Espírito Santo, the Center, encompassing Bahia, Ilheos, Sergipe, and the North, covering all of the regions north of the São Francisco River including Pernambuco and Maranhão. Pernambuco was the first captaincy settled in the northeast, its rich soils and humid climate provided ideal conditions for sugar cane. The first sugar engenho (mill) was built in 1542 and by 1570 there were twenty-three engenhos. Bahia with its equally rich soil and similar climate was also an early sugar producer. Its plantations were started in 1542 and by 1570 Bahia had eighteen engenhos (sugar mills). At this time the central region had thirty-one engenhos, making it the major area of production. In contrast, the south, consisting of São Vicente, Rio de Janeiro, and Espírito Santo had only five engenhos. By 1610, there were two hundred and thirty engenhos in Brazil. Of this total, Pernambuco had ninety, Bahia fifty and Rio forty. It is clear that the northern region had replaced the central region as the primary production area by 1610, however, the south had experienced the most rapid growth.

Slave Composition 1545-1600

Approximately 50,000 African slaves entered Brazil between 1545 and 1600. (See Appendix B) The major importing captaincies were Pernambuco and Bahia. Pernambuco took 25,000 slaves and Bahia received 20,000 slaves. Rio only purchased 5,000 slaves, perhaps indicating that its plantation economy was less developed. However, since the south had
engênhos by 1610, which could signify a greater reliance upon the use of Indian slaves. This seems particularly feasible due to Rio's close proximity to the Indian slave markets in São Paulo. Slaves went from Recife to the sugar plantations in their immediate hinterlands throughout the sixteenth century.

Sixteenth century Portuguese terms for West Africa were Upper and Lower Guinea. Upper Guinea extended from the left bank of the Senegal River to the Gulf of Biafra. Lower Guinea included the coast from the Zaire River to the Orange River. Pernambuco imported slaves from both regions but the majority came from Lower Guinea. At this time, most of these slaves were BaKongo from the Congo region. Rio imported Angolan slaves with some BaKongos. Bahia relied primarily on the Upper Guinea Coast. Slaves from this area include three major language groups, the Hausa, the Mande and Yoruba. Ethnic groups which might have been present are the Wolofs, Djula, Fulani, and Hausa.11

It is significant that Pernambuco had the largest number of slaves from one African culture area because Pernambuco experienced major quilombo activity in the seventeenth century. Rio also had slaves with similar cultural backgrounds but experienced little quilombo activity. Perhaps this was because Rio had fewer African slaves which were mixed with Indian slaves who as a rule did not organize. Clearly Bahia had heterogeneous mixture of slaves and this may have affected the slave's ability to organize.

The sixteenth century did not have any major acts of slave resistance, nor are slave organizations mentioned in the literature. There are three explanations for this dearth of activity. First, it is entirely possible that Portuguese observers either did not recognize the
presence of slave organizations or they were considered to be of little consequence and therefore not mentioned in the chronicles. Second, there were not very many slaves in Brazil during the sixteenth century. Third, Brazil was establishing new plantations. The land had to be cleared, the cane beds established, and the cane shoots planted. This period of a plantation economy's development is the most labor intensive and often the harshest on slaves. Slaves were overworked and underfed, and, as a result, many died. Slaves not only had less opportunity to organize because of the intensive labor, their ability to organize was impaired by the high death rate. It is difficult to keep an organization intact if key members keep dying. Slave owners in the sixteenth century were less careful with their slaves because they were easily replaced, and prices were low. There also were no restrictions on the trade. Labor conditions were particularly hard because the senhores de engenho wanted to establish their sugar cane fields as quickly as possible in order to obtain high profits. Once a plantation was established and producing sugar on a regular basis, excessive labor demands and initial brutality generally gave way to a more humane treatment. However, when world demand for tropical products increased causing a price rise for sugar, the planters would clear more land, in order to plant more cane. This not only increased the slaves work load, it often took away the slaves provience grounds which was their sole source of fresh produce.

The Luso-Dutch Alliance 1575-1634

The sixteenth century Brazilian sugar cane industry was dependent upon commercial and financial cooperation with Dutch financiers and
### TOTAL SLAVE IMPORTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1550-1600</th>
<th>1601-1700</th>
<th>1701-1800</th>
<th>1801-1850</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salvador - Bahia</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>205,150</td>
<td>460,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>247,000</td>
<td>1,147,995</td>
<td>835,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernambuco &amp; Others</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>108,000</td>
<td>26,893</td>
<td>190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>560,000</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>1,325,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### REGIONAL SLAVE ECONOMIES

#### North
- Para
- Maranhao

#### Northeast
- Bahia
- Pernambuco

#### Center
- Minas Gerais
- Mato Grosso

#### South
- Sao Paulo
- Rio

---

**CHART I: Brazilian Economy**
merchants. In this period only the Portuguese knew how to produce and process sugar. The Dutch did not possess a sugar technology but they controlled the European sugar market and had the best merchant fleet. Therefore both nations profited from this financial agreement. Sugar settlements underwent rapid expansion, increasing production ten times in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. According to Brazilian economist, Celso Furtado, sugar afforded a wide capitalization margin. The industry was profitable enough to finance itself with a doubling of productive capacity every two years. Attracted by the possibility of high profits, Dutch financiers provided the capital to set up production facilities and purchase African slaves. By the end of the sixteenth century, sugar production exceeded 65 million pounds. This was more than twenty times the production quota for the Atlantic islands. The success of the sugar industry was largely due to the creation of a buying market. The most important Dutch contribution was the expansion of the European sugar market. Because of this careful marketing strategy, there was no problem with surplus. Sugar prices rose to unprecedented heights on the European market because the Dutch-Portuguese economic merger monopolized the sugar trade.\textsuperscript{12}

This cooperative system declined in 1634 when Pernambuco was seized by the Dutch. While in Brazil, the Dutch learned the technology and organization of the sugar industry. In order to ensure a labor supply, the Dutch also seized Portugal's West African ports of ElMina and Luanda. When the Dutch were finally expelled from Brazil in 1650, they went to the Caribbean and built a competitive sugar industry. The Caribbean was in a better economic position because it had new equipment and was closer geographically to the European markets. The
emergence of a competing economy in the tropical goods market meant declining prices and contraction in demand. The Portuguese sugar monopoly was broken and with it went high profits. After 1650, the annual export volume barely attained 50% of the high point reached in 1650. Prices fell by one-half and real income to one-quarter of its previous level.\footnote{13}

Northeast Brazil was able to maintain the same economic structure for three centuries. Sugar cane continued as the major industry in the Northeast although the competition from the West Indies and gold discoveries in Brazil further reduced profits.

Seventeenth Century Slave Activities

Brazil imported 560,000 slaves between 1600 and 1700. Most of these slaves came from Angola making Angolans the predominant ethnic group in seventeenth century Brazil. Angolans were considered the best agricultural workers by the Portuguese. This preference was most likely based on the availability of Angolans rather than their superior agrarian skills. Bahia, especially Salvador, had a greater mix of slaves because Bahia was the only region in Brazil importing slaves from West Africa. Pernambuco imported many slaves from the Congo during this period. Bahia imported 143,605 Angolans and 61,545 Minas, while Rio imported 247,850 Angolans. Although Bahia continued to use Upper Guinea until 1620, after that time Bahian merchants began to trade with Luanda because Guinea could not supply enough slaves. After the Portuguese lost ElMina in 1638 to the Dutch, Portuguese traders began trading in Dahomey. The Dutch conquest of Luanda between 1641 and 1648 forced the Portuguese to increase trade with the Congo and expand south to Benguela.
Sugar cane dominated the lives of all those on the fazenda especially during harvest and processing times. During these peak periods sleeping, working and eating schedules were all geared to sugar production. The slave population increased and so did slave activities. Slave cooks introduced African cooking techniques and African dende oil. Foreign visitors noted that African fetish beliefs and medicines were also prevalent and at first tolerated by the Portuguese. Those slaves employed as cooks or in skilled positions suffered less than the field hands. A comparative study on slave production in Sergipe and Bahia discovered that slaves in Sergipe were better dressed, housed and fed. As a result, they produced more and Sergipe owners required less slaves to run their fazendas. This had no effect on Bahian slave owners who continued to underfeed their slaves.  

Slave organizations and quilombos did not appear until there were large concentrations of slaves in Bahia and Pernambuco. There is a definite relationship between the population density of slaves and their ability to organize. The first recorded quilombo dates from 1630 but it is possible that it had been established as early as 1603. Many quilombos were established along the São Francisco River. Some quilombos were short lived while others like Palmares existed for seventy-five years and achieved a state-like status. The Brazilian hinterland was unoccupied and unexplored at this time making a large scale quilombo possible. It should be noted that these quilombos developed during times of stress when the Portuguese and the Dutch were struggling over Bahia and Pernambuco.
The Growth of Subsidiary Industries

The Brazilian economy diversified in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. Subsidiary cattle and mule industries developed. A new cash crop, tobacco, was introduced, and finally gold was discovered in 1691. Cattle breeding was prohibited in the sugar cane region, so the outlying areas produced cattle and draft animals for the sugar industry. Beef and lumber were the only locally produced products. Everything else was imported. Draft animals were used to transport wood for the sugar mills. Although stock breeding was not profitable, representing only 5% of the sugar profit, it did not require a large capital investment. In addition, labor needs were low and thus it was attractive to people with little capital. Cattle breeding developed in the sugar cane hinterland in the south, the central and northern regions. The Paraíba and São Francisco rivers became important cattle producing regions.16

Tobacco was introduced in Bahia, Alagoas and Pernambuco. Bahia and Pernambuco were the most important and best tobacco regions. Tobacco was crucial to Bahia for the African slave trade because Brazilian tobacco was highly prized by West Africans. It enabled Bahian merchants to set up their own trade and establish trading monopolies in West Africa independent of Portuguese control. After the mines opened in the eighteenth century, tobacco was an important commodity in the internal trade because the African and Indian slaves consumed great quantities of tobacco. Rio, the South, and Minas Gerais were forbidden by Portuguese law to grow tobacco, enabling the Northeast to monopolize the tobacco industry.17
Tobacco required a great deal of care. It was the only crop where planters used fertilizers and removed insects. Antonil, a Portuguese traveler, criticized the planters for their wasteful and negligent agricultural practices except as regards tobacco. Like cattle, it was an attractive alternative for poor planters because it was not as labor intensive as sugar cane, nor did it require elaborate and expensive processing equipment. Tobacco continued to be a major cash crop throughout the seventeenth century. It was exported in appreciable quantities by the beginning of the eighteenth century. After the decline of the mining cycle, tobacco was raised in Southern Minas. Some of the fazendas (plantations) were quite large, a typical estate often had 60,000 plants. Tobacco production declined sharply in the nineteenth century after abolition because it was grown primarily for the slave trade.

Cotton and sugar cane were also introduced in Maranhão. Maranhão had problems because it was trying to begin sugar production when sugar markets were disorganized, so their venture was under capitalized. The soil was less fertile than in Bahia and Pernambuco, and rainfall less predictable. Cotton was more successful because it prefers a drier climate. However, Maranhão occupied a minor position as a cotton exporter on the world markets until the American Revolution cut off American exports. Maranhão remained partially isolated from the main economy until the cotton boom. Its cattle industry was its only link to the central and mining regions throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
Gold was discovered in Minas Gerais in approximately 1691. Minas Gerais was the initial stage for gold exploration and exploitation. Gold was also discovered in Cuiabá in 1718 and 1725 Mato Grosso in 1734. The mining frontier expanded briefly but soon contracted back to Minas Gerais. Deposits outside this region proved to be shallow and soon ceased. Nevertheless, this brief expansion opened up new interiors and the cattle industry expanded into these regions. Gold exports reached a high point in 1760 of 25 million pounds sterling. Within a twenty year period the export value had declined to one million pounds sterling, demonstrating the shallow nature of Brazilian gold deposits outside Minas Gerais.20

The entire nation expanded to reap the mine's golden treasures. For instance, the slave trade increased requiring more ships and more Brazilian produce for export. There was a greater exchange of products with Africa. Subsidiary industries expanded and new ones developed in response to demand and higher prices. Stock breeding in the South, in Maranhao and along the São Francisco River boomed. Fringe areas began specializing, some were responsible for breeding, others for fattening and distribution to market. São Paulo emerged as an important marketing and breeding center for mules. An important internal slave trade developed between Rio, Bahia and the mines. Each region specialized in the production of one or two commodities; Bahia supplied slaves and tobacco, Minas Gerais gold, while the North and South produced livestock.

As a result of regional specialization sugar processing, tobacco growing, and livestock breeding were prohibited in the mining district.
Coastal merchants soon controlled the mining region because the tobacco and meat monopolies forced the miners to import basic commodities as well as luxury items. Bahian merchants reaped higher profits because the price of commodities was inflated in the mines. Although regional specialization prevented the development of an internal diversified economy within each capitancy, it led to a brisk internal trade between regions, linking them in a mutual economic interdependency.

For the first time, Brazil's outlying non-sugar producing regions were drawn into the mainstream economy. With the exception of the North's extractive forest industries, most fringe areas had an economic link to one of the three primary economic centers. The sugar, gold, and cattle industries were all tied together into a unified internal trade economy by means of the trade relations between Salvador, Rio and Vila Rica. The southern regions were linked to Rio de Janeiro as a port and market for their cattle and mules. Maranhão, the São Francisco region and the Northeast were linked to Bahia as a market for cattle and slaves going to the mines. Bahia and Rio were then linked to Vila Rica as the ultimate depot for their cattle, tobacco, slaves and mules. Gold therefore, not only opened up Brazil's interior for exploration and exploitation, and also provided a sound base for regional cooperation and mutual economic interests which would prove invaluable for the creation of a Brazilian nation.

Rio and Bahia were the official gateways into the mines. The Bahian route was established first and was considered the easiest because there were no difficult mountains or numerous streams to cross. It was, however, more open to abuse by tax evaders and merchants transporting slaves and contraband goods. High prices and short supply
encouraged smuggling and a brisk clandestine trade soon bustled along the Bahian route. Luxury items including silks, tailored clothes, wines and slaves were the most lucrative products. Construction on the route from Rio was begun in 1699 in an effort to control the illegal trade. The administrative center shifted from Salvador to Rio as a result of the priority given to the Rio route. The Bahian route was closed, but due to a series of famines in 1699, 1700 and 1701 the route was reopened to allow cattle from Maranhão and the São Francisco to move into the mines. Once this was done there was no control over the contraband trade.  

Strict slave quotas were established to prevent draining labor from the sugar plantations. Of the 8000 slaves imported into Brazil in 1701, priorities were established for the agricultural sector because there was a sugar boom at the time and the extent of the gold was not yet known. The mines had a quota of 200 slaves in 1701. The slave quota along with the increased cost of slaves encouraged the contraband trade. The price of slaves went sky high. The average slave cost 94$000 in Africa and sold for 160$000 cruzeiros in Brazil in 1697. An average or unskilled slave sold for 300$000 cruzeiros, while a skilled slave cost 600$000 cruzeiros in 1718. These were prices on the coast. Slaves commanded a much higher price in the interior.  

The miners' demand for slaves kept increasing, and the slave quota limited the expansion of the mining industry, creating an additional incentive for the clandestine slave trade. The contraband trade completely disorganized the labor supply in the cane and tobacco fields. In an effort to keep slaves on the sugar fields, higher taxes were imposed on slaves from Bahia. Slaves bound overland from Bahia were taxed at 9$
oitavas per slave while each slave sent by sea to Rio was taxed $4500.26 Crown restrictions on slave imports to Minas Gerais were lifted in 1740 but by that time mining was in decline.27

Slaves in the Mining Region

A total of 1,829,888 slaves were imported into Brazil between 1701 and 1800. Of that total 655,000 slaves went to Salvador, 1,147,995 to Rio and 26,893 to Pernambuco. Bahia began trading along the Dahomean coast in 1644. Slaves from this region were called Mina slaves. Minas were in high demand in the mining regions. Bahia also traded along the the Angolan coast in the eighteenth century. Ethnic groups entering the mines included both Minas and Angolans. Rio, of course, always traded in Angola. Since the Rio trade was unrestricted, it may be presumed that Angolans greatly outnumbered the Minas despite any personal preferences because Minas had to be smuggled. As mentioned in chapter 1, trade on the Mina Coast was disrupted and disorganized by the rise of Dahomey in 1738. The Portuguese government began to encourage the sole importation of Angolans on the grounds that they were more subservient, trustful and obedient than the Minas whose courage led them to revolt.28

Brazilians felt that the Minas were more intelligent and adaptable although more truculent than Angolans because they came from a higher culture. In 1731, Governor Vaseo César de Menez said "for gold work only the Minas will do, because they were stronger, more resolute and brave."29 One of the major reasons for a Mina preference was the Portuguese belief that every Mina knew how to find gold and mine. Superstitious miners felt that only Minas had a knack for finding gold. It is
true that many Minas were experienced gold miners. In fact, Portuguese miners attributed the introduction of the *bateia* gold pan to Mina slaves. It was, however, incorrect to assume that all Minas automatically knew about gold. Nevertheless, Minas continued in high demand and in terms of treatment fared better than most Angolan slaves. Mina slaves were freed in greater proportions than their percentage of the population seemed to warrant. In 1716, 35% of the African born slaves were Minas and 40% were Angolans. Presumably, the percentage of Minas declined after 1720 when the Mina coast was closed by Dahomey.30

Vila Rica's judicial district had 6,721 slaves in 1716 out of a total population of 10,000. The urban center of Vila Rica had 3,315 slaves with an average of 5.22 slaves per owner. After 1716, the slave population began to increase very quickly. An average of 2,240 slaves left Rio each year between 1715 and 1721. The slave population lived in the city. African slaves constituted 96.3% of the population in 1716. Only 3.6% were *crioulas* because it was illegal to sell *crioulas* in the interior. After the goldrush, conditions stabilized, more women slaves were purchased creating a better balanced sex ratio. By 1804, *crioulas* represented 53% of the slave population with Angolans at 39%. These figures represent a general decline in African born slaves because Angolans composed 85% of African born slaves.

The increased *crioula* population is curious and may be the result of several economic factors. First, the mines were in decline by 1760 and many African born slaves may have been sent to other regions. In any case, it seems likely that fewer African born slaves were being imported at this time. Second, it may indicate that *crioulas* were not used in mine work so that their death rate may have been lower. Finally
baptismal manumission was quite common in Minas Gerais, thus many crioulas may have been free and not subject to the same stresses and deprivations of the mine slaves.31

This discovery of gold caused a number of changes and necessitated a profound readjustment in Brazilian society. First, since the gold was in alluvial deposits, people of limited means could invest. This precipitated a massive European migration into both Brazil and the mining region. Because of the European influx, slaves never comprised the majority of the population in Minas Gerais. Upward mobility was available to all comers, society was not initially hierarchically structured with a small elite at the top as in the sugar producing areas. Society in the frontier region was more egalitarian and social rewards were awarded on the basis of merit and ability. This situation was also true of slave society.32

Work in the mining district involved both unskilled labor and technical skilled labor. Life for unskilled slaves was the harshest. Many died of starvation, exhaustion, accidents and sickness. Slaves working alluvial deposits spent the entire day standing in water. This resulted in a painful disease of the feet and hands making it difficult to walk and move. Those working underground mines frequently ate, slept and died in underground tunnels.

Some of the blacks live in water (such as the miners who work in the declivities and the fissures of the earth) others like moles mine under the surface of the early some to depth of 50, 80 and over 100 palmos (22 meters); other (work) in subteranean roads much longer...where they work, eat and many times sleep.33

The slaves' diet consisted of corn cooked in various ways with black beans and salt at night. The average life of a slave in the mines
was seven years. Mortalities averaged 7% a year or approximately 7,000 slaves. Each year, 95,000 slaves were imported into Minas Gerais yet in 1777 the slave population was only 75,000. Clearly, many slaves were manumitted and others escaped to quilombos but the above figures indicate an overwhelming death rate. The only escape from the drudgery of the mines was to possess a skill such as blacksmithing, prospecting, or special engineering skills. The possession of such a skill could mean the difference between life and death.

Mining techniques and skills were totally in the hands of the negros de oficios. Most Europeans were unskilled and frequently could not recognize gold or diamonds. For many years, the Europeans relied upon the experience and expertise of their slaves to explore, set up and run mining operations. This was one reason why Minas were in such high demand. Intelligent but unskilled slaves often had a chance to join the ranks of the skilled. The mines offered an unprecedentedly opportunity for slaves to save money and buy their freedom. The general atmosphere and labor system was conducive to a feeling of less restraint and virtual freedom for those still enslaved.

The Crown suppressed diamond mining in 1734 by creating a royal monopoly. The diamond region was closed off and slaves in the cities were required to have jobs so that they would not engage in diamond smuggling. In fact, garimpeiros, or smugglers were predominantly slaves sent by their masters to the back rivers to scout out and smuggle diamonds. This repression caused a severe depression in the mining camps. As a result, mining cities were flooded with unemployed slaves who began roaming the towns creating disturbances.
As the slave population grew in the cities control became increasingly difficult. In 1735, residents complained that there were armed mobs of slaves assaulting and insulting pedestrians and shops. Owners complained that their slaves stole gold and spent the proceeds on eating and drinking. Over one hundred shops closed. Furthermore, the constant noise kept citizens awake at night. As a measure of control, officials burned a number of 'ranchos' (huts) because slaves congregated there. Officials also sought to repress the slaves by creating a 30-day pass system, instituting a parish militia, punishing runaways and forbidding the sale of arms to all non-Europeans. Conditions were worse between 1735 and 1750 because this was a peak mining period and more labor intensive. At the same time, it became more difficult to obtain freedom, as baptismal manumission and voluntary manumissions were cut back. This led to slave unrest and violence.

The church also attempted to take a more active role. African born slaves and all children born in the New World were to be baptized and instructed in the Catholic religion. Kinship relations were controlled; all compadres of baptism had to be white, to prevent additional bonding among the slaves. Black lay brotherhoods were also established to promote Christianity.

All of these measures were doomed to defeat because the slave owners refused to cooperate. There were no restrictions on slaves who possessed passes. The arms law was not enforced because slave bodyguards were a status symbol, and slave smugglers were furnished firearms by their masters. The church complained that it was not possible to instruct the slaves in Catholicism because "the masters make the slaves work all week and many who mine reserve Sunday and Holy Days
to send their negroes to carry food supplies from their farms, so that no weekday is wasted." As for the black brotherhoods, the Bishop noted as early as 1726, that some slaves, especially the Minas, retained traces of paganism. They continued to play instruments in homage to their dead ancestors and elected kings and queens. This organization appeared in the quilombos as well.

Two institutions, the coartacão and the negro de ganho system were responsible for the mobility and lack of supervision of urban slaves. The coartacão was a contractual agreement between master and slave whereby the slave purchased his freedom in installments over a three to five year period. Slaves were free to travel anywhere once they possessed a coartacão certificate. Negros de ganho worked for wages like freedom. Slaves often lived apart from their masters in their own districts. Even the pass system allowed great freedom of movement because unless restrictions were noted on the pass, the slaves could pass freely. Slaves, as well as ex-slaves could own property such as houses, shops and other slaves. Minas Gerais was rich in iron ore and other materials necessary to produce iron. However, the Europeans lacked the technology of iron working. West African slaves did possess this technology and provided the mines with iron tools.

Urban conditions in Minas Gerais presented unprecedented opportunities for slaves to acquire property and material goods. Many women, slaves and free men became shop owners because shops required less of a capital investment than a store. Generally, shops were stocked with foodstuffs, aguardente and some durable goods. Liquor shops were particularly popular because of their low overhead and ex-slaves used them to move up a level in the social hierarchy. Carneiro states that
Angolans tended to become tavern owners, cooks and pastry chefs. Five shopowners were listed as black or freedmen in 1720. By 1734, 253 shop licenses were issued, 149 licenses were held by women and 82 by slaves. Since bondsmen were required for all shops, Donald Ramos, a modern historian suggests that slave owners provided capital for a share in the profits. There is no evidence for this, but Ramos feels that it would have been difficult for women and slaves to accumulate even the small amount of capital required to open a business.

One of the brotherhoods, Nossa Senhora do Rosario of Ouro Preto was formed in 1715. It was originally open to every person, white or black, male or female, free or slave of any nation. Actually, mulattos were excluded from joining the brotherhood and most blacks were prevented from joining white brotherhoods. A "king and queen" were chosen annually with the provision that both had to be black. Two judges and a procurator were also elected and these officials could be freedmen or slaves, but they had to be black. By law, the treasurer and secretary had to be white. However, they were kept from major policy decisions.

Black brotherhoods organized in separate social segments and provided social services similar to independent church associations in modern day West Africa. They were funded by annual membership dues, entry fees and funeral fees. Additional sources of revenue came from donations and rents from brotherhood property. Slaves owned by the brotherhood were also rented out.

The brotherhood used these proceeds to finance their social programs. For example, members in economic distress could apply for financial aid, they could also borrow money. Other functions included visiting the sick and providing funds to meet medical expenses. The
primary appeal of black brotherhoods was their concern for ensuring salvation after death. A vital aspect of this was the funeral services provided by the brotherhood. Members were guaranteed a fixed number of masses, burial in the brotherhood crypt, plus free use of the brotherhoods bier. The mere appearance of a brotherhood at a non-member's funeral was an important status symbol for the bereaved. Frequently, critically ill people joined at the last minute to obtain funeral benefits. Preliminaries were waived in exchange for a large sum of money. The church gave a Grant of Indulgences to all brotherhoods. If members attended mass on July 2nd and went to confession and communion they were entitled to seven years of salvation. The latter sounds like a bribe to get the brotherhoods in the church.46

Black brotherhoods were socially accepted by the white society but in reality they provided many African social and cultural needs. Europeans were never allowed to make policy or have any real power. Brotherhods provided much needed economic services and mutual support systems for their membership. In this sense, adoption of a Portuguese institution is in itself an expression of African culture.

Despite the fact that militia commissions were a source of status, Minas Gerais experienced a great deal of public disorder. Slave thefts of gold, diamonds and tools were a major problem. There was also a great deal of quilombo activity. A quilombo by royal definition was a settlement of at least five to seven escaped slaves. As early as 1699, Pedro the Second, warned Governor Menezes of the danger posed by runaway slaves, "who look for convenient sites on some mountain where they gather and leave to commit (their) sad excesses."47 By 1711, capitães do matos were named "to search for and arrest the many slaves who in
(Minas Gerais) have escaped to mocambos that they form in the Sertão.\(^{48}\)

The Minas were particularly troublesome and the authorities regarded them as a major threat. There are numerous references indicating that they were less docile than the Angolans and that they tended to retain their own culture. Minas at this time referred to Dahomeans, Asantes and possibly Yorubas. Ethnic rivalry apparently prevented at least two major uprisings. In 1719, the slaves planned to massacre all the whites on Good Friday. The plot was exposed because the Minas and Angolans could not agree on a leader. Ethnic antagonism was the prime reason other slave conspiracies failed between 1724 and 1756.\(^{49}\)

Government authorities in Vila Rica feared that the presence of quilombos set a dangerous precedent for encouraging revolts. In fact, quilombos maintained an active commerce with Vila Rica and frequently hampered communications between other towns and Vila Rica. Quilombo activity increased between 1734 and 1750. This can also be attributed to increased tensions caused by a general decline in manumissions.\(^{50}\)

After 1760 gold mining was in decline, the population began to drift south into Southern Minas and São Paulo. These regions became centers of mixed agriculture and subsistence farming. As mentioned before, tobacco and cotton were cultivated in Southern Minas. Other opportunities existed in the north, in Maranhão, Ceará, and Para, during the cotton boom. Masters and slaves moved into regions affording new economic opportunities. The resurgence of the sugar market gave masters an opportunity to sell surplus and underemployed slaves. The increased labor demands of the North was another means of unloading surplus slaves. Once again the internal slave trade acted in accordance with economic dictates to relocate slaves from declining economic regions to boom
areas. For example, the Haitian Revolution raised the price of sugar and Brazilian sugar exports increased ten times during the Napoleonic Wars. The disruption of the Caribbean tropical products market allowed a brief economic resurgence in the Northeast. Slaves from Minas and Africa began pouring into Bahia to meet labor demands.

The Cotton Boom in the North

Belém, Para's principal port had a thriving trade in cacao, coffee and cotton. It was much more prosperous than Maranhão. Coffee was introduced in 1727 from Cayenne. It became a major export crop supplying Portugal's needs. The Crown prohibited the importation of coffee to Portugal from any place other than Amazônas. Paraíba was also a source of forest spices such as cloves, vanilla, cinnamon and pepper. Paraíba's development was due to the Jesuit missions control of the Indians. The development of plantations was hampered, however, by lack of a stable labor source as Indian labor proved to be inefficient on cotton, sugar and tobacco fazendas.

Maranhão also produced rice which was not under any international export restrictions. The Revolutionary War excluded U.S. production and Maranhão rice exporters benefited. The last twenty-five years of the eighteenth and first two decades of the nineteenth century brought prosperity to Maranhão. The Napoleonic wars and the increased industrial activity in Britain raised the demand for cotton. The northeast followed Maranhão's example and started producing cotton. Exports doubled in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The Marquis de Pombal also provided money to purchase African slaves thus effectively ending Indian slavery. Portuguese activities increased from two ships
a year to 150, while exports rose to one million pounds a year. This precipitated an exodus to the North from the mining region. Excess slaves were also sent north from the mines.

Cotton favors large scale exploitation and its estates were organized like sugar cane fazendas. Cotton processing is less complex than sugarcane but it requires a large labor supply during harvesting. A typical cotton plantation had 50 slaves and 2000 arobas of cotton per year. Cotton was also grown in Southern Bahia and Minas after the mining decline but due to transportation problems and the distance to ports it was never profitable. After the cotton boom only Maranhão and the northeast survived and then occupied a minor position on the world market. A resurgence in cotton production occurred in the 1860s when the American Civil War caused a sharp rise in prices. Some regions like Ceara, experienced a wave of prosperity. Falling cotton prices and a severe drought from 1877 to 1880 ended the North's brief cycle of prosperity.

Between 1804 and 1825, Para and Maranhão imported 12,817 and 14,718 slaves respectively from Angola. Maranhão as a whole imported 40,000 slaves from 1801 and 1839. The ethnic composition was completely altered, before the massive influx of slaves, the region had been sparsely populated by Indians and whites. Para and Maranhão both experienced increased quilombo activity during the eighteenth and nineteenth century as a result of the sudden influx of slaves.

Economic Development in São Paulo

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, ex-miners started buying land in São Paulo and raising sugar cane. Using gold from the mines
to purchase land and slaves, enterprising miners developed under-utilized resources in São Paulo. São Paulo's rich lands were unexploited and there were massive numbers of unemployed slaves from the mines in Rio. Economic activity prior to this period was limited to livestock raising and subsistence agriculture. Neither was capable of producing enough capital to purchase slaves, so there were few slaves in São Paulo before the introduction of sugar cane. Those slaves in the region were used by the bandeirantes to capture Indian slaves and explore the backlands for gold. For example, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were 8,000 Indians and 265 Africans, or one African for every 34 Indians. \(^{58}\)

The cultivation of sugar cane gave São Paulo an export economy for the first time. In 1813, sugar constituted half of São Paulo's exports. African slaves were purchased in large allotments as the sugar cane industry expanded.

Coffee was introduced in the Paraíba Valley at the end of the eighteenth century. By 1830, it dominated the valley's agriculture. The free inhabitants numbered 63,766 with 27,575 slaves in 1836. Coffee began competing with sugar cane and threatened its privileged position. At the end of 1851, coffee exports supplanted sugar cane and its by-products. There were 2,618 coffee fazendas, 667 sugar fazendas and 532 cattle fazendas in São Paulo by 1854. By 1860, São Paulo ceased exporting sugar. The sugar engenhos had served as the nuclear structure for the coffee industry by introducing large scale export agriculture and slavery to the region. \(^{59}\)

The slave population continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century. There were 77,667 slaves in the province in 1829. Seven years
later the free population numbered 238,969 while the slave population stood at 86,933. The slave population increased to 117,238 in 1854 and in 1871 there were 173,267 slaves in São Paulo's district.\(^{60}\)

**Slave Activities in the South**

Initially slaves were drawn from the mining district. Since Angolans and creoles were the dominant ethnic groups in Minas, it can be assumed that slaves in São Paulo were a mix of Angolans and creoles. The external trade from Luanda supplied the balance of the labor supply through 1850. After the African trade was abolished São Paulo relied on the internal trade from the north and northeast. A mix of Kongo, Angolan and Yoruba slaves entered São Paulo by this means. Angolans were the most numerous throughout this period.

There are at least six quilombos recorded in the São Paulo region. Three quilombos appeared in 1734, 1767, and 1777. These were attributed to fugitive slaves from Minas Gerais as São Paulo's slave population was insignificant at that time. Only three quilombos appeared in the nineteenth century, two were very small, but the other was on the order of Palmares in terms of size and organization. The quilombo of Jabaquaia was organized by abolitionists and not Africans so it was unique among Brazil's quilombos. It appears that São Paulo's slaves did not organize on the same level as other regions.\(^{61}\) This may in part be due to the fact that the plantations in São Paulo were just getting started and hence labor intensive.

It is interesting to note that only one quilombo is recorded for Rio in the nineteenth century. Thirty to forty slaves from one coffee plantation ran away into the backlands, they were quickly apprehended,
so it is questionable whether or not they had time to establish a quilombo. Rio had black brotherhoods and *negros de ganho* as well as a large slave surplus after the mining cycle ended. However, in contrast to Bahia, Rio did not experience major revolts or large scale quilombo activity. Rio inhabitants suggested that they had less turmoil because they mixed their slaves and maintained better control. This explanation seems insufficient because Rio's ethnic groups were not equally balanced, the Angolans outnumbered the Minas. The fact remains that Angolans were numerically dominant in the south and the south had less independent slave activity that the northeast or the central mining region.

São Paulo and Rio did not incorporate any aspects of African culture as did the northeast. It is true that the northeast was a slave economy for three centuries, whereas slaves were a new phenomena in the South and did not have as long to insinuate themselves into the main culture. Nevertheless, Rio had been importing slaves since 1575 and only the Sudanese, notably the Yoruba slaves, left any trace of their presence. In the northeast, Angolans left dances and folklore as an indication of their presence. It can be suggested that Angolans did not seem to possess as strong a sense of cultural identity as the Sudanese. Certainly, they did not appear to have the same organizational, social or religious perspective as slaves from West Africa as evidenced by their lack of cultural impact on Brazilian society. For example, they did not leave any enduring religious organizations like candomble—or macumba which are West African based religions. Politically, Angolans were followers not leaders, quilombo leaders were usually from another ethnic group. In addition there are numerous references to the fact that
Angolans were not trusted by non-Angolan slaves and they generally occupied a secondary position in the quilombos.

The plantation economy favored quilombo activity especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Plantation slaves had no other options particularly in the seventeenth century before the development and expansion of cities. At this time field hands were less socialized to Brazilian mores and it would have been difficult to pass unnoticed in the city. Especially, since in this period there were less free slaves and Brazilians were able to maintain better control over the slave population.

Prime conditions for quilombos existed in the seventeenth century because the hinterland had not been penetrated. A successful, self-sufficient quilombo required an uninhabited hinterland and either a sufficient distance from European settlements to avoid detection or a trade arrangement with neighboring landowners or villages. All regions had quilombo activity once slaves were introduced in quantity. These conditions were especially favorable in Pernambuco and Bahia where the major quilombo activity occurred. The result was the Palmares federation, the longest term and best organized quilombo to develop in Brazil. Conditions favoring long term, self-sufficient quilombos had changed by the eighteenth century. Quilombos still occurred in developing frontier regions such as Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso, but on a smaller scale than Palmares. Bandeirantes roamed the interior looking for gold and diamonds, making it difficult for quilombos to avoid detection. By the nineteenth century, quilombos developed in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul as these regions started importing slaves for their coffee plantations. The North also experienced quilombo activity in Maranhão and
Para after the large scale introduction of cotton.

Urbanization accelerated in the late eighteenth century and resulted in an unprecedented concentration of slaves in the cities. Urban environments were more complex. Slaves had more opportunity for anonymity and independence. Urban conditions generated a different response, urban quilombos and revolts became the means of resistance and escape. Ethnic associations and black brotherhoods developed when slaves of similar ethnic groups were concentrated. These organizations along with the *negro de ganho* labor system were used by slaves to maintain a sense of cultural identity because they perpetuated African languages, belief systems and organizing principles.

Mocambos, brotherhoods, ethnic associations and *negroes de ganho* appeared in all of the major urban centers including Vila Rica, Salvador, Recife, Belém and Rio. There were minor revolts in Recife, and Rio and the threat of revolt in Vila Rica. Only Salvador experienced major revolts because the slave population was denser and composed entirely of West Africans including Hausa, Yorubas, and Fulanis.

In conclusion, the plantation economy brought African culture to the New World. Once the Brazilian economy was stabilized in each region, slaves began to organize their own institutions. The strength and effect of slave organizations was dependent upon the density of the slave population with a higher ratio of slaves to Europeans, the level of European control, and finally, a high proportion of slaves from a similar ethnic background. The *BaKongo* and West African organizations were the most successful.
FOOTNOTES


3. Ibid., pp. 6-10.

4. Edison Carneiro, pp. 8-16.

5. Donald Ramos, use p. 23 as a model then use p. 206.

6. Sugar cane had been introduced much earlier in São Vicente. By 1530 São Vicente was thriving on a lucrative sugar trade. After the introduction of sugar cane in the northeast, this trade went into decline. Sugar production was no longer cost effective after 1580 because its greater distance from European markets meant that São Vicente paid higher freight rates than Bahia or Pernambuco.


9. I have followed Mauro's geographic divisions. See p. 195.


11. Mauro also mentions Songhay and Mossi as ethnic groups. These were African states and not a particular group. It is interesting that Mauro mentions the presence of Djulas. See footnote #30 for further discussion.

12. Furtado, p. 49.

13. Ibid., p. 23.


17. Ibid., pp. 176-178.

18. Ibid., pp. 176-178.


21. Ibid., p. 41. Also see Hennessy, p. 52.

22. Ibid., pp. 97-99.

23. Ibid., p. See also Hennessy, p.


25. Ibid., pp. 93-94. Also see Carneiro.

26. Ibid., p. 110, Carneiro, p. 16.

27. Ibid., p. 110, Carneiro, p. 16.


30. Ramos, p. 192. The Djulas were a group of people organized along economic and religious caste lines in Africa. They specialized in the gold trade. It is highly possible that Djulas may have been present in the mining district. Much of the gold exploration, mining techniques, smuggling, and handling of gold was done by slaves considered experts by the Portuguese. Perhaps these experts were Djulas or Asantes. There were no other groups familiar with gold processing and merchandising.

31. Ibid., p. 192.

32. Ibid., p. 192.

33. Ibid., p. 116.

34. Carneiro, p. 12 and pp. 21-22. Several authors have questioned Roberto Simonsen's seven year figure. Ramos argues that the life span was at least 12 years if not longer. Ramos, pp. 220-221. Goulart also contests Simonsen's findings, stating that a life span of 15 to 20 years was necessary for slavery to be profitable. M. Goulart, *A Escravidão Africano no Brasil: Das Origens a Extinção do Tráfico*, São Paulo: 1975, pp. 15-20.


36. Ibid., pp. 20-23.
37. Hennessy, p. 80.
40. Ibid., p. 222.
41. Ibid., p. 226.
42. Ibid., pp. 230-231. See also Furtado and Hennessy.
43. Carneiro, p. 69.
44. Ramos, p. 183.
45. Ibid., p. 263.
46. Ibid., pp. 268-270.
47. Royal Order 24 September, 1699 in Cod. 1 (56), folio 126, in Ramos, p. 204.
48. Commission of Francisco Gonçalves Loca, 25 February, 1711 in Codice 7 (56), Fol. 73 in Ramos, p. 204.
50. Ramos, p. 228.
55. Furtado, p. 145.
59. Ibid., p. 21.
60. Ibid., pp. 20-26.

CHAPTER III
QUILOMBOS: THE CREATION OF AFRICAN POLITIES IN BRAZIL

Introduction

Fugitive slave encampments, also called quilombos or mocambos, were a widespread phenomenon among New World plantation economies. In fact, due to environmental conditions and European settlement patterns, quilombos were one of the most successful forms of slave organization in seventeenth and eighteenth century Brazil.

Quilombos were usually established in the uninhabited backlands. At first, the forbidding terrain and isolated location of the settlements provided a natural protection. Then, as the Portuguese started exploring and expanding into the backlands, quilombos either erected fortifications or changed location. Mobility was an excellent means of protection. These frontier societies were forced to survive by means of their ability to use the land's resources. Not all quilombos were successful, but those that survived were examples of cultural adaptations to inhospitable terrain.

Quilombos are unique, in that they allowed slaves the chance to re-create African political units and social structure within the bounds of Portuguese territory, but outside the control of Portuguese society. In this sense, they represented not only a statement against slavery, but a distinct socio-political entity which reaffirmed African values. These polities were extremely valuable to both slave and non-slave society. First, quilombos eased the "rigors of slavery" by providing hope for the slaves; second, they were responsible for opening up and discovering new territory. The Portuguese recognized
the value of the second role as will be seen in the discussion of the Carlotta quilombo. Without the economic incentive provided by the quilombos, Portuguese society might have remained on the coast indefinitely.\textsuperscript{4}

The social and economic organization of the quilombos was as close as possible to African organizations. This was due in part to the predominance of African-born slaves in quilombos--indeed, in the early seventeenth century there were few creole slaves. In later stages, most \textit{crioulos} fled to the cities where they could blend in and pass as free slaves.

The primary reason for the creation of African institutions in Brazil was the concentration of slaves from one region in Africa with similar cultural backgrounds. These slaves were able to dominate quilombo structure because of their numerical superiority and cultural cohesiveness. The objective of this chapter is twofold, first, to describe as much as possible the social, economic, religious and political organization of the quilombos in order to establish that it was African in nature; second, to delineate the ethnic origin of the leaders by comparing quilombo structure to cultures functioning in Africa. I believe that the Ba-Kongo from the lower Congo region were responsible for the organization of the Palmares confederation. This view is in direct contrast to current interpretations in the literature. For a more thorough discussion of the issue see footnote 28.

Two other quilombos from the mining regions will also be analyzed. Due to the scanty records available for the latter quilombos, no definite ethnic origin can be determined at this time. These quilombos are important, however, because they give further substantiation to
the argument that there was one organizing principle for each quilombo, rather than a motley assortment of different customs and values. The development of one organizing principle is possible only when one group or leader dominated the rest of the quilombo inhabitants. Freedom was the common motive for escape to quilombos. Social and economic organization was the result of this freedom.

General Discussion of Quilombos

Major quilombos were not a helter-skelter assortment of individuals lacking purpose or direction. Thesequilombos were a reaffirmation of African culture and a vivid example of the strength and durability of African traditions. In the case of the large quilombos, it can be suggested that slaves escaped for the purpose of creating their own polities. Edison Carneiro, a twentieth century historian, feels that the desire to escape the vicissitudes of slavery is not sufficient to explain the sustained and constant movement of slaves to the interior. Nor do the "rigors of slavery" explain the large fugitive movement of slaves from Paulista fazendas just prior to abolition.

There were several types of quilombos in terms of size, scope, organization and longevity. Quilombos were also influenced by outside factors, the kind of relationship they established with the neighboring Portuguese landowners and the social and economic atmosphere. Major quilombos involved a large group of people living in an organized society under the centralized authority of one ruler. These quilombos were self-sufficient, with an economy based on agriculture and trade, supplemented by hunting and the raising of small livestock.
Occasionally, large quilombos raided local plantations but this was not their primary means of existence. Freedom and self-sufficiency were the primary goals of thesequilombos, and once in the quilombo, there was no return to the fazenda.  

Smaller quilombos of short duration survived on pillage and stealing. Such quilombos were located on the fringes of urban centers and plantations. They lived a parasitic existence, robbing other slaves, carrying the produce from their gardens to sell in town. Members of thesequilombos frequently drifted back and forth between the quilombo and the plantation. Others worked in the cities with the free slaves, but generally suchquilombo residents pursued a lifestyle of vagrancy and little work. Thesequilombos often harbored criminals. Unlike the members of large scale mocambos, members of small mocambos were usually all fieldhands. Skilled slaves tended to be watched more closely and would most likely have been apprehended had they drifted back and forth from the plantation. Most landowners viewed this type of maroonage as a misdemeanor. Expeditions were rarely mounted against small quilombos because they were not viewed as a threat.  

Quilombos increased in number, power and size during periods of economic decline and welfare. Pernambuco and Bahia were particularly stressed between 1630 and 1654. Troubled by internal unrest, external aggression and a local economic crises, landowners were unable to maintain sufficient supervision of their slaves. This allowed slaves to escape individually and in groups. Thequilombos of Rio Vermelho and Itapicu were the result of the Dutch conquest of Bahia. The Palmares confederation flourished during the Dutch conquest and after
their expulsion. Portuguese *moradores* estimated that over 2,000 slaves escaped to Palmares. A similar pattern evolved in the mining regions during the seventeenth century. Several quilombos were established in Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso after the mines played out in those regions.

Major quilombos had a symbiotic relationship with their immediate Portuguese neighbors. For example, the Palmares confederation controlled the pasture land along the Rio São Francisco. By the first half of the seventeenth century Bahian cattlemen had expanded their operation into the Pernambuco Captaincy. The cattle owners in Bahia made tribute payments to Palmares in arms, munitions, clothing and tools. If the tribute was not paid, the cattle were expelled from the pastures. Cattle drovers were few in number, whereas the Palmares were numerous and powerful. The advantages of dealing with the quilombos are obvious. This arrangement was also convenient for the Bahians because they could raise their cattle in Pernambuco without paying taxes and sell them on the free market in Bahia. They aided escaped slaves and warned the quilombos of impending military forays. Bahian cattlemen did not want the land settled by Pernambucan landowners because it would be turned into private fazendas and they would have to seek new pastures. This reciprocal situation benefited both sides and kept the peace.

Palmares and other quilombos established trade relations in local towns. *Quilombos* traded their agricultural produce, fresh fruit, game and handicrafts, to town merchants in exchange for iron tools, guns, munitions and salt. These merchants also warned the Palmaristas of impending military action. When hostilities prevented
this peaceful trade, the Palmaristas took what they wanted. After 1654, fifteen expeditions were sent into Palmares in a space of fifteen years. Reprisal raids were mounted by the Palmaristas against Pernambucan landowners around Porto Calvo. Those moradores (landowners), not paying tribute were constantly preyed upon. By 1667, all of southern Pernambuco, except for the cattle herders and tribute payers, were terrified and demanding government protection from the quilombos.¹¹ Domingos Jorge Velho, a Jesuit priest, claimed that the moradores around Palmares protected the quilombos and prolonged their existence by giving them arms, munitions, and information. The moradores confirmed this allegation by complaining that they were bankrupt because they had to pay both the expedition's expenses and tribute to Palmares at the same time.¹²

Who then wanted to destroy the Palmares quilombo? Pernambucan fazendeiros (plantation owners), who lived on the coast and those in the interior who wanted to expand onto the Palmares land were responsible for the numerous campaigns. The coastal landowners wanted to retrieve their slaves because of the economic disruption caused by the Dutch wars, and the collapse of world sugar prices. Pernambuco could not afford to import new slaves. After several expeditions were defeated by the Palmaristas they were forced to import slaves to augment the labor force.

Expeditions kept attacking the Palmares region because they wanted the rich pastures, woodlands and mineral resources of the quilombo confederation. The supposed violence and numerous complaints of quilombo raids were pretexts to seize their land. Another justification for encroachment was thatquilombos set a bad example for other
slaves, encouraging them to run away. Quilombos in Palmares were
defensive and they rarely attacked first. After the final destruction
of the Palmares, a major fight ensued over land division between the
Paulista militia and local landowners.  

The same pattern was followed in the mining districts of Minas
Gerais and Mato Grosso in the seventeenth century. The Diamond
District of Tejuco was infested with quilombos. They had a most
favored nation status with the local moradores and illegal diamond
merchants. The inhabitants of these quilombos did not grow their own
food, as did other quilombos in the mining district. They did not
have fields because all of their time was spent smuggling and mining
illegal diamonds. Local fazendeiros allowed quilombo members to
establish settlements on their land and provided them with clothing,
mining tools and food in exchange for diamonds. The quilombos, like
the garimpeiros (diamond smugglers), had established trade networks
with merchants in local markets. The merchants and fazendiros both
warned the quilombos when an expedition was coming to attack. One
quilombo was situated near the engenho (sugarmill) of Alferes Antonio
Muniz de Medeiros, his slaves were allowed to enter the quilombo by
day. In return, the quilombos never attacked Europeans.  

The authorities and landowners not in on the diamond take were
preoccupied with fugitive black settlements in the Diamond District.
Free blacks, garimpeiros, and quilombos had a reciprocal arrangement
and exercised great influence in the Diamond District. Garimpeiros
were not fugitives, but they were like the quilombos, in that they
operated outside the law. They were, in some cases, technically
slaves, in that they paid a percentage of the profit to their masters,
but they functioned as freemen. Garimperios, like many quilombolos, were not criminals as they did not rob, murder, or rape people. They can not be considered bandits either, because they were not opposed to society. They stayed at quilombos and had a mutual protection arrangement with them. Capangeiros (illicit diamond merchants) warned the garimpeiros when troops were sent out.\textsuperscript{15} The merchants themselves were always warned and were never caught. The Arraial do Tejuco marketplace was periodically raided by troops, but the blacks were always alerted and never sold diamonds on those days.\textsuperscript{16}

Some quilombos pursued criminal activities, especially those in Minas Gerais and parasitic urban quilombos. White criminals were found in 1737 in four quilombos. Many of the smaller unorganized quilombos routinely attacked, murdered, and robbed travelers and unprotected fazendas. The majorquilombos usually had a stable economic base and were engaged in a mutual trade with local moradores. This is an interesting development; these quilombos were not viewed as threats to local Portuguese because they had something to offer. Only the government authorities and disgruntled moradores caused problems and ordered military action against major quilombos. The smallerquilombos caused problems with their raiding and murdering, drawing the attention of the authorities to the largerquilombos, which then bore the brunt of the military expeditions. Only the diamond smugglingquilombos were guaranteed protection at all times.

Ethnic Identity

The study of ethnic origins in the New World is a new field. Tracing ethnic origins is a difficult process, because ethnic terms
used by colonial authorities lack precision. Slaves were most commonly identified by general region, port of embarkation, facial and body incisions, and general disposition. One of the first tasks is to correlate modern terms with those used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sixteenth century Portuguese traders divided the African coast into Upper and Lower Guinea. All slaves were "slaves from Guinea" in this period. In the seventeenth century slaves were called Angolans, Minas or Bantus. A twentieth century scholar, Father Rincon estimates that "at least 13,250,000 slaves were exported from the Congo to the Americas with the Ba-Kongo bearing the brunt of the trade." The vague terms Angolan and Bantu concealed the presence of a rather numerically and culturally significant ethnic group.

Pernambuco was the first Captaincy settled in the Northeast. The first sugar mill was built in 1542. Pernambuco imported twenty thousand slaves between 1545 and 1600 from Lower Guinea. Most of the slaves were Ba-Kongo from the Congo Kingdom. Thus, both Angolan and Ba-Kongo slaves were present in seventeenth century Pernambuco. Refer to Chart I and II in the appendix for the actual statistics.

The Palmares Quilombo

The Palmares region covered an area approximately three hundred and fifty kilometers in size. The population figures vary, but based on the number of houses and settlements it appears to have had a population of 20,000 to 30,000 people. The Palmares region had a long history of quilombo activity, quilombos were present from 1603 until 1697. Palmares can be divided into three developmental phases:
1) the Dutch Palmares established in 1630, 2) the Palmares of the Pernambuco Restoration in 1650 and 3) the Final Palmares created in 1680. See Map VII on the following page.

The Dutch Palmares were located thirty leagues from Porto Calvo. This quilombo consisted of a large and a small village. A Dutch soldier, João Blaer, describes the village in his diary, as having a wide street running east and west down the middle of the town. There were two hundred and twenty houses, a chapel, four forges and a large council house. The town was encircled by a log palisade with four entrances. Blaer informs us that the ruler governed with strict justice, no sorcerers were permitted, and if any Negroes ran away they were pursued and killed. There were five hundred men and one thousand women and children. This quilombo was burned and its population dispersed in 1644.

The Palmares of the Pernambuco Restoration was established on the site of the Old Palmares by forty negroes from Guinea. The second Palmares covered an area sixty leagues wide and contained over eighteen quilombos united under the central authority of one leader. There were nine major quilombos with subchiefs under the jurisdiction of Macaco, the royal capitol, and its chief Zambi. The remaining quilombos were under the central control of the sub-chiefs who reported directly to Zambi, the head of the federation. This was a major quilombo with all the characteristics of an African state in its agricultural techniques, political organization, defense policies, and its internal social control. The Portuguese described Palmares as a "transplantation of African culture in Alagoas-Pernambuco."
Tentativa geográfica das Povoações dos PALMARES pelo método histórico-dedutivo pelo geógrafo H. A. Thoefehrn

Macaco, the capital of the federation, had 1500 houses and a population of 8000. As in Dutch Palmares, there was a chapel, a council house and forges. The entire city was heavily fortified with logs and strips of iron. Zoni, the chief's brother lived in the second largest city, Subupira. Subupira extended for more than a league along the Cachinga river and had more than 800 houses. A third quilombo, Amaro, had 1000 houses and 5000 inhabitants. This rivaled some of the Portuguese settlements in scope. 24

The Palmares of the Pernambuco Restoration was organized by the Ba-Kongo. Ba-Kongo cultural concepts and social structure were readily maintained in the New World because of their strong sense of self-identity. In Balandier's opinion, the Ba-Kongo proved extremely adaptable to new conditions because of:

...their attachment to the land, the persistence of their chiefdoms, the effectiveness of their clan organizations and the fact that they belonged to an original culture of real scope (the ancient Kingdom of São Salvador). 25

Ba-Kongon slaves were awarded special treatment in Brazil because of Portugal's long standing trade treaty with the Kongo Kingdom. They were allowed to elect "Kings and Queens" in Recife. The King had minor judicial powers in settling slave disputes and served as the intermediary between slaves and the Portuguese. 26 The election of a King kept the Ba-Kongo from experiencing cultural disruption. This was regarded as an important concession by the slaves and was taken more seriously than the Portuguese realized. In fact, in the mining district, the authorities suddenly began to wonder if the slaves regarded the "King and Queen" seriously instead of as mere figureheads in a pageant. 27 Deciô Freitas, a modern Brazilian historian, notes
that the Dutch imported warriors from the Kongo Kingdom to serve as mercenaries in 1530 and 1554. They all escaped into the backlands which meant they went to Palmares. In addition, all the Ba-Kongo slaves were gathered in São Tome where there were both quilombos and revolts during the Dutch occupation. The import figures and port of embarkation made it clear that Pernambuco imported primarily Ba-Kongos in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Appendix A for this clarification. Ba-Kongos were available in quantity in Pernambuco during this time frame. It seems conceivable that they organized and controlled the Palmares federation.

The Palmares land was reputed to be the most fertile in Pernambuco. Certainly, the quilombo fields were extremely productive. The quilombo's economy was based on agriculture and trade. The quilombos planted milo, broad beans, manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. Palm oil plantations were extremely important because the palm furnished oil for cooking and lighting, palm wine for festivals and the leaves were used for roofing material. Domestic animals, such as pigs and chickens augmented the food supply. The woods were full of wild fruits, nuts, game and fish.

The Portuguese were repeatedly astounded at the extent of quilombo productivity. Troops frequently provisioned themselves from quilombo fields. Portuguese authorities finally recognized that agriculture was a significant factor to quilombo success. Expeditions were increasingly mounted to first burn the fields and then return to keep the quilombo's from replanting. The Dutch burned over sixty small houses and fields in one day.
Comparison Between the Kongo Kingdom and the Palmares Quilombo

Agriculture was the economic basis of the Kongo Kingdom. The Ba-Kongo were experienced farmers, raising crops not merely for subsistence, but as a source of revenue. The Balali specialized in agriculture and were known for their commercial ability and aptitude for farming. They produced palm oil, palm wine, cassava (manioc), garden crops, tobacco, and yams, the same crops produced in the quilombos. Palm oil was raised as a cash crop and was an important trade item. Obviously, they continued to apply their agricultural skill in the quilombos.

Markets were extremely important to the Ba-Kongo because they not only provided a neutral ground where business could be transacted without danger, they were a manifestation of the rulers power. A special force under the control of market chiefs continually supervised the market place. The Ba-Kongo occupied a key trading position on the Zaire River and demonstrated a decided vocation for trading. A French observer, Rouget describes them as:

\textit{travellers, go-betweens, businessmen involving themselves in important matters with considerable energy and not without a certain breadth of vision.}^{33}

An intricate market system covered the Southern Kongo region. Ki-Kongo was used as a universal trade language. Markets were considered sacrosanct and served to link the kingdom economically and sociologically.\textsuperscript{34}

During peaceful times, the Palmares quilombos carried on an active trade in the towns of Porto Calvo, Serinhaem, Ipojuca, Una and Algoas. See Map VII. The quilombos traded tobacco, milo, sugar,
potatoes, palm oil, pottery, and baskets for arms, munitions, clothing and salt. This reciprocal system benefited both sides and kept the peace. The Palmares ruler, Ganga Zumba, sent a peace commission to Recife in 1678 and one of the items requested was trade. The Chief wanted to establish peaceful trading relations with the coast and establish a market. The Zumba's attempt to negotiate large scale trade relations with the Portuguese is a manifestation of Ba-Kongo values. If he had established a market, it would have increased his economic power and political influence.

As in the Kongo, land was held in common, individuals were allowed use of the land but did not own it. The Chief was responsible for the overall administration of the land. People captured in raids were used as slaves to work the land under the direction of two to three supervisors. Brazilian historian, Edison Carneiro postulates that women made clothing from bark and animal skins. Presumably, they also fashioned pottery and baskets.

Palmares also had blacksmiths as evidenced by the presence of forges. Blacksmiths are important, prestigious individuals in West Africa. They were feared because they manipulated metal in high temperatures, thus were connected with supernatural powers. The Palmares region was rich in iron ore, salt peter, and other minerals. The Portuguese feared that the quilombos could begin manufacturing powder and forging arms. This fear underscores the fact that the Portuguese realized that many slaves possessed a technology equivalent, if not superior to their own. This was certainly the case in the mining district.
Palmares was a complex centralized state under the authority of the Ganga-Zumba, who resided in Macaco. The central government had an elaborate administrative structure with separate offices, whose officials were responsible for collecting tribute, enforcing civil laws and protecting the quilombo from external aggressors. Murder, robbery, adultery, and desertion were against the law, and punishable by death. The military was a permanent hierarchical organization, responsible for defense, guerilla activities, and espionage. They maintained advance guards at outposts and established an intelligence network with plantation slaves. The military was led by a comandant General known as Gana-Zona, the Chief's brother, who lived in Subupira. In times of emergency everyone in the quilombo took up arms.38

Among the Ba-Konga, the major ruler was referred to as mfumu mpu or "crowned chief." The name was derived from the insignia of his office, raffia headgear, and bracelets. The mfumu mpu never acted as a military leader, his authority was religious and judicial. The chief's power was derived from his attendance at the ancestor hut because he stands at the meeting place between the clan ancestor and the humans. The ancestor hut was a small dwelling containing a shrine and the chief's stool, as well as objects requested by the ancestors. The chief supplicated the ancestors to act on the behalf of the living and to protect them from witchcraft. Under the Christian influence of the Portuguese, the hut acquired Christian overtones. During this period of evangelization in the fifteenth century, saints played a considerable role and soon replaced the traditional nkisi statues. Baby Jesus and Mary were particularly venerated.39
The Ganga Zumba was the highest authority in all matters affecting the Federation's well-being. His judicial and political authority was absolute, "his justice was swift and final." A Ba-Konga ruler's temporal authority rests on the number of lineages he controls either through kinship or influence. His political authority extended over all the territory belonging to lineages under his control. The Kongo Kingdom's political structure was a centralized state composed of federated lineages. The Palmares had a similar federated structure, with a separate office for the military leader. This suggests that while the Ganga Zumba made ultimate decisions, his main responsibilities beyond administering the state, were religious and judicial. This is extremely similar to the chief's role in the Congo. There are other striking similarities, for example, in Macaco, there was a small "chapel" containing a statue of Baby Jesus, one of Saint Blas, and a third, Our Lady of Conception. Portuguese chroniclers assumed that this was evidence of Christianity. However, the presence of the small statuettes, particularly those of Mary and Jesus, suggests that the "chapel" was an extension of the Ba-Kongo ancestor hut. The quilombo chief lived in a "palace," he and his family wore capes and were attended by guards and officials. Anyone entering his presence treated him with great ceremony, placing their forehead on the ground in respect. Other records mention that people also clapped their hands as a sign of his excellence.

The maintenance of freedom had the highest priority. Since freedom depended on secrecy, it was against the law to attempt to leave the quilombo and return to the plantation. The ruler had a special patrol for runaways termed "creoulas." "Death was the
penalty for running away and it was sufficiently horrible that fugitives lived in terror of being caught, especially the Angolans.42 This passage is particularly interesting because it not only demonstrates the need for tight security, but indicates that the Ba-Kongo were in power. In Brazil, only Congo slaves were called *creoulas* in recognition of their special status. The regular Portuguese term for creole slaves is *crioulo*; Nina-Rodrigues, a Brazilian scholar, uses this term, except in reference to quilombo slaves. Also, the fact that the Angolans were particularly terrified of the *creoulas* indicates that they were not in a dominant position in the quilombo. On the basis of this evidence, it can be postulated that the leaders of quilombo were not Jagas or Angolans.43

The quilombo chief did not permit witchcraft or sorcery. Like the Ba-Kongo crowned chief, his duty was to protect his people from witchcraft. Portuguese chroniclers assumed that this was because the Palmaristas were Christian. Actually, in the Congo, the growth of sorcery and sorcerers (*nganga*) indicated an imbalance in the political system. The chief would naturally discourage the growth of such powers as they could constitute a threat to his office. Macgraffrey, a modern anthropologist, comments on this situation among the Ba-Konga:

Authority is precarious and positions of social control are open to competition, beliefs in sorcery prevalent in such societies anticipate failure in official roles and provide legitimation for the replacement of the chief.44

This situation may have been true in the Palmares. Certainly, there is one recorded instance of political change in 1680 after the peace negotiations with the Portuguese. Ganga Zumba was replaced by a new leader named Zumbi.
In 1678, the Portuguese offered to negotiate a peace with the quilombos. They promised the Ganga Zumba and his family freedom and land in exchange for peace. Their offer was turned down by the Palmaristas. Later in 1678, the chief sent a peace delegation to Recife. The delegation prostrated themselves at Governor Don Pedro de Almeidas feet and clapped their hands. The head delegate said:

... we do not want anymore war, our King has sent us to solicit peace, ... we wish to establish commerce and trade with the moradores; and become vassals of your Highness.45

The Palmaristas also wanted other concessions, such as freedom for all those born in Palmares, women, and ownership of the land. The King offered to maintain peace in the Palmares region, pay tribute as the governor's vassal, and return any future runaway slaves. It is interesting that the Portuguese treated the Palmares as a nation and not as a rebel band. If the Portuguese had accepted the treaty, they would have set a precedent for the existence of independent black polities in the backlands.

The terms of the peace treaty caused a political upheaval in the Palmares. Subupira and several of the smaller quilombos rebelled because they opposed sending back quilombos who were not born in the Palmares. The Ganga Zumba and his family were born in Palmares and therefore were not affected. After a civil war, Zumbi, the Ganga Zumba's nephew emerged triumphant. Political control went to those who had demonstrated major valor or courage in battle, leadership qualities or possessed great prestige. After he conquered Macaco, the Council chose him to be crowned chief. Governor Almeida sent Gana Zona to negotiate a new treaty. These overtures went unanswered,
however, the Portuguese continued to send peace delegates until 1687. Portuguese policies changed after the death of Don João IV. Pedro de Almedia was replaced by Governor Viera who felt that a policy of compromise and reconciliation with fugitive slaves was inconsistent with a colony whose economy was based on slave labor. The Portuguese resolved to destroy the Palmares and finally did so in 1694 after a long struggle.46

The Portuguese, unlike the British and Dutch, refused to negotiate with the quilombos. The Portuguese claimed that it was too dangerous to establish a precedent because their society was entirely dependent upon slave labor. This was also true in Jamaica and Dutch Guinea, the real difference in attitude was due to the politico-economic environment. Brazilian colonists lived in the colony, not in the mother country. Absentee ownership in Brazil meant at most that the owner lived in a city in the same state, not an ocean away. The Portuguese had a functioning society and a developed culture. Brazil also had more economic resources and a larger population to fund and man militia troops. Since the Portuguese were committed to stay in the New World, they were more concerned with controlling their slaves. The most important reason, however, was the large amount of territory available for future expansion and the lure of possible mineral wealth which did not exist in the Caribbean sugar colonies.

Linguistically, the quilombo leader's titles point to Ba-Kongo origins. The Brazilian expert, Nina-Rodrigues concluded that the titles were Bantu:

Ganga, nganga and mganga in Kimbundo means sorcerer, high priest: nganga... would
be principal chief. Nganga is a Ba-Kongo term for sorcerer, manipulator or magician. In Ba-Kongo society there were four offices which exercised power, the chief (mfuma), the magician (nganga), the prophet (ngunza), and the witch (ndoki). These offices were in constant opposition to each other and to stay in office the chief had to maintain a fine balance of power. In Brazil, the Portuguese dropped the initial n before African words. Thus, nganga would be ganga and nzambi would be zambi.

Nzambi-Pungu refers to the god of the ancestors. The prefix means god. In the traditional religious system, nzambi pungu was an unapproachable sovereign against whom men had no recourse. Nina-Rodrigues translates zambi as a title for war chiefs and associates the term with a war god. It seems clear that zambi was never associated with war in the Kongo Kingdom. Secret societies took the name of nzambi in order to acquire his powers during rituals. The quilombo chief's choice of Ganga Zumba as a title may have been symbolic. Perhaps he wished to present himself as a manipulator (nganga) of Zambi's powers in order to increase his authority and power as chief.

Analysis of the Evidence

Palmares is an important quilombo because it is one of the few quilombos which lasted long enough to institutionalize its political and social structure. Usually chroniclers were more interested in describing their exploits than in the economic, social and political structure of the quilombos. Palmares is one of the few exceptions.
On the basis of linguistic, political, economic and religious evidence as well as import figures and ethnic concentrations, I feel that the Ba-Kongo were responsible for leading and structuring the Palmares Federation.

An analysis of the peace terms indicates that the quilombos were acting on Ba-Kongo cultural values. Specifically, the request for land, peace and trade. In order for a lineage to become legitimately established it must first "pay the price of the land". The chief was trying to confirm legitimate ownership of the land. He also wanted to retain control of the other quilombos and their land by placing himself in vassalage to Governor Almeida. The chief's attempts to establish peaceful trade relations and a market reflect both quilombo and Ba-Kongo economic interests. If the chief had established a market, it would have added considerably to his power and influence.

The office of the Ba-Kongo crowned chief was duplicated in the quilombo. This is seen in the presence of the ancestor's hut, the King's sanction against the growth of fetishist organizations and their specialists, the reliance on kinship to maintain political control, and the King's jurisdiction and authority as regards social order.

The prime reason for the successful adaptation of Ba-Kongo values and structures in Brazil was their sense of ethnic identity. This identity construct was aided by the fact that Ba-Kongos were allowed to elect a King in Brazil, thus they did not experience cultural disruption to the same extent that other cultures did. However, their ability to emerge and establish ethnic identity, which incorporates
self-identity, was due to their concept of authority and seniority. Any member of a Ba-Kongo group automatically knew what his position and rights were relative to others in the group. This creates a sense of security and is conducive to maintenance of self-identity. The Ba-Kongo's strong sense of identity coupled with their viable social institutions allowed them to adapt in the New World with a minimum amount of social disruption and change. Their ethnic identity enabled them to achieve political and economic dominance in the quilombos.

Quilombos in the Mining District

The mining regions of Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso experienced massive quilombo activities in the eighteenth century. Quilombos were spread throughout the region, in various sizes ranging from major quilombos of 1000 or more inhabitants to small quilombos with 25 or less people. There were more small quilombos in the mining district than in Palmares. Many of these small quilombos lived a parasitic existence, preying on travelers, merchants and lone miners. Clovis Moura, a Brazilian scholar, mentions that guerilla activity was one of the primary quilombo actions during the mining era. Portuguese reaction against quilombo activity was greater in the mining district because of the numerous incidents. Also quilombos in the mining area had a shorter life span than the Palmares because troops and explorers were constantly combing the backland looking for gold.

Minas were preferred in Minas Gerais because of their mining experience and supposed ability to find gold. Also Bahia traded exclusively with Elmina in Africa making Minas readily available in the Mining District. During the first half of the eighteenth century,
Minas poured into Minas Gerais until they constituted 35.8 percent of the slave population. The Minas were a troublesome group, there were constant uprisings and increased quilombo activity during this time. The official response in Portugal was to advise the miners to import only Angolans. The Governor of Rio responded negatively, saying that "he knew the Minas practised sorcery, but they were the only ones who found gold and because of this the miners could not live without a Mina negro because only Minas brought luck."51

The demand for Minas was also high because none of the Paulistas or Portuguese had any mining experience.

The Mina negroes with experience gained in their land of origin, where they had negro miners and negro middlemen who sold gold to the whites, became indispensable elements at the beginning of the gold exploration in Minas Gerais, where they introduced their rudimentary mining methods.52

The term Mina, in this instance, undoubtedly refers to the Djula, Muslim traders who handled all aspects of the gold trade in West Africa. They had a widespread trade network and the name Djula became synonymous with Muslim trader. Djula settlements were established near gold sources and caravan staging posts. Activity focused first on the Bambuk-Bure mines in Senegal and then the Black Volta Lobi gold fields and Akan fields in the south.53

Djulas were involved in all aspects of the gold trade, collecting at the mines, transport to gold trading towns such as Jenne and Timbuktu, and then to North Africa. The Djula brought salt, textiles and brassware south, traded for gold and carried the gold north. Djula traders had a monopoly on the gold trade and were acute businessmen handling great sums of money. The following passage provides an
Ivor Wilks identifies the "Ungaro" in the above passage as the Wangara, the Djulas name for themselves. It demonstrates the secrecy surrounding the location of the mines, and the techniques of gold extraction. Also it shows how much wealth was involved in the gold trade. More importantly, it indicates that the Djula were the primary possessors of gold mining and trading techniques, which means that the gold specialists in Brazil were Djulas.\textsuperscript{55}

Just as the Portuguese recognized that not all Minas knew how to find gold and mine, not all Minas were Djulas. Minas is a general term, other peoples included in the trade and called Minas were Ardras, Agoins or Arguims. Bras do Amaral, a Portuguese observer, identifies Ardras as people living on the Gold Coast. He also mentions that some of them practiced fetishism. Portuguese chronicler, Nelso de Sena mentions that some Minas were excellent metal workers, especially forging iron.\textsuperscript{56} Blacksmiths like the Djula traders were a specialized economic caste in West Africa. Both groups were scattered through the Sudan and forest regions protected by their economic specialization
and ritual independence. Numu blacksmiths were associated with mining communities, making and repairing tools. The blacksmiths were protected by ritual prohibitions because they work metal using "high temperature forced-draught fires." It is highly possible that both the Numu and Djula were present in Brazil. In which case, the slave trade was responsible for introducing to Brazil, a whole complex of technology, technicians, and specialists from the African gold industry. This was a rather remarkable and hitherto, unnoticed African contribution to the New World.

According to French historian, Gabriel Debien, the Gold Coast furnished many slaves called Ardras. He also mentions that Islamic, Malinke speakers were called Mandingos in the New World. Also, these groups were scattered all over West Africa; furthermore, they were not good agricultural workers. Ivor Wilks mentions that Djula extended their operations into the forest region and did business in 1500, with the Portuguese in Elmina.

Mandingos had a reputation as sorcerers and fetishers in Brazil and Jamaica. In Brazil, Islamic Holy Men were regarded as sorcerers, because they dispensed magic charms. It seems likely that the reference the Governor of Rio made to Mina sorcerers referred to Islamic Djulas. This assumption is strengthened by the fears of officials in Minas Gerais, who noted that many quilombos and slaves wrote to each other exchanging information on troop movements and gold shipments. Literacy is one of the indications that Muslims were present in the district.

Jose Coutinho, a Portuguese chronicler, compared the mining systems in Brazil with those in Ghana. He found that the two methods
were very similar: "The native Mina negros from the Kingdom of Tombuco and from Bombac were... the best miners in Brazilian gold mines..." There are few descriptions of African mining techniques because of the secrecy surrounding the mines. Early literary sources indicate that it was controlled by chiefs, worked by slave labor, and employed advanced technology and management procedures. As in Brazil, gold was washed from river deposits, but there were also deep mines. An early Portuguese traveler, Valentim Fernandes, described the mines: "The mines are very deeply driven into the ground. The kings have slaves who they put in the mines and they give them wives who they take with them..." The Kingdom of Tombuco refers to the trading town of Timbuktu which, like Jenne and Bighu, served as an entrepot for the gold trade. Bombuk most likely refers to Bambuk-Bure, the gold fields of Senegal. In general, this quote sustains the argument that slaves familiar with gold trading were from the gold regions in West Africa. Perhaps mine slaves, imported from Africa, were responsible for teaching actual mining techniques, but the Djulas were most likely the major supervisors and handled the middle-men operations.

The social and political activities of African slaves and quilombo is not sufficiently documented to permit an indepth analysis of slave organizations, because everything was oriented to mining gold and diamonds. Quilombo information is particularly sketchy, making it almost impossible to reconstruct the economic and political structure. However, it can be concluded that ethnic dominance did occur in the case of the Djula and possibly the Asante.
Ambrosio and Grande Quilombos

There were two major quilombos in Minas Gerais, Ambrosio, destroyed in 1749, and Grande, which was overcome in 1759. Both quilombos occupied a vast region called Campo Grande. They were like Palmares in that the region covered 60 leagues in area, and contained many small quilombos united in a loose federation.63

Ambrosio quilombo, which lasted about twenty years, was described by past chroniclers, as a model of organization and communal operation. Its one thousand inhabitants were divided into work groups according to their economic specialty. One of the most important groups were the guerillas, who roved in bands of thirty, assaulting caravans of travelers and Portuguese troops. The rest of the work force consisted of game hunters, cattle herders, farmers and mill workers. In addition, the quilombo had mills to make sugar and grind manioc flour. Aguardente (distilled rum) was an important sugar by-product, and possibly an important trade item. Crops were harvested in a communal effort and placed in community storehouses.64

Ambrosio, the leader, had absolute authority over quilombo residents. He was assisted by an administrative hierarchy composed of personal confidantes. Although Portuguese accounts are vague, they all say that the political organization was similar to a large state. This structure is similar to the Asante bureaucratic state in Ghana. The leader, the Asantehene, was assisted by officials appointed on the basis of merit, who were personally loyal to the Asantehene. Furthermore, alcohol was a major industry because it represented wealth which could be stored and traded at need.
Portuguese observers had even less to say about Quilombo Grande. Grande was much larger than Ambrosio and its economic structure and political organization were similar to Ambrosio's quilombo. Quilombo Grande had a "King and Queen." The "King's" name was Bateia (the name of the gold pan used in alluvial mining). Quilombo Grande was actively involved in diamond smuggling and illicit gold mining. The whole quilombo was completely demolished after its conquest.65

Carlotta Quilombo

Carlotta, or Piolho quilombo, in Mato Grosso and the quilombos in the Tejuca diamond mining district afford other examples of co-existence between moradores and quilombos. The Piolho quilombo was discovered by an expedition looking for gold. Fifty-four prisoners were taken, including six blacks, twenty-seven Indians, and twenty-one cabores (offspring of black and Indians parents), and the fields and houses were burned. The captives were taken to Vila Bela where it was discovered that the blacks who were the leaders, doctors and priests of the quilombo had taught the Indians the rudiments of Christianity. Four months later all fifty-four quilombos were baptized with many prominent people in Vila Bela serving as godparents. The next day all the inhabitants were loaded into canoes provisioned with seeds, agricultural tools and domestic animals. Their quilombo was renamed Carlotta in honor of the princess of Portugal. It is interesting to note that Carlotta was still regarded as a quilombo although it was established with the help of the governor of Mato Grosso.66

This example illustrates that Portuguese attitudes towards quilombos depended upon their utility to them. Carlotta was estab-
lished as a vanguard settlement to encourage the colonization of Mato Grosso. It was commissioned to communicate, subjugate or make peace with the neighboring Indian tribes. Carlotta was also seen as a possible commercial center for gold. Additional blacks were sent to Carlotta to teach and reinforce the Indian's agricultural skills. This is the only example of official endorsement of a quilombo; therefore, it is unique in Brazilian history.67

Jabaquara Quilombo

The Jabaquara quilombo was located in Santos in the state of São Paulo in the late nineteenth century. This particular quilombo is unlike any other quilombo in Brazil because it was founded and organized by abolitionist groups in São Paulo. The quilombo was part of a political maneuver designed to manumit the slaves. Fugitive slaves were gathered from the streets of São Paulo and taken to Jabaquara. Quintino de Lacerda was chosen by the abolitionists to control the slaves and serve as a go-between. The abolitionists wanted to establish an ideological community based on free labor. The inhabitants, however, were supposed to be completely passive, accepting the guidance and leadership of the abolitionists without question. This was a singular quilombo, it was not initiated by slaves nor did it reflect slave culture. One inside observer noted the lack of social organization and political structure common to other quilombos. He attributed it to the heterogeneous background of the slaves. He also implied that because the slaves were not in control, the resulting social formations lacked structure. The example of Jabaquara does point out that the Portuguese accepted quilombos when they fulfilled Portuguese purposes.
Conclusion

The prevalence and success of quilombos in Brazil may be accounted for by several conditions which they held in common. First, the presence of uninhabited regions of rugged terrain or jungle which were ideally suited to guerilla tactics. The jungles, swamps and forests made it difficult for Europeans to track fugitives. In fact, more expedition members died of fever and insect diseases than from wounds received in battle. In the sixteenth century, slave groups were able to consolidate and strengthen their positions by locating in inaccessible regions. The forests and jungles represented conditions similar to those in Africa and thus were easier for the slaves to adapt to.

A disproportionate ratio of Africans to Europeans made control a difficult task for the planters. According to anthropologist Melville Herskovitz, plantation slaves retained more of their African culture base because they were under less acculturative pressure. Slave organizations were more common in areas where slave concentrations made control impossible. Initial quilombo settlements were established by slaves acting on a set of common goals, the desire for territory and an escape from the system. The presence of strong leaders such as Ganga Zumba, Ambrosio, and Bateia and their ability to impose a centralized structure also contributed to the quilombos success.

Most of the quilombos were established in times of stress, either internal or external. The Dutch incursions in Bahia and Pernambuco provided ideal conditions for escape to Palmares. Economic decline, low morale and social disorganization were also conducive to quilombo formation. Finally, Portuguese response to quilombos was strictly utilitarian. Local moradores and merchants co-existed with the
quilombos if they were receiving economic benefits as in the case of the Palmares and the diamond smuggling quilombos. Crown officials rarely received any economic benefits and their attitude was usually one of search out and destroy. The Carlotta and Jabaquara quilombos are exceptions to this policy because the Carlotta quilombo promised potential economic return while the Jabaquara quilombo was politically useful.

Quilombos are examples of the survival of African culture in the New World. Major quilombos may be considered as African polities. Palmares was regarded by the Portuguese as a sovereign state during the peace negotiations conducted by Governor Almeida. The pattern of cultural survival in Brazil was dependent upon the strength and level of the mother culture. Those groups from centralized African states possessing strong concepts of self identity either ethnic or religious tended to dominate quilombo organization. They had the political acumen and economic experience necessary to reconstruct African society in the New World. For example, the Ba-Kongo controlled Palmares, the Djula organized the gold industry in Minas Gerais and the Asante organized the major quilombos in the mining districts. All of these groups were concentrated in the various regions, however, their control of quilombo organization was not entirely due to numerical superiority. For instance, Minas constituted 35.8 percent of the population in the mining district, yet they were responsible for the leadership and organization of the most important quilombos. The remaining portion of the slave population were Angolans, yet they did not create Angolan states. Only those groups from centralized states in Africa dominated in Brazil.
Many modern scholars remain convinced, as were the Portuguese colonials, that slave organizations in Brazil could not truly represent African culture because of the heterogeneous ethnic mix in the New World. As a result, they have spent a great deal of effort constructing elaborate acculturation theories. In general, such theories believe that all slave societies are products of the New World environment. These theories are entirely oriented to the New World and are predicated upon European modes of thought. They do not consider African history or political systems.

Multi-ethnic polities were a common form of government all over West Africa occurring in Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Ghana and Niger. It is more likely that slave relations and organizations in Brazil were based on African political models rather than a European accommodation model. Africans drew on their political and cultural experience to solve the complexities of ethnic group interaction in Brazil. The presence of multi-ethnic estates was new to the Europeans, not the Africans. Europeans lacked political experience in this arena because they either did not have multi-ethnic situations or they had never adequately dealt with them. As a result, both researchers and colonial officials were biased by their own cultural concepts and therefore were blinded to the real dynamics of slave interaction. This could have revolutionary implications for acculturation theories in the New World.

This chapter has examined the effects of ethnic cohesion and concentration in the predominantly rural environment of seventeenth and eighteenth century Brazil. The next chapter will consider the same phenomenon under urban conditions in the nineteenth century.
The rural environment was conducive to the establishment of discrete slave polities in the backlands; whereas; the urban environment produced a series of ethnic and religious revolts. This change in slave organization was due to a different ethnic composition as well as a change in environmental and temporal conditions.
FOOTNOTES


2. There were exceptions, for example a number of small scale quilombos were established on the fringes of towns in the sugar and mining zones. While these were near population centers, they were as isolated as possible in the bush. These will be discussed later.


5. Ibid., p. 28.


7. Ibid., pp. 412, 413, 422.


10. Freitas, p. 72.

11. Ibid., pp. 71-79.


13. Ibid., p. 87.


17. Carneiro, Ladinos e Crioulos, p. 32.

19. Freitas, p. 70.


22. Freitas, p. 100.


26. Nina-Rodrigues, p. 90. For information on the mining district see Barbosa, p. 17.

27. Barbosa, p. 17.

28. Freitas, p. 68. R.K. Kent believes that an Angolan group called Jagas were responsible for the Palmares organization. The Jagas invaded São Salvador the capitol of the Kongo Kingdom in 1554. They were supposedly a war like group of cannibals who maintained fortified palisades similar to the quilombos. There were other similarities such as a shortage of women and children. On this basis, R.K. Kent and Stuart Schwartz argue that Jagas were responsible for quilombo organization. Schwartz provides a similar explanation for the urban quilombo. See Stuart Schwartz, "The Mocambo: Slave Resistance in Colonial Bahia," *Journal of Social History* 3, Summer 1970, pp. 313-333.


30. Ibid., p. 32.


32. Ibid., p. 340.

33. Ibid., p. 60.

34. Ibid., p. 60.

35. Freitas, p. 71.
Those who came to the quilombo on their own accord were considered free men. Only those captured in raids were viewed as slaves. These slaves could obtain their freedom by capturing a replacement in a raid. Freitas compares this system of slavery with slavery in Africa. He argues that quilombo slavery was like African slavery systems, in that, slaves could obtain freedom and were considered part of the captors family. In fact, slaves frequently held high government positions. Also consult, Carneiro, *Ladinos e Crioulos*, p. 32.

Idealistic Brazilian historians spoke of Palmares as a republic, an example of democracy in the backlands. Nina-Rodrigues dispelled this myth by analyzing quilombo political structure and comparing it to African structures. Freitas continues this tradition by pointing out that Western political terms and concepts cannot be applied to African political constructs in Brazil.


Conselheiro Drummond, "Reação das Guerras Feitas aos Palmares de Pernambuco no Tempo de Almeida de 1675 a 1678," Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Brasil 3, 1841, pp. 327-328.

55. ibid., p. 356.


58. Debien, pp. 43-46.


60. See Barbosa for a discussion of correspondence between quilombos and slave literacy.


64. Barbosa, p. 31.

65. Moura, p. 189.

66. Carneiro, Lados e Crioulos, p. 82.

67. ibid., p. 82.

68. Moura, pp. 211-213.
CHAPTER IV
ETHNIC SLAVE REVOLTS IN BAHIA 1807-1835

Introduction

The province of Bahia located on the northeastern coast of Brazil was the center of over fourteen slave rebellions during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The revolts vary in scope and intensity, some being carefully planned for months, with defined objectives, and others being more or less spontaneous, lacking clear goals. However, all have common elements. First, all of the participants were born in Africa. Revolt objectives, where they are known, are remarkably similar. These objectives included killing the white masters and then taking control of the government. The insurgents in the first revolt were the only ones planning to return en masse to Africa. The rebel plan of 1835 was unique in that it aimed to establish an African state.

In addition, the revolts were planned and executed by the dominant ethnic group at the time and the leaders were always members of the dominant ethnic group. For example, the revolts between 1807 and 1816 were dominated and led by Hausa. Yorubas dominated and led the succeeding revolts. Although leaders were drawn from the ranks of both freedmen and slaves, freedmen only led the well planned revolts with clear cut goals. One possible explanation is that freedmen lived in the cities and most spontaneous revolts took place in the country. An alternative explanation is that they had more to lose should the revolt fail, and well organized revolts had a better chance of success.
In this chapter, I will indicate the urban conditions in Bahia which made these revolts not only possible but predictable. I will show the importance of recent slave imports in Bahia for the organization and perpetration of the revolts. It is my underlying objective to use this case study of revolts in Bahia as a means of demonstrating the importance of ethnicity as an organizing factor for slave groups in Bahia.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Bahian slave traders had established a monopoly on the Mina coast in West Africa. Earlier, in the trade cycle, slaves in Bahia were imported from Central Africa, notably the Congo Region and Angola, as well as from West Africa. The monopoly, however, meant that slaves imported into Bahia were predominantly West Africans from similar culture areas and in fact, were the same ethnic group.¹

**Urban Conditions**

This change in import policy was accompanied by a shift in attitude on the part of plantation owners. *Fazendeiros* (landowners) became more interested in increasing slave imports and less concerned with balancing and separating different ethnic groups. Expanded production on Bahian sugar and tobacco plantations created a labor shortage; therefore, *fazendeiros* were willing to sacrifice choice for quantity. Salvador also experienced rapid urban growth, according to the Bahian Governor, the Conde de Ponte's census, 51,112 people lived in Salvador in 1807.² By 1819, the city's population numbered between 120,000 and 150,000.³ Féridinand Denis, a French traveller, estimated the city's population at 200,000 in 1830.⁴ The population
of Bahia's province also increased from 330,000 in 1807 to 477,000 in 1819. By 1830, the province including Salvador numbered 600,000 individuals. Since Bahia did not experience any great influx of European residents, it may be assumed that the population growth was due to increased slave imports. Some of the population increase in Salvador was due to a natural increase of the creole population. Also, many plantation owners took advantage of their increasing prosperity to move into the city. Absenteeism became more pronounced after 1808, as fazendeiros sought the social and cultural life of Salvador. Officials were alarmed by the growing imbalance between whites and blacks in the province. According to Governor Conde de Ponte's census in 1807, there were twenty-four to twenty-seven negroes for every white or mulatto in the city and a hundred negroes for every six whites or mulattos in the country. In addition, according to the 1807 census of the 51,111 inhabitants, 25,504 were Africans, 11,350 creoles and 14,260 whites in Salvador.

The Conde de Ponte also felt that Brazilians overindulged themselves by keeping too many slaves with little or no restrictions on their movements. The streets were filled with countless negros de ganho, slaves who worked on their own initiative and paid a portion of their daily earnings to their master. Most negros de ganho rented lodgings in the city and were thus free to roam the city at night engaging in various entertainments. The Conde complained that

... the slaves in this city do not follow seriously the orders or regulations of the government; they assemble whenever or wherever they wish; they dance and play their dissonant and thunderous batuques all over the city, and at all hours . . . they also congregate in their casebres, where they hide the new slave girls to use impurely.
From Pierre Verger, View of Bahia in 1714, Plan de la Ville de S. Salvador.
The Conde felt that masters should take more control of their slaves and that the government itself was to blame because of its lack of regulation. Of course, the Conde directed his criticisms against the preceding administration: nevertheless, he recognized the danger of allowing slaves so many freedoms, and warned of serious consequences unless regulations were more strictly enforced.

One foreign observer, Gentil de Barbinais, noted that Brazilians had a surfeit of slaves for private and public service, and that these slaves caused constant confusion in the streets of Salvador. He continued, that many masters allowed their slaves to bear arms to defend themselves. Barbinais felt that such indulgences created perfect conditions for criminal activities on the part of slaves. Furthermore, Bahian streets were unlighted until about 1820, then only the major thoroughfares were lit, the majority of the city remained poorly illuminated. Thus, enforcement was made difficult, if not impossible, first because of the difficulty in locating and pursuing offenders and second, because they were armed. For example, a guard escorting a slave to prison for theft, was overwhelmed by a band of slaves. The guard was severely beaten and the prisoner released. In another instance, the escort of some negros novos bound for Maranhão was attacked. The foremen was barely able to beat off his attackers.

It would appear that Salvador was controlled entirely by the blacks, both slave and free. Since Bahia was built on two levels; it was impossible for oxen and horses to negotiate the steep and winding streets of the upper city pulling a full load. Human bearers were therefore used to carry goods. As it was socially degrading for a white person to walk, they were carried from place to place in
palaquins. The streets were crowded with vendors, palaquin bearers, and porters. It seems that the constant noise and confusion was entirely due to slave activity.

It took three serious revolts for citizens to become aware of the dangers of unrestrained slave activity. In 1814, irate citizens petitioned the Governor of Bahia, the Conde de Arcos, complaining that

... One can see the negroes coming together at night in the streets as before; they converse in their idioms what they wish; and they use continuous whistles and other passwords. They even have the impudence to use our language which they have come to understand, because it hastens the day of their own insurrection. They know and speak of the fatal events on the Island of Santo Domingo; and they speak of other revolutions to come ... until not one white or even a mulatto remains alive.14

Citizens demanded more stringent laws, increased government surveillance and enforcement but declined to take any direct responsibility over their own slaves. This fact is underscored by the addendums attached to curfew laws stating that owners were to pay the incarceration fees of those slaves caught after curfew without permission. Also, many masters petitioned the governor to release or lighten the sentence of their slaves arrested because of their involvement in a revolt. Obviously, slave owners felt that it was somebody else's slave causing the trouble. Frequently, free or ex-slaves were blamed for inciting rebellion among the slaves. This continuing attitude of lenience and neglect gave slaves ample opportunity to meet, plan and foment revolution, and that is exactly what happened.
General Discussion of the Revolts

Four major incidents occurred in 1807, 1809, 1814, and 1816 respectively. At least ten revolts of varying magnitude are recorded between 1822 and 1829. A serious revolt took place in 1830 while the revolt of 1835 culminated active slave resistance in Brazil. These examples of slave resistance have been variously termed, uprisings, incidents, revolts or rebellions, depending upon their severity and the amount of information available from police reports and other official documents. Terminology has been a source of dispute; however, the most important point is that sustained rebellious activity did occur between 1807 and 1835 exclusively in the province of Bahia. An investigation of the underlying causes, and organizational structure of the revolts will prove more fruitful than an endless debate over nomenclature. Chart II defines the most important characteristics of the major revolts. It does not include minor uprisings, quilombo activity, or separatist movements.

Revolts were usually planned to coincide with a Catholic religious holiday. Generally, surveillance was more relaxed during festivities and frequently most of the masters would be congregated in one location. For example, in 1835, the festival of Nossa Senhora da Guia was celebrated at the church of Bomfim on the outskirts of Salvador. This meant that the majority of the Portuguese were absent from the city and in fact many planned to spend the night on the island of Itaparica. During the Brazilian Independence movement many slaves took advantage of the confusion to run away. The number of fugitive slaves, urban quilombos and seditious activities increased dramatically
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE of REVOLT</th>
<th>DOMINANT ETHNIC GROUP</th>
<th>NUMBER PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>DEFINITE GOAL</th>
<th>URBAN or RURAL</th>
<th>Leadership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>estimated</td>
<td>captured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 28, 1807</td>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kill whites,</td>
<td>Urban w/ Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seize boats,</td>
<td>rural coop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Return to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 4, 1809</td>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Rural w/ not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>urban coop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 28, 1814</td>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Death to</td>
<td>Rural &amp; Slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>whites &amp;</td>
<td>urban w/ Master</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|               |                       |           |          | mulattos    | emphasis on Fish mar- | Fish mar-
|               |                       |           |          | Take control of | kets &   | kets &   |
|               |                       |           |          | state       | plant       | fishery    |
| Feb. 12, 1816 | Hausa                 | 30        | 8        | No definite | Rural Slave | Slave Hausa |
|               |                       |           |          | plan        | Hausa       | not known  |
| Dec. 15, 1826 | Yoruba               | 100+      | 70       | Kill all    | Urban & Slave | Slave Yoruba |
|               |                       |           |          | whites &    | rural Free   | not known  |
|               |                       |           |          | take the   |            |            |
|               |                       |           |          | city       |            |            |
| April 10, 1830| Yoruba               | 150       | 47       | unknown    | Urban Slave | Slave Yoruba |
|               |                       |           | 50       |            | Hausa       | Negro de Ganho |
|               |                       |           |          |            |            |            |
| Jan. 24, 25, 1835 | Yoruba | 194 | 500     | Kill whites, Urban w/ Free | 7 | 9 | 3-Porters |
|               | 25                    |           | 100      | pardos, cre-oiles, & non-muslim | 4 | 1 | 3-Servants |
|               | Hausa                 |           | 286      | Enslave mulattos | Slaves Hausa | 1-Merchant |
|               |                       |           |          | Establish African state | 1 | 1-Tailor |
|               |                       |           |          |             | Nupe        | 4-Imam*    |

Chart II: Revolt Composition
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE OF REVOLT</th>
<th>DEFINATE PLAN OF ACTION</th>
<th>PRESENCE OF AFRICAN INST.</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>SPECIAL CONDITIONS</th>
<th>BRAZILIAN REACTION</th>
<th>PUNISHMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 28, 1807</td>
<td>Diversionary actions: set fires, poison public fountains. Seize Nazareth Arsenal.</td>
<td>Suspected Muslim Center-unproved Arabic doc. confiscated</td>
<td>Yes Spies also sent to infiltrate</td>
<td>Religious festival of Corpus Christi</td>
<td>Security tightened: no slaves out after 9:00 PM w/o masters permission.</td>
<td>Leaders executed. Others 150 lashes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 4, 1809</td>
<td>Mass gathering over one week at designated fortified areas. Attack arsenal at Nazareth.</td>
<td>Quilombo suspected. Ogboni Soc.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Reinforce above law</td>
<td>Unknown Rio recommend whipping &amp; sale outside province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 28, 1814</td>
<td>Union of blks. outside Itapoa. Attack plant. in Reconcavo</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Holy Week</td>
<td>Slaves forbidden to bear weapons. 23 whipped No grps larger &amp; deported. than 4 w/o 12 died in prison. Batuques 11m. to 2 loc. &amp; must end by Ave Maria.</td>
<td>Leaders executed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 12, 1816</td>
<td>Spontaneous. Occurred after relig. festiv. dancing &amp; drinking.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Harsh winter, famine &amp; overwork. High food prices.</td>
<td>Increase in Unknown size of militia.</td>
<td>Enforce prev. laws. No free negroes out after 9:00 P.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart III: Revolt Process
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE OF REVOLT</th>
<th>DEFINATE PLAN OF ACTION</th>
<th>PRESENCE OF AFRICAN INSTIT.</th>
<th>INFORMANTS</th>
<th>SPECIAL CONDITIONS</th>
<th>BRAZILIAN REACTION</th>
<th>PUNISHMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 15, 1826</td>
<td>Diversionary attack on Cabula. Major attack planned for 18th. Militia attack 1st.</td>
<td>Candomble Center Quilombo of Urubu Cult items confis.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td>Special militia force created to patrol the Reconcavo.</td>
<td>2 leaders sentenced to hard labor. Rest unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 10, 1830</td>
<td>Planned for 13th - police surprized. Attacked hardware store for weapons. Assulted police station.</td>
<td>Negros de ganho</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Unknown Records incomplete.</td>
<td>2 whipped. number of appeals. fate of rest unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 24-25, 1835</td>
<td>Well planned casebres all over city. Captians assigned w/ designated rendezvous pts. at specif. times. Set diversionary fires all over city. Free pris. in jail. Seize police stations. Take mill. barrack. Once armed take the city.</td>
<td>Two known Muslim centers.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Holiday of Nossa Senhora da Guia. Large # of troops out of city in another Province.</td>
<td>Complete repression of African free pop. Curfew raised to 8:00 P.M. All slaves &amp; free men required to register address, occup., &amp; name. Special author. req to rent or lease living quarters. All free blks taxed. Ex-slaves forbidden to own prop. All emanc. slaves must show title of liberty. Increased size of police force w/ salary Inc.</td>
<td>5 shot Rest: Sentenced to Prison Galleys Deported Flogged</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in this period of disruption. As noted earlier, there were eight known minor uprisings with two fairly important incidents between 1822 and 1829.

Attack strategies were also similar. First, diversionary tactics were employed, such as, setting fires in different areas of the city or countryside, then the nearest arsenal was attacked. Due to the chronic shortage of firearms, an assault on the arsenal was crucial to the success of the revolt. Many revolts failed because they were unable to seize military strong points and obtain arms. Most revolts were planned for dawn because the insurgents could slip away the night before and congregate without attracting attention. Recruitment was a continuing problem, the rebels of 1816 augmented their forces by attacking the slave market and freeing the newly arrived slaves. Other insurgents hoped that the general slave populace would join in once the revolt was in progress. The rebels of 1835 planned to recruit additional forces by freeing their friends in prison.

Another interesting development was the cooperation between urban and city slaves. The revolt of 1807 did not actually occur because its leaders were arrested before it could be enacted. However, it is important because it was the first instance of rural-urban coordination. R. Nina-Rodrigues feels that it set a precedent for later movements. H. Prince suggests that it marked a change in orientation. Earlier revolts were between slaves of different ethnic groups, whereas this revolt was between slaves and masters.
The Brazilian Reaction to the Revolts

Compared to the British and Dutch, Portuguese punishments were relatively mild. As a rule, only the leaders were executed, the rank and file usually received public floggings. Initially the number of strokes rarely exceeded 150, however, by 1835 the average number was 300, while many received 1000 or more. This many strokes was tantamount to a death sentence. Other punishments included prison sentences, hard labor in the galleys at Angola, Benguela and Mozambique, deportation for some, and banishment for others. Few slaves ever served a full sentence. Many were retrieved by their former masters or transferred into a different service. Trial records are often incomplete or missing and I suspect that many masters either made private arrangements or petitioned for the return of their slaves. Conceivably, the revolt of 1835, which generated the most fear and hysteria among the whites, would have resulted in the harshest punishments. This was not the case. The Portuguese captured 386 prisoners, of this total, only thirteen received death sentences. Only five of the thirteen condemned were actually executed. None of the designated leaders were executed as in former revolts.

The rebellions of 1809, 1814 and 1816 are the only movements without informants. Informants may have been motivated by various reasons, ethnic rivalry, self-interest, genuine feelings for their masters, while others may have been content with their life. An ethnic rebellion is always in danger from ethnic minority spies, who may resent the dominant group's power. For this reason, ethnic revolts are not effective in the long term. The 1807 informant, however was a Hausa slave. The informers in the 1835 revolt were motivated by
self-interest, both were Yoruba, but neither woman was Muslim and each feared they had been abandoned by their lovers.

The response of Portuguese officials reveals a great deal about the composition of the revolts. Actually from 1807 to 1835 officials did little more than establish curfews, raise special militia forces, and attempt to limit and control large congregations of slaves, notably the batuques. It is interesting to note that in 1816, the curfew was extended to include African libertos (freedmen), indicating official recognition of their role in the revolts. These mild attitudes and reactions were completely altered by the events of 1835. Then acting out of panic and fear, total repression became the order of the day.

The chief targets of this repression were Africans, both slave and free. This would indicate that Bahians finally recognized that their main danger came from Africans, especially the libertos. In addition, all slaves and free blacks were forbidden to be near arsenals, hardware stores, gun stores or forts, since these were the only source of arms, they were always the first attacked in any revolt. Officials and citizens recognized that Africans, negro de ganhos, unregulated slave activities, and African religion were the main sources of revolt. Thus officials acted to reduce slave access to arms, limit slave contact and movement, reduce sources of income, and totally repress African libertos. All free Africans were required to register with the police; they were taxed and prohibited from owning property, even lease and rental agreements were audited.

Another group singled out for special surveillance were the negroes de ganho. They were required to register their address and
occupation and were limited to work in their own district, a severe economic disadvantage. Since negroes de ganho traditionally lived apart from their masters, registering their address, indeed having to get special authority to rent or lease a residence, made their actions and whereabouts more controlled.

Realizing that traditional religions served as a basis for revolt, officials forbade the import of African drums, and insisted that all negro novos be baptised and instructed in Catholicism. Masters were fined if they did not comply with the new laws. African libertos were viewed as outsiders by Brazilian society. Many citizens wanted all Africans deported. President Souza Martins made the following recommendation to the Bahian Assembly:

... deport from Brazilian territory all African libertos dangerous to our tranquility. Such individuals were not born in Brazil; they possess a language, customs, and even religion different from our own; and by the latest events, they have declared themselves the enemies of our political life, and therefore, must not enjoy the guarantees offered by the constitution to Brazilian citizens above. 18

Accordingly, the legislature authorized deportation of any African suspected of promoting slave insurrections. After the deportation act of May 13, 1835, four hundred Africans were banished to the West African coast. Wives and children had to pay their own passage.

On March 28, 1835, all constitutional guarantees of civil liberty were suspended. Immediately thereafter all African homes were searched and anything out of the ordinary, musical instruments, clothing, or jewelry was used as a pretext for arrest and questioning. Certainly, the possession of anything Muslim, such as Arabic texts, robes, or plaques, was immediate grounds for arrest and deportation if free,
and a severe beating if slave. Subject to constant harassment and persecution, denied any civil liberties or economic support, many Africans chose voluntary exile. At least this way they could choose their time of departure and point of destination. The British cruiser, Nimrod, carried 160 Negroes to Nigeria in January of 1826. All personally paid their own passage. Between October of 1835 and December of 1837, the Bahian government issued over 800 passports to free Africans seeking emigration. In 1848, thirteen years after the revolt, African libertos and negros de ganho were denied employment on ships and docks. The repression and constant harassment of free Africans continued until Emancipation.

Bahians acted decisively to cure some of the causes of the revolts and their policies were effective because there were no more revolts. They dissipated and broke Muslim control, regulated slave occupation, free time and income, and removed dangerous elements of the population, such as the negros de ganhos, Islamic religion, other religious cults, and African libertos. Thus, the Portuguese removed four major conditions existing in Bahia, which made revolt a possible alternative. By removing economic and religious supports, restricting or eliminating possible leaders, and becoming aware of the power of ethnic identity, Brazilians effectively ended rebellion in Bahia.

Several revolts organized around African institutions which were reconstructed in Brazil. These institutions included negros de ganho, Islam, Candomblé, and secret brotherhoods, such as the Ogboni society. Although batuques were an extension of African culture, they do not seem to have been responsible for any revolt. Even where Islam was
not mentioned as a cause, it was present and certainly must have played a role in providing opportunity to plan revolts under guise of religious worship, as well as providing organization for the revolts. Certainly, this is true of the Hausa revolts, for all Hausa, unlike the Yorubas, were Muslims.

Ethnicity was a primary factor, for it determined which African associations developed, the kind of religions fostered, and dictated as well as the leadership composition. Ethnic group, leadership and religion are all intertwined. Most leaders were either freedmen with skills or if slaves, negros de ganho. This had important economic considerations. Negroes de ganho were the only slaves with a source of income to purchase their freedom or contribute to revolts. Many libertos owned property, one was a tobacco merchant and owned a boat, and another owned rental property. At least four of the 1835 leaders were Muslim scholars and Holy men. In general, leaders of all the revolts tended to be members of the dominant ethnic group; they also held skilled prestigious positions within slave society and finally they were either priests or closely associated with traditional religion.

Although a Muslim element was present and important in the first four revolts they can not be considered jihads. Nina-Rodrigues mentions the Ogboni Society in connection with the 1809 revolt. Howard Prince discounts its existence and indeed its role in the revolt is not clear since this was a Hausa dominated revolt and presumably Muslim. The Ogboni Society was a Yoruba secret society responsible in Africa for funerals and regulating society. It has not been clearly identified in Brazil, however, maybe the evidence for its involvement
has been lost. The 1826 revolt is attributed to candomblé and quilombo activity. The *negroes de ganho* were responsible for the 1830 revolt. The *negro de ganho* labor system was in effect a secular institution, because it encouraged the survival of languages and customs. It also promoted a feeling of ethnic identity. Most of the revolts had an underlying institutional basis providing organizational unity.

The fact that freedmen participated in the revolts as leaders and insurgents indicates that the revolts intended more than freedom as a goal. Many planned to take economic and political control of the city and province. The last revolt intended to establish an African state; this would as a matter of course be a Muslim state, since the insurgents were Muslim. Unfortunately, more complete documentation does not exist for the early revolts. Even the records for the 1835 revolt are far from complete. Many early records especially the Arabic documents have been lost over the years.

**Historiography of the Revolts**

There have been numerous attempts to analyze the Bahian revolts by Portuguese, French and more recently American authors. The first account written by Caldas Britto, a French observer, appeared in a 1903 edition of the *Jornal do Commercio*. The Britto article, describing the revolt of 1816 and 1814, is mainly descriptive in nature, there is no analysis. Nina-Rodrigues, a Brazilian historian, criticizes Britto because he failed to recognize the political and social content of the revolts. J. Alves Amaral commented briefly on the revolt of 1814 attributing it to social causes.
Pierre Verger, a French historian, concludes that Muslims were responsible for the revolts of 1807 to 1816, 1830 and 1835. He also feels that they were religious wars influenced by African events particularly the Fulani jihad of 1804. Verger is statistically oriented and provides the first break down of the 1835 rebels by occupation, ethnic group and slave or free status. He also includes statistics on punishment and residence of the participants in the last revolt. R. Kent and H. Prince criticize him as a mere proponent of the Nina-Rodrigues theory.

Padre Ignace Etienne Brasil, a Brazilian priest, limits his discussion to the 1835 revolt. He notes that this revolt was unique in that it was a holy war. He and Nina-Rodrigues wrote at the same time and independently reached the same conclusion. Etienne Brasil, however, had a number of misconceptions, namely that the insurgents intended to elect a "queen" and that the faithful would unite with African fetishers to exterminate the "impure." Muslims would not elect a queen and the last statement is contradictory. Fetishers or non-Muslims were in the eyes of the Muslims, impure themselves. It is unlikely that they would help to exterminate themselves. He was convinced that the confiscated Arabic documents were coded plans of attack. Reichert, a twentieth century scholar, has shown that the documents were prayers, mandingas and learning exercises.

Nina-Rodrigues remains the first Brazilian scholar to describe all of the revolts in an analytical manner. Although his book was published in 1935, his research was conducted between 1880 and 1909. This means that Nina-Rodrigues was researching right after abolition, using documents which are no longer available and also providing the
most immediate perspective available. He criticizes Brazilian historians because they attributed the revolts to a desire to be free, to throw off the yoke of slavery. For Nina-Rodrigues, however, the revolts had a far greater significance. He felt that the slaves brought their culture and beliefs with them. These African elements were maintained under cover in Brazil because they were allowed to retain their own institutions and language. Nina-Rodrigues suggested that African history and political events must be considered in order to understand African slaves in Brazil. Finally, he perceived the importance and power of the Islamic religion and suggested that Islam was an important factor in the 1807 to 1814 revolts. For him, the 1835 revolt was the ultimate expression of Islam's political character; he interpreted this revolt as a genuine jihad or holy war.

Nina-Rodrigues has been severely and I think, unfairly criticized by Raymond Kent and Howard Prince, who are American historians. Both Kent and Prince suggest that the revolts were caused by more immediate events in Brazil such as oppression, urban conditions, and the Haitian revolt. Kent totally dismisses the idea of a jihad, stating that there was no reproduction of West African history in Brazil. He rejects all previous explanations without clearly stating an alternative explanation. Kent feels that the revolts between 1807 and 1830 can not be considered jihads. I concur with this opinion but only because of the lack of evidence. The revolt of 1826 and the minor incidents between 1822 and 1829 seem to have a non-Muslim origin. The revolt of 1809 is also questionable because of the confused evidence. His view of the 1835 revolt is as uncertain
as his theory because he states that it will be clear only after a
detailed study of inter-African relations in Salvador. This view
seems to contradict his earlier statement that ethnicity was not an
important factor. Certainly, his understanding of Islam and Muslim
slaves in Africa leaves a lot to be desired.29

Howard Prince is equally harsh on Nina-Rodrigues and Pierre
Verger's theory that the Bahian revolts were religious wars. Prince
states that "Notwithstanding its racist overtones, this thesis if
not entirely implausible, is certainly misleading, lacks depth and
sophistication."30 To an extent, Prince is correct, the revolts
between 1807 and 1830 can not be considered jihad. However, I feel
that the revolt of 1835 does represent an example of a Muslim jihad.
It is incorrect to assume Islamic revolts have a racist character.
Africans regarded themselves as distinct from and superior to the
creoles but these feelings were based on a consciousness of ethnic and
cultural differences which are quite distinct from racism.31

Prince discusses conditions conducive to the revolt for the
revolts of 1807 to 1830, but does not draw any conclusions other than,
they were not Muslim jihad. He does admit that they sought to alter
the power structure in Brazil. He also recognizes that religion and
a common African culture unified many of the insurgents. His explan­
ation of the 1835 revolt is that it "represents a primitive, "nativ­
istic" movement with religious millenarian overtones."32 Using
V. Lanternari, an Italian sociologist, as his evidence, Prince states
that the Mâle rebellion was an act of African cultural regeneration.
Prince then continues "millenarian visions or beliefs in an impending
and imminent miracle are essential to movements of this sort."

According to Prince, the revolts were an example of primitive social violence because their revolutionary goals are vague and abstract, but the focus, death to whites and pardos is quite clear. However, the 1835 revolt had a clear statement of goals. These included killing all of the whites, pardos, and non-Muslim Africans, enslaving the mulattos and establishing an African state. The addition of non-Muslim Africans and the desire to establish an African state take this revolt from the province of a millenarian, primitive, social movement into the realm of an established religion, Islam.

Evidence of Ethnic Organization

I believe that the Bahian revolts were ethnic revolts, and they certainly fit Monica Schuler, an American historian's, definition of ethnic revolt.

... one dominated by a specific African ethnic group possessing a clear sense of identity and a set of goals which excluded other groups of slaves.

An element of unity and identity, based on common African and ethnic background is present in each of the revolts. Most of the major revolts possessed a set of goals which excluded creoles or Brazilian born slaves and in one instance non-Muslim African slaves. This explanation has the further advantage of accounting for all the revolts, something Prince and Kent were unable to do.

Schuler states that many factors contributed to the "right" environment for resistance. Terming them "variable constants," Schuler cites the following conditions as conducive to revolt: a
strong slave leadership, a higher proportion of slaves to masters, ethnic and religious cohesiveness, absentee ownership, punishment and hard work. Hard work and famine were the causes of the spontaneous rural rebellion in 1816. Absentee ownership was a minor factor in Brazil compared to Jamaica. However, plantation owners did move to the city and the negro de ganho system could be considered a form of absentee ownership in urban areas. There were more African slaves than creole slaves or whites, as mentioned earlier. Ethnic and religious cohesiveness combined with strong slave leaders were the most important factors in the Bahian revolt.

Slave leaders acquired their status and power from their economic position, religious connections, and ethnic origin. Leaders usually held high status positions such as negroes de ganho, merchants, domestic servants or palaquin bearers. Religious influence was very important, if a leader was not a priest, he was well protected by charms. At least four of the eleven known leaders were Muslim scholars and holy men who also had skilled occupations. They were respected men enjoying a high status within the slave community.

Religious leaders were in a position to influence and guide the slaves. This authority extended to slaves who were not members of his religion or ethnic group because of the fear and respect his control over external powers inspired in all slaves. Therefore, traditional religion was a very powerful agent in the revolts because it created a sense of unity and purpose among its followers and provided an organizational balance.
Leaders were usually from the dominant ethnic group. The ethnic groups which stand out are the Hausa until 1816 and the Yoruba. Ethnic solidarity was strengthened by a common religion and a sense of kinship, either real or forged, on board the slave ships. These groups were from areas in Africa experiencing extensive state building and these developments could have led to an increased sense of ethnic pride and exclusiveness.\textsuperscript{38}

This sense of pride and exclusiveness was augmented by the Islamic religion. Its adherents held themselves apart from non-believers, they did not eat pork, a slave staple; nor did they attend \textit{batuques}; and they lived in a separate district in Salvador. Despite this apparent elitism, Islam had wide appeal because its universal tenets cut across ethnic lines. This does not detract from the ethnic revolt theory because the majority of the insurgents and the leaders were members of the dominant ethnic group. However, other ethnic groups were involved, especially in the 1835 revolt. Two of the leaders in this rebellion were from different groups, Luís Sanim was a Tapa, and Elesbao do Carma was a Hausa. Some other groups were also involved and there were at least three mulattos.\textsuperscript{39} Their participation in an ethnic revolt can be understood because they were also Muslim. It can be concluded that in this situation of mixed ethnic groups, Islam provided the necessary common bond for revolt.

There are four requirements for a revolt to be considered ethnic. First, a strong sense of African identity must exist; second, there must be a dominant ethnic group present; third, a well organized African institutional base, such as religion, a labor system or an ethnic association; and finally, a leader, who is identified with
these qualifications and is able to articulate them into a common cause. These factors were present in Bahia and encouraged by Portuguese policy.

African institutions fostered a sense of exclusiveness because they were founded by Africans along ethnic lines. The ethnic associations were the most important and influential African institutions. They were found mainly in large towns where there were large concentrations of well organized ethnic groups. Urban conditions allowed ethnic associations to form and flourish because the crowded conditions and the unbalanced ratio of slave to master made it difficult for the police to enforce laws and regulation. These associations facilitated the continuance of African language, customs and traditional religions.  

Another secular institution, the negro de ganho labor system, also preserved African language and traditions. Porters, dock workers and palaquin bearers usually worked in groups of four to six, communication was easier if they were all from the same ethnic group. Dock workers and porters were in constant contact with incoming slaves, including the sailors, who kept them in touch with the latest political events in Africa. Many free negroes de ganho were merchants who went back and forth from the city to the Reconcavo (hinterland). These merchants planned urban revolts and provided an information link between country and city. Free African merchants had an active trade network in Africa, importing dende oil, musical instruments, particularly drums, blue dye, palm nuts, religious books, such as the Koran, and other religious items. These items served to strengthen the ties
Religious brotherhoods also formed along ethnic lines. These associations operated much like independent churches in modern Africa. They functioned as mutual help associations, members paid dues and raised emergency subscriptions to help one another in time of need. One such brotherhood was formed specifically to help members buy their freedom. As the first members gained their freedom they would continue to pay dues until the last member was free. Members helped one another pay funeral expenses, and even raised funds for families of deported victims.

These institutions were extremely important because they were organized along African principles. They created group loyalties along ethnic lines and strengthened the slaves' ties to Africa by providing trade goods and news from Africa. Ethnic associations projected an African sense of community and under their protection, traditional religions and African languages continued to exist in Brazil. Roger Bastide, a French scholar, points out that these institutions were essential to the survival of African culture in the New World, because when these institutions were repressed African languages and customs disappeared.

Ethnic associations were, at first, encouraged by Portuguese authorities because they saw them as a means of control over the slaves. In the eighteenth century, ethnic groups were allowed to have "Kings" with jurisdiction over minor disputes. These authorities served as intermediaries between the masters and the slaves. This policy was continued into the nineteenth century, officials reasoning that ethnic
associations would enhance "tribal" differences and allow African "tribal" animosities to continue in Brazil. Officials hoped that the slaves would fight among themselves instead of uniting against their masters. This policy worked very well in eighteenth century; however, due to changed circumstances, it was no longer effective in the nineteenth century.

Brazilian authorities failed to realize that the composition of slave imports in the eighteenth century was more diverse because it included peoples from Central Africa and Angola as well as West Africans. These groups were culturally diverse and for the most part hostile towards each other. Early nineteenth century imports, however, were exclusively from the Bay of Benin. The major groups were much closer culturally and better able to form common bonds. Initial communication between the groups was facilitated because Hausa was used as a trade language in the area. Through shared Islamic religious beliefs a cross-ethnic bond was formed. Urban growth and a concentration of slaves of common ethnic origin in Salvador fostered the growth of various African institutions. In 1814, the Conde dos Arcos informed the Marques do Aguiar, a Brazilian nobleman, in Rio that,

> The government, however, sees the batuques as activities which oblige the Negroes from time to time to renew the ideas of mutual aversion there were natural to them since birth. 44

It was not until the 1835 revolt that Brazilian authorities changed their policies.

Another source of commonality for slaves was the sense of being born in Africa. First generation Africans united as a group against the creoles or slaves born in Brazil. Africans resisted assimilation
and according to Nina-Rodrigues, separated themselves into small ethnic groups conserving their language, beliefs and customs. Antagonism was heightened between the two groups because of the marked preference and favors given creoles by their masters. Africans felt that creoles imitated their white masters and turned their backs on their own traditions.

In summary, all of the criteria for ethnic revolts existed in Salvador between 1800 and 1835. These include: the presence of secular and religious institutions, a concentration of slaves of one ethnic group, revolts dominated by that ethnic group and a leader drawn from the same source. In addition, the participants were African, there was a definite goal, not just a vague desire for freedom and both urban and rural slaves cooperated. The Portuguese, by failing to note the shift in ethnic balance, as well as the many common elements shared by West African slaves, endorsed the very institutions which reinforced, organized, and allowed these commonalities to build into a solid, unified basis for revolt.

The African Background

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Nigeria contained two political systems, the Hausa city states in the North, and the Oyo empire in the South. The Hausa states were nominally Muslim sultanates, while the Oyo empire consisted of fourteen Yoruba provinces governed by a non-Muslim ruler known as the Alafin, who shared his power with a council of seven "chiefs." By 1820, both states had succumbed to internal political pressures and collapsed.
Usman dan Fodio, a Fulani scholar, declared a jihad against the Hausa rulers. By 1817, a new Muslim power known as the Sokoto Caliphate, had conquered most of Hausa land, as well as parts of Bornu, Bauchi, and Adamawa. Meanwhile, Oyo already suffering from weak leadership, and economically disrupted by the slave trade; collapsed into civil war under the influence of the Sokoto jihad. The state of Ilorin declared its independence from Oyo with the support of a Fulani imam (holy man), Mallam Alimi, and his Muslim supporters. A split developed between the Hausa-Fulani Muslims, and the Yoruba Muslims. The two groups fought for political control; the Hausa-Fulani element won, and Ilorin became part of the Sokoto Caliphate.  

Civil war spread rapidly as former Oyo provinces attempted to seize control of the slave trade for themselves. This resulted in a widespread population displacement, floods of refugees moved into the southern forest region. Prior to 1820, slaves were not exported from the Yoruba region. Now, however, the slave markets of Lagos and Badagry were flooded with Yoruba prisoners. These slaves went straight to Bahia, many were Muslims and the majority were experienced warriors.

Yoruba society was composed of patrilineal clans, with polygamous marriage and patrilocal residence. Social status was determined by seniority. The economy was based on sedentary hoe farming, craft specialization and trade. The women were the principle venders in the market and on the street corners, an economic position they filled in Brazil.
There were four main secret societies, the Ogboni, Ogungbe, Oro and Emese. The most important, the Ogboni, was an important tribunal which settled difficult cases. The Ogboni Court was very powerful and feared. They also had the power to enforce their decisions. All "chiefs" were expected to belong to this society. This is the society that historian, Nina-Rodrigues connected with the 1809 revolt. Unfortunately there is little evidence regarding this society's existence in Brazil.

Other secret societies were responsible for feasts, funerals and maintaining order. These functions may have been carried on by the religious brotherhoods in Brazil. Another social institution which may have eased the shock of separation and slavery was a system of institutionalized friendship whereby non-kinsmen could be regarded as kin. By using this institution, Yorubas could reconstruct their social relations without the presence of their blood kin. Each clan had a special scar pattern usually placed on the forehead and cheeks. Presumably, these marks may have helped slaves to identify unknown relations. Finally, divination and traditional religious practice were brought to Brazil where they underwent some modification acquiring a Catholic veneer. Nevertheless, it is one of the best known examples of cultural survival. Candomblé activity was associated with the 1826 rebellion and several of the minor uprisings between 1822 and 1829.

The Hausa states in the nineteenth century were technically Muslim, however, over time the government became increasingly corrupt, until the people were overburdened with heavy taxes. In 1804, Usman
dan Fodio declared a jihad against the Habe rulers declaring them non-Muslims because they no longer adhered to the Koran and the Sharia. By 1809, the Sokoto Caliphate had taken form. This was the time of the Hausa influx in the Brazilian slave trade. Again it must be assumed that many slaves were prisoners of war. Although these people had been declared pagans by dan Fodio's jihad, technically they were still Muslims. The Koran forbids Muslims to kill Muslims, so in order to justify political change Muslims must be declared pagans for technical reasons. For example, they no longer followed the tenets of the Koran, or they were corrupted. This is an example of Islam's political nature because it could be used as excuse to expand and conquer both Muslim and non-Muslim states. It also illustrates Islam's extreme adaptability.

The Fulani and Hausa were the dominant ethnic groups in Hausaland. The Fulani were economically and religiously stratified into three groups. Muslim or town Fulani, pagan or pastoral Fulani, and a religiously mixed group of Fulani who were pastoral part of the year and town dwellers the rest. Usman dan Fodio was supported by scholars, the pagan, nomadic Fulani and the pastoral, town Fulani. It is interesting that the town Fulani chose to support the Hausa because of the economic advantages they enjoyed under the Hade rulers.

A centralized bureaucracy was instituted to administer the Caliphate. Recruitment to office was based on ability instead of heredity. The Caliphate was responsible for the rapid growth of trade in the area. One of its major accomplishments was the spread of literacy throughout the region. Great emphasis was placed on
founding Islamic schools and scholars were highly respected. Once an individual has converted to Islam there is no discussion of his origins, it no longer matters whether he was a slave or a pagan or a Yoruba. This illustrates Islam's ability to integrate diverse elements.

The **jihad** of 1804 demonstrates the nature of Islam. First, jihadis are a means of state building, of changing the economic and political order under guise of religious reform. Islam permeates the entire social order. After the conquest it provides structure and organization to the developing state, in this case, a centralized bureaucracy whose officials were chosen on the basis of demonstrated skill and ability.

An understanding of African history is indispensable to an analysis of the first generation slave in the New World. These slaves resisted assimilation and in Brazil, successfully recreated many African institutions. The ethnic composition of the slaves coming to Brazil was determined by African political events. Furthermore, the slave's attitude in Brazil was based on his cultural background. The prevalence of revolts in Bahia may be attributed in part to the fact that many slaves were prisoners of war, fresh from fighting in Africa. Plus they were members of strong centralized states with a well developed sense of ethnic pride. Brazil provided optimum opportunities for slaves to organize ethnic associations and other institutions which allowed them to retain their African traditions. These institutions then provided an organization which promoted a sense of solidarity based on common ethnic origin.
FOOTNOTES

1. Pierre Verger, Flux et reflux de la traite des negres entre le
golf de Benin et Bahia de Todos os Santos: du dix-septième au


dissertation, Columbia University, 1972, p. 19. The figure of
120,000 is derived from French traveller, L.F. Tollenance in 1817.
Austrian travellers Von Spix and Von Martins are the source of
the 150,000 figure.

4. ibid., p. 19.

5. ibid., p. 19. The 1807 figures are taken from the 1807 census.
The 1819 figures are from Conselheiro Antonio Veloso de Oliveira.

6. ibid., p. 19. The 600,000 figure is drawn from Von Spix and Von

7. ibid., p. 114.

8. Kent, p. 342. The term Negroes refers to Africans and not creoles.
The term creoles refers to second generation slaves, it does not
include the white population. All future references to creoles
are meant in this sense.

9. ibid., p. 342.

10. "Carta de Conde da Ponte ao Visconde de Anadia," Anais, BNRJ, 37,
p. 460 in Prince, pp. 93-94. Batuques were supposedly dances and
general social gatherings with music and singing. They may have
had a religious function but this is not clear. Batuques were
thought to be Congolese in origin, however, they were soon adopted
by other tribes. This is a blending process similar to the
American Indian circle dance. Casebre is not clearly defined,
however, Prince states it was a secret meeting place. I think it
may refer to general meeting places in individual slave's houses,
which became secret only when planning a revolt.


12. ibid., p. 331.


14. Petição do Corpo de Comércio e mais Cidadãos da Praça da Bahia
ao Conde dos Arcos, April 10, 1814, BNRJ, MSS II-33, cod. 24,
fols. 8-9, in Prince, p. 115.
17. Prince, p. 10.
18. Relatório of Francisco Souza de Martins to the Legislative Assembly of Bahia, March 3, 1835, APB, Legislative da Provincia da Bahia, 1835, fols. 9-10, in Prince, p. 220.
20. R. Nina-Rodrigues, Os Africanos no Bresil, Rio de Janeiro: 1933, p. 78. According to Nina-Rodrigues, the Ogboni society existed in Brazil. He claims it governed the Yorúbas and had absolute control over their activities. He felt that this secret society was responsible for the tight organization of the 1809 revolt.
21. ibid., p. 74.
27. Kent, p. 346. Kent states that Nina-Rodrigues was a student of pathology and therefore he saw the Bahian revolts as a pathological phenomenon which could only be explained in terms of African antecedents. Kent then states, Nina-Rodrigues uses this same reason as the need for studying the African in Africa, in order to understand him in Brazil. First, Nina-Rodrigues never claimed that the revolts were a pathological phenomenon. Second, this is not the reason Nina-Rodrigues suggested studying Africans in Africa-Kent has attributed this to him without evidence. It is incorrect to presume that Africans left their values, ideas and culture in Africa. Certainly, the revolts are proof that they did not. A knowledge of African culture and history is indispensable to the study of Brazilian slavery where slaves were not totally assimilated to the dominant culture, as in the United States. Furthermore, since we are dealing with African slaves it is only proper to be aware of their antecedents, because these will determine their choices in the New World.
28. Nina-Rodrigues states that events in Brasil were not a replication of African history, he saw them as a result of the cultural heritage the slaves retained. Kent's understanding is extremely limited or he would not have said "on the whole the primary function of violent jihads has been the preservation and extension of Muslim states. No such state existed in Bahia..." p. 354. I have never read of a nonviolent jihad. Kent has left out the most important function of jihads, the creation of Muslim states, which was the stated aim of the 1835 insurgents. State building in Nigeria in the nineteenth century was achieved through Islamic jihads and this is the political and social background of the Hausa, Fulani and Yoruba. It would seem that African history is very important.

29. Kent fails to discuss the controversy over the origin of the word Malê. For a discussion of the derivation of Malê see l'Abbe Ignace Etienne Brásil, op. cit., p. 99, Pierre Verger, op. cit., pp. 351-352, Rolf Reichert, Denominações para os Muçulmanos no Sudão Ocidental e no Brasil, "Afro-Aísia, nos. 10-11, 1970, pp. 109-120. R. Nina-Rodrigues, op. cit., p. 98. Also Kent states that the Malês were "a group with out lords; whose craft could thrive only on the border line of magic and religion." p. 356. He is no doubt refering to the mandingos or "charms" supplied to the general populace by Muslim imams. Non-Muslims respected and feared Islamic holy men, regarding them as in control of powerful forces. In Brazil as in Africa, they were sought by non-Muslims because their charms were believed to protect the wearer. Charms or mandingas were usually a verse from the Koran written on a tablet which was washed with water. The petitioner then drank the ink water believing that he had imbibed the verse's power. Other charms were simply written on paper and the recipient carried it. It is preposterous to regard Muslim schools as magic. Kent then states that their "magical powers or special religious quality" made it difficult for Malês to be just another negro de ganho. Kent erroneously defines Malê as a Muslim scholar and holy man. In fact, several imams had two occupations.

30. Prince, p. 10.

31. It is true that many revolt objects were to kill pardos and mulattos. However these are Brazilian terms relating to color and second generation slaves. African slaves objected to Creoles because they were not culturally Africans. They were apart from African slaves, tending to adopt white culture and white race distinctions. Prince states that ethnicity and cultural background were the most important identity factors to members of the 1835 revolt.

32. Prince, p. 234.

33. ibid., pp. 235-236.


36. ibid., p. 382.

37. ibid., p. 362.

38. ibid., p. 362.

39. Verger, Flux et reflux de la traite, pp. 352-353. For example, according to Verger, there was 196 Nago, 25 Hausa, 7 Minas, 9 Geges, 6 Tapas (all West Africans), but there were also 4 Congos, 3 Cabindas (Central Africans), and 3 Mulattos. Clearly the revolt was dominated by Yorubas. Prince does not agree with all of Verger's ethnic categories. See Table II, pp. 248-253.

40. Bastide, pp. 93-99.

41. ibid., p. 93.

42. ibid., p. 96. In Venezuela, Black fraternities helped each other build houses, purchase enfranchisment papers and gave co-operative assistance in agricultural labor. Bastide sees this as a set of genuine African practices. There is no evidence for building houses or of agricultural gangs in Bahia, but it does indicate the possibility of these fellowships.

43. ibid., p. 93.


50. Bascom, p. 47.

51. Crowder, pp. 78-83.

52. ibid., pp. 83-84.
CONCLUSION

The use of African history to interpret New World slave organizations elucidates aspects of the experience previously misunderstood by scholars. The relationship of the slave trade itself to the presence and the goals of specific ethnic groups in the New World is one aspect of the misunderstanding. Historians interpreting the slave experience of the U.S. have tended to project that experience on South America and the Caribbean where circumstances related to the slave trade and the local economy were very different. Clearly, slaves were much more clustered by ethnic group and motivated by African principles in Brazil than has been recognized.

A constant interaction of African and Brazilian history was manifested through slave organizations created by first generation Africans from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. African history continuously influenced the structure and goals of slave organizations even into the nineteenth century. For example, in the nineteenth century, Islamic militarism directly influenced the motivation and organization of the Bahian slave revolts.

The frequency of multi-ethnic states in African pre-colonial history also provides us with another means of understanding New World organizations. It provides a different standard for viewing the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the slave populations. Mintz in his "tower of Babel" image was ignoring the more basic commonalities of African culture as shown in agriculture, land ownership and communal useages and kinship. That these principles were a viable basis for cooperation is indicated by the more inclusive level of
the multi-ethnic polity. Seeing ethnicity as a series of possible overlapping or more exclusive groupings indicates a latitude in the possible formations of ethnically based organizations which New World scholars have so far not recognized. Not only does African history provide us with cultural clues to the New World slave organizations, but it tells us a great deal about the ways in which African political forms provide specific options of organization and inter-ethnic cooperation in the New World. Recognizing the versatility and flexibility of these forms as well as their compatibility with African culture will allow scholars to understand better the resourcefulness of Africans in the New World as well as the critical importance of their ethnic roots.
Accurate estimates for the slave trade are impossible to reconstruct in Brazil. However, some approximation of the total volume must be included in any slave study. This is particularly pertinent to my thesis as I argue that concentrations of one ethnic group resulted in more effective slave organizations. The attached maps and statistics are included to indicate general volume as well as population movement from West African ports to Brazil.

Philip Curtin's, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* provides a general synthesis of the slave trade. I used Philip Curtin's approach to form the general theoretical framework and as a model for the maps and figures. Curtin's Brazilian data is, however, too general. His estimates are based on Frédéric Mauro, a French historian, Maurício Goulart, a Portuguese historian and David Birmingham, an American scholar. I chose to go directly to these sources and formulate my own statistics rather than rely on a third hand interpretation. I have also included Luis Viana and Pierre Verger, who Curtin cites but did not use. Each of these sources has a specific regional and temporal orientation, so that a combination of their data provides the best statistics available at this time.

Estimates for Brazilian slave imports from 1551 to 1870 range between 3,325,000 and 4,300,000. Philip Curtin accepts 3,646,000, Luis Viana estimates 4,300,000 and Maurício Goulart thinks that 3,700,000 slaves went to Brazil. I estimate that 4,192,018 slaves were exported from Africa to Brazil. More accurate figures are not available because many of the Brazilian documents were destroyed after abolition by the government. Also, West African ports above the equator did not keep records and the Angolan ports of Benguela and Luanda did not keep complete records. The clandestine trade and various devices employed by shipowners to avoid paying duties make any estimates approximate at best.

Primary documents are often erratic; they may cover a period of time ranging from ten to a hundred years. The remaining gaps then have to be filled in with data which may not correspond in kind to the original data. There is the danger, then of either inflating or deflating import totals. One method of estimating slave imports, without using shipping records, is to count the number of operating sugar engenhos (mills) and compute the number of slaves per engenho by comparing engenho exports to slave production. Another approach uses ship tonnage to estimate the maximum number of slaves a ship could carry. Slave mortality poses problems for the accuracy of figures based on these methods. These two methods are resourceful and even ingenious, but the results should not be accepted as absolutes.

The nature of the Brazilian trade causes other methodological problems. Import totals for Bahia frequently do not include imports from Angola, conversely totals for Rio do not count imports from the Mina coast. The slave trade was conducted by both Brazilian and
Portuguese ships. There were no formal trading companies in Brazil or official ports in Africa north of the Congo River, this means that the data, if it exists, is scattered. The clandestine trade as a rule did not leave records and this causes additional problems because these figures must be estimated. Also, ship owners would embark slaves for Brazil, but actually go to the Indies or La Plata region. The internal slave trade from Pernambuco to Bahia, and Bahia to Rio created the problem of double counting.
Footnotes


APPENDIX B: Sixteenth Century Imports

Frederick Mauro was my primary source for sixteenth century imports in Pernambuco, Bahia and Rio. His estimates are based on a combination of the Brazilian population in 1600 and the number of operating engenhos. By 1600, there were 130 engenhos in Brazil and the population numbered between 13,000 to 15,000. Mauro calculates that 70% of the work done on Brazilian sugar plantations was done by slaves. Each slave produced 80 arobes of sugar totaling 750,000 to 850,000 arobes per year. Based on average slave lifespan of seven years, Mauro deduces that the 50,000 is the maximum number of slaves needed for a thirty year period. Luís Viana breaks down this 50,000 total into 20,000 for Bahia, 25,000 to Pernambuco and 5,000 to Rio.
### Brazilian Slave Trade (1545 - 1600)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Salvador</th>
<th>Rio de Janeiro</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guinea Coast</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, Angola</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Includes unspecified other sources.
Footnotes

APPENDIX C: Seventeenth Century Imports

I have relied on Luiz Vianna, Frederic Mauro, and Mauricio Goulart for seventeenth century shipping statistics in Brazil. Brazilian historian, Luiz Vianna provides a breakdown on the exporting coasts in Africa and the importing ports in Brazil. Frederic Mauro uses Dutch shipping records to figure the total imports for Pernambuco between 1637 and 1645. Mauro had to estimate total slave imports between 1645 and 1700 because there are no extant records. Statistics for Rio were derived by subtracting the import totals for Bahia and Pernambuco from the total number of slaves imported into Brazil during the seventeenth century. This method produces a fairly accurate estimate of Rio's total slave imports because Rio had very few engenhos before 1650. It can be surmised that Rio, therefore, did not require as many slaves as the other sugar producing regions.
### BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE (1600 - 1700)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>SALVADOR</th>
<th>RIO DE JANEIRO</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mina Coast</td>
<td>61,545</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, Angola</td>
<td>143,605</td>
<td>247,850</td>
<td>108,000</td>
<td>499,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>205,250¹</td>
<td>247,850²</td>
<td>108,000³</td>
<td>561,000⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4. Comparable to M. Goulart's estimate of 560,000. My figure is somewhat higher because I used Luiz Vianna as my source for Salvador.
APPENDIX D: Eighteenth Century Imports

Luiz Vianna provides the data for Bahia during this century. Vianna took thirty-three percent of the figures from the seventeenth century and estimated that 655,000 slaves were imported into Bahia during the eighteenth century. Existing records for eighteenth century Bahia only cover a forty-nine period, however, they verify Vianna's calculations. This approach assumes that the Bahian slave trade reached its peak in the eighteenth century and that the peak did not exceed thirty-three percent of the seventeenth century imports.

Mauricio Goulart, another modern scholar, focuses on the Angolan trade to Rio and Pernambuco. His calculations are based on shipping records from the ports of Luanda and Benguela. Goulart assumes that Angolan export figures are equal to Brazil's total imports, (in Rio and Pernambuco), because of the clandestine trade. David Birmingham and Philip Curtin, two American historians agree with his estimate.
BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE (1701 - 1800)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>SALVADOR</th>
<th>RIO DE JANEIRO</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mina Coast</td>
<td>402,800</td>
<td></td>
<td>24,149</td>
<td>426,949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, Angola</td>
<td>252,200</td>
<td>1,147,995</td>
<td>2,722</td>
<td>1,402,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>655,000¹</td>
<td>1,147,995²</td>
<td>26,893³</td>
<td>1,829,888³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Footnotes


3. Ibid., p. 209
APPENDIX E: Nineteenth Century Imports

I used two scholars, a Brazilian, Luíz Vianna, and a Frenchman, Pierre Verger, to estimate Bahia's trade during the nineteenth century. Pierre Verger concentrates on Bahia's trade with the Bight of Benin, while Luíz Vianna includes the North Congo trade in addition to the Bight of Benin. There are other differences, Pierre Verger covers the trade from 1800 to 1851 whereas, Luíz Vianna stops at 1830. Verger's data is based on ship registrations, passports and reports from the British Consulate.

Data for the Guinea Coast was taken from Philip Curtin, an Africanist, who also included traffic volume between Rio, Pernambuco, and Angola in his estimates. Rio's totals are problematic because many records end at 1830. The Bight of Benin has more accurate records which often extend to 1851.
### BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE (1800 - 1850)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Salvador</th>
<th>Rio de Janeiro</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guinea Coast</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>5,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, Angola</td>
<td>111,450</td>
<td>335,000</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>953,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
<td>155,480</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>190,000</td>
<td>347,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>266,930</td>
<td>851,200</td>
<td>197,000</td>
<td>1,301,130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Footnotes

1. Since Luiz Vianna's data terminates in 1830, this figure represents a combination of Luiz Vianna and Pierre Verger. Verger estimates 80,000 for the period from 1840 to 1851.


4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. This figure was computed using Vianna's estimate that 40% of the slaves went to Rio during the entire slave trade. I took Goulart's figure of 370,000 and subtracted 80,000 for Bahia, this left 290,000 for the rest of Brazil. I figured that 2,400 of the 290,000 figure went to Pernambuco. Goulart figured that 570,000 slaves went to Rio between 1801 and 1839. These figures were adjusted by adding 278,600 to account for the years between 1839 and 1850.

9. Mauricio Goulart, A Escravidao Africano no Brasil das Origens a Extincao do Trafico. Editora Alfa-Omega, Sao Paulo, 1975, p.272. He does not had data after 1830, so I used Pierre Verger's data for the years between 1830 to 1850. This adds an additional 20,000 to the overall total. Pierre Verger Flux et reflux de la traite des negres entre le Golf de Benin et Bahia de Todos os Santos. Paris, 1968, p. 666.
Sources


Caldas Britto, Eduardo A. "Levantes de Pretos na Bahia." Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia, XXIX, 1903, pp. 59-94.


---


Macgaffrey, W. "The Religious Commissions of the Bakongo."


