BOOKS IN REVIEW

RECENT RESEARCH ON NEGRO SLAVERY AND ABOLITION IN LATIN AMERICA*

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Over ten years ago, I presented a report on the state of research on slavery in Latin America. I then found "considerable progress" to have taken place since 1944, the date of a similar survey by James F. King.[1] There can be no doubt that scholarly interest in the field has expanded even more rapidly since 1966. It is not merely a question of an increasing number of publications; more important, a great many of these contributions reflect a clearly better quality of scholarship. The role of the Latin Americanists from English-speaking countries is even more conspicuous in this research area than in others. This surely indicates, primarily, the overwhelming "Anglo-Saxon" concern with problems of race that has no counterpart in Latin America itself, where other issues are considered more urgent. However, recent authors, on the whole, take a more sophisticated approach to the relationship between slavery and racism than did earlier students. More frequent use is being made of quantification. Scholars also show themselves increasingly aware of the extent to which regional diversity within "Latin America" exercised an impact on slavery as well as race relations. In the present survey I shall focus my attention on some works that have appeared during the last few years. Other aspects of the state of research already have been dealt with in two noteworthy contributions, Frederick Bowser's (1972) survey of slavery in Spanish America and the penetrating commentary by John V. Lombardi (1974) on comparative slave systems.[2]

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Recent empirical research especially enriched our knowledge about overseas slave trade, manumissions, the sector of free Negroes, and mulattoes during slavery and abolition. Two conferences, that of the Mathematical Social Science Board on Systems of Slavery at the University of Rochester in 1972 and the International Conference for Economic History in Copenhagen in 1974 proved clearly stimulating for slave trade research.[3]

Philip Curtin's (1969) valiant attempt to provide an approximate quantitative framework for the evolution of slave trade, on the basis of published sources only, constituted an invaluable challenge for those students who have been working with unpublished sources as well. Roger Anstey (1975b) found Curtin's figures for imports on board North American slavers, 1761–1810, to be far too low (166,900 slaves instead of 294,900). On the other hand, Johannes Postma (1975b, p. 237) found Curtin's data for the Dutch trade after 1760 to be inflated (174,000 instead of 143,000).[4] On the whole, however, Curtin's estimates have proved remarkably resistant though probably on the low side.[5] Herbert Klein's studies (1969, 1973) of slave imports to Rio de Janeiro, 1795–1811 and 1825–30, also fit with Curtin's estimates concerning slave mortality in the course of the Atlantic passage at that time. Klein found the rate (1795–1811) to be 9.5 percent, that is, three times higher than normal in Europe at the time but clearly lower than the staggering death rate of the white crews on the same slaving ships. During 1825–30, slave mortality dropped to 7 percent. This may have had to do with less crowded conditions on board a greater number of ships. Naturally enough, the length of travel always strongly influenced the mortality rate of the slaves.[6] This circumstnace is barely sufficient, though, to explain the great regional variations found by António Carreira with respect to Portuguese slave traffic to Pará and Maranhão during the latter part of the eighteenth century. While a mere 5 percent of the slaves dispatched from Cacheu, Guinea, perished during the passage, no less than 23 percent of those from Angola did. Apparently, local health conditions were mainly responsible.[7]

There is one important aspect of slave trade that is not touched upon in Curtin's pathbreaking work: the sex and age ratio of the human merchandise. Once again, Klein provides us with relevant figures in his study of slave imports to Cuba, 1790–1843. Interestingly, they show an increasing share of females and children. Still, recent research tends to support the general notion about the preponderance of males in slave trade (2 to 1), a feature of far-reaching implications for slaveholding societies in the Americas. According to Klein, differences in usage and prices of female slaves were not significant enough to explain this sexual imbalance. Rather, the reason would be the reluctance of African sellers "to allow women to leave African society in large numbers" (1975, p. 83).[8] Such a hypothesis would have to be tested against our knowledge about social patterns in slave exporting areas. The heuristic obstacles to tracing the ethnic origins of African slaves are well known; however, the routes of the slavers when loading their human cargoes are gradually becoming better known.[9]

On the Latin American side, advances in research have been less striking. A Colombian historian, Jorge Palacios Preciado (1973), has, to be sure, provided us with a valuable, detailed account of slave imports to Cartagena during the

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period of the Asientos. David Chandler's (1974) important study of health conditions among the slaves imported through this same port is also most revealing. Chandler finds conditions to have improved considerably by the mid-eighteenth century. Only one or two slaves in a hundred died at the "refreshment centers" after arrival, as opposed to ten during the seventeenth century. On the other hand, slave losses and sufferings in the course of inland transportation remained very severe, indeed (a mortality rate of about 20 percent).[10] On the whole, internal slave trade remains a little-explored field. The studies of Carlos Sempat Assadourian (1965, 1966) on the slave traffic via Córdoba, Argentina, published more than ten years ago, remain the most noteworthy contributions as far as Spanish America is concerned.[11]

In a recent survey of slavery, Rolando Mellafe, author of the pioneering work on the slave traffic to Chile (1959), underscores the heavy capital requirements but also the high profitability of internal slave trade. In his view, domestic slave traders took "whatever measures they could to safeguard their capital investment, which frequently resulted in a more humane treatment of their slaves" (1975, p. 81). Though logical from a business point of view, this statement does not fit very well with Chandler's findings. Further research is clearly needed. In the case of Brazil, the great interprovincial flow of slaves from the Northeast to the more dynamic coffee-producing areas in the South, after the breakup of the external slave imports by 1850, has naturally attracted more scholarly attention. Contributions by Klein (1971), Robert Conrad (1972, pp. 47–69), and Warren Dean (1976, pp. 136–38) deserve to be particularly mentioned.[12] Data on prices are, of course, scattered throughout the literature. A more systematic research project on the subject, based on notarial records for nineteenth-century Bahia, has been initiated by María Luiza Marcílio and two other Brazilian historians.[13]

The question of the profitability of slave labor is, of course, closely related to that of prices. In the case of the nineteenth-century South of the United States, a profit slightly exceeding 10 percent seems to have been normal. With respect to sugar plantations in eighteenth-century Jamaica, Richard Sheridan (1974) estimated the average yearly return on a prime fieldhand to be 6 percent if his time of work comprised twelve years, 11 percent if it lasted as much as twenty years. A pioneering attempt to determine the profitability of slavery in a Latin American area is that of William F. Sharp who studied the use of slave labor in eighteenth-century gold mining in Chocó, Colombia. Whereas the values of slaves and maintenance costs appear to be reasonably well documented, Sharp only found data on the return from slave holdings in eleven cases. His estimate of the depreciation of the basic asset, the slaves themselves, unavoidably has a conjectural character because of the lack of information concerning the mortality rate. Anyway, Sharp (1975) claims that, in nine of his eleven cases, the minimum rate of profit was over 5 percent, in seven of the cases even exceeding 10 percent. As contraband trade in gold was important in Chocó, real profits may have been even higher. At the same time, investment in slaves had apparently become excessive by the mid-eighteenth century and profits dropped towards 1800.[14]

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According to the prevailing view, in societies to the South of the United States, slaves were incapable of reproducing themselves. As Gwendolyn Midlo Hall puts it, this was "characteristic of all sugar colonies, regardless of colonizing power" (1971, p. 13).[15] A recent study by Nicholas Cushner (1975) has shown that even on eighteenth-century Jesuit haciendas in Peru, where conditions appear to have been relatively satisfactory in terms of treatment as well as sex ratio, the birth rate was considerably lower than that of deaths. His sample comprises 1,200 individuals during the period 1714–67. Yet Cushner warns that it is not sufficient as a basis for generalizations as long as there has been no systematic research on slave populations held by laymen.[16] Admittedly, there are some areas that did exhibit a surplus of criollo slaves, such as the Valley of Aragua, Venezuela, with its cacao plantations, studied by Federico Brito Figueroa (1973). In the eighteenth century, slaves from Aragua occasionally were exported all the way to New Spain.[17]

In his provocative and sophisticated article on the evolution of Cuba's "black" population, 1775–1900, Jack E. Eblen (1975) directly challenges the current view about slave populations not being self-reproducing in Latin America. Eblen correctly states that "raw data for slaves in an area where there was extensive and continuous manumission" cannot possibly be directly compared with slave populations in a country like the United States where manumissions were exceedingly few. Thus, his category of blacks is supposed to cover free Negroes and mulattoes as well as slaves. After a series of attempts to establish vital rates, Eblen finds that, within the limits imposed "by the intrinsic death rate," Cuban blacks increased "about as rapidly as could be expected during most (if not all) of the period from 1775 to 1900." He even draws the general conclusion that "black populations in the Western Hemisphere . . . whether free or slave, lived under very severe and very similar mortality conditions and reproduced at about the same level of capacity." As sometimes happens, however, in the field of econometric and advanced quantitative history, Eblen's assumptions are vulnerable to questioning. For example, he actually believes Cuban "census data for the total black [!] population" to be "reasonably accurate." This appears to be a doubtful assumption in the light of Kenneth Kiple's (1976) critical study on the Cuban censuses during the same period. Thus, Kiple finds the low census figures of 1846 (not used by Eblen) to be much more reliable than the high census figures of 1841, which Eblen used.[18] It deserves to be strongly stressed that, unless sources have first been subjected to a rigorous, critical scrutiny, a mathematical approach to Latin American history is likely to produce misleading results.

Everybody seems to agree that the access to freedom was much greater in Latin America than in North America; yet the lack of any systematic research in this area long remained a striking fact. However, notarial registers provide an abundant source material rather easily quantified, and a change is now under way. The ongoing research of Stuart Schwartz, Katia M. de Quiroz Mattoso, and Arnold Kessler, all of them using the *cartas de alforria* liberating slaves in Salvador de Bahia, seems especially promising. Schwartz (1974) has presented some preliminary results, based on 1,160 cases for the period of 1684–1745, showing that

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two out of three *libertos* were females and that, not surprisingly, mulattoes and children were relatively numerous among those freed. About half were by purchase, another 20 percent manumitted under certain conditions, such as continued service to their former owners. As Schwartz puts it, this "undercuts the traditional humanitarian interpretation of Brazilian manumission" but also raises questions as to how the money was found. One uniquely "Iberian" way in which this was done has been touched upon by A. J. R. Russell-Wood (1974) in his study on colored religious brotherhoods in Brazil. They apparently often granted slave members loans to enable them to purchase their freedom. The quantitative dimension of these activities would deserve to be particularly assessed.

The 6,969 Bahian cases of manumissions for the period of 1779–1850, studied by Mattoso (1972), show a picture that differs slightly from that of Schwartz. Less than half were by purchase, the percentage of males oscillated between 32 and 48 percent, and children were few. Out of these mostly urban slaves, very few, indeed, had a professional specialization.[19] Schwartz's findings, in any case, harmonize with those of Bowser (1975) who took a couple of samples for Lima and Mexico City, 1580–1650 (294 plus 105 cases). On the other hand, Lowell Gudmundson (1976), based on a sample of 430 cases in Costa Rica from 1648 to 1824, shows that in that economically stagnant area, unconditional, gratis manumission comprised no less than 68 percent of the total. The share of adults manumitted in Costa Rica is also larger than in the other samples.[20] Finally, another of Schwartz's preliminary observations deserves to be taken up, because it looks intriguing. As far as he can see, slaves in "rural"areas outside Salvador took part in the process on rather equal terms. If really so, the prevailing view of manumissions being a largely "urban affair," based on its inherent logic rather than on the gathering of data, would face a direct challenge. So far, historians have only admitted that, outside the urban milieu, mining, notwithstanding its harshness, also offered good opportunities for savings to be used for self-purchase.[21]

Manumissions gave rise to a steadily increasing group of free Negroes and mulattoes, familiar to any student of Latin American colonial society but strangely slow in attracting scholarly attention. In 1970, however, these people were made the subject of an unusually fruitful research conference at the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore.[22] Since then, our empirical knowledge has increased with respect to this important segment of Latin American societies. Their numerical importance compared to that of slaves as well as to total population shows the most striking differences in time and space. Their legal and social conditions varied widely, too. Notarial registers once again constitute our main source, allowing us to trace the free colored through their business transactions, as James Lockhart (1969) did in his pathbreaking study on Peruvian society from Conquest through 1560. Because of the nature of his source, free Negroes and mulattoes may appear to be somewhat too thrifty and active, but this is probably less misleading than the opposite stereotype, derived from their occasional appearance in more or less picturesque criminal lawsuits.[23] When comparing his samples of freemen of color in Mexico and Lima, Bowser noticed some dif-

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ferences due to the different environments. On the whole, however, they "remained at the bottom of the societal ladder," victims of considerable prejudice (Bowser 1975, p. 362). In this respect, as pointed out by Leslie B. Rout (1976a, pp. 132–33), even the lawgiver, not only local "whites," made a differentiation on the basis of color shade, as shown by the well-known *Código negro carolino* from Santo Domingo in 1784.[24] With respect to nineteenth-century Cuba, Verena Martínez-Alier (1974) studied in depth the legal restrictions as well as social attitudes on interracial marriages.[25]. Rout (1976a, p. 143) claims that even in the early years of this same century, marriages contracted with "negroid" partners were exceedingly rare in the River Plate. According to Russell-Wood (1974, p. 569), religious brotherhoods "provided a cushion against a competitive, white-dominated society," for slaves as well as for freemen of color.

In the course of the 1970s, historians have become increasingly aware of the necessity of studying slavery in a regional rather than a "Latin American" context and with due attention paid to the white and racially mixed sectors of society. Bowser's (1974) solid monograph on Negro slavery in early colonial Peru is especially noteworthy.[26] Slavery in Colombia has been dealt with by Sharp, among others, whereas that in Ecuador appears to have received less attention from historians.[27] Slavery in Venezuela was explored by Miguel Acosta Saignes (1967), Brito Figueroa (1973), and Lombardi (1971).[28] Inside Cuba, Manuel Moreno Fraginals (1964) continues his vigorous, original work on the slave plantation complex, while, outside the island, Franklin Knight and other students, using Spanish archives, produced valuable contributions.[29] In Costa Rica, Carlos Meléndez and Quince Duncan (1974) and Oscar Aguilar Bulgarelli (1973) are unearthing the African past at a time when the presence of Afro-Costa Ricans, descendants of the immigrant workers from the West Indies who settled on the North coast, is becoming increasingly conspicuous in the country.[30] According to Josefina Pla (1972, 1974) and John H. Williams (1971, 1974), slavery and free Negroes and mulattoes played a much more important role, especially in early nineteenth-century Paraguayan society, than previously realized. A particularly interesting feature is the great number of state-owned slaves during the dictatorships of Francia and the two López, father and son.[31] Some states where slavery has so far received little attention, such as Pará and Paraná, form the territorial framework of recent monographs on Brazil.[32]

Studies focusing on smaller districts come, of course, even closer to reality and allow for a longer time perspective. At the same time, they prove unavoidably risky for the purpose of generalization. Dean's (1976) truly excellent work on Rio Claro in São Paulo, between 1820 and 1920, is the best example of this level of research. It is a late sequel to Stanley J. Stein's (1957) pioneering book on another slaveholding coffee district, Vassouras in the Paraíba valley (1850–1900). Billy Chandler's (1972) monograph on a community in the interior of Ceará, dominated by the Feitosa family, covers an even longer time span, from 1700 to 1930.

Monographs devoted to single units of production naturally tend to deal with very large slaveholding properties, usually held by powerful institutions that have left abundant documentation. Thus, we know a great deal about the

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hundreds of slaves owned by the Obra Pia de Chuao in Venezuela, the Engenho Sergipe do Conde in Bahia, and the Fazenda de Santa Cruz near Rio de Janeiro.[33] But does not their very size tend to make them atypical? As Richard Graham (1976, pp. 385–86) observes, the clear predominance of women among the slaves of the Fazenda de Santa Cruz is a bewildering, clearly exceptional feature compared to what we know about slavery in Brazil in general. Furthermore, Graham did not even find confirmed his initial suspicion about a slavebreeding purpose.

Obviously, the numerical relation between slaves and free people, colored as well as whites, is a basic factor for determining the relative importance of slavery. But the degree of concentration of slaveholding within a given society is also an important variable, too often neglected. In the Capitaincy of São Paulo, in the early nineteenth century, slaves formed about a fourth of the total population. At the same time, Marcílio has shown that three-fourths of all free households, 1798–1828, had no slaves. On the other hand, 2–4 percent of the households kept more than forty slaves. The social impact of slavery can be understood only in the context of slave distribution.[34]

Most students of slavery now recognize that the various functions exercised by the slaves help to explain the striking varieties of slave societies. Likewise, the economic characteristics of the agricultural properties are main explanatory variables. The Fazenda de Santa Cruz in the 1790s, when its strange demographic features are known to us, was still a cattle-breeding and food-crop producing estate on which women could probably be put to better use. At Sergipe do Conde, on the other hand, a clear-cut sugar plantation, more than 60 percent of adult slaves were males in the 1590s.[35] But even on plantations, there were always more favored categories of slaves than fieldhands, such as artisans and domestics. Furthermore, there was differentiation among unskilled sugar plantation labor. The slaves of the small-size cane growers (*lavradores de cana*) of colonial Bahia, studied by Schwartz (1973, pp. 171–75) seem to have been exploited even more than those of the sugar mills. In the cattle-breeding Ceará community studied by Billy Chandler (1972, pp. 146–56), slaves appear in practically every occupation held by the lower-class free people, including that of cowboys (*vaqueiros*). In Rio de Janeiro, during the 1840s, as Mary Karasch (1975) shows, the functions of the slaves, working along with free colored, were most varied, ranging from unskilled manual work and domestic service to very skilled crafts. Bowser (1974, pp. 125–46) also underlines the importance of slave artisans in early colonial Peru.[36] In different places and at different times, cases of slaves owning other slaves have also been recorded.[37]

Against the backdrop of this bewildering variety, I wholeheartedly agree with Lombardi's provocative assertion that a fresh approach to the history of African slaves in Latin America is sorely needed. The efforts to define one or several "Latin American" *slave systems*, pursued for so long with such scanty results, were intended to find a unifying formula for all slaves within a given territory. They tend, instead, to obscure a most heterogeneous social reality. As Lombardi puts it, they should be "de-emphasized in favor of social history more broadly conceived." Slaves should, in the first place, be studied within their functional context, as *subcategories* of "plantation labor," "artisans," "cowboys,"

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"prostitutes," or whatever the general category may be.[38] Also for those who prefer to use a Marxist theoretical approach, Lombardi's suggestion would open a better way of categorizing Latin American "slaves" according to their respective role within the social organization of production.[39] There are several indications in recent studies that, for the time being, our insufficient knowledge about legally free labor is the main obstacle to this "functional" approach.[40] This imbalance may seem paradoxical. It is not only explained by the greater attraction slavery has exerted on students; more importantly, it reflects the fact that slaves, because of their monetary value, left more traces in existing sources.

Lombardi's view can find support, on a more theoretical level, in Dutch sociologist Harry Hoetink's (1973) excellent little book on slavery and race relations. He does not find slavery in the Americas a "common experience essentially different from that of other systems of forced labor," such as, for example, most forms of Indian labor as well as the *obraje* working force. Based on convincing empirical evidence, Hoetink also rejects the causal connection between a given "slave system"—"mild" or "cruel"—and the character of race relations outside slavery in the same society.[41]

From the perspective just outlined, the grand generalizations aiming at the comparison of Latin American and North American slavery are clearly out of date. On the other hand, naturally, the use of the comparative method should by no means be abandoned. It can be very useful, indeed, if the time period or the evolutionary stage are the same and the cultural context is not too different. If so, comparison may reveal new interrogations as well as new explanatory factors. The studies carried out by Barrett and Schwartz (1975) on sugar plantations in Morelos (Mexico) and Bahia, and by Colin MacLachlan (1974, pp. 112–45) on Pará and Maranhão in the Amazon belong to the more thought-provoking results of recent research on slavery.[42]

It is no surprise that under the impact of the militancy of North American "blacks" and also of the revolutionary sentiments among Latin American intellectuals, slave resistance to bondage has become an increasingly popular theme. Frequently, the accounts are mostly narrative and the various forms of resistance, such as uprisings and desertions, not sufficiently kept apart.[43] The categorization suggested by Orlando Patterson (1967, pp. 260–83), a Jamaican sociologist, seems to provide a rewarding analytical framework. It covers *passive* resistance—(a) refusal to work, general inefficiency, deliberate laziness or evasion, (b) satire, (c) running away, and (d) suicide as well as the more glamorous *active* resistance—(a) individual, and (b) collective violence.[44] The desertions, the *marronage*, in different parts of the Americas is ably presented in an anthology by anthropologist Richard Price (1973).[45] The famous 1835 uprising in Bahia has been critically examined by R. K. Kent (1970).[46] Perhaps two other forms of resistance should be added to Patterson's scheme, namely blasphemy, as a release under stress, and sorcery as an active means of resistance. Colin Palmer (1975) has presented a promising sample of what the archives of the Inquisition can reveal about these two phenomena, particularly fascinating because of their close links to African culture. At the same time, his article highlights still another aspect of slave repression. The Mexican Negro blasphemers he studied committed their "sin" when subjected to outright torture.[47]

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When seriously and realistically studied, slave desertions as well as acts of violence constitute important antecedents to greater events. Thus, according to a revisionist view of the process in Brazil, advanced by Graham (1966, pp. 63–65) and Robert Toplin (1969), abolition was forcefully promoted by large-scale slave desertions and unrest.[48] The fighting qualities of the slaves would also shrewdly be exploited, during the Wars of Spanish American Independence, by white leaders on both sides. Under the thick cover of traditionalist nationalist historiography, their important contribution long remained almost hidden from view. At the same time, an especially high rate of war casualties among colored soldiers helps to explain the postwar decline of slavery in Spanish America.[49] They also played a significant role in the military actions that took place in Brazil during the 1820s.[50]

Consequently, part of the backdrop of the demise of slavery in the Latin American countries is to be found in the attitudes and fates of the slaves themselves and in strictly local conditions. But to understand the process of abolition, a much broader approach is, above all, clearly required. Our rejection of the grand comparisons between continental slave systems in no way implies the adoption of an introspective approach. On the contrary, global conditions surrounding the evolution of the Atlantic plantation economies and the rise and decline of African slavery in the New World must always be kept in mind.[51]

Ever since Eric Williams (1944) of Trinidad presented his famous thesis on the decline of Caribbean slavery under the impact of industrialization that it had, allegedly, helped to bring about, a causal connection between these two phenomena has usually been taken for granted.[52] More recent research, however, tends to reduce the role of slave trade profits or even sugar plantation income for European industrialization. Moreover, Anstey and, in even broader terms, Seymour Drescher, have challenged the whole idea of a decline of British overseas slavery under the impact of the new industrialist forces. In Drescher's vision, abolitionism, for long delegated to a secondary role, once again emerges as a vigorous, grass-root movement the socioeconomic linkages of which remain to be assessed.[53] In his recent book, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823*, David B. Davis (1975) practically excludes the Latin American dimension, which loomed rather large in the previous volume of his great work. However, this does not preclude the relevance of his book for students of the collapse of slavery in Latin America.[54] The mighty impact of British political pressure and of Anglo-Saxon as well as French precedents for the abolition of slave trade and slavery in Latin America are too obvious to be ignored. Also, the ongoing debate on West European abolitionism is a reminder that simplistic notions about the nature of these external forces can no longer be upheld.

The effect of the termination of the slave trade and the step-by-step emancipation of slaves on Latin American societies have received much more scholarly attention in recent years. In the case of Brazil, Leslie Bethell (1970) thoroughly studied how the cessation of the slave trade was brought about. The entire process of abolition has been taken up by Conrad (1972), Toplin (1972), and, to a lesser extent, by Graham (1966). The most comprehensive treatment is that of Conrad. He stresses the economic and political implications of the decline

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of slavery in the Northeast as opposed to its increasing importance in the coffee producing areas in the South. In these latter parts, planters were very late converts to abolitionism. In contrast to Graham, Conrad does not discern a clearly modernizing attitude or urban industrial interests among abolitionists. Toplin does not only emphasize the crucial importance of slave desertions, he also gives a more active role to abolitionists, stressing the radical orientation of, at the least, one sector of the movement. In Toplin's view, "the demise of slavery in Brazil was sudden, not gradual" (1972, p. 245).[55]

Jaime Jaramillo Uribe's (1969) study of abolitionism in Colombia also contributes to our knowledge about an unduly neglected ideological and political movement. In the case of Venezuela, Lombardi (1971), in his study of abolition, chooses a rather different approach. The question is not so much why slavery vanished in that country but why it took so long in doing so, even after having lost its role as a system of labor. As the author shows, the value of slaves as mortgage securities of the planters does provide part of the answer.[56] It is sad and interesting to note that during the same period, the second quarter of the nineteenth century, those Africans who were freed on board slavers intercepted by British warships did not fare much better than their brethren in bondage. The fate of these *emancipados*, around 10,000 in the case of Brazil, is highlighted in a couple of recent studies.[57] The transition from slave to free plantation labor has been dealt with by a number of recent students, such as Peter Eisenberg (1974) and Jaime Reis (1974, 1977) on the Pernambuco area, and Dean (1976) in his study of a Paulista coffee producing community. The latter is particularly interesting for providing details on the replacement of slaves by European immigrants, a topic treated in general terms only by Florestan Fernandes and his "São Paulo school."[58] The importation of contract labor, Asiatic coolies, Madeirans, and nominally free Africans from Sierra Leone eloquently demonstrates the desperate moods of New World planters when faced with the approaching or already fulfilled demise of slavery.[59]

As I stated in 1966 (p. 34), it is my belief that post-Abolition conditions have been more crucial in molding the existing patterns of race relations in the Americas than slavery in its various forms.[60] Admittedly, for heuristic reasons, the post abolition evolution of race relations is considerably more difficult to pin down in the historical documentation. Yet, post abolition problems, at the present time, appear to me as the most urgent research task for historians interested in the problems of socioracial inequality. But, naturally, such a study cannot possibly be isolated from that of slavery, formative in demographic as well as social terms.

It is revealing, for the appeal of Latin American slavery to the reading public, that several general texts in English have now appeared. Ann Pescatello's (1975) handy little anthology, *The African in Latin America*, is devoted to slavery, mixing excerpts from sources and secondary works.[61] Toplin's (1974) massive volume, *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*, is an anthology, too, in which a number of specialized students summarize either their previous monographs or, naturally more interesting, unpublished dissertations.[62] The most ambitious textbook is *The African Experience in Spanish America* by Rout (1976), a well-written

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and, though not flawless, quite solid and well-documented survey. The book is almost entirely descriptive, however.[63] On the other hand, Franklin Knight (1974), in his *The African Dimension in Latin American Societies*, takes an analytical approach. The book seems to have been prepared hastily by its distinguished author. Knight makes a distinction between "settler" and "nonsettler" slave-holding societies but not all in a consistent way.[64] *Negro Slavery in Latin America*, a translation of a survey by the Chilean historian, Mellafe (1975), is also analytical. It is perceptive and mature but puts an overemphasis on slave trade.[65]

In view of the extensive, ongoing research on slavery, for a long time to come the preparation of compact surveys will prove increasingly difficult. Such are the perplexing varieties, the contradictions, and paradoxes related to the history of slavery in Latin America, which current research in primary sources is continually revealing.

NOTES

1. For additional bibliographical references, see Mörner (1971).
2. The debate on "comparative slave systems" also is highlighted in Foner and Genovese, and there is a rather weak survey by Kamen. In the present article, non-Spanish-speaking areas in the Caribbean and the Guianas are only referred to occasionally. For a comprehensive, useful survey on the English-speaking areas, see Marshall. A few recent books on race relations and slavery are reviewed in some detail in Mörner (1976).
3. For the proceedings of the Rochester Conference, see Engerman and Genovese; for those on slave trade at Copenhagen, see *Revue Française*. See also recent anthologies by Anstey and Hair and Kilson and Rotberg.
4. In his earlier study, Postma (1975a, p. 49) calculated only 116,416 slaves for the period 1761–94. See also Curtin's acceptance of Postma's first revision in Engerman and Genovese, p. 108. In his specialized bibliography, Hogg lists 4,675 titles on slave trade.
5. See Anstey (1975a), pp. 38–39. It should be noted, though, that Inikori believes that the actual total of exported slaves considerably exceeded the margin of error (+9.8 percent) allowed by Curtin for his own estimate. Smuggling is, of course, particularly difficult to estimate; for an effort at doing so, see Vila Vilar.
6. Compare Anstey (1975a), pp. 30–31, 414–15. He believes the mortality rate on board British slavers to have dropped from 9.6 percent around 1790 to less than half during the later 1790s as a result of special legislation. Cf. the mortality rate of 5.7 percent for British slavers, 1791–97, estimated by Klein and Engerman, p. 118.
7. According to Carreira, pp. 136–41, total slave exports of the Grão Pará–Maranhão Company, 1756–88, comprised 28,083 individuals with an average loss of 10.3 percent. Another 49,344 slaves were embarked by the Pernambuco-Paraíba Company, 1761–85, but the mortality rate estimated by Carreira (p. 279), 6.6 percent, refers only to a sample of 6,553 slaves. Miller, p. 107, estimates the mortality rate on ships leaving from Congo and Angola to have been as low as 6 per thousand per voyage, 1795–1830. Cf. the exceptionally high mortality rate for slaves exported on British ships from the Bight of Biafra (10.6 percent, 1791–97), according to Klein and Engerman, p. 118.
8. In another study, Klein (1972, p. 905) also wonders why so few children were shipped from Africa, despite a relatively low mortality rate for minors. Was it because of reluctance on the part of the Africans, or on the part of the slavers?
9. See, e.g., Rout (1976a) pp. 27–32. The tribal cultural and linguistic divisions among the slaves would be overbridged and weakened under the impact of slave labor and

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the need for the language of the masters as a common tongue. On the other hand, the existence of certain religious brotherhoods restricted to certain tribal groups would, of course, help to preserve these divisions. See Russell-Wood, p. 579.

10. See Palacios Preciado; it follows the model of Scheuss de Studer. The direct links between a certain African export and an American import area were especially explored by Verger in his impressive work on Benin and Bahia from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. We know of no similar, more recent attempt. David Chandler's work is based on his Ph.D. dissertation at Tulane University in 1972: "Health among Negro Slaves in the Viceroyalty of New Granada, 1600–1810."
11. Other contributions include Brito Figueroa, pp. 198–209, and Winfield Capitaine. The latter documents the existence of slave-for-slave barter in the Jalapa area, Mexico. For the mid-nineteenth century, see Helguera and Lee López.
12. See also Galloway, pp. 589–90 and Eisenberg (1974), pp. 156–57 and *passim*. In the interior of the Northeast, droughts influenced the rhythm of slave trade; see B. J. Chandler, pp. 146–56.
13. See Marcílio et al. One of their preliminary findings is the culmination of the price at 34 years of age. For price tables over longer periods, see, e.g., Bowser (1975), pp. 342–45; Eisenberg (1974), p. 153; Dean, p. 55.
14. With respect to the United States, Fogel and Engerman, 1:68–70; for the West Indies, Sheridan, p. 260. Compare Craton, p. 139, and a general discussion of the economic viability of slavery in Brazil in Leff. According to Buarque de Holanda, p. 147, the average working life of a slave fieldhand in nineteenth-century Brazil was about fifteen years. Reis (1974), pp. 10–11, estimates the yearly return of a plantation slave in Pernambuco during the 1870s to have been about 10.5 percent.
15. See also Fogel and Engerman 1:25–26 and 2:32–33. The big Atlacomulco sugar hacienda in Mexico was "never self-sufficient in Negro slaves." Barrett (1970, pp. 66, 81–84) also shows that the active working life for slaves there was about 20 years by the mid-sixteenth century, then dropped to 10–15 to rise, once more, to a little more than 20 in the eighteenth century. The reasons for the failure of natural reproduction on nineteenth-century Brazilian sugar plantations is discussed by Eisenberg (1974, pp. 148–51).
16. Compare Colmenares, pp. 92–96, showing a more balanced demographic pattern on Jesuit haciendas in the economically more backward New Granada. For another region where slaves were much less important as labor on Jesuit haciendas, New Spain, see Tovar Pinzón, pp. 167–69. With respect to Brazil, Skidmore (1973, p. 43), claims that the Afro-Brazilian fertility, in general, remained low even after Emancipation, in striking contrast to the situation in the United States.
17. Brito Figueroa, pp. 202–8. He even notices the existence of some "casas para engordar negros," which would, of course, strongly suggest a slave breeding purpose.
18. Compare Haskell's summary of scholarly criticism of the "pyramiding of assumptions" in Fogel and Engerman.
19. Mattoso also includes a table of prices paid to obtain the *carta de alforria* (pp. 49–50). For details of the procedure, see also Mott. With respect to Southern Brazil, as pointed out by Graham (1970, p. 449), Florestan Fernandes and the other scholars of the "São Paulo school" are usually disappointing on the character and frequency of manumissions. On the role of the brotherhoods (*cofradías/cofrarias*), see Russell-Wood, pp. 595, 597–98.
20. At the same time, in Costa Rica, job opportunities for freedmen as artisans, favoring social vertical upward mobility, were lacking. The frequency of manumissions by purchase would, naturally enough, increase during times of acute economic difficulties. Costa Rican manumissions have also been studied by Riismandel and Levitt, but on the basis of a smaller sample (352 cases). In nineteenth-century Paraguay, due to confiscations, state-owned slaves became numerous (Williams 1974, pp. 18–21); they obtained freedom by self-purchase more easily than those still privately owned (Pla 1974, pp. 40–44).
21. Schwartz (1974, pp. 628–29). Sharp (1974, pp. 94–95) underscores the frequency of

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manumissions in the mining district of Chocó, Colombia, mostly by self-purchase.
22. Proceedings in Cohen and Greene.
23. See especially pp. 191–98.
24. The *Código negro carolino*, an important antecedent of the famous *Real Cédula* of 1789 on the treatment of slaves in Spanish-America, has been carefully edited by Malagón Barceló.
25. Her main sources are 199 applications for interracial marriages, 1810–82, kept at the Cuban National Archives.
26. Bowser is very much aware of the limitations imposed by his sources, mainly notarial records and lawsuits. His demographic estimates (pp. 337–41) are exemplarily cautious, his evaluation of slavery in general judicious. Compare a shorter study of slavery in Mexico during the sixteenth century by Martin, despite some disclaimers still rather much influenced by the idealistic, Tannenbaum-derived interpretation of "Hispanic slavery."
27. Sharp (1970, 1974, 1975, 1976). See also Jaramillo Uribe (1969) and earlier studies of the same author. Whitten gives an interesting anthropological treatment of negroid populations of Esmeraldas, Ecuador, but his scanty historical information is taken from other authors, especially Phelan, pp. 7–14. We have been unable to consult Michael T. Hamerly, *Historia social y económica de la antigua Provincia de Guayaquil: 1763–1842* (Guayaquil, 1973), so we do not know to what extent it takes up the issue of slavery.
28. Acosta Saignes, with an ethnohistorical approach; Brito Figueroa, concentrating on the plantation labor force, slave resistance and Abolition; Lombardi, also on Abolition. Relevant documentation reproduced in Comisión de Historia and Troconis de Veracoechea.
29. Moreno Fraginals is said to have completed another volume, in 1976, but it has not been seen by this reviewer. Apart from Knight (1970, and other contributions in Toplin and Cohen and Greene), Corwin (1967) and Klein (1975) deserve to be mentioned. The abundant documentation kept at the Cuban National Archives is surveyed by Franco.
30. Only the introductory part of Meléndez and Duncan (pp. 13–50, 129–34) deals with slavery, the remainder being devoted to post-Abolition Jamaican immigration. Aguilar Bulgarelli gathered data on some three thousand slaves in various notarial and ecclesiastical archives as well as the National Archives of the country. On 430 cases of manumission in Costa Rica, see Gudmundson. In the case of Panama, Castillero Calvo, p. 91, warns against exaggerating the role of slavery; from the early eighteenth century onward, free Negroes formed the main supply of labor in Panama.
31. As different from all other areas in continental Spanish America, slavery in Paraguay culminated in the early nineteenth century. Slavery in Uruguay was earlier in attracting scholarly attention; see Pereda Valdés and Rama.
32. See Salles and Ferrerini. Unfortunately, neither has been available for consultation.
33. Slavery at Shuao is studied by Brito Figueroa and see also Comisión de Historia; at Sergipe do Conde by Barrett and Schwartz and Schwartz (1973); and at Fazenda de Santa Cruz in *Documentos históricos*, Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro, vols. 63–64 (1914) and *Documentos para a história do acucar*, Instituto do Acucar e do Álcool, Rio de Janeiro, 1956, vol. 2. Atlacomulco, Morelos, Mexico is another huge sugar estate, studied by Barrett. A total of 889 slaves is recorded from early through late colonial times.
34. Marcílio (1971). In her excellent demographic study of the city of São Paulo, 1750–1850 (1974), she shows that slaves also formed a fourth of the population of the city and points out their demographic characteristics as compared to free people.
35. Graham (1976); Barrett and Schwartz, p. 543.
36. In mid-sixteenth-century Puebla, Mexico, most slaves worked in ranching and as teamsters (*arrieros*); see Boyd-Bowman (1969), which, like Bowser's book, is based on notarial records. On the basis of 53 inventories attached to wills, listing 583 slaves in Bahia, 1805–6 and 1810–11, Mattoso (1974) also illustrates the wide range of slave oc-

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cupations. One third of these required some training (pp. 120–22).

37. Two Bahian cases from 1751 and 1836 in Schwartz (1974), pp. 626–27; for Rio de Janeiro of the 1840s, Karasch, p. 390.
38. Lombardi (1974, p. 170). In this way, it would, for instance, be possible to "discover the dynamics of plantation society without being restricted by an artificial distinction between slave and nonslave plantations." As stated by Lombardi, Knight (1970, pp. 179–94), came close to such an approach. A large-scale conference devoted to a "Comparative Perspective on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies" was organized by the New York Academy of Sciences in May 1976. For comparative purposes concerning the plantation economy, the lucid essay by Best should be kept in mind.
39. So far, disagreement and uncertainty on how slavery in Latin America should be integrated within a Marxist framework has been striking. D. F. Maza Zavala, in Comisión de Historia (p. 93), states that in colonial plantations "el modo esclavista iba transformándose paulatinamente en un modo con ciertas características de feudalismo." Semo (pp. 195–210) makes a distinction between the categories of "esclavitud manifiesta" [including *obraje* labor!] and "esclavitud latente generalizada" [*encomienda* and *repartamiento* labor]. He denies that New Spain society ever passed through a "modo de producción esclavista." Slavery only served to bring about a system in which "el feudalismo aparece estrechamente entrelazado con el capitalismo embrionario y dependiente." Compare Brito Figueroa (p. 44). Referring to the sugar plantations of Brazil, Carmagnani (p. 24) refuses to "definire schiavistico un modo de produzione in cui il capitale fisso in schizvi spiega soltanto il 20 percent degli elementi totali del modo de produzione." On the other hand, colonial slavery is naturally integrated within the well-known "capitalist" scheme of André Gunder Frank. Cardoso (1975, pp. 100–101), takes yet another position defending the existence of a "modo de producción esclavista colonial dominante" in societies like Brazil. Focusing on the different composition of the various slaveholding societies, Genovese (1969, p. 95), finds that slave labor in Southern Brazil, "unlike the Northeast . . . did not produce a slave or seigneurial [!] mode of production." Compare the critical comment in Eisenberg (1974, pp. 230–31). For still another effort at escaping the crude feudal/capitalist dichotomy, see Mandel.
40. See, e.g., Cushner, p. 199.
41. Hoetink (pp. 46, 85). Thus, "the categorical unity [of slavery in the Western World] lies in the simple fact that—with rare exceptions—the subjects of slavery belonged to a similar racial group." Similar viewpoints were also expressed in a paper by Philip Curtin on "Slavery and Empire" at the conference mentioned above (note 38).
42. In his comparison of slave-based plantation societies, Cardoso (1972) rightly observes that technological aspects so far were practially overlooked. Vera Rubin, organizer of the New York conference (note 38) has kindly informed me that no less than 39 papers presented there will soon be published in *The Annals* of the New York Academy of Sciences.
43. Bowser (1972, p. 84), justly observes that "both the authorities and the citizenry in general exaggerated the dangers of servile disturbances" and that some of this "undue alarm has seeped into the works of the historians." He therefore asks for more rigorous analysis. In his own work on Peru (1974), Bowser deals with the topic in detail (pp. 147–221). He believes slave "transgressions" were "kept within acceptable limits" (p. 220). Referring to early Peru also, Lockhart (1968, p. 188), considers the lack of convenient sites of refuge as an explanation of why Negro slaves "presented with such multiple opportunity, did not all run away." On Spanish America, see also Rout (1976a, pp. 99–125, 352–54 [bibliographical references]); on Brazil, see Schwartz (1970), Moura (1972), and Goulart (1972)—the latter two have not been available. In nineteenth-century Cuba, as Dalton (1967) shows, recaptured slaves were brought together in so-called *depósitos de cimarrones* and used in public works. There is also interesting Cuban evidence of deserted slaves seeking refuge in the urban environment (Deschamps Chapeaux). "Rebeliones de esclavos, cimarrones y palenques" com-

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prises no less than 106 pages in Franco's (1972) inventory of documentation on slavery kept at the Cuban National Archives.

44. In a paper presented at the New York conference (1976), Emilía Viotti da Costa interestingly discussed slave resistance in cultural terms. A fascinating glimpse of the grievances of Brazilian slave rebels is provided by Schwartz (1977).
45. One of the essays reproduced is Schwartz (1970). In his insightful introduction, Price stresses the continued dependence of maroon communities on the plantation societies from which they sprang for essential items such as arms and tools (pp. 12–13). He also discerns a border line, about 1700, between the older, more "African" maroon communities and the later ones, led by American-born slaves styling themselves governors or colonels rather than kings (pp. 19–20). Compare the detailed account of *marronage* in Debien (1974, pp. 411–69). At the New York conference (1976), Leslie Manigat presented a keenly analytical paper on the relationship between marronage and revolution in St. Domingue/Haiti.
46. Kent stresses the need for studies of "intra-African relations" to grasp the nature of the Bahia rebellion. According to Vigil (1971), Negro rebellions took place "whenever Negro slavery was established in the New World." This generalization would be hard to prove because outright rebellions were complex phenomena, conditioned by a number of internal and external factors.
47. See also Bowser (1974, pp. 251–53). Patterson deals with sorcery and witchcraft in the context of social institutions. He does not take up blasphemy.
48. See also Conrad (1972, pp. 184–86 and *passim*).
49. In my previous survey (1966, p. 32), notice was taken of the first studies in this field. Rama (1970), Sales de Bohigas (1970), and Rout (1976a, pp. 162–82) can now be added. Yet, our plea (1970, p. 230), for research "into the role of the Wars of Independence and later militarism as promoters of ethnosocial upward mobility" does not seem to have had any response.
50. Moura (1976). I am obliged to Beatriz Albuquerque and Maurício Dias, of the Institute of Latin American Studies, Stockholm, for kindly having drawn my attention to this short article and a couple of other Brazilian items used in this study.
51. As Cardoso (1976) puts it, differences between the process of Abolition in New World societies dominated by slavery, "no se explican por distintos sistemas esclavistas, sino por los grados de dependencia política y vulnerabilidad a presiones externas, por la evolución interna y externa de las estructuras económicas, por las coyunturas locales e internacionales."
52. Recent texts, e.g., Knight (1974), appear to be strongly influenced by the "Williams thesis."
53. On the impact of slave trade on Europe, see especially the contributions by D. Richardson, P. H. Boulle, and S. L. Engerman in *Revue Française*, pp. 301–36. According to Anstey (in Engerman and Genovese, p. 24), the probable contribution of "slave trade profits to capital formation is—at 0.11 percent—derisory enough for the myth of the vital importance of the slave trade in financing the Industrial Revolution to be abolished." See also Anstey's own book (1975a, pp. 39–53), and Drescher (1976a, b; 1977). A cautious assessment of the industrial promotion aspect of Williams's thesis is in Craton (1974, pp. 147–56).
54. His earlier volume came out in 1966. There are instances, however, when Davis's presentation would have benefitted from a broader perspective. It would have been more rewarding to compare Thomas Jefferson's contradictory views on slavery and race (pp. 164–95) with those of Simón Bolívar. Bryan Edwards and Moreau de Saint-Méry, who are used for comparative purposes, are figures of much less interest and stature. In her keen analysis of some of the works of the famous spokesman for Cuban sugar interests, Francisco Arango y Parreño (1769–1839), Perotin (1974) uses another, sophisticated approach to the ideological aspects of slavery and Abolition.
55. Eisenberg (1974, pp. 229–30) objects to Toplin's emphasis on slave flights as far as Pernambuco is concerned. Instead, he puts stress on the economic motives for the gradual disappearance of slavery in that area.

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56. The use of slaves as mortgage security is also mentioned by Dean (p. 34). Slavery also disappeared strikingly late in the case of Paraguay, 1869. According to Cooney (1974), it was "essentially . . . because the three great dictators [Francia, and C. A. and F. S. López] never perceived any moral or social necessity to abolish it" (p. 166). Speaking about Spanish America in general, Clementi (1974) correctly underscores that "cuando finalmente se acuerda [la abolición] es siempre porque el sistema de tierra está asegurada. Como también eventualmente la sustitución de la mano de obra. De ninguna manera se siente la abolición como amenaza social en el esquema de poder que avala el estado liberal."
57. On Brazil, Conrad (1973); on Cuba, Fontana (1975), Corwin (1967, pp. 40–42), and Knight (1970, pp. 29–30). At a meeting at the University of California in 1972, Philip LeVeen presented a paper called "A Quantitative Analysis of the Impact of British Suppression Policies on the Volume of the Nineteenth-Century Slave Trade." We have been unable to consult it, though; as far as we know, it has not been published.
58. On British Guiana after 1838, an exemplary monograph by Adamson (1972). See also Mörner (1973) and Duncan and Rutledge (1977) for additional information. Taussig's (1977) study on Cauca presents another variety of the transition. Compare Fernandes and other works of the "São Paulo school," surveyed by Graham (1970).
59. For references see Mörner (1973) and also Thomas (1974). The latter has been severely criticized for insufficient research and the use of racial stereotypes by M. Schuler in the *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8, no. 3 (1975):523–28.
60. See also the 1973 article. Various aspects of the topic are highlighted in, e.g., Gräbener (1971), Degler (1971), and Skidmore (1973, 1974).
61. The glossary and the note on "filmography and discography" are useful for teaching purposes. According to the editor, "wherever opportunities for social and economic mobility are few, competition heightens conflict and the degree of racial anxiety is maximized" (p. 242). This is questionable, though, because racial conflict seems to be very likely precisely when opportunities for upward social mobility are opening up, thus threatening the established elites.
62. Especially rewarding articles are those by Chandler, Sharp, and MacLachlan. The essays included tend to reinforce a "revisionist" view of slavery in Latin America, emphasizing its harsher aspects and the increase of racism in connection with abolition.
63. Among other things, he criticizes Túpac Amaru for having done nothing "to encourage the negroid element to rally to his cause" (p. 122). This appears to be unfair, because the Indian leader did free the few slaves he found in Southern Cuzco.
64. The inconsistency in applying the settler-nonsettler dichotomy becomes striking if one compares pp. 6, 51, 61–62, 72–73, 132. He also talks about the "plantation slave society" in "nonsettler America" (p. 134). On the map (p. 114), the percentages of Afro-Americans are absurd from Bolivia southwards.
65. He sometimes makes daring, thought-provoking statements although their empirical basis remains somewhat uncertain. Thus, Mellafe believes that both per capita productivity and the slave mortality rate changed drastically in the sugar plantation societies from the mid-eighteenth through the early nineteenth century: productivity from 1,250/1,750 pounds of sugar a year to 2,500 pounds; the average slave working life from 15 to 7 years. As Mallafe states, if this was really the case, "the implications . . . are manifestly brutal" (pp. 91–92).

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