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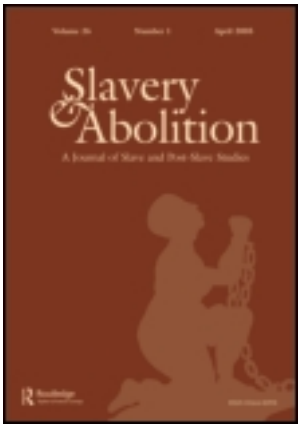

Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fsla20

Building Slavery in the Atlantic World: Atlantic Connections and the Changing Institution of Slavery in Cabo Verde, Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries

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Published online: 30 Mar 2011.

To cite this article: Toby Green (2011) Building Slavery in the Atlantic World: Atlantic Connections and the Changing Institution of Slavery in Cabo Verde, Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries, Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies, 32:2, 227-245, DOI: 10.1080/0144039X.2011.557185

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2011.557185

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Slavery & Abolition
Vol. 32, No. 2, 2011, pp. 227–245

Routledge
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Building Slavery in the Atlantic World: Atlantic Connections and the Changing Institution of Slavery in Cabo Verde, Fifteenth–Sixteenth Centuries

Toby Green

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This paper analyses the early institutionalisation of slavery in the Cabo Verde islands. It is shown that initially slavery in Cabo Verde borrowed heavily from existing practices and ideologies in Iberia, in which slavery was legitimated through religious discrimination. However, the pivotal early role of the archipelago in the transatlantic slave trade meant that practices changed according to Atlantic factors. The frequent exchanges between Cabo Verde and the West African coast thereby created a mechanism for Atlantic factors to influence institutions within Africa itself. Both West Africa and the early Atlantic world were deeply interconnected even at this early period, and neither can be studied in isolation from the other.

European societies have often memorialised the Atlantic slave trade through the discourse of abolition, as the 2007 commemoration of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade by the British Parliament showed.[1] These events were testament to the way in which analysis of Atlantic slavery has, with one or two notable recent exceptions, tended to concentrate on the trade from the late seventeenth century onwards.[2]

The reasons for this focus are varied. There is the quantitative significance of the trade of the later period, in which over three-quarters of the slaves shipped across the Atlantic left Africa.[3] There is also the sheer range of written sources available, which can make the history of Atlantic slavery in the 'long eighteenth century' one of the best-documented early modern histories we have.

However, accessibility of source material may have created an imbalance in the historiography. As Linda Newson and Suzie Minchin have pointed out, the early Iberian

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ISSN 0144-039X print/1743-9523 online/11/020227–19
DOI: 10.1080/0144039X.2011.557185 © 2011 Taylor & Francis

slave trade to the Americas remains understudied, particularly in its African context.[4] Such studies as do exist refer overwhelmingly to the presence of enslaved Africans in the Americas rather than to processes within Africa itself.[5] Yet the first slave societies of the Atlantic world existed in the African Atlantic, and not in the Caribbean or the Americas. They were formed on the Canaries, Cabo Verde and São Tomé: in these island communities, societies based on a slave mode of production were well established by the time the first sugar mill was built on Hispaniola in 1516.[6]

The importance of these early slave societies and of the early transatlantic slave trade has been underestimated by historians. While the demographic import of the later trade certainly means that the human impact and aggregated social effects were much higher then, it was in the earlier period that patterns and ideas were established that came to underpin the massive expansion of Atlantic slavery in the eighteenth century, for the ideology which buttressed the formation under an Iberian aegis of these first slave societies in the Atlantic was borrowed wholesale by other Atlantic powers as their empires expanded from the mid seventeenth century onwards.

This emerges most clearly in the discourse relating to race in the Atlantic world. Work done in recent years by David Brion Davis, the late George Fredrickson, Juan Gil and Jonathan Schorsch suggested that the idea of race in the Atlantic world developed first through the concept of *limpieza de sangre*, or cleanliness of blood, which emerged in Spain in the fifteenth century – it was first used in Toledo in 1448 – and was used to differentiate between those with Jewish or Moorish ancestry who were deemed impure and those without this ancestry who were therefore 'pure of blood'.[7] This idea migrated to Spanish America through the inception of the *sistema de castas*, where people were categorised according to the proportion of their Spanish and Native American ancestry, and termed *tercerón* (one third native American), *quarterón* (one quarter Native American), and so on.

Subsequently, this language migrated to the Caribbean world. In the British Caribbean, residents were also categorised according to the proportion of their European and non-European ancestry, and the term 'quadroons' was one of those used; that English language regarding race in the New World was often derived from the Spanish emerges in the fact that the American word for black, 'Negro', was borrowed from the Spanish.[8] In the French Caribbean the system of *limpieza de sangre* was inherited by a comparable racist discourse, with the agitation of free blacks to gain political rights that were denied to them purely on the basis of their ancestry among the key factors in the inception of the Haitian Revolution.[9]

The way in which general patterns of the Atlantic world were borrowed from the Iberian beginnings of the sixteenth century has been emphasised by Philip Curtin and John Elliott among others.[10] However, there has been little formal attempt to analyse the early slave societies of the African Atlantic systematically and to see if any clues emerge there as to patterns which may have been formative of Atlantic slave societies. This article argues that this is a mistake, and that analysing the emergence of one of the earliest slave societies of the African Atlantic, that of the Cabo Verde archipelago (hereafter Cabo Verde), can tell us much about the conditions and consequences of Atlantic slavery. While, of course, events in Cabo Verde should

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not be viewed in isolation, and were merely one aspect of events in the African Atlantic in the sixteenth century, they were important. In contrast to the archipelago of São Tomé, where much of the sixteenth-century slave trade from Kongo and Angola was used to staff the burgeoning sugar economy in direct anticipation of later institutions in the Caribbean, slavery in the Caboverdean archipelago post-1500 became connected at once to the transatlantic slave trade.

The material in the article is drawn from new archival sources in Colombia, Portugal and Spain and from a reconsideration of existing printed sources. It shows that while the ideology and structure of early Caboverdean slave society were inherited directly from the slave cultures of the southern Mediterranean, the nature of slavery as an institution changed during the era of Atlantic trade. As the sixteenth century progressed, this institution evolved into a proto-Atlantic one on Cabo Verde, shaped by transatlantic perspectives as much as by existing African and European ones.[11]

This is important for Atlantic and African history. In an Atlantic context, it serves as a comparative example. It shows us how the significance of Atlantic history resided precisely in the construction of something new from what appeared to be a continuity. Ideas such as *limpieza de sangre* and institutions such as that of slavery in late medieval Iberia were equipped to provide the labour and legitimacy of labour that the new economic systems of the Atlantic required, but it was only through transforming themselves in their new Atlantic context that they could do so. The power of the emergence of global currents and forces in the Atlantic world of the sixteenth century was precisely their ability to reshape existing ideologies so that they could serve the demands of this New World.

In the African context, the significance of this material is to confirm how Atlantic forces may have influenced the institution of slavery within Africa. Scholars have long argued that the institution of slavery in Africa itself changed in response to Atlantic factors.[12] This is also a long-standing contention with relation to the part of West Africa nearest to Cabo Verde, which Walter Rodney called Upper Guinea: Rodney argued that there had been no institution of slavery among societies of the Upper Guinea coast until the arrival of the Portuguese, and that it was Atlantic slaving which consolidated this institution there.[13] Though John Fage criticised Rodney's view, John Thornton's observations on the increased polygyny and female labour burden in the Bijagos islands of present-day Guinea-Bissau in the late seventeenth century following two centuries of intensive slave-trading activity could be seen to have supported it, since, on some lines of argument, unbalanced gender ratios between men and women are evidence of a heavy slave trade owing to the preponderance of male slaves exported from Africa via the Atlantic trade.[14]

The argument of this article, that Atlantic factors swiftly altered the nature and practice of slavery in Cabo Verde, supports Rodney's thesis, for there were constant exchanges between Cabo Verde and Upper Guinea, and the way in which Atlantic factors helped to shape the institution of slavery in Cabo Verde had effects in Africa itself as Caboverdeans migrated to and from the West African coast. Well before the 'long eighteenth century', African societies were being affected by Atlantic factors. As the conditions surrounding the emergence of the slave society of Cabo Verde

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were replicated elsewhere, events in Africa also set down markers for the societies that were to follow in the Caribbean. One of the key arguments of this article is to show that the early modern histories of the Atlantic and of the West African coast cannot be studied in isolation from one another.

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One of the earliest documents we have relating to the settlement of Cabo Verde is a letter of privileges issued in 1466 by Afonso V of Portugal in order to encourage migration and settlement there. Among the privileges granted was that residents of the new settlement of Ribeira Grande would have civil and criminal jurisdiction over 'all the Moors [*mouros*], black and white, freed and enslaved . . .' on the island.[15]

In this context the term '*mouro*' was not just a category of religion but one which also related to ideas of freedom and slavery. Though the document referred to freed and enslaved *mouros*, it did so in a context in which *mouro* was the only term used in the decree to describe slaves on Cabo Verde and in a context where slavery and the Islamic religion were deeply connected in the Iberian worldview. This connection persisted throughout the fifteenth century and related to existing forms of servitude and their justifications in Iberia.[16] In Portugal, the wars in Ceuta and Tangier, beginning in 1415, had produced many enslaved prisoners of war. In neighbouring Andalucia, slaves were generally procured through raids on Islamic Granada, while in Valencia, too, the vast majority of slaves in the mid fifteenth century were Moslems from within the Iberian peninsula.[17]

Thus, slaves at the beginning of the Atlantic era were associated with wars against frontier Islamic states, and the perceived legitimacy of enslavement derived from the emergence in the medieval period of a jurisprudence which permitted enslavement of infidels in particular.[18] Moreover, this was not merely an ideology local to Christian Portugal and Spain: just as Christians enslaved Moslem prisoners, so Moslems enslaved Christian ones, and Iberian Christian wills of the fifteenth century always left some money for the ransoming of enslaved Christians.[19]

This context is important for understanding the institutional development of slavery in the early African Atlantic. The initial perceived justification for the beginning of the slave trade from sub-Saharan Africa was couched by the Portuguese crown in terms derived from the existing ideology of Holy War. This remained the case for some decades, since the early African slaves arriving in Seville were described in all documentation as being 'warlike and not of peace' (*de buena guerra e non de paz*) even though neither Portugal nor Spain was at war with the West African polities whence they had come. Indeed, even at the end of the fifteenth century this terminology was applied to the first Native American slaves arriving from the New World.[20]

However, while old ideological props were retained in the fifteenth century, the reality of sub-Saharan African slavery was very different to that buttressed by the existing institutional framework for slavery. Indeed, this religious framework of slavery very rapidly began to coexist with a racial one. Afonso V used the term '*negros*' to refer to slaves in parallel to the use of the term '*mouros*', complaining of the robbery of 67 'black slaves' by pirates from Seville in 1452 and talking of the trade to barter for 'blacks' in 1462.[21] This language replicated 'facts on the ground', since almost all

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of the fifteenth-century Portuguese navigators referred to slaves through colour and not religious terms, calling them '*negros*' and not '*mouros*'. Thus, Diogo Gomes, among the first Europeans to reach the coast of present-day Senegal in the late 1440s, described the purchase of 'blacks without number' (*pretos sem número*) from the region of the Senegal river and the purchase of 'twelve blacks for a horse' from the Sereer people further south.[22] Similar language was used by the Venetian Cadamosto relating to his voyages of 1455 and 1456.[23]

The slippage between religion and race is significant here. Though historians tend to see the seed-bed of modern racism in the *limpieza de sangre* ideology which first arose in Toledo in 1448, through its powerful fluidity and ability to direct prejudice through both religion and race and in a combination of the two, a slippage between religion and race was soon also occurring in the African Atlantic relating to the development of the first Atlantic slave trade from sub-Saharan Africa. Together with the ideology of *limpieza de sangre*, this slippage in West Africa may have assisted the emergence of racialised ideas, particularly through its relationship to slavery. In Cabo Verde, the new language was testament to the way in which the institution of slavery itself was beginning to change, and to how perceptions of Iberians mattered in Africa as much as they did in Europe in facilitating the new racialised discourse. These events reveal how the new cultural, economic and geographical spaces of the African Atlantic were pivotal in helping to transform existing ideologies and structures into something new: in this case, caste prejudice developed into the seeds of modern colour racism in the African setting.

In order to grasp how this slippage was occurring, and its relationship to the institution of slavery, the role of slavery in the formation of early Caboverdean society needs to be considered. In the twentieth-century colonial era, historians generally approached the history of the fifteenth-century Caboverdean colony as an exercise in discovery, colonisation and settlement.[24] Such perspectives have, of course, changed.[25] A close reading of the sources that we have makes it plain that already, by the end of the fifteenth century, the islands' economy and social structures were tied to the institution of slavery, as they would be for the next four centuries.[26]

Moreover, the nature of this form of slavery was different to that which had been employed in Portugal. New research by António Mendes has shown that the slaves shipped to Portugal in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were predominantly women and children, many of whom were destined for domestic service.[27] On Cabo Verde, by contrast, African slaves provided the labour without which this new society could not be built and immediately began to perform the onerous labour functions which would come to characterise their role in the Atlantic world. They became economically and socially indispensable, and a hierarchy evolved which accounted for this new situation. It is in this process that early stirrings of modern attitudes towards labour and race can be discerned.

The pivotal role of slavery in the early economy of Cabo Verde is easy to observe. In a decree of 1466 the Portuguese monarchy allowed Caboverdeans to trade freely along the African coast between Senegal and Sierra Leone, but stipulated that only goods and crops from the Caboverdean islands themselves could be used in this trade. Very

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rapidly the islanders settled on horse-breeding and the cultivation of cotton, selling horses for military and ceremonial purposes and weaving cloths known as *panos di terra* which were used as an item of exchange on the Upper Guinea coast where good-quality cloths were a valued commodity and a sign of prestige.[28]

The passage of the 1466 decree increased the numbers of people willing to go to Cabo Verde. The trade of the islands was enough for the first *almoxarife* – or administrator of state property – to be established in 1471, and an accountant followed in 1480.[29] Probably, therefore, the development of both horse-breeding and cotton plantations occurred in the late 1460s and the 1470s and made trade with the coast profitable by 1480. The cotton plantations required slaves to labour in the fields and in cotton-processing, while the weaving workshops which produced the *panos di terra* required groups of skilled slaves. Thus, a significant trade in slaves with the adjacent West African coast must also have been underway by the early 1470s at the latest.

Moreover, the significance of slavery to early Caboverdean society related to more than just the trade between the islands and the African coast. There was an important way in which the status of these slaves was shaped because they were exchanged for horses. As Trevor Hall has pointed out, the slaves returned from West Africa to the islands in the very same ships that had carried horses on the outward voyage, and thus an association probably formed in slavers' minds associating their charges with animals.[30] This was very important, for, as Davis has shown, a characteristic of all societies dependent on the institution of slavery has been the dehumanisation of slaves, and the role of the horse–slave exchange demonstrates that such a system of dehumanisation was in place at an early stage on Cabo Verde.[31] In terms of both the psychology and productive use of slavery, therefore, the early colony of fifteenth-century Cabo Verde stood as a benchmark for what was to follow.

This early Caboverdean dependence on slave labour grew. The *almoxarife* of Cabo Verde received taxes between 1491 and 1493 paid in slaves, ivory, rice, millet, cotton, biscuit brought from Portugal, horses and pepper.[32] Similar records for 1498 revealed taxes paid in horses, gelded goats, cotton, goat and ox hides, and slaves.[33] In 1505, Pacheco Pereira wrote that Cabo Verde exported goatskins and cowhides to Portugal; cotton, he said, was cultivated both on Santiago and the other islands.[34] The diversification of the economy continued with attempts by the end of the fifteenth century to grow sugar, although aridity made this industry impractical.[35]

The taxes due to the Caboverdean *almoxarifes* were paid by Caboverdean ships, but, although these tax records imply a diversity of production, many of these productions required a servile population in Cabo Verde: for instance, in the harvesting of cotton, the tending of livestock and the butchering of goats and oxen for hides. By the end of the 1490s the hierarchies required for the social organisation of a slave society must have been in place on the islands in order to ensure the regular payment of taxes.

That slavery was the keystone of the construction of this new society in Cabo Verde probably relates to the fact that this was a new society. Building the infrastructures and institutions of an entirely new urbanised settlement required more heavy labour than many people may have been willing freely to offer. Thus, an element of coercion entered the labour system through the requirements of that system and the very

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fact that this was a new society in the making. What emerges is that even by 1492 and the 'discovery' of America, the conditions of an Atlantic slave society predicated on forced labour by enslaved Africans, and tending towards a system of institutionalised racism, were in place in Cabo Verde. Moreover, the situation in which this society had come about was related to the needs of the creation of a new colony and new productive land, in parallel to subsequent developments in the New World. These conditions had yet to achieve the wholesale shift in *mentalités* that would occur as the Atlantic world emerged: at the dawn of the transatlantic age the old ideas on slavery and labour coexisted with the new, and it would take time for them to be superseded.

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These older ideas relating to slavery remained very important in Cabo Verde for some time, in spite of the new labour tasks which slaves on the islands had to perform. The condition of slaves there depended a great deal on existing conditions in Portugal, whither as we have seen they had been despatched on slave ships since the 1440s. In general the condition of slaves in Portugal was much superior to that of subsequent sub-Saharan Africans in the Caribbean.

The general attitude of Portuguese society in the fifteenth century emerges strongly in a petition to the Portuguese king made by the Parliament of Évora in 1472. Here the king was urged not to allow slaves to be exported outside Portugal, 'because, Master, [the slaves] constitute an important population in your Kingdoms, and they are the cause of new lands being opened and woods being cleared and marshes being opened and of other benefits'.[36] Though the population of Portugal began to grow in the second half of the fifteenth century it had still not recovered from the Black Death of 1348 and the seven subsequent episodes of plague between 1356 and 1458.[37] Vast amounts of land were occupied by thick woods, and people did not think twice about setting the woods on fire just to obtain charcoal.[38]

In these circumstances, African slaves represented a valuable part of the population. While many were destined for domestic service as symbols of status, others were able to increase the amount of productive land and perform tasks which there was no one else available to perform. Although slaves arrived in poor condition from Africa, they were soon integrated into Portuguese society. They worked as agricultural labourers, crewed vessels on the Tejo river near Lisbon, and worked in towns and cities as domestic servants, labourers and tradesmen. The large number of imported African women performed petty household tasks in the cities where slaves tended to be found.[39] Some slaves were apprenticed by craftsmen or were sent as messengers or commercial emissaries by their masters. In many ways, their lives resembled those of the Portuguese labouring classes, although their subjection to their masters was a lifelong one and could not be redeemed.[40]

These conditions in Portugal influenced the ways in which slaves were treated in the early Caboverdean colony. As in Portugal, Africans formed their own religious brotherhoods (*confrarias*) and built their own church, *Nossa Senhora do Rosário*, in 1495.[41] Some were also rapidly trusted as commercial intermediaries for slaveowners on the islands, as in Portugal, with some individuals despatched in the 1510s as commercial

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emissaries to trade on their masters' account in West Africa.[42] Such parallels with the Portuguese experience are very suggestive that the Caboverdean institution of slavery initially borrowed strongly from practices in Portugal. Indeed, as in Portugal, the system of slavery in early Cabo Verde not only allowed a certain independence to some slaves, but it also placed emphasis on good treatment of slaves and on the slaves' free will and ability to act as independent and rational individuals. This emerges in two important documents, one from 1513 and the other from 1514, which show clearly that baptism was not forced on slaves and that a slave master beating his or her slave to death was likely to face severe punishment.

In the first case, from 19 May 1513, Joham Fernandes, resident of Fogo, was called before the authorities to account for the death of his slave Jxarandy, described as a 'black Moor' (almost certainly a Jolof from present-day Senegal). Fernandes had bought Jxarandy from Valentim Vaz of Santiago island, but shortly after the purchase she had swollen up in boils and had fled from his house for several days. Fernandes had whipped her to punish her flight but a month later she had died. In the declaration, he said that she had died of her illness and not from his whipping, but that enemies of his were spreading the rumour that his whipping had been the cause of her death because they wanted to ruin him; in his reply, King Manoel I of Portugal acknowledged that, had she died of her whipping, Fernandes would have been liable for heavy punishment.[43]

This case reveals that bad treatment of slaves was punished on Cabo Verde, and also that people were well aware of how such accusations could be used to harm others. This would suggest that both the law and everyday practice recognised the autonomy of slaves on the archipelago, something that is confirmed by the second document. In a decree issued the following March, Manoel I declared that someone bringing slaves from 'Guinea' had six months in order to baptise them: however, if any slave aged above 10 did not want to be baptised, they were to be interviewed by the parish curate or priors, and if they still did not want to be baptised after this meeting, then they were to be left as gentiles and their owners were not to be punished for failing to convert them.[44] This provision places the previous case from Fogo in a new light, for Joham Fernandes's use of an African name for his slave Jxarandy suggests that she must have been one of those who had not accepted baptism and had been allowed this course of action; otherwise, as with so many Africans in the sixteenth-century Atlantic world, she would have been known by a Christian name. On this reading, the 1514 provision, as with many royal decrees of the early sixteenth century on the Caboverdean region, merely institutionalised a situation which had already developed in which the rationality and autonomy of African slaves was accepted.[45]

Nevertheless, this 1514 provision gives pause for thought. Its leniency is all the more remarkable when we consider that just 17 years before, in 1497, Manoel I had forced the baptism of the entire Jewish population of Portugal; but it was in keeping with Manoel's attempts to enhance the conditions of slaves not only once in their points of destination but also on board slave ships, since he also established minimum standards for the treatment of slaves on board ships: slaves were to have wooden beds

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placed under a roof to protect them from the cold and rain, and they were to be fed yams, bananas and malaguetta peppers, with some antelope meat, and be given sticks to gnaw so as to clean their teeth or stave off hunger.[46]

Thus, the early sixteenth-century system recognised the humanity and rationality of African slaves, and – at least officially – tried to safeguard their welfare on slave ships. This system was very different to that which subsequently evolved in the New World. An important factor was clearly the Caboverdean connection to Portugal and the value of African labour to Portuguese society in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but also significant was the type of labour which African slaves performed in Cabo Verde.

A key difference between slavery on Cabo Verde and elsewhere in the Atlantic world was that labour was not specifically tied to the plantation.[47] Though, as we have seen, Caboverdean slaves in the early colony performed a wide variety of tasks, their labour was not specifically associated with the plantations which gave rise to the proto-industrial form of slavery prevalent in the latter seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Atlantic world. There was, indeed, a differentiation between the islands, with labour being predominantly urban and related to the weaving workshops on Santiago, and related to the cotton plantations on Fogo; but as there was constant travelling between these two islands, the lack of institutionalised plantation slavery on a massive scale was well recognised by people on the islands and probably significant.[48]

There was, of course, agriculture on Santiago. Arriving in the 1580s, Francis Drake wrote glowingly of the tended gardens near the capital, Ribeira Grande: there were 'gardens and orchards well replenished with divers sorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymons, oranges, sugar canes, [coconuts], plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlicke'.[49] These market gardens were for local consumption and the provisioning of passing ships. There had been attempts to establish sugar-cane plantations on the islands in the early sixteenth century but these had quickly faded as the aridity of the archipelago quickly showed this to be impossible.[50] The staple foods needed to feed the population of the islands were imported from West Africa rather than being grown on the islands, with documentation of rice and millet being imported for this purpose to the islands from the 1510s onwards.[51] There was no industrial plantation system.

Instead, in the early sixteenth century slaves on Santiago filled analogous roles to those which they performed in Portugal. In the early colony, many of them were almost certainly involved in work associated with shipping and construction. All the building materials used to construct the town of Ribeira Grande were imported from Portugal and, given the rapid growth of the urban apparatus, especially in the early sixteenth century, this would have involved heavy work unloading ships at the port.[52] Naturally, this also required heavy construction work on the houses and official buildings of the new settlement.

In parallel to this work was domestic service, which certainly represented an important element of slave labour in the archipelago. The widespread use of domestic service in the first half of the sixteenth century emerges in a case heard by the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Lisbon related to Cabo Verde. In evidence taken on the island of Fogo in

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1559 about the practices of Miçia Dias, it was said that her 'female slaves complained that their mistress made them work on Sundays and that they rested on Saturdays'.[53] Various witnesses in the case had been servants of Dias or were otherwise engaged in bonded domestic service.[54] Significantly, all these cases refer to female slaves, and thus the implication is that, as in Portugal, there was a gendered element to slavery in the early Caboverdean colony, at least with regard to domestic service.

Agricultural labour on the cotton plantations of Fogo seems to have affected both genders equally. This hypothesis is confirmed by the evidence that we do have relating to the physical work carried out by slaves in the early colony. We know that slaves of both genders were used by the Fonseca family to tend their cotton plantations on the remote island of Brava in the 1510s and 1520s.[55] All the nine principal islands contained wild cattle and goats by the end of the fifteenth century, who were kept principally for the value of their hides and meat to provision passing ships.

Thus, slavery varied in character between Fogo and Santiago, but there was certainly a heavy urban quality to it in spite of the cotton plantations on Fogo. This meant that it retained many similarities to the institution in Portugal, and these continuities must have been important in the way in which African slaves were perceived and treated. However, as the sixteenth century unwound, changes began to emerge, changes related to the role of Cabo Verde in the emergent transatlantic trade.

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The way in which the slavery of Africans in Cabo Verde initially retained something of the qualities it had in Portugal emerges in an unusual case dating from the 1520s. The case dealt with Rodrigo López, a Portuguese Creole (i.e. a black slave who had been born in Portugal).[56] López was the slave of Ruy Lopes, the royal accountant in Cabo Verde, who had looked after him ever since he had been a small child and had freed him through a letter of *Alforría* (the Portuguese term relating to the manumission of slaves) of July 1525.[57]

The freeing of Rodrigo López had occurred in Cabo Verde, where Ruy Lopes had a house and property.[58] A witness on Fogo described how Rodrigo López had been free since 1525 and had been known as such in Cabo Verde ever since. Another witness said that many people knew him in the islands, and that they all knew him as 'freed and not a slave, by the hand of his [said] master'.[59] It is clear that López had moved around between Santiago and Fogo and that people on both islands had recognised him as a free person and had respected this status.

However, in mid 1526, Ruy Lopes, the former master of Rodrigo López, died. Instead of being shipped back to Lisbon or allowed to remain on the island as a free person, Rodrigo López was seized at night by Ruy Lopes's nephew, Christoval Sanches, who also lived on the islands, and was put on a ship headed for the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean. Two years later, he was a slave on Cuba and began court proceedings claiming that he was wrongfully enslaved and demanding his freedom. Although many witnesses from Cabo Verde who were present in the Caribbean came forward and confirmed López's story, the judges found against him.[60]

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Rodrigo López's story is not only very sad. It is also indicative of the growing disjunction between the culture of slavery in Cabo Verde and that which had developed in the New World. Key to the case was the question of his freedom, something which, the witnesses suggest, was readily recognised in Cabo Verde. Indeed, one witness described how many people in Ribeira Grande had been very angry at the infringement on López's freedom and had spoken of taking out a formal complaint about the matter.[61] Clearly, however, such qualms were not as widespread in the Caribbean; the judges found against López, while his former master's nephew, Christoval Sanches, clearly had no moral difficulties in making some extra money out of his uncle's freed slave and plying the growing route in slaves to the Americas.

Two major aspects causing the different attitudes in this case may have related to the nature of slavery in the Caribbean and the role of the free black population in Cabo Verde. As López's testimony makes clear, there was an important free black population on Cabo Verde by the 1520s. Members of this community were used as crew on ships plying to and from the West African coast and, in 1546, a group of them wrote to the crown to ask for permission to apply for official posts.[62] The presence of an active free black population in Cabo Verde naturally meant that free slaves were recognised and their rights could be asserted: indeed, in some ways, the presence of this group gave moral legitimacy to the entire structure, offering pliant and cooperative slaves the eventual possibility of freedom.

There was also an important free black population in the Americas and, by the latter part of the sixteenth century, the free black population in New Spain outnumbered the population of enslaved Africans.[63] At this early period of Atlantic history, in the 1520s, this tradition had not had time to develop and the differences in the slave cultures between early colonial Hispaniola and Cabo Verde were more marked. Whereas in Cabo Verde the institution of slavery had led to mixed labour requirements for slaves, in Hispaniola things were very different. The Spanish colonists had rapidly set about instituting a series of devastating policies which saw the indigenous population decline from an estimated 400,000 in 1492 to less than 1000 by 1520.[64] Though this demographic collapse has generally been attributed to epidemics, the fact is that, as Bartolomé de Las Casas made clear in his *Historia de las Indias*, equally as crucial was a cruel system of colonisation.[65]

In these circumstances the Spaniards on Hispaniola dehumanised their slaves, calling them *piezas*, as if referring to heads of cattle and thereby initiating the usage of this term which soon crossed the Atlantic, and was being used to refer to African slaves by the early 1520s.[66] The extent of the original Taíno population and the brutality brought on by the conquest led to a situation where Taíno slaves became dehumanised and perceived as expendable items. It also created a situation in which there was a severe shortfall of labour and in which any potential labourers could not be allowed their freedom. It was this attitude towards slaves which may have facilitated the ideological world into which Rodrigo López fell, was kidnapped and sold into illegal slavery in Cabo Verde by people plying the trade to and from the Caribbean islands where such devastating changes had taken place over the past 30 years. As the sixteenth century developed, and the links between Cabo Verde and the Americas became

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increasingly intense, the segue in attitudes between the two sides of the Atlantic would become ever more marked and the inheritance from Portugal ever more distant.

The way in which this change took place emerged from Cabo Verde's central role in the transatlantic slave trade in the sixteenth century. Direct shipments of slaves from West Africa to Hispaniola may have taken place as early as 1514.[67] Once these received the seal of approval from Charles V of Spain in 1518, they became increasingly common. Cabo Verde was at the heart of the transatlantic trade owing to the fact that slaves from the kingdom of Kongo were used mainly to supply the sugar plantations at São Tomé and the trade to Portugal. New research based on documents relating to contraband found referring to both Hispaniola and the Canary Islands suggests that the numbers of slaves shipped were in the region of 2000 to 2500 per year in the period from c.1525 to 1550 and 5000 per year in the second half of the sixteenth century, considerably higher than previous estimates using the transatlantic slave trade database have suggested.[68]

This represented a significant increase in the volume of slaves exported from Cabo Verde and also a change in the nature of the islands' slave economy. Whereas hitherto slaves brought to the islands had been used both in expanding the infrastructure of the island economy and in the export trade to Portugal, the export trade to America came more and more to predominate. In these circumstances, the treatment of slaves and the ways in which slaves were integrated into the society of the Cabo Verde islands shifted rapidly, in a break from the previous Portuguese model and a step towards the slave cultures of the Caribbean which followed.

Thus, barracoons became a common feature of the export slave trade from the Cabo Verde islands. Typical was the case described by Francisco Nuñez de Padilla, a trader from Seville, who arrived in Cabo Verde in May 1574 to buy slaves. Padilla described how he had bought 122 slaves from the factory on Santiago and 119 from elsewhere on the island.[69] That these purchases were almost certainly from barracoons emerges from an account 20 years later, by Francesco Carletti, who described how the slaves he had bought were kept in two rooms in Ribeira Grande, one for the men and one for the women. According to Carletti, the Portuguese had hitherto kept the slaves they had bought 'like herds of animals at their villas in the country'.[70]

The use of barracoons marked a change in the export culture of Cabo Verde and a move towards the systematic dehumanisation which came to characterise the subsequent Atlantic trade. The fact that this process was well advanced on Cabo Verde by the 1590s is made clear by Carletti, who described how, in the wealthy circles of Ribeira Grande, slaves were made to stand 'entirely naked … at the head and foot of their tables with candles in hand while their masters eat and talk'.[71] By this time, slaving was so embedded not only within the social framework of the islands, but also within its economy, that the islands' clergy maintained themselves by 'buying and selling the abovementioned Moorish slaves who are brought there by Portuguese merchants'.[72] Many of these clerics went to Africa themselves solely for the purpose of buying slaves: one Mandinka slave, interviewed in Popayan in the Nuevo Reino de Granada in 1568, described how he had been bought in West Africa by a cleric who had taken him and many other slaves to Hispaniola.[73]

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The development of the barraccoon on Cabo Verde and this evidence on the growing role of the slave trade in supporting the infrastructure of government on the islands are strong reasons for believing that the export slave trade was related to the changing role of slaves on the islands. The growth of the first mass-export trade across the Atlantic from the focal point of this archipelago had a clear effect on the transformation of the institution of slavery in this part of the African Atlantic. Where, in the fifteenth century, the predominant influence on the islands' institutional infrastructure of slavery came from Portugal, in the sixteenth century this changed and transatlantic vectors became increasingly important.

The way in which Atlantic factors affected local conditions of slavery in Cabo Verde is exemplified by the fact that, by the 1570s, those who had bought the royal contract for exporting slaves to the Indies from the Spanish Crown were empowered by the Spanish authorities in Seville to determine the means of trade and exchange between Cabo Verde and the West African coast themselves, without consulting the Caboverdean Captain and officials.[74] Since the contractors often never set foot in the islands and were certainly more intertwined with American and Iberian trading needs than they were with Caboverdean commercial and cultural realities, this necessarily made the trade in Cabo Verde dependent on wider Atlantic patterns and priorities.

In this increasingly Atlanticised institution of slavery, and faced with a situation of augmenting labour demands and increasingly inhumane treatment, slaves on Cabo Verde did what slaves did in subsequent centuries in the Atlantic world: they escaped to the mountainous interior of an island which was at once their prison and their home. Once they had achieved freedom, the escaped slaves developed their own Creole communities.

This picture emerged remarkably early in Caboverdean history. As early as 1512, escapees had only to flee to the hills of Santiago to find sanctuary.[75] The way in which these fugitives had prospered over the course of the sixteenth century was illustrated when Francis Drake visited the archipelago in 1578, noting that the slaves on Santiago had been so oppressed that many of them had escaped inland, 'increasing to a great number and growing to a set strength, [where they] do now live, with that terror to their oppressors, that they now endure no less bondage in mind than the Forcatos [those condemned to forced labour] did before in body'.[76] Drake described how they had taken much of the best land in the interior of Santiago and constantly attacked Portuguese goods and cattle. It was these *vadios*, or vagrants, who would shape the future course of Caboverdean society after the ecological crises of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[77]

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The picture that emerges here of a repositioning of the place of slavery within Cabo Verde in the sixteenth century, in response to the emergence of a mass export slave trade from the islands across the Atlantic, elucidates the case relating to Rodrigo López discussed at the beginning of the previous section. There we saw how, in 1526, there was a disjunction between the Caboverdean view of the importance of

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the *alforría* and realities in the early colonial Caribbean. Within 50 years, however, barracoons were commonplace on Cabo Verde and slaves were 'kept like animals' and used in demeaning roles in the island society. As in the Caribbean islands in subsequent centuries, many slaves responded to these inhumane conditions by escaping into the highlands of the interior.

In these conditions, the sort of anxiety felt by Joham Fernandes of Fogo in 1513 at the thought that he might be found guilty of causing the death of his slave by whipping was an emotion increasingly hard to come by. One of the notable aspects of the Inquisition cases taken against Miçia Diaz's family in Fogo in the 1550s was the evidence of a witness who said that her son had played with Dias's son, and that they had whipped a crucifix hidden in a box.[78] As children's games mirror the world around them, one can infer that the whipping of slaves had become commonplace by this time, where its connection with the death of Johan Fernandes's slave Jxarandy had been a cause for Fernandes to worry in 1513.

Something had changed over the course of the sixteenth century: the advent of a mass export slave trade across the Atlantic. The first stirrings of these changes can be discerned in the López case. American realities came to influence the institution of slavery in Cabo Verde both because of the demands of the export slave trade and because of the frequent journeys which Caboverdean traders made to the Americas. With the importance of the islands' role in the slave trade in the sixteenth century, Caboverdeans were often to be found in the New World. Just as in 1526 in the Rodrigo López case, many people in Cuba gave evidence as to events which they had witnessed in Cabo Verde, by the 1570s it was still normal for ships to call at the islands and collect slaves rather than to go directly to Upper Guinea.[79] Thus, many Caboverdeans were used to travelling to and fro on the slave ships.[80] Some of them returned from America to Seville before plying again to Santiago, showing just how deeply involved many Caboverdean traders were with Atlantic networks.[81] People in the Americas, meanwhile, had frequently spent periods in Cabo Verde.[82] Cabo Verde, then, was located in an emergent pan-Atlantic economy and worldview. Attitudes and practices there reflected wider currents and trends at work in the Atlantic in the 1560s and 1570s when the *Carrera de Indias* took shape, and this positioning was key to the changes which the institution of slavery underwent on the archipelago during the sixteenth century.[83]

The importance of these changes stretched beyond Cabo Verde itself. Between 1580 and 1610 a series of droughts and famines afflicted the archipelago and large numbers of Caboverdeans – both Europeans and Creoles – migrated to the Luso-African trading posts on the West African coast at Cacheu and Guinala. Naturally, those who made this migration brought with them the ideological framework which had been worked through in Cabo Verde and the wider Atlantic world, a framework which included a distinct conceptualisation of the place of bonded and forced labour in a society which had emerged through the many human tragedies of the sixteenth-century Atlantic world.[84]

This transference of ideas and institutions from the Americas towards Africa brings to mind the old debate between Fage and Rodney as to the place of the Atlantic export

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trade in shaping the institution of slavery within West Africa. In the analysis undertaken in this article, a mechanism has emerged by which, as Rodney suggested, the Atlantic trade could have affected slavery in Africa. This emerges through the role of Caboverdean traders in the early Atlantic slave trade and their place as trans-shippers of both slaves and ideas back and forth across the Atlantic. When these ideas then were taken by Caboverdeans to Luso-African trading settlements following the migrations of the late sixteenth century, they were ripe for a further exchange with those current in West Africa at the time.

This was important, since the first half of the seventeenth century saw a further expansion of the Atlantic slave trade in the region, with the mercantile focus this time located in the Luso-African trading settlements of Upper Guinea and not on Cabo Verde.[85] This expansion of the export slave trade from Upper Guinea in the seventeenth century coincided with the presence of an ideology which, as on Cabo Verde, could help to shift the nature and understanding of labour and the institution of slavery. Pan-Atlantic factors had helped to catalyse a situation in which such institutions could become transformed within Africa, supporting the claim of Martin Klein and Paul Lovejoy that the institution of African slavery is deeply connected to the export slave trade and cannot be analysed separately from it.[86]

The emergence of this early slave society on Cabo Verde, and the changes it underwent in the sixteenth century, turn out to be of more than parochial interest. Through the islands' connection to the early transatlantic slave trade, the institution transformed itself into a curious mixture of later African and American tropes, replicating both the slave barracoons of the African coast and the Caribbean marronage that was to be so widespread. The early emergence of these phenomena in a transatlantic context is a reminder of how rapidly Atlantic slavery could transform societies both in West Africa and in the Caribbean, and also of how permanent and enduring many of these transformations became. With slaves fleeing to the Caboverdean highlands just as they did on Caribbean islands in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, we are reminded that, as Michel-Rolph Trouillot remarked, marronage was not merely a response to individual symptoms and conditions but a generalised response to the new institution of slavery as it emerged in the Atlantic world, a deep-rooted symptom of the unacceptable change in human relations which that new institution represented.[87]

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Paulo Farias, Gad Heuman, Philip Havik, Walter Hawthorne, José da Silva Horta, António de Almeida Mendes, José Lingna Nafafé, Filipa Ribeiro da Silva and Gerhard Seibert, all of whom have made suggestions which in various ways have helped in the completion of this article.

Notes

[1] Ralph A.A. Austen, 'The Slave Trade as History and Memory', *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 229–44, esp. 243.

[2] For recent exceptions, see Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas 1585–1660* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Linda A. Newson and Suzie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early 17th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); John David Wheat, *The Afro-Portuguese Maritime World and the Foundations of Spanish Caribbean Society, 1570–1640* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 2009).

[3] For commentary on the most up-to-date estimate of these figures, see David Eltis and David Richardson, 'Introduction', in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, eds David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 1–60.

[4] Newson/Minchin, *From Capture to Sale*, 6–7.

[5] Most recently Patrick J. Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity and Regional Development* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001; 2nd edn); Herman Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); María Cristina Navarrete, *Cimarrones y Palenques en el Siglo XVII* (Cali: Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad del Valle, 2003); idem., *Genesis y Desarrollo de la Esclavitud en Colombia, Siglos XVI–XVII* (Cali: Programa Editorial Universidad del Valle, 2005); Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo, *Brujería y Recontrucción de Identitidades Entre Africanos y Sus Descendientes en la Nueva Granada, Siglo XVII* (Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura, 2005). Such work builds on Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974). A recent break with this tradition is Newson/Minchin, *From Capture to Sale* and Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[6] On the early sugar plantations in Hispaniola, see Frank Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), 37–40 and Mervyn Ratekin, 'The Early Sugar Industry in Española', in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 34, no. 1 (1954). See also Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1985), 34. On early sugar plantations in São Tomé, see Gerhard Seibert, 'Creolization and Creole Communities in the Portuguese Atlantic. São Tomé, Cape Verde and the Rivers of Guinea in comparison', in *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Pre-Colonial 'Western Africa'*, eds Toby Green and José Lingna Nafafé (forthcoming).

[7] David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*: *The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 70–2; Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 201; Juan Gil, *Los Conversos y la Inquisición Sevillana* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla – Fundación El Monte, 2000–2001), vol. 3, 37; George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 40. The best general work on *limpieza de sangre* in Spain remains Albert A. Sicroff, *Los Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre: Controversias entre los Siglos XV y XVII* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1985).

[8] Winthrop D. Jordan, *The White Man's Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 31.

[9] Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), 60–90.

[10] Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; 2nd edn), 43; J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1497–1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 11–16.

[11] Cf. António de Almeida Mendes, *Esclavages et Traites Ibériques Entre Méditerranée et Atlantique (XVe – XVIIe Siècles): Une Histoire Globale* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2007), 27. Here, Mendes argues that the early slave trade

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between Iberia and Africa had more in common with previous Mediterranean slave trades than with the later Atlantic trade. While quantitatively and structurally this is entirely true, a key difference in the sixteenth-century Atlantic slave trade with what had gone before was the connection with the Americas and the fact that this connection allowed the institution to transform itself into something new over the course of the sixteenth century, as this paper shows.

[12] James Walvin, *An African's Life: The Life and Times of Olaudah Equiano, 1745–1797* (London: Cassell, 1998), 6.

[13] Walter Rodney, 'African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade', in *Journal of African History* 7, no. 3 (1966): 431–43.

[14] John K. Thornton, 'Sexual Demography: The Impact of the Slave Trade on Family Structure' in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, eds Martin A. Klein and Claire C. Robertson (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997; 2nd edn), 39–48.

[15] *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. Da Silva Rego (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos da Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1960–75), vol. 11, 32: '*todos mouros, negros e brancos forros e cativos*'.

[16] In another instance, in 1462, Afonso V referred to the Sereer in the region of present-day Senegal as '*mouros*'; the Sereer, who have never been predominantly Islamic and certainly were not in the fifteenth century, were one of the major suppliers of slaves to the Portuguese at the time. See *Monumenta Misionaria Africana: África Ocidental: Segunda Série*, ed. António Brásio (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1958–2004; hereafter MMA), vol. 1, 202.

[17] Vicenta Cortes, *La Esclavitud en Valencia Durante el Reinado de los Reyes Católicos (1479–1516)* (Valencia: Publicaciones del Archivo Municipal de Valencia, 1964), 49.

[18] Alfonso Franco Silva, *La Esclavitud en Sevilla y su Tierra a Fines de la Edad Media* (Seville: Publicaciones de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 37–8.

[19] Silva, *La Esclavitud*, 38.

[20] Silva, *La Esclavitud*, 38–9.

[21] Luís de Albuquerque and María Emília Madeira Santos, eds, *Portugaliae Monumenta Africana* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1993–2000), vol. 1, 36, 116.

[22] MMA, vol. 1, 189, 202.

[23] MMA, vol. 1, 304.

[24] See, e.g., António Brásio, 'Descobrimento/Povoamento/Evangelização do Arquipélago de Cabo Verde', *Studia* 10 (July 1962), 49–97.

[25] This is attested to by the work on the general history of Cabo Verde published since 1991 by historians of both Cabo Verde and Portugal in a collaborative work. See *História Geral de Cabo Verde*, eds Luís de Albuquerque and María Emília Madeira Santos (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1991–2004).

[26] António Carreira, *Cabo Verde: Formaçao e Extinçao de Uma Sociedade Escravocrata (1460–1878)* (Porto: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1972).

[27] As was made clear in the paper presented by António de Almeida Mendes at the conference, *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Precolonial 'Guinea of Cape Verde'* at the Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, 11–13 June 2009. See the forthcoming publication of papers from this conference (eds Toby Green and José Lingna Nafafé).

[28] On cotton, see Edmundo Correia Lopes, *Escravatura: Subsídios para a sua Historia* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1944), 52; and João Barreto, *Historia da Guiné, 1418–1918* (Lisbon: Edição do Autor), 70. On horse-breeding, see George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 127; and on the importance of horses in general, see Trevor P. Hall, *The Role of Cape Verde Islanders in Organizing and Operating Maritime Trade Between West Africa and Iberian Territories, 1441–1616* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1992).

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[29] Zelinda Cohen, *Os Filhos da Folha (Cabo Verde – Séculos XV – XVII)* (Praia: Spleen Edições, 2007), 72.
[30] Hall, *Cape Verde Islanders*, vol. 1, 109–14.
[31] Davis, *Inhuman Bondage*, 3, 53.
[32] Anselmo Braancamp Freire and José da Silva Pessanha, eds, *Archivo Histórico Portuguez* (Lisbon: Of. Tip, 1903–18), vol. 1, 95.
[33] Freire and Pessanha, eds, *Archivo Histórico*, vol. 5, 240.
[34] MMA, vol. 1, 637.
[35] Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahía, 1550–1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 12–13.
[36] MMA, vol. 1, 453 – '*porque senhor, fazem grande povoaçam em vosos Reynos, e sam causa de se fazer terra novas e romper os matos e abrir pauuys e outros proveitos*'.
[37] António de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo, *História da Sociedade en Portugal no Século XV e Outros Estudos Históricos* (Lisboa: Cooperativa Editora, 1979; 2nd edn), 12; A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), vol. 1, 109–10.
[38] Costa Lobo, *Portugal no Século XV*, 77–83.
[39] Cf. above, note 28.
[40] A.C. de C.M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 2, 74–89; Jorge Fonseca, 'Black Africans in Portugal During Cleynaert's Visit (1533–1538)', in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, eds T.F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 113–21.
[41] Konstantin Alexander Richter, *The Historic Religious Buildings of Ribeira Grande: Implementation of Christian Models in the Early Colonies, 15th Till 17th Century, On the Example of Cape Verde Islands* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Madeira, Funchal, 2009), 250.
[42] Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão, 'Actividade Comercial Externa de Cabo Verde: Organização, Funcionamento, Evolução', in *Historia Geral de Cabo Verde*, eds Luís de Albuquerque and Maria Emília Madeira Santos, vol. 1 (1991), 237–345, esp. 268.
[43] MMA, vol. 2, 59–60.
[44] MMA, vol. 2, 69.
[45] Cf. Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*.
[46] Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen*, 13.
[47] This was a difference both to the Caribbean and the contemporaneous African Atlantic, where by 1520 the sugar plantations were the mainstay of São Tomé's economy – see Seibert, 'Creolization and Creole Communities in the Portuguese Atlantic'.
[48] The evidence on these exchanges emerges in inquisitorial trials of the 1540s and 1550s. See, for instance, Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais do Torre do Tombo (Lisbon: hereafter IAN/TT), Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos 6580, 7312, 13107.
[49] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons), vol. 10, 106.
[50] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 12–13.
[51] Torrão, 'Actividade Comercial Externa de Cabo Verde', 265 for 1513–16; also Archivo General de las Indias (Seville: hereafter AGI), Patronato 29, Ramo 26, for a visit of 1572 picking up provisions on Cabo Verde, almost certainly grown in West Africa.
[52] Richter, *The Historic Religious Buildings of Ribeira Grande*, 156.
[53] IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo 13107, fol. 3r: '*escravas se queixavao q sua sora as madava ao domingo trabalho e que follgavao ao sabado*'.
[54] IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo 13107, fols 9v–10v.
[55] Luís de Albuquerque and María Emíla Madeira Santos, eds, *Historia Geral de Cabo Verde: Corpo Documental* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1988–90: hereafter HGCV: CD), vol. 1, 183.
[56] AGI, Justicia 11, no. 4: '*Rodrigo Lopez, de color negro, natural de Lisboa*'.
[57] AGI, Justicia 11, no. 4, fols 30r, 37v–38r.

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[58] AGI, Justicia 11, no. 4, fol. 7v.
[59] AGI, Justicia 11, no. 4, fols 36v, 10v: '*libre y no esclavo por el dho su amo*'.
[60] AGI, Justicia 11, no. 4, fols 8r–v.
[61] AGI, Justicia 11, no. 4, fol. 10r.
[62] Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, esp. 11; IAN/TT, Corpo Cronlógico, Maço I, vol. 78, no. 17.
[63] Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, 19.
[64] Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic*, 34.
[65] The key reference for this is Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd, 1966; 2nd edn), vols 62–66.
[66] de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, vol. 64, 223 and vol. 65, 2–3 for the use of the term in the Caribbean; by 1523, the Portuguese crown was using this term to refer to African slaves – see MMA, vol. 2, 143.
[67] Hall, *Cape Verde Islanders*, vol. 2, 439–40.
[68] Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, chs 6 and 7.
[69] AGI, Escribanía 119A, fols 15r–v.
[70] Francesco Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World* (London: Methuen & Co, 1965), 12, 14.
[71] Carletti, *My Voyage*, 8.
[72] Carletti, *My Voyage*, 10–11.
[73] Archivo General de la Nación (Bogotá), Negocios Exteriores, Legajo 4, fol. 361v.
[74] AGI, Escribanía 2A, folio 336r – evidence of the contractors, Francisco Núñez de Bejar and Antonio Núñez de Algarve, in 1575.
[75] HGCV: CD, vol. 1, 215.
[76] John D. Upcott, *Three Voyages of Drake* (London: Gunn & Company), 125.
[77] Tobias Green, 'The Evolution of Creole Identity in Cape Verde', in *The Creolization Reader: Studies in Mixed Identities and Cultures*, eds Robin Cohen and Paola Toninato (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 157–66: esp. 160–1.
[78] IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo 13107, fols 4v–5r.
[79] See, e.g., AGI, Justicia 864, no. 7 (1564); AGI, Justicia 883, no. 3 (1566); AGI, Contaduría 1174, no. 6 (1572); AGI, Escribanía 119A, fol. 15r (1574); AGI, Escribanía 36A (1574); AGI, Santa Fe 37, Ramo 5, no. 42 (1580) – and many others.
[80] Thus, in a legal case heard on Hispaniola in the 1570s, many witnesses gave detailed evidence on events in Cabo Verde and West Africa. See AGI, Escribanía 2A, fols 270vff.
[81] AGI, Escribanía 1069A, No. 5. A case from 1583 in which two residents of Cabo Verde, Gaspar Dias and Pedro de Bega, were arrested in a ship returning with the fleet from New Spain to Seville.
[82] See AGI, Justicia 204, No. 3, Ramo 1, fols 8r and 9v for this.
[83] On the consolidation of the *Carrera de Indias*, see H. and P. Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504–1650)* (Paris: Librairie Armand, 1955–6), vol. 3, 144.
[84] See Green, *The Rise of the Trans–Atlantic Slave Trade.*
[85] António de Almeida Mendes, 'The Foundations of the System: A Reassessment on the Slave Trade to the Americas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Eltis/Richardson, *Extending the Frontiers*, 63–94; Tobias Green, *Masters of Difference: Creolization and the Jewish Presence in Cabo Verde, 1497–1672* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Birmingham University, Birmingham, 2007), Part III.
[86] Martin A. Klein and Paul E. Lovejoy, 'Slavery in West Africa', in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, eds Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1979), 181–212, esp. 183.
[87] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 83–4.

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