

Slave for Trade? Slave Markets as Networks in Neighborhoods
(Slave Trading in Santos, Brazil, 1820-1890)

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September, 2005

Abstract: This chapter examines slave traders and the slaves they bought and sold in one important Brazilian county during the Imperial period. It argues that while supply and demand were important for understanding which slaves were traded and by whom, the slave market was not an impersonal system unmediated by previous relationships. Instead, most slaves were traded between neighborhoods and specific groups of people who created or maintained a social hierarchy of both masters and slaves. The sources used for this article include slave tax records, bills of sale, and newspaper advertisements. Network analysis and a geographic information system (GIS) program assist in finding the traders and their slaves in both social and physical space.

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Hundreds of mostly older men of varying means in Santos entered into a remarkably decentralized, segmented, and strongly interconnected system with the purpose of buying, selling, trading or mortgaging their slaves over the 19th century. There are many reasons to believe that this model of the trade, one that had striking differences from the system of slave trading in Rio de Janeiro, was followed by most small urban centers throughout Brazil. Unlike the large cities of the Atlantic slave trade during the nineteenth-century, Santos did not have neighborhoods or whole sections of town dedicated to the slave trade. Nor is there evidence that the many commission and auction houses dealt exclusively in slave trading.¹ The regional slave market became even more decentralized and less institutionalized after 1850 when the flow of African slaves ended through British intervention.² In general, however, the forced termination of an international source of African slaves did not impede the business of slavery in Brazil. In fact, inter-provincial trade grew enormously and thousands of slaves were shuffled from economically stagnant parts of the country—including (but by no means exclusively) the Northeast—to the booming coffee growing regions of the south.³

This chapter approaches the local market and the port trade of slaves as they cycled in and out of town via canoes, packet ships, and overland coffles;⁴ or they were traded between households and neighborhoods within Santos. I argue that there was not a single impersonal slave market *per se* but a series of complex networks that assisted or constrained buyers and sellers as they made their transactions. Beyond the availability of slaves for sale and their range of prices (two powerful but exogenous forces in influencing sales) these men and women often had to depend on a previously existing network, and hence, their social position to procure a slave. Buyers, sellers and the slaves they traded had different experiences and acted in different ways

¹ For the slave market in Rio de Janeiro, see [Karasch, 1987]; for New Orleans, see [Johnson, 1999].

² [Bethell, 1970], [Florentino, 1995], [Klein, 1999]

³ [Klein, 1986, 130], [Slenes, 1976]

⁴ “A train of men or beasts fastened together; spec. a gang of slaves chained and driven along together.” [OED, 2005]

depending upon their position within these networks. I do not wish to suggest that there is no value in performing aggregate studies of slave prices or broad changing characteristics of traded slaves within large regions or over long periods of time. Rather, I am suggesting a new way of looking at the slave market that stresses individual owners, their connections to one another and how that may have affected the particular slaves they acquired or sold.

I wish also to explain the mechanisms that paired sellers to buyers within webs of relationships that fit within the natural and constructed topography of the town and coastal county. The overlapping networks of traders and slaves lent to and fit within a society that was enormously stratified. The social distance that existed between groups, both for masters and their slaves, was manifest in two ways. First, the position of owners and slaves within trading networks gives many clues to their social position. Second, social stratification appeared geographically: neighborhoods reinforced and bound groups of slaves and masters within a patent social hierarchy. Sellers, buyers and their proctors⁵ acted within discernable networks that had ties across real space and used a scripted protocol of selling to maintain or advance their social positions and to find labor for a diverse economy.

During this period, international events such as the gradual abolition of slavery elsewhere in Latin America, the end of the international slave trade, and the destruction wrought by US Civil War changed the tone of slavery at the local trade. Within Santos, slave traders increasingly hid their business behind other more legitimate pursuits to such a degree that by 1865, when the first detailed almanac of the town was published, not one owner of a commission or auction house listed slaves among their traded goods.⁶ These same commission houses, however, profited from a brisk trade in slaves until the 1880s and their voices can still be heard marketing their slaves to potential customers through hundreds of sales advertisements in the local newspaper. When prospective sellers, renters, or buyers contacted the journal to

⁵ Portuguese *procurador*: “A person employed to manage the affairs of another; an agent, deputy, proxy, attorney” [OED, 2005]

⁶ The descriptions in the almanacs were often very specific and detailed. For example, one category was for “businessmen of holy waters (*liquidos espirituosos*), foodstuffs (*engeros alimenticios*), and dry and wet goods” [+], or another was for “shops of leather, saddles, harnesses and girths” (*lojas de couros, de arreivos, selleiros e colchoeiros*). It may have been possible that slavery was altogether excluded from these almanacs because editors for political reasons. On the other hand, the editors and publishers of almanacs also owned the newspaper presses, and they did not exclude slave advertisements from these publications.

post an ad, they often choose to conceal their identities from disapproving neighbors. Only rarely did they include their name and they often hid their personal addresses by listing the journal's address for their contact. Potential customers had an additional small hassle to go the journal to find the slave owner's address, but the profits to these publicly veiled sellers were worth the trouble.

Despite the slow loss of legitimacy, slavery remained a lucrative business for many townsmen, especially for those already involved in other commercial ventures. The British once remarked that every man of affairs in Brazil was involved in some way or another in the slave trade.⁷ This remark was reinforced by experience in Santos: the man serving as consul to Great Britain during the 1860s also traded slaves for his employer, his friends and for his family. Consul João Hayden served as the proctor for British financiers and the Baron Mauá, a man bent on proving that São Paulo would lead the world in railroad technology. Hayden's primary role in this venture was to use British and European financing to buy the land and materials for the railroad, but he also helped the Baron sell a slave mason to a slave peddler who was making his way to Campinas.⁸ He gave his assistance to a woman who lived outside of town who wished to sell her domestic servant to a town local, and he guided his own wife's purchase of a small slave family that included a 50 year-old slave maid and her 20 year-old son.⁹ All of these transactions took place over a short six-month period in 1865, a moment when the final phase of European financing became available to complete the much anticipated railroad.

Consul Hayden's was a typical participant of the slave market. He traded slaves as a secondary pursuit but the transactions served to reinforce his network of professional relationships and to provide him with slaves that would help with his personal life and family status. As a buyer or proctor, he was an older man at the height of his career and a man who knew that an investment in slaves would provide a form of insurance for him and his family when he could no longer work. He was involved in multiple slave transactions over a short period of time, yet these

⁷ [Karasch, 1989, 44]

⁸ *Colleção de Costa e Silva Sobrinho* (hereafter CCSS), *Compras e Vendas* ("compras"), Vol 24, p. 205; Barbosa, Medeiros, Lima, and Carvalho (2004), 36. [+ADD HERE THAT THE BARON WAS THE GODFATHER TO THE HAYDENS' SON]

⁹ CCSS, *Compras e Vendas*, Vol 24., p. 199. *Employees* of the British diplomatic corps were prohibited from owning slaves. Possibly for this reason, João Hayden's wife bought these slaves for their family.

transactions were a part of a social network that he had formed mostly through other ways. The slaves his wife bought were specifically chosen to 1) cultivate social image of their family;¹⁰ 2) add skills that the family desired or could profit from; and 3) aid the family by returning capital if the time came that they needed to sell. Mrs. Hayden bought the slaves from another town resident, keeping the slave mother and her son on their native ground, a small corner of a county that neither had probably ever left.¹¹

The three sources are used for this chapter—slave tax records (“*registro de meia-siza*”), notarized slave bills of sale (“*escripturas de compra e venda*”), and newspaper advertisements—document hundreds of sales for many years during the 19th century. The tax records run with a few interruptions from 1832 to 1859 and the bills of sales follow with a fairly steady series of records between 1861 and 1870. Finally, the slave advertisements cover a series of years that overlap the first two sources, beginning in 1849 and ending in 1873. The buyers and sellers who notarized their bills of sale share most characteristics with the men and women appear in the earlier tax records. Differences between the two should be attributed to internal and external changes in the market and the differing purposes of these two types of documents. One of the most noticeable changes is the average amount of time between the first and last sale of individuals and businesses became shorter after 1850—seven years in the earlier tax records and four years for the bills of sale. This shortening duration was probably related to the end of a guaranteed and steady supply of slaves after 1850 and the skyrocketing prices for slaves, a fact that might not have been entirely compensated by the quickening profits of the inter-provincial trade.¹²

More can be said about the slight differences between the buyers and sellers in the later bills of sale. First, the two types of sources served different goals for the government and public. The slave tax was an Imperial and municipal requirement but one that could be illegally avoided through informal exchanges, with a handshake outside the purview of the government. In both these records, urban businessmen far outnumber rural farmers. There is some evidence that there were more slaves owned by businessmen than farmers in the county by the 1850s, suggesting the difference

¹⁰ The image that slave owners wished to convey, especially within urban areas, is a topic richly explored by [Johnson, 1999]

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² [Stein, 1970, 29], [Bergad, 1999, 167-169], [Frank, 2004]

between the two is related to the overall numbers of owners in each type of economic activity.¹³ But, it can also be suggested that the farther one was from the customs house, the more likely he or she would avoid the tax. There were factors that prevented owners from illegally avoiding the tax: slaves were a fairly expensive investment for most, slave traders were not known for their honesty, and any sort of misfortune could be hidden from the eyes of the buyer by either the seller or the slave.¹⁴ Any proof of sales, even a tax receipt, would have been a much better precaution against an unscrupulous seller that left an illness or disability undeclared. The second source, the bills of sales (*escrituras de venda e compra*), always included a copy of the tax record. Buyers and sellers who paid the tax may have avoided the formality of a bill of sale, but those who drew up a bill of sale had to present proof that they had paid the tax. Bills of sales were the best guarantee that the mutual wishes of involved parties would be honored as it was a formal contract and enforceable in court. These receipts of sale were drawn up in the notary offices for a fee, increasing the total cost of the slave or lowering the profit depending on who paid. Even though it was a relatively small amount—between 0.3 and 3.0 percent of the cost of the slave (2-6 *mil-reis*), we might imagine that buyers and sellers with fewer means and less expensive slaves may have been more likely to avoid a proportionally higher priced bill of sale.¹⁵

¹³ Using a number of sources [these will be listed and my methodology explained in an appendix] between 1850 and 1860, 208 slaves can be connected to owners and owner occupation data. More than 20% of these slaves were owned by businessmen, a much higher percentage than other occupations.

¹⁴ The dishonesty of slave traders in the US south was frequently bemoaned by buyers and sellers [Jonhson, 1999, 172], I am assuming here that the same was true for Brazilian slave traders.

¹⁵ There is no way to know for sure what percent of *all* slave transactions were recorded in the tax ledgers or in the First Notary Office. Between the 1854 provincial census and the 1872 Imperial census of Sao Paulo, the number of slaves declined from 1297 to 943 in Santos County. We can sketch a rough of the changing numbers of slaves in the city due to a variety of factors:

Average decline of slave population per year: 20

Number of slave deaths (according to hospital and cemetery records) per year: about 40

Number of manumissions per year: 20-30

Approximate number of slave births that survive infancy per year: 40 (calculated using infant mortality statistics and census data)

Average number of slaves in tax register per year: 40

Average number of transacted slaves in bills of sale per year: 30

Assuming that more slaves were sold out of Santos than into town, these approximations lead us to believe that both the tax register and the bill of sales cover the majority of slaves bought and sold. When accounting for mortality, birth and manumission rates, the level of decline of the slave population is not steep enough to account for a vast number of slave sales that were not registered by the customs house or notarized.

In total, the customs house noted 289 tax payments covering the sale of 396 slaves for various years between 1832 and 1858.¹⁶ Multiple slaves were traded in single transactions, with an annual average of 10 tax payments for every 13 slaves sold. The bills of sale follow a similar pattern. Officials of the First Notary Office of Santos noted (in arching cursive script covering two to five pages) 197 bills of sales that covered the sale of 241 slaves.¹⁷ The annual average per year, 25 bills for 30 slaves, is lower overall than the tax records but the ratio of slaves per payment is nearly the same. To put these numbers in context, the population of slaves in the county remained nearly constant, between 2200 and 2400 between 1825 and 1854 but declined steeply in proportional terms from one-half of the total population to a third.¹⁸ Following the 1850's, the slave population steadily dropped until emancipation in 1888. Between 1872 and 1886, the total numbers of slaves in town dropped from 943 to only 81.¹⁹ Considering the population and its gradual decline, these records cover a relatively high number of slaves sold in and out of Santos County.

Before the sale and tax payment, many prospective buyers and sellers (along with those who wished to rent or trade) placed an advertisement in a local newspaper. These advertisements give few details about the sellers, buyers or renters but a good deal of information about the slaves entering or reentering the market.²⁰ The fourth page of the *Jornal* usually featured the current prices of primary exports, the daily arrivals and departures of passenger and freight ships as they followed the tides, and classified advertisements of a large variety of products and services including slaves. Copies of the *Jornal* have been preserved from the second year of publication onward, but the best runs survive from the 1860s. Hundreds of advertisements that describe and laud their slaves can be used to give a fuller picture the initial stage of slave transactions and the correspondence of location and particular the intentions of slave traders. When used in juxtaposition to the bills of sales, we can get a glimpse of the

¹⁶ Arquivo do Estado do São Paulo (AESP), *Lançamento de Diversos Impostos* (“Meia-siza”), 1832-1833, 1840-1845, 1858-1859.

¹⁷ Cartório Primeiro de Santos (CPS), *Escritórios*, 1861-1870

¹⁸ *Lista da População da Primeira Campanhia de Ordenanças da Villa de Santos do anno de 1825; Relatório apresentado a assembléa legislativo provincial de São Paulo*, 1856

¹⁹ [1872 census], [1886 census]

²⁰ The editors of the first newspaper in Santos, the *Jornal do Commercio* printed their newspaper four times per week in 1848 and it remained the primary regional newspaper until the late 1860s when a rival publication *O Diario de Santos* was founded. [+] CCSS, vols. 103-110, 115, 118, 144-146; and Hemeroteca de Santos, *Revista Commercial*, 1850-1872

intentions of buyer and sellers, their “success” in sale or profit, and the often violent trajectory of slaves displaced from their communities and families and placed in new homes, farms and jobs.

The slave market in Santos was dominated by an internal trade between town residents and different neighborhoods. This does not fit easily with the prevailing idea of smaller Brazilian towns that: 1) slaves were imported by peddlers and traders who had dubious ties to the community or were strangers;²¹ and 2) by the second half of the century, slaves were gathered in great numbers to be sold to the prospering coffee fields.²² There is no doubt that both these two things also happened, but in the *Paulista* slave market most slaves were sold to neighbors across town by people who, if they did not know each other personally, nearly always had mutual acquaintances. The network of relationships stretched not only between family members and work comrades, but also between club and association members, and through the strong ties that developed between two people who had exchanged money for goods or services. In the tax records and bills of sales, about a third to a half of all buyers also sold slaves. In addition, a vast majority all buyers and smaller majority of sellers were residents of Santos. As a port city and a gateway for hundreds or thousands of slaves to the interior, Santos did attract peddlers and dealers, even if most of them declared other pursuits as their primary occupations.

The traders’ profile

One trader, João Batista Rodrigues da Silva bought a slave named Manoel in 1832. In many ways João Batista was a typical buyer: he was married, an older man (53 years old according to an unrelated court case), Portuguese born (in the small town of Santo Andrião de Padi da Graça, in the archbishopric of Braga), and a self-described businessman.²³ He only appears once more in the slave records, as a proctor for a sale in 1841 between a man named Manoel Mina and a buyer who was a doctor

²¹ These peddlers were also called *comboieros* and, according to Stanley Stein, “they often led their gangs up from the Rio market to sell directly to Vassouras planters” [Stein, 1970, 72-73] Karasch argues that *ciganos* or gypsies played a role in the peddling: “Whenever a slave disappeared from the city, it was a common accusation that a *cigano* had stolen him or taken him inland to sell to a plantation owner” [Karasch, 1972, 131] she cites: [Soares, 1958, 39 and 45-47].

²² [Klein, 1986, 130], [Slenes, 1976]

²³ [judicial record, add name, João Batista Rodrigues da Silva, 1827[

(*doutor*).²⁴ He was typical not only in the fact that he resembled most buyers demographically, but also that he appeared only twice in the records. Manoel was most likely an expensive investment and he might have believed that the sale would boost his economic and social position for the time-being or that these slaves would provide a type of insurance in case he was no longer able to work. João Batista may have even considered his heirs when he saved for this slave.

Table 1. Demographics, Birthplaces and Occupations of Slave Buyers and Sellers (percent)

	Slave tax (1832-1859)		Bills of sale (1861-1873)	
	Buyers	Sellers	Buyers	Sellers
Gender				
Men	88.5	84.7	87.5	81.5
Women	11.5	15.3	12.5	18.5
Commercial or religious associations	2.8	1.8	2.2	1.3
Age (average, in years)				
One transaction	(42.7)	(46.2)	(46)	(49.2)
First of multiple transactions	(35.4)	(37.5)	(44.5)	Nd
Last transaction	(42.5)	(42.5)	(48.1)	Nd
Civil status				
Single	32.7	36.2	13.3	14.3
Married	61.2	53.4	83.3	71.4
Birthplace				
Portugal	75.6	63.0	45.5	50.0
Brazil (including Santos)	20.0	34.8	51.5	50.0
Santos	15.6	17.4	33.3	43.8
Europe	4.4	4.3	0.0	0.0
Occupation ^{*1}				
Business	73.7	71.2	61.8	64.7
Public Office	10.5	20.3	34.2	26.5
Farming	14.0	15.3	5.3	11.8
Army	7.0	13.6	14.5	14.7
Total number of individuals	(N=179)	(N=219)	(N=138)	(N=151)
Number of coded individuals	(N=100)	(N=105)	(N=111)	(N=63)
Number with demographic information	(N=53)	(N=60)	(N=35)	(N=17)
Number of slaves in transactions	(N=396)	(N=398)	(N=242)	(N=242)

²⁴ Why the buyer was typical, this tax record is unusual. It reads: “On 28 January 1841, José Francisco Valença paid 20 mil-reis for the slave tax (*meia-sisa*), corresponding to 400 mil-reis, the price paid to João Batista Rodrigues da Silva, who acted as proctor for Dr. José Ignacio Silveira da Motta, for a slave named Benedito, a butcher, who belonged to Manoel Mina and who grants permission for the sale.” Was Manoel Mina the slave that João Batista bought in 1832? João Batista does not appear in the manumission records from this period so we cannot conclude that the slave was freed. When Manoel was purchased by João Batista, he was described in the tax record as *ladino* (an acculturated African), giving a little more weight to the idea that the Manoel purchased in 1832 was the same Manoel Mina who sold a slave nine years later. [*meia-sisa*, 1832, add page], [*meia-sisa*, 1832, 36]

Notes: *1) these numbers may add up to more than 100% because many individuals had more than one occupation (i.e., a farmer who was also a army coronel)

Sources: 1832-1859: AESP, *Meia-siza*; 1861-1873: PCS, *Escritorios*

Demographically, sellers differed from buyers in that they were a bit older, more likely to be single, Brazilian born, and in an occupation other than business. This seems unlike who we might imagine would be traveling with slaves for sale: the slave peddler in his 20s or 30s, of Portuguese descent (and Portuguese connections) traveling from Rio with a coffle of slaves. Instead the tax lists are filled with sellers such as José Martins do Monte: 42 years old, born in the interior of São Paulo, married, and a trader of sugar and coffee. Or there is Brigadier José Olinto de Carvalho e Silva: married, born in São Paulo capital, and 67 years old when he sold Felisbina in 1843.²⁵ Just as purchasing a slave might have continued to provide a small income if the buyer became incapacitated, older men and women might have been compelled to sell their slaves to provide income for dowries or their retirement. Slaves required an amount of capital that came to many only at the peak of a lifetime of earnings, thus the trade was directed by many people were considered at the time to have been remarkably old.

The high number of Portuguese born was a result of the high waves of Portuguese immigrants who arrived in Brazil before and after Independence. No one knows for sure how many came, but according to the number of witnesses at court trials of Portuguese birth, those that did come dominated business life in Brazilian port towns like Santos.²⁶ As the number of buyers and sellers who had been born in Santos was less than 20% of all buyers and sellers, most *Santistas* could not afford to buy slaves and few had slaves to sell. Political tensions existed between Santista and Portuguese factions in town, partly because of the larger stake that Portuguese *estrangeiros* [foreigners] had in the town business life.²⁷

The buyers and sellers of the 1860s and 1870s remain similar to the buyers and sellers of the 40s and 50s: most were married, older, and involved in business. But there are also a few noticeable changes. First, the dominance of the Portuguese born residents in the slave trade diminishes. Many more buyers and sellers the bills of sale

²⁵ AESP, *Meia-siza*, October, 1842 and August, 1843; CCSS, *Processos Judiciais*, Vol. 81, p.10, and Vol 87, p. 53.

²⁶ From a sample of 319 trials with 1706 witnesses (with many individuals repeating). CCSS, *Processos Judiciais*, Vols. 13, 16, 48-52, 79-94.

²⁷ Souza (1922), p. 145.

were born in Brazil and slightly less than half had been born in Santos. Second, there were more minor public officials among the sellers reflecting the growth of the municipal government. Of the many businessmen, we can find more of these names in the business and political almanacs, giving more detail to the type of business that they pursued. Men involved in the coffee trade were most common, either as owners of commission houses or warehouses, but there were also small shopkeepers and owners of banks, restaurants, and factories. Third, the number of farmers involved in trading slaves diminished to a small number, especially among the slave buyers, while army officers bought and sold slaves more often.²⁸ Finally, a higher proportion of farmers in the county were selling their slaves than buying. This runs contrary to the idea that one of the important migratory shift of slaves brought by the coffee boom and heightening prices was a shift from urban to rural areas in São Paulo.²⁹ Many slaves were being sold from the town into the coffee highlands, as we will see later in the chapter, but within the county the prices being offered by masters who wished to work their slaves at the port may have been attractive to the many cassava and *aguardente* farmers.

Slave profiles

Between 1832 and 1858, most slaves bought and sold were young men and boys often separated from their families but sometimes also sold with their parents, brothers and sisters. Nearly two-thirds of the 398 slaves for which a tax was paid were males and 43% children under the age of 16 (*table 2*). The slave tax lists contain far less information about the slaves than the bills of sales or the advertisements, but we know from other sources that many these men and boys were put to work cutting cane, digging manioc fields, sewing rice paddies, cleaning homes and cooking, or hauling bags of sugar or coffee between carts, warehouses and waiting ships. Many were taken on and trained as masons, cobblers, coach drivers, carpenters, tinsmiths and a myriad of other occupations. Many of them spoke with African accents and could tell the story of how they were captured and endured the middle passage. In fact, a little more than half of them had been born in Africa and many came from the

²⁸ AESP, *Meia-siza*, 1832-1859; PCS, *Escritórios*, 1861-1873.

²⁹ [Chaloub, year]. This was true in the US. See [Wade, year], [Golden, year]

“nations” or ports of Angola, Benguela, Congo and Mozambique.³⁰ The rest had been born in Brazil, but the specific location was never noted in this source.³¹

Table 2. Demographics, Birthplaces, and Occupation of Transacted Slaves

	Slave tax	Bills of sale	Advertisements
years of source	1832 - 1859	1861 - 1873	1851 - 1873
Gender (percent)			
Male	66.8	56.2	53.8
Female	33.2	43.8	46.2
Age (average, in years)	24.2	25.7	19.9
Children (percent)*	43.2	21.1	23.1
Place of birth (percent)			
Location listed	49.7	84.7	34.6
África	54.5	26.3	17.8
Brazil	44.9	72.7	82.2
Santos	0.0	22.9	0.0
Race (percent)			
Race listed	6.8	85.5	26.2
Preto	18.5	72.0	67.6
Pardo	11.1	22.7	17.6
Mulato	63.0	0.5	8.8
Occupation (percent)			
Job listed	2.5	73.9%	63.8
Domestic servants	0.0	30.3%	20.0
Cooks	0.0	5.6%	7.7
Artisans	50.0	7.9%	6.2
Farming	0.0	13.5%	7.7
Other	0.0	3.4%	10.0
No particular skills	0.0	43.8%	12.3
Total number	398	242	130

* children are defined as 15 years of age or below.

Sources: Slave Tax: *Meia-siza*, AESP, 1832-1859; Bills of Sale: *Escritórios* 1861-1873; Advertisements: *Revista Commercial*, 1851-1873

During the period covered by the bills of sales and advertisements, men remain the most traded, but gap between males and female slaves narrowed. There were fewer children exchanged and the average age of slaves remained unchanged in the

³⁰ Or had departed Africa from ports in these nations.

³¹ There were also a small number who had been born in the Azores and had probably accompanied Portuguese immigrants. AESP, *Meia-siza*, 1832-1859.

mid-twenties, but the advertised slaves were five years younger. Brazilian born slaves of both genders began to outnumber Africans as a result of the end of the international slave trade. The bills and advertisements give some evidence that there were increasingly more slave domestic servants in the market, probably because more people could afford to buy them. Coffee wealth also enlarged the demand for products and services offered by retailers, jobs occasionally given to trusted slaves. Finally, more exports and imports meant more tax revenue, a larger government and more government officials who could afford to buy slaves. Many men and women still believed a slave or two were necessary for joining the middle to upper-middle groups in society.³²

Race was also often noted in all of the slave tax records, bills of sale and advertisements. The main categories included *pretos* (blacks), *pardos* (browns), *mulattos* (mixed parentage and/or brown). Before the 1850's the word *preto* could be used interchangeably with the word slave.³³ The tax records often excluded mention of race unless a slave was not dark skinned, since listing slaves as *preto* was redundant. *Mulatto* was often used in the taxes and it had a greater connotation of ancestry and blood and bespoke of European or indigenous parents or grandparents. By the second half of the century, the congruence of race and ancestry appears to have been replaced by a greater emphasis on slaves' skin color and physical qualities. Africans were no longer as prevalent and many more slaves had grandparents or even more distant lineages in Brazil. For this reason and the fact that there were large waves of internal slave migration, it became harder for people to equate race with family heritage and ancestry. By the second half of the century, owners and government officials were more willing to classify slaves by phenotype. This is the case in the bills of sale and the advertisements with their careful notations of who had lighter and darker skin. The bills of sales have a higher number of *pretos* than the advertisements but this is probably because owners wished to save money at the newspaper office and only noted the more unusual traits of the slaves they wished to sell.³⁴

A number of factors affected the prices of slaves. Several variables—age, gender, occupation, and race—can be connected to varying prices of groups of slaves.

³² [Karasch, 1989],[Frank, 2004]

³³ + Add secondary sources that confirm this. REFERENCE LIBBY/FILHO, MATTOS DE CASTRO, OTHER MANUMISSION STUDY FOLKS

³⁴ Hemeroteca de Santos, *Revista Comercial*, 1850-1873.

Other character cannot be discerned well from the documents: healthiness, physical beauty and attractiveness (especially for female slaves), manners and disposition, evidence of punishment, and whatever personal history the seller (or slave) was willing to reveal in pre-sale interviews. As Walter Johnson has argued for the New Orleans slave market, what slave-owners “projected onto their slaves’ bodies served them as public reflections of their own discernment: they were the arbiters of bearing and beauty; their slaves were the show pieces of their pretensions . . .”³⁵ The image that owners carefully cultivated with their slaves earned them respect among some and fulfilled their idea of a “proper” place. But it is easy to go too far with this idea, since many owners looked first and foremost for specific skills and jobs that the slave could perform. For example, there were a much higher number of advertisements seeking slave wet nurses than advertisements offering these women. Owners could not always afford to be picky when it came to the outward appearance of a slave.³⁶

Buyers enriched by the coffee economy sought slaves after the moment in which the steady flow of African slaves had been forcibly ended. The consequence was a precipitous increase in prices, a nearly three-fold increase of slave prices in the slave tax lists and bills of sale and an almost two-fold increase of prices in the inheritance records (inventories; see *table 3*). On the demand side, the growth of coffee and cotton agriculture in São Paulo province, the entry of thousands of immigrants, and the improved road between Santos and the interior gave an enormous boost to the number of men and women who purchased slaves. Considering supply, the enforced halt of the international slave trade by the British in 1850 brought an end to a relatively inexpensive and abundant supply of African slaves. Prices of all categories of slaves altered: females became nearly as expensive as males, average prices of children increased as percent of the total average, and prices of Africans dropped steeply relative to Brazilians. Buyers increasingly wanted slaves that could perform housework and women and children were sometimes preferred over adult men for these jobs. Adult men were needed to haul the multiplying numbers of coffee bags between carts and warehouse and, after 1869, from locomotive cars. Prices of slaves born in Brazil rose steeply relative to Africans, but origins were not the driving factor. With the end of African slave imports, there were fewer younger men and women

³⁵ Johnson (1999), 155.

³⁶ Hemeroteca de Santos, *Revista Comercial*, 1850-1873.

among the African slaves. While the average prices of African slaves in the second half of the century edged closer to the average price of slaves over 30 years old, the prices for African remained remarkably high.³⁷

*Table 3. Average Slave Prices (mil-reis*1)*

	1831-1850			1861-1870		
	Slave Taxes	Inventories	Taxes/ Inventories	Bills of Sale	Inventories	Bills/ Inventories
All	366	245	67%	983	644	66%
Gender						
Males	387	245	63%	996	743	75%
Females	328	244	74%	974	532	55%
Age						
1-15 years	262	159	61%	864	290*2	34%
16-30 years	443	224	51%	1151	893	78%
31+	292	196	67%	781	551	71%
Race						
Pretos	nd	Nd		975	nd	
Mulattos	331	159	48%	nd	nd	
Pardos	nd	Nd		990	678*3	69%
Place of birth						
Africa	388	247	64%	818	577	71%
Brazil	316	217	69%	1009	558	55%
Occupation						
With skill	nd	367		1000	890	89%
Without skill	nd	nd		1006	nd	
Artisians	nd	nd		1146	nd	
Domestics	nd	nd		1035	nd	
no information	360	239	66%	946	575	61%
Total	(N=182)	(N=210)		(N=216)	(N=60)	

Notes: *1) all prices have been deflated using the official gold-sterling/reis exchange with 1850 as the base year; *2) includes only nine slaves; *3) six slaves.

Sources: Taxes: AESP, *Meia-siza*, 1832-1859; Bills of sale: PCS and FAMS, *Escritórios (Bill of Sales)*, 1860-1871

The prices of a diversity of slaves over different years in the Santos inheritance records were about two-thirds of the price in the taxes and bills of sale. The inheritance records included inventories, lists of assessed property used to divide property among heirs. Historians have increasingly used these detailed documents to gauge changes in the slave market and wealth holding.³⁸ Compared to the slave taxes

³⁷ AESP, *Meia-sizas*, 1832-1859; PCS, *Escritórios*, 1861-1873.

³⁸ [Mattoso, 1992], [Frank, 2004]

and bills of sales, the inventory prices range between 51% (for slaves of prime working age) and 74% (females) during the first period. For the second period, the difference between these sources is even more striking: between 31% (for slave children, although the sample is too small) and 89% (slaves aged 16-30). This is further evidence that buyers and sellers transacted the slaves with lower prices under the radar of tax officials and without bills of sale. Buyers and sellers of expensive slaves were more likely to look for guarantees that the transaction could be backed by a court of law if necessary. As a consequence, the slave taxes and bills of sales are slightly biased towards more expensive slaves. There does not appear to be one particular group that is over- or underrepresented in these documents and the proportional differences between each of the categories, including gender, age, race and occupations, are quite similar between all three sources. These price differences also points to bias in the inventories.³⁹

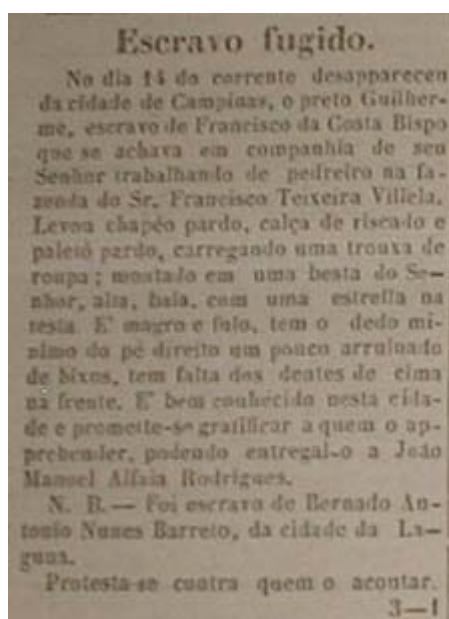
While prices can be understood within the forces of supply and demand of the larger market, the slave transactions themselves, including the slave or slaves being sold, the background of the buyer and seller and their intentions all joined together in a very intricate manner that followed no predictable rules or model. Take, for example Francisco da Costa Bispo, a man who spent two years in town and bought a handful of slaves before he headed to the coffee growing areas of interior São Paulo. In August 1864, he bought Gregorio, a native of a small southern port of Espírito Santo and a farmer (*roça*) who had been previously owned by a man who ran a coffee and cotton commission house. Bispo bought several more slaves over the next year and a half including Guilherme, a 17 year-old native of Brazil without a skill or trade, and a 40 year old African mason named Paulo. This slave trader also entered into a rare slaves-for-slaves trade with the town butcher Henrique Ablas. Bispo exchanged Maria (25 years old, native of Iguape) and her lighter skinned 10 year old daughter Catarina for one of Ablas' slave, also named Catarina (35 years old, from Mozambique).⁴⁰ Bispo then left Santos and traveled with this small coffle of slaves and maybe others up the steep highway towards the city of Campinas but, before they arrived, Guilherme escaped on the back of a stolen mule. Bispo had the idea that Guilherme was

³⁹ CCSS, *Inventarios*, 1832-1871. [+ ADD: Look at Zephyr's book here to describe some reasons why slave prices in inventories might have been lower than the market averages

⁴⁰ CCSS, *Escritorios*, Vol. 24, pgs. 146, 197, 202, 205.

returning to Santos and, like many other owners of the interior looking for their runaways, he placed an advertisement in the Santos newspaper asking readers to look for a tall black man with “a straw hat, checkered patterned pants and black jacket, carrying a bundle of clothing, and with a small star branded on his forehead.” He added that Guilherme was “skinny and dark (*fulo*) with a small toe that had been scarred by worms and a smile that lacked the top front teeth.”⁴¹ Bispo listed the Spanish vice-consul to Santos as the local contact in case Guilherme giving a clue that Bispo may have been Spanish immigrant himself.⁴²

Figure 1. Francisco da Costa Bispo’s advertisement for the runaway Guilherme



Source: Hemeroteca, *Revista Commercial*, 9/1865

The transactions that occurred between town residents within town were more common and may have had less monetary risk because traders often entered into trades with people who they knew in other ways. Bento, a tanner and a slave of 50

⁴¹ Hemeroteca, *Revista Commercial*, 9/1865.

⁴² we can speculate a little on the financial side of the story. When Bispo entered Santos he had at least two slaves with him and several thousand *mil-reis*. He may have worked during this period, earning enough to spend 4200 *mil-reis* for the three slaves he bought. He left for Campinas with four or more slaves, but Guilherme’s escape probably eliminated any profits that Bispo had hoped to earn.⁴² Even if Guilherme had been captured and returned, he would have had to give a reward of 50 – 100 *mil-reis* to the captor and pay for Guilherme’s food and transport. [+Add Compare these Santos prices to Campinas prices in Slenes to see if there is a profit]

years with lighter brown eyes, tight curly hair and a full face, was bought by João Bernardes Perreira from João Bernardino de Lima in June of 1869.⁴³ Since Bento's skills had little to do the coffee business, he was probably rented out to a leather shop in town. Soon after the sale, Bento was captured by the town's patrol while as he tried to escape and he was put in jail for 17 days.⁴⁴ Bento may have not liked his new owner or found out that his owner planned on sending or selling him out of the city, but whatever the reason, there is a connection between his sale and his runaway attempt. Both his previous and new owner ran a coffee and cotton commission house out of the same building on Rua Septentrional. Not only were João Perreira and João Bernardino de Lima neighbors and in the same business, each had a young wife and maybe a few young children. The price for Bento was extremely low, only 400 *mil-reis* compared to the average price of 600 *mil-reis* for slaves with same characteristics.⁴⁵ Perhaps Bento had broken rules before his sale, a fact that Lima used to lower the price. But there is also evidence that friendship or an exchange of favors might have been in play in this transaction. By selling Bento at more than a 50% the normal price, was Lima (who was also five years older) extending patronage to Perreira? If it was friendship, Bento was certainly not endeared by this act as he served his term.

Acquaintances assisted in other sales. Antonio Bento de Andrade, who worked in the small town post office, sold Luisa, a *parda* of 45 years, to Maria do Carmo Marques Lopes in 1865. Maria Lopes bought Luisa to help her in clean her house and cooking and, perhaps more importantly, to signal to her friends and neighbors that she had entered the slaveowning world. No other slaves of Maria Lopes appear before or after this time in any other sources and so it seems likely that a slave could have been beyond her resources. Indeed, two years later, Maria Lopes sold Luiza to one of Andrade's postal colleagues, Luiz Pimenta.⁴⁶ Pimenta and Andrade were two of five men working for the post office listed in the 1865 almanac. For both sales, Luiza was sold for less than 50% of the average price for a slave of her age and occupation, although it might have been true that some characteristic, such as a disability, kept her price low. Another explanation is that Andrade and Pimenta were friends in the

⁴³ PCS, *Escritórios*, June, 1869.

⁴⁴ Academia da Policia Civil de São Paulo (APCSP) [+CHECK THIS NAME], *Registro de Presos*, 1868-1872, June, 1868.

⁴⁵ The average price is based on nine male slaves, aged 40-60 sold within a few years of Bento's sale.

⁴⁶ PCS, *Escritórios*, 3/1867; CCSS, vol. 24, pg 198.

post office and one or both had a close relationship with Maria Lopes. As a consequence of this series of relationships, Luisa was traded at a very low price through the three of them. Another clue that affection (or patronage) was at work in this transaction is the fact that Pimenta wrote up a manumission letter for Luiza ten years later.⁴⁷ This may have freed him from his obligation to provide for her in her old age or may have allowed him to change the terms with a person with whom he had created a close relationship with. There were no conditions listed in the manumission letter.⁴⁸

For these three owners, Luiza was the only slave to appear in any of the sale records. Likewise is the case of Bento the tanner his buyer João Bernardino de Lima. In both examples, the price of the slave was far below the average for similar slaves possibly a result of friendship that mitigated the average market prices. Buyers were more likely to buy a slave far over the market price if they only appeared in the tax lists or bills of sale only once or if it was their first time buying (*Table 4*). Conversely, sellers were more likely to sell a slave far under the market price if they only listed one transaction or if it was the first of multiple sales. Buyers and sellers became savvier in finding a price that conformed to the market as they bought and sold more. By their final transaction, these repeat buyers and sellers tended to buy or sell their price that was much closer to the average price of slaves with similar gender, age, race and occupation characteristics.⁴⁹ Single transaction or first-time buyers and sellers may have also been more likely to buy or sell slaves that had some unlisted characteristic that lowered the price, such as a physical disability or illness. Or these buyers may have ulterior motives in purchasing a slave, which may have been the case for the two neighbors João Perreira and João de Lima or for the two postmen and Luisa.

Table 4. Average deviations of purchase or sale prices from market prices.

	1830-1850		1850-1870	
	Deviation from market average	Number of slaves	Deviation from market average	Number of slaves
Buyers				
First or single purchase	-6	23	-29	93
Repeat purchases	-3	33	-21	42
Last purchase	nd		-16	40

⁴⁷ PCS, *Escritórios (Cartas de Alforria)*, 5/1875.

⁴⁸ [+Add new information from manumission records]

⁴⁹ AESP, *Meia-siza*, 1832-1859; PCS, *Escritórios*, 1861-1873.

Sellers				
First or single sale	-32	21	-90	56
Repeat sales	4	36	2	102
Last sale	nd		34	17

Note:

Slaves were sometimes admitted into the hospital shortly after they were purchased. Benedito entered the hospital one year after he was bought by Forjaz & Sá, Cia, to be treated with smallpox during an epidemic year. Benedito's illness was unusually prolonged and he stayed for more than a month before he was released.⁵⁰ Caetano entered the hospital two years after he bought suffering from tuberculosis, but returned to his owner and work one week later.⁵¹ Other slaves were not as lucky. Felicidade, who tended to a fruit and vegetable garden owned by a Portuguese immigrant and resident in town, came down with symptoms of dropsy in the late fall of 1869. She died one week after she was brought to the hospital, most likely causing her owner José Antonio de Souza Guimarães anguish over his dead servant and a lost investment.⁵²

Of the small handful of slaves who are found in both the tax or sale records and the hospital records, all of them entered one year or more after they were purchased. None appear to have entered with conditions that they may have had before their sale. There are not enough examples to draw a definitive answer, then, to whether some sellers were successful at hiding the illnesses of their slaves up for sale.⁵³ But since the majority of sales were between townsmen who most likely knew one another or had friends or family who could give additional information about the seller, there was smaller chance that such facts could be hidden as they might have been in larger cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Havana or New Orleans.

Other slaves besides Felicidade died shortly after being bought. For example, Francisco, a slave bought by the Pinheiro & Ferreira company, was killed by a "disaster" three months after the transaction. Felipa died of dysentery while another slave named Francisco drowned in the harbor, both within two years of their purchases by different owners. On the other hand, some slaves remained with their

⁵⁰ Archivo da Santa Casa de Misericórdia (ASCM), *livro de patentes*, p. 44, #8683.

⁵¹ ASCM, *livro de patentes*, p. 55, #9139.

⁵² ASCM, *livro de patentes*, p. 71, #9825.

⁵³ Johnson (1999), p. 155

buyers for many years before they died. João, was 28 years when he was bought by Henrique Porchat in 1840. He died and was buried in the town cemetery 33 years later, with “old age” carefully noted as the cause of death. He would have been 61 years old on his death, exactly as was recorded by the cemetery register.⁵⁴

There were also slaves who ran away before and after their sale. We already know of Guilherme who escaped by stealing Francisco da Costa Bispo’s mule while on route to Campinas. Some unsuccessful acts of flight prompted owners to put their rebellious slave up for sale. Elias ran away in September 1863, returned or was captured, and was placed for sale two months later. His owner was Pedro Savary, one of the town’s bakers, described Elias in an advertisement for his capture as “a well-known vendor who works beside the Itororó Fountain.” There were only three small fountains in town; this description would have brought Elias to mind for many of the journal’s readers. Elias’s subsequent sale was inexplicably undone: there is a bill of sale written up in December transferring Elias to José Guimarães but, less than a year later, another bill of sale again selling Elias but with Savary, not Guimarães, as the seller.⁵⁵ Did Elias run away from Guimarães, forcing Savary to return the money to Guimarães and cancel the sale? The documents give us no answers, but it appears likely that there is a connection between Elias’ unusual sale and his attempts at escape.

When Elias was sold for the second time, he was sold along with another slave named Alexandre who was quite similar to Elias. Both were born in Bahia, in their early 20s, *preto* and listed as able to bake bread or work in a farm. We do not know how long Elias remained with the new owners, a coffee commission company called Oliveira & Sá, but Alexandre was still owned by the company ten years later when he was brought into the hospital suffering from syphilis. He remained for several weeks and recovered but was admitted again several years later with liver disease. He remained there for a month before he died.⁵⁶ Elias probably felt a great loss when heard of Alexandre’s death, because the relationship they had must have been strong—they had shared two previous masters, knew of each other through large life transitions and shared a similar background. Their relationship evolved as they

⁵⁴ FAMS, *registro de cemitério*, 9/1869; ASCM, *livro de patentes*, p. 40, #8501

⁵⁵ CCSS, *escritórios*, Vol. 24, pgs. 112, 146; Hemeroteca, *Revista Comercial* 10/1863.

⁵⁶ FAMS, *escritórios*, Vol. 24, p. 146; ASCM, *livro de patentes*, p. 125, #12059 and # 526 (4/1881).

passed through various institutions that were becoming more prominent in town life. Moreover, the second half of the century also brought new mediums of information, such as the newspaper, that had brought new consequences to their actions.

Slave networks and network nexuses

As many of these stories have shown, there was a network of relationships that guided the sales of slaves. Slaves were traded between people with business or occupation ties, such as the two men who ran coffee commission businesses in the same building or between the two postmen. We also know that families had a stake in guiding slaves. Within the network of relationships that connected a majority of buyers and sellers and stretched across the town and the region, there were key agents, important traders who contributed enormously to the cohesiveness of the trading network. They were the anchoring points of a structure that displayed areas of semi-homogeneity and had a strong effect on what slaves were traded between whom.

The bills of sale permit an analysis of this market structure since it lists the proctors and intermediaries between sales. Slave trading in Brazil and other parts of the world often involved intermediaries. Slaves were expensive to most people and buyers and sellers had to depend on specialists who were familiar with the process of transacting slaves and who knew the right people to obtain a slave that fit the wants of the buyer (or who could convince the buyer that the slave was suited to his or her “needs”). The network of men and women that existed in Santos during the 1860s can be illustrated using computer programs that are often in the toolbox of sociologists working on network theory.⁵⁷ These tools have powerful ways of analyzing network density and identifying central individuals, but their best feature is their ability to visualize a pattern of activity and relationships that is nearly impossible to see in the sources alone. *Figure 2* visualizes a network created by buyers, sellers and proctors that appeared in the bills of sale. The diagram brings to light the position of various buyers and sellers in respect to the entire community of traders. The arrows represent the sale of one or more slaves between two individuals (represented by the points) between 1861 and 1870. The arrow follows the direction of the slave in the transaction, unidirectional for sales and bidirectional for trades. Squares were placed

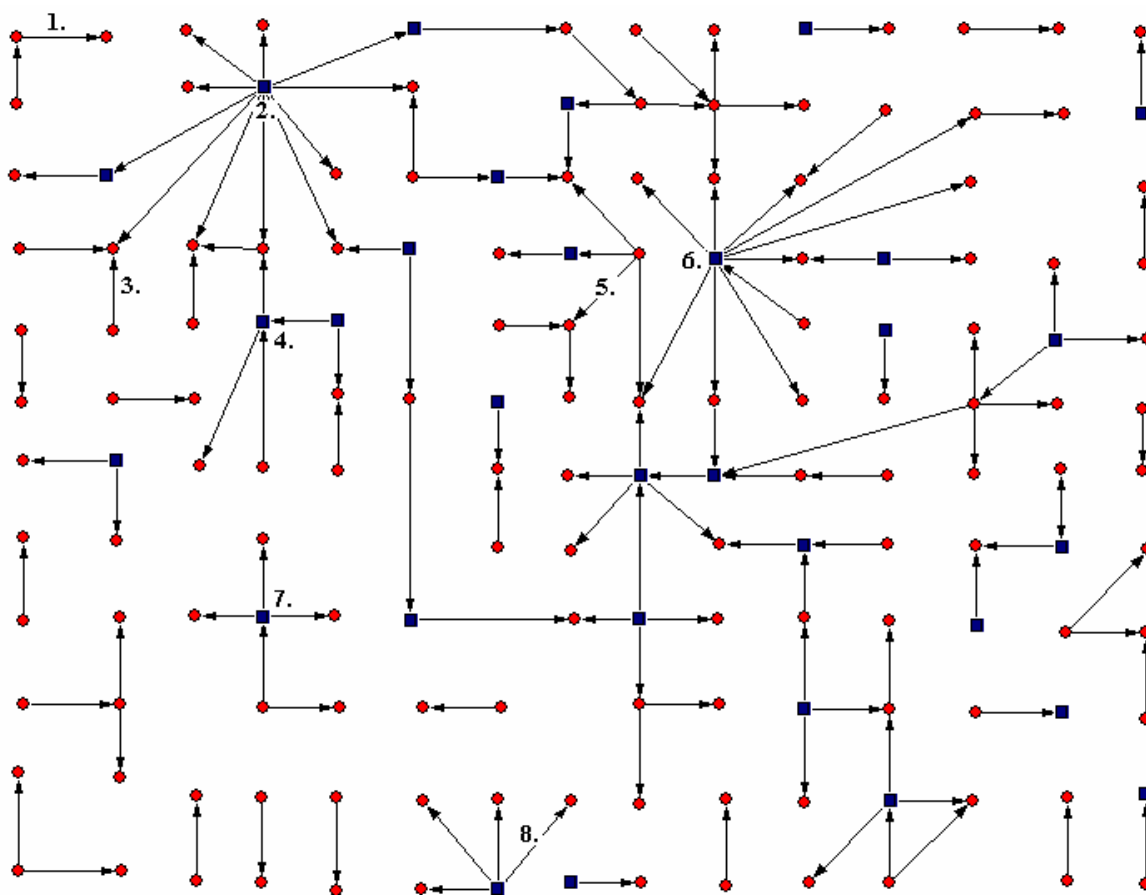
⁵⁷ We used Pajek to create networks for this project. It is available for free at <http://vlado.fmf.uni-lj.si/pub/networks/pajek>

over individuals who acted as proctors between buyers and sellers, but these same men also may have bought or sold slaves directly themselves.

As the network shows, the majority of men and women who bought and sold slaves were in networks much larger than their single transaction.⁵⁸ Since only men and women who have been found in other sources or to have repeated in the sales sources were coded, there were many others who were excluded. Thus, the network represented in *Figure 2*, albeit dense and complicated, is only a small part of a larger network that must have existed.

Figure 2. Network of Buyers and Sellers Involved in Slave Transactions, 1861 – 1870 (arrows represent the direction of sale, dots are buyers or sellers, and squares are individuals who served as proctors)

⁵⁸ Except for individuals connected by lines representing their slave trades, the points are arbitrarily positioned. For example, the slave Luisa, Maria do Carmo and the two postmen (number 1 in the diagram) are located near Gregorio Freitas' network but that does not mean there is a relationship between the two groups.



1) Luisa (slave of Postmen Antonio Bento de Andrade and Luiz Pimenta, and Maria do Carmo); 2) Gregorio Innocenio de Freitas (Portuguese businessman and the most connected trader) 3) Bento the tanner (slave of João Bernardes Perreira and João Bernardino de Lima); 4) Dona Cândida de Oliveira Pinto Hayden (wife of British Cônsul John Hayden); 5) Benedito (slave of Forjaz, Sá and Company); 6) Scipião Ferreira Goulart Junqueira, (town vicar and second most connected individual); 7) José Justiano Bittencourt (slave dealer on Rua Direita); and 8) Elias (slave of Pedro Savary the baker).

Source: PCS and FAMS, *Escritorios (Bill of Sales)*, 1860-1871

There were key individuals that we can identify as having important roles in this network and for being highly active in trading slaves. Captain Gregorio Innocenio de Freitas (number 2 in *Figure 2*) and Father Scipião Ferreira Goulart Junqueira (number 6) were the most connected individuals and each was involved in ten or more transactions. Captain Freitas operated a coffee commission house on Rua São Bento, but must have also made a considerable part of his income from slaves. He lived in both Santos and Iguape, a smaller port town 50 miles south and he profited from having connections in both cities. He served as proctor for many sellers in Iguape and buyers in Santos and most of his slaves had been born in Iguape or another town on

the southern coast of São Paulo.⁵⁹ The other highly connected slave trader, Father Junqueira, listed Santos as his primary residence, but his job as town vicar took him to other parts of the county and state. He administered wills and testaments and was privy to estate assets before they were sold in auctions or sales.⁶⁰ Most important, his “clientel” and the slaves that he proctored differed in various ways from those of Gregorio Freitas because of their dissimilar personal characteristics, occupations, and positions within the slave trade network.

The groups of buyers, sellers and clients of these two men shared traits and bought particular slaves that were similar to one another. There was a greater degree of homogeneity among owners and slaves that had one or two degrees of separation then between men and women further removed. The regional slave network, then, was characteristic of what might be called a network nexus, or a group of people who shared traits and seek similar slaves partly due to their common relationships. Two network nexuses can be identified with Gregorio Freitas and Scipão Joqueira at their centers. As listed in *Table 4*, many of the men and women who bought slaves from or using the services of Gregorio Freitas (or from someone connected to him through a sale) had been born in Portugal and were involved in similar commercial pursuits.⁶¹ In fact, four others shared with Freitas the business of coffee and cotton commission houses. The slaves they bought were mostly male, *preto*, Brazilian-born and listed “without skills.” A large number come from Iguape, a port town 150 kilometers to the south and many others are from other southern coastal towns.

Table 4. Two Network nexuses

Mini-networks of:	Captain Gregorio Innocenio de Freitas	Vicar Scipião Ferreira Goulart Junqueira
Owner characteristics		
Individuals with occupation information	83%	60%
Individuals with	50%	40%

⁵⁹ [+ADD SOURCE CITATION]

⁶⁰ [+ADD SOURCE CITATION] [+ mention also that he administered two inventories and one testament, look at these people]

⁶¹ Much of the biographical information about these buyers and sellers is from business court cases (unrelated to these slave transactions) where they gave their age, civil status, and profession while testifying. Additional information on occupation was found by matching names to the town almanac.

birthplace information		
Born in Santos	33%	60%
Born in Portugal	67%	0%
Commision house operator	42%	20%
Business occupation	75%	50%
Slave characteristics		
Male slaves	69%	50%
Preto	92%	90%
Brazilian born	92%	90%
Born in Iguape	42%	10%
Born in África	8%	10%
Listed “without skills”	60%	25%
Domestic servant	33%	50%
Total	(N=12)	(N=10)
[+Add source here]		

Turning to the nexus of Father Junqueira, there are far fewer men and women of Portuguese birth and less information about these people overall.⁶² The few that do have occupation information were mostly army officers, public officials, and lawyers. The vicar even proctored a sale of a young slave to a former slave and African of birth with the single name of Ambrozio. The slaves that these men bought from Father Junqueira were from a greater range of places, yet it appears that the vicar also had a connection to a few towns along the coast. There are more females among these slaves, more domestic servants, and far fewer slaves listed “without a trade.”⁶³ A townsman who bought a slave with the vicar’s help was often looking for a maid, while those who went to the captain preferred a strong hand to haul coffee bags. Stronger slaves were priced higher and so the prices of the Captains slaves were on the average higher than the vicar’s slaves despite the fact that there fewer slaves of prime working age.

The structural cohesion within this network lent a degree of demographic and occupational similarity that, like a palimpsest, layered both masters and their slaves. The small networks of these men, both which were connected to one another in the wider network, had nexuses of cohesion that were embedded in these series of relationships and which extended to the slaves that they traded. These men and

⁶² The fact that there is less biographical information about these men indicates that they appeared less in the judicial records or business almanacs. Since the majority of the judicial records were related to business contracts, this gives further indication that the vicar’s clientel was a less business oriented group of people, where this information is available.

⁶³ [ADD SOURCE CITATION]

women exchanged slaves with friends, colleagues, and neighbors and if they did not know each other through family, job or association ties, than the sale created a connection. The owners were not the only ones to belong to a group of people with whom these shared a familiarity. Imagine friendly or caring exchanges between *Iguapeiro* slaves when they saw each other on the streets. Both Santos and Iguape were small enough at this time to permit this common background to be a reason for conversation or, at least, recognition.

The geography of the slave trade

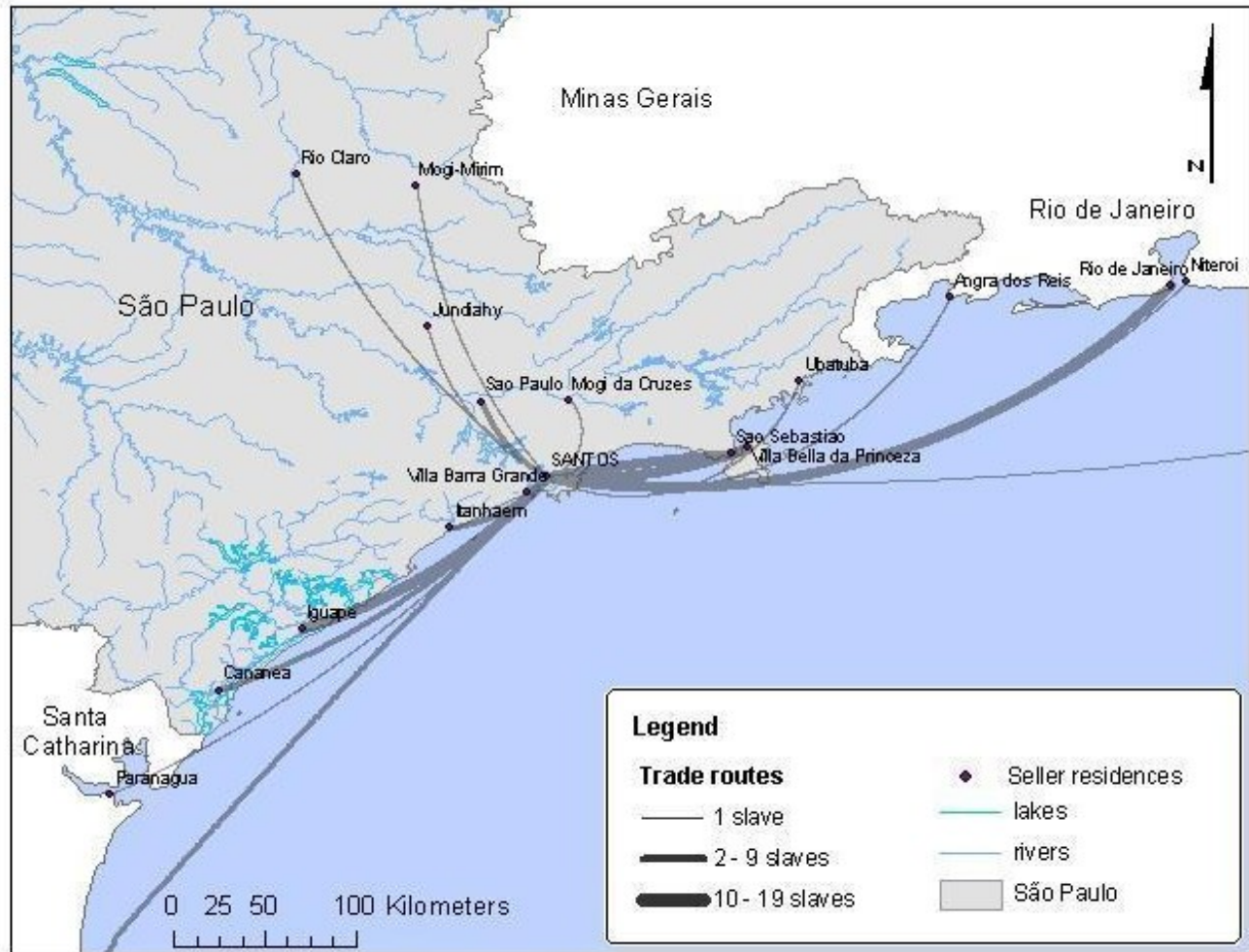
Both the town vicar and the coffee commissioner, while demonstrating many differences between themselves and the slaves they administered, had connections to markets the stretched south along the southern coast of São Paulo. This was one of three principal areas where non-resident slave sellers lived and it included the coastal towns of Itanhaem, Iguape, Cananea, and towns in the southern provinces such as Paranaguá, Desterro (today Florinópolis) and São Francisco do Sul (see *Figure 4*). Another smaller region was the interior of São Paulo with its slave sellers from Jundiahy, Mogi-Mirim and Rio Claro but this region bought many more slaves than they sold. The third and most important region was from the immediate coastal north, such as São Sebastião or Villa Bella da Princeza both within county borders, and from the more distant northern coast such as Ubatuba, Angra dos Reis and Rio de Janeiro.⁶⁴ The transfer of thousands of slaves from the Northeast down to the coffee growing regions of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo after the end of the international slave trade has long held importance in the history of Brazilian slavery. There is evidence here that the sellers from towns and cities to the north of Santos were acting as middlemen to sellers from Bahia, Pernambuco and other Northeastern provinces. On the other hand, the sale of slave from the sugar growing parts of Santos County was far more evident during the 1860s than slaves from Rio de Janeiro or beyond. The majority of slaves sold into Santos by *Carioca* (resident of Rio de Janeiro) sellers were not born in the northeast, rather they were African.⁶⁵ The long emphasis on the

⁶⁴ [+ADD SOURCE CITATION]

⁶⁵ Just because a slave was born in Africa does not mean he or she was not being exported south from the Northeast via Rio de Janeiro. But it is surprising that only two slaves of the group of slaves sold by sellers resident to Rio de Janeiro were born in the Northeast. Perhaps another more common route for these this large inter-provincial and southern transfer was inland along the Parahiba Valley.

internal transfer of slaves from the Northeast to the South overshadow the large transfer of slaves from southern provinces such as São Pedro (today Rio Grande do Sul), Santa Catarina, Paraná, and locally transferred slaves. Finally, as is evident in the bills of sale in Santos, slave markets were never unidirectional and even though slaves were in great demand in the expanding coffee zones, slaves were still sold from inland areas to the coast and beyond.

Figure 4. Regional trade routes, 1861-1870



[+ADD SOURCE CITATION]

Slaves followed the same routes as the merchandise that ships carried from both the south and the north. On the average, there was one ship entering or departing on the tides on any given day during the 1860s. They traveled to and from the same places where most of the slave sellers in the bills of sales resided and worked. The first stop for many coastal ships was São Sebastião and Villa Bella, while Itanhaem and Iguape were small entrepôts on route to the larger cities of the south such as Desterro, the capital of Santa Catharina, or Porto Alegre, the capital of São Pedro. Transportation costs restricted the distance for many sellers and, for this reason, most of the sellers lived in towns that were either within 350 kilometers along the coast where maritime travel was cheaper, or within 200 kilometers inland, where there was a highway and eventually a railroad over the mountains. Nearly all of the participants of the Santos slave trade lived within this fairly small area.

Geography imposed its constraints on the regional slave trade by limiting the means and increasing the expense of various routes of travel. But geographical constraints included more than the long stretch of Paulista coastline or the steep escarpment that ran parallel to the ocean. Town streets, residential blocks of houses, and the location of businesses and docks also affected at the micro-level the way the slave trade worked. Particular areas of town tended to have more slave sellers than buyers, and townfolk who were more inclined to rent slaves lived in other parts of Santos. Furthermore, the town's enormous expansion and growing importance of coffee exports altered the configuration of neighborhoods and the places where buyers, sellers and renters lived.

During the 1830s and 1840s, Santos was not too different from the colonial days: 25 town streets that nearly all ran toward or connected with a series of wooden docks along the muddy shore. The wealthiest residents lived along Rua Direita and near the Four Corners neighborhood, both within close reach to the business of the port. It is no surprise, then, that most of the *Santistas* who sold slaves during this period lived in these neighborhoods. Many of the buyers also lived in this same area, but a greater percentage relative to the sellers lived in areas of town that were outside the town center.⁶⁶ This separation of buyers and sellers was largely a result of an economic shift from sugar, *aguardente* and manioc to coffee and the quickening importation of general goods for the interior. Many of these older sugar and manioc growing elite lived in the colonial buildings in Four Corners. And, as discussed in the chapter two, many of these residents (such as the descendants of Luis Perreira Machado) owned rural property and still made a living from *aguardente* or manioc flour. We have already established that buyers were more likely to be businessmen than sellers, and these were men who lived in expanding and “gentrifying” areas outside the small colonial core of the city.

By the 1850s and 1860s, the city grew three-fold, mostly to the east and south where the coast and hills did not limit expansion. Furthering this shift, the customs house moved in 1863 [+ check this] pushing the growing activity of shipping and storing coffee eastward. As the homes and businesses began to occupy area that was scrubland and marshes 20 years before, the majority of the buyers and sellers of slaves

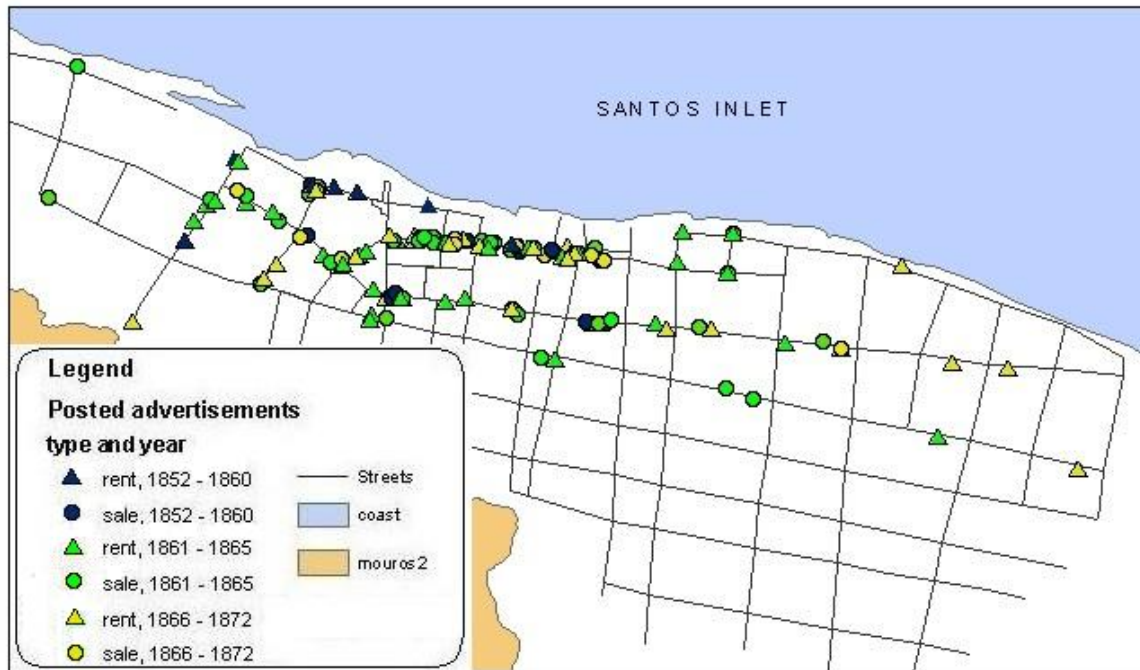
⁶⁶ [+ADD SOURCE CITATION]

remained in the older parts of town. The town was transforming itself into a city and the most important provincial port, but the traders who were most central to the business of slavery lived in the same place where such practices had been conducted under the authority of the Portuguese crown. This is especially the case among the sellers who resided in the Four Corners and Rua Direita neighborhoods.

But this is not to say that there were not slaves in the newer parts of town. Many residents rented slaves in these areas, but the slaves they rented were often owned by residents of the older downtown. The slave advertisements give us the strongest evidence that this was true. The highest degree of clustering of advertisements took place in the older downtown area. In the areas to the east and south there were also advertisements posted, but the majority of these concerned rented slaves. In *Figure 5*, advertisements are classified into time periods, demonstrating the rapid expansion of residences and businesses that relied on the journal to post their advertisements. Farther away from the town center, however, the more likely the individual posting the advertisement desired a slave to rent. Many of these advertisements indicated that they were willing to pay either monthly wage for a free worker or the monthly charge of a rented slave.⁶⁷ These individuals, as will be an important component in the development of abolitionism in Chapter 5, were not as loyal to the institution of slavery.

Figure 5. Slave Advertisements, by type, 1852 - 1872

⁶⁷ [+ADD SOURCE]



Advertisements often mentioned the kind of work the slave could do or what kind of work was wanted by a household or business. The most common occupation involved housework, either as servants, cooks, nannies, wet nurses, or chambermaids (*mucamas*).⁶⁸ Second in importance were artisan slaves such as masons, carpenters and coopers. Finally there were a number of other occupations like warehouse workers, farmers, and slaves “without skills”⁶⁹ The prevalence of domestic workers, not exclusively female slaves, supports Zephyr Frank’s idea that slavery was more important to middling groups in Brazilian cities than previously assumed.⁷⁰ Households that might not otherwise be able to afford to buy a slave felt it necessary to rent one. In a time when a single slave promoted the social standing of a family, the work of the slave may have been as important as how they imagined they were perceived by their friends and neighbors. But as the advertisements indicated, a free servant, working on a wage, may have been a sufficient replacement.

The advertisements rarely included the name of the owner or those in need of a rented slave, but by cross-referencing those advertisements with addresses that were

⁶⁸ It was common to advertise a slave that could perform “all services” (*todo o service*). This referred to slaves who might be destined for households without other domestic servants, for they could do a variety of tasks.

⁶⁹ [+ADD SOURCE]

⁷⁰ [+INSERT REFERENCE TO DUTRA’S WORLD]

within a few years of the 1871 town almanac, a few names and professions can be revealed. The list of advertisements that matched the addresses in the almanac is not long enough, however, to offer any more than a few speculations on the type of people or companies that listed slave advertisements. First, the addresses of those who offered slaves for sale or for rent appeared in the mostly business-related directory far more frequently than those who were seeking slaves. Among those who were offering slaves, commission houses predominated, supporting the claim that these types of businesses were the chief agents of the slave trade after the 1860s in small towns like Santos, although coffee or cotton commissions were their official or principal pursuit. There were also shopkeepers who used the newspaper to find households for their slaves. Such was the case of the two small tool shops and clothing stores all located at Rua Direita, # 45. The almanac lists two owners of these three shops who posted three advertisements in the newspaper listing one slave for sale and two for rent. The respondents of these particular advertisements must have gotten their first glimpse of these slaves among the farm tools or racks of clothing.⁷¹

The advertisements were in many ways signals of social and class status that was prevalent among particular neighborhoods. When the advertisements of two neighborhoods are compared, we can see the differences between the types of owners who had particular occupations and their wants for slaves they wished to buy, sell or rent. Two neighborhoods of different wealth in the city have been chosen for this task. The first in a small part of town is near the Four Corners neighborhood on Rua Direita. *Figure 7* displays all of the advertisements that were posted for a one block stretch of houses along this busy commercial street. Most of the houses that posted advertisements did only once during this period, but one—building number 58—stands out with seven advertisements. A man named José Justiano Bittencourt ran a small slave trading business out of this building, primarily by proctoring sales. Bittencourt can also be located in the network of buyers and sellers (number 7 in *figure 2*) where he was at the center of a small network unconnected to the larger network. Bittencourt may have been able to maintain outside of the larger network by using the journal instead of word-of-mouth to find buyers and sellers.⁷² Bittencourt also had a number of connections that probably helped him as well. He had served in

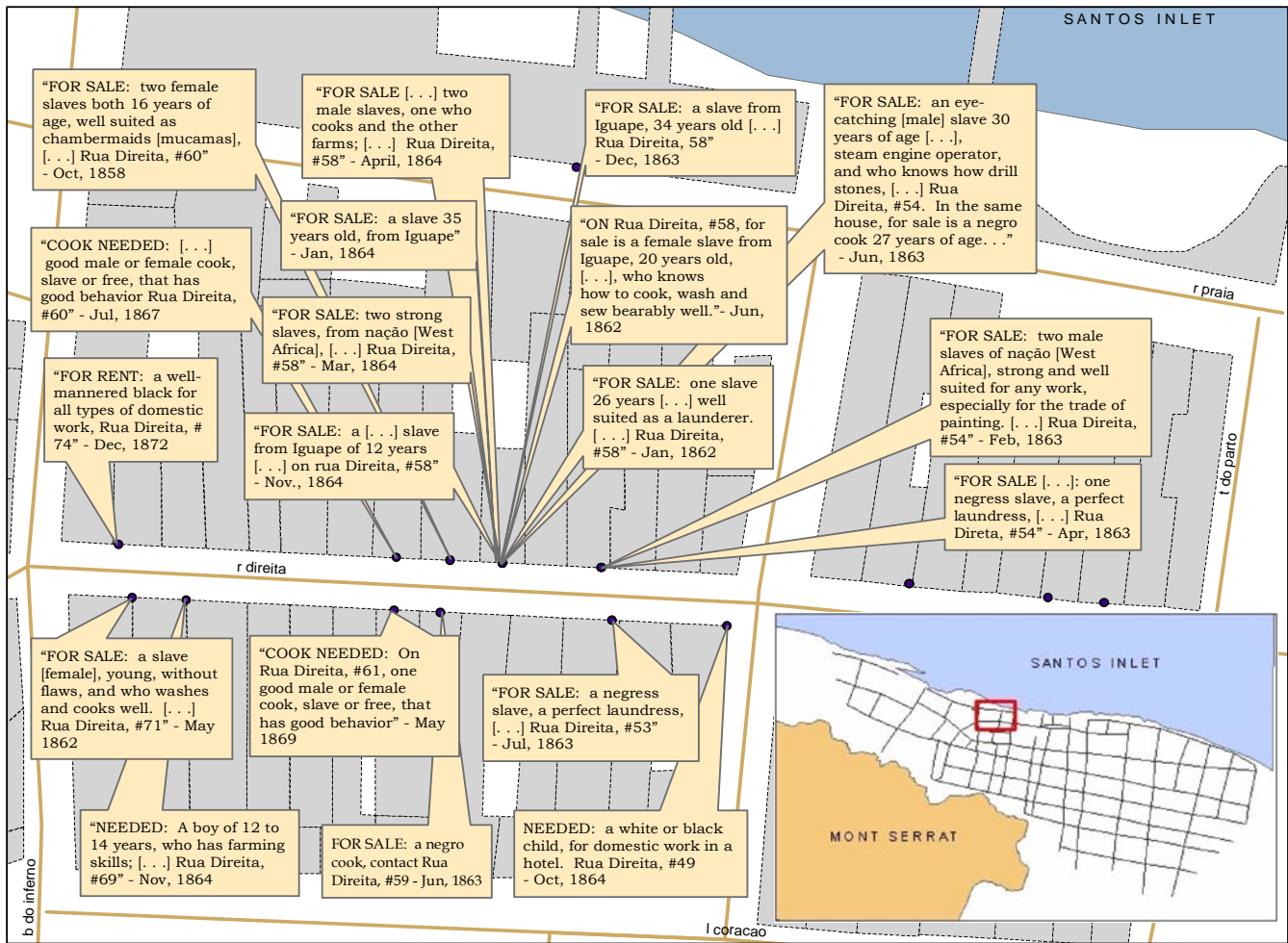
⁷¹ [+ADD SOURCE]

⁷² [+Add new info on Bittencourt here]

a number of official capacities including, police commissioner, town councilman, and as an administrator of a small port reconstruction project. During the years that he was proctoring slaves, he was serving as the town's orphan judge (*juiz de órfãos*). This was an important post, appointed by the provincial government and its duties required the administration and care of not only orphans but African slaves who had been freed because their enslavement had been deemed illegal (i.e., African slaves imported after 1850).⁷³

Figure 6. Advertisements from Rua Direita, buildings 52-74, 1862-1872

⁷³ [+ADD SOURCE]



Most of the slaves that Bittencourt and his neighbors on Rua Direita were seeking to sell or buy were men and women of prime working age and a few had skills that made them relatively more valuable.⁷⁴ Twelve of the 19 advertisements of this micro-neighborhood marketed slaves who performed domestic work, cooked or cleaned laundry. One slave is advertised as a farmer and several have no skills listed, but there are no slaves with artisan skills such as carpentry or cobbling. At building #60, there are two girls for sale as chambermaids, an occupation that would be affordable only to an owner with other domestic servants. We might imagine the owner of these two girls carefully training them to perform the most intimate duties required by a

⁷⁴ This included five cooks, one painter, one chambermaid and one steamship engine operator.

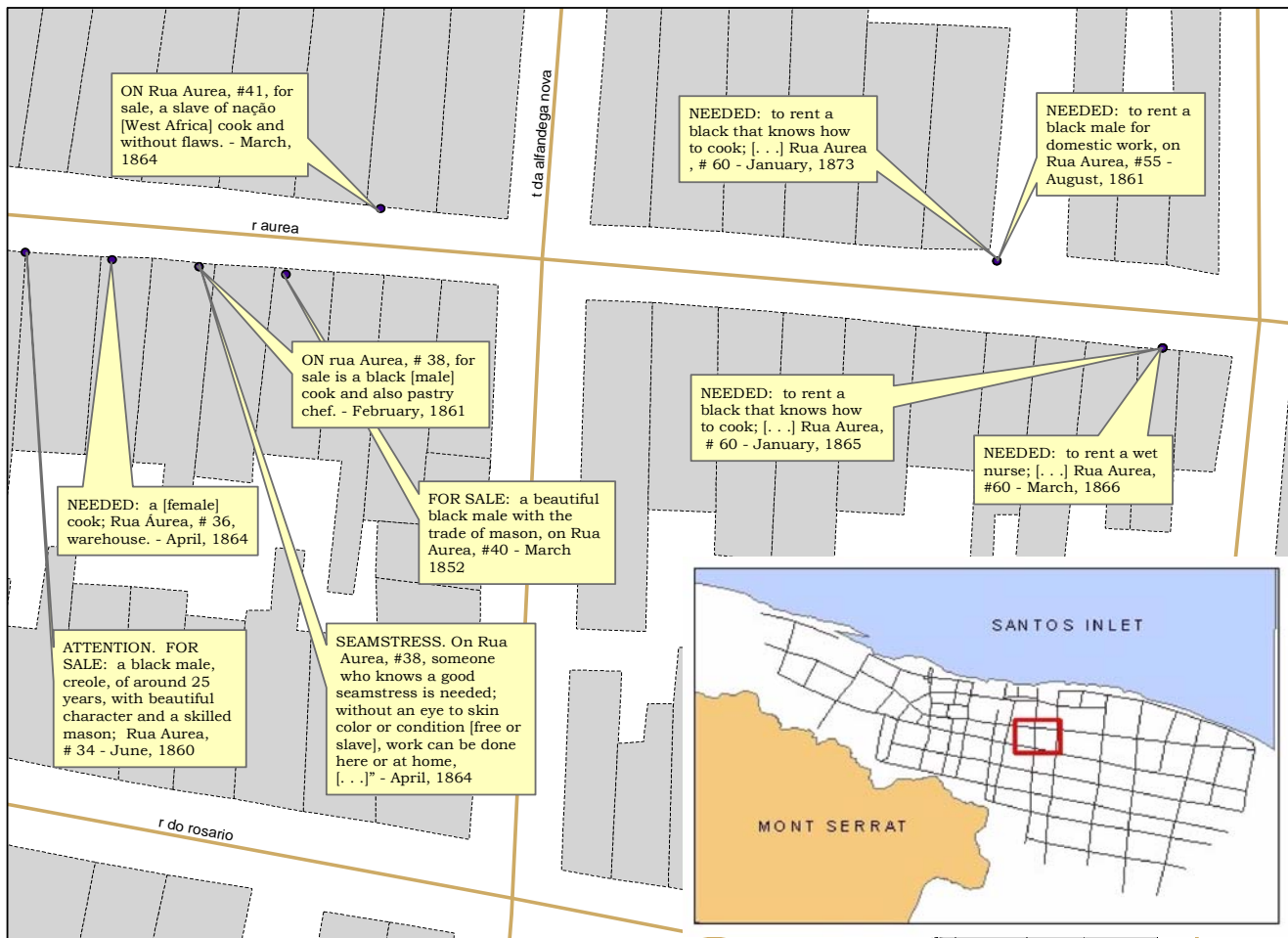
formal lady of a house while, ten years later across the street, another household sought a cook without regard to whether he or she was enslaved or free.⁷⁵

A small distance to the south-east was a second micro-neighborhood where residents also used the newspaper to buy, sell and rent slaves (see *figure 7*). The buildings along Rua Aurea were a bit newer than those on Rua Direita and there were still many lots that had not been occupied by buildings. This was especially true east of Travessa de Alfandega Nova, where the town made its transition into countryside. There was less wealth in this neighborhood and fewer advertisements posted in the journal. Of the advertisements that were posted, nearly half of the residents were looking for a slave to rent for a variety of jobs including domestic servant, cook and wet nurse. Of the five slaves for sale, two were stone masons, two were cooks and a one was a seamstress. The advertisement for the seamstress directly points out that they are open to a rented slave or a free wage worker, black or white. The walk from the house that posted this ad to José Justiano Bittencourt's house on Rua Direita would have taken less than 10 minutes, yet the differences between the two are noticeable. Slave owners of different means and wealth lived among others of similar character and were separated from others by only a few blocks of houses. Comparing the two young chambermaids of Rua Direita to the stone masons of Rua Aurea, it becomes evident that the slaves for sale in these two neighborhoods also differed.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ [+ADD SOURCE]

⁷⁶ [+ADD SOURCE]

Figure 7. Advertisements from Rua Aurea, buildings 34-60, 1862-1872



[+ADD SOURCE]

Conclusion

The slave market was an informal institution firmly rooted in the social fabric of town life, even during a period that the institution as a whole was weakening and being obscured. It was rooted first in physical space, as its participants had homes and jobs fixed in a specific geography; even slave peddlers and transient dealers

followed common and limited routes of travel. It was also embedded in a network of social relationships that had a pre-established structure based on family, friendship, job, association, neighbor, and economic ties. There were forces that acted upon the market that was largely outside the orbit of local life, such as the changing prices of slaves of different gender, age, and other characteristics, the number of slaves available for sale or a collective “need” for slaves. But the market was not an impersonal system since it constantly replayed accepted and scripted rituals of interaction that were used to guide sales between people who more often than not knew each other in capacities outside the particular sale. True, the economic motive of sales was almost always to get the best deal or price, but the social motive was to reinforce relationships through a bestowal of trust and exchange of opportunities and to engage in an activity that was “ordinary” or expected for certain social groups. The scripted ritual of a transaction, especially between acquaintances, tended whitewash to the darker or dirtier economic goals with the mutual belief of “equal favors” and “mutual help,” but this often depended on the spatial or social position of those involved in the transaction.

When slaves were traded, the parties involved in the transaction needed a great deal of information to make sure that they were getting the slave they wanted and that there were no traits of body or character that would jeopardize their expensive investment. After all, most of the men and women in these records were only able to buy a slave once or twice in their life. Since the amount of information that buyers and sellers needed was hard to come by, they depended on people that they knew and could trust when making their purchases. Moreover, they accessed a preexisting web of relationships that tied the majority of buyers and sellers to one another and organized the market participants into nexuses of cohesion. Within these groups, we found a number of coffee commissioners connected to Captain Frietas, or politicians, army officers and lawyers connected to Father Junqueira. These men stood at the center of a network that also conditioned the types of slaves that were traded and it was through this network of connections that the hierarchy of masters and slaves maintained itself. The men who bought the mostly male slaves to haul bags of coffee for their export businesses paid a higher price than those who wanted mostly female slaves to clean their houses. But it took more than an ability to pay a price: they acted through connections between people of similar means and

standing. These groups found cohesion through nationality and occupation and bought slaves that also shared characteristics.

The structural workings of the regional market did not preclude exogenous factors that also shaped the way slave business operated. Supply and demand altered during this period, and prices increased enormously. Formal institutions became more prominent in the lives of slaves as well, perhaps because they had taken on a greater value. Recently purchased slaves were sent into the jail to be punished for an infraction or for running away, while others entered the hospital to have a disease or affliction treated. Many died, drown while fishing or traveling, struck by the smallpox epidemics or through “disasters” without description.