

**Off the Block but in the Neighborhood:
Buying and Selling Slaves in Urban and Rural São Paulo**
~ *Working Draft* ~

The slave market was a series of institutions and relationships that controlled the transfer of ownership of slaves, with all inherent legal rights, between masters. Within Brazil's slave society (1530s - 1888),¹ this market has been approached by historians mainly from two angles. First, there is the "inter-provincial slave trade," referring to a large forced migration of more than 100,000 slaves mostly from northeastern to southeastern Brazil between 1850 and 1881.² This migration is generally understood as a consequence of growing European and American demand for coffee, Brazil's growing production of the bean and restrictions on slavery. Global coffee prices rose during the nineteenth century, even as Brazil's coffee crop doubled and trebled in size. The men and women who planted were denied their traditional source of African slaves in 1850 because of a series of actions taken by England and its Atlantic fleet that coerced slave owners and Atlantic slavers to abandon Africa as a source of slaves.³ The price of bondspeople in southeastern Brazil increased soon after, drawing thousands of slaves from Brazil's towns and countryside, near and far, where prices could be considerably lower.⁴ For slaves, this meant

¹ Brazil was the largest importer of African slaves and the last to abolish slavery in the Americas. Slavery officially ended with the "Golden Law" of 1888, but several laws before this, including the legal end of the international trade in 1850 and the "free womb" law of 1871 that freed children born to slaves, greatly lowered the numbers of slaves. By the 1880s bondspeople were a very small proportion of the Brazilian population. The collapse of slave prices in 1883-85 and an effective abolitionist movement in several coastal cities and provinces furthermore guaranteed that slavery had lost most of its viability before the last remaining slaves were freed by law in 1888.

² Robert Wayne Slenes, "'The Brazilian Internal Slave Trade, 1850-1888: Regional Economies, Slave Experience, and the Politics of a Peculiar Market" in *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas*, ed. Walter Johnson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 331. Slenes' estimate of 95,000 slaves counted only those transferred between 1872 and 1881.

³ The most complete study of British efforts to end the slave trade in Brazil is Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). A few of Bethell's claims have been updated, along with a useful review of the literature, in Jeffrey D. Needell, "The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade in 1850: Historiography, Slave Agency and Statesmanship," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33 (2001): 681-711.

⁴ For an overview of how slaves got to Brazil in the first place, there are several useful surveys including are Herbert Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), the updated collection of essays in David Northrup, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, Second Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002) and David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). There are a handful of detailed studies that mostly focus on the economic and demographic causes and consequences of the internal slave trade of the nineteenth century including Robert Wayne Slenes. *The Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--Stanford University, 1975; Slenes, "'The Brazilian Internal Slave Trade," 325-371; Robert Wayne Slenes, "Grandeza ou decadência? O mercado de escravos e a economia cafeeira da província do Rio de Janeiro, 1850 - 1888" in *Brasil: História econômica e demográfica*, ed. Iraci del Nero da Costa (São Paulo: Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas, 1986); Herbert Klein "The Internal Slave Trade in Nineteenth Century Brazil: A Study of Slave Importations in Rio de Janeiro in 1852" *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 51 (1971), 567-585. Robert Conrad and Richard Graham approached the internal slave trade as it related to abolitionist

dislocation, heartbreaking severance from families and communities, grueling journeys and backbreaking farm work.

The second, less frequent approach to the Brazilian internal slave market is the Valongo in Rio de Janeiro. The Valongo was an unusual concentration of some of Brazil's most powerful merchants who sold mostly African boys and men in large auction blocks and warehouses in the early 1800s. When slave trading began to interfere with other commerce in the downtown district of the Imperial capital in 1824, the government confined all public trading of slaves to an area along Valongo Street in Santa Rita parish. New slave trading companies joined those already established and created what appears to have been the only neighborhood in Brazil nearly exclusively dedicated to selling and trading slaves. It was also ephemeral, lasting less than two decades.⁵ During the brief period that its doors were open, Rio de Janeiro had become, by far, the largest importer of African slaves within Brazil, taking between two-thirds and three-quarters of all enslaved Africans.⁶ The Valongo was also open when a wave of European and American travelers visited South America. These foreign men and women often stopped in the majestic capital where they carried their sketchpads and notebooks to the big slave market in Santa Rita. Some managed to sell their pictures and narratives to European and American publishers hungry for exotic travelogues.⁷

movement: Robert Edgar Conrad *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 47-65, 172-173; Richard Graham "Another Middle Passage? The Internal Slave Trade in Brazil" in *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas*, ed. Walter Johnson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 291-324. This work appeared in Portuguese as Graham, Richard "Nos tumbeiros mais uma vez? O comércio interprovincial de escravos no Brasil," *Afro-Asia*, 27 (2002), pg. 122-124, and is available online: http://www.afroasia.ufba.br/pdf/27_8_tumbeiros.pdf (accessed April 24, 2009). Graham also lists a few sources that speak to the cultural impact of the internal trade in Graham, "Another Middle Passage?," 318, 16n.

⁵ In 1831, the Valongo was shut down with the *de jure* (but not *de facto*) end of the international slave trade. African slaves continued to be imported, but usually at clandestine locations in the Bay of Guanabara and along the Brazilian coast. Mary Karash, *Slave Life*, 36*.

⁶ Rio de Janeiro was the main recipient of African slaves throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Salvador strongly competed with Rio until the first decade of the nineteenth century, but Rio de Janeiro's dominance was guaranteed when the Portuguese court arrived and settled there in 1808. Soon after arrival, the Brazilian ports were opened to foreign merchants, expanding trade. The Portuguese emperor signed international treaties promoted by the British in 1810 and 1815 that restricted slave exports from Africa to its southern and eastern coasts. Salvador's position as the second largest receiver of African slaves was greatly reduced as a result. Rio de Janeiro's increasing command over the Atlantic slave trade and the concentration of powerful merchants is discussed in Florentino, Manolo; Alexandre Vieira Ribas, and Daniel Domingues da Silva "Aspectos comparativos do tráfico de Africanos para o Brasil," *Afro-Ásia*, 31 (2004), 83-126. This is available online: http://www.afroasia.ufba.br/pdf/31_3_aspectos.PDF (accessed May 12, 2009). See also Manolo Florentino, "Slave Trading and Slave Traders in Rio de Janeiro, 1790-1830" *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil During the Era of Slavery*, eds. José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy (Amherst, N.Y.: Humanity Books, 2004), 57-79. Robert Conrad points out that the Valongo's size was also the product of an expansive hinterland market. Rio de Janeiro supplied the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Gois. Other ports, like Salvador and Recife, mostly served provincial markets. Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 46.

⁷ Between 1815 and 1831, foreign travelers to South America often took it upon themselves to make the slave market at Rio de Janeiro part of their traveling circuit. No less than 20 visitors published accounts of the sales

Attention to these two topics has produced the vast majority of publications on the internal market, despite the fact that it was considerably unlikely that for a slave in Brazil to be traded across the provincial borders or on a Valongo trading block.⁸ Just as we know now that small-scale ownership of slaves in Brazil was far more common than the largeholders of the plantation “*casa grandes e senzalas*” (big houses and slave quarters), it is becoming increasingly apparent that small-scale and infrequent transactions within local markets were the norm for slave trading in Brazil.⁹ Consequentially, some of usual *tropes* in the literature of the Brazilian slave trade – enervated African slaves bought and sold in large warehouses or auction houses, long coastal shipments of slave in lots, coffles on southern marches, *ciganos* (gypsies), *comboieiros*, or other untrustworthy middlemen – may need less emphasis in our general discussion of slave trading.¹⁰ This is not to say that the big slave trading blocks in Rio de Janeiro, and the

floors of the Valongo, treatment of slaves, and physical examinations by potential buyers. In contrast, there are very few travel narratives describing slave trading outside of the Imperial Capital, but we know that no similar concentration of slave merchants existed in Salvador or Recife. For a survey and analysis of travelers’ accounts of the Valongo, see Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987, pg. 70-83. This has also been translated to Portuguese: Mary C. Karasch, *A vida dos escravos no Rio de Janeiro (1808-1850)* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000), 67-85. A few traveler accounts that Karasch did not use appear in Jaime Rodrigues. *De costa a costa: escravos, marinheiros e intermediários do tráfico negreiro de Angola ao Rio de Janeiro, 1780-1860* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005), 386, and Robert Edgar Conrad, *World of Sorrow: the African Slave Trade to Brazil* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 49-52. Much smaller and more dispersed urban slave markets in Pernambuco and São Luiz de Maranhão are briefly described in Conrad, *A World of Sorrow*, 46. Unfortunately, there are very few descriptions of slave transactions outside of big cities in Brazil, despite the fact that most slaves and owners lived in the countryside or small towns. In one exception, Stanley Stein discussed slave purchases at a plantation and a rural auction in rural Rio de Janeiro, descriptions he found in a probate record and newspaper. Stanley Stein, *Vassouras, a Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1957), 73.

⁸ One estimate puts the likelihood of a slave sold into the inter-provincial slave trade any given year in the 1850s and 1860s at about .4 percent (1 in 250). This may have been higher in the 1870s when there were fewer slaves but larger forced migratory movements. Using the bills of sale from Santos, I estimate that a slave in the township had about .1 percent (1 in 1000) chance of being sold beyond township’s border any year in the 1860s. On the other hand, slaves in Santos had a higher (.5 percent, or 1 in 200) chance to be traded within Santos. For Mogi das Cruzes, the chance of being sold outside of the province was .2 percent (1 in 500) and within the borders was 1 percent (1 in 100). Thus, it appears that while the probability of being involved in any kind of trade was very small for slaves in these townships, the chance of a local sale was considerably greater than an intra- or inter-provincial sale. For the inter-provincial slave trade estimate, see Slenes “The Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery,” 145, and Klein “Internal Slave Trade” 569n, Graham, “Another Middle Passage,” 296-297. My estimate for Santos is based on the 1854 and 1872 census numbers that assumes the slave population was around 1900 in the mid 1860s. On average, about 12 slaves were traded each year by sellers who were Santos residents and two slaves were traded between a Santos seller and a buyer who lived outside of the township. For Mogi das Cruzes, I estimate 20 trades each year between local traders for a population of about 2000 slaves.

⁹ Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery*, 174; B.J. Barickman, *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780-1860*.

¹⁰ Several foreign visitors to the Valongo depicted the slave traders as “gypsies,” including Robert Walsh and Jean Baptiste Debret, and this depiction has been carried on by historians even though next to nothing is known about the ethnicities of the Valongo dealers. For these travelers’ references, see Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 36-54. Gypsies are also discussed in relation to slavery in Luís Carlos Soares, *O “povo de cam” na capital do Brasil: a escravidão urbana no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX*. (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2005), 60-62. “Comboieiros,” a deprecating term meaning “conveyers” also appears in the literature on the slave trade. See

thousands of slaves caught up in the inter-provincial slave trade are not worthwhile subjects of research; rather there are other forms of slave trading, much less understood, that deserve our attention.¹¹

This assertion rings true for the history of São Paulo as well, where the inter-provincial slave trade has received special attention. When thousands of slaves were destined for the coffee growing highlands, this region's slave population declined as a percentage of the total population much slower than other parts of Brazil. São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro only accounted for a little more than a third of slaves in Brazil in 1822. By 1872, 57 percent of Brazilian slaves lived in these three provinces.¹² Most slaves destined for São Paulo were marched along two converging highways, one that ran northwest from the port at Santos and the other south from the port of Rio de Janeiro through Mogi das Cruzes. Yet, as this article will show, slave trading in Santos and Mogi das Cruzes was predominantly directed toward localized supply and demand where buyers, sellers and their agents exchanged slaves within dense networks of family, neighbors, friends and other previously established contacts. This is not a solitary discovery: Small-scale and locally oriented trading recently has been found as the most active part of Brazil's slave market for townships (*municípios*) in São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Bahia, even at the peak of the inter-provincial slave trade in the 1870s. Scholars have not yet connected these studies to make a larger claim about the market in Brazil.¹³

The kind of slave trading that I believe Brazilians took for granted occurred within overlapping layers of tightly interwoven social networks that structured who traded and the kinds of enslaved men, women and children exchanged. This finding is driven by new methodologies. For example, this is the first study on the Brazilian slave market that crosses long lists of slave traders found in the bills of sales and tax records with a range of other sources to reveal new and detailed information about traders and traded slaves. It is also the first slave system examined using tools created by network theorists working

Clóvis Moura, *Dicionário da escravidão negra no Brasil*. (São Paulo, SP, Brasil: Edusp, 2004); Stein, *Vassouras*, 73-74; Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *Homens de negócio: a interiorização da metrópole e do comércio nas Minas setecentistas*. (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1999), 266, 270.

¹¹ Slave trading before 1800 has also received very little study. What little historians know is summarized by Graham "Another Middle Passage?" 292-294.

¹² Laird W. Bergad *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 11.

¹³ José Flávio Motta, "Derradeiras transações: O comércio de escravos nos anos de 1880 (Areias, Piracicaba, e Casa Branca, Província de São Paulo)" (paper presented at the XII Encontro Nacional de Economia Política São Paulo, Brazil, July 5-8, 2007) available at:

http://www.sep.org.br/artigo/_618_94b84dec8b31c01eab18269acbca4402.pdf?PHPSESSID=93c69bf512f15aacfd4cac3a9c (accessed May 12, 2009), Cláudio Heleno Machado "Tráfico interno de escravos na região de Juiz de Fora na segunda metade do século XIX" (paper presented at the Anais do III Congresso Brasileiro de História Econômica e 4ª Conferência Internacional de História de Empresas [Proceedings of the 3rd Brazilian Congress of Economic History and the 4th International Conference on Business History], Curitiba, Brazil, 1999).

Available at: <http://www.abphe.org.br/congresso1999/Textos/CLAUDIO.pdf> (accessed May 12, 2009), Erivaldo Fagundes Neves "Sampauleiros traficantes: Comércio de escravos do alto sertão da Bahia para o oeste cafeeiro Paulista" *Afro-Ásia*, 24 (2000), 97-128. Available at:

http://www.afroasia.ufba.br/pdf/afroasia_n24_p97.pdf (accessed May 12, 2009).

in the social sciences.¹⁴ Network analysis methodology is still unfamiliar for most historians, but it gives us a key to unlock this complicated business, including new insight on who traded bondspople, how buyers and sellers coordinated and what effects trading had on slaves.

Because trading slaves was a risky and significant moment, buyers and sellers did what people normally do to hedge big bets and calm nerves: They relied on family, friends and acquaintances to smooth the process and ward off misfortune. In some ways, trading may have strengthened economic and social bonds between free people. For the enslaved, of course, these trades usually meant families and communities torn apart. Indeed, we should not necessarily assume that sales within provincial borders were any less disastrous or disintegrative for communities of slaves than inter-provincial trades.¹⁵ Depending on master largess, bondspople may or may not have been able to visit proximate family and friends of previous owners. Slaves who were traded between neighboring townships often found too many miles of winding road to allow frequent visits. Even trades across the smallest Brazilian provinces guaranteed dreadful separation for spouses, fathers and mothers who could disappear without notice. Nor should we assume that the intra-provincial trade had less effect on the demography and economy of these regions than the national trade.¹⁶

The slave markets of Santos and Mogi das Cruzes are helpful to understand the wider slave trading system. I believe that these kinds of townships were recognizable to the vast majority of

¹⁴ For a broad survey of network methods and theoretical applications, see Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. (Cambridge and New York, 1997) and Meter Carrington, John Scott, and Stanley Wasserman, *Models and Methods in Social Network Analysis* (New York and Cambridge, 2005). Networks analysis was recently applied to Brazilian history in Aldo Musacchio and Ian Read, "Bankers, Industrialists, and their Cliques: Elite Networks in Mexico and Brazil during Early Industrialization" *Enterprise and Society*, 8, December 2007, 842 - 880.

¹⁵ Richard Graham lists several examples of tragedies that befell slaves during or soon after their sale, see Graham, "Another Middle Passage?" pgs 306-311.

¹⁶ The scale of movement of bondspople within Minas Gerais has been a lively topic of debate among historians, for example. An older literature assumed that slaves were transferred from the "decadent" mining region of Minas Gerais to the coffee producing region of the province in the nineteenth century. Roberto Martins has tried to revise this thesis and has given evidence that there was no such transfer. His findings, however, and not accepted by all historians. For the "traditional" idea that slaves were pulled between economic regions in Minas Gerais, see Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil*. (São Paulo: Nacional, 1967), 122-123; or Kátia de Queirós Mattoso, *Ser escravo no Brasil*. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982), 59. For the revisionist position, see Roberto Borges Martins, *A economia escravista da Minas Gerais no século XIX*. (Belo Horizonte: CEDEPLAR; UFMG, 1982). Others have been involved in this debate, outlined by Robert Slenes "Os múltiplos de porcos e diamantes: a economia escrava de Minas Gerais no século XIX" in *Estudos Econômicos*, São Paulo, 18 (3), 452. There are no comparable debates regarding intra-provincial movements for other provinces, although some have attempted to revise older historiographies. Robert Slenes writes that "the fact that slave prices in Pernambuco and Bahia responded primarily to sugar prices, not to labor and commodity prices in the Center-South, suggests that the major component of slave demand in these north-eastern provinces was that of the sugar sector." In other words, it appears that in the Northeast, supply and demand of slaves (and hence price levels) was more connected to the regional economy than the national one. Robert Slenes, "The Brazilian Internal Slave Trade," 337. Slenes also show evidence that the "decadent" parts of the Paraíba Valley were not selling their slaves to the coffee frontier in the south, as was claimed by Stanley Stein. See Robert Wayne Slenes, "Grandeza ou decadência?" and Stanley Stein, *Vassouras*.

Brazilians who lived in a predominantly agricultural society and depended on small interior or coastal towns and cities like these for goods and services. These sites are also pertinent to the slave trade because so many slaves were marched along their principal highways during the nineteenth century. Considering this fact, we might expect these townships to have been especially oriented toward the inter-provincial slave trade. Of course, we must also recognize that these townships were unique in their links to coffee production, transportation, and export within and from southeastern Brazil. I am not making the claim that we can understand slave trading in all parts of Brazil by looking at these cases, but, as I will show, these cases share characteristics with trading systems in other parts of the country, suggesting that slave trading in Brazil displayed general patterns that are recognizable in Santos and Mogi das Cruzes.

These two townships were neighbors (*figure 1*), and thus shared several characteristics, but in most ways were different. Mogi das Cruzes and Santos were of roughly the same size and population in the 1860s, were transfer points for slaves into the booming coffee growing regions, operated under the same provincial laws, and preserved the same kinds of historical records of slave transactions.¹⁷ They shared a border, but the steep Serra do Mar Mountains divided them and prevented much communication between the two. A single ancient path connected the townships, forged by Native Americans. It was one little known option for adventurous (or foolhardy) travelers but a trip on this path guaranteed plenty of mud, wet crossings over wide streams, steep terrain and a sparse population well into the twentieth century.¹⁸ Most travelers preferred the macadam highway running through the mountains between Santos and São Paulo or lightly used highway between the interior and the port at São Sebastião to the north. Both townships were about a day's ride in different directions from São Paulo city and well within the orbit of the provincial capital.¹⁹

¹⁷ It is difficult to estimate the population of these two cities because population figures varied enormously. The following table lists the different figures listed for these two towns at the mid-part of the nineteenth-century.

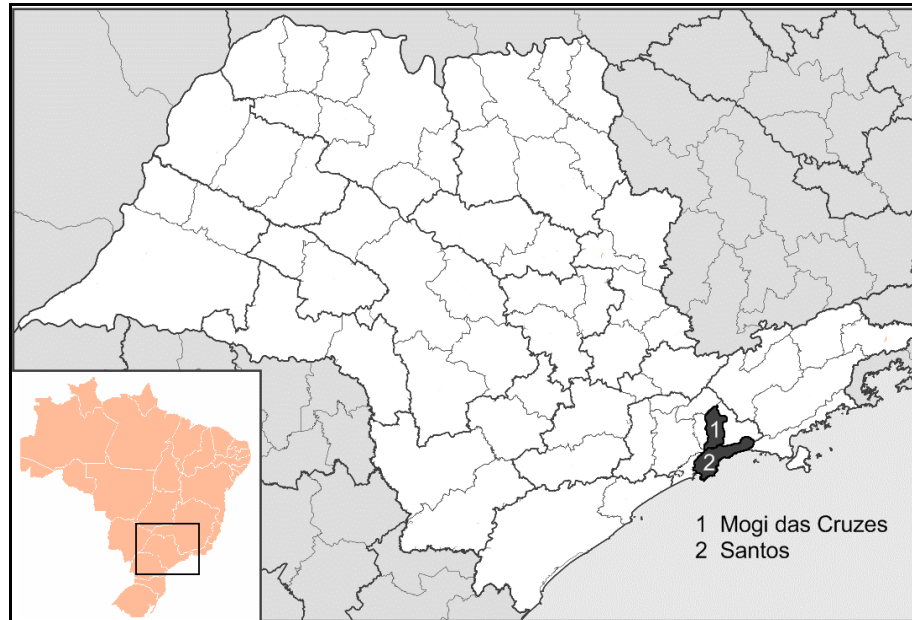
Year	Source	Santos	Mogi das Cruzes
1838	Daniel Pedro Muller	5,863	10,472
1852	Provincial Report	9,000	3,867
1854	Provincial Report	6,450	
1861	Augusto-Ernesto Zaluar	32,500	23,000-24,000
1868	Provincial Report	27,920	nd
1872	National census	9,087	
1879	Parochial census	9,191	16,519

The number of slaves in the two towns appears to have been similar. According to the slave census (*matricula*) of 1871-72, 1,411 slaves resided in Santos and 1,539 in Mogi das Cruzes.

¹⁸ A highway connecting Mogi das Cruzes and Bertioaga (in Santos township) was not completed until the early 1970s.

¹⁹ Augusto-Ernesto Zaluar published short descriptions of the two townships in 1861. Compared to Santos, he found Mogi das Cruzes to be sadly decadent. It would have been economically depressed as well, if rising cotton production had not become so important for the township. His explanation for this decadence was its proximity to the provincial capital. If this drew away business and attention for Mogi das Cruzes, he did not say, but he did mention that a good portion of local produce was sold to the capital.

Figure 1 Townships of Mogi das Cruzes and Santos, São Paulo



There were other ways that these proximate townships did not resemble the other. Santos had a fairly busy port town, the only one serving provincial and national needs for many kilometers along the tropical and lowland coast. By 1860, many businessmen in Santos were involved in storing and exporting coffee, sugar and cotton that came over those mountains, and importing manufactured goods from Europe. With its global connections, Santos elite were more cosmopolitan and educated and they sometimes played central roles in colonial, imperial and provincial politics.²⁰ *Mogianos* (residents of Mogi das Cruzes) lived in or near a dusty highway town at the crossroads of coffee, cotton, and cattle.²¹ In

²⁰ Santos had two daily newspapers, while Mogi das Cruzes had none. In addition, Santos schools enrolled twice as many students in its primary schools in 1873. Today, *Santistas* are proud of the role that some of their townsmen have played in politics. José Bonifácio de Andrade e Silva, perhaps Brazil's most famous founder, and his two brothers Antonio Carlos and Martim Francisco were all born in Santos. Two other well-known *Santistas* are José Ricardo da Costa Aguiar, one of Brazil's first Supreme Court judges and Joaquim Octavio Nebias, who was an influential Congressman and Minister of Justice. No *Mogianos* matched the fame of these individuals, yet Mogi das Cruzes did have a greater representative voice in provincial politics, at least by 1873. Literate male voters in Mogi das Cruzes choose 47 electors, who in turn elected the nation's Deputies. Santos had 16 electors, a low number considering that its size was determined by the township's number of family residences. Luné and Fonseca. *Almanak da Província de São Paulo para 1873*. (São Paulo: Impr. Oficial do Estado, 1985).

²¹ Santos was elevated to the position of a city in 1836 while Mogi das Cruzes received this status in 1855. Both were officially townships (*municípios*, translated occasionally as "counties"). Thus, these two towns were the administrative centers of several hundred square kilometers of rural land. Throughout this paper I refer to the urban areas as "towns" because although they were officially cities, they were distinct compared from Brazil's true cities like Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife. Mogi das Cruzes was one of the biggest cotton producers in the province, even though coffee was also important. Cotton prices increased sharply during the

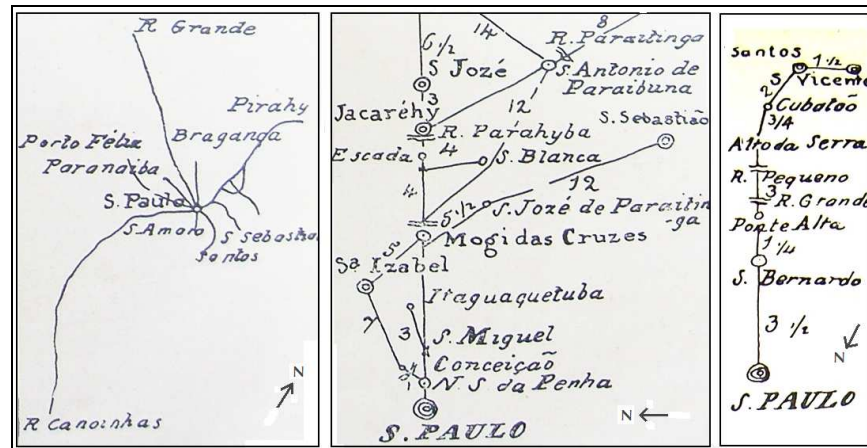
these hilly *Paulista* highlands, the weather was rarely too hot or humid. *Mogiano* bondspeople often worked fields of cotton or tended cattle, commodities rarely of toil of slaves in Santos.²² Mogi das Cruzes also bordered the southern edge of the Paraíba Valley, where leafy fields of coffee had expanded along its edges down from the north. The central northern highway ran from the city of São Paulo and cut through Mogi das Cruzes and the Paraíba Valley before arriving in Rio de Janeiro (*figure 2*). *Santistas* (residents of Santos) also had a quick and easy route to the imperial capital, but they traveled by steamship or packet boat rather than by mule or wagon.²³

1860s, due to the U.S. Civil War, and I assume that this fueled cotton production and slave labor in the township.

²² Daniel Pedro Müller. *Ensaio d'um quadro estatístico da provincia de S. Paulo: Ordenado pelas leis provinciaes de 11 de abril de 1836, e 10 de março de 1837 S. Paulo: Na typographia de Costa Silveira 1838. Reed. Litteral.* (S. Paulo: Redicção Litteral; Zaluar, A. Emilio. 1945). *Peregrinação pela província de São Paulo: 1860-1861.* (São Paulo: Cultura; Luné, Antonio José Baptista de, and Paulo Delfino da Fonseca. 1985). Antonio José Baptista Luné and Paulo Delfino da Fonseca. Luné and Fonseca. *Almanak da Província de São Paulo para 1873.*

²³ Mail routes give us an indicator of how these two townships were linked to the most populated parts of the region. In 1857, mail was exchanged every five days between São Paulo, the towns along the well-traveled “northern highway” including Mogi das Cruzes, and Rio de Janeiro. Between 1858 and 1867, mail between Santos and São Paulo arrived every ten days, but this depended on the weather and road conditions through the mountains. In 1867, a new highway and train between the coast and highlands quickened the transfer of mail between these cities. But before 1867, the busy maritime route between Santos and Rio de Janeiro ensured that mail carriers exchanged their mailbags twice as frequently between these two fairly distant cities than between São Paulo and Santos, the province’s principal port. *Almanak administrativo, mercantil, e industrial da Província de S. Paulo para o anno de 1858. Organizado e redigido por Marques e Irmão.* (São Paulo: Typ. Imperial de J. R. de Azevedo Marques, 1857).

Figure 2. Main Routes between São Paulo, Santos and Mogi das Cruzes (1838)



Note: These maps, drawn in 1838, show the principal highways leading through São Paulo (direction markers added). The highway south (to Canoinhas River) connected São Paulo with Paraná and the southern provinces. The highway north (to Pirahy) connected the province with Rio de Janeiro. This road also intersected Mogi das Cruzes, shown in the middle frame (numbers indicate distance in leagues). Finally, the short but steep Santos highway traveled southeast to Cubatão, São Vicente, Santos and the Atlantic Ocean. Source: Daniel Pedro Muller *Ensaio d'un quadro estatistico da Provincia de S. Paulo, Ordenando pelas leis provinciales de 11 de Abril de 1836, e 10 de Março de 1837* (São Paulo: Typographia da Costa Silveira, 1838) [reprinted, Reedição Litteral, 1923], 245

In the nineteenth century, one had to cover about 130 kilometers over a winding and mountainous road to go from Santos to Mogi das Cruzes. Because this road ran through the much larger city and capital of São Paulo, direct trade and commercial connections between the two townships were fairly minimal.²⁴ I found a single slave trade – in 1863 a *Mogiano* sold a slave named Domingos to a Portuguese farmer in Santos– despite the proximity of these townships.²⁵ In much of the nineteenth century, the few farmers in Mogi das Cruzes who grew for international markets were more likely to ship through São Sebastião or Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro was much more distant, but its road was more reliable because frequent storms in the mountains washed out the provincial coastal routes. Santos became the cheaper and more reliable port for the province when the British financed a railroad that connected Santos with the highlands in 1867.

When men and women wished to buy a slave in these two townships, or they had a slave to sell, they followed similar procedures. As we will see, many sellers relied on their friends, family and acquaintances to find a trustworthy buyer for their slaves. In Santos, a much smaller group placed an advertisement in the local newspaper. Advertisers usually preferred to leave their contact information at the newspaper office to retain their privacy. The city was small enough that even listing their residential or business address might reveal their identity to the growing numbers of people who disapproved of slave

²⁴ [Muller again]

²⁵ “Domingos” (Slave of Manoel Joaquim Ferreira Neto), *Escrituras de Compra e Venda (de escravos)* [Slave bills of sale, hereafter called “*Escrituras*”], Santos, Dec, 1863. Collecção de Costa e Silva (hereafter called “CCS”), vol. 24, 113, Fundação Arquivo e Memória de Santos (hereafter FAMS).

trading.²⁶ We know very little about the interaction of buyers and private sellers immediately preceding a sale; although this was a common event, there are no records that describe it. A bit more is known about the larger slave blocks, like the Valongo market in Rio or the slave pens in New Orleans, where buyers inspected slaves for physical defects. These resembled sales of domesticated animals in their inspections of arms and legs, teeth, gait and dexterity; but unlike horses or cattle, potential buyers also looked at backs and buttocks for scars of whippings, or ankles for tell-tale signs of the grip of stocks.²⁷ As much as potential buyers looked for evidence of illnesses, signs of punishment could mean an “unruly” slave. There is one account of a buyer at the Valongo who conversed with a slave before buying him, and this may have been common to confirm the biography and skills claimed by the seller.²⁸ In the big markets, buyers and sellers were seen openly haggling over prices; buyers and sellers stood to gain or lose a considerable amount of money depending on what was agreed. In the local trade that dominated the slave markets in Santos and Mogi das Cruzes, buyers and sellers often knew each other or shared mutual friends, and this probably smoothed the bargaining process.

Once a price had been reached, the buyer had to visit the customs house or town hall to pay the municipal and provincial taxes (*meia-síza*) and receive a receipt of the payment. Transacting parties had to show this receipt to a clerk in a separate notary office to get a bill of sale. The bill of sale not only established ownership, but was the best defense for either party in the rare case that there was an accusation of misconduct or fraud. The contract was written in the notary office, a private institution closely regulated by the Imperial government that documented and stored records of commercial transactions of every type, including manumission letters. Occasionally the notary officer carried his register and ink to the house of a buyer or seller to document the trade, but this was done as a favor for a friend or for an additional charge. Notary offices also charged a fee for writing and permanently safeguarding these records. Copies were also made for each of the parties, but these were probably sent or picked up days later after the notary or a clerk had time to transcribe the original. Payment for the

²⁶ Sandra Lauderdale Graham points to growing disapproval towards businesses that sold and rented slaves in Rio de Janeiro during the 1870s. Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Cambridge Latin American studies, 68. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 19. Slave trading agencies may have received less acrimony a decade earlier, and the concealed contact information within the slave trading advertisements of the Santos newspaper may have simply reflected custom.

²⁷ Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 36*. Signs of punishment (or torture depending on one’s perspective) were occasionally mentioned in newspaper notices describing runaways and stolen slaves. I assume that most buyers also knew to look for these signs during the sales. Gilberto Freyre. *O escravo nos anúncios de jornais brasileiros do século XIX; tentativa de interpretação antropológica, através de anúncios de jornais, de características de personalidade e de deformações de corpo de negros ou mestiços, fugidos ou expostos à venda, como escravos, no Brasil do século passado*. (Recife: Imprensa Universitária. 1963), Ian Read, *Unequally Bound: Treatment and Life Conditions of Slaves in Santos County, 1821-1888*. (Thesis (Ph. D.)--Stanford University, 2006), 240-247.

²⁸ Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 36-54

slave may have been made in the notary office or before, since most bills noted that the payment “had already been received” (*ja ter recebido*).²⁹

Imperial law also required that there be at least two additional adult men witness the transaction and to vouch for the identity of the parties. If a buyer, seller, agent or witness could not write, another adult male signed on their behalf. In most cases, it appears that the witnesses had special arrangements with the notary office, because a handful of men in both Santos and Mogi das Cruzes witnessed most transactions. On other occasions, the witnesses were likely friends of the buyers and sellers, since some of the observers had previously traded slaves with the traders of the transactions they observed.³⁰

With traders, agents, witnesses and notary clerks all crowded into a small provincial notary office, the transactions were probably boisterous and even celebratory affairs. There is no evidence that the slaves had to stand as a participant to these events. As long as all parties could testify that the slave’s name, age and birthplace (and sometimes skin color and occupation) were correctly written in the bill, this likely sufficed. When a slave was purchased within the interprovincial trade or over long distances within the province, the notary asked for passports or written statements from the seller’s local notary office that could give proof of the seller’s identity and that the slave was not contraband. Interestingly, notary officers also recorded whether he “knew” the buyer (*conhecido*), or if he simply “recognized” the trading party (*reconhecido*). When a buyer or seller was a stranger, he or she was nearly always represented by an agent who was “known” to the notary. Since notaries may have refused to draw up a bill for a buyer, seller or agent whose identity could not be personally confirmed, we get a sense how important personal contacts were for all kinds of contracts. With the ink of the signatures drying in the register, ownership of the slave or slaves passed, including, as the bill noted, “the total dominion and rights inherent in the appropriation.”³¹

Santistas and *Mogianos* followed these procedures, but they did so infrequently and with small numbers of slaves. The evidence is mounting that small-scale slave trading was the norm for most of Brazil, although by the 1870s and 1880s, buyers may have purchased larger lots of slaves in the relatively small parts of Brazil where there was high agricultural demand. In the Santos and Mogi das Cruzes during the 1860s, buyers and sellers usually bought or sold a single slave only once. Exchanging many hundreds of *mil-réis* for groups of bondspersons was uncommon, as were multiple trades. In both townships, where the average number of slaves per transaction for these two places was remarkably

²⁹ “Escrituras”: Mogi das Cruzes, Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (AESP), Escrituras da Cartório de Mogi das Cruzes (ECMC), Caixa 147, 8434; Primeiro Cartório Notarial de Santos (PCNS), FAMS CCS, vols. 24-33 and 135.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.* Jarbas Vargas Nascimento and Izilida Maria Nardocci analyzed the language used in one bill of sale from the Mogi das Cruzes collection. See “Compra e venda de homens negros: Uma prática cartorial no século XIX,” *Academcos, Revisat Eletrônica da FIA*, 2(2) July, 2006, 1-11. Also available online at: <http://www.fia.edu.br/fia/revista/revista2/1.pdf> (accessed May 15, 2009).

similar, five slaves were traded in every four transactions.³² Between 75 and 80 percent of buyers and sellers traded no more than once and thus these single slave sales were probably viewed as normal for most people.³³ Of the smaller number of people in multiple transactions, sellers still most commonly peddled a single slave.

Small-scale slave trading (i.e., under two slaves per sale, on average) also prevailed in other Brazilian townships including Areias and Casa Branca in São Paulo and Caetité, Bahia. By the 1870s and 1880s, the average number slaves traded per transaction increased in some places. In Rio Claro, it rose from 1.7 slaves per transaction in the 1860s to 3.7 after 1873. In Piracicaba, São Paulo, where it had become common to send big lots of slaves to coffee plantations, there were an average 4.1 slaves traded per transaction between 1881 and 1887. Mariana, Minas Gerais, had little coffee production, yet it averaged 2.5 slaves per transaction between 1862 and 1884. In Santos, even transactions involving the inter- and intra-provincial trade were chiefly composed of small-scale transactions. In fact, inter-municipal slave trading averaged slightly more slaves per trade than the longer routes for this township. Inter-provincial slave trading of very small lots of slaves were common for Caetité, Bahia. In Mariana the size of slave lots for its inter-provincial trade was three times larger than the slave lot sizes of its inter-municipal trade, conforming to the idea that long distance trades attracted buyers and sellers with larger lots of slaves.³⁴ What these numbers boil down to this: Small-scale trading appear to have been quite common in Brazil, even when slaves became more concentrated in the hands of fewer owners and the inter-provincial slave trade quickened in the 1870s and 1880s. More research is needed, but it appears that the large coffles of slaves that were occasionally described by travelers and decried by abolitionists were more likely to have been smaller lots of slaves that had been banded together to save in policing and transportation costs.³⁵

³² In Mogi das Cruzes records exist for 93 slave transactions in Mogi das Cruzes in which 118 slaves were exchanged between 1861 and 1867. In Santos, there were 205 transactions and 254 traded slaves between 1861 and 1870. The average of slaves per trade was 1.27 for Mogi das Cruzes and 1.24 for Santos. “*Escrituras*,” Mogi das Cruzes: AESP, ECMC, Caixa 147, 8434; Santos: CPS, FAMS, CCS, vols. 24-33 and 135.

³³ *ibid.* For Mogi das Cruzes, 59 unique individuals sold slaves once (79 percent of total) and 72 unique individuals bought slaves once (77 percent). The Santos sample included 1868-1870, three years of records that were not available for Mogi das Cruzes. Nonetheless, its proportions of first and multiple traders did not differ much. There were 129 unique individuals who sold once (80 percent) and 114 unique individuals who purchased once (75 percent).

³⁴ “*Escrituras*,” Mogi das Cruzes: AESP, ECMC, Caixa 147, 8434; Santos: CPS, FAMS, CCS, vols. 24-33 and 135. José Flávio Motta, “Derradeiras transações,” Erivaldo Fagundes Neves, “Sampauleiros traficantes,” 97-128. Neves only used bills of sale that recorded inter-provincial trades. Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: a Brazilian plantation system, 1820-1920*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1976), 56. Cláudio Heleno Machado, “Tráfico interno.” Bills of sale between 1871 and 1880 were not available for Machado. Among the transactions she looked at in Mariana, there were 1.7 slaves per transaction for intra-municipal trades and 5.5 slaves per transactions in the inter-provincial trade

³⁵ Conrad *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*, * Mary Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 36-54

Slave trading in these two locations primarily involved local buyers and sellers. This is a point that deserves to be highlighted because historians have given considerably more attention to the inter-provincial slave trade, especially for São Paulo. When trading across provinces (inter-provincial), within the province (intra-provincial) and within the township (intra-municipal) are defined by the residences of who is doing the buying and selling, the intra-municipal and intra-provincial slave trade vastly overshadowed the inter-provincial slave trade for these two places.³⁶ As shown in *table 1*, 82 percent of bondspeople exchanged in Mogi das Cruzes fell within the intra-municipal trade. Santos had a much smaller proportion of intra-municipal trades (35 percent) but intra-provincial slave trading was large, composing 80 percent of the slaves traded. The area covered by the slave trade within Santos was bigger than Mogi das Cruzes, and a noticeable group of sellers lived outside of the province, mostly in Rio de Janeiro.³⁷ This might be expected considering the port's role in moving goods and people in and out of the province. On the other hand, only 19 percent of the bondspeople were exchanged in the inter-provincial trade for this well-connected port township and, thus, the majority of buyers and sellers never had any direct experience in the more famous long-distance trade.³⁸ For the township of Mogi das Cruzes, with its fewer outward connections, there was not one registered buyer of the 1860s who lived beyond São Paulo's borders. We do find a single inter-provincial seller: Gaspar Ferreira de Moraes of Larangeiras, Sergipe, who sold a slave named Felino to a *Mogiano* cattle farmer.³⁹

³⁶ The residences of trader may not be a perfect indicator of distance of trades because slaves may not have been transported between the buyer and seller. There is no evidence that this is the case, however, so I will assume, like others, that these listed residences also indicated the route that the slaves traveled. Slave birthplaces are not usable for this purpose because a slave may have moved many years before.

³⁷ Slave merchants of Rio de Janeiro are discussed by Manolo Florentino, "Slave trading and Slave Traders in Rio de Janeiro," 57-79; Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Cambridge Latin American studies, 68. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 19-20. This last book was published in Portuguese as *Proteção e obediência: Criadas e seus patrões no Rio de Janeiro, 1860-1910*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1992), 33. Sydney Chalhoub mentions several large trading firms in Rio de Janeiro in his discussion of slave caught in the interprovincial slave trade in *Visões da liberdade uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na corte*. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003) 44-45, 54-56. Zephyr Frank situates big and small merchants within the changing economy of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil in *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. Finally, Mary Karasch describes some of the smaller commission and auction houses in Rio de Janeiro before 1850 in *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 36-54.

³⁸ *Escrituras*," CPS, FAMS, CCS, vols. 24-33 and 135. This percentage includes 25 exchanges between sellers in other provinces and Santista buyers, one trade between *Paulista* a seller and *Carioca* buyer, and one trade between a man who resided in Portugal, his Santista agent and a Santista buyer.

³⁹ "Felino" (slave of João José do Prado), "*escrituras*," Mogi das Cruzes, AESP, ECOM, Caixa 147, 8434.

Table 1. Residences of Traders and Transaction Types (percent)

	Santos	Mogi das Cruzes
Years of sources	1861-1873	1861-1870
Total unique sellers	(N = 160)	(N = 75)
Sellers with residential information	85	95
Residence in the municipality	39	86
Residence in the province	41	13
Residence outside of province	20	1
Residence in Rio de Janeiro	9	0
Total unique buyers	(N = 151)	(N = 72)
Buyers with residential information	76	78
Residence in the municipality	94	91
Residence in the province	4	9
Residence outside of province	2	0
Residence in Rio de Janeiro	1	0
Total Transactions	(N = 205)	(N = 93)
Transactions with residential information for both traders	70	79
Local trades (within municipality)	35	82
Provincial trades (within province)	65	17
National trades (between provinces)	19	1
Total	100	100

Large lots of slaves, marching in chained coffles or unloaded from ships undoubtedly passed through these two townships, although the agents of these transfers were not required to register these transactions in the local notary offices they passed. In order for these bondspople to reach the interior towns of São Paulo and the expanding fields of coffee and cotton, they had to enter the port at Santos or be transported down the northern highway through Mogi das Cruzes. There were other routes, of course, such as the southern highway, but these were expensive, slow and usually out of the way.⁴⁰ Contemporaries documented this great movement of slaves at its bottlenecks, including port inspectors who counted about between 904 and 2,129 slaves entering the port of Santos per year during the late 1860s. Another 5,680 and 6,034 bondspople entered at the port of Rio de Janeiro per year during the 1870s, many of them bound for São Paulo.⁴¹ Undoubtedly, a large number of slaves crossed these townships, but neither *Santista* nor *Mogiano* merchants and farmers purchased (or sold) large lots of slaves

⁴⁰ For a discussion on how expensive some of these roads were and how a lack of alternatives to cheap transportation hindered Brazilian development during the nineteenth century, see William Roderick Summerhill. *Order Against Progress: Government, Foreign Investment, and Railroads in Brazil, 1854-1913*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003).

⁴¹ Slenes, "The Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery," 595-599.

from (or for) distant markets. Even buying five slaves at one time was rare, occurring only twice during the decade in these townships.⁴²

One exception appears in the Santos records, although it leaves us with more questions than answers. In 1865, the Santos branch of the Vergueiro Company purchased 20 slaves from Captain Manoel José de Carvalho. This seller was from the interior coffee town of Rio Claro but claimed residence in São Paulo city. The Vergueiro Company dealt in all kinds of labor, including bondspeople and European colonists, the latter subsidized by the imperial government. The company's president, Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro, was one of Brazil's most famous men at the time because of his outspoken promotion of immigration and for his previous roles as senator and one of three regents to the child Emperor between 1831 and 1840. In the company's transaction, the notary carefully recorded the names and a few details about these slaves. We know that they were divided by sex and half were children. The birthplaces or occupations of João Guassu ("Big John," in Portuguese and Tupi), Paula, Braz and the other enslaved adults, details normally recorded, were not noted. The archives are also silent on why the Vergueiro Company opted to register this sale and pay the fees and taxes in Santos.⁴³ The company's slaves may have been resold or rented out in Santos, but there is no proof of this.

There was no other large-scale trader or trading company like the Vergueiro Company during these years, but there were many like José Xavier de Morais. This man bought a slave named José in 1864 from an agent who represented a seller in Iguapé, a small town on the southern *Paulista* coast. According to an unrelated court case, Morais was born in Santos, was 48 years when he bought José, and ran a small bakery in town.⁴⁴ João de Morais was typical not only in the fact that he resembled most buyers demographically, but also because he appeared only once in the slave trading records. The slave named José was most likely an expensive investment and Morais might have believed that this slave would assist him in his work, boost his economic and social position, and provide a type of insurance for his family his wife and children in case he was no longer able to work. Just as purchasing a slave might have continued to provide a small income if the buyer became incapacitated, older men and women may have been compelled to sell their slaves to provide income for dowries or their retirement. Men dominated the slave trade in Santos and Mogi das Cruzes in similar proportions. In both places, slightly more women were active in selling than buying, but their overall numbers were very low. In fact, about six times as many men dealt in slaves as women. Women were even less likely to be involved if the

⁴² *Escrituras*," Mogi das Cruzes: AESP, ECOM, Caixa 147, 8434; Santos: CPS, FAMS, CCS, vols. 24-33, and 135.

⁴³ "Felix, João Guassu, Damião, José, Braz, João, Florencio, Paula, Teresa, Mariana, Eduardo, Firmino, Flora, Domingos, Ana, Clareta, Belmira, Carmelia, Faustino, Isabel" (slaves of Vergueiro & Cia) "*Escrituras*," Santos, FAMS, CCS, vol. 24, pg. 196.

⁴⁴ "José" (slave of José Xavier de Morais) "*Escrituras*," Santos, FAMS, CCS, vol. 24, pg. 115. *Testamunhas judicias*, Santos, FAMS, CCS, vol. 13, pg. 222.

distance between trading partners increased or if there was more than one slave being traded. They were also less likely to trade more than once.⁴⁵

More details are known about the *Santista* traders than the *Mogiano* traders, because about half of the men and women in Santos appeared in other historical sources such as court records, property registries, and almanacs. Of course, this means that the other, unknown half might have differed considerably from this “norm,” so we cannot put too much weight on these numbers. Nonetheless, this is the first time that the backgrounds of groups of Brazilian slave traders have been revealed.⁴⁶ Demographically, sellers in Santos 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 those sometimes conjured in the literature on the slave trade: a young or middle-aged slave peddler 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 an exporter of sugar and coffee. Or there is Brigadier José Olinto de Carvalho e Silva: married, born in the capital of São Paulo, and 67 years old when he sold Felisbina in 1843.⁴⁷

There are fewer sources available for Mogi das Cruzes, but two business and farming almanacs, published in 1856 and 1873, give occupational information for a third of the sellers and half of the buyers.⁴⁸ Most of the sellers in Mogi das Cruzes identified in both sources were involved in a business of some sort, largely wet and dry goods stores (*armazens de molhados* and *lojas de fazendas de ferreiros*). As I will discuss later, these stores and warehouses played important roles in the local slave trade in this part of rural São Paulo. A majority of the men who bought bondspeople were involved in farming, especially coffee and cotton, even though business owners also made a sizable proportion of slave buyers. Six local municipal government office holders bought and sold; the three sellers were much higher ranking in public office than the three buyers.⁴⁹

Slave traders in these townships typically bought and sold a single slave once in their lifetime largely because they did not have enough money to buy more slaves. Slaves required an amount of capital that for a minority came only at the peak of a lifetime of earnings. Thus, the trade was also directed by many people who were considered at the time to have been advanced in age. Slave prices

⁴⁵ “*Escrituras*,” Mogi das Cruzes: AESP, ECOM, Caixa 147, 8434; Santos: CPS, FAMS, CCS, vols. 24-33 and 135

⁴⁶ Manolo Florentino and Erivaldo Fagundes Neves looked closely at the names of slave traders to determine if they were related, but I am unaware of another study to use cross-referencing techniques within the slave trade. Manolo Florentino looked at the big slave merchants in Rio during the late colonial period to find that some of them were related. Manolo Florentino, “Slave Trading and Slave Traders in Rio de Janeiro,” 57-79, and Erivaldo Fagundes Neves, “Sampauleiros traficantes,” 97-128.

⁴⁷ *Meia-sizas*, 1842 (October) and 1843 (August), AESP; *Testamunhas judicias*, 1835, 1843 CCS (vols. 81 and 87), FAMS.

⁴⁸ Luné and Fonseca. *Almanak da Província de São Paulo para 1873; Almanak administrativo ... de 1858*.

⁴⁹ “*Escrituras*,” Mogi das Cruzes, ECOM, Caixa 147, 8434.

increased rapidly between 1850 and 1860 throughout Brazil, although they increased at the fastest rate in Southeastern Brazil, fueling the inter-provincial slave trade.⁵⁰ This is the first close look at prices of slaves in Santos or Mogi das Cruzes, listed in *table 2*. As in all slaveholding societies, prices between different groups of bondspople varied considerably. Strong working age males (15 to 30 years old), and especially those with artisan skills were the highest priced. In fact, a young or old female slave could be half or a third of the price of a working age male, even if she was in perfect health. Male slaves of working age were on average 15 percent more in Santos than in Mogi das Cruzes, but this group was *relatively* more expensive in Mogi das Cruzes compared to all slaves in that township.⁵¹ This may reflect the higher demand of slaves destined for agricultural work, especially in coffee and cotton production. In Santos, with more opportunities for domestic work, the price differences between sexes and age groups was slightly less. The relative difference in price between male and female slaves in Guaratinguetá and Silveiras, two townships in central Paraíba Valley, was more than Mogi das Cruzes, suggesting that in agricultural areas of São Paulo, male slaves commanded higher prices relative to females.⁵²

⁵⁰Robert Slenes, "The Brazilian Internal Slave Trade," 328; Robert Slenes. *The Demography and Economics*, B. J. Barickman, *A Bahian Counterpoint*, 139; Laird W. Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720-1888*. Cambridge Latin American studies. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 164.

⁵¹"*Escrituras*," Mogi das Cruzes: AESP, ECOM, Caixa 147, 8434; Santos, CPS, FAMS, CCS, vols. 24-33 and 135.

⁵²Renato Leite Marcondes and José Flávio Motta "Duas fontes documentais para o estudo dos preços dos escravos no Vale do Paraíba paulista" *Revista Brasileira de História* 21:42 (2001). Available online: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbh/v21n42/a12v2142.pdf> (accessed May 14, 2009)

Table 2. Average Slave Prices, Santos and Mogi das Cruzes, 1861-1870

	Santos	Mogi das Cruzes
	Bills of Sale 1861-1870	Bills of Sale 1861-1867
All	969	903
Gender		
Males	973	1037
Females	962	773
Age		
1-15 years	851	754
16-30 years	1146	1233
31+	777	688
Race		
Pretos	971	nd
Mulattos	1002	nd
Pardos	1150	nd
Place of birth		
Africa	921	900
Brazil	1011	965
Occupation		
Occupation given	1012	nd
Occupation listed as "no trade"	1006	nd
Artisans	1202	nd
Domestics	1029	nd
Farmers	827	nd
No Information given	757	nd
Total	(N = 181)	(N = 76)

Historians have also found that prices could differ considerably within provinces. The highest price for bondspersons in São Paulo during the second half of the nineteenth century appears to have been in the interior area on the frontier of coffee expansion, like the township of Rio Claro.⁵³ There, the average price of working age males was 1800 *mil-réis* in the 1860s. In Santos, this group of slaves was 1460 *mil-réis*. Price of working age males in Vassouras, a township in the older coffee growing regions of northern Paraíba Valle, was 1590 *mil-réis*. Surprisingly, the price this group of slaves was considerably less in Mogi das Cruzes than in any other *Paulista* township. Males of working age averaged 1260 *mil-réis* between 1861 and 1867.⁵⁴ Considering that a master with a slave in this group could sell to someone in

⁵³ Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: a Brazilian plantation system, 1820-1920*. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1976), 56*.

⁵⁴ The size of this sample appears to be of sufficient size (25) to give a robust average. In addition, a few bills that listed terms of debt were excluded in the case that these did not reflect the total price of the slave.

Rio Claro for 43 percent more, what incentive was there to sell locally? There is no reason why these prices would be artificially low, the sample size was robust and these documents have not been found by historians to be suspect. It seems, then that slave trading in Mogi das Cruzes was so directed inward, that *Mogianos* did not have the connections to other provinces where they could sell the slaves at a higher prices. This explanation will come into better focus when we discuss the relationships that existed between many buyers and sellers.

Up to this point, I have discussed what were “typical” transactions and prices, and who bought and sold bondspeople. What about the slaves of Santos and Mogi das Cruzes, unwillingly caught up in these trades? Undoubtedly, being sold to a new owner carried many risks, but for a few bondspeople there may have been a few new opportunities under different masters. As I have explored elsewhere, depending on the status and location of an owner in Santos, slaves had unequal chances for family formation, work, health risks, health care, and manumission.⁵⁵ Many slaves, however, did not have the slightest desire to leave their homes and communities, sometimes the places of their birth. Slaves ran away right before and after their sale, despite that this risked severe punishment and difficult concealment. For example, Francisco da Costa Bispo purchased Guilherme, a 17 year-old native of Brazil without a skill or trade, from a seller in Santa Catharina represented by his *Santista* agent. Bispo then left Santos and traveled with this small group of slaves and maybe others up the steep highway toward the city of Campinas. Somewhere on the steep highway, Guilherme saw his chance and escaped on the back of a stolen mule. Bispo thought that Guilherme was 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.” He added that Guilherme was “skinny and dark (*fulo*) with a small toe that had been scarred by worms and a smile that lacks the top front teeth.” The stolen mule had a “small star branded on his forehead.”⁵⁶ Bispo listed the Spanish vice-consul to Santos as the local contact in case Guilherme was found, giving a clue that Bispo may have been a Spanish immigrant himself.⁵⁷ Guilherme’s actions speak to the despair and desperation that some slaves faced during their sale. He was traded to a location far from his home but, as we will see, others ran away even during local trades.

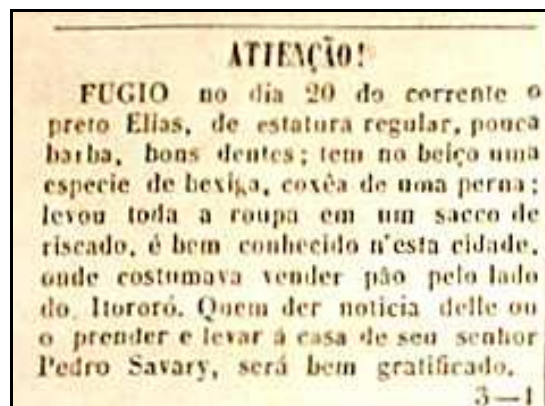
⁵⁵ Read, *Unequally Bound*, 1-45.

⁵⁶ *Revista Commercial*, 1865 (September), Hemorateca de Santos (HS).

⁵⁷ I might speculate a little more on the financial side of the story. When Bispo entered Santos he had at least two slaves with him and several thousand *mil-réis*. He may have worked during this period, earning enough to spend 4200 *mil-réis* 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. Even if Guilherme had been captured and returned, he would have had to give a reward of 50 – 100 *mil-réis* to the captor and pay for Guilherme’s food and transport.

Some unsuccessful acts of flight prompted owners to put their rebellious slave up for sale. A slave named Elias ran away in September 1863, returned or was captured, and was placed for sale two months later. His owner Pedro Savary, one of the town's bakers, who described Elias in an advertisement for his capture as "a well-known vendor who works beside the Itororó Fountain" (*figure 3*).⁵⁸ This was a familiar fountain to most readers in town and so Savary did not need to say much more. Strangely, either Elias' sale to José Alves Torres Guimarães was inexplicably undone or documents are missing from the archive because Savary was again the master of Elias less than a year later. Savary again sold the bread vendor, this time to a company called Salles, Oliveira & Sá who were in the coffee business.⁵⁹ 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.

Figure 3. Pedro Savary's Advertisement for the runaway Elias



Source: *Revista Commercial*, 10/1863, Hemeroteca archive, Santos

Guilherme and Elias were Brazilian born (rather than African) and of working-age. Likewise, most slaves sold in these two townships in the 1860s shared these characteristics in the 1860s. The proportion of slaves born in Brazil (81-82 percent) compared to those from Africa (18-19 percent) equal in these two townships. A larger percentage of slaves in Mogi das Cruzes had been born in the township, but too many slaves were listed with the general "native-born" (*crioulo*) category. Slaves in this category could have been born anywhere in Brazil. Traders purchased relatively more male slaves in Santos, while slightly more females were traded in Mogi das Cruzes. Considering that slave prices reflected a higher regional demand for male slaves in this more agricultural region of the province this is an unexpected

⁵⁸ *Revista Commercial*, 1863 (October), HS.

⁵⁹ "Elias" (slave of José Alves Torres Guimarães), "*Escrituras*," 1863, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 112); "Elias" (slave of Salles, Oliveira & Sá Cia), "*Escrituras*," 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 112, 146), FAMS.

finding, but, of course, higher demand does not mean higher supply (and, hence, more trading of that group).

Phenotype or racial characteristics were often included in the bills of sale to allow better identification of the slave being traded. Interestingly, the racial terms used between the two townships differed considerably. The *Mogiano* notary officer preferred to call slaves of mixed heritage “mulattos.” The two *Santista* notaries commonly labeled these slaves as “brown” slaves (*pardos*), referring to their skin color. Earlier in the century, *Santistas* had used the term “mulatto” more frequently, as shown by the slave tax and other records, but this largely dropped out of their vocabulary. Perhaps when slave ancestry became increasingly hard to track, skin color became a better identifying feature. The bills of sale in Mogi das Cruzes were much less likely to even refer to racial or color categories. In fact, a traded slave was four more times as likely to have his age marked than this category. *Santistas*, on the other hand, were more observant race and skin color.⁶⁰

The notary officer of Santos frequently noted the occupations of traded slaves, a detail that was largely left out of the bills of sale in Mogi das Cruzes. The biggest group of male slaves with any information were listed as “without a trade” (*sem officio*), but we know from other sources that these men and boys were put to work cutting cane, digging manioc fields, sowing rice paddies, cleaning homes and cooking, or hauling bags of sugar or coffee between carts, warehouses and waiting ships. Some were taken on and trained as masons, cobblers, coach drivers, carpenters, tinsmiths and as many as a hundred specialized and labeled occupations that existed in Brazilian towns and the countryside during this time. Slave females were placed into a much smaller range of labeled occupations, but their toil was, of course, no less difficult. Girls and women cleaned and cooked, while others nursed and cared for children. Some were trained in needlework. Domestic work and farming were the second and third largest groups of slaves listed.⁶¹

Some historians have argued that growing importance of coffee production, the end of the African slave trade in 1850, and the large scale displacement of slaves between provinces meant that more men were traded and forced to move while women were “left behind.” For Santos and Mogi das Cruzes, this does not appear to be the case. As mentioned already, female slaves outnumbered male slaves in the slave trade of Mogi das Cruzes. In Santos, we can refer to slave tax records and newspaper advertisements to give us a better perspective on what might have changed once the international slave trade ended and coffee boomed. Between 1832 and 1858, for example, most slaves bought and sold were young men and boys often separated from their families, but sometimes also sold with their parents,

⁶⁰ There is also a chance that with a greater movement of slaves in Santos, the notary officers had to be more attentive to creating a full description of a slave. In addition, since notaries and the clerks inscribing the tax records remained at their desks for many years, the change in or attention to racial language may reflect an adaption of a few men, not the larger society

⁶¹ Read, *Unequally Bound*, 142-150.

brothers and sisters. Nearly two-thirds of the 398 slaves for which a tax was paid were males and 43 percent were children under the age of 16. By the 1860s, men remained the most traded, but the gap between males and female slaves narrowed. In addition, fewer traders bought and sold children. The average age of slaves remained unchanged in the mid-twenties, but the advertised slaves were five years younger. The bills and advertisements give some evidence that there were increasingly more slave domestic servants in the Santos 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.⁶²

While exogenous forces, such as economic changes, government regulations, and the movement of slaves from different parts of Brazil all exerted powerful forces on slave trading, 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, Bento, a tanner and a slave of 50 years with light brown eyes, tight curly hair and a full face, who was bought by João Bernardes Perreira from João Bernardino de Lima in June of 1869.⁶³ Since Bento's skills had little to do with 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 when he tried to escape and he was put in jail for 17 days.⁶⁴ Bento may have not liked his new owner or found out that his owner planned to sell 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-réis* compared to the average price of 820 *mil-réis* for slaves with same characteristics.⁶⁵ 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 less than 50 percent the usual price, was Lima (who was also five years older) extending patronage to Perreira? Bento, certainly, was not endeared by the bargain as he served his term in jail.

Acquaintances assisted in other sales. Antonio Bento de Andrade, who worked in the small city post office, sold Luisa, a *parda* of 45 years, to Maria do Carmo Marques Lopes in 1865. Maria Lopes bought Luisa to help her clean and cook 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

⁶² *ibid.*, 90-138

⁶³ "Bento" (slave of João Bernardes Perreira), "*Escrituras*," 1869 (June), PCNS.

⁶⁴ "Bento," *Registro de Presos*, June 1868, MPCSP.

⁶⁵ The average price is based on nine male slaves, aged 40-60 sold between 1866 and 1872. "*Escrituras*," 1866-1872, PCNS, CCS, FAMS.

after this time in any other source and so it seems likely that an additional slave could have been beyond her resources. Indeed, two years later, Maria Lopes sold Luiza to one of Andrade's postal colleagues, Luiz Pimenta.⁶⁶ Pimenta and Andrade were two of five men working for the post office as listed in an almanac from 1865. For both sales, Luiza was sold for less than 50 percent 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 post office and one or both had a close relationship with Maria Lopes. As a consequence of this series of professional relationships, Luisa was traded at a very low price among 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. 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 became close with. There were no conditions listed in the manumission letter.⁶⁷

In Mogi das Cruzes, there is strong evidence that family connections played an important role in slave trading. About one in five (19 percent) transactions in this township involved traders that shared one or two surnames. While a shared last name is no proof of familial relations, it makes this connection more probable. The rural portions of Mogi das Cruzes had the highest proportion of traders with shared last names. Furthermore, these individuals were more likely to trade slaves at prices that were far below the general prices. For example, Francisco de Souza Mello sold Caetano, a 48 year-old African slave, to Joaquim de Souza Mello for 36 percent of the slave's "market price" (the average price for a male slave of this age in the township). Antonio da Cunha Machado sold a slave also named Caetano to Venerando da Cunha Machado for about half the "market price."⁶⁸ In Santos, familial connections seem to have played a less important role. Only one in 50 traders (2 percent) shared a surname with the other trading party. But within this small group of traders who shared surnames, the trade prices were also considerably lower than equivalent "market prices."

In one unusual case, a trader named João Baptista de Godoy sold Antonia, a four-year old slave, to Alexandrino José de Oliveira in August 1861. Both trading partners lived within the town of Mogi das Cruzes. For some unknown reason, Alexandrino sold Antonia back to João the following day, for the same price. Three months later, João sold Antonia for a second time, this time to Lieutenant Francisco d'assis Monteiro. Francisco owned an estate named "Paiva" where he grew sugar, cotton and coffee.⁶⁹ Francisco had also served as the notary officer who processed the sale and return of this enslaved toddler between João and Alexandrino, a role that must have given him the connection and knowledge to make

⁶⁶ "Luiza" (slave of Maria Lopes), "*Escrituras*," 1867 (March), PCNS; CCS (vol. 24, pg. 198), FAMS.

⁶⁷ "Luiza (former slave of Luiz Pimenta)" cartas de alforria, 1875.

⁶⁸ "Caetano" (slave of Joaquim de Souza Mello), "Caetano" (slave of Venerando da Cunha Machado) "*Escrituras*," Mogi das Cruzes, ECOM, Caixa 147, 8434.

⁶⁹ Luné and Fonseca. *Almanak da Província de São Paulo para 1873*.

his purchase. In the first trade, João and Alexandrino each lost 36 *mil-réis* because of the tax and notary fees. But when João sold Antonia to Francisco, he had raised the price and thus recovered his fee and maybe gained a small profit. Francisco, the farmer and notary officer, was likely only looking for a quick profit from Antonia for within a year he sold or transferred her. Curiously, it was not Francisco d'assis Monteiro who then sold Antonia again, but another man, probably João's brother or cousin because he too had the rare Godoy name. This was the second time that Antonia's price increased and a Godoy had made a profit by trading this young slave.⁷⁰ Nothing more is known about Antonia, a girl who was traded alone in these deals and far too young to understand this business. We can only hope that the trauma inflicted on her by these sales, reversals and profiteering were ameliorated by the care lent by other slaves and individuals.⁷¹

The bills of sale permit an analysis of slave market structure since it lists the agents (*procuradores*) who served as intermediaries between sales. Slave trading in Brazil and other parts of the world often involved intermediaries. Slaves after all 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"). In addition, when these middlemen took slaves into their possession, they were not "owners" in the legal sense. Rather, they were attorneys-in-fact, agents with the legal mandate to sell on the seller's behalf. Since ownership was not transferred, no one was obliged to pay taxes. These power of attorney rights were transferred multiple times for single transactions, especially in long distance trades.⁷² But, as we will see, agents also played significant roles in localized trading, indicating that their connections and knowledge of the business may have been more important than tax avoidance.

The network of men and women that existed in Santos and Mogi das Cruzes during the 1860s can be illustrated using computer programs found in the toolbox of sociologists who work on network theory.⁷³ These tools offer powerful means for analyzing network density and identifying central individuals, but their best feature may be the ability to visualize a pattern of activity and relationships that is impossible to see in the sources, or in simple lists of trading connections. *Figures 4 and 5* visualize

⁷⁰ "Antonia," (slave of Alexandrino José de Oliveira, João Baptista de Godoy, Francisco d'Assis Monteiro, José Leite Machado, "*Escrituras*," (Aug., 1861; Aug., 1861; Nov., 1861; Aug. 1862), Mogi das Cruzes, EMMC, Caixa 147, 8434. The surname "Godoy" did not appear in again in the bills of sale or the two almanacs.

⁷¹ This story gives the broad outline of this distressing story, but it also points to the large limitations of the bills of sale (and, for that matter, most historical sources on slavery) in exposing the slave experience. We have no way to know how the Godoys, or Antonia's new masters thought or felt about the little girl they were trading. Where were her mother and father? Was she an orphan? Was there any intention to provide her with the care she needed? What was the consequence of these transfers on her mental and physical well-being? Unfortunately, archives rarely give answers to questions like these.

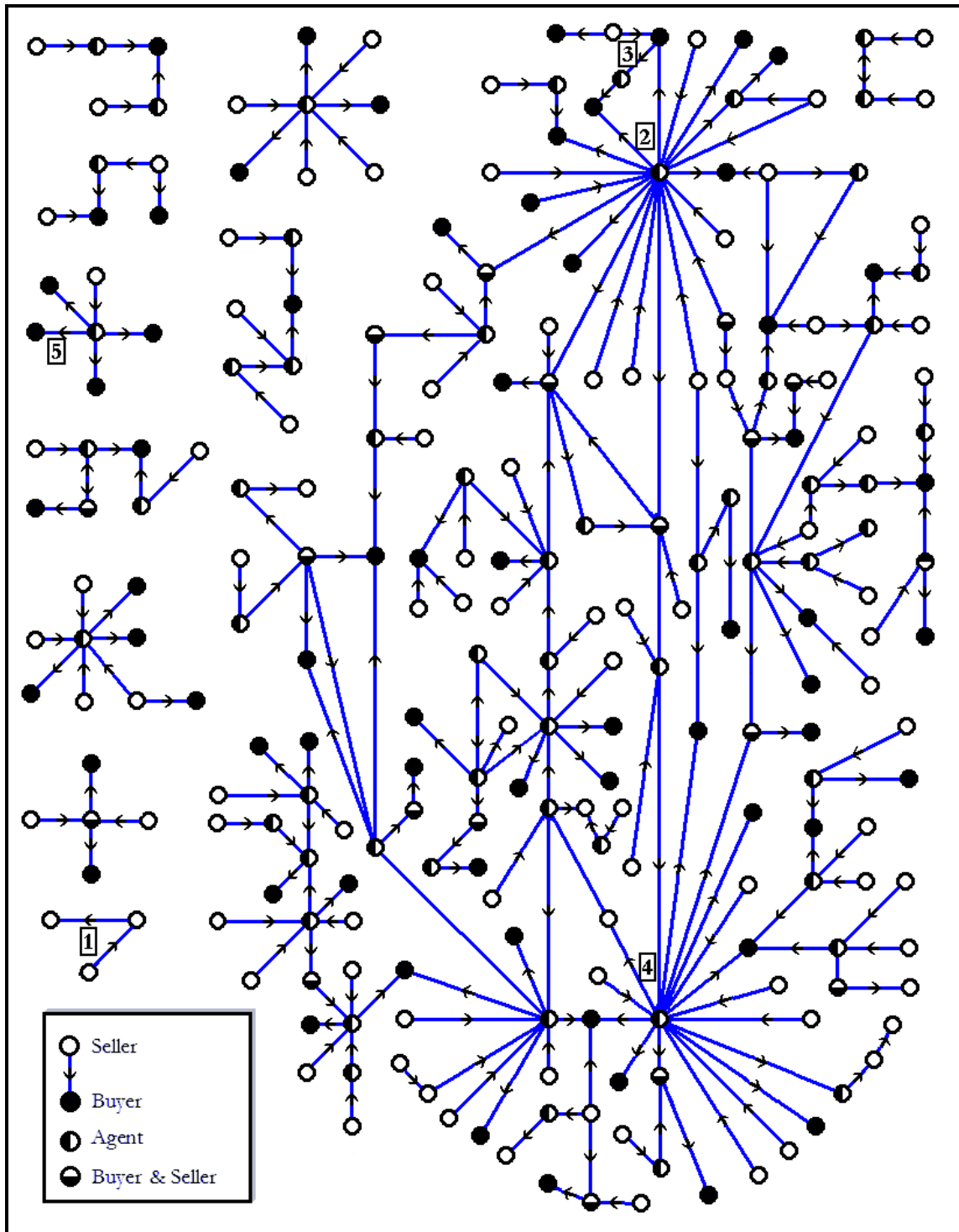
⁷² Cite Slenes diss and slave trade article

⁷³ Pajek, the program used to make these diagrams is available along with documentation at: <http://pajek.imfm.si/doku.php> (accessed May 15, 2009).

networks created by buyers, sellers and agents that appeared in the bills of sale for these two townships. The diagrams bring 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 (symbolized by the nodes) and follow the direction of the slave in the transaction. Nodes were filled in cases of buyers, or left empty for sellers. Vertical half-filled marks represent agents (who may have also been buyers and sellers), and horizontal half-filled marks represent people who sold and purchased slaves in multiple trades.⁷⁴

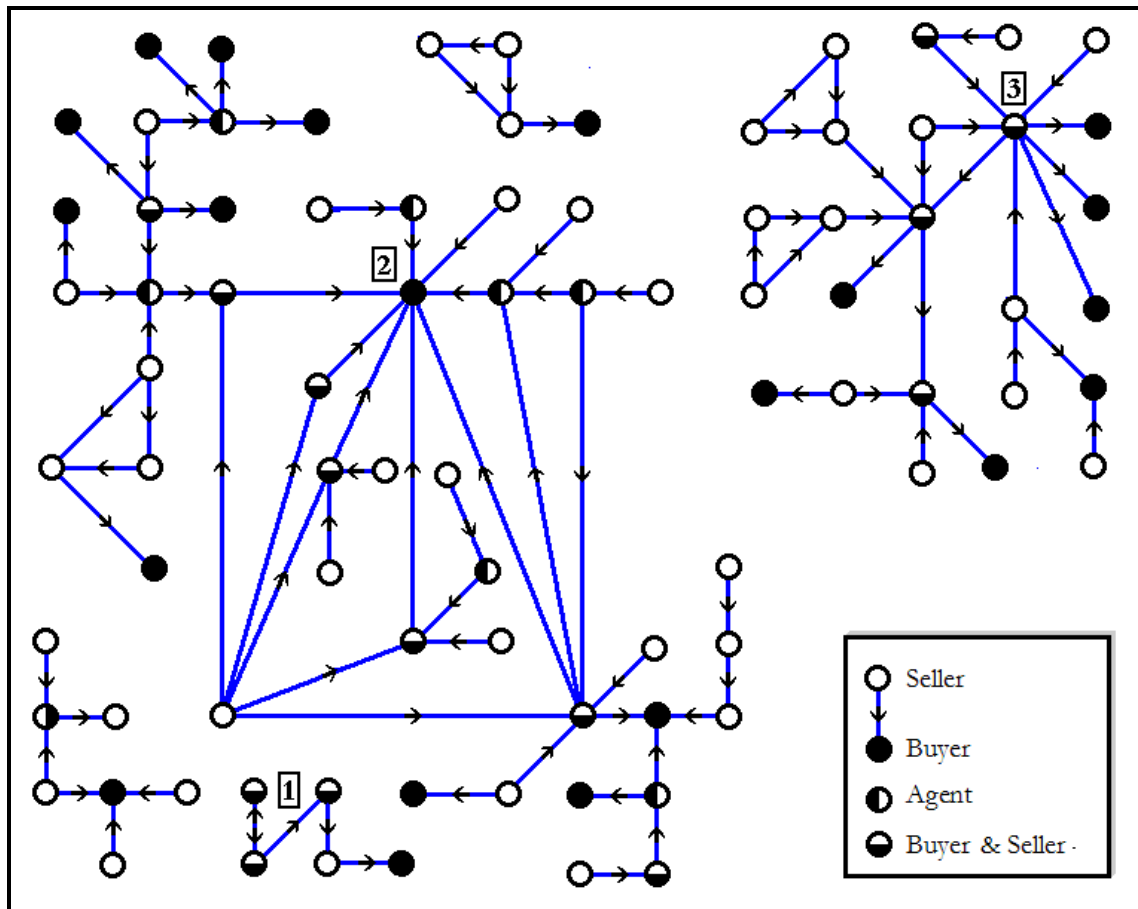
⁷⁴ For the sake of clarity, I have excluded from the diagram individuals who traded separately from main networks. These were individuals who traded with one or two others who were all unconnected to the larger webs of connections.

Figure 4. Network of Slave Transactions in Santos, 1861 – 1870



1) Luisa (a slave of Postmen Antonio Bento de Andrade and Luiz Pimenta, and Maria do Carmo); 2) Gregorio Innocenio de Freitas (a Portuguese businessman and the most connected trader) 3) Bento the tanner (a slave of João Bernardes Perreira and João Bernardino de Lima); 4) Scipião Ferreira Goulart Junqueira, (the township vicar and second most connected individual); 5) Elias (a slave of Pedro Savary, the baker). Source: *Escrituras de compra e venda (escravos)*, 1860-1871, CCS, PCNS, SCNS

Figure 5. Slave Transactions in Mogi das Cruzes, 1861 – 1868



1) Antonia (a slave of João Baptista de Godoy), 2) Francisco Freire de Almeida Mello (a well-connected trader linked to dry-goods stores and farms), 3) Francisco de Paula Lopes (another well-connected trader linked to wet-goods stores, town residents, and a few farms)

The majority of men and women who bought and sold slaves were in networks much larger than their single transaction.⁷⁵ For Santos, 62 percent of traders were with a single complex network, and 78 percent of traders were within networks of more than three people. In contrast, the overall pattern of connections in Mogi das Cruzes were more segmented and diffuse, with 53 percent of traders within networks of four individuals or more. Nevertheless, networks were crucial for both, but Santos and Mogi das Cruzes show distinct patterns that I believe reflect different modes of slave trading. First, it appears that slave trading was a more specialized and independent business in Santos. *Mogianos* certainly

⁷⁵ Men and women whose names repeated were counted as single individuals, but those with slight differences in their name order or spelling were excluded. For this reason, these networks may have been even more interconnected than represented. There is a chance that in rare cases a few fathers and sons shared the same name. But in many cases, the names of the sons usually contained “Junior.” For Santos, I was able to identify fathers from sons with same name using other historical sources, especially judicial records in which they stated their ages and birthplaces. Except for individuals connected by lines representing their slave trades, the proximate points without lines do not suggest a relationship.

traded slaves, but there seems to be fewer residents of the township who traded enough to make this their central or only source of income. With more specialized trading in Santos, and more traders and agents dependent on this trade for their income, they relied on a single interconnected network. Second, familial connections may have served as a substitute for trading connections in Mogi das Cruzes.⁷⁶ Mogianos may have better preserved more traditional links between families and friends, and were able to rely on this community to find bondspeople. In Santos, with its greater movement of people and higher number of immigrants, traders may have depended more on the slave trading network to procure a slave. Finally, geography probably played a role: Rural buyers and traders were more central traders in Mogi das Cruzes than in Santos. With *Mogiano* buyers and sellers spread throughout the agricultural and lightly settled parts of this township, they relied on a web of neighborly contacts rather than trading contacts. Indeed, about one-half of the transactions between rural *Mogianos* occurred between people who lived in the same “neighborhood” (*bairro*) or parish (*freguesia*).⁷⁷

Within these diagrams, I have identified the men and women that exemplified the many relationships that guided the sales of slaves. We can find the two *Santista* coffee merchants and neighbors, the postmen, the seller and notary officer in Mogi das Cruzes, and all the others mentioned earlier. We also now know that families helped guide the sale of slaves, especially in the interior township. Within these diagrams, I have also identified a few other individuals who played central roles within networks of relationships that connected a majority of buyers and sellers and stretched across these townships and region. These important traders contributed enormously to the cohesiveness of the trading network. In fact, 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.

Two individuals that deserve mention are Captain Gregorio Innocencio de Freitas (no. 2, *figure 4*) and Father Scipião Ferreira Goulart Junqueira (no. 3, *figure 4*), important actors in the Santos trade. These two men were the most connected individuals and both frequently served as the agents for other buyers and sellers. 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 Iguapé, a smaller port town 50 miles south and he profited from having connections in both cities. He served as proctor for many sellers in Iguapé and buyers in Santos. Most of his slaves had been born in Iguapé or another town on the southern coast of São Paulo.⁷⁸ Father Junqueira listed Santos as his primary residence, but his job as

⁷⁶ Need to mention other instances within the network literature in which different social networks co-existed and sometimes substituted for the other.

⁷⁷ There were 22 trades between rural Mogianos, but only 17 were specific about the rural location of either trading partner. Of these, eight buyers and sellers shared the same location.

⁷⁸ “Felipe” (slave of Henrique Ablas), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 150); “Roberto” (slave of Henrique Ablas), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 155); “Domingas” (slave of Francisco Xavier de Morais), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 118); “Inocencio” (slave of José Antonio de Sousa), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 119); “Ana” (slave of Manuel José Martins Patusca), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg.

township vicar took him to other parts of the township and state. He administered wills and testaments and was privy to estate assets before they were sold in auctions or sales.⁷⁹ Most important, his “clientele” and the slaves who he proctored differed in various ways from those of Freitas because of their dissimilar personal characteristics, occupations and positions within the slave trade network.

Surrounding these two men were other buyers and sellers who shared characteristics. Additionally, these groups bought slaves that also shared characteristics. There was a greater degree of homogeneity among owners and slaves who had one or two degrees of separation than between men and women further removed. In other words, those who traded with one of the principal seller or who traded with someone who traded with the principal seller, were likely to share more characteristics than those who had a distant connection to the principal seller. The regional slave network, then, had within it what might be called market nexuses, or groups of people who shared traits and sought similar slaves partly due to their common relationships. Two nexuses can be identified with Gregorio Freitas and Scipão Junqueira at their centers. As listed in 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.⁸⁰ 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.

Turning to the nexus of Junqueira, there are fewer men and women of Portuguese birth and less information about these people overall.⁸¹ The few that do have occupation information were mostly army officers, public officials, and lawyers. The vicar even proctored the sale of a young slave to a former African slave with the single name of Ambrozio. The slaves bought from 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.

119); “Luisa” (slave of José Joaquim Moreira Guimarães), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 146); “Gregorio” (slave of Francisco da Costa Bispo), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 146); “Leandro” (slave of João Coselits), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 29, pg. 118); “José” (slave of Francisco de Sousa Moreira), “*Escrituras*,” 1865, CSS (vol. 24, pg. 196); “Francisco” (slave of José Ferreira da Silva Camarinha), “*Escrituras*,” 1865, CSS (vol. 24, pg. 197); “Antonia” (slave of Francisco de Sousa Moreira), 1865, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 198); “Sebastião” (slave of Henrique Ablas), CCS (vol. 24, pg. 202); “Benedito” (slave of José Carneiro da Silva Braga), 1866 (pg. 23), PSNS; “Leonardo” (slave of João Bernardes Perreira), 1866 (pg. 29) PSNS.

⁷⁹ *Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial Da côrte e Provincia do Rio de Janeiro* [1865, 1870, 1875], “Scipião Ferreira Goulart Junqueira,” *Inheritance records*, 1867, 1879, CCS (vols. 16, 99, pgs. 226, 297); *Testamento*, 1868, CCS (vol. 99, pg. 354).

⁸⁰ 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. *Testamunhas judicias*, 1820-1880, CCS.

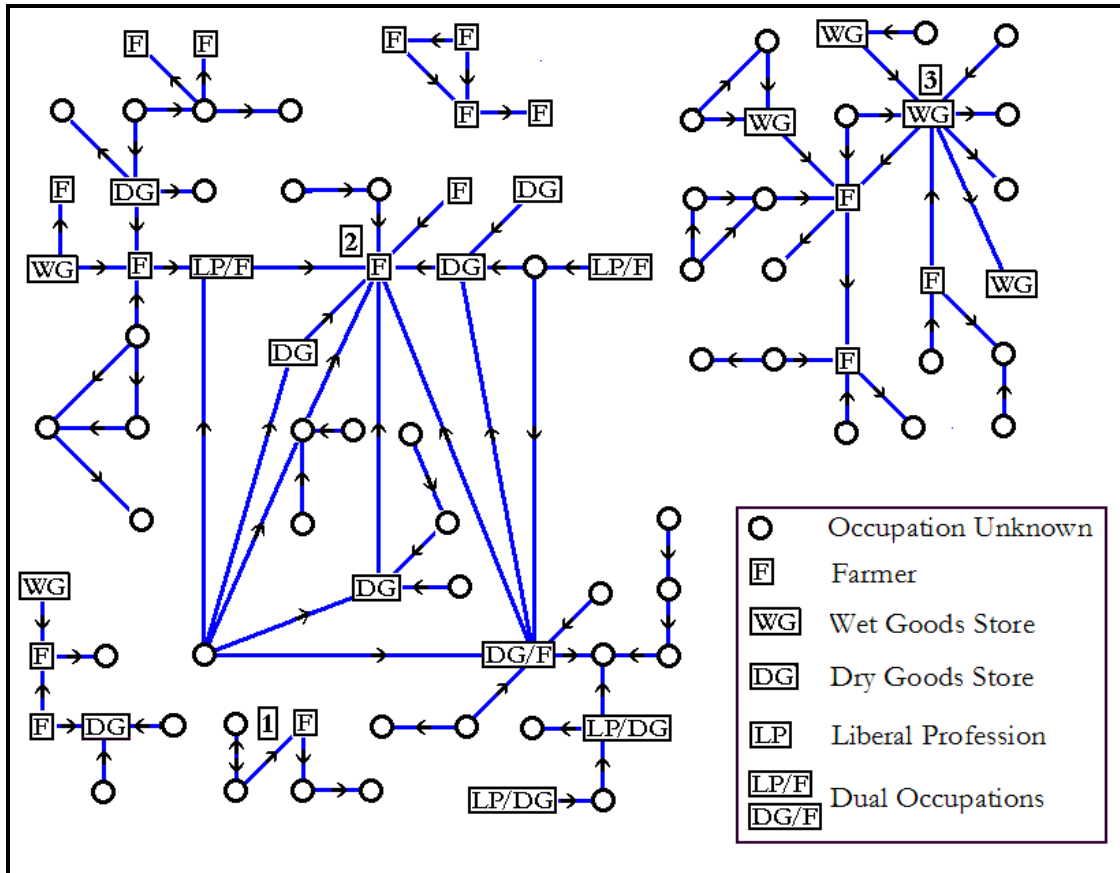
⁸¹ The fact that there is less biographical information about these men indicates that they appeared less in the judicial records or business almanacs. Since the majority of the judicial records were related to business contracts, this gives further indication that the vicar’s clientele was a less business oriented group of people, where this information is available.

There are more females among these slaves, more domestic servants and far fewer slaves listed “without a trade.”⁸² 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 so the prices of the captain’s slaves were on the average higher than the vicar’s slaves, despite the fact there fewer slaves of prime working age.

In Mogi das Cruzes, there were also groups within these networks with individuals that shared occupations and traded certain slaves. *Figure 6*, shows the four categories of occupations that were common among these slave traders. “Farmers” were land owners who grew coffee, cotton, or sugar or who tended livestock. Individuals ran “wet goods stores,” where they sold food articles such as meat, fruits, vegetables, grains, sugar, and spices. Others owned “dry good stores,” that sold farming equipment, wagon wheels, yokes, cloth and twine, barrels, and other items useful for country residences. Finally, there were a few of the “liberal professions,” including a lawyer and three members of the township government.

⁸² “Antonia” (slave of Gabriel Viveiros Costa), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 126); “Margarida” (slave of Gabriel Viveiros Costa), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, (vol. 24, pg. 126); “Anacleto” (slave of Jeremias Luis da Silva), “*Escrituras*,” 1864, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 123); “Januaria” (slave of Antonio Sebastião Gonçalves), “*Escrituras*,” 1865, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 205); “Januaria” (slave of Scipião Ferreira Goulart Junqueira), *Escrituras de compra e venda*, 1865, CCS (vol. 24, pg. 172); “Joanna” (slave of Ambrozio, “*Escrituras*,” 1866 (pg. 60), PCNS; “Caetano” (slave of José Antonio Vieira Barboza), “*Escrituras*,” 1866 (pg. 68), PCNS; “Ventura” (slave of Antonio Joaquim Tavares Rodovalho), “*Escrituras*,” 1868 (pg. 115), PCNS; “Florencio” (slave of Alexandre Francisco Gomes de Miranda), “*Escrituras*,” 1868 (pg. 129), PCNS; “Teresa” (slave of José Antonio de Magalhães Castro Sobrinho), “*Escrituras*,” 1869 (pg. 149), PCNS; “Vicencia” (slave of Ignacio Wallace da Gama Cochrane), “*Escrituras*,” 1869 (pg. 154), PCNS.

Figure 6. Network of Slave Transactions in Mogi das Cruzes, with Occupations and Commercial Establishments of Traders, 1861 – 1868



1) Antonia (slave of João Baptista de Godoy), 2) Francisco Freire de Almeida Mello (a well-connected trader linked to dry-goods stores and farms), 3) Francisco de Paula Lopes (another well-connected trader connected with wet-goods stores, farms and town residents)

The men and women directly connected to Francisco Freire de Almeida Mello (no. 2, *figure 5* and 6) or within one connection away were mostly rural farmers and owners of dry goods stores. Almost one-third came from a three neighborhoods (Atapeti, Britibibe, and Parahiba) that may have been proximate to each other. Of the 17 individuals in this group, three had residences in the city and two of these ran dry goods stores. The slaves they purchased were younger and priced lower compared to the general group of slaves traded at this time in Mogi das Cruzes. One might expect that farmers in this province would be buying working age males, with the highest prices, but because cotton played as important a role as coffee in the agriculture of the township, buying patterns may have differed. In the smaller but still dense network we can find another group of traders that differed in occupation and residence. The group surrounding Francisco de Paula Lopes (no. 3, *figure 5* and 6) had more urban residences and more links to stores of wet-goods. Two of three buyers who were list as owners of plantations or farms also had townhomes in town. Two sellers lived in a village called in São José de Parahitinga directly to the north and may have provided a bridging connection between the town and this

northern village. Between these buyers and sellers were the four men who operated wet-goods stores. It appears, then, that wet-goods stores may have been an important commercial establishment for slave buying for town residents, while the dry-goods stores that catered to farming equipment also sold slaves to the farming community. It makes sense, after all, that the merchants that these two groups had the most interaction with would also be their principal agents in the slave market. The slaves of the group surrounding Francisco de Paula Lopes were older and a little more expensive than average. Their occupations and skills are not listed, but these slaves were more likely to have been purchased to work in townhouses.⁸³

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, connected to one another in the wider network, had nexuses of cohesion embedded in these series of relationships and which extended to the slaves who they traded. These men and women exchanged slaves with friends, colleagues and neighbors, and if they did not know each other through family, job or association ties, then the sale created a connection. The slaves traded within the nexuses were also in some ways also distinct, probably fitting to the economic means and occupational demands of their new owners. There was no single slave market *per se* but a series of complex networks that assisted or constrained buyers and sellers as they made their transactions.

The availability of slaves for sale and their range of prices were two powerful but exogenous forces that influenced sales, but slave markets went past these two largely impersonal and economic variables. 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 depending upon their position within these networks. I am not suggesting 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 recommending 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.

In this article [talk], I have sought to explain the mechanisms that paired sellers to buyers within webs of relationships that fit within the diverse social and geographic topographies of Santos and Mogi das Cruzes. Evidence comes from the historical sources of these two *Paulista* townships that beyond size, population and proximity to the city of São Paulo, were distinct in many ways. This study builds on the discovery that small-scale trading was the most common kind of slave trading in Brazil during the second half of the nineteenth century. This is also the first glimpse into the backgrounds of “ordinary” buyers, sellers and agents most of whom participated in the slave market only once or twice. As trading was a

⁸³ “*Escrituras*,” Mogi das Cruzes: AESP, ECMC, Caixa 147, 8434

memorable and risky financial move, they relied on friends, family and neighbors. As a result, groups of trading partners formed interconnections that, in the case of Santos, shared demographic traits and, in both townships, shared occupational characteristics among close ties. Similarly, the slaves that these groups or nexuses traded also shared characteristics that reflected the resources, residences, and occupational needs of the traders. In this way, the local trade was a gateway for slaves that influenced the kinds of jobs and other life conditions that they would encounter after what was often a harrowing, agonizing, or violent transition. The local trade has received far less attention although a great deal of source material sits mostly forgotten in notary offices and archives across Brazil. It has also been less written about than the inter-provincial trade, yet evidence is mounting that the former was more important for the lives of most slaves and more consequential for the Brazilian economy and demography.