Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The Slave Trade to the Río de la Plata, 1777–1812: Trans-Imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare

Alex Borucki

Emory University

Atlantic European empires faced reform and centralization in the second half of the eighteenth century at a time when Spanish American dominions were challenged by British and Portuguese interests. The Seven Years War (1756–1763) left an important part of Spanish America confronting the British possessions of North America and the West Indies and the Portuguese in the Río de la Plata. The periphery of the Spanish Empire—Cuba, Venezuela, and the Río de la Plata—experienced both Atlantic warfare and economic growth as Spain turned to a more commercial and maritime model of Atlantic empire (Elliot 2006, 292–324). This era of imperial redefinition coincided with the zenith of the transatlantic slave trade. From a total of twelve and a half million enslaved Africans who crossed the Atlantic between 1500 and 1867, almost six million made this passage between 1750 and 1825 (Behrendt et al.). Sharp imperial competition developed in the Atlantic over the production of staples, shipping, and the acquisition of slave labor. However, as this study will show, instead of rivalry it was actually trading cooperation between the Spanish and the Portuguese in the South Atlantic that led to the introduction of the greatest number of enslaved Africans in the history of the Río de la Plata.

This study provides a revised quantification of the slaves entering in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. By studying the slave trading connections of this region with both Brazil and Africa, this article shows how Luso-Spanish networks shaped the slave routes ending in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The trans-imperial networks which drove this southernmost branch of the slave trade might seem inimical to the mercantilist policies held by the Spanish and Portuguese metropolis, but they continued as this traffic benefited specific aspects of imperial trade and expansion. While illegal for the Portuguese Crown, the slave trade from both Brazil and Mozambique to the Río de la Plata provided a continuous inflow of silver—the blood of Portuguese commerce in Asia and a source of specie for the empire.

Increasing slave arrivals in the Río de la Plata were expected to multiply colonial agriculture and trade beneficial to Madrid. While illegal for the Spanish Crown in times of peace, the merchants of the Río de la Plata entered foreign goods under the umbrella of the royal measures encouraging the slave trade.[1] *Rioplatense* slave traders navigated a continuum of illegal and legal strategies to introduce both slaves and merchandise. They did not remain passive in their relation to the metropolis; instead, they tuned their colonial strategies to imperial trading policies. Rioplatense merchants confronted imperial control as they pursued their own commercial ends, and extended that same control by seeking the integration of the colonial economy in the Atlantic system.

To analyze the slave trade to the Río de la Plata, this essay builds on information provided by Elena de Studer (1958), archival documents from Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Seville, and from the online data set compiled by Behrendt, Eltis, Florentino, and Richardson. My own database encompasses 712 slave voyages sailing from Brazil and Africa to the Río de la Plata from 1777 to 1812. Each record contains information on slaves embarked (region of provenance, sex, age, and mortality), the slave traders (name of the ship, her flag, captain and owner), and the routes followed by the ship (port of departure and arrival, ports of slave embarkation, and stopovers).

A new Spanish policy in the 1780s linked slave arrivals in the colonies to agricultural prosperity. Francisco de Arango and other imperial thinkers saw slavery as providing the route to expanding production, trade, and benefits for the metropolis.[2] For Bourbon reformers and colonial merchant elites only slavery could transform Cuba, Venezuela, and the Río de la Plata into centers of production and trade (Adelman 2006, 56–110; Elliot 2006, 255–89). However, Spanish merchants had no previous experience in trading directly with Africa. In 1494 Spain had ceded the exploration of Africa to Portugal through the Treaty of Tordesillas. Apart from dividing the New World among the two Iberian empires, this pact also inhibited Spain from exploring sub-Saharan Africa. Consequently Spanish transatlantic slave trade was severely impaired prior to 1789. The Spanish Crown had to negotiate with Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British traders through rigid contracts for the supply of slaves to its colonies (Vila Vilar 1977). In 1778, Portugal ceded the islands of Fernando Poo and Annobon, in the Gulf of Guinea, to Spain given the Spanish desire of an African base to engage in slave trading. However, the expedition to take possession of the islands, which departed from Montevideo, was a complete disaster for Spain (Molinari 1944, 81). A decade after, in 1789, the Crown effectively left open the Spanish Caribbean slave trade—and Río de la Plata's in 1791—to merchants of all nations.

The opening of the slave trade to the Río de la Plata was part of the imperial-wide change in metropolitan policies. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Spanish Crown had already introduced a wide range of new policies into its American dominions—the so-called Bourbon reforms. To better administer and defend the vast borderland with Brazil, and to save the cost for the transport of silver from Upper Peru, the Crown created the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776 by cutting off

the territory of what is today Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina and Uruguay from the Viceroyalty of Peru (Céspedes del Castillo 1947; Socolow 1997, 7–24). The inflow of Upper Peruvian silver to the new viceregal capital—Buenos Aires—provided the means for the defense and administrative maintenance of the Río de la Plata (Te Paske and Klein 1982, xi). All viceroys of the Río de la Plata were military men, who followed a policy of militarization exemplified by the expulsion of the Portuguese from Colônia do Sacramento. While the Portuguese were expelled from this town, some of them moved themselves and their commercial operations to neighboring Montevideo, where they merged with the emerging local elites and reestablished Luso-Spanish trading networks (Prado 2009, 83–121).

Military policies were costly, and raised colonial expenditures as well as royal concerns about the economic viability of the colonies. The metropolis' attempt to make the colonies more financially viable was the main economic motivation of the Bourbon reforms. The Crown encouraged trade and implemented a new taxation structure. In the Río de la Plata commerce expanded with the introduction of measures allowing trade, first with other Spanish colonies (1778), then with foreign colonies (1795), and finally with neutral powers during wartime (1797).[3] The first edict authorized direct trade between the Río de la Plata and Spain as well as reinforced the position of Buenos Aires as the main commercial link between the Andes and the Atlantic; the second legalized the commerce between the Río de la Plata and Brazil, while the third encouraged trade with the U.S. merchant fleet after the British navy blockaded Spain (Bentancur 1998, 289–343).

Buenos Aires (established in 1580) was the principal city of the Río de la Plata, but it had a shallow anchorage and could offer little protection for ocean-going vessels. Across the estuary from Buenos Aires, the Portuguese Colônia do Sacramento developed as a complementary port from 1680 to 1777. From here goods and slaves were smuggled into Buenos Aires until the Spanish expelled the Portuguese in the latter year. The foundation of Montevideo (1724–1726), located in the best natural bay for ocean-going vessels, completed the system of ports in the Río de Plata. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Montevideo became the base of the Spanish navy in the South Atlantic and the port of entry for ships sailing to and from Buenos Aires. The Crown declared Montevideo the only authorized entry for slaves to the Río de la Plata in 1791. The slave trade to the Río de la Plata developed through the two Spanish port cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. While the merchants of Buenos Aires had the upper hand in the Río de la Plata and the routes toward Chile and Peru, the merchants of Montevideo had active networks with Luso-Brazilians, the most experienced slave traders of the South Atlantic.[4]

Luso-Spanish networks and the military operations in the aftermath of the fall of Colônia led to the emergence of Montevideo as a new slave entrepôt in the region. In 1779, two ships of the Portuguese navy stopped in Montevideo while en-route to Colônia to embark military equipment after the Portuguese capitulation. They disembarked 118 slaves in Montevideo.[5] The slaves in one of these vessels belonged to the merchant of Colônia Francisco A. Gonzales Cazón. In 1780, two Portuguese

vessels brought to Montevideo Spanish military equipment from the village of Rio Grande, which the Spanish occupied from 1762 to 1776. These vessels left 50 slaves in Montevideo. One of these captains, Manuel d'Cunha returned to Montevideo from Rio de Janeiro with 23 and 213 slaves the two following years. The other captain, Manuel J. de Fleytas, shipped 130 and 155 slaves to Montevideo in 1782–1783. The career of José J. de Fleytas followed the same pattern as he captained four voyages from Rio de Janeiro to Montevideo, first bringing 26 slaves in 1779, and then 130, 200 and 175 in 1782–1784.[6] In 1778, the appointment of the Portuguese-born Cipriano de Melo as the second in command of suppressing contraband in Montevideo facilitated this increasing traffic. The life of Don Cipriano embodies the reallocation of Portuguese merchant networks from Colônia to Montevideo which made possible the introduction of more than six thousand slaves in 1782–1783 (Prado 2009, 246–72).

Two merchants, Domingo Belgrano and Francisco A. Maciel, illustrate the Spanish trading connections across the Río de la Plata and the links of this region with Brazil in the late colonial period. Belgrano, a merchant of Buenos Aires, participated in trading circuits connecting Lima, Chile, Upper Peru, the Río de la Plata, Brazil, and Spain (Gelman 1996). Belgrano sold Spanish and other European merchandises, as well as slaves, in the interior of the viceroyalty, Chile and Peru. He obtained in return gold, silver, and local products. Belgrano employed specie to purchase goods in Europe, slaves in Brazil, and to reinvest in urban property and rural businesses. When specie was not available, he received products he could sell in the markets he controlled in the viceroyalty. He developed links in Montevideo to pursue slave trading activities in Brazil.[7] The commercial routes used by Belgrano drained silver from the viceroyalty toward Spain and Brazil. Like most colonies in the temperate Americas, Buenos Aires had a persistent trade deficit which was covered with specie, much of which passed through Montevideo to Brazil and on to neutral powers.[8] In 1780, Francisco A. Maciel arrived in Rio de Janeiro as delegate of the merchants of Montevideo to re-establish the Rio de Janeiro-Río de la Plata route after the destruction of Colônia by the Spanish. He stated that Portuguese ships would be able to enter Montevideo if they claimed distress at sea, and that Cipriano de Melo would not impede the resulting trade (Prado 2009, 253). Don Cipriano's own commercial contacts in Rio de Janeiro helped Maciel to reestablish this trading route. In addition, Maciel became the most important slave trader of Montevideo during the next three decades.

Merchants of Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and Salvador created trans-imperial networks that shaped the slave trade to the Río de la Plata. This commerce was significant to the Luso-Brazilians and Portuguese located on both sides of the Atlantic. Spaniards of the Río de la Plata bought slaves with silver, which was essential for both Portuguese royal revenues and Portuguese long-distance commerce with India and China given that specie was in short supply after the decline of the Minas Gerais gold-mining production.[9] Spanish silver entered Portuguese commercial circuits beneficial to the merchants of Rio de Janeiro and

Salvador, the royal revenue in Lisbon, and Luso-African traders in Mozambique. The Portuguese authorities of Luanda perceived that an important part of the slaves sent to Rio de Janeiro was redirected to Montevideo in the 1790s (Miller 1988, 495). Despite the fact that the Spanish had little experience in slave trading in Africa prior to 1791, Luso-Spanish networks in the Río de la Plata and the larger Atlantic were able to shape the slave trade to this region.

The increasing number of slaves arriving in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata was the most important demographic event since the Iberian colonization to this region. At least 70,000 slaves arrived in the Río de la Plata from Africa and Brazil between 1777 and 1812, which is surprising given that Buenos Aires had only 43,000 inhabitants by 1810 and Montevideo no more than 12,000 by 1803 (Arredondo 1928; Johnson and Socolow 1980). Between 1778 and 1810, the population of Buenos Aires grew 34 percent, while the slave population increased 101 percent. In Montevideo, the total population grew 119 percent between 1791 and 1810, while the slave population increased 486 percent (Campagna 1990). In these two cities, thirty percent of the population was enslaved by 1810. The dimension of the slave trade in the viceregal period emerges if we compare it with other periods of this traffic to this region. A mere 20,000 slaves arrived in Buenos Aires in the seventeenth century, while near 40,000 slaves were brought to the Río de la Plata by the French Compagnie de Guinée (1703–1713), the English South Sea Company (1714–1737), the Spanish contracts (1743–1760) and the Portuguese of Colônia before 1777 (Behrendt et al.; Jumar 2000; Studer 1958, 102).[10]

Though the Río de la Plata was not a plantation society, it nevertheless suffered from a pervasive scarcity of labor. The Spanish of Buenos Aires and Montevideo were never able to extract the labor they needed from Amerindians, though colonists did trade with Indians who largely remained outside Spanish rule.[11] The scarcity of laborers was particularly evident in the most important part of the agricultural cycle: the wheat harvest. In almost every single year from the 1740s to the 1770s the Governor of Buenos Aires issued edicts interrupting public works in order to make the city's labor force available for the January harvest of wheat. The governor mentioned free blacks, colored peoples and Amerindians in these edicts in eight different years between 1743 and 1774 (Archivo General de la Nación 1997, 16, 20, 33, 46, 59–62, 69, 100). In these cases, free people of color and Indians were compelled to work in the fields. However, there are no such references in the years 1780s and 1790s. This fact perhaps reflects the increasing number of slaves becoming available to agriculture by the last two decades of the eighteenth century.

In the Río de la Plata, slaves were employed in the urban economy as domestic servants and artisans, laborers in agricultural activities that supplied the city, and in the production of a first widely sold item in the Atlantic: Hides. Slaves had been the main laborers of the Jesuit *haciendas* in Córdoba and the Argentine Northwest before the expulsion of this order (Mayo 1994). Slaves had been prominent in rural production and urban crafts in distant places of the viceroyalty such as La Rioja and Santa Fe (Guzmán 2001; Pistone 1996). In the main wheat producer region for the

market of Buenos Aires, San Isidro, slaves outnumbered free workers among the labor force by 1815 (Garavaglia 1993a). In San Isidro one out of three males above the age of twelve was either black or a person of color, and 61 percent of the slaves were Africans. This was a direct consequence of the previous three decades of slave trade. Studies of rural history reveal the presence of slaves alongside wage and family laborers in rural estates of the late-colonial Río de la Plata (Garavaglia 1993b; Gelman 1989).[12] The simple technology of cattle ranching and the inexpensiveness of land made labor the principal expenditure of entrepreneurs. In these cattle ranches, slaves constituted a source of continuous labor in contrast to the shifting and seasonal need of free workers (Amaral 1987). They performed year-round tasks while free workers performed seasonal labor.

Hides, the main but not the only product of the ranches of the Río de la Plata was, after silver, the most important means of payment for slaves. Leather was increasingly used around the Atlantic at the end of the eighteenth century. Markets in the Northern Hemisphere developed for a wide range of industrial and domestic purposes (Brown 1979). The Río de la Plata also diversified its agricultural output during the viceregal period to supply markets stretching from Lima to Rio de Janeiro and from Boston to Hamburg. The rise of the slave trade was an essential ingredient of this expansion of production and commerce in the Río de la Plata. In the 1790s local traders built a merchant fleet by purchasing ships in Brazil and the United States, established a maritime insurance company, and founded a Nautical School (Cooney 1986).

In addition to this large increase in demand for slave labor, slave manumission, flight of slaves, and internal slave traffic could also account for the increasing number of slaves arrivals. Fugitive slaves and negative ratios of slave reproduction were pervasive in the Río de la Plata.[13] In Buenos Aires, slaves could flee southward to the Indian frontier, whereas in Montevideo they could join parties of bandits operating in the countryside and in the Portuguese borderland. In both cases, they apparently had the option of starting a new life as wage earners in another town under the protection of local *vecinos*. Slaves quickly became acquainted with the Spanish legal procedures of manumission in the region. Almost sixty percent of manumissions favored women in viceregal Buenos Aires (Johnson 1974). This reinforced the gender imbalance of the slave population, which was already shaped by the high ratio of men brought by the transatlantic slave trade, and thus reduced the possibilities of slave reproduction. But the Río de la Plata was not only a destination market, it was also an entrepôt. Slaves were dispatched inland and through the Magellan straits to Chile and Peru. The Compañía de Filipinas shipped 2,900 slaves from Bonny and Calabar to the Río de la Plata in 1788–1789. Only 2,177 Africans arrived alive in Montevideo of which 509 died after disembarkation there and in Buenos Aires, 595 were sold in these two cities, and the remaining 1,073 slaves were sent to Lima.[14] From 1800 to 1803, at least 1,679 slaves were carried from Buenos Aires and Montevideo to the interior of Argentina, Upper Peru, Chile and Lima, a number that amounted to ten percent of all slaves entering the two Río de la Plata ports during those four years.[15] This figure is

certainly a lower-bound estimate of the actual number of slaves departing from the Río de la Plata to other South American destinations.

Two Slave Trade Routes to the Río de la Plata: Africa and Brazil

The opening of the slave trade in 1791 paved the way for a continuous inflow of enslaved Africans. Figure 1 and Table 1 show that 84 percent of the slaves arriving in the Río de la Plata between 1777 and 1812 were disembarked after the formal opening of this traffic. From 1792 on, there was a continuous increase of slave arrivals up to 1807, when a political crisis led to the end of this traffic during colonial times. Table 1 also depicts four periods of the slave arrivals to the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata.

Two large slave arrivals in 1782 and 1788 characterize the first period of this traffic, 1777–1791, when there was a low average of slave arrivals per year in comparison with the following phases. A major increase of slave arrivals describes the second and third periods, while a politically induced decline of the slave trade occurred in the fourth period, 1807–1812. However, the annual average of slave arrivals in this phase
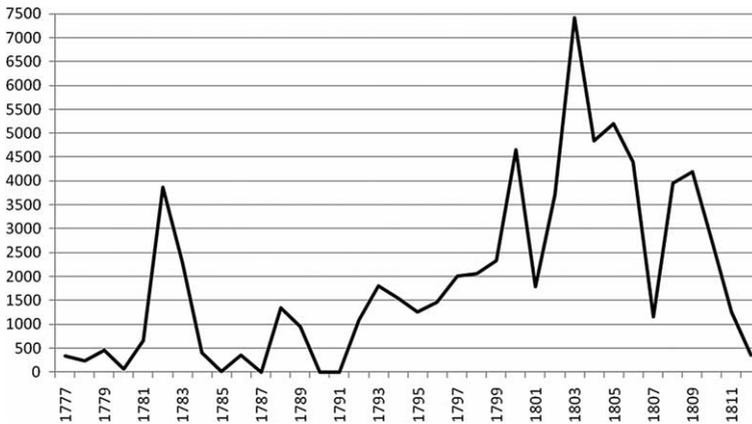

Figure 1 Slave Arrivals to the Río de la Plata, 1777–1812.
Source: Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Sección Buenos Aires Leg. 101, 102, 141, 334, 389, 449, 483; Sección Indiferente 2820B, 2821, 2824, 2825A, 2827. Archivo General de la Nación, Argentina, Sala IX, Leg. 18-8-11, 5-2-11, 31-1-10, 31-1-8, 10-4-7, 3-1-7, 2-10-7, 2-8-7, 2-3-7, 14-4-3, 14-4-4, 14-4-5, 14-4-6, 31-1-5, 10-6-4, 27-6-4, 2-3-4, 2-3-5, 2-4-5, 2-5-5, 2-5-6, 2-6-3, 2-7-6, 2-9-3, 2-8-2, 2-8-3, 2-8-6, 2-9-4, 2-9-6, 2-10-1, 2-10-2, 2-10-3, 2-10-6, 10-5-1, 5-2-1, 2-9-1, 45-3-6, 45-3-7, 45-3-8, 45-3-9, 45-3-10, 45-2-12, 45-2-10, 45-2-9, 45-2-8, 45-2-6, 45-2-5, 45-2-1, 45-1-1, 38-8-7, 37-3-1,36-7-3, 36-6-4, 36-4-5, 34-5-8, 4-5-2, 33-9-7, 33-4-7, 33-4-2, 33-3-8, 33-3-6, 31-2-1; Sala XIII, 15-7-4, 15-8-1, 15-8-2, 15-8-3, 15-8-5, 15-9-2, 15-9-5. Archivo General de la Nación, Uruguay, AGA Caja 228, 243, 247, 296, 304, 306, 329, 336, 346, Libro 95; EGH Caja 82, 83, 84, 90, 92, 73, 28, 32, 40, 41, 55, 56, 24, 27, 34, 46, 54, 61, 66, 74, 80. (Studer 1958; Behrendt, Eltis, Florentino, and Richardson). *Note:* At least 77,500 slaves were embarked to the Río de la Plata but the figures and tables only show slaves disembarked.

Table 1 Slave Arrivals to the Río de la Plata, 1777–1812

Years	Disembarked slaves		Average of slave arrivals per year of each period
1777–1791	15.7%	10,998	785
1792–1799	19.3%	13,575	1,939
1800–1806	45.6%	32,008	5,335
1807–1812	19.4%	13,644	2,728
Total	100.0%	70,225	2,006

Source: Same as Figure 1.

was larger than in the first two periods, which shows the continued dynamism of the slave trade to the Río de la Plata even under political turmoil.

Events in Spain, North America, and Brazil shaped the first great introduction of slaves in the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. In 1779, Spain allied with the North Americans in the war against British colonial rule. This interrupted the trade between Spain and its colonies as the British navy pursued Spanish ships. To counteract this blockade, the Spanish Crown allowed Portuguese ships to sail between Spain and the Río de la Plata (Bentancur 1985, 18). As noted earlier, these vessels were required to sail in ballast to Montevideo, where they would embark hides and silver to be shipped safely to Spain under the Portuguese flag. However, the majority of these Portuguese ships using the subterfuge of distress at sea and lack of water, asked permission to disembark slaves in Montevideo, and at the same time, illegally introduced merchandise previously embarked in Brazil. This major smuggling operation is illustrated by the first spike in Figure 1.

The Compañía de Filipinas brought the second major batch of slave arrivals prior to 1791 shown in Figure 1. Within the mercantilist milieu of the Bourbon reforms, the Spanish Crown created the Compañía de Filipinas in 1785 (Díaz 1965). Initially devoted to the commerce between Spain and the Philippines, this company entered the slave trade to the Río de la Plata in 1788. The Compañía de Filipinas in turn arranged for a British company, Baker and Dawson, to carry out these expeditions. Spanish agents sailed from Great Britain to Africa in Baker and Dawson's vessels complete with an English crew and flying the British flag. When the vessels reached the Río de la Plata they hoisted the Spanish colors, and disembarked the slaves in Montevideo. There, the ships were loaded with hides, and returned to England. The Crown viewed the outcome of the Compañía de Filipinas sally into the slave trade as disastrous given the high mortality (only 58 percent of slaves survived both passage and disembarkation) and high African slave prices. As a consequence, in Buenos Aires, the agent of the Compañía Martín de Sarratea requested that the Crown waive the royal levies due on these slave arrivals, a request which the Crown approved (Behrendt et al.; Díaz 1965, 224–25).

The second period (1792–1799) of the slave trade to the viceregal Río de la Plata began with the opening of the legal slave trade. As noted, slave arrivals increased substantially in these years, but there were still factors deterring slave trading

activities in this region. Atlantic warfare, the opposition of the traditional merchants of Buenos Aires, and the lack of experience of Rioplatense slave traders in the commerce with Africa inhibited this traffic in the 1790s. First, there were no more than three years of peace between Spain and Britain (1802–1804) from 1797 to 1806. In this period, the British navy blockaded Cadiz and interrupted Spanish Atlantic commerce.[16] The first four years of this conflict (1797–1800) saw the rise of Brazilian slave arrivals to the Río de la Plata to their peak in 1800. Second, the profits of Rioplatense slave traders raised the concerns of the merchants linked to other trades. In Buenos Aires, one of the most important judicial conflicts over colonial commerce saw slave traders pitted against the merchants of the traditional trade with Spain. The traditional traders tried to curtail slave trader links with Brazil and the United States. The irritation of traditional merchants stemmed from the fact that slave traders could introduce hides to Brazil paying lower taxes on exports than they did (Socolow 1978, 126). Finally, the lack of contacts of the Rioplatense merchants in Africa also complicated the slave trade to this region after its opening. While the Portuguese Crown excluded foreign slave traders from Angola, only after 1797 it allowed slave traders from the United States and the Río de la Plata to embark slaves in Mozambique.

In the third phase of the slave trade to the viceregal Río de la Plata (1800–1806), the colonial authorities swung its support behind slave traders in their dispute with the traditional merchants of Buenos Aires. Slave arrivals direct from Africa attained all-time highs. In just two years (1803–1804), 11,000 slaves arrived in the Río de la Plata from Africa and Brazil, a figure similar to Montevideo's entire population of 11,400 at the time.

The fourth and last period of the slave trade to the viceregal Río de la Plata (1807–1812) began with the British occupation of Montevideo in 1807, and finished when the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata banned the slave trade in 1812. The British launched two unsuccessful invasions to Buenos Aires and Montevideo in 1806 and 1807. From 1810 on, war and revolution engulfed the region. The Junta of Buenos Aires fought the Spanish loyalist in Montevideo through their defeat in 1814, and these events led to the decline of the slave trade. However, in 1810, the year that the revolution began in Buenos Aires, 2,700 slaves arrived in the Río de la Plata. The last slave ship from Mozambique arrived in Montevideo in January 1811, just four months before the siege of Montevideo by the revolutionary forces. These events show that in the Río de la Plata, as in other places of America, the slave trade ended because of political developments rather than the disappearance of a market of slave labor (Eltis 1987).

To understand the fluctuations of the slave trade to the Río de la Plata, two branches of this traffic must be analyzed: the intra-American from Brazil and the transatlantic from Africa. These two slave trading routes operated largely independently of each other. One of the most important characteristics of the traffic to the Río de la Plata was the significant inflow of slaves from Brazil. Figure 2 and Table 2
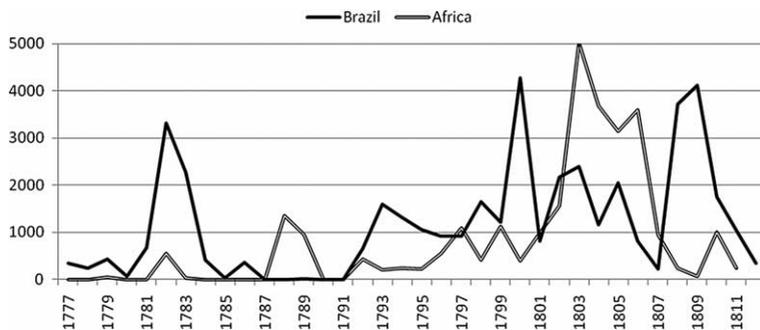
Figure 2 Slave Arrivals in the Río de la Plata by Broad Region of Origin, 1777–1812.
Source: Same as Figure 1.

show that the slave trade from Brazil to the Río de la Plata was actually larger than the direct trade from Africa.

At least sixty percent of all slaves disembarking in the Río de la Plata were shipped from Brazil, but we should note that 77.5 percent of all slave voyages departed from Brazil too.[17] Out of 712 voyages carrying slaves into the Río de la Plata, only 160 obtained their captives from Africa during this period. Rio de Janeiro, not Africa, was the source of most slave voyages and slaves arriving in the Río de la Plata. In Rio de Janeiro, at least 333 voyages embarked 23,000 slaves to Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

Slave arrivals from Brazil and Africa did not develop evenly through this thirty-five-year period. Between 1777 and 1791 almost all slaves coming from Africa were carried by the Compañía de Filipinas. The slaves brought from Brazil were introduced mainly in 1782–1783 via a huge smuggling operation. In this period immediately preceding the opening of the slave trade to the Río de la Plata, the ratio of Brazilian to African shipments of slaves was almost 3 to 1. This ratio was reduced to almost 2 to 1 in the years following the opening of the trade (1792–1799). Thus, the Río de la Plata was still reliant on Brazil for its slaves. The removal of the already noted obstacles to the direct trade with Africa at the end of the eighteenth century saw the ratio of Brazilian to African slave shipments reverse to 1 to 1.5 between 1800 and 1806. A brief peace in the Atlantic for the Spanish, the entrance of U.S. slave traders into the Río de la Plata traffic, and the opening of Mozambique stimulated arrivals directly from Africa. In this third phase, the large Brazilian slave arrivals in

Table 2 Slave Arrivals in the Río de la Plata by Broad Region of Origin, 1777–1812

Years	Africa	Brazil	Total
1777–1791	2,887 (26)	8,111 (74)	10,998 (100)
1792–1799	4,262 (31)	9,313 (69)	13,575 (100)
1800–1806	18,356 (57)	13,652 (43)	32,008 (100)
1807–1812	2,468 (18)	11,176 (82)	13,644 (100)
Total	27,973 (40)	42,252 (60)	70,225 (100)

Source: Same as Figure 1.

the year 1800 probably continued the previous trend, but a sharp decline set in when the war between Spain and Portugal reduced trade between the Río de la Plata and Brazil in 1801. Finally, when political turmoil threatened the terms of trade, in 1807–1812, the ratio of Brazilian to African slave shipments reversed again to even more than the 4 to 1 ratio. War and revolution inhibited Rioplatense merchants to engage in slave trading activities in Africa. In this final period, almost all slave arrivals directly from Africa came from Mozambique under the Portuguese flag.

We can observe the evolution from Brazilian to African slave routes in the records of Tomás A. Romero, the most important slave trader of Buenos Aires and one of the leading figures of the local merchant community. Romero introduced more than 3,000 slaves to the Río de la Plata between 1792 and 1800, of which 2,000 were embarked in Brazil. By contrast, he introduced 3,000 slaves to Río de la Plata between 1801 and 1806 almost all brought directly from Africa.[18] Romero did engage in some slave voyages direct from Africa in the 1790s, but after 1799 he traded almost exclusively in Africa—particularly in Mozambique—through U.S. slave traders.

We may wonder if the slaves coming from Brazil had remained there long before embarking to the Río de la Plata. Similarity in the seasonal patterns of both the African and Brazilian slave routes to the Río de la Plata suggest that the majority of slaves coming from Brazil were re-embarked soon after their arrival from Africa. Thus, 68.5 percent of slave voyages from Africa to the Río de la Plata sailed between November and March, while 63.5 percent of Brazilian slave arrivals occurred during the same season—roughly the summer in the Southern hemisphere. In 1782, data on the diseases and mortality of slaves shipped from Brazil to Montevideo also suggest that these voyages were the continuation of the Atlantic crossing.[19] If slave voyages from Brazil to the Río de la Plata mainly consisted of slaves recently sent from Africa to Brazil, there was always a trade in small groups of slaves from Brazil to the Río de la Plata every month. Vessels bringing such small numbers also carried sugar, coffee, tobacco, and manufactured products for sale in Montevideo. An experienced merchant could embark a single slave in Salvador claiming the vessel as a slaver when in fact his main business was introducing tobacco to Buenos Aires. Although all foreign merchants took advantage of the new royal taxation policy that encouraged the slave trade, such smuggling operations underpinned much of the increase in slave arrivals from Brazil to the Río de la Plata.

The Brazilian Slave Trade Routes to the Río de la Plata

Many branches of commerce between the Río de la Plata and Brazil were illegal according to Spanish regulations, but we should note that the Brazilian slave trade to Montevideo and Buenos Aires was completely illegal according to Portuguese regulations as well. In 1751, the Portuguese Crown prohibited the exportation of slaves outside the Portuguese empire (Correia Lopes 1944, 149). However, the Portuguese Crown and colonial authorities in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires tolerated this slave route and were well aware of the profits for Spanish and

Portuguese subjects. Two moments illustrate this trans-imperial cooperation. In 1780, the arrival of Francisco A. Maciel at Río de Janeiro from Montevideo to buy merchandise and slaves triggered a letter from the Viceroy of Brazil to the Portuguese Crown about how convenient it was for the empire to sell slaves to the Spanish. In 1799, the Viceroy of the Río de la Plata Joaquín del Pino, former governor of Montevideo, warned the merchants of Rio de Janeiro about the presence of French privateers in the region. The French were capturing Portuguese vessels in transatlantic and intra-American slave voyages in order to sell the slaves in Montevideo. Such activities disrupted a commerce that was of the utmost importance for the Spanish viceroy (Prado 2009, 76, 154).[20] Rather than Portuguese prohibition, it was in fact Luso-Spanish collaboration which drove the slave trade from Brazil to the Río de la Plata. Table 3 depicts the fluctuations of this traffic and the main ports of Brazilian slave embarkation to Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

More than half of the slaves coming from Brazil to the Río de la Plata were embarked in Rio de Janeiro and almost thirty percent in Salvador. The significant role of first Rio de Janeiro and second Salvador in the traffic to Montevideo and Buenos Aires is not surprising. Rio de Janeiro and Salvador were the first and second most important ports of slave disembarkation in the history of the transatlantic slave trade, receiving 2.6 and 1.7 million enslaved Africans respectively (Behrendt et al.). All the other Brazilian ports engaged in the slave trade to the Río de la Plata together account for just eight percent of total arrivals. We have no data on the Brazilian port of embarkation for eleven percent of the Rioplatense slave arrivals. These cases are mainly confined to the 1790s and do not affect the primacy of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador in the Brazilian routes to the Río de la Plata.[21]

A more complete view of the Rio de Janeiro-Río de la Plata connection emerges by examining some of the main features of the transatlantic slave trade to Rio de Janeiro. The second half of the eighteenth century was a time of transition for Brazilian slavery between the gold mining boom of Minas Gerais (1695–1750) and the rise of the nineteenth-century coffee plantations in Southeast Brazil.[22] In this phase, the agriculture feeding the Brazilian markets (especially Rio de Janeiro) and the renaissance of sugar production in Salvador created the main sources of demand for slave labor. The Río de la Plata was not a plantation society and could certainly

Table 3 Brazilian Origins of Slaves Arriving in the Río de la Plata, 1777–1812

Year	Rio de Janeiro	Salvador	Other ports	Brazil, unspecified	Total
1777–1791	3,697 (46)	3,689 (46)	363 (4)	362 (4)	8,111 (100)
1792–1799	4,673 (50)	392 (4)	1,632 (18)	2,616 (28)	9,313 (100)
1800–1806	8,150 (61)	2,690 (19)	1,165 (8)	1,647 (12)	13,652 (100)
1807–1812	6,097 (54)	4,604 (41)	405 (4)	70 (1)	11,176 (100)
Total	22,617 (54)	11,375 (27)	3,565 (8)	4,695 (11)	42,252 (100)

Source: Same as Figure 1. *Note:* Other ports were Rio Grande, Laguna, Parati, São Sebastião, Pernambuco, Santos, Santa Catalina, Ilha Grande, and Ilha dos Porcos. Except from Ilha Grande, none of these ports sent more than 1000 slaves to the Río de la Plata.

not match the main markets for slaves passing through Rio de Janeiro to the hinterland of the Brazilian capital. However, the Río de la Plata absorbed thirty percent of the slaves arriving in Rio de Janeiro in 1781–1783, and ten percent of those arriving in 1792–1806.[23] Given that neither gold mining nor coffee plantations drove the Brazilian slave trade at this time, this demand for slaves from the Río de la Plata played an important role in sustaining the Rio de Janeiro slave trade just prior to the emergence of the coffee sector.

By the turn of eighteenth century, the Río de la Plata was relevant for the internal Brazilian slave trade in comparison with two regions: Rio Grande do Sul and Minas Gerais. Rio Grande do Sul had a rural economy similar to the Río de la Plata, based on cattle ranching, but lacked a major trading center like Buenos Aires and an open Atlantic port like Montevideo. From 1800 to 1812, more than 7,500 slaves arrived in Rio Grande do Sul, 5,600 of whom had been embarked in Rio de Janeiro (Osorio 2007, 221). In the same period 14,500 slaves were shipped from Rio de Janeiro to the Río de la Plata. Thus, the slave route from Rio de Janeiro to the Río de la Plata engaged almost three times more slaves than the Rio de Janeiro-Rio Grande slave traffic. In addition, we must note that Rio de Janeiro had greater commercial control over Rio Grande, part of the Portuguese domain, than over the Río de la Plata, and of course the trade was legal.[24]

Minas Gerais was quite different from Rio Grande do Sul as far as the internal Brazilian slave trade was concerned. Gold mining turned Minas Gerais into the main destination for slaves in Brazil in the first half of the eighteenth century and gave Rio de Janeiro, the export port for gold, its dominant position in Portuguese America. According to Laird Bergad, the slave trade to Minas Gerais had almost ceased by the 1770s (Bergad 1996).[25] As this suggests, prices of slaves were at historically low levels there between 1773 and 1796, making Minas Gerais not a very attractive market for slave traders. According to some estimates, between 1,600 and 5,100 slaves arrived annually in Minas Gerais from 1786 to 1808 (Martins Filho and Martins 1983). In this same period, 2,500 slaves per year arrived to the Río de la Plata from Africa and Brazil on average.[26] Thus, the figures of slave arrivals to the Río de la Plata were in the same range as those to Minas Gerais in the same period. From a long run perspective, the Río de Plata was a secondary market for the slave traders of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, but at the turn of the eighteenth century this region claimed an important share of the slaves arriving in Brazil.

Slave arrivals from Salvador to the Río de la Plata increased in the decades of 1780 and the late 1800s, while there were few slave arrivals in the 1790s. These were not years of growth for the slave trade to the Río de la Plata; rather the first of these periods was one of illegal trading and the late 1800s was one of decline. The slave route from Salvador was relevant to the Río de la Plata in years in which Rioplatense arrivals were at their lowest. The trade with the Río de la Plata attracted all Brazilian traders, not only from Rio de Janeiro since merchants of Buenos Aires and Montevideo paid mainly silver for slaves, and silver was essential for Portuguese long-distance commerce in the Indian Ocean and Eastern Asia.[27]

It is also possible to trace the African origin of the slaves channeled through Brazilian ports. Slaves coming from Río de Janeiro to the Río de la Plata were most likely from Angola originally. We now know that from 1777 to 1812, 97 percent of slaves coming to Rio de Janeiro were embarked in West-Central Africa, and that 85 percent were shipped only from two ports: Luanda and Benguela (Behrendt et al.). A minority of slaves, particularly those departing from Salvador, may have initially come from the Bight of Benin. From 1777 to 1812, 62 percent of the captives arriving in Salvador were embarked in the Bight of Benin. If we apply these percentages to the slaves arriving in the Río de la Plata from Brazil, we could project at least 19,200 slaves departing from Luanda and Benguela compared to 7,100 captives from the Bight of Benin. Therefore more slaves from West-Central Africa and the Bight of Benin came to the Río de la Plata via Río de Janeiro and Salvador than directly from Africa. The larger role played by the Brazilian slave trade routes in bringing enslaved Africans from the Bight of Benin and Angola perhaps explains the existence of African-based associations called *Hausa*, *Mina Nagó*, *Angola*, and *Benguela* in the late-colonial period and throughout most of the nineteenth century in Montevideo and Buenos Aires (Andrews 1981).

The African Slave Trade Routes to the Río de la Plata

The Río de la Plata's direct trade with Africa drew on a different mix of African regions than did trade through Rio de Janeiro and Salvador. While the two Brazilian ports had firm commercial links with a single region of slave embarkation, direct African trade with the Río de la Plata had short-lived connections with three regions: Southeast Africa (Mozambique), West-Central Africa (Loango and Angola), and the Bight of Biafra. At least 78 percent of all slaves brought directly from Africa to the Río de la Plata came from these three regions. This different pattern is probably due to the fact that slave traders of several different nationalities brought captives into Montevideo and Buenos Aires throughout the period examined here. By contrast, Luso-Brazilian slave traders alone supplied Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, and they drew on the areas of Africa where the Portuguese traditionally had a large presence. Table 4 shows the African regions which sent slaves to the Río de la Plata and the fluctuations of the direct trade.

All broad areas supplying slaves to the Americas took part in the direct traffic to the Río de la Plata. However, the Bight of Benin, Upper Guinea and Gold Coast accounted for only fifteen percent of the total. Atlantic winds and currents ensured that 65 percent of all direct shipments came from regions south of the equator: West-Central and Southeast Africa. Probably the majority of the slave voyages with no data on their African provenance also came from these two regions.

The island of Mozambique was the main African port for the direct transatlantic slave trade to the Río de la Plata. At least 12,600 slaves embarked there for Montevideo and Buenos Aires. Other Southeast African ports like Quelimane and Kilwa played a smaller role and they sent 3,400 slaves to the Río de la Plata. The route

Table 4 Declared Region of Provenance for Slaves Arriving from Africa to the Río de la Plata, 1777–1812

Years	Southeast Africa	West-Central Africa	Bight of Biafra	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin	Upper Guinea	Africa, unspecified	Total
1777–1791	40 (2)	0	2,347 (81)	500 (17)	0	0	0	2,887 (100)
1792–1799	1,482 (35)	1,405 (33)	495 (12)	660 (15)	0	0	220 (5)	4,262 (100)
1800–1806	9,279 (50)	4,164 (23)	768 (4)	709 (4)	385 (3)	1,859 (10)	1,192 (6)	18,356 (100)
1807–1812	1,708 (69)	69 (3)	0	0	0	0	691 (28)	2,468 (100)
Total	12,509 (45)	5,638 (20)	3,610 (13)	1,869 (7)	385 (1)	1,859 (7)	2,103 (7)	27,973 (100)

Source: Same as Figure 1.
Note: This table accounts only for disembarked slaves. At least 34,600 captives were embarked in the direct traffic between Africa and the Río de la Plata.

from Mozambique sometimes detoured to Île de France (Mauritius), a commercial hotspot of the Indian Ocean linked to the Río de la Plata, and ruled by Spain's traditional ally France. Almost all slave voyages sailing from Mozambique stopped at Cape Good Hope for water and supplies. Ships could not sail straight from the Cape to Montevideo, located almost in the same latitude, because of the pattern of Atlantic winds and currents. Instead, vessels had to sail north from the Cape and follow the Benguela current parallel to the African coast. Close to present-day southern Angola they then began the Atlantic passage. These ships reached South America at the latitude of the Rio de Janeiro region and then they followed the Atlantic winds southward to the entrance of the Río de la Plata. A slave voyage from Mozambique to Montevideo could take from two to four months.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the Río de la Plata was as important as Rio de Janeiro for slave suppliers in Mozambique. From 1797 to 1812, an estimate of 18,000 slaves was sent from Southeast Africa to Southeast Brazil (Behrendt et al.). In the same period, Southeast Africa shipped from 16,000 to 23,000 slaves to the Río de la Plata. This development in the Spanish-Portuguese networks emerged from impediments faced by Rioplatense merchants in buying slaves in West-Central and West Africa. Spanish silver dollars formed one of the main currencies of the slave trade in Mozambique since the 1760s due to commerce with the French Mascarene Islands (Capela 1987), but the slave trade with the Río de la Plata brought an unprecedented inflow of silver. Luis F. Dias Antunes notes that 260,000 pieces of Spanish silver entered the Portuguese custom office at Mozambique from 1796 to 1806. Half of this sum came from the slave trade with the Río de la Plata (Dias Antunes 2007). From these figures, he provides a high estimate of 23,000 slaves embarked from Mozambique to the Río de la Plata. Our data of 16,000 embarked slaves originates from information on vessels arriving in the Río de la Plata with full

accounts of disembarked slaves. Data on embarked slaves sometimes is missing. Fourteen vessels coming from Southeast Africa does not provide the total number of embarked slaves, but only the figure of those who survived the Atlantic passage.

From 1777 to 1812, the average mortality ratio of slave voyages from Africa to the Río de la Plata was 0.20. Overall one out of five enslaved Africans died during the Atlantic crossing. This was twice the shipboard mortality experienced on all slave voyages from Africa to the Americas in the same period (Behrendt et al.). Both regional and seasonal patterns shaped the mortality in the slave trade to the Río de la Plata. High mortality rates stemmed from Río de la Plata's strong connections with two of Africa's regions from which voyages always experienced elevated mortality. One was the Bight of Biafra (0.28 of all slaves embarked there died) and the other was Southeast Africa (0.23 died), the most remote of all major embarkation regions. But while shipboard deaths on vessels from Southeast Africa were similar whether the vessel was going to the Río de la Plata or some other part of the Americas, voyages from the Bight of Biafra to the Río de la Plata experienced noticeably higher mortality than those going to other transatlantic markets. From 1777 to 1812 the average mortality ratio from the Bight of Biafra to all transatlantic ports was 0.15, while the slave shipments of the *Compañía de Filipinas* from Bonny and Calabar to the Río de la Plata was almost twice this figure at 0.28 (Behrendt et al.).

Seasonality, which shaped the time of departure and arrival of slave voyages, also influenced mortality ratios. Almost 70 percent of all slave voyages from Africa to the Río de la Plata sailed between November and March, from late spring to the end of summer. Slave voyages from Africa sailing outside of this range bore the highest mortality ratios measured by month. In May, four slave voyages had an average mortality ratio of 0.38. For June, the mortality ratio was 0.29. José Milá de la Roca, one of the most important slave traders of Montevideo, recognized that seasonal patterns were significant for the success of slave trade activities, and that this factor was especially influential for voyages from Mozambique (Bentancur 1998, 258).

West-Central Africa was the third most significant region in the direct slave trade to the Río de la Plata. This area of slave embarkation supplied 45 percent of all Africans who entered in the transatlantic slave trade to the Americas (Behrendt et al.). It took thirty to sixty days for a vessel to sail from Luanda and Benguela to Montevideo, which made West-Central Africa the closest area of slave embarkation to the Río de la Plata in terms of voyage length. This proximity is expressed in the comparatively low mortality ratio (0.07) of slave voyages sailing from there to the Río de la Plata. Why the most important area of slave embarkation in the history of the transatlantic slave trade and the closest to Montevideo supply only twenty percent of the slaves arriving direct from Africa to the Río de la Plata? The answer rests on the commercial hegemony enjoyed by the merchants of Rio de Janeiro in Angola. The slave traders of Rio de Janeiro wanted to keep their position as intermediaries between Angola and the Río de la Plata.[28] Thus, they limited the direct trade between Angola and the Río de la Plata just as Luso-Angolan traders asked permission from the Portuguese Crown to sell slaves directly to the Río de la Plata (Adelman 2006, 88).

Most of the slave voyages that did sail from West-Central Africa to the Río de la Plata in fact did not depart from Portuguese Angola. Out of 31 slave voyages sailing from West-Central Africa, nineteen departed from Loango (the Atlantic coast of present-day Republic of Congo), Cabinda, and Congo (which implied slave embarkation in the Congo River), while twelve voyages departed from the Portuguese ports in Angola. Thus, 62 percent of the slaves embarked in West-Central Africa came from the Congo River or the Atlantic coast north from its mouth. Slave traders of various flags operated in Loango, Cabinda and the Congo River. Of the nineteen slave voyages originating in these three areas, eight were carried out by U.S. vessels, ten British, and only one by Spanish. The majority of those British ships arrived in Montevideo because they were captured in Loango by French or Spanish privateers.

The slave trade from Angola to the Río de la Plata was different from the branch north from the Congo River. Out of twelve slave vessels sailing from Luanda and Benguela, five were Spanish, three Portuguese, two English, and two American. The Spanish (or Rioplatense) vessels in this group reveal the efforts of the merchants of Buenos Aires to obtain slaves in Angola in the 1790s, after the opening of the slave trade to the Río de la Plata. The same was true of the three Portuguese ships which broke the well enforced prohibition to trade with the Spanish. Throughout our thirty-five-year period (1777–1812), 333 ships embarked slaves in Rio de Janeiro to the Río de la Plata, while only a dozen slave voyages came directly from Angola.

The Gold Coast and Upper Guinea were minor regions of slave embarkation for the Río de la Plata, mostly operated by non-Iberian slave traders. Approximately 2,000 slaves disembarked in the Río de la Plata from the Gold Coast between 1777 and 1812. They were brought in twelve slave voyages: six Americans, three English, two Portuguese and one Danish vessel. In the same period, 1,900 slaves disembarked in the Río de la Plata from Upper Guinea. They were brought in twenty-two slave voyages: fifteen American, three Portuguese, one from Hamburg, one Prussian, and one Spanish ship. Slave traders of the North Atlantic mainly operated in these two areas, but they began to trade with the Spanish South Atlantic after the opening of the Río de la Plata to the international slave trade. Both the trade in slaves and goods was attractive for these merchants. Fifteen out of the twenty-two slavers sailing from Upper Guinea to the Río de la Plata disembarked fewer than one hundred slaves. Again, the prospect of smuggling merchandise and obtaining silver was attractive for these North Atlantic traders.

Only two slave ships from the Bight of Benin reached the Río de la Plata in this period. However, vessels embarking slaves in the Gold Coast also stopped in neighboring ports of the Bight of Benin to complete their human cargoes. While the Portuguese term *Costa da Mina* initially labeled ports in the Gold Coast, it increasingly included the Bight of Benin (Law 1997, 2005). Thus, more Africans embarked in the Bight of Benin than those recorded in these two slave voyages might have been caught in the direct traffic to the Río de la Plata.

The Slave Traders Operating in the Río de la Plata

The direct slave trade from Africa to the Río de la Plata attracted slave traders from many countries, including Portugal, Spain, United States, Britain, France, and even Prussia. However, Portuguese and Spanish vessels brought more than three quarters of all slave arrivals in this viceroyalty. In fact, these were Brazilian and Rioplatense vessels since these slave traders, although born in the Iberian Peninsula, resided in the New World. Table 5 reveals not only the Portuguese hegemony over the slave trade to the viceregal Río de la Plata, but also the various slave traders who operated at different times.

To establish which ships were Portuguese or Spanish in the Río de la Plata is sometimes a difficult task. Merchants of Buenos Aires and Montevideo sailed with the Portuguese flag to enter Rio de Janeiro. During wartime, ships of Rioplatense merchants usually had two names and two flags in order to prevent actions of privateers and the English navy. Spanish colonial authorities knew of this camouflage which allowed Spanish trade during Atlantic warfare.[29] Portuguese ships also used the Spanish colors to avoid taxes in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. A detailed study of crew members of Spanish slave vessels show several Portuguese officers and sailors who had experience in the coastal Brazilian and transatlantic slave trades. As already argued, Portuguese and Spanish merchants located in Brazil and the Río de la Plata built trans-imperial networks to increase their returns from the slave trade.

Portuguese slave traders brought half of all slaves to the viceregal Río de la Plata. This is not surprising given that sixty percent of all slaves came from Brazil, and two of the three most important regions of African slave embarkation for the Río de la Plata were under Portuguese control. In addition, the activity of Portuguese slave traders was continuous throughout the period taken up here, whereas other slavers had a much more limited periods of access to the Río de la Plata—specially U.S. slave traders.

Table 5 Slave Arrivals in the Río de la Plata Broken Down by Flag, 1777–1812

Years	Portugal	Spain	Britain	USA	Other	Total
1777–1791	7,958	713	2,287	0	40	10,998
	(72.4)	(6.4)	(20.8)		(0.4)	(100.0)
1792–1799	5,833	6,646	660	349	87	13,575
	(43.0)	(49.0)	(4.9)	(2.5)	(0.6)	(100.0)
1800–1806	10,679	9,619	2,642	6,897	2,171	32,008
	(33)	(30)	(8)	(22)	(7)	(100)
1807–1812	9,482	3,402	0	760	0	13,644
	(69)	(25)		(6)		(100)
Total	33,952	20,380	5,589	8,006	2,298	70,225
	(48)	(29)	(8)	(12)	(3)	(100)

Source: See Figure 1.

Note: French vessels brought almost 1,500 slaves to the Río de la Plata. The remaining slaves arrived in three ships with the Prussian, Hamburg and Danish flag respectively.

Many Rioplatense merchants were only intermittently involved in slave voyages, while a few traders had a major and continuous presence in this traffic. We have incomplete records of owners and consignees of slave cargoes disembarked in the Río de la Plata: 247 owners (35 percent of all slave voyages) and 230 consignees (32 percent). Merchants who were one or two-time owners of slave cargoes are linked to 35 percent of the slave voyages sample. One or two-time consignees account for 39 percent of slave voyages for which consignee information survives. Apart from occasional participants, a group of merchants in Buenos Aires, and to a lesser extent in Montevideo, maintained long-term involvement in slave trading activities. We know that Tomás A. Romero was owner or consignee in at least 32 slave voyages.[30] Behind him in Buenos Aires came Pedro Duval (30), Bartolomé Rusiano (21), Manuel Aguirre (18), José Rubio (12), Felipe Vidal (12), Francisco Beláustegui (10), Martín Álzaga (10), Diego Agüero (7), José de María (7), Manuel C. Pacheco (6), Juan de Silva Cordeyro (6), Juan Nonell (5), Juan R. Baudrix (5), Antonio Cornet (4), Manuel Pinedo y Arroyo (4), Felix Sainz de la Masa (4), Gerardo Esteve (3), José F. de Castro (3), José J. de Almeyda (3), Juan A. Lezica (3), and Martín F. Añorga (3). Most of these merchants also had representatives in Montevideo. We must point out that slave ventures commonly had co-ownerships, and thus two or three of the names in this list usually had a share of the ownership of slaves brought by a single vessel.

The list of the most important owners or consignees of slave cargoes in Montevideo is shorter than in Buenos Aires: Francisco A. Maciel (15), Francisco Joanicó (13), José Milá de la Roca (10) Mateo Magariños (8), José Costa y Texedor (5), Carlos Camuso (4), Antonio Masini (3), and Cristobal Salvañach (3). To those operating in Montevideo, we should add the privateer Hipólito Mordell—who captured six English slave vessels—and the commercial house Berro y Errazquin—who sold slaves captured from three other slave vessels. Finally, it is difficult to measure the share in slave trading activities of Cipriano de Melo—the Portuguese-born official in charge of suppressing contraband in Montevideo. After the slave arrivals of 1782, Don Cipriano sent slaves to Upper Peru (Prado 2009, 253–59). In addition, the Intendente of Buenos Aires licensed him to introduce slaves in the Río de la Plata in 1786 (Molinari 1944, 90). However, the illicit character of most of his commerce makes it difficult to track his operations.

We have the complete itinerary of the American frigate *Almanac* from Rhode Island to Montevideo in 1800–1801. Tomás A. Romero had paid for this expedition with hides and other products sent from Montevideo to Newport in the frigate *La Agenoria* in 1799.[31] Perhaps Romero used the same arrangement for most of the American slave voyages in which he figures as owner of the slaves, while he had a looser connection with other U.S. slave voyages where he appears as consignee. Both *La Agenoria* and *Almanac* had the same captain, Samuel Chace. The *Almanac* left Rhode Island in May 1800, and arrived in Rio de Janeiro in June. The ship wintered for two months in Rio and then sailed to Mozambique in August, where she reached the coast in late September. There, it took Chace almost three months to embark 344 slaves. In December, Chace sailed from Mozambique to Cape Good Hope to embark

water and supplies for the Atlantic passage from he departed in late January 1801, before reaching Montevideo in mid March. During the crossing 24 slaves died, a moderate toll for three months sailing from Mozambique to Montevideo. We should note that almost one out of three Africans died on Portuguese ships taking this route, and one out of four on American vessels.

Two major slave traders of Montevideo, José Milá de la Roca and Francisco A. Maciel, drew on different sources of slaves and strategies of traffic. Milá de la Roca prided himself of being the first Spaniard to successfully engage in slave trading with Mozambique. He sent at least five slave voyages to Mozambique, two others to Mauritius and one to Senegal between 1797 and 1800. His reports reveal that Portuguese authorities in Mozambique did not hinder Spanish slave traders as did their counterparts in Angola—a fact that also explains why American slave traders specifically drew on Mozambique, too (Bentancur 1998, 277). While initially successful, Milá de la Roca could not overcome the changing environment that impeded Spanish Atlantic trade. Many of his shipments did not reach Montevideo because of British and French privateers, mostly, a couple of shipwrecks, and one slave rebellion. Francisco Maciel coupled the introduction of slaves from Brazil with the export of hides. However, ninety percent of his exports sent to Brazil to buy slaves were in silver in 1792–1796. Maciel probably exported hides to Brazil to make it seem he was using these goods for the slave trade, while in fact he mainly bought slaves with silver (Bentancur 1998, 255–63). In this way, he took advantage of Spanish regulation of the slave trade to profit from his commerce in goods with Brazil.

Almost a quarter of all slaves arriving in the viceregal Río de la Plata came in vessels of the United States, Britain, France, as well as Hamburg. English ships were involved in two separate periods: the shipments of Baker and Dawson for the Compañía de Filipinas in the 1780s and the British ships captured by French and Spanish privateers in the 1800s. U.S. involvement was short lived but intense. Although it only lasted eleven years (1797–1807), Americans accounted for 56 slave voyages from Africa to the Río de la Plata out of a total of 160 direct Atlantic crossings: sixteen voyages form Southeast Africa, fifteen from Upper Guinea, ten from West-Central Africa, six from the Gold Coast, and nine from unknown African origin. American traders shipped more slaves direct from Africa to the viceregal Río de la Plata than any other nation.[32] Both British and U.S. slave traders simultaneously ended their activities in the Río de la Plata with the separate but concurrent ending of their own slave trades in 1807–1808.

Conclusion

Any examination of the transatlantic slave trade must allow for an interplay between African supply influences, competition between European or American carriers, and shifts in New World demand. The study of the slave trade to the Río de la Plata entails the analysis of a fourth factor—the intra-American slave trade. This study has shown how the supply of slaves centered in late colonial Buenos Aires and Montevideo

shifted between African and Brazilian sources in response to factors originating in the larger Atlantic environment, the Spanish metropolis, and initiatives of local merchants.

The slave trade between Brazil and the Río de la Plata developed from long-standing interactions between the Spanish and the Portuguese. This coastal traffic served the Spanish as a platform from which to launch their transatlantic slave operations since these voyages followed the patterns of the Brazilian slave trade—structured by South Atlantic winds and currents. Rioplatense slave traders of the early 1790s dealt mainly with Brazil, but they turned to Africa in the next decade, except when European wars jeopardized the Atlantic crossing. Indeed, the slave trade to the Río de la Plata was not divorced from other branches of commerce, a fact that also influenced the evolution of the slave arrivals from Brazil. Smuggling of merchandise certainly encouraged Brazilian slave arrivals to the Río de la Plata and vice-versa.

Rioplatense slave traders did not remain peripheral in their relation to the Spanish metropolis. The isolation of these colonies from the metropolis caused by the British continental blockades created opportunities for slavers in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Rioplatense merchants showed well-honed entrepreneurial skills given that they drew on the Brazilian slave trade, developed commercial contacts with U.S. traders, engaged in privateering enterprises against English ships, and ventured directly to Africa for slaves.

Fluctuations in the Río de la Plata slave inflows illustrate not only shifting Atlantic conjunctures but also the availability of alternative supplies of slaves. In other words, the Río de la Plata could shift between Brazilian and African sources of slaves when political decisions outside the region changed the conditions of trade. In addition, the fluctuations that affected this trade were not unique to the Rioplatense slavers given that the opening and closing of the Atlantic markets affected every branch of trade. Despite these fluctuations, the Río de la Plata absorbed an increasing inflow of slaves from 1777 to 1812.

The Río de la Plata was unusual in the context of the South Atlantic in the diversity of the Africans arriving in these thirty-five years. While Rio de Janeiro drew mainly on slaves from Angola, and Salvador from the Bight of Benin, the Río de la Plata absorbed a significant share of slaves direct from the Bight of Biafra, West-Central and Southeast Africa. This pattern was uncommon for the South Atlantic but matches other Spanish American areas, specially the most important Spanish destination for slaves, Cuba (Grandío 2008). These two Spanish American regions first drew on intra-American slave trades, then launched transatlantic slave voyages, and, as a result, received Africans from many different regions.

This essay has thrown new light on the volume and fluctuations of the slave trade to the Río de la Plata, the routes taken by slaves as well as their origins. Other issues such as the sex and age of the arriving Africans would entail another study. The detailed analysis of the volume, routes and fluctuations of the slave trade is the foundation of a reassessment of the history of Africans and their descendants in the Río de la Plata. Once the general features of the traffic are clear, we can proceed

more confidently to studying the social and cultural implications of the slave trade to late-colonial Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

Acknowledgements

Notes

[1] The Crown established taxation, shipping, and commercial policies to encourage Spanish engagement in the slave trade. Slaves could be imported duty free and, from 1793 on, foreign ships bought by Spanish subjects for slave trading purposes were exempted from paying taxes. In addition, products exported from Spanish dominions to buy slaves in Africa were to be free of export duties if the captain and at least half of the crew were Spanish. In other situations, Spanish and foreigners alike paid a six percent export tax on products intended as payment for slaves. In 1794, given the initial difficulty of Spanish traders in Africa, the Crown authorized slave vessels to embark machinery and tools for sugar mills on their return voyage if they could not buy slaves, and these products too were tax-exempt. Other merchandise was specifically prohibited as a return cargo for such ships. However, local authorities allowed slave traders to introduce certain goods as returning cargo in spite of the Crown's reiterated prohibition against this illegal trade in 1799 (Studer 1958, 251). The Crown authorized Spanish ships between three hundred and five hundred tons to introduce slaves in 1791, while foreign ships only below three hundred tons were allowed. In 1792, the Crown first extended the period that foreign slave vessels could stay in port for eight days, and then for forty days (King 1942, 52–56; Murray 1980, 12–14). These measures reflected the imperial interest in developing the slave trade, and expanding colonial agricultural production and commerce.

[2] The Spanish Crown issued the 'Real Cedula de su Magestad sobre la educación, trato y ocupaciones de los esclavos en todos sus dominios de Indias, é Islas Filipinas' on 31 May 1789. This Real Cédula foresaw the scenario of increasing numbers of slaves living in the colonies following the opening of the slave trade in 1789. Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Historia (BRAH), Madrid, Colección Mata Linares, vol. 114, f. 301. On the ideology linking economic benefits for the Río de la Plata and Spain, the slave trade and slavery, see the reports of Tomás A. Romero, the Cabildo of Buenos Aires, and the *Gremio de Hacendados* in 1794–1796. BRAH, Colección Mata Linares, vol. 12, ff. 160, 178 and 184. On the plans to expand slavery in Venezuela, see BRAH, Colección Manuscritos sobre América, *Plan de comercio para la provincia*

de Caracas, puntos del Ayuntamiento y Consulado, 1799, vol. 4, ff. 344–45. On the Spanish admiration of plantation agriculture in Saint Domingue, and its application to Cuba see: *Memorias de la Colonia Francesa de Santo Domingo, con algunas reflexiones relativas a la Isla de Cuba, por un viagero Español* [printed in Madrid, 1787] BRAH. On Cuba, see the *Discurso sobre la agricultura de La Habana y medios de fomentarla* (1792) by Francisco de Arango y Parreño (Pichardo 1977, 162–216).

3   In 1767 the Crown allowed a line of mail vessels from A Coruña (Galicia) to Montevideo. Other royal ordinances allowed trade with the Portuguese in the early 1780s during wartime (Bentancur 1998, 289).

4   On the Spanish-Portuguese commercial networks see Prado (2009).

5   Archivo General de la Nación, Argentina (hereafter AGN-A), XIII, 15-8-2, 3v, and IX, 2-3-5.

6   Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Sección Buenos Aires, 141 and 449; AGN-A, XIII, 15-7-4, 15-8-11, 15-9-2, 15-9-5, IX, 2-3-4, 2-3-5, 14-4-4, 14-4-6.

7   AGN-A, IX, 36-6-4, 'Expediente sobre la deuda que tiene Dn Domingo Belgrano Pérez con la Real Aduana de Montevideo …' [Montevideo, 1783].

8   Juan C. Garavaglia describes the functioning of a trading operation during wartime in 1779–1783. He points to merchants of Buenos Aires who sent metallic to Cádiz via Lisbon. Portuguese ships coming to Montevideo took silver from Buenos Aires' merchants. The merchants in Montevideo, who had received this silver, placed part of this specie in trading networks outside of the legal Spanish commercial circuits (Garavaglia 1976).

9   On the Portuguese need of silver for trading in China see Da Costa e Silva (2006, 20).

10   The French brought 3,000 slaves to the Río de la Plata, and the English disembarked other 14,000. The contracts of Peninsular Spanish Tomás Navarro, Ramon Palacio, and Francisco de Mendieta brought 2,800 slaves from Africa in mid-eighteenth century. It is difficult to estimate the slaves brought in by the Portuguese of Colônia, but I believe they sent to Río de la Plata a number of slaves similar to the combined French, English, and Spanish contracts from 1680 to 1777. Only in 1748–1749, the Portuguese disembarked 1,654 slaves in Colônia. The Spanish confiscated more than one thousand slaves as contraband from Colônia in 1760–1775 (Prado 2009, 74–76).

11   Spaniards could not control Amerindian nomadic societies, which threatened the Spanish even during the late colonial period. However, Amerindians were not removed from colonial Montevideo and Buenos Aires. These cities depended on rented Amerindian labor particularly for public works (Mandrini 2006, 21–42; Neumann 1996).

12   For slave labor and the economy of the colonial *Banda Oriental* see Sala, de la Torre, and Rodríguez (1968). For slavery in rural mid-nineteenth century Uruguay, see Borucki, Chagas, and Stalla (2004).

13   See Saguier (1995); Julio Djenderedjian (2003) analyzes a large cattle ranch in Entre Ríos, north from Buenos Aires and west from Montevideo, where 61 slaves worked by the 1800s. Fifty-six slaves were born in that ranch from 1785 to 1817, but not a single one survived childhood.

14   AGN-A, IX, 33-6-1, 'Dn Martin de Sarratea apoderado de la Real Compañía de Filipinas …' [1789].

15   This figure comes from data on slave purchases produced by some slave traders. AGN-A, IX, 18-8-11.

16   The Portuguese joined the British during the first six months of 1801, which triggered a Portuguese invasion of the north of what is today Uruguay (Bentancur 1998, 303).

17   The majority of slave arrivals with non-declared origin came in 1800–1806, at the zenith of the direct African trade. Probably these voyages came mainly from Africa.

18   AGN-A, IX, 18-8-11, Papers of Tomás A. Romero.

19   See the entries for slave voyages in AGN-A, IX, 14-4-4 and 14-4-5, Tomas de Razón, 1782.

[20] Fragoso and Gouvêa note a Portuguese scheme to sell slaves in the *Índias da Castela* (Spanish America) in 1799 (Fragoso and Gouvêa 2006, 35).

[21] Apart from this coastal slave trade, continuous inland slave traffic existed from the southernmost Brazilian province (present-day Rio Grande do Sul) to the Río de la Plata. In the eighteenth century, Spanish garrisons frequently captured petty traders who tried to smuggle slaves, tobacco, and European products through the countryside of present-day Uruguay. From the reports of these frontier garrisons, we estimate that between 100 and 200 slaves were introduced yearly from Rio Grande do Sul between 1777 and 1812. This inland traffic would increase from five to ten percent (3,500–7,000) the total slave trade to the viceregal Río de la Plata. For other estimates of this inland slave trade see Bauss (1983).

[22] On the role of Rio de Janeiro in the Portuguese empire see Fragoso and Florentino (2001). On the significance of the merchants of Rio de Janeiro in the imperial system see Fragoso (1998). On the slave trade to Rio de Janeiro see Florentino (1997). On the debates on Brazilian slavery see Schwartz (1996).

[23] In 1781–1783, nearly 10,000 slaves arrived in Rio de Janeiro, out of whom 3,000 were shipped to the Río de la Plata. In 1792–1806, approximately 168,000 slaves arrived in South-Eastern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro and neighboring minor ports), and 15,000 were shipped to the Río de la Plata. In these same years another 4,300 slaves arrived in the Río de la Plata from Brazil, but we lack data on their port of origin. Half of them surely departed from Rio de Janeiro. On slave arrivals to Rio de Janeiro see Behrendt, Eltis, Florentino, and Richardson.

[24] Rio de Janeiro supplied three quarters of all slaves entering Rio Grande de Sul, but only half of the slaves entering the Río de la Plata via Brazil.

[25] See also Bergad (2007) on this issue on comparative view.

[26] Note that there was no recorded slave arrival to the Río de la Plata in 1787, 1790 and 1791. If we take those years out of the figures, the average increases to 2,800 slaves arriving per year.

[27] On the commercial circuits of silver from the Río de la Plata to Brazil, see Gelman (1996).

[28] The slave trade from Rio de Janeiro to Rio Grande do Sul illustrates the profits of the slave traders of Rio de Janeiro in the Río de la Plata. Fragoso and Florentino point out that the merchants of Rio de Janeiro obtained a hundred percent return of sales in Rio Grande (Fragoso and Florentino 2001, 167–70).

[29] AGN-A, IX, 4-7-5, 'Instancia promovida por varios individuos del comercio de esta capital sobre remisión a España por la vía de Brasil los frutos acopiados de sus negociaciones . . .' [1799].

[30] Romero owned—or he was the consignee of—entire slave vessels, while Pedro Duval commonly was the co-owner or co-consignee of slave ventures. Thus, Duval had a less important participation in the trade than Romero even though he was involved in similar number of slave ventures than Romero.

[31] Archivo General de la Nación, Uruguay, Escribanía de Gobierno y Hacienda, Caja 41, Exp. 122.

[32] For a new assessment of the wide-ranging activities of the United States-based slave traders see Eltis (2008).

Bibliography

Adelman, Jeremy. 2006. *Sovereignty and revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Amaral, Samuel. 1987. Rural production and labor in late colonial Buenos Aires. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 19 (2): 235–78.

Andrews, George R. 1981. *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Archivo General de la Nación. 1997. *Fondo documental. Bandos de virreyes y gobernadores del Río de la Plata.* Buenos Aires: AGN.

Arredondo, Horacio. 1928. Los apuntes estadísticos del Dr. Andrés Lamas. *Revista del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay* 4 (1): 1–44.

Bauss, Rudy. 1983. Rio Grande do Sul in the Portuguese empire: The formative years, 1777–1808. *The Americas* 39 (4): 519–35.

Behrendt, Stephen, David Eltis, Manolo Florentino, and David Richardson. *Voyages: The trans-Atlantic slave trade database*, online edition at www.slavevoyages.org.

Bentancur, Arturo. 1985. *Don Cipriano de Melo. Señor de fronteras.* Montevideo: Arca.

———. 1998. *El Puerto colonial de Montevideo, 1791–1806.* Montevideo: FHCE.

Bergad, Laird. 1996. After the mining boom: Demographic and economic aspects of slavery in Mariana, Minas Gerais, 1750–1808. *Latin American Research Review* 31 (1): 67–97.

———. 2007. *The comparative histories of slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Borucki, Alex, Karla Chagas, and Natalia Stalla. 2004. *Esclavitud y trabajo. Un estudio sobre los afrodescendientes en la frontera uruguaya, 1835–1855.* Montevideo: Pulmón Ediciones.

Brown, Jonathan. 1979. *A socioeconomic history of Argentina.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Campagna, Ernesto. 1990. La población esclava en ciudades puertos del Río de la Plata Montevideo y Buenos Aires. *Actas do primer Congreso sobre a História da População da América Latina.* São Paulo: SEADE.

Capela, José. 1987. *O tráfico de Escravos de Moçambique para as Ilhas do Índico, 1720–1902.* Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondiane.

Céspedes del Castillo, Guillermo. 1947. *Lima y Buenos Aires, repercusiones económicas y políticas de la creación del Virreinato del Plata.* Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos.

Cooney, Jerry. 1986. Neutral vessels and platine slavers: Building a viceregal merchant marine. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 18 (1): 25–39.

Correia Lopes, Edmundo. 1944. *A escravatura (subsídios para sua história).* Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias.

Grandío, Oscar. 2008. The African origins of slaves arriving in Cuba, 1789–1865. In *Extending the frontiers. Essays on the new transatlantic slave trade database*, eds. David Eltis and David Richardson, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Da Costa e Silva, Alberto. 2006. Do Índico ao Atlântico. In *Nas Rotas do Império*, eds. Joao Fragoso, et al., Vitoria: Edufes.

Dias Antunes, Luis F. 2007. O Rio da Prata e África oriental: negócios de escravos e prata (1796–1806). In *IV Jornadas Uruguayas de Historia Económica.* Montevideo: AUDHE.

Díaz, María L. 1965. *La Real Compañía de Filipinas.* Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos.

Djenderedjian, Julio. 2003. ¿Peones libres o esclavos? Producción rural, tasas de ganancia y alternativas de utilización de mano de obra en dos grandes estancias del litoral a fines de la colonia. In *III Jornadas de Historia Económica.* Montevideo: AUDHE.

Elliot, J. H. 2006. *Empires of the Atlantic world: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Eltis, David. 1987. *Economic growth and the ending of the transatlantic slave trade.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2008. The U.S. transatlantic slave trade, 1644–1867: An assessment. *Civil War History* 54 (4): 347–78.

Florentino, Manolo. 1997. *En Costas Negras: uma história do tráfico atlántico de escravos entre a Africa e o Rio de Janeiro, séculos XVIII e XIX.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Fragoso, João. 1998. *Homens de grossa aventura: Acumulação e Hierarquia na praça mercantil do Rio de Janeiro, 1790–1830*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

Fragoso, João, and Manolo Florentino. 2001. *O arcaísmo como projeto. Rio de Janeiro 1790–1840*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

——. 2001. Negociantes, Mercado atlântico e mercado regional: estrutura e dinâmica da praça mercantil do Rio de Janeiro de 1790 a 1812. In *Diálogos oceánicos. Minas Gerais e as novas abordagens para uma história do Império Ultramarino portugués*, ed. Júnia Furtado, Belo Horizonte: UFMG.

Fragoso, João, and Fátima Gouvêa. 2006. Nas rotas da governação portuguesa: Rio de Janeiro e Costa da Mina, séculos XVII e XVIII. In *Nas rotas do Império*, eds. João Fragoso, et al., Vitoria: Edufes.

Garavaglia, Juan C. 1976. El ritmo de la extracción de metálico desde el Río de la Plata a la Península, 1779–1783. *Revista de Indias* 36 (143/144): 247–68.

——. 1993a. Los labradores de San Isidro (Siglos XVIII–XIX). *Desarrollo Económico* 32 (128): 513–42.

——. 1993b. Las chacras y quintas de Buenos Aires: Ejido y campaña, 1750–1815. In *Huellas en la tierra: Indios, agricultores, y hacendados en la Pampa bonaerense*, eds. Raúl Mandrini and Andrea Reguera, 121–46. Tandil: Instituto de Estudios Histórico-Sociales.

Gelman, Jorge. 1989. Sobre esclavos, peones, gauchos y campesinos: El trabajo y los trabajadores en una estancia colonial rioplatense. In *El mundo rural rioplatense a fines de la época colonial*, eds. Juan C. Garavaglia and Jorge Gelman, 44–83. Buenos Aires: Biblos.

——. 1996. *De mercachifle a gran comerciante: Los caminos del ascenso social en el Río de la Plata colonial*. Seville: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía.

Guzmán, Florencia. 2001. El destino de los esclavos de la Compañía: el caso riojano. In *El negro en la Argentina. Presencia y negación*, ed. Dina Picotti, 87–108. Buenos Aires: Editores de América Latina.

Johnson, Lyman. 1974. Manumission in colonial Buenos Aires. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 59 (2): 258–79.

Johnson, Lyman, and Socolow. Susan. 1980. Población y espacio en el Buenos Aires del siglo XVIII. *Desarrollo Económico* 20 (79): 289–340.

Jumar, Fernando. 2000. *Le commerce atlantique au Río de la Plata 1680–1778*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

King, James Ferguson. 1942. Evolution of free slave trade principle in Spanish colonial administration. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 22 (1): 34–56.

Law, Robin. 1997. Ethnicity and the slave trade: 'Lucumi' and 'Nago' as ethnyms in West Africa. *History of Africa* 24: 205–19.

——. 2005. Ethnicities of enslaved Africans in the diaspora: On the meanings of mina (again). *History of Africa* 32: 247–67.

Mandrini, Raúl J. 2006. *Vivir entre dos mundos. Las fronteras del sur de la Argentina. Siglo XVIII y XIX*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Dimensión Argentina.

Martins Filho, Amilcar, and Roberto B. Martins. 1983. Slavery in a non-export economy: Nineteenth-century Minas Gerais revisited. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63 (3): 537–68.

Mayo, Carlos. 1994. *La historia agraria del Interior. Haciendas jesuíticas de Córdoba y el Noroeste*. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina.

Miller, Joseph C. 1988. *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730–1830*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Molinari, Diego. 1944. *La trata de Negros. Datos para su estudio en el Río de la Plata*. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Murray, David. 1980. *Odious commerce: Britain, Spain and the abolition of the Cuban slave trade.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neumann, Eduardo. 1996. *O trabalho guarani missioneiro no Rio da Prata colonial, 1640–1750.* Porto Alegre: Martins Livreiro-Editor.

Osório, Helen. 2007. *O império portugués no sul da América. Estancieiros, lavradores e comerciantes.* Porto Alegre: UFRGS.

Pichardo, Hortensia. 1977. *Documentos para la Historia de Cuba.* (Vol. 1.) Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.

Pistone, Catalina. 1996. *La esclavatura negra en Santa Fe.* Santa Fe: Junta Provincial de Estudios Históricos de Santa Fe.

Prado, Fabrício. 2009. In the shadows of empires: Trans-imperial networks and colonial identity in Bourbon Río de la Plata. Ph.D. diss., Emory University.

Sala, Lucía, Nelson de la Torre, and Julio Rodríguez. 1968. *Estructura económico-social de la colonia.* Montevideo: Ediciones Pueblos Unidos.

Saguier, Eduardo. 1995. La fuga esclava como resistencia rutinaria y cotidiana en el Buenos Aires del siglo XVIII. *Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales* 1 (2): 115–84.

Schwartz, Stuart B. 1996. *Slaves, peasants, and rebels. Reconsidering Brazilian slavery.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Socolow, Susan. 1978. *The merchants of Buenos Aires, 1778–1810.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

——. 1997. *The bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769–1810. Amor al servicio real.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Studer, Elena F. de. 1958. *La trata de negros en el Río de la Plata durante el siglo XVIII.* Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Te Paske, John, and Herbert Klein. 1982. *The royal treasuries of the Spanish empire in America.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Vila Vilar, Henriqueta. 1977. *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos.* Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos.