

THE ATLANTIC WORLD ● BRILL

# From Capture to Sale

The Portuguese Slave Trade  
to Spanish South America in  
the Early Seventeenth Century

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*Linda A. Newson & Susie Minchin*



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## From Capture to Sale

# The Atlantic World

Europe, Africa and the Americas, 1500-1830

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the Early Seventeenth Century

*By*

Linda A. Newson

Susie Minchin



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2007



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Although the core of the documentation for the project lay in the Inquisition section of the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima, it necessarily involved us in research in other archives in Lima, most notably in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima and Archivo de la Beneficencia Pública, as well as in the Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá and the Archivo Nacional Histórico in Chile. Extensive research was also undertaken in Archivo General de Indias in Seville and in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. We are grateful to the Directors and staffs of all these archives for allowing access to their materials and to the Archivo General de Indias and the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima for permission to reproduce manuscripts and maps.

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Linda Newson  
London, December 2006

## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Archival sources*

AAL	Archivo Arzobispal de Lima
ABPL	Archivo de la Beneficencia Pública, Lima
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AGNB	Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá
AGNL	Archivo General de la Nación, Lima
SO CO	Santo Oficio Contencioso
AHNM	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHRA	Archivo Histórico Riva-Agüero, Lima
ANHS	Archivo Nacional Histórico, Santiago
VM	Fondo Vicuña Mackenna

### *Published sources*

CDI	<i>Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía.</i> 42 vols. Madrid, 1842–84.
LC	<i>Libros de Cabildos de Lima.</i> 16 vols. Lima: Impresores Torres Aguirre, 1935–.
RGI	<i>Relaciones geográficas de Indias.</i> 3 vols. Biblioteca de autores españoles, nos. 183–185. Ed. M. Jiménez Espada. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1965.



## INTRODUCTION

Knowledge of the African transatlantic slave trade is based primarily on its operation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the slave trade was at its height and for which information collected by abolitionists greatly adds to the evidence available. At this time the slave trade focused on North America, the West Indies and Brazil. However in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries nearly 60 percent of the 600,000 African slaves that arrived in the Americas were destined for Spanish America.<sup>1</sup> Since Spain possessed no footholds on the African coast, she was dependent on other nations to supply her with slaves and during this early period it was the Portuguese who dominated the trade. Thereafter the Dutch, English and French became the main suppliers.

The Portuguese slave trade focussed on Brazil, but during the early years of the slave trade exports to Spanish America exceeded those to Brazil. Although the Portuguese were involved in the Spanish American slave trade from the beginning, the peak of their participation came with the union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal between 1580 and 1640. The first slaves to arrive in Spanish America accompanied expeditions of conquest as valued servants and auxiliaries<sup>2</sup> and in the early decades of colonial rule individual Spaniards were granted licences to take small numbers of slaves from the Iberian Peninsula for their own personal service.<sup>3</sup> However, the acute shortage of labour in the Caribbean islands precipitated by the rapid decline in the native population soon led to requests to permit the importation of African slaves in larger numbers.<sup>4</sup> The Spanish Crown

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<sup>1</sup> Calculated from David Eltis, “The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (2001): 45.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie B. Rout, *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 75–77.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick F. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 28, 360–361.

<sup>4</sup> N. David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 15–26; Carol O. Sauer, *Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1966), 206–207; Colin A. Palmer *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570–1650* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 9.



seems to have had no moral objections to the enslavement of Africans; indeed it saw the slave trade as a potential source of revenue. In 1518, therefore, it authorised the first shipment of slaves direct from Africa to its American colonies.

When the Portuguese ceded the Canary Islands to Spain under the Treaty of Alcáçovas in 1479, Spain in return recognised Portugal's rights over Cape Verde, Madeira, the Azores and the African Coast south of Cape Bojador. The Treaty of Tordesillas later confirmed Portuguese rights of access in 1494. Spain therefore had no lawful right of entry to the African coast and she was reluctantly forced to rely on foreign traders to supply her with slaves. However, consistent with mercantilist ideas at the time Spain sought to retain as much control as possible over the trade, in part to eliminate contraband trade, but mainly to ensure that it benefited financially from its operation. To this end, in the same way that it attempted to direct all trade with its American colonies, it controlled the registration of slave ships and specified their destinations in Africa and their ports of entry in Spanish America. More important it issued individual licences or monopoly contracts, known as *asientos*, that transferred the right to sell licences to *asentistas*. Early attempts at establishing a royal monopoly were unsuccessful since colonists complained about the poor quality of the slaves and their high prices, while the Crown was concerned that the delivery of slaves provided the opportunity for contraband trade.<sup>5</sup> *Asientos* were therefore abandoned in favour of individual licences, which were issued to traders of diverse nationalities including Germans, Italians and Portuguese, as well as Castilians. During the sixteenth century the demand for slaves increased and, as the cost of licences rose, the financial resources of the Portuguese and their access to African slave markets led to their increasing dominance in the trade. This dominance was consolidated between 1580 and 1640 when the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, and particularly after 1595 when Spain reverted to a system of *asientos*, the majority of which were made with Portuguese traders. The operation of the *asiento* system will be discussed further in Chapter 1.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For the history of licences and *asientos* in the sixteenth century see: Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México*. 2nd ed. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972): 15–25; Palmer, *Slaves of the White God*, 6–12.

<sup>6</sup> Georges Scelle, "The Slave Trade in the Spanish American Colonies: The Asiento," *The American Journal of International Law* 4(3)(1910): 613–38 and *La traite*

The Portuguese had been involved in African slave trade since the mid-fifteenth century. Slavery had been common in the Mediterranean since Roman times though by the fifteenth century it had ceased to be a significant labour system in the region.<sup>7</sup> There existed, however, a trade in slaves across the Sahara that supplied Islamic states bordering on the Mediterranean.<sup>8</sup> Portuguese exploratory expeditions down the coast of West Africa that began in the early fifteenth century opened up an alternative maritime route to the trans-Saharan caravans. Initially the Portuguese were more interested in acquiring gold than slaves, but the high demand for slaves on the Gold Coast for the production of gold and for the development of sugar plantations on the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Canaries drew them into the slave trade. At the same time small numbers began entering the Iberian Peninsula, particularly the main port cities of Lisbon and Seville, primarily for employment as domestic servants or artisans.<sup>9</sup> The first African slaves to be transported by the Portuguese to the Iberian Peninsula were imported to the Algarve from Mauritania by the Lagos Company in 1444.<sup>10</sup>

The opening up of the New World brought a new dimension to slave trading activities.<sup>11</sup> While in the early sixteenth century some

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*négrière aux Indes de Castille: contrats et traités d'assiento* (Paris: L. Larose and L. Tenin, 1906), vol. 1: 347–470; Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos: los asientos Portugueses* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1977), 28–54, 104–115. See also: Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 33–48; Germán Peralta Rivera, *Los mecanismos del comercio negrero* (Lima: Kuntur Editores, 1990), 43–131.

<sup>7</sup> For a brief overview of the history of slavery in Europe see Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–7; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440–1870* (London: Picador, 1997), 38–48. For a more detailed survey see Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale* (Bruges: “De Tempel”, 1955).

<sup>8</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 23–25. For the scale of the trans-Saharan slave trade see: Ralph A. Austen, “The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census.” In *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, edited by Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, 23–76. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

<sup>9</sup> Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 11–14. For the numbers of African slaves and their occupations in the Iberian Peninsula see: A.C. de C.M Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 62–88; José Luis Cortés López, *La esclavitud negra en la España peninsular del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1989), 104–116, 200–202.

<sup>10</sup> Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 51; Rout, *African Experience*, 8.

<sup>11</sup> For the shift in emphasis of the African slave trade see: Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 44–48.

slaves were transported to Brazil, the market in Spanish America was potentially more lucrative and this encouraged the Portuguese to seek licences and *asientos* from an early date.<sup>12</sup> Initially the main centres of the trade in Africa were at Arguim and Elmina, with Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe being used as collection points for slaves from the neighbouring coasts as far south as Kongo.<sup>13</sup> As early as 1500 about 2,200 slaves were being traded annually on the West African Coast, the majority of whom came from Upper Guinea.<sup>14</sup> The early sixteenth century saw first the French and English, and later the Dutch begin to challenge Portuguese dominance in the trade.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile the supply of slaves from Kongo dried up as the kingdom was torn apart by civil wars. Despite a military campaign by Paulo Dias in 1575, it was only in the early seventeenth century that the Portuguese conquered Angola and established formal political control of the region.<sup>16</sup> This enabled the Portuguese to shift the emphasis of their slave-trading activities to Angola, a process that was encouraged by the increased presence of French, English and Dutch in Upper Guinea.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, the Gold Coast remained a very minor supplier of slaves. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries therefore the main sources of slaves were Upper Guinea and Angola.

The initial impetus behind the slave trade to Spanish America was the shortage of labour in regions that were being developed economically but where the native population was sparse or more commonly had experienced a rapid decline following Spanish contact. Although some controversy exists over the size of the native popu-

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<sup>12</sup> Walter C. Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 95–96.

<sup>13</sup> Ivana Elbl, “The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450–1521”, *Journal of African History* 38(1)(1997): 31–75.

<sup>14</sup> There were some fluctuations in the supply of slaves from different regions, which reflected Crown policy, sources of supply in Africa, and the efficiency of slave trading enterprises.

<sup>15</sup> John W. Blake *European Beginnings in West Africa 1454–1578* (London: Longmans, 1937), 106–160; Johannes M. Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 10–14; Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 153–162.

<sup>16</sup> David Birmingham, *The Portuguese Conquest of Angola*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 9–24.

<sup>17</sup> Walter Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 126–27; Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 99–100; António Carreira, *Os Portugueses nos rios de Guiné (1500–1900)* (Lisboa: No publisher, 1984), 32–36.

lation of the Americas in 1492, many scholars would accept that it may have declined by about 90 percent from about 50 to 60 million in 1492 to 6.5 million in 1650.<sup>18</sup> However, the losses were uneven, being highest in lowland coastal regions and the Caribbean.<sup>19</sup> But not all regions that suffered from shortages of labour witnessed the importation of African slaves.<sup>20</sup> African slaves were costly to import and were therefore found primarily in areas where enterprises, such as mining and sugar production, could generate sufficient profits to cover their costs. Hence, the gold and emerald mines of Colombia depended on the importation of African slaves, who also made a significant contribution to the labour force in silver mining in northern Mexico. Other slaves were employed in the sugar-producing regions of Veracruz and the Caribbean. However, even in areas of dense native population African slaves were also employed in small numbers undertaking tasks that in law were deemed too arduous for Indians, such as sugar milling, pearl fishing or portage, or they worked as artisans, particularly in carpentry, metal working, construction and the textile industry. In addition, for reasons of social prestige, wealthy families in the major cities and ports often had African slaves rather than Indians as household servants. In fact in the early colonial period African slavery was an urban rather than rural phenomenon. In 1636 African slaves comprised about 50 percent of Lima's population of about 27,000 and a significant proportion

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<sup>18</sup> William M. Denevan, ed. *Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), xxix; Henry F. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Populations: An Appraisal of Techniques and a New Hemispheric Estimate." *Current Anthropology* 7 (1966): 415. Estimates for the native population of the Americas in 1492 range from Alfred Kroeber's 8.4 million (*Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*. University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology no. 38 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1939), 166) to Henry Dobyns's 90 to 112.5 million (p. 415). Denevan's estimate of about 54 million in 1492 is to be preferred since it is based on a review of recent research on each major region of the Americas.

<sup>19</sup> Linda A. Newson, "Indian Population Patterns in Colonial Spanish America," *Latin American Research Review* 20(3)(1984): 42–47 and "The Demographic Collapse of Native Peoples of the Americas, 1492–1650," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 81(1993): 248–54.

<sup>20</sup> Rolando Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1975), 85–99; Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 21–26. For overviews of the distribution of African slaves in Peru see: Bowser, *African Slave*, 88–146 *passim* and for Mexico Palmer *Slaves of the White God*, 21–26 and Patrick J. Carroll, *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 61–64.

of the rest of Peru's slave population was employed on estates that supplied the city.<sup>21</sup> In 1612 Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa recorded that there were about 50,000 Black and Mulatto slaves in Mexico City who accounted for about one-third of its population.<sup>22</sup> However, there the demand for slaves soon fell as the demographic recovery of native population began and this substantial African population became absorbed into a growing population of mixed races.

A broad overview of the slave population in Spanish America in the mid-seventeenth century by a widely travelled sea captain, Fernando de Silva Solís, a citizen of Seville suggested that there were about 329,000 slaves in Spanish America of whom about 30 percent were to be found in Peru.<sup>23</sup> In addition over 10 percent were employed in the gold and emerald mines of Colombia and a further 5 percent supported the isthmus trade either working as muleteers or repairing ships and providing provisions. Altogether two-thirds of African slaves were located in South America, most of whom would have been imported via Cartagena; a small proportion would have entered via Buenos Aires and probably more illegally. Peru was therefore one of the largest markets for slaves in Spanish America and Cartagena its most important port of entry.

### *Previous Studies*

There have been relatively few studies of the Portuguese slave trade to Spanish America. Largely driven by the availability of archival sources, most research has focussed on organisational and fiscal aspects of the trade. The most notable study is Enriqueta Vila Vilar's *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos: los asientos Portugueses*, which as the title suggests focuses on the period of the Portuguese *asientos* between 1595 and 1640. She analyses the nature of the contracts, the routes taken by slave ships and the volume of the trade based on documentary sources found in the Archivo General de Indias in

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<sup>21</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 341.

<sup>22</sup> Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio y descripción de las indias occidentales*. Biblioteca de autores españoles 231 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1969), 109–10.

<sup>23</sup> Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI) Indiferente General 2796 Capitán Fernando de Silva Solís, no date.

Seville.<sup>24</sup> Her estimate of 269,664 slaves arriving in the Americas during this period has been widely accepted by more recent scholars and given the exhaustive nature of the archival research on which it is based is unlikely to be improved upon.<sup>25</sup> Less detailed overviews of the organisation of the early colonial slave trade to Spanish America are contained in the monographs by Frederick Bowser, Rolando Mellafe and Colin Palmer on slavery in Peru, Chile and Mexico respectively, but the emphasis in these studies is on slavery in those regions rather than on the slave trade.<sup>26</sup> Frederick Bowser also briefly examines the onward journey of slaves from Cartagena to Lima and David Chandler's study of health conditions among African slaves in Colombia covers the early years of the slave trade.<sup>27</sup> There has been some distinguished work on the economic, social and religious life of slaves in Cartagena, often based on Inquisition records.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand there have been no significant studies of the slave trade to Spanish America by Portuguese scholars whose focus of interest has been either Brazil or the regions in Africa from which the slaves were drawn.

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<sup>24</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*. Other related publications by Vila Vilar include: "Los asientos portugueses y el contrabando de negros, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 30 (1973): 557–99 and "Algunos datos sobre la navegación y los navíos negreros en el siglo XVII," *Historiografía y bibliografía americanistas* 17 (3)(1973): 219–32. Huguet Chaunu and Pierre Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique, 1450–1650* vol. 5 (Paris: A. Colin, 1955) also provide information on the number of slave ships arriving in the Americas.

<sup>25</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 209; Eltis, "Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," 24.

<sup>26</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*; Mellafe, *Esclavitud negra en Chile*, 156–169; Palmer, *Slaves of the White God*, 6–35.

<sup>27</sup> David L. Chandler, "*Health and Slavery: A Study of Health Conditions Among Negro Slaves in the Viceroyalty of New Granada and its Associated Slave Trade, 1600–1810.*" PhD diss., Tulane University, 1972.

<sup>28</sup> For example, María del Carmen Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos, 1983); Manuel Tejado Fernández, *Aspectos de la vida social en Cartagena de Indias durante el seiscientos* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos, 1954); Adolfo Meisel Roca, "Esclavitud, mestizaje y haciendas en la provincia de Cartagena: 1533–1851," *Desarrollo y Sociedad* no. 4 (1980): 227–78; María Cristina Navarrete, *Historia social del negro en la colonia* (Universidad del Valle, Santiago de Cali, 1995) and *Prácticas religiosas de los negros en la colonia: Cartagena siglo XVII* (Santiago de Cali: Universidad del Valle, 1995); Nicolás del Castillo Mathieu, *Esclavos negros en Cartagena de Indias y sus aportes léxicos* (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1982); Margaret M. Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004).

Interest in the African and Atlantic sectors of the slave trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has come primarily from Africanists or Brazilianists. For this early period Frédéric Mauro has defined the broader structures of Portuguese trade on the coast of Africa.<sup>29</sup> The two main sources of slaves prior to 1650 were Upper Guinea and Angola. While António Carreira has written extensively on diverse aspects of economic and social history of Upper Guinea and Cape Verde, including the slave trade,<sup>30</sup> Walter Rodney's *History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800* provides a concise overview of the early colonial history of this coast, including the development of the slave trade and the role played by *lançados*.<sup>31</sup> The same is true of the studies by David Birmingham and Charles Boxer of the early history of Angola.<sup>32</sup> Philip Curtin's study of Senegambia focuses more directly on trade in pre-colonial Africa, but deals with a slightly later period,<sup>33</sup> while recent studies by George Brooks and Walter Hawthorne have made significant contributions to understanding economic and social transformations on the Upper Guinea Coast in the early colonial period, though their interest has been in the impact of the transatlantic slave trade rather than the operation of the trade itself.<sup>34</sup>

This division of scholarly labour reflects not so much linguistic or disciplinary barriers, but the structure of the transatlantic trade in which traders who operated in Africa and across the Atlantic were generally distinct from those who organised their distribution of slaves in the Americas. This was essentially a consequence of Spanish policy that excluded foreigners from trade in its American possessions. As a result evidence for the Atlantic sector is found largely in

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<sup>29</sup> Frédéric Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico 1570–1670*, vol. 1. (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1997).

<sup>30</sup> For example, António Carreira, “Tratos e resgates dos Portugueses nos rios de Guiné e ilhas de Cabo Verde nos começos do século XVII,” *Revista de história económica e social* 2 (1978): 91–103 and *Os Portuguêses nos rios de Guiné (1500–1900)* (Lisboa: Litografia Tejo, 1984).

<sup>31</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast* and “Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly on the Upper Guinea Coast,” *Journal of African History* 6(3)(1965): 307–322.

<sup>32</sup> David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Charles R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602–1686* (London: The Athlone Press, 1952).

<sup>33</sup> Curtin, *Economic Change*.

<sup>34</sup> George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1993) and *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003); Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400–1900* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003).

archives in Lisbon and Africa, and that for the American sector in Spain and in countries receiving slaves in Spanish America. However, during archival research for this study sources relating to the Portuguese trade in Africa were discovered in Lima, Peru, so that unusually it uses both Spanish and Portuguese sources and discusses the operation of the slave trade both sides of the Atlantic, tracing the passage of slaves from captivity in Africa to sale in Spanish America, in this case Lima.

While the basic organisation of the slave trade is known for the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, few details exist of the precise manner in which slaves were acquired. Unlike other nationalities the Portuguese did not normally establish slave-trading forts, but rather the *asentistas* sold licences to private slave traders who acquired slaves through contacts with resident Portuguese traders or *lançados*. However, the precise mechanisms that were used and the role that kinship played in commercial transactions have not been explored for lack of evidence. For the same reason, little is known of the conditions that the slaves experienced while awaiting transshipment in Africa or on the transatlantic journey. Estimates of mortality are often drawn from trade and shipping accounts, but for the early slave trade when much of the trade was in the hands of private traders, data of this kind is fragmentary. For the early seventeenth century reliance is often placed on the treatise by the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval entitled *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*. Sandoval spent over forty years in Cartagena, where he visited the slave ships and barracoons and gathered information from slaves on conditions in Africa and on the Middle Passage.<sup>35</sup> Even for later periods information on conditions on the African coast is hard to come by. Perhaps the most relevant are the studies by Johannes Postma of the Dutch slave trade<sup>36</sup> and by Joseph Miller of the trade from Angola in the eighteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, Enriqueta Vila Vilar (ed.) (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987). See also the accounts by the Jesuits: Josef Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida de el V.P. Pedro Claver* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, 1666) and Joseph Cassani, *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Madrid: Imp. y Lib. de Manuel Fernández, 1741), 331–425.

<sup>36</sup> Johannes M. Postma, “Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade, 1675–1795,” in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, eds. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 239–60 and *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>37</sup> Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730–1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).



Table 0.1. Slave Arrivals in the Americas 1500 to 1870 ('000)

	Spanish America	Brazil	West Indies	British North America	Total	Percentage by period	Percentage Spanish America
Pre 1600	75	50			125	1.2	60.0
1601–1650	127.5	200	23.2		350.7	3.5	36.4
1651–1700	165	360	440.3		965.3	9.6	17.1
1701–1800	512.7	1700.3	3124.9	391.2	5729.1	56.9	8.9
After 1800	782.2	1719.5	232.1	168.6	2902.4	28.8	27.0
	1662.4	4029.8	3820.5	559.8	10072.5	100.0	16.5
Percentage by region	16.5	40.0	37.9	5.6	100.0		

*Source:* Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 210–11.

Although the number of slaves landed in the Americas prior to 1650 accounted for only about 5 percent of the total number arriving during the whole duration of the slave trade, the early period is worthy of separate study because the organisation of the trade and the conditions for slaves were different in many respects from those that prevailed in later periods (Table 0.1). It is thought that conditions in captivity and levels of mortality improved over time, particularly on the Middle Passage, as ships became faster and greater attention was paid to healthcare.<sup>38</sup> Also, it is argued that mortality was reduced as slaves were ‘refreshed’ in the Caribbean rather than shipped direct to the designated ports of entry. While there is good evidence for a decline in mortality from the late seventeenth century little is known about mortality in the early years of the slave trade.

There is a significant debate in the literature over the causes of mortality in the slave trade. Disease, ‘tight packing’, unexpectedly long journeys, shipboard revolts and shipwrecks have all been implicated. However, a number of authors have noted the significance of the port of embarkation in explaining differences in mortality. Indeed several authors have suggested that pre-embarkation losses may have

<sup>38</sup> Herbert S. Klein, Stanley L. Engerman, Robin Haines and Ralph Shlomowitz, “Transoceanic Mortality: The Slave Trade in Comparative Perspective,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 58(1)(2001): 114. A database of over 5,000 voyages for which data on mortality exists suggests that slave mortality generally declined from 22.6 percent prior to 1700 to 11.2 percent by 1800.

exceeded those during the Middle Passage.<sup>39</sup> Whether or not this argument has any validity, mortality on the African coast is likely to have differed during different periods of the slave trade due to changes in the distance from which slaves were drawn, in the foods that they were fed and possibly in the prevalence of disease, particularly malaria. Also little attention has been paid to ethnic differences in the nutritional and health status of Africans prior to enslavement that derived from the diverse subsistence patterns and environmental conditions that prevailed on the coast.<sup>40</sup> The current view is that mortality was the result of the interaction of factors in both Africa and on board ships, and that regional differences in health and nutrition in Africa had a significant impact on mortality.<sup>41</sup> The fact that during the period of the Portuguese *asientos* slaves were being imported from two distinct regions, Upper Guinea and Angola, will enable this issue to be explored in depth in this volume.

During the early years of the slave trade its organisation differed from that in later periods. The Portuguese slave trade to Spanish America was undertaken through a series of *asientos* and individual licences, which although controlled by both Portugal and Spain depended on private enterprise and resources. Some foreign private traders operated on the African coast in the sixteenth century, but

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<sup>39</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1969): 281–82; Jan S. Hogendorn, “Economic Modelling of Price Differences in the Slave Trade Between the Central Sudan and the Coast,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 17 (1996): 213; Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978): 87; Postma, “Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade,” 240–46; Robert Stein, “Mortality in the Eighteenth-Century French Slave Trade,” *The Journal of African History* 21(1)(1980): 38–39; Joseph C. Miller, “Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade: Statistical Evidence on Causality,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11(3)(1981): 409–10, 413.

<sup>40</sup> This is noted in Klein, *Middle Passage*, 235 and Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 246, but it has generally not been investigated directly. An exception is Joseph Miller’s research on the Portuguese slave trade that attributes high mortality on the Middle Passage and in Brazil to drought, food shortages and famines in Angola (Joseph C. Miller, “The Significance of Drought, Disease and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West-Central Africa,” *Journal of African History*, 23 (1982): 28–30; Joseph C. Miller, “Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade,” 412, 417–18.

<sup>41</sup> Richard H. Steckel and Richard A. Jenson, “New Evidence on the Causes of Slave and Crew Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade,” *Journal of Economic History*, 46 (1986): 64–76; Robin Haines, John McDonald and Ralph Shlomowitz, “Mortality and Voyage Length in the Middle Passage Revisited,” *Explorations in Economic History*, 38 (2001): 529; Klein *et al.*, “Transoceanic Mortality”, 109–110.

as the slave trade grew and rival nationalities began to recognise the commercial potential of trade on the African coast they began to form monopoly-trading companies.<sup>42</sup> The first was the Dutch West India Company founded in 1621, followed later by the English Royal African Company in 1672 and the Senegal Company in 1673, and by others founded in Denmark, Sweden and Brandenburg. Although these companies often had private investors, they received extensive state financial backing, which was needed to undertake the costly tasks of ousting competitors, establishing trading contacts and maintaining permanent trading posts and forts. In effect they might have almost complete administrative and judicial power in a territory. The monopolies were never complete largely because the companies failed to prevent interlopers or foreign rivals, so that they all eventually collapsed; burdened by high fixed costs they were unable to provide sufficient slaves at competitive prices to ensure profits for their investors. These companies operated as partnerships or larger joint-stock companies. These enabled the pooling of capital from a larger number of investors and allowed larger scale and more risky enterprises to be launched. Although kinship and friendship still played important roles in business enterprises, the scale was much larger than during the Portuguese *asientos*. Through the use of the private papers and accounts of slave traders it is possible to explore the role that kinship played not only in the acquisition and sale of slaves, but also in the supply of commodities and services, such as barter goods, provisions and medical care, that underpinned the trade. Not only were there differences in the organisation of the trade, but also in the commodities exchanged for slaves on the African coast and in the currencies or mediums of exchange that were used.

### *The Slave Trade in Wider Historical Context*

The early Portuguese slave trade to Spanish America is not only interesting in itself but it throws light on broader issues of historical interest. This period of history is one in which knowledge of the

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<sup>42</sup> Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 75–82; John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 57–66.

wider world was expanding bringing changes to material culture and ideas. Of particular interest in this study are the impact of the Columbian Exchange<sup>43</sup> and evolving ideas on medical practice and health.

The Spanish and Portuguese, like all colonizers, attempted to replicate their culture in their colonies as well as develop products for export. All ships involved in early exploratory expeditions were required by the Spanish Crown to introduce livestock and to carry seeds, plants and fruit stones to establish the cultivation of European crops. The establishment of Old World crops in the Americas was not a simple process, however, since they were not always suited to environmental conditions and often faced competition from crops that were well established in indigenous crop complexes. In many cases therefore the Spanish and Portuguese adopted indigenous crops, both as major staples such as maize or potatoes, or as export crops such as cacao, cochineal or indigo. As the African slave trade developed crops, such as African yams, millet, sorghum, okra, aubergine, the congo bean and ackee began to arrive in the Americas. However, the movement across the Atlantic was not one way. American foods, notably maize and manioc, supplanted traditional crops such as millet, sorghum and yams and transformed the diets of much of West and Central Africa. Here their cultivation was stimulated in part by the demand for provisions to support the slave trade. This study's emphasis on the diet and medical care of slaves throws light on the extent to which crops from the opposite sides of the Atlantic had changed local diets and been adopted for medicinal purposes.

The medical care provided for slaves not only reflected the medicines available but also prevailing ideas on sickness and healing. In parallel with the introduction of Old World crops and livestock, the Spanish introduced medical practices modelled on those that existed in the Iberian Peninsula. Medical practice in sixteenth-century Spain was dominated by the views of Galen and Hippocrates who saw

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<sup>43</sup> Arnold J. Bauer, *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 87–104; Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972); John C. Super, *Food, Conquest, and the Colonization in Sixteenth-century Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988); Herman J. Viola and Carolyn Margolis, *Seeds of Change* (Washington and London Washington and London, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

illness as a function of an imbalance in the humours that could be redressed by diet, medicines, purging, vomiting and bleeding.<sup>44</sup> However, also emerging were ‘empirics’ who considered illnesses to be caused by some external factor that could be detected and cured through observation and experiment. Among them were surgeons, apothecaries and unlicensed practitioners who used similar methods.<sup>45</sup> However this progressive movement was discouraged by the Counter Reformation, which tried to reassert the authority of the Catholic Church by drawing up a list of banned books and discouraging scholars from studying abroad.<sup>46</sup> Some of those who wished to escape this conservative atmosphere migrated to the New World where they could practice more freely. Here the lack of training facilities for doctors, the presence of new diseases and a diversity of medicines and medical practices used by indigenous peoples and Africans fostered an environment of experimentation. The medical care that slaves received reflected these broad changes in practice of medicine, while the impact of the Columbian Exchange can be seen in the adoption of many herbal and inorganic remedies found in indigenous and African pharmacopoeias.

### *The Sources*

This study of the Portuguese slave trade to Spanish America aims to deepen our understanding of the operation of the trade and in particular the experience of slaves from captivity in Africa to sale in the New World. In considering the organisation of the slave trade

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<sup>44</sup> George M. Foster, *Hippocrates' Latin American Legacy: Humoral Medicine in the New World* (Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach, 1994): 2–4; George Foster, “Relationship between Spanish and Spanish-American Folk Medicine,” *Journal of American Folklore*, 66 (1953): 201–203; Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 71–77; Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: The Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: HarperCollins: 1997): 55–62, 73–77, 168–186.

<sup>45</sup> José María López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica en la sociedad española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Barcelona: Labor Universitaria, 1979): 154–63; Roy Porter, *Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 201–216.

<sup>46</sup> John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London: Penguin Books, 1970): 224–27, José María López Piñero, “Paracelsus and his Work in 16th and 17th Century Spain,” *Clio Medica* 8 (1973): 119–131 and “The Versalian Movement in Sixteenth Century Spain,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 12 (1979): 81.

it will not discuss in detail the Portuguese *asientos* for which excellent studies already exist, but will consider the mechanisms by which slaves were acquired in Africa and the kinship links that were important at different stages in the trade. The main emphasis, however, will be on the conditions experienced by the slaves, especially in terms of their food, lodging and medical care, which are areas that have hitherto been neglected in the literature because of the shortage of evidence.

Unlike previous studies that have largely used official sources, this book is based primarily on private papers and accounts belonging to one of the main slave traders, Manuel Bautista Pérez, and his agents.<sup>47</sup> Like many of those who were involved in the slave trade under the Portuguese *asientos*, Manuel Bautista Pérez came from a New Christian family. Born in Ançã in the district of Coimbra, Portugal, in 1589, his involvement in the slave trade began from at least 1613 and by the 1630s he dominated the trade and had become one of Lima's wealthiest citizens. Between 1635 and 1639 many New Christians were brought before the Inquisition in Lima on charges of Judaizing and some, including Manuel Bautista Pérez, were put to death.<sup>48</sup> During this process their papers were seized and most are now held in the Inquisition section of the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima.<sup>49</sup> Some of the papers, mainly those belonging to his brother-in-law and agent in Cartagena, Sebastián Duarte, became detached during the War of the Pacific in 1881–1883 and are now located in the Archivo Nacional Histórico in Santiago, Chile.

The accounts and letters begin with Manuel Bautista Pérez's first involvement in the slave trade in 1613 and end with his arrest by

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<sup>47</sup> Although Frederick Bowser used some of these sources, given his emphasis on slavery in Peru rather than the slave trade, he did not exploit them fully and does not appear to have been aware of the existence of the Portuguese sources; at least he did not use them.

<sup>48</sup> For an in-depth study of the commercial activities of Manuel Bautista Pérez see: Susie Minchin, "May You Always Care for those of Your Patria": Manuel Bautista Pérez and the Portuguese New Christian Community of Viceregal Peru: Slave Trade, Commerce and the Inquisition, 1617–39." PhD diss., Cambridge, 1998.

<sup>49</sup> Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, Santo Oficio, Contencioso (hereafter AGNL SO CO) Ca 2 doc 8, Ca 18 doc 197, Ca 20 doc 201, Ca 25 doc 251, Ca 40 doc 383, Ca 57 doc 431. Since Frederick Bowser used some of these sources, the Inquisition section of the AGN has been re-catalogued. These references are equivalent to those appearing in Bowser's study as Tribunal de la Inquisición, Concurso de acreedores de Manuel Bautista Pérez, legajos 34–39.

the Inquisition in 1635, though beyond this date there are papers from individuals making claims on his estate. In the early years of his involvement of the slave trade, when he was in his early twenties, Pérez undertook two slaving expeditions to Africa and subsequently accompanied the slaves all the way from Cacheu to Lima. After a brush with the Portuguese authorities in Cacheu on his second very profitable venture in 1617 to 1618, he decided to concentrate on trading in slaves within Spanish America and made his home in Lima. Unfortunately, therefore, detailed accounts of the African end of the trade are only available for the first two of his trading expeditions. These accounts, written in Portuguese, are exceptionally rich, including information on the barter goods sent to Africa, and all the goods exchanged on the coast, including not only the acquisition of slaves, but also provisions to support them. These and other letters also provide insight into the conduct of business on the coast of Africa, including the mechanisms by which slaves were acquired. These two early expeditions each took over two years.<sup>50</sup> Unusually therefore they allow an examination of the whole slave trading venture from the licensing of ships and the acquisition of merchandise in Seville, through to the bartering of slaves in Africa, to the journey across the Atlantic and the eventual sale of the slaves in Lima.

Once established in Lima Manuel Bautista Pérez organised yearly shipments of slaves from Cartagena. Up until 1623 he travelled to Cartagena personally to acquire slaves, but thereafter relied on agents who were based there, notably Sebastián Duarte. During the 1620s and 1630s he was shipping between 150 and 500 slaves a year from Cartagena to Peru. Accounts for individual shipments, referred to as *empleos*, were kept separately. Normally these covered two calendar years with the slaves being acquired in Cartagena in the summer and early autumn and arriving in Peru in spring the following year. The accounts are particularly complete for six *empleos* where the expenditure is recorded on a daily basis. These papers contain details of all the commercial transactions conducted by the slave traders during the four to six month journeys to Peru. Among other things, they include information on the purchase of slaves, on expenditure

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<sup>50</sup> On the second venture he left Lisbon on the 4th December 1616 but did not arrive in Callao until 21st March 1619.

on individual foods, medicines and medical practitioners, as well as on slave mortality from purchase to sale.

The structure of the book follows the stages in any slave-trading venture beginning with the dispatch of slave trading vessels in Spain or Portugal and ending with the sale of slaves in Peru. Throughout the study the experience of Manuel Bautista Pérez and his agents is used to exemplify more general processes that have been outlined in the existing literature and can be gleaned from other archival sources. At all stages features of the slave trade during the early seventeenth century will be compared to later periods and comparisons made of the experience of slaves from different regions of Africa.



## CHAPTER ONE

### A BUREAUCRATIC BUSINESS

Spain seems to have had no moral objection to African slavery. However, she was reluctant to encourage the importation of slaves to America because of her reliance on foreigners to supply them, which would have represented a drain on royal revenue. However, any initial concerns she may have had were soon dispelled by the realities of labour shortages in America and the undeniable financial benefits that the slave trade could bring to her impoverished coffers.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, in order to ensure that she profited from the trade, Spain sought to keep a tight control of its operation through the granting of individual licences or monopoly *asientos*.

The issue of slave-trading licences was managed by the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville. Facing financial hardship the Spanish Crown increased the price of licences per slave from two *ducados* in 1513 to thirty *ducados* and twenty *reales* customs duty (*aduanilla*) in 1561.<sup>2</sup> Throughout most of the sixteenth century licences were sold to individuals of diverse nationalities, but as the price of licences increased and the demand for slaves grew, the Portuguese came to dominate the trade, since they had access to the African coast and possessed the necessary financial resources to supply slaves on a large scale at acceptable prices. The Portuguese Crown also was anxious to encourage the trade for its own financial benefit. With the annexation of Portugal in 1580, Spain took the opportunity to play a more prominent role in the slave trade and opted for a system of *asientos* through which—at least in theory—the sale of slaves destined for America came under the control of the Spanish Crown.<sup>3</sup> In reality, however, Portuguese domination of the slave trade increased.

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<sup>1</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 27–30. On the financial difficulties faced by early modern Spain see Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 199–207 and John Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs: Vol. 1 Empire and Absolutism, 1516–1598* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 128–34.

<sup>2</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 28–9 and Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Scelle, “Slave Trade,” 613–38; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 28–54, 104–115. See also: Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 33–48; Peralta Rivera, *Los mecanismos*, 43–131.

The *asientos* were contracts negotiated between the Spanish Crown and a private individual or company, which were valid for a set period of time. The *asentista* was expected to pay the Spanish Crown an annual sum that was somewhat lower than the total value of licences sold, so that he could profit from the difference and from the sale of any licences he was allowed to keep for himself.<sup>4</sup> Among other things the *asientos* specified the number of slaves to be delivered per year, the proportion extra that could be carried to take account of anticipated losses in transit, the ratio of males to females, and in some cases the points of delivery. So for example, the *asiento* with António Fernandes d'Elvas in 1615 specified that over eight years he was to introduce through Cartagena or Veracruz in Mexico 5,000 *piezas de negros* annually, of which it was assumed 3,500 would arrive alive. In reality the *asentista* only had the right to distribute licences and as such was an intermediary between slave traders and the Spanish Crown.<sup>5</sup> Neither was his monopoly complete because a number of licences were set aside for allocation at the king's discretion.<sup>6</sup>

The system of *asientos* established at the end of the sixteenth century was far from successful. It failed to meet labour demands in the Americas and many of the *asentistas* ran into financial difficulties. Even though the *asentistas* were often men familiar with the slave trade, the sums they were expected to pay annually to fulfil their contracts turned out to be too high and there were often delays in the remittance of profits from the sale of licences. Between 1595 and 1640 at least two of the six *asentistas*, Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho and

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<sup>4</sup> For the *asientos* see: Scelle, *Traite négrière*, vol. 1: 347–470; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 23–58; Peralta, *Los mecanismos*, 43–13. Bowser, *African Slave*, 31–33 offers a detailed account of the flaws of the system and the bankruptcy in which many *asentistas* found themselves. Copies of the *asiento* contracts are to be found in AGI Indiferente General 2767 (António Fernandes d'Elvas; Manoel Rodrigues Lamego and Melchor Gomes Ángel and Cristóbal Mendes de Sousa); Indiferente General 2795 (Pedro Gomes Reynel); and Indiferente General 2829 (João and Gonçalo Coutinho).

<sup>5</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 30–1 and Peralta, *Los mecanismos*, 49.

<sup>6</sup> The number of royal licences ranged from up to 100 licences a year under Juan Rodríguez Coutinho from 1600, to 1,500 under the last Portuguese *asiento*, which was held by Melchor Ángel and Cristóbal Mendes de Sousa between 1631 and 1640 (AGI IG 2767 and Peralta, *Los mecanismos*, 68). These licences had to abide by the same conditions specified in the main *asiento*. Often these licences went to Portuguese *contratadores* (Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 39).

António Fernandes d'Elvas, went bankrupt and most may have resorted to fraudulent activities in order to cover their expenses.<sup>7</sup>

The *asiento* system only bestowed on the *asentista* the right to sell licences for the introduction of slaves; it did not provide access to sources of slaves on the African coast, which were under the control of *contratadores*. In Portugal, even though the Crown formally had the monopoly of the trade of slaves with Africa, traditionally the control of trade and the collection of taxes had been farmed out to private individuals.<sup>8</sup> These so-called *rendeiros*, known as *contratadores* from the second half of the sixteenth century, were in charge of specific slave-supplying areas along the West African coast and among other things they collected duties on the slaves bound for either Portuguese or Spanish America.<sup>9</sup> During the period from 1580 just prior to the introduction of the *asiento* system the Spanish Crown made contracts with Portuguese *contratadores* in Africa to deliver specified numbers of slaves, often five hundred, of which one third or one quarter were to be sold for the benefit of the Crown.<sup>10</sup> When *asientos* were issued, it was the *contratadores*, particularly those from Angola, who often bid successfully for the monopoly.<sup>11</sup> Hence, João Rodrigues Coutinho who was the *contratador* and governor of Angola from 1593 to 1603 acquired the *asiento* in 1601, while António Fernandes d'Elvas, who held the *asiento* from 1615 to 1623 was simultaneously the *contratador* for both Angola and Upper Guinea.<sup>12</sup> However, the hegemony of Portuguese *asentistas* came to an abrupt end after the revolt of Portugal in 1640. For a brief period Spain reverted to

<sup>7</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 32; Mellafe, *Esclavitud negra en Chile*, 23–6; Peralta, *Los mecanismos*, 43–131; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 76–86.

<sup>8</sup> Rodney, "Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly," 308–10; Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 60–61; Bowser, *African Slave*, 30 and Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão, "Rotas comerciais, agentes económicos, meios de pagamento," in *História geral de Cabo Verde*, vol. 2 ed. Maria Emília Madeira Santos (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, 2001), 80 On the Portuguese Crown's predilection for farming out its revenues, see Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 321–2.

<sup>9</sup> Ferraz Torrão, "Rotas comerciais," 77.

<sup>10</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 24–8; Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 37.

<sup>11</sup> Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 41–47; Peralta, *Los mecanismos*, 25–6. Frédéric Mauro provides a useful list of *contratadores* for Angola and Cape Verde (Guinea) between 1573–1676 (*Portugal*, I: 215–18). See also Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 24–8.

<sup>12</sup> This was the first time that revenues from Cape Verde/Rios de Guiné and Angola were to be collected jointly by the same *contratador* (Ferraz Torrão, "Rotas comerciais," 29).

a system of individual licences, though much of the trade was contraband in nature. However, the greater economic benefits and control of the trade that flowed from *asientos* resulted in a new contract being made with two Genoese, Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin in 1663, though in fact they were supplied by Dutch and English companies.<sup>13</sup>

In order to fulfil the contract the *asentista* had to maintain offices in Lisbon, Seville and Madrid for the sale of licences and to oversee the timely dispatch of ships, while to eliminate fraud and contraband trade he had to establish factors in Seville, on the coast of Africa and in American ports.<sup>14</sup> The factors were supposed to present annual accounts to the Council of the Indies of all slaves arriving in the Americas, including those landed illegally. To this end they were encharged with inspecting slave ships as they arrived and collecting any taxes due. In these positions the factors effectively controlled the slave trade and enjoyed the opportunities it offered to indulge in various kinds of fraud. Many of these factors were relatives or close friends of the *asentista*. Hence, during his *asiento*, both d'Elvas's son Jorge Fernandes d'Elvas and his brother-in-law Francisco Rodrigues de Solis were at times his factors in Cartagena.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Bureaucratic Process in Seville*

It was within this framework of licences and control by factors that Manuel Bautista Pérez prepared for his two journeys in 1612 and 1615. On the first journey he acted as an agent for a number of investors, but on the second he entered into a partnership with his uncle, Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa. The Pérez family was not alone in its choice of business activity. Like so many other New-Christian Portuguese families at the time, it was involved in the trade of African slaves, working through a network of relatives and business associates that stretched from the Iberian Peninsula, West Africa, India and America. On the first venture Manuel Bautista Pérez spent ten months

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<sup>13</sup> Marisa Vega Franco, *El tráfico de esclavos con America (Asientos de Grillo y Lomelin, 1663-1674)*. (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1984), 15-19, 40-49.

<sup>14</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 65-76.

<sup>15</sup> AGI SF 56B N73 doc 1 fol. 11v. Relación y abedario [sic] 1630; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 70.

in Cacheu, in present-day Guinea Bissau, while his elder brother, Juan Bautista, lived on the coast where he received barter goods that were sent ahead of the expedition.<sup>16</sup> Their uncle and mentor, Diogo Rodrigues, lived in Lisbon, but a number of other close relatives of the Pérez brothers lived in Seville.

Preparations for the 1616 venture started with the signing of a contract between Manuel Bautista Pérez and Diogo Rodrigues, in Lisbon. This contract specified that goods would be taken to Cacheu to be traded for slaves. Diogo Rodrigues owned the two vessels, the *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento*, a 150-ton Portuguese ship, and another smaller boat, a *patache*, *San Juan Bautista*, in addition to all the merchandise that was to be loaded on the ships in Lisbon and Cádiz, and estimated to be worth 20,000 *cruzados*. It was agreed that Diogo Rodrigues would get two-thirds of the profits and Manuel Bautista Pérez, who also acted as shipmaster, the remaining third. Finally, all proceeds from the sale of slaves in Cartagena had to be remitted to Seville at the earliest opportunity.<sup>17</sup>

But organising the finance for the venture was merely the first step in a long sequence of bureaucratic and logistical procedures that followed. It was then necessary to obtain two agreements. The first was granted by the *asentista*, who would agree, through the signing of an *avença*, to sell a specific number of slave licences. This then had to be presented to the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville where the *registro* was issued.<sup>18</sup> In fact Manuel Bautista Pérez obtained an *avença* from its treasurer, don Melchor Maldonado de Saavedra, in 1615. The *avença* would normally have been obtained from the *asentista*, but between 1609 and 1615 the administration of the slave trade was in the hands of Spanish officials rather than an *asentista*.<sup>19</sup> Manuel Bautista Pérez purchased 280 slave licences with a permitted excess of 20 percent.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> It is not clear when Juan Bautista Pérez arrived in Guinea. He may have accompanied Manuel Bautista Pérez on his journey in 1612 remaining on the coast as his contact thereafter. However, he died in 1617 (AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa 15 Nov. 1617).

<sup>17</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Contract between Manuel Bautista Pérez and Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa 25 Nov. 1616.

<sup>18</sup> AGI Contratación 2879 R6 contains the *avença* and *registro* papers of the *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento*. See also Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 141–44; Peralta, *Los mecanismos*, 167.

<sup>19</sup> Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 44–45.

<sup>20</sup> AGI Contratación 2879 R6 Registro del navío nombrado *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento* 1617.

The design of licences created in the sixteenth century remained essentially the same throughout the *asiento* years. These documents listed the number of slaves the purchaser was allowed to acquire, the name of the vessel and shipmaster, the ports of departure in Europe (Seville, Sanlúcar, Cádiz or Lisbon), their destination in Africa and the port of arrival in the Indies, normally Cartagena de Indias or Veracruz. Although the basic format of slave licences remained the same from one *asiento* to the next, a number of clauses differed, such as one that specified the number of additional slaves that could be loaded onto the ships to take account of anticipated mortality. The choice of port of departure also varied, but that was unrelated to specific clauses within each *asiento*. Prior to 1623 nearly all ships left from Seville, Sanlúcar or Bonanza near Cádiz, but after that date when ships that had been registered in Seville were allowed to sail from Lisbon, over two-thirds left from there.<sup>21</sup>

Once the *registro* document had been granted the *Casa de Contratación* drew up a document (*auto*) which declared whether the *registro* had been accepted or not. The price of the licences was 30 *ducados*, plus 20 reals customs tax, if paid in cash, or 40 *ducados* and 30 reals if payment was deferred until the slaves arrived in the Indies. To underwrite the amount owed to the Spanish Crown, the slave traders were required to provide security in the form of bonds (*fianzas*).<sup>22</sup> Manuel Bautista Pérez used two bondsmen, António Rodrigues da Serra and Gil Lopes de Almeida, citizens of Seville, whose creditworthiness was at first questioned, but later accepted.<sup>23</sup>

Following the purchase of the licences from the *Casa de Contratación*, the issuing of the *registro* and the payment of bonds, the ship was visited three times.<sup>24</sup> The first inspection was to ensure that the ship was seaworthy and possessed the necessary equipment, including arms and artillery, as well as crew. Any shortfalls were recorded and the shipmaster had to ensure that they were met in the second *visita*. All ships had a shipmaster (*maestre*), a pilot (*piloto*) who was supposed

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<sup>21</sup> AGI Contratación 2878–2896 Registros de esclavos 1616 to 1640; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 51; Peralta, *Los mecanismos*, 144.

<sup>22</sup> Peralta, *Los mecanismos*, 168.

<sup>23</sup> AGI Contratación 2879 R6 Registro del navío nombrado Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento 1617. The total amount for which they provided bonds was 4,485,600 maravedís, which was the price of the licences to be paid in Cartagena.

<sup>24</sup> See also Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 143–44.

to be licensed, a shipmaster's assistant (*contramaestre*) and scribe (*escribano*). Most also had a steward or boatswain (*dispensero*), who was in charge of the provisions, who often had a helper (*guardián*), and a sergeant of artillery (*condestable*).<sup>25</sup> Many sailors doubled up as caulkers, carpenters, coopers or artillerymen. Twenty-one of the 158 slave-trading ships for which details of the crews are available also had a barber or surgeon, a few of whom were licensed and were probably working their passage to the Indies.<sup>26</sup> Including the officers, crews averaged about twenty persons with ships possessing between six and twelve common sailors (*marineros*), four to six apprentices (*grumetes*) and two or three pages. The precise size of the crew varied according to the size of the vessel. It might be expected that the crew would also vary with the number of licences issued due to the need for greater control with larger slave cargoes. However, this does not appear to have been the case. There also was little correlation between size of the ship and the number of licences granted, perhaps because the number depended more on the financial resources of the contractor.<sup>27</sup>

The second inspection recorded details of the crew and equipment that was supposed to match up to the specifications in the first *visita*. At this stage the names, origin and occupation of the crew were scrutinized. The nineteen crew of the Nuestra Señora de Vencimiento were nearly all from Portugal. The pilot was Antonio Gómez, a citizen of Aveiro, and there were three other sailors from the same town. The *contramaestre* was from Lisbon and the *dispensero*

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<sup>25</sup> For the role of different seamen see: Pablo E. Pérez Mallaina, *Spain's Men of the Seas: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Carla Rahn Phillips (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1998), 75–92.

<sup>26</sup> AGI Contratación 2878–2896 Registros de esclavos 1616 to 1640.

<sup>27</sup> Information on the size of ships, number of licences and the size of the crew for 158 ships dispatched from Seville between 1616 and 1640 (AGI Contratación 2878 to 2896 Registros de esclavos 1616–1640) reveals a correlation between the size of ships and the number of crew of +0.75, whereas there were only very weak correlations between the size of ships and number of licences (+0.30) and between crew size and the numbers of slaves (+0.16). The average of about just over seven slaves per crew member is consistent with the ratio found on other slave ships in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Herbert S. Klein, "The Atlantic Slave Trade to 1650," in *Tropical Babels: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680*, edited by Stuart B. Schwartz (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 217.

from the island of Madeira. Of the remaining thirteen sailors, two of whom were also artillerymen, nine were from Portugal and only two from Spain, from Sanlúcar and Cádiz, and two from Tangiers.<sup>28</sup> At this time Pérez was ordered to take a certified notary and an additional sailor and apprentice.

The third inspection took place when a ship was about to depart. Initially slave ships were required to leave from Spain, mainly from Sanlúcar or the port of Bonanza, but after 1623 most left from Lisbon. Where the latter was the case, the third *visita* is not found with the rest of the documentation. Third inspections recorded the provisions that were taken on board. Among the main food items were *bizcocho*, beans, chickpeas and rice, which were normally consumed with bacalao, sardines or salted meat.<sup>29</sup> The basic staple was biscuit (*bizcocho*). This was unleavened bread that had been cooked twice to preserve it and which needed to be softened with wine or water to make it edible. Wine and water took up a lot of valuable space that could be used for cargo, so it was often kept to a minimum. On the Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento there were about six *pipas* or casks of water (each of 443.5 litres each)<sup>30</sup> and three of wine. Oil and vinegar were used for cooking and as condiments. While there was some correlation between the amount of provisions loaded and the size of crew,<sup>31</sup> more significant seems to have been the destination and hence length of journey. On average twenty-five quintals of *bizcocho* were loaded for Cape Verde, thirty for the Guinea Coast and fifty for Angola. Once the inspection had been completed and the shipmaster complied with the specifications, the ship was declared fit and ready for departure (the *despacho*).

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<sup>28</sup> AGI CONT 2879 R6 Registro del navío nombrado Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento (1617).

<sup>29</sup> These are the main items listed in the *visitas* of 158 ships between 1616 and 1640. See also Pérez Mallaina, *Spain's Men of the Sea*, 140–45.

<sup>30</sup> Pérez Mallaina, *Spain's Men of the Sea*, 66–67. This amount of water was satisfactory given a crew, including the shipmaster, of twenty and a journey to Cacheu that took twenty-five days. It would have provided about 5 litres of water for each crew member a day.

<sup>31</sup> The correlation between the amount of *bizcocho* and crew size on the 158 ships was only +0.41.



*The Dispatch of Cargoes*

As well as registering the ship and completing the necessary paperwork, Manuel Bautista Pérez also had to arrange for barter goods to be loaded for trade on the African coast. In 1613 he acted mainly as an agent for a number of investors, but in 1617 he himself was a partner in the enterprise with his uncle Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa, although he also continued to act as an agent for other investors. Investors entrusted Pérez with goods for trade that would be exchanged for slaves on the African coast that in turn would be sold in Cartagena and the revenue remitted to Spain or Portugal. Very often contracts with investors would specify that revenue from sale of slaves had to be realised within only ten or fifteen days of arrival in the Americas, which pressed slave traders to sell their slaves as rapidly as they could.<sup>32</sup>

In 1616 several cargoes were dispatched to Upper Guinea by Manuel Bautista Pérez ahead of his arrival the following year. These goods were sent on three ships—the San Antonio de San Francisco, San Salvador and San Pedro. Other goods accompanied him on the Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento and its accompanying *patache*, while Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa dispatched a large cargo to him in the Nuestra Señora de la Concepción after he had arrived in Cacheu.<sup>33</sup> By far the most important trade goods were textiles, over half of which were of Indian origin. These accounted for about 40 percent of the cargoes by value (See Table 2.2).<sup>34</sup> Most were relatively low quality cotton and linen fabrics from Gujarat, in order of importance *pacharis* and *fofolims* (linen), followed by slightly higher quality *bancais* and *chaudeis*.<sup>35</sup> Whereas *pacharis* and *fofolims* were valued at

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<sup>32</sup> For examples of contracts see: AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Manuel Bautista Pérez 29 Jul. 1618, ANHS VM 77-II fols. 460–461v António Rodrigues da Costa 6 Jun. 1617, fols. 444, 462–63 António Rodrigues da Costa 12 Jun. 1617.

<sup>33</sup> Of these vessels only the San Salvador, Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento and the *patache* San Juan Bautista appear to have been legally registered slave ships (AGI Contratación 2878 Registros de esclavos 1616). The foremost left Cádiz in February 1616 and the last two in April 1617.

<sup>34</sup> For the cargoes see: AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618, pp. 287–91 San Antonio de San Francisco and San Pedro, pp. 292, 388–89 San Salvador, pp. 290–91, 381–83 Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, pp. 299–300, 341 Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento and the *patache*. This proportion is consistent with other studies of African trade imports in the seventeenth century (Klein, “Atlantic Slave Trade,” 218).

<sup>35</sup> See also Afzal Ahmad, “Indian Textiles and the Portuguese Trade in the

about 5,300 and 4,800 *réis a corja* (a bundle of twenty pieces of cloth) respectively, *bancais* were 6–8,000 *réis* and *chaudeis* 8,500–9,500 *réis* according to size. Small amounts of mixed cotton and silk cloths known as *cotonias*, costing 15,000 *réis* and *tafeciras* were also exported, as were some very expensive high quality silk taffetas in different colours. It seems likely that the large numbers of silk stockings sent to the African coast also had an Indian origin. In addition the cargo included a small quantity of striped North African cloth called (*a*)*lambeis*.<sup>36</sup> European cloth accounted for just under 30 percent, the most common being *ruan*, a printed cotton cloth made in Rouen.

The dominance of Indian cloth is not surprising given Portuguese trading links with India. Over two-thirds of the Indian cloth was on the account of his uncle Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa who was an important figure in the *carreira* trade and a member of one of Lisbon's principal New Christian merchant families with relatives based in Goa.<sup>37</sup> These merchants were not only involved in trading Indian cloth, but also precious and semi-precious stones, including coral, spices, drugs and general merchandise, including furniture and accessories.<sup>38</sup> Most of these items were shipped to Africa via Portugal rather than direct from India.<sup>39</sup> Ships returning from India were not permitted to stop on the African coast or Brazil after leaving Mozambique, except in emergency, since it was off the main navigational route. In any case there was no inducement for them to do so at this time.<sup>40</sup> The majority of textiles were therefore shipped via Portugal.

The dominance of cloth among imports to Upper Guinea in the early seventeenth century contrasts with accounts of items traded by the Royal African Company in the Gambia in the 1680s, where the

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Seventeenth Century (1600–1663),” *Studia*, no. 48 (1989): 215–20 and *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth Century* (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 91–94; James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia Under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 47.

<sup>36</sup> David Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe, 1450–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 80.

<sup>37</sup> Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, 109, 133, 138, 180, 193, 200, 207, 317n.

<sup>38</sup> Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, 43–44.

<sup>39</sup> However there is some evidence that cloth was being traded direct from Gujurat with São Jorge da Mina in the seventeenth century (Ahmad, “Indian Textiles,” 230 and *Indo-Portuguese Trade*, 101).

<sup>40</sup> Charles R. Boxer, “The Principal Ports of Call in the “Carreira da India,” in *From Lisbon to Goa, 1500–1750: Studies in Portuguese Maritime Enterprise*. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984) II: 49, 59.

main commodities were beads and semi-precious stones followed by iron (See Table 2.1).<sup>41</sup> However, Philip Curtin suggests that the accounts of the Royal Africa Company may have underestimated the volume of cloth arriving and that probably they comprised more like 10 percent of imports.<sup>42</sup> It seems that by then neither European nor Indian textiles were in high demand on the coast.<sup>43</sup> However, the structure of Dutch imports on the Gold Coast between 1593 and 1607, where textiles might comprise two-fifths of imports by value, is not dissimilar to that noted here for Upper Guinea.<sup>44</sup> Differences in the importance of textiles in Upper Guinea in the 1610s and 1680s probably reflects changes in demand on the coast rather than fluctuations in supply, for textiles came from the same regions as beads, the demand for which was sustained. The commodities traded in Upper Guinea will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

### *The Journey to Africa*

Manuel Bautista Pérez's venture started with his departure from Lisbon on 4th December 1616. He arrived in Cádiz five days later and it took about four months to fulfil the bureaucratic requirements and outfit the ship for its journey to Africa.<sup>45</sup> The *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento* did not depart from Cádiz until 13th April 1617, probably accompanied by the *patache*, San Juan Bautista. It was common practice for larger vessels to be accompanied by smaller ones, the former being used for ocean navigation and acting as floating warehouses, and the latter employed in exploring shallow coastal and riverine waters. In some cases the small accompanying boats were pre-fabricated in Portugal and carried aboard the main vessels and assembled in Africa.<sup>46</sup> This division of functions was apparent in the

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<sup>41</sup> Curtin, *Economic Change*, 313, 318.

<sup>42</sup> Curtin, *Economic Change*, 312–3 see comment in 312n2.

<sup>43</sup> Kenneth G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London: Longman, 1957), 219.

<sup>44</sup> Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics in the Seventeenth-century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1982), 207–208.

<sup>45</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Concurso de Acreedores de Manuel Bautista Pérez.

<sup>46</sup> Pieter Van den Broecke, *Journal of Voyages to Cape Verde, Guinea and Angola, 1605–1612*, edited by J.D. La Fleur (London: Hakluyt Society, 2000), 27 n 5, 31; Brooks, *Landlords*, 205.

ships taken to Guinea by Manuel Bautista Pérez where he employed the *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento* to house slaves that had been purchased, while the *patache* was used for slave trading expeditions to Gêba and the Bijagós.<sup>47</sup>

The journey of the *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento* from Cádiz to Cacheu took twenty-five days. Ships generally left in the spring to take advantage of the Canary Current and the north-northeast winds. They aimed to sail before the onset of the rainy season between May and October, when the Canary Current weakens and the winds reverse to south and southeast, bringing the danger of storms and, from September to December, of being becalmed.<sup>48</sup> The climate also affected the scheduling of African economic activities. During the rainy season trade was limited due to African preoccupation with agricultural activities, while swollen rivers and muddy paths hampered the movement of goods. Trade was most active between December and the early New Year, following the harvest and the arrival on the coast of caravans from the interior in November and December.<sup>49</sup> From a European perspective this was also the healthiest time of the year to arrive on the coast. The journey to Angola was significantly longer since passing into the Gulf of Guinea ships could be becalmed and then on the journey south face contrary winds.<sup>50</sup> Typically ships bound for Luanda left in the autumn rather than the spring and the journey took three to four months.<sup>51</sup>

From 1466 the inhabitants of Santiago in Cape Verde were given the exclusive right of trade with the mainland and the Portuguese were forbidden to settle on the Upper Guinea Coast. Such stipulations failed to stem the illegal occupation of the coast by *lançados*,

<sup>47</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 421, 641 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>48</sup> Boxer, “Carreira da Índia,” I: 55; Mauro, *Portugal*, vol. 1: 111–113; Brooks, *Landlords*, 13–16 and *Eurafricans*, 5–7.

<sup>49</sup> Brooks, *Landlords*, 175–76; Stephen D. Behrendt, “Markets, Transaction Cycles, and Profits: Merchant Decision Making in the British Slave Trade,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 58 (1)(2001): 181.

<sup>50</sup> Mauro, *Portugal*, vol. 1: 111, 114.

<sup>51</sup> See the dates of the original colonising expedition of Pero Rodrigues which took from October 23, 1575 to February 11, 1576 (António Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*. Ser. 1a (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952–), vol. 4: 553–54 Pero Rodrigues 1 May 1594; Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 48) and the journey of Father Frutuoso Ribeiro that took from October 20, 1579 to 23 February 1580 (Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 1 vol. 3: 187 Frutuoso Ribeiro 4 Mar. 1580).

who as will be shown became central to the operation of the slave trade. However, the collection of taxes remained with a Crown administrator or a *contratador* based in Cape Verde, so that in theory ships trading on the Upper Guinea Coast were required to pass through Santiago in order to pay any taxes due. Although the Crown initially backed the control exercised by Cape Verdeans over trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, no effective machinery existed to enforce it. As such it was common for ships to sail direct from Spain or Portugal to Cacheu and from there to the Indies without stopping at Santiago in Cape Verde.<sup>52</sup> This was the case with Manuel Bautista Pérez, who sailed direct to Cacheu and on leaving was unexpectedly stopped by the Governor of Cape Verde just outside Cacheu and forced to pay for an excess of slaves he had boarded.<sup>53</sup> Faced with the reality that many Portuguese vessels were bypassing Cape Verde resulting in a considerable loss of royal revenue, in 1644 the Portuguese Crown finally removed the requirement for ships to stop there and henceforth duties could be paid in Cacheu.<sup>54</sup>

Entry into the slave trade required not only considerable financial resources but also personal contacts, which were usually made by relatives, who facilitated entry into the business. As has been shown, Manuel Bautista Pérez initially acted as an agent for other investors and depended on support from his uncle, Diogo Rodrigues; it was only on his second voyage that he acquired slaves on his own account. The outlay for any expedition was substantial. Fortunately for Manuel Bautista Pérez, his uncle was a major investor and also owner of the ships, the *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento* and the *patache*, which were worth several thousand pesos and were used on the second expedition.<sup>55</sup> However, he needed to purchase barter goods, arrange for them to be loaded and guarded, as well as acquire provisions

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<sup>52</sup> António Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*. Ser. 2a (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1958–), vol. 4: 700–701 Francisco de Moura [c. 1622].

<sup>53</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 386 Dinheiro que vou a pagar em indias . . . 1618.

<sup>54</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 71–74, 122–4, 133 and “Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly,” 308–12; Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 112. This followed a decree in 1642 that opened up trade with West Africa to all Portuguese citizens.

<sup>55</sup> The cost of the ship is not known, but it was sold in Cartagena for 2,000 pesos which was considered a good price given that the masts and sails were in bad condition (AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa Jul. 1618).

for the journey and assemble a crew. Accounts of the slave trade in the eighteenth century suggest that barter goods might account for up to two-thirds of the total costs of outfitting a slave-trading ship, with the cost of the crew being only one third.<sup>56</sup> The relative cost of the cargo appears to have been even greater in the case considered here, for while barter goods were valued at 20,000 *cruzados*, or about 25,000 pesos,<sup>57</sup> expenditure on salaries and food for the crew came to only 1,300 pesos and 267 pesos respectively.<sup>58</sup> On top of these costs there were notarial fees and bribes to be paid to smooth and complete the bureaucratic process in Seville that cost another 422 pesos.<sup>59</sup> Having arrived in Spain on 9th December 1616, this whole process took nearly four months, but this was only the first stage on a journey that would last over two years and would not end until Manuel Pérez arrived in Lima on March 21st 1619.

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<sup>56</sup> Klein, "Atlantic Slave Trade," 217.

<sup>57</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Contract between Manuel Bautista Pérez and Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa 25 Nov. 1616.

<sup>58</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Dinheiro que paguei aos marinheiros 1617.

<sup>59</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 319–20 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ACQUISITION OF SLAVES

Portuguese exploration in the Atlantic in the fifteenth century heralded a shift in emphasis in the African slave trade from the Sahara to the West African coast. As outlined in the Introduction, the slave trade focused first on Arguim and Elmina, but during the late sixteenth century Upper Guinea developed as the main centre of the trade. Meanwhile in the early seventeenth century the conquest of Angola laid the basis for the development of the slave trade in that region. It was thus during the period of the Portuguese *asientos* that Upper Guinea began to lose its dominance in the trade to Angola.

Manuel Bautista Pérez acquired slaves from both Upper Guinea and Angola. He was personally involved in the acquisition of slaves in Upper Guinea on two slave-trading expeditions to the Coast between 1613 and 1618, but as far as we know he never visited Angola. Following these two expeditions he settled in the Indies and largely relied on agents in Cartagena to acquire slaves for him. Between 1626 and 1633 his agents in Cartagena purchased 2,451 slaves of which 48.4 percent came from Upper Guinea and 45.8 percent from Angola.<sup>1</sup> Pérez's early expeditions to the African coast were a learning process for the young slave trader and they generated a considerable volume of papers that included not only trading accounts but also many private letters. The evidence contained in these documents adds considerable detail to what is known about slave-trading operations on the Upper Guinea Coast in the early seventeenth century from the general observations of merchants, travellers and missionaries. Because of the richness of this documentation, the greater part of this chapter will discuss the acquisition of slaves in Upper Guinea. Since one of the aims of this study is to

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<sup>1</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave purchases 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633 and ANHS VM Vol. 77-I fols. 31-32 (1633), Vol. 77-II fols. 155-156v, 158 (1626) fol. 267v (1628), Vol. 79 I fol. 116, (1626), fols. 141-141v., 153-153v., 161v. (1627), Vol. 79-II fols. 314v.-319 (1631). The origin of most of the remainder is unknown.

examine how the experience of slaves in Africa, both prior to and during captivity, affected their survival in the Americas, the chapter will also provide a brief account of the way that slaves were acquired in Angola, before discussing the cost of slaves and the numbers exported from both regions.

### *The Upper Guinea Coast*

The Portuguese did not establish slave-trading forts on the Upper Guinea Coast as they did on the Gold Coast; rather the *asentistas* sold licenses to acquire slaves to private traders, who obtained the slaves through contacts with resident Portuguese traders or *lançados*. The Portuguese residents lived in formal Portuguese settlements, which were increasingly fortified, mainly for defence against other Europeans, while the *lançados*, who were regarded by the Portuguese as outcasts and renegades and referred to as *tangomaos*,<sup>2</sup> lived under the protection of African chiefs.<sup>3</sup> Portuguese settlement of the Upper Guinea Coast had been pioneered by *lançados*, whose name is derived from *lançar* ‘to throw’ indicating that they had “thrown their lot” in with African society. Some *lançados*, became so integrated into African society that they wore African clothes and, where permitted by African social traditions such as by the Banhun, Biafada and Papel, intermarried with local women. African leaders regarded the *lançados* as ‘guests’ who were required to abide by their laws and had to fit in with the African way of life. In return for hospitality they were obliged to make various kinds of ‘gifts’, which in effect bought their protection and other advantages such as access to African exchange networks. This access meant that *lançados* played a vital role in securing slaves for export.<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that not all groups on the Upper Guinea Coast welcomed *lançados*, or indeed, Europeans. Societies, where power was more decentralised, such as the Djola (Folupo), Balanta and Bijagó, were generally hostile to them.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 74–93, Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 50–53; Hawthorne, *Planting Rice*, 58–67.

<sup>3</sup> Rodney, “Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly,” 320.

<sup>4</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 146.

<sup>5</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 29, 82; Manuel Álvares, *Etiópia Menor e descrição geográfica da Província da Serra Leoa*, trans. P.E.H. Hair (Mimeo: University of Liverpool, Department of History, 1990), chap. 12; Hawthorne, *Planting Rice*, 99–103, 123–25.



The *lançados* settled mainly between the Casamance and Grande Rivers encouraged by the receptiveness of the Banhun, Papel and Biafada to Europeans and the region's location at the crossroads of African trading routes in Upper Guinea. Here, at the junction of three ecological zones, forest products, such as kola and malaguetta pepper from the south, could be exchanged for cotton textiles from the savanna zone to the north, and for gold, iron bars and utensils produced by Mande-speaking peoples in the savanna-woodland zone to the east.<sup>6</sup> The region was also quite densely settled and well supplied with provisions.<sup>7</sup> Initially the main focus of Portuguese settlement was at Buguendo to the north of the Cacheu River among the Banhun. The Portuguese referred to it as São Domingos, a name that was often applied to the Cacheu River as well.<sup>8</sup> Other *lançados* settled on its south bank at Cacanda among the Papel. During the 1560s and 1570s wars between the Banhun and the Casa led to a decline in trade at Buguendo so the centre of trade shifted south to Cacanda, a movement that was actively encouraged by its local ruler.<sup>9</sup> Located about twenty kilometres up the Cacheu River, this settlement was later known as Cacheu. Growing numbers of Portuguese at Cacheu and the urgent need for defence, made evident by John Hawkins' attack on the settlement in 1567 and increased French activity on the coast, resulted in the construction of a fort in the face of local resistance.<sup>10</sup> A church, called Nossa Senhora do Vencimento, was also built<sup>11</sup> from which the town took its name

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<sup>6</sup> George E. Brooks, "Cacheu: A Papel and Luso-African Entrepôt at the Nexus of the Biafada-Sapi and Nabyun-Bak Trade Networks," in *Mansas, escravos, grumetes e gentio: Cacheu na encruzilhada de civilizações*, ed. Carlos Lopes (Bissau: Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa), 175.

<sup>7</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap 5: 1.

<sup>8</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 3: 104 Francisco de Andrade 26 Jan. 1582; Brooks, *Landlords*, 226–37.

<sup>9</sup> André Donelha, *Descrição da Serra Leoa e dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde (1625)*, ed. Avelino Texeira da Mota (Lisboa: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1977), 165–67, 171; Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 5: 1; Brooks, *Landlords*, 237–38.

<sup>10</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 248 Sebastião Fernandes Cação 20 Apr. 1607; James A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins: The Time and the Man* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 114–15, 124–25, 152–55, 506–507. About the same time another fort was built at Guinala (Rodney, "Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly," 321).

<sup>11</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2, vol. 3: 407 Jorge Coelho de Andrade 20 Feb. 1598.

when it was formally established in 1605.<sup>12</sup> The town remained without an official Portuguese presence until the appointment of a *capitão mor*, João Tavares de Sousa, in 1614, though for three years previously accounts of trade had been kept by an ‘administrator of the river trade’.<sup>13</sup> When Manuel Bautista Pérez arrived in the Upper Guinea, Cacheu was the main slave-trading centre. Already in 1594 André Álvares d’Almada had described Cacheu as “a large settlement inhabited by many Africans and Portuguese because of the great trade there in slaves, provisions, a lot of wax, more than in any other part of Guinea.”<sup>14</sup> By about 1615 the town had an estimated population of about 1,500 and was divided into two sections—the Vila Fria, which was the cooler part of the city where the wealthy merchants lived, and the Vila Quente which housed ordinary working people.<sup>15</sup> A few years later the town was said to have between seventy to eighty houses belonging to Portuguese merchants.<sup>16</sup> Apart from trade upriver and with its immediate hinterland, Cacheu was also a major centre for the exchange of kola, iron, ivory and indigo from Serra Leoa, slaves from the Gambia River, and slaves and cotton from the Petite Côte.

Cacheu’s prosperity derived essentially from the trade at Farim, where a Portuguese settlement was later founded at Tubabodaga in the 1640s. Here slaves as well as wax, iron and ivory could be obtained from Mande traders in return for kola and other commodities.<sup>17</sup> It seems that the *capitão* of Cacheu encouraged the growth of Tubabodaga at the expense of Gêba, which had once been an

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<sup>12</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 88–89 King 15 Nov. 1605; Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 68–72.

<sup>13</sup> Carreira, *Os Portugêses*, 40. On the role of the *feitor* see: Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 504–505 Governador de Cabo Verde 25 Jul. 1613 and vol. 4: 568–72 Nicolao de Castilho 29 Dec. 1614. The title was “feitor dos tratos dos rios.”

<sup>14</sup> Andrés Álvares D’Almada, *Tratado breve dos rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde*, ed. António Brásio (Lisbon: L.I.A.M., 1964), 75–76

<sup>15</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 4: 1–5; Francisco de Lemos Coelho, *Dois descrições seiscentistas da Guiné*. (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1953), 148; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 92.

<sup>16</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 665 Relação da cristianidade de Guiné 1621. For an account of Cacheu at the time of arrival of the *capitão mor* in 1616 see: Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 594–95 Pereira de Castelbranco 18 Apr. 1616.

<sup>17</sup> Coelho, *Dois descrições*, 37–38, 159, 255; Hawthorne, *Planting Rice*, 66.

important centre for the exchange of kola and iron for wax.<sup>18</sup> Also in the hinterland of Cacheu was Bichangor, which in 1621 possessed 15 houses belonging to Portuguese traders.<sup>19</sup>

Portuguese settlements were by no means confined to the Cacheu River. Others were established on other rivers to facilitate the flow of slaves and commodities from the interior. One such settlement was at Guinala located one hundred leagues from Cacheu on the Grande River in Biafada territory. *Lançados* established contact with the Biafada in the 1570s and persuaded the ruler at Guinala to allow the construction of a fort there, probably in the 1580s.<sup>20</sup> The Biafada may have found it particularly advantageous to attract *lançados* in order to counteract the influence of the Mandinga or the growing power of the Bijagó at the mouth of the Grande River. The latter threatened their dominance of the kola trade that was the basis of their trade in slaves and white cotton cloth at Gêba.<sup>21</sup> Trade must have expanded rapidly because in the early 1580s Francisco de Andrade noted that twenty to thirty boats were trading slaves, ivory and gold on the Grande River,<sup>22</sup> and a decade later André Álvares d'Almada claimed that the best weekly fair on the Guinea Coast was at Bijorreí in Guinala. This fair was reputedly frequented by 12,000 people who exchanged all types of merchandise including "slaves, clothing, provisions, cattle and gold".<sup>23</sup> These goods were still being traded in the 1620s when André Donelha estimated that nearly 3,000 slaves were being exported from the Grande River annually.<sup>24</sup> By then Guinala possessed about ten houses of Portuguese merchants and a fort at Porto de Santa Cruz.<sup>25</sup> A small *lançado*

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<sup>18</sup> Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes, "Le routier de la côte de Guinée de Francisco Pirez de Carvalho (1635)", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire* 32 sér B, no. 2 (1970): 350; Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 49.

<sup>19</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 665 Relação da cristianidade de Guiné 1621.

<sup>20</sup> Donelha, *Descrição*, 174–75; Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 78.

<sup>21</sup> Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 79.

<sup>22</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 3: 105 Francisco de Andrade 26 Jan. 1582.

<sup>23</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 100.

<sup>24</sup> Donelha, *Descrição*, 176–77. See also Thilmans, and Moraes, "Routier de la côte de Guinée," 354. For goods traded see Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 211 Relação da costa da Guiné [1606].

<sup>25</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 665 Relação da cristianidade de Guiné 1621.

settlement had also been established at Ilha Bissau in the late sixteenth century, but it did not expand as a trading centre until the early seventeenth century when Bijagó raiders attacked Guinala and disrupted trade on the Grande River.<sup>26</sup> Other *lançados* settled in Serra Leoa where they became involved trading kola for salt, cotton cloth and other goods.<sup>27</sup> To the north small numbers of *lançados* also settled on the Petite Côte at Rufisque, Portudal and Joal, where they traded slaves, hides, wax, ivory and gold.<sup>28</sup> The following discussion will examine how Manuel Bautista Pérez obtained slaves from these diverse regions through distributing commodities to Portuguese traders and *lançados* who in return supplied him with slaves.

### *The Accounts*

The discussion draws on the accounts of Manuel Bautista Pérez's two slave-trading expeditions in 1613–1614 and 1617–1618. These accounts cover some 750 pages, in addition to which there are a large number of private letters.<sup>29</sup> These sources merit a study in their own right; what is presented here is preliminary analysis. The account books consist of double entries, generally organised by the name of the debtor, which give a list of goods that were issued on credit to individuals and the repayments they made, also in goods. Some of the debtors made repayments in slaves, but most paid in a wide variety of commodities. Some of the repayments, such as those in provisions, supported the slave trade, others, such as wax and ivory, were destined for trade in the Americas or in Europe, while locally produced cloths and kola, were used for trading on the coast.

At this time commercial transactions were conducted in the form of barter but to facilitate exchange certain items were used as units of equivalence. This made it possible to pay for a slave in a variety of commodities of equal value, rather than bartering each

<sup>26</sup> Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 80–82.

<sup>27</sup> Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 57.

<sup>28</sup> Thilmans and Moraes, "Routier de la côte de Guinée", 352; Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 60–63; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 96.

<sup>29</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618. These papers are unpaginated, but the authors have numbered the pages from front to back to enable the reader to locate the source referred to.

item individually.<sup>30</sup> In the early seventeenth century the units used to measure the value of commodities in Upper Guinea were *negros* and *panos*, with one *negro* equivalent to 120 *panos* in 1613–1614 and 150 *panos* in 1617–1618.<sup>31</sup> A *pano* was a piece of cloth measuring about one by two metres. Marion Johnson suggests that the price of a slave was generally fixed for a trading season at a particular port.<sup>32</sup> In the accounts the value of commodities is generally indicated in the form of *panos* or *negros*, though occasionally it is expressed in iron bars, with one *negro* equivalent to 20 iron bars. However, this unit of equivalence was not as widely used as it was later in the century.<sup>33</sup>

The accounts also contain contracts with individuals based in Upper Guinea to acquire slaves, the numbers of slaves purchased, sold and dying in Africa, as well as on the journey to Peru, the provisions acquired to support them, the wages paid to crews and other general statements of expenditure incurred in the conduct of business. They also include the summary lists of cargoes despatched from Portugal to Cacheu between 1616 and 1618 that have been discussed in Chapter 1. The final sources are particularly useful since they give a precise indication of what was being imported and the value of commodities in *réis*, thus enabling a comparison of their cost in Portugal or Spain with their value on the African coast, which was generally specified in *panos*.

### *Commodity Exchange on the Upper Guinea Coast*

During the early seventeenth century the items consistently sought after by European traders on the Upper Guinea Coast were slaves, wax, ivory and provisions. In exchange for these African leaders were interested in acquiring iron, cloth, clothing, raw cotton, brass and

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<sup>30</sup> Marion Johnson, "Atlantic Slave Trade and the Economy of West Africa," in *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition*, eds. Roger Anstey and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1976), 23; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 249; Richard N. Bean, *The British Atlantic Slave Trade 1650–1775* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 125–27.

<sup>31</sup> Hence, for example, five pounds of coral were valued at one *negro* and one pound at 24 *panos*.

<sup>32</sup> Johnson, "Atlantic Slave Trade," 24.

<sup>33</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 196–98. The figure of 20 iron bars for a slave may be compared to 30 and 50 bars in the Gambia in the 1680s and 1730s respectively (Curtin, *Economic Change*, 247).

copperware, beads, alcohol and horses, as well as kola from Serra Leoa.<sup>34</sup> Possessing essentially agricultural economies, neither Portugal nor Spain could supply many of these items, which therefore had to be imported either from northern Europe or from Asia.<sup>35</sup> Clothing and textiles were imported from England, Ireland, France and Flanders, while brass utensils and glass beads were obtained from Germany, Flanders and Italy.<sup>36</sup> It meant on the Africa coast the Portuguese faced competition from Northern European traders who could supply a greater variety of goods at cheaper prices. Other trade items were acquired from Cape Verde and the Upper Guinea Coast itself.

The value of goods to Africans did not necessarily reflect their market price in Portugal or Spain, but rather their social value.<sup>37</sup> John Thornton's argument that African trade was largely driven by prestige, changing taste and a desire for variety, which were highly volatile, is substantiated here.<sup>38</sup> The art of slave trading on the African coast was therefore to judge not only the availability of slaves, but also the items that might be in demand by native leaders.<sup>39</sup> Markets were often unpredictable which made slave trading a risky business. For example, in 1617 Manuel Bautista Pérez at the time resident in Cacheu made a contract with Manoel de Oliveira to undertake a slave-trading expedition to the coast on which about half of the barter goods he took with him comprised beads, coral and precious stones; the rest was cloth, clothing and some *aguardente*.<sup>40</sup> However, Oliveira was soon writing back to Pérez in despair saying these were

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<sup>34</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 3: 105–106 Francisco de Andrade 26 Jan.1582; Almada, *Tratado breve*, 25–6, 30, 48, 69–70, 73, 76, 97, 100, 119, 126; Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 9: 4; Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 12, 111; Rodney, "Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly," 315.

<sup>35</sup> Franklin W. Knight, "Slavery and Lagging Capitalism in the Spanish and Portuguese American Empires", in *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, ed. Barbara L. Solow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 67–68.

<sup>36</sup> Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 30.

<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of differences between Africans and Europeans in terms of the nature of exchange and the currencies used see Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 191–92; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 233–36. They note that whereas Africans sought equivalences in value between the items exchanged, Europeans aimed at making profits through price differentials.

<sup>38</sup> Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 45.

<sup>39</sup> Behrendt, "Markets," 171–2; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 52; Davies, *Royal African Company*, 234–35; Bean, *British Atlantic Slave Trade*, 52–53.

<sup>40</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 561–62 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

not items that were in demand and that he should send iron, wine, oil and *pano vermelho*, and not expensive items such as coral and amber.<sup>41</sup>

Apart from trade goods aimed at Africans, there was also a market for commodities among Portuguese residents. This consisted mainly of clothes and foodstuffs such as marmalade, conserves, cheese and spices, as well as brandy and wine.<sup>42</sup> During his expeditions to Upper Guinea, it is clear that Manuel Bautista Pérez was interested not only in acquiring slaves, but also in participating in trade more generally on the Coast.

### *Textiles*

The main item traded on the Upper Guinea Coast was cloth. It accounted for nearly 40 percent of the value of the cargoes transported for the slave-trading venture of 1617 and 1618. Much of the cloth was imported from Europe, India and North Africa and channelled through Lisbon or Seville, but in the early seventeenth century there was also a flourishing textile industry on the Upper Guinea Coast and in the Cape Verde islands, which produced a wide range of fabrics for local consumption. Not surprisingly imported cloths, because of their novelty and limited availability, were worth more than those produced locally.

Manuel Bautista Pérez's accounts reveal that he was trading over fifty types of cloth, a large number of which were imported from India via Lisbon.<sup>43</sup> Indian cloths comprised relatively poor quality cotton cloths (*mantazes*), linens (*fofolims*, *lenço*), and calicos (*bertanguil*, *canequi*) produced mainly in Cambay, Gujarat, Sindh and Balaghat.<sup>44</sup> Most of these poor quality cloths were valued at three to four *panos* a piece (*peça*), which can be compared with locally produced undyed cloth that was worth one *pano*. However, some higher quality Indian cloths were also traded, including taffetas,<sup>45</sup> *tafeciras* (a striped cotton

<sup>41</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Manoel de Oliveira April 1618.

<sup>42</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618; Almada, *Tratado breve*, 73; Coelho, *Duas descrições*, pp. 12, 111.

<sup>43</sup> See Appendix A for cloth prices.

<sup>44</sup> Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, 47, 140; Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese*, 91–97.

<sup>45</sup> John C. Irwin, and Paul R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Indo-European Textile Industry* (Ahmedabad: Calico Museum of Textiles, 1966), 46–47.

cloth) and *cotonias* (a mixed silk and cotton cloth, usually striped and sometimes flowered), the last being manufactured in Surat (Gujarat) and Bengal.<sup>46</sup> *Cotonias* were worth about one *pano a vara*, or between six to eight *panos* a piece.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to cloth from India, many types of European cloth, particularly from France, Holland and England were imported in small quantities. Perhaps surprisingly many of the textiles were made from wool, such as freize (*frezada*), serges (*jerga, estamenha, perpetuana*), and even coarser cloths such as baize. A *covado* of serge, which was only about twenty-six inches long, was worth between two and two and a half *panos*.<sup>48</sup> Small amounts of [*a*]lambeis, a striped woollen cloth from North Africa, were also imported. Although woollen cloth might be considered unsuitable for the climate and was difficult to store, it was apparently in high demand on the African coast, perhaps for use in the evenings or cooler season.<sup>49</sup> Linen cloth produced in Holland, known as *olanda*, was also a significant import, while occasionally high value silks or taffetas from China were traded.

The scale of cloth imports is surprising given the well-established textile industry in Upper Guinea and, by the seventeenth century, in Cape Verde. Several groups in Upper Guinea produced high quality cloth of different colours, designs and degrees of fineness. Cotton was cultivated mainly in the savanna zone with the main manufacturers being the Wolof, Mandinga, Fula, Banhun (Bañol), Casanga and Biafada (Biafara).<sup>50</sup> On the coast the main textile manufacturing regions were between the Casamance and São Domingos Rivers where a wide variety of cloths were manufactured and traded all along the coast.<sup>51</sup> In Upper Guinea cloth was woven on a narrow loom that produced strips of between ten to fifteen centimetres wide and about sixteen metres long. The full length was then cut into six or eight strips and sewn together to form a *pano* one metre

<sup>46</sup> Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*, 321.

<sup>47</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>48</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>49</sup> Johnson, "Atlantic Slave Trade," 16.

<sup>50</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 181.

<sup>51</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 3: 105 Francisco de Andrade 26 Jan.1582; Valentin Fernandes, *Description de la côte occidentale d'Afrique: (Sénégal du Cap de Monte Archipels)*, eds. Th. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota and R. Mauny (Bissau: Publicações do Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1951), 58.



wide by about two metres long.<sup>52</sup> Dyed cloths, known as *barafulas* were highly prized, being worth about five times an ordinary *pano*, which was often referred to as a *pano branquo*. Indigo in the form of pieces or sticks called *tintas*, which came from the Nunez River, was used as a blue and black dye.<sup>53</sup> The Portuguese actively encouraged the development of cloth production in Cape Verde and by the seventeenth century the islands were exporting not only raw cotton, but also cloth produced by skilled weavers brought in from the mainland.<sup>54</sup> There cloth was dyed with imported indigo and with a locally available violet dye, called *orchil*. The Pérez brothers actively participated in this trade importing raw cotton from Cape Verde for sale on the Upper Guinea Coast.<sup>55</sup>

### *Iron and Other Metals*

Iron bars were an important item of trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, but at this time they were not used as widely as *panos* or *negros* as units of equivalence. Iron ore was widely available in West Africa, but iron production depended on the availability of suitable wood for making charcoal and it was mainly in the hands of Mande smiths.<sup>56</sup> The highest quality iron and some 'steel' were produced in the savanna regions of the Futa Jallon and further inland. There was a considerable demand for iron since tools and weapons needed to be replaced regularly. It was particularly high in regions distant from the areas of production, such as the Upper Guinea Coast where it was increasingly sought after for weapons both for conducting raids and for defence.<sup>57</sup> Despite the fact that *lançados* became actively

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<sup>52</sup> Lars Sundström, *The Trade of Guinea* (Lund: Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia XXIV, 1965), 151; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 181; Brooks, *Ewafricans*, 62; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 214.

<sup>53</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 114–15; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 3: 105–106 Francisco de Andrade 26 Jan. 1582; vol. 4: 169 Baltasar Barreira 1 Aug. 1606.

<sup>54</sup> Brooks, *Landlords*, 165–66; T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1972), 219–20.

<sup>55</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 471 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>56</sup> Candice L. Goucher, "Iron is Iron' Til it is Rust: Trade and Ecology in the Decline of West African Iron-Smelting," *The Journal of African History* 22 (2)(1981): 181–82; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 207; Brooks, *Landlords*, 50, 66–67, 113–14.

<sup>57</sup> Walter Hawthorne, "The Production of Slaves Where There Was No State: The Guinea-Bissau Region, 1450–1815", *Slavery and Abolition* 29 (2)(1999): 108–109 and *Planting Rice*, 40, 44–46.

involved in acquiring iron from the interior,<sup>58</sup> the supply of iron failed to meet the demand, so that European iron found a ready market on the coast. Even though imported iron was generally of poorer quality, it could compete with locally produced iron, especially when high quality iron was not required.<sup>59</sup>

The Portuguese Crown strictly controlled the trade in iron for fear that Africans or *lançados* might use it to manufacture weapons.<sup>60</sup> The monopoly contract for the trade in iron was issued separately from the *asiento* to introduce slaves to Spanish America. However, at this time both were held by António Fernandes d'Elvas. In 1616 he granted power of attorney to Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa and Manuel Bautista Pérez to permit them to load 500 quintals of iron in the form of 1,960 bars on the Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento and its accompanying *patache*.<sup>61</sup> In the event only 400 bars and 100 hoops of iron appear to have been shipped to Cacheu.<sup>62</sup> Each bar weighed 27 pounds (12.3 kilograms)<sup>63</sup> and it would probably have been broken down into 18 'country bars' for sale on the Coast.<sup>64</sup> The shortfall probably reflects the inability of the slave traders to acquire sufficient quantities to export. Unlike the Dutch who obtained iron from Germany and Sweden and the English who produced it themselves, the Portuguese did not have a direct source of supply.<sup>65</sup> The profit to be made on iron bars was high compared to other commodities, even though it would have been less than that indicated in Table 2.1, which does not take into account the price of the

<sup>58</sup> Goucher, "Iron is Iron", 188; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 184.

<sup>59</sup> Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 46.

<sup>60</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 173. See the special licence for iron exports in Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 2: 72 Legislation of Guinea commerce 24 Mar. 1514.

<sup>61</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 António Fernandes d'Elvas October 1616. This would appear to be inconsistent with Walter Rodney's assertion based on the representations of Cape Verde residents that registered vessels generally carried more iron than they were legally allowed ("Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly," 311).

<sup>62</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 290–91, 300 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>63</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 289–92 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>64</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 194. Philip Curtin (Curtin, *Economic Change*, 241, 244) suggests that iron bars were about four to six meters long and weighed between 14 to 16 kilograms, which were cut to form 'country bars' 20–30 centimetres long each weighing about 700 grams. See also Richard Jobson, *The Discovery of the River Gambia (1623)*, eds. David P. Gamble and P.E.H. Hair (London: Hakluyt Society, 1999), 160; Brooks, *Ewafricans*, 106.

<sup>65</sup> Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 45.

Table 2.1. Profits on Selected Commodities on the Upper Guinea Coast 1616 to 1618

Commodity	Unit	Price in reals Spain or Portugal <sup>1</sup>	Price in reals on the Upper Guinea Coast <sup>2</sup>	Percentage Profit
Coral	pound	7.5	125.0	1567
Iron <sup>3</sup>	bar	45	540.0	1200
Paper	ream	7.0	25.0	257
Oil	<i>botija</i>	7.5	20.0	167
Spirits ( <i>aguardente</i> )	barrel	56.3	150.0	166
Silk stockings	pair	30.0	75.0	150
Marmalade	box	4.8	11.3	135
Cloth ( <i>fefolims</i> )	<i>coija</i> <sup>4</sup>	120.0	250.0	108
Cloth ( <i>mantaz</i> )	<i>coija</i>	150.0	300.0	100
Beads ( <i>conta pocate grossa raxada</i> )	1,000	1.4	2.579	
Cloth ( <i>olanda frezada</i> )	yard	10.0	15.0	50

<sup>1</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 289–92, 299–300, 381–83, 388–89 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618. In the document prices are given in *réis*. One real was equivalent 40 *réis*.

<sup>2</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618. In the document the prices are given in *panos*. One *pano* was worth five reals.

<sup>3</sup> An iron bar in Spain or Portugal weighed 27 pounds. This was then broken down into 18 “country bars” (Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 194), each of which was worth 6 *panos*.

<sup>4</sup> A *coija* comprised 20 pieces of cloth.

export licence for iron, which added about 15 percent to its cost, or the cost of transport, which would have varied for different products. Nevertheless, the significantly higher profit to be gained from trading iron suggests that the slave traders would have acquired iron bars if at all possible. The scarcity of iron bars has been considered Portugal’s chief weakness in the slave trade in Upper Guinea.<sup>66</sup>

The Portuguese not only suffered from a shortage of iron to trade, but the influx of iron bars brought by other nationalities reduced the price of iron bars, so that African leaders began demanding more iron bars for each slave thus making them more expensive.<sup>67</sup> At this

<sup>66</sup> Duncan, *Atlantic Islands*, 218.

<sup>67</sup> Rodney, “Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly,” 311–12.

time 'country bars' were worth about 5 to 6 *panos*,<sup>68</sup> which meant that the price of a slave was equivalent to between 20 and 24 iron bars in 1613–1614; by 1616–1618 it had risen to between 25 to 28 bars.<sup>69</sup> Other metals and metal utensils, mainly bowls made of copper, brass or tin, were not available locally and were also highly sought after, essentially for household use.

### *Firearms*

The Portuguese sought to prohibit the export of firearms, swords and other weapons, a policy that may have dated back to a papal ban on the sale of weapons to non-Christians in 1179.<sup>70</sup> Even so, a few swords were included in the cargo taken by Manuel Bautista Pérez to Cacheu.<sup>71</sup> Some were described as golden swords, suggesting that they were intended for decorative rather than military use. However, swords appear quite frequently in the trading accounts compiled on the Coast, some of which were probably produced locally. On the other hand, only a few guns (*espingardas*) were traded. Their value varied from twenty to seventy-five *panos* according to their size and quality, but they were considerably more expensive than ordinary swords, which cost six *panos*. It would seem that at this time guns were not widely available and not commonly used, a finding that supports other studies which suggest that firearms were not imported in any significant numbers before the large-scale export of slaves began in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>72</sup>

### *Beads*

Strings of beads made of semi-precious stones from a variety of sources were also a frequent trade commodity. Beads had the advantage of low weight but high value. They included crystal, jet, pearls,

<sup>68</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>69</sup> By the 1680s the value of a slave had risen only slightly to 30 bars (Curtin, *Economic Change*, 247).

<sup>70</sup> Stanley B. Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves: A Master List of European Trade Goods", *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 18.

<sup>71</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 287 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 174.

<sup>72</sup> Johnson, "Atlantic Slave Trade," 19; Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves," 19; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 177; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 323.

Venetian glass beads, beads and semi-precious stones from India, including brandil and *alauqueca* (carnelian), as well as *fêmea*, *cano de pata*, elongated beads, and round beads called *quepo*.<sup>73</sup> The accounts show that the most expensive beads or precious stones were coral, jet, crystal and amber,<sup>74</sup> followed by carnelian and brandil. However, beads of various colours and designs generally cost about 40 *panos* for 100,000.<sup>75</sup> They were generally sold in quantities known as *maços*, which were divided into 12 branches (*ramais*), each of which was divided into 10 strings. The weight of a *maço* varied with the type of bead.<sup>76</sup> Beads and precious stones comprised only 11 percent of the value of the cargo sent to the Upper Guinea Coast in 1616–1618, a considerably lower proportion than the 40 percent calculated by Philip Curtin for imports on the Gambian Coast in the 1680s (Table 2.2).<sup>77</sup>

#### *Other Commodities*

The items discussed so far accounted for about three-quarters of the goods imported in 1616–1618. Most other items were clothing, hardware and food. In many cases the intended market for the goods is not clear. While it might be supposed that European foods might be aimed at the local Portuguese market, these products were also in demand by local chiefs. Hence, in the 1630s ships wishing to trade at Cacheu were required to give the king a cask of wine, a

<sup>73</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618; Almada, *Tratado breve*, 25–26, 30, 48–49, 69, 119; Álvares, *Etiópia Menor*, chap. 1: 4; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 3: Francisco de Andrade 26 Jan. 1582; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 315. *Fêmea* were beads from India described as the size of good neat pomegranate seeds (Almada, *Tratado breve*, 25–26).

<sup>74</sup> While some of the amber may have been imported, it was also found on the Upper Guinea Coast from Cape Verde to Serra Leoa (Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões*. (Coimbra: Imprensa da universidade, 1930), vol. 2: 211; Carreira, *Os Portugueses*, 60). Imported amber may have come from the Baltic or Germany, possibly via Holland, which were the sources of amber imported by the English in the seventeenth century (Davies, *Royal African Company*, 174).

<sup>75</sup> See Table for beads constructed from AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>76</sup> Curtin, *Economic Change*, 317–18.

<sup>77</sup> Curtin, *Economic Change*, 318. Curtin (*Economic Change*, 87) notes that about 20 percent of the imports were probably to support the forts.

Table 2.2. Breakdown of Cargoes Taken to the Upper Guinea Coast in the Seventeenth Century

Commodities	Value of shipment to Guinea in <i>réis</i> 1616–1617	Percent of total cargo sent to Guinea 1616–1617	Percent of imports into Gambia 1680s
<i>Metals</i>			
Iron	297,050	5.97	24.9
Copper and brass	168,480	3.39	2.7
Silver	–		4.2
Pewter	–		1.9
	<i>465,530</i>	<i>9.36</i>	<i>33.7</i>
<i>Textiles</i>			
European	544,405	10.95	2.4
Indian	909,905	18.30	1.6
Other region or source unknown	320,365	6.44	
Raw cotton	108,790	2.19	
	<i>1,883,465</i>	<i>37.88</i>	<i>4.0</i>
<i>Hardware</i>			
Swords	12,100	0.24	5.4
Firearms	–		1.5
Gunpowder	–		1.2
Cutlery, crockery and ironware (nails, padlocks)	109,360	2.20	
	<i>121,460</i>	<i>2.44</i>	<i>8.1</i>
<i>Beads and semi-precious stones</i>			
Coral	93,720	1.88	
Jet	35,550	0.72	
Other semi-precious stones and beads	427,399	8.60	
	<i>55,6669</i>	<i>11.20</i>	<i>39.9</i>
<i>Alcohol</i>			
Aguardente	83,130	1.67	14.1
Wine <sup>1</sup>	1,163,880	23.41	
	<i>1,247,010</i>	<i>25.08</i>	<i>14.1</i>
<i>Miscellaneous</i>			
Clothes	219,372	4.41	–
Food (conserves, cheeses, flour, confectionery and spices)	338,259	6.80	
Paper	6,720	0.14	–
Miscellaneous (pitch, planks and unspecified items)	133,440	2.68	–
	<i>697,791</i>	<i>14.03</i>	
Total	4,971,925	100.00	99.8

Sources: AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 289–92, 299–300, 341–342, 381–83, 388–89 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618. Figures for the Gambia are taken from Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 318.

<sup>1</sup> Not all the wine is included in the cargo lists, but other evidence indicates that 126 *pipas* costing 9,000 *réis* each were dispatched (AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez 1 Jan. 1617).

barrel of bread, four strings each of garlic and onions, two boxes of marmalade, and also some wine for his *alcaide*.<sup>78</sup> Silver plates, cups or cutlery might also be sought after by Africans, Europeans or *lançados*. In addition to the cargoes dispatched from Spain and discussed in Chapter 1, in 1617 Manuel Bautista Pérez purchased about 132 casks of wine in Rota.<sup>79</sup> Some of this was used on the journey to Africa,<sup>80</sup> but most was for sale on the Upper Guinea Coast, probably much of it to Portuguese residents. For this purpose large quantities of empty bottles were also sent to Africa.<sup>81</sup> The cost of empty bottles, corks, freight and taxes added nearly 30 percent to the value of the wine before it left Spain, making it one of the most valuable items of cargo. Significantly it accounted for just under a quarter of the value of cargoes shipped to Africa for the 1617 to 1618 trading venture. Other items traded included spirits or *aguardente* and tobacco. In 1623 Richard Jobson noted that tobacco was used quite widely among groups on the Gambia River. It is not certain that this was American tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum* L.), since it could have been a 'tobacco' produced from native plants.<sup>82</sup>

Trade was not limited to the simple exchange of imported commodities for slaves, but was a complex affair. The inventories of the cargoes shipped from Spain to Upper Guinea by Manuel Bautista Pérez between 1616 to 1618, list over seventy types of goods, but the variety that he traded in Africa was much more extensive. He handled goods, such as kola, from other parts of the coast and received repayments of debts not only in slaves, provisions, ivory or wax, but also in European or Indian merchandise that might be traded on to third parties, possibly but not always for slaves. Hence the variety of goods he was trading on the Upper Guinea Coast in the 1610s exceeded one hundred and fifty, not counting those of different colours, sizes or designs. Apart from those commodities

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<sup>78</sup> Thilmans and Moraes, "Routier de la côte de Guinée, 348. See also Van den Broecke, *Journal*, 26–27, 29 for anchorage fees paid in similar commodities in Dakar, Portudal and Joal.

<sup>79</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 321–22 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.  
<sup>80</sup> Three *pipas* and 20 *botijas* of wine were loaded for the crew (AGI Contratación 2879 Ramo 6 Registro del navío nombrado Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento 1617).

<sup>81</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez, Cádiz, 1.3.1617. 470 bottles were for his brother Juan Bautista.

<sup>82</sup> David P. Gamble and P.E.H. Hair, eds. *The Discovery of the Gambia River by Richard Jobson 1623* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1999), 144, 161–62.

discussed above, other goods included functional items such as boat nails, rigging and pitch, plates and tankards, probably made of pewter,<sup>83</sup> as well as gold spinning tops, rattles, bells, playing cards and civet cats.<sup>84</sup>

Before discussing the procedures used to acquire slaves, it is worth noting that Manuel Bautista Pérez was also interested in purchasing wax. Wax for the manufacture of candles was in demand in both Europe and the Americas; it was also an important source of ballast with single ships loading as much as 400 quintals.<sup>85</sup> A large quantity of wax, 303 *pães*, was loaded on to the Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento in 1618. A block of wax or one *pão* varied in size but averaged about 45 pounds, so this represented about 13,635 pounds or 136 quintals.<sup>86</sup> At the price of 3 quintals for a *negro*, this was a valuable cargo. Unfortunately on this occasion, the market for wax in Lima was glutted and Pérez subsequently wrote to Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa specifying that in future he should send only white wax since this was preferred.<sup>87</sup> At this time wax was selling in Lima at 52 pesos a *quintal*, so good profits were to be made even after transport costs had been deducted.<sup>88</sup>

### *Bartering for Slaves*

In possession of exchange commodities, how then did Manuel Bautista Pérez acquire his slaves? The account books suggest that a variety of mechanisms were used. Between July 28, 1613 and April 5, 1614

<sup>83</sup> Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves", 16.

<sup>84</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618. This parallels the diversity of goods traded by the Dutch on the Gold Coast (Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, 207–212 and by the Royal African Company (Davies, *Royal African Company*, 179). In the latter case about two-fifths of its income derived from the sale of goods of African origin.

<sup>85</sup> Brasília, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 2 vol. 4: 701–702 Francisco de Moura c. 1622. A single ship might take 400 quintals of wax. Alonso de Sandoval also noted that more than 500 quintals of wax were exported annually from Cacheu (Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 107).

<sup>86</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 595, 637, 653 Accounts in Guinea 1613–1618.

<sup>87</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa [1619?].

<sup>88</sup> AGNL Cajas Reales, Lima, H-3, Leg. 4, Libro 24-a, fol. 7v. Aranceles para cálculo del almojarifazgo (1617). One quintal in Africa was worth 40 *panos* or 25 pesos at the current exchange rate of 5 reals for 1 *pano*.



Pérez acquired 227 slaves. Over 80 percent were acquired in ones and twos, with only ten lots exceeding three slaves and the largest comprising only thirteen. Forty-two were described as having been purchased by him in ones and twos from a variety of individuals, including nine from unnamed Jews and *jufos*<sup>89</sup> and several from unnamed Africans or Mulattoes. Eighty-seven were received in payment for goods that had been issued on credit, while twenty others were described as having been sent to him.<sup>90</sup> In the latter case they appear to have been sent from more distant regions, such as Bichangor, Bissau, Baoula and the Grande and Nunez Rivers.<sup>91</sup> The largest batches included seven brought by his brother, Juan Bautista, from the Grande River, twelve obtained by Jorge Fernandes Gramaxo in the Bijagós and another twelve acquired by Luiz Afonso Gramaxo from an unspecified location.

The two batches brought by the Gramaxos were delivered as part of a business deal drawn up between Manuel Bautista Pérez and Luiz Afonso Gramaxo on September 20 1613. In this contract, which was assumed by Jorge Fernandes Gramaxo on his death, the partners shared the investment equally.<sup>92</sup> On another expedition under this contract Jorge Fernandes Gramaxo took goods to the value of 1,127 *panos* to the Bijagós from which he returned in early February 1614 with twelve slaves,<sup>93</sup> bringing with him another fourteen slaves, which he appears to have collected from clients who owed debts to Pérez.<sup>94</sup> Some of these slaves were Bijagó, but others were referred to as 'Bissao', probably captives of the Bijagó. In contracts such as this it is clear that the intention was to acquire slaves. However, Pérez extended credit to a large number of individuals and it is not clear how many were expected to make repayments in slaves, cer-

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<sup>89</sup> The meaning and derivation of this term are unknown.

<sup>90</sup> A number of specific terms are used in describing the manner in which the slaves were acquired. Manuel Bautista Pérez noted that he bought (*comprei*) slaves, received other as payment from someone (*pagou* or *de pagamento*), while others were referred as being collected (*cobrei*) or being sent to him (*mandou*).

<sup>91</sup> Since the slave from Baoula was sent by his brother, Juan Bautista who was at that time on the Rio Grande, Baoula may refer to Balola in the land of the Beafara (Donelha, *Descrição*, 175).

<sup>92</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 99, 123 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>93</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 173 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>94</sup> Among those named were Gaspar Duarte, Luiz Machado, Diogo Henriques, Francisco Rodrigues.

tainly only a small number did so.<sup>95</sup> Of about 115 persons who owed debts to him in 1613–1614, only 35 supplied him with slaves, mainly in ones and twos.<sup>96</sup> Ten of those trading with Pérez numbered among Cacheu's fourteen most eminent residents in 1620, but only three of them provided him with slaves.<sup>97</sup> Others who supplied him with slaves appear to have been residents of outlying settlements, such as Luiz Machado and Gabriel Vaz who lived on the Grande and Nunez Rivers respectively, but many were supplied by unnamed individuals, many of whom had inserted themselves into African trading networks and were trading other commodities as well as slaves.

Contracts feature more commonly in the 1617 to 1618 accounts and they continued to deliver the largest number of slaves, though it was still the case that the majority were obtained in ones and twos, with only eight lots exceeding ten slaves.<sup>98</sup> Maybe the experience of the first slave-trading expedition suggested that contracts were a more reliable way of acquiring slaves. Unfortunately detailed evidence only exists for the acquisition of 239 of the 499 slaves that were purchased on the second expedition. On this expedition Manuel Bautista Pérez made six contracts for the provision of slaves from particular regions, sometimes with the investment shared with a business partner.<sup>99</sup> Hence he made one contract with a brother-in-law, Francisco de Narvaes, to share the profits from an expedition to Gêba, which in the event generated forty-eight slaves. Another contract was with one Nicolau Rodrigues who was contracted to obtain slaves from “the River Grande, Papeis, and Bijagós” and wherever he thought fit, who in the event delivered twenty-four slaves. Other contracts were with Francisco Nunes de Andrada who was to trade

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<sup>95</sup> Examples of those who did make repayments in slaves were: Licenciado Enrique Vaz de Oliveira who was given 1,270 *panos* of goods for which he received in return 8 slaves who were 10 *peças lotadas*. (pp. 155–56) and Roque Pereira who received 1,200 *panos* of goods for which he paid 9 slaves who were valued at 9 *de pagamento* (pp. 159–60).

<sup>96</sup> On the second slaving expeditions in 1617–1618 Pérez had about 180 creditors but only 27 of them supplied slaves. However, on this occasion the supplier is known only for 239 of the 499 slaves acquired.

<sup>97</sup> Carreira, *Os Portugêses*, 42.

<sup>98</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 655–56, 677–8, 681–2 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618; AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa 15 Jan. 1617.

<sup>99</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 499–500, 525–26, 561–62, 585–88, 633–34, 641–42 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

for slaves in Bichangor, with Francisco Varela who was to go to the Bijagós, with Manoel de Oliveira who was to acquire slaves on the “costa” and with Francisco Martins whose destination was not specified. The items received by Francisco Nunes de Andrada for his expedition to Bichangor exemplify the variety of goods dispatched on such expeditions. The cargo included 120 bars of iron, 107 *barafulas*, 120 *panos* mainly from Degoula on the Upper Gêba River, a few pieces of *cotonia*, beads, strings of coral, jet and crystal, *caiamene*, four *pipas* and four *peruleiras* of wine, over four pounds of *alambre* (brass or copper rods), some raw cotton and six carders, and finally two swords and a pound of gunpowder.<sup>100</sup> The accounts indicate that as many as 16 to 27 different and generally unspecified items, might be used to purchase single slaves. These were referred to collectively as *cousas*. Once purchased slaves were not always sent back to Cacheu as one batch, but were transferred there in small numbers as they were acquired.<sup>101</sup>

In addition to the slaves acquired by the slave traders, members of ships’ crews and passengers, most of whom were Portuguese, often purchased a few to sell.<sup>102</sup> In fact men, not only from Spain but also from Cartagena, often enlisted as sailors on slave ships specifically with the aim of making a quick profit through the acquisition of a few slaves for sale.<sup>103</sup> Investment by the crew also encouraged commitment to the success of the voyage. A ship captained by Francisco Rodríguez Prieto, which arrived in Cartagena from Angola in 1634, may have been fairly typical. The 400 slaves it was carrying belonged to nine different people, none of whom owned more than 100 slaves.<sup>104</sup>

### *The Process of Enslavement*

The evidence suggests Manuel Bautista Pérez acquired his slaves from Geba, Bichangor, the Grande River and the Bijagós, as well

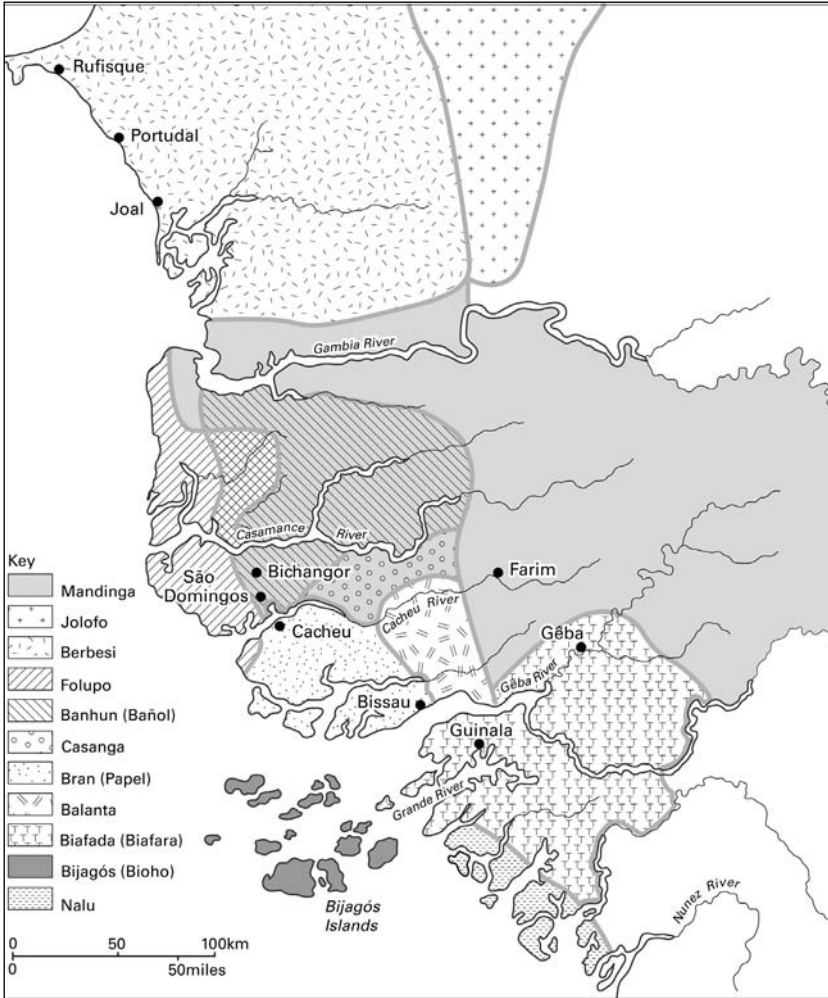
<sup>100</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 499 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>101</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 500 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>102</sup> AGNB Negros y Esclavos 15 f. 271–73 António Fernandes d’Elvas contra Juan de Santiago 1620; Nikolaus Böttcher, “Negros portugueses y la Inquisición: Cartagena de Indias, siglo XVII,” *Memoria* (Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá) number 9 (2003): 46–50.

<sup>103</sup> Juan Méndez Nieto. *Discursos medicinales* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1989), 423.

<sup>104</sup> AHNM 4816 ramo 3 no 32 fols. 1–102 Testimonio de las visitas de navíos de negros . . . desde 30 julio del año pasado del 1634 hasta fin de Julio de 1635.



Map 1. Ethnic Groups on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Early Seventeenth Century (Modified after Bühnen, “Ethnic Origins of Peruvian Slaves,” 81, 102).

as in small numbers among the local Papel. The slaves were mainly acquired directly from local African leaders, such as the kings at Bichangor and Bissau [Bussis],<sup>105</sup> or indirectly through *lançados*.<sup>106</sup> Other slaves may have been acquired at major fairs, such as that at Bijorreí near Guinala or among the Casanga at Brucama.<sup>107</sup> Stephan Bühnen has argued that the Portuguese settled at São Domingos, Cacheu, Guinala and Bissau precisely because of the local availability of slaves and the predisposition of local leaders to trade.<sup>108</sup>

Traditionally African leaders had acquired slaves in intertribal wars, as a result of debts or civil or religious crimes they had committed, or through individuals selling themselves or their families into slavery in times of crisis, such as a famine.<sup>109</sup> Famines brought about by drought or locust infestation occurred about every ten years or so on the fringes of the Sahel.<sup>110</sup> As the demand for slaves increased the incidence of judicial enslavement increased as individuals were charged with fabricated offences that purportedly transgressed some local prohibitions or taboos. In the early seventeenth century the Jesuit, Baltasar Barreira, observed that native leaders were unjustly enslaving natives with the aim of supplying the slave trade.<sup>111</sup> Meanwhile other groups and private individuals were also illegally acquiring slaves specifically for sale. Traditionally inland polities such as the Mane, Mandinga, Casanga and Cocoli, had preyed on coastal populations,<sup>112</sup> but in the sixteenth century Bijagó raids on the mainland intensified, while some groups of Banhun and Biafada also

<sup>105</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 6: 3, chap. 8: 3; Donelha, *Descrição*, 167.

<sup>106</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 24.

<sup>107</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 70, 100.

<sup>108</sup> Stephan Bühnen, "Ethnic Origins of Peruvian Slaves (1548–1650): Figures for Upper Guinea", *Paideuma* 39 (1993): 91–94, 101.

<sup>109</sup> Almada, *Tratado Breve*, 22–23, 35, 46, 67, 89–90; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 190–99 No author [Baltasar Barreira] no date [1606]; Guerreiro, *Relação Annual*, vol. 1: 400–401, 404–405; Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 5: 2–3; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 100–1, 106–108.

<sup>110</sup> Curtin, *Economic Change*, 110–11. A severe famine precipitated by locusts hit Cacheu between 1639 and 1641 (Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 100–1).

<sup>111</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 190–99 No author [Baltasar Barreira], no date [1606]; P.E.H. Hair, trans. *Jesuit documents on the Guinea of Cape Verde and the Cape Verde Islands 1585–1617* (Mimeo: University of Liverpool, 1989), 119–20; Hawthorne, "Production of Slaves", 105–111. See also the comments by Sandoval (*Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 143–49) collected from slave traders and slaves in Cartagena.

<sup>112</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 112–13.

began capturing slaves for sale.<sup>113</sup> Indeed the son of a Papel chief on the island of Bissau said he could not become a Christian because he would have to give up “roping them in”, that is attacking and enslaving blacks.<sup>114</sup> Walter Hawthorne has suggested that increased raiding by the Bijagó, Biafada and Banhun was fuelled by their need to acquire slaves that were essential for bartering for iron, which they needed to make weapons to defend themselves in the context of a more decentralised power structure and an environment of increasing violence brought about by economic and political changes associated with the slave trade.<sup>115</sup>

The main areas where the Portuguese sought slaves reflected their availability, which in turn reflected local political conditions. It is not surprising to find that the Papel, Biafada and Folupo, who were the main victims of raids by the Bijagó,<sup>116</sup> as well as the Bijagó themselves, predominated among the slaves acquired by Manuel Bautista Pérez on the Upper Guinea Coast. Of the 227 he acquired between 1613 and 1614 96 percent of the 47 whose ethnicity is specified were referred to as Papel, Folupo, Banhun or Biafada, in that order of importance. The geographical origin of some other slaves is indicated, but their ethnicity is not certain, since they may not have been inhabitants of those regions, but their captives. Some of the largest lots were brought from the Bijagós and the Grande and Nunez Rivers. Most likely those from the Bijagós included some victims of their raids on the mainland, particularly the Biafada and Papel. The dominance of these four groups is also evident, though not as marked, in the number of Upper Guinea slaves sold by Pérez in Lima between 1630 and 1634, where they accounted for about 58 percent of the total (Table 2.3).<sup>117</sup> Their dominance is also apparent

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<sup>113</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 76, 88–90; Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 5: 3–4; Hawthorne, “Production of Slaves”, 111–14, Hawthorne, *Planting Rice*, 65–66; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 103–105.

<sup>114</sup> Hair, *Jesuits Documents*, document 9: 2 Baltasar Barreira 28 Jan. 1605.

<sup>115</sup> Hawthorne, “Production of Slaves”, 118–120 and *Planting Rice*, 96–110. For the decentralised nature of these societies see: Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 205–206 Fernão Guerreiro 1606, vol. 4: 245–46 Sebastião Fernandes Cação 20 Apr. 1607 and vol. 4: 275–76 Relação das coisas da Guiné 1607.

<sup>116</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 9: 1–4, chap. 13: 5; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 175 Sebastião Fernandes Cação 12 Aug. 1606, vol. 4: 206 Padre Fernão Guerreiro 1606, vol. 4: 275–76 Relação das coisas da Guiné 1607; Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 147.

<sup>117</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave sales in Lima 1630–1635.

Table 2.3. Ethnic Origins of Slaves Purchased in Upper Guinea and Sold in Lima 1595 to 1640

	Slaves purchased by Manuel Bautista Pérez in Guinea 1613 to 1614 <sup>1</sup>		Slaves sold by Manuel Bautista Pérez in Lima 1630 to 1634 <sup>2</sup>		Slaves sales in Lima 1595–1640 <sup>3</sup>	
		Percent		Percent		Percent
Jolofo	1	2.1	2	0.6	21	1.8
Berbesi		0		0.0	4	0.3
Fula		0		0.0	0	0.0
Mandinga		0	31	9.0	115	9.6
Banhun (Bañol)	11	23.4	30	8.7	154	12.9
Casanga	1	2.1		0.0	8	0.7
Folupo	12	25.5	66	19.1	150	12.6
Bran (Papel)	14	29.8	63	18.3	330	27.6
Balanta		0	30	8.7	27	2.3
Biafada (Biafara)	8	17.0	41	11.9	144	12.1
Bijagó (Bioho)		0	39	11.3	94	7.9
Nalu		0	13	3.8	48	4.0
Cocoli		0	16	4.6	35	2.9
Soso		0	2	0.6	13	1.1
Zape		0	12	3.5	51	4.3
Total	47	100.0	345	100.0	1194	100.0
Unspecified	25		71		13	

*Sources:*

<sup>1</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 153–4, 165–6, 173–4, 179–82 197 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>2</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave sales in Lima 1630–1634.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick F. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 42–43.

in Frederick Bowser's figures for *bozal* slaves sold in Lima by a variety of slave traders between 1595 and 1640, where together they accounted for approximately 65 percent of sales, with the Bijagó accounting for another 8 percent.<sup>118</sup> Meanwhile, slaving activities on the Petite Côte had already declined with the increased French presence on the coast, though the Portuguese continued to acquire small

<sup>118</sup> Frederick Bowser's figures are drawn from notarial records sampled at five-year intervals between 1595 and 1640 (*African Slave*, 42–43).

numbers of slaves from the region transferring to Cacheu for transshipment to Cape Verde and the Indies.<sup>119</sup>

### *Angola and Kongo*

Much less is known about the organisation of the trade in slaves in Angola, although like the Upper Guinea Coast it later came to be based on intermediaries, known locally as *pombeiros*. During the early sixteenth century Portuguese interest in the African coast focussed on the Kingdom of Kongo with which they had established commercial relations and had developed a trade in slaves to Portugal or later São Tomé.<sup>120</sup> Initially the export of slaves was restricted to Mpinda and in the 1530s the majority of the 4,000 to 5,000 slaves that were exported came from outside the Kongo. Some were acquired through trade with their neighbours to the north-east, the Teke and Mpumbu, but the majority came from raids on their neighbours to the south, the Mbundu that included the emerging kingdom of Ndongo.<sup>121</sup> Although the Portuguese banned trade south of Kongo, ships began to sail there illegally and acquire slaves direct. Hence, even though the slave trade initially focussed on the Kongo, many of the slaves themselves were Angolans. This began to change when Paulo Dias arrived in Angola with a colonizing expedition in 1575. The earliest expeditions focussed on minerals and converts and it was not until the early seventeenth century when the Portuguese defeated the Mbundu and their immediate neighbours to the east of Luanda that the acquisition of slaves became a prime motive for expansion.<sup>122</sup> The region between the Kwanza and Dande became known as Angola taking its name from the Ngola of the Mbundu kingdom of Ndongo.<sup>123</sup> About 1615 a new slave-trading colony was

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<sup>119</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 3: 103 Francisco de Andrade 26 Jan. 1582.

<sup>120</sup> For the early history of Portuguese contacts with the Kingdom of Kongo and Angola see: David Birmingham, *Portuguese Conquest*, 7–30 and *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 21–103; Joseph C. Miller, “The Paradoxes of Impoverishment in the Atlantic Zone, in *History of Central Africa* volume 1, ed. David Birmingham and Phyllis M. Martin (London: Longman, 1983), 131–145.

<sup>121</sup> Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 25–26.

<sup>122</sup> Miller, *Way of Death*, 148.

<sup>123</sup> Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 19–20; Miller, *Way of Death*, 33.



also established to the south at Benguela.<sup>124</sup> However, the majority of slaves shipped to Spanish America at this time were Angolans who were exported via Luanda.

The Portuguese acquired slaves through three means. The first was through warfare, the second was through tribute imposed on defeated local chiefs that was payable in slaves, and the third was through *pombeiros*. As in Upper Guinea, it was the chiefs who controlled the supply of slaves, who had similarly acquired them in wars or as a result of their being condemned for crimes, such as robbery or adultery;<sup>125</sup> prior to European contact the sale of slaves was not known.<sup>126</sup> During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries many of the slaves were acquired not as a result of civil wars, but in wars with the Portuguese. The number of slaves exported was highly correlated with the intensity of Portuguese military activities.<sup>127</sup> The military campaigns conducted by Governor João Mendes de Vasconcelos between 1617 and 1622 contributed significantly an increase in the number of slaves exported, estimated at over 50,000 slaves.<sup>128</sup> However, by the 1630s civil wars, conflict with the Portuguese and smallpox had resulted in severe depopulation and Mbundu chiefs who were unable to meet the demand for tribute in slaves imposed on them began to retreat.<sup>129</sup> *Pombeiros* therefore had to acquire slaves several months journey inland.<sup>130</sup>

Although during the period of study most slaves were acquired in wars or as tribute, *pombeiros* also played a vital role in supplying the slave trade. Initially the trade in slaves was a two-stage process that involved the exchange of European commodities, salt and cowries for palm cloth, much of which was acquired from the Loango coast. Palm cloth, which was used as a medium of exchange, was then

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<sup>124</sup> Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 84.

<sup>125</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 146 Garcia Simões 7 Nov. 1576, vol. 3: 228 No author, No date [1582–1583].

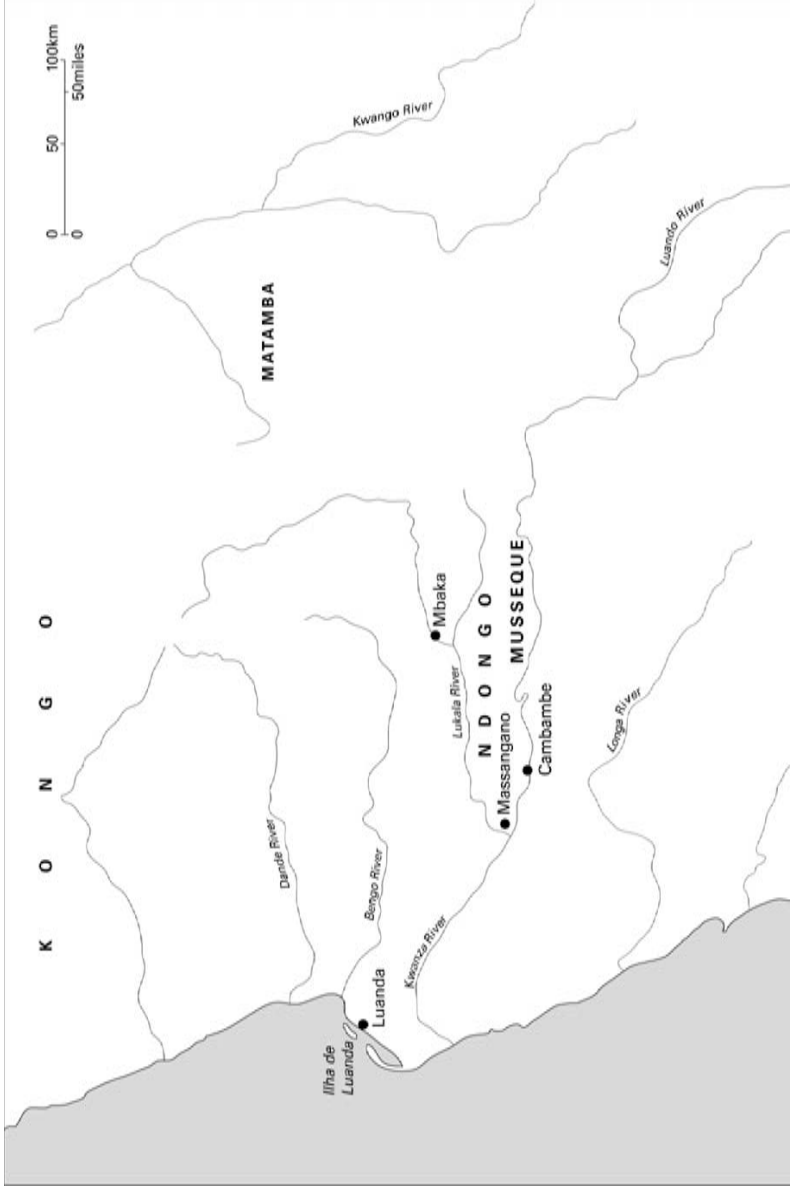
<sup>126</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 6: 340 Baltasar Rebelo de Aragão 1618.

<sup>127</sup> Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 115.

<sup>128</sup> Beatrix Heintze, “Angola nas garras do tráfico de escravos: as guerras do Ndongo (1611–1630).” *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 1 (1984): 15–21.

<sup>129</sup> Heintze, “Angola nas garras do tráfico de escravos,” 22–59.

<sup>130</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 8: 242–43 Gonçalo de Sousa 6 Jul. 1633.



Map 2. Ethnic Groups in Angola in the Early Seventeenth Century.

used to purchase slaves.<sup>131</sup> From the official perspective the activities of *pombeiros* had adverse effects on political stability and the flow of slaves from the interior. It was argued that the Portuguese used their *pombeiros* to intercept slaves on the way to African slave markets, resulting in fewer slaves being sold there and making them more expensive. It was thought that African traders could acquire slaves more cheaply. In 1611 the Portuguese Crown anxious to maintain political control of the region and ensure the flow of slaves banned all ‘whites’ from frequenting inland slave markets, but since the officials in charge of imposing the ban were often involved in the slave trade, this proved ineffective.<sup>132</sup> Another attempt to regulate the slave markets occurred in 1617 when officials were introduced to oversee the markets and impose a ten percent tax. This was equally unsuccessful, since officials exacted a proportion of the slaves for themselves, taking the best slaves, and leaving the “the old and children” for sale. The result was to drive slave traders away from the fairs and for trade to be conducted in regions remote from the eye of officials.<sup>133</sup> Olfert Dapper received a report that the Portuguese were obtaining their slaves from Massangano and Mbaka, and also Cambambe, but the date of this observation is unclear.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> E.G. Ravenstein, ed. *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Angola and the Adjoining Regions*. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1901), 9, 43–44; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 6: 52 Pedro Sardinha [1611?]; Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, 229; Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 79.

<sup>132</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 6: 31 Regimento do Governador de Angola 22 Sep. 1611; Klaas Ratelband, *Os holandeses no Brasil e na costa africana. Angola, Kongo e S. Tomé (1600–1650)*. Trans. Tjerk Hagemeijer (Lisboa, Vega 2003), 87.

<sup>133</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 6: 337 Baltasar Rebelo de Aragão 1618.

<sup>134</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, vol. 2 p. 562. The actual names given are: Kambamba, Massingan and Embakko. John Ogilby’s account of Africa is largely a translation of the Dutch account by Olfert Dapper entitled *Nauwekeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikanische gewesten* (Amsterdam, 1668, 2nd ed. 1676). Dapper never went to Africa but compiled his description from other sources including unpublished material. For the Upper Guinea Coast he appears to have relied heavily on the writings of the French soldier Pierre Davity in the early seventeenth century, while for Angola his main sources were Pigafetta, Jarric, Linschoten and Marmol (See Adam Jones’s review of the Dapper’s sources in “Decompiling Dapper. A Preliminary Search for the Evidence”, *History in Africa* 17 (1990): 171–209). The relationship of the accounts of Upper Guinea by Jean Barbot, Olfert Dapper and Pierre Davity have been examined by Paul Hair, “Barbot, Dapper, Davity: A Critique of Sources on Sierra Leone and Cape Mount”, *History in Africa* 1 (1974): 25–54 and Guy Thilmans, “Le Sénégal dans l’oeuvre d’Olfried Dapper”, *Bulletin de l’institut français de l’Afrique noire*, 33, ser. B, no. 3 (1971): 508–63. These indicate that Dapper and Davity drew on

*The Volume of Slave Exports*

Quite a large number of estimates exist for the number of slaves being traded on the Upper Guinea Coast in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>135</sup> These draw on a variety of sources, including official records of slaves passing through Cape Verde, the number of ships registered to trade on the African coast and observations by travellers, merchants, priests and other residents in the Upper Guinea Coast, as well as in Cartagena where the slaves were landed.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the number of slaves being exported from the Upper Guinea Coast expanded gradually. According to trade accounts kept in Cape Verde 6,642 slaves were exported from the Upper Guinea Coast between 1609 and 1612, with about 96 percent coming from the São Domingos River.<sup>136</sup> By that time many ships were illegally bypassing Cape Verde, so this estimate of just over 2,000 a year being exported to all regions of Spanish America as well as the Canary Islands and Spain was probably an underestimate. Nevertheless, it makes clear that in the early seventeenth century the focus of the Portuguese slave trade was between the Gambia and Grande Rivers. Slightly later in 1615 the Jesuit, Manuel Álvares, claimed that six or eight slave ships were trading in the São Domingos River and were extracting 1,800 slaves a year.<sup>137</sup> This figure actually represents a slight decline over that noted earlier but it is consistent with the falling number of ships registered in Seville for Cape Verde and Upper Guinea at that time.<sup>138</sup> In 1647 the *capitão mor* of Cacheu estimated that the region had the potential to export 2,000 to 3,000 slaves, presumably on an annual basis.<sup>139</sup> Meanwhile, further south the Cape Verdean trader André

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even earlier sources such as the Jesuit accounts compiled by Jarric and Fernão Guerreiro, with Jarric in turn also drawing on André Álvares d'Almada, whose information dates from the sixteenth century. Considerable care is therefore needed in using these texts as primary sources, particularly in relating observations to precise dates.

<sup>135</sup> For the size of slave exports for the period up to the 1640s see Bühnen, "Ethnic Origins", 82–86.

<sup>136</sup> Carreira, "Tratos e resgates," *Revista de História Económica e Social* 2 (1978): 95–96. The other main sources were Port d'Ale and the Gambia River.

<sup>137</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, Chap. 5: 1–2, but Carreira, *Os Portugêses*, 41 gives the number as six or ten.

<sup>138</sup> Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, 61: 404–403.

<sup>139</sup> Carreira, *Os Portugêses*, 141 Gamboa d'Ayala 5 May 1647.

Donelha claimed that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries nearly 3,000 slaves were being exported annually from the Grande River to Cape Verde and the Indies.<sup>140</sup> Overall Walter Rodney thinks it probable that between 1562 and 1640 about 5,000 slaves were being exported annually from the Upper Guinea Coast.<sup>141</sup> These figures would have included about 100 to 150 slaves from Portudal and Joal to the north that were shipped through São Domingos or Cacheu annually.<sup>142</sup>

Apart from these contemporary observations, Philip Curtin has estimated the number of slaves being exported from Upper Guinea to the Americas using records for the number of licences issued in Seville for the introduction of slaves. He assumes that the term 'Cape Verde' was used to refer to destinations in Upper Guinea, while that of 'Guinea' referred to the rest of the West African coast. If correct, his figures suggest that only about 181 slaves a year were being exported from the Guinea Coast between 1596 and 1640.<sup>143</sup> However, his assumption would seem to be untenable. Ships registered in Seville for Cape Verde between 1596–1640 represented only 6 percent of the total number of registered slave ships whereas 41 percent were for Guinea, while evidence for slave imports and sales in Spanish America suggests that slaves from Upper Guinea predominated. Of 6,884 slaves landed at Cartagena between 1585 and 1590 all but 507 came from the Upper Guinea Coast.<sup>144</sup> Also, Frederick Bowser's account of the ethnic origins of slaves imported into Peru between 1595 and 1640 indicates that about 53 percent were from the Upper Guinea Coast and only 11 percent from West Africa, the remainder coming from Angola.<sup>145</sup> It would seem therefore that ships registered for 'Guinea' in Seville included those destined for the Upper Guinea Coast, as was the case with Pérez's *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento* that sailed to Cacheu.<sup>146</sup> If Curtin's figures

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<sup>140</sup> Donelha, *Descrição*, 176–77. See also Thilmans and Moraes, "Routier de la côte de Guinée," 354; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 211 *Relação da costa da Guiné*, no author [c.1606].

<sup>141</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 98.

<sup>142</sup> Van den Broecke, *Journal*, 40–41; Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 1: 6.

<sup>143</sup> Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 106–107 Table 31.

<sup>144</sup> Rodney, "Portuguese Monopoly," 313.

<sup>145</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 42–43, who also gives figures for the longer period of 1560 to 1650 (p. 39).

<sup>146</sup> For the *registro* of the *Nuestra Señora del Vencimiento* see: AGI Contratación 2879 Registros de esclavos 1617.

for Guinea were added to those of Cape Verde, then the average annual export of slaves for the Upper Guinea Coast between 1596 and 1640 would rise to 1,400. Even so this would still appear to be an underestimate.

Curtin's figures do not include any adjustment for contraband trade since he assumes that this was balanced by the fact that merchants delivered fewer slaves than they were authorised.<sup>147</sup> However, this assumption is not supported by contemporary observations. There is abundant evidence from both Africa and Cartagena to suggest that contraband trade was rife and that the number of slaves acquired by slave traders vastly exceeded the numbers they were licensed to trade. In the 1620s the Governor of Cape Verde reported to the Crown that it was custom for ships at Cacheu with licences to acquire 100, 120, 150 or 200 slaves to each carry 800 or even 1,000 slaves.<sup>148</sup> This was undoubtedly an exaggeration, but there is evidence, to be discussed more fully in Chapter 4 in the context of 'tight-packing', that ships often carried well in excess of the number that were permitted according to the *registro*.

With the prime aim of safeguarding Crown profits from the slave trade, officials attempted to control the number of slaves being shipped by counting them onto the ship in Africa one-by-one and then counting them off again in their destination in the New World. Nevertheless, slave traders used a variety of methods to conceal the numbers of slaves they were trading. In Africa slaves were often hidden on board when official inspections were undertaken or additional slaves were loaded after the ship had been officially dispatched. Once in Spanish America slaves might be landed prior to arrival in Cartagena, often on the pretext of sickness or lack of food or water, or be rapidly smuggled ashore before officials arrived or else concealed on board until they could be landed at night. Officials themselves might be complicit in the process often being bribed to register the dispatch or arrival of smaller numbers of slaves on which taxes were payable.<sup>149</sup>

Another source of error and opportunity for fraud was that fiscal accounts specified the number of slaves in terms of *piezas de Indias* or *peças das Indias*. A *pieza de Indias* was defined as a young healthy

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<sup>147</sup> Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 105–108.

<sup>148</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 700–701 Francisco de Moura [c. 1622].

<sup>149</sup> See Chapter 5.

male slave, such that women, children, older persons and those with some disability were regarded as a fraction of a *pieza*. Hence the number of individuals traded generally exceeded the number of *piezas* recorded. The licences issued in Seville specified that one third of the slaves had to be female. This proportion seems to have been quite strictly adhered to by slave traders. On the other hand the number of children appears to have been variable. Since youths were valued at a half a *pieza* and taxes were not payable on children, slave traders often sought to purchase children or colluded with local officials to define some slaves as youths or children in order to reduce the amount of tax for which they were liable.<sup>150</sup> According to Manuel Bautista Pérez taxes were only payable on persons over six *palmos*, which is about four feet tall.<sup>151</sup> In 1618 45 of the 239 slaves purchased by him in Cacheu were referred to as “mancebos” or “mozos”. This proportion was similar to that carried from Cacheu to Cartagena by another slave ship, the Santa Cruz, in 1616 where 42 of the 245 slaves were described as “pequeños”.<sup>152</sup>

The extent of fraud was so great that in 1620 the Spanish crown ordered an official inquiry or *visita* in Cartagena. The *visitador*, Diego Medina Morales, investigated thirty-four charges against the royal treasurer and accountant, but deemed all its citizens to be complicit in the illegal trade since they had purchased slaves that had been introduced without licence.<sup>153</sup> Medina Morales claimed that taxes had been paid on only one-third of the slaves arriving.<sup>154</sup> He noted cases where ships had declared 68, 45 and 54 slaves but had landed another 440, 200 and 260 slaves respectively.<sup>155</sup> While some slaves were confiscated as contraband, placed on deposit and subsequently sold at auction,<sup>156</sup> they probably represented only a small proportion

<sup>150</sup> Herbert S. Klein, “The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola in the Eighteenth Century,” *The Journal of Economic History*, 32(4)(1972): 904–905.

<sup>151</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 365–66 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>152</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 1 fol. 33 Jorge López Morales 14 Mar. 1617.

<sup>153</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A Pieza 2 fols. 12–20 Cargos communes de . . . oficiales de la real hacienda 1621.

<sup>154</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A Pieza 4 fol. 9 and Santa Fe 56B N52 Visitador Diego de Medina Rosales 7 Sep. 1620. See also AGI Santa Fe 52 N157/2 Pedro Guiral 10 Mar. 1620. Another official suggested a slightly lower proportion of one quarter had entered without licence (AGI Santa Fe 56B N 30 doc 1 Licenciado Espino de Cáceres, 20 Oct. 1619).

<sup>155</sup> AGI Santa Fe 56B N 53 Diego de Medina Rosales 25 Jul. 1620.

<sup>156</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A pieza 6 fols. 17–148, Pieza 9 fols. 36–58 Procedido desclavos negros que se condenaron por descaminados Junio 1617 hasta

of the illegal trade. Inspections of slave ships by the Inquisition in Cartagena in 1634 and 1635 reveal an extensive contraband trade. On one ship, the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* captained by Manuel Carvalho that arrived from Angola in May 1635, Inquisition officials claimed to have found about 400 slaves hidden below deck under mats and other goods, so tightly packed that they were difficult to count. Two months later, the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, captained by Luis Gómez de Silva arrived from Cacheu with 650 slaves for which he only had a *registro* for 140. In addition it was claimed that the night before the visit 250 slaves had been taken off the ship and hidden on two other ships, so the total number was about 900. This figure seems improbable given that the capacity of the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* is unlikely to have been more than 150 tons. However, it does suggest contraband trade on a wide scale.

Enriqueta Vila Vilar estimates that under the Portuguese *asientos* from 1595 to 1640 about 1,000 slaves a year were imported legally to Cartagena, a figure that she increases to 3,000 slaves to take account of contraband trade.<sup>157</sup> Contemporary accounts suggest the scale of contraband trade may have been even higher. In 1620 the *contador* of the Tribunal de Cuentas in Santa Fe, Pedro Guiral, reported that it was “público y notorio” that 12,000 to 14,000 slaves were being landed annually at Cartagena, with many ships coming without *registro*, licences and other official papers.<sup>158</sup> Other observers concurred with the large numbers arriving. Alonso de Sandoval’s recorded that 12 or 14 slave ships a year were arriving annually in Cartagena carrying 300, 400, 500 and even 600 slaves.<sup>159</sup> Similarly, in 1633 the Jesuit, Josef Fernández claimed that 10,000 to 12,000 slaves were entering Cartagena each year, and that in 1633 alone he saw 14 ships in the port carrying 800 or 900 slaves each.<sup>160</sup>

These figures included slaves from all regions in Africa, not just the Upper Guinea Coast and they varied somewhat between the

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25 Nov. 1619; Escribanía de Cámara 587C Pieza 6 El fiscal contra Lope Fernandes Morales 1622; AGI Santa Fe 73 número 71a Pedro Guiral sobre lo tocante a negros bozales . . . 1621.

<sup>157</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 206. This is consistent with figures for *entrada* taxes collected on slaves in Cartagena 1597 to 1601 that were recorded in an inspection of the *cajas* of the Santa Hermandad of Cartagena (Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias*, 162).

<sup>158</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 N 157/2 Pedro Guiral 10 Mar. 1620.

<sup>159</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 151.

<sup>160</sup> Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 105.



Table 2.4. Destinations of Registered Slave Ships 1616 to 1622

From:	To:	Number of ships	Number of slave licenses	Percent of ships	Percent of slave licences
Upper Guinea	Cartagena	28	4355	13.7	14.0
Upper Guinea	New Spain	3	405	1.5	1.3
Cape Verde	Cartagena	11	1940	5.4	6.2
São Tomé	Cartagena	3	240	1.5	0.8
São Tomé	New Spain	8	1090	3.9	3.5
Arda	Cartagena	1	125	0.5	0.4
Arda	New Spain	1	200	0.5	0.6
Angola	Cartagena	22	3290	10.8	10.5
Angola	New Spain	127	19561	62.3	62.7
		204	31206	100.0	100.0
Total from:					
Upper Guinea		31	4760	15.2	15.3
Angola		149	22851	73.1	73.2
Total to:					
Cartagena		65	9950	31.9	31.9
New Spain		139	21256	68.1	68.1

Source: AGI Contratación 2878 to 2884 Registros of slave ships 1616–1622.

years. According to the *registros* for 1616 to 1622, 9,950 slaves were to be landed at Cartagena, an average of about 1,420 slaves a year (See Table 2.4).<sup>161</sup> Of these about 63 percent, or about 900 a year, were to come from Cape Verde and the Upper Guinea Coast, and the rest from Angola and Arda (the Gold Coast). If, as some contemporary observers and Vila Vilar suggest, this represented only one-third of those landed, then during this period a slightly higher number of slaves, over 4,000 a year would have been arriving in Cartagena. Of these probably about two-thirds or approximately 2,700 came from Cape Verde and the Upper Guinea Coast.<sup>162</sup>

Most slaves arriving in Cartagena came from the Upper Guinea Coast, but the proportion coming from Angola was substantial and

<sup>161</sup> AGI Contratación 2878 to 2884 Registros de esclavos 1616–1622. Other years up to 1640 do not give a precise destination to which the registered vessels had to sail.

<sup>162</sup> Patrick Manning's recent estimate of 2,300 a year being exported from West Africa to Spanish America is almost certainly an underestimate, especially when it is considered that other destinations, including Veracruz are included ("African Connections with American Colonization," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America*, vol. 1, eds. Victor Bulmer-Thomas, John H. Coatsworth and Roberto Cortés Conde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 57.

growing. Although Chile and Upper Peru (Bolivia) had begun to receive Angolan slaves through Buenos Aires from the 1590s, military campaigns in the early seventeenth century increased the flow of slaves from Angola such that it began to replace Upper Guinea as the main source of slaves being landed at Cartagena.

There is less evidence for the numbers of slaves being exported from Angola, but the numbers seem to have fluctuated with the intensity of military campaigns.<sup>163</sup> One estimate for 1612, when the slave trade was beginning to take off, suggests that about 10,000 were exported a year, but by 1620 it had risen to more than 13,000.<sup>164</sup> The early 1620s marked the peak of the campaigns by Governor João Mendes de Vasconcelos against the Kingdom of Ndongo, after which the slave trade made a slow and intermittent recovery, as depopulation affected the supply of slaves and the presence of the Dutch in the Atlantic waters disrupted trade.<sup>165</sup> Although these numbers are higher than those for Upper Guinea, a significant portion was destined for Brazil rather than for Spanish America. Frédéric Mauro suggests that in the early seventeenth century Angola was supplying Brazil with a minimum of around 4,000 slaves a year,<sup>166</sup> but Charles Boxer argues for over double that number, with 8,400 out of a total 14,900 slaves being exported there from Angola; at the same time, 5,000 were destined for Spanish America and the Caribbean and another 1,500 for Buenos Aires and Río de la Plata.<sup>167</sup> Of the numbers exported to Spanish America, figures for ships registered between 1616 and 1622 suggest that about 85 percent of Angolan slaves were shipped to New Spain and only 15 percent through Cartagena.<sup>168</sup> Since both regions were potential sources of slaves in the early seventeenth century, the predominance of particular ethnic groups in different regions probably reflects, at least in part, differences in market preferences.

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<sup>163</sup> Heintze, "Angola nas garras do tráfico de escravos," 53 shows fluctuations in the income from the tribute paid in slaves during the 1620s.

<sup>164</sup> Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 78–80; Birmingham, *The Portuguese Conquest*, 25–26.

<sup>165</sup> Heintze, "Angola nas garras do tráfico de escravos," 51.

<sup>166</sup> Mauro, *Portugal*, vol. 1: 240–41.

<sup>167</sup> Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, 225.

<sup>168</sup> For the breakdown of slaves by ethnic origin in Mexico see: Palmer *Slaves of the White God*, 21–23. See also Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 22–25.

Frederick Bowser's figures for the sale of slaves in Lima indicate that throughout the 1620s and 1630s slaves from Upper Guinea still accounted for about half of the *bozales* sold there.<sup>169</sup> However, the proportions of Upper Guinea and Angolan slaves purchased by Manuel Bautista Pérez and his agents in Cartagena between 1626 and 1633, to be discussed below, show quite marked variations in both the number of slaves shipped and their origins, with the proportions from Upper Guinea fluctuating between 12 and 83 percent (See Table 5.2 in Chapter 5). These fluctuations probably reflected both availability and the demand for slaves with particular qualities. Often purchasers placing an order for a slave would specify the precise qualities required. So, for example, Jorge López de Paz, a resident of Arequipa, asked Pérez to acquire two Angolas, "young men [moços] between twenty and twenty-two with large hands and feet, well built for work".<sup>170</sup> Jean-Pierre Tardieu's evidence from slave baptisms in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also suggests the ethnic origins of slaves in different regions reflected the nature of activities in which they were to be employed. Hence, Upper Guinea slaves predominated in Lima, where many were employed in domestic service or as artisans, while Angolans dominated on haciendas to the south of the city.<sup>171</sup>

### *The Price of Slaves*

In the mid-seventeenth century the Jesuit, Josef Fernández, claimed that slaves who were bought in Africa for 4 pesos were being sold in Cartagena for 300 pesos and more.<sup>172</sup> The price he gave for Africa was a considerable underestimate. During the early seventeenth century the price of slaves was rising annually. In 1620 it was claimed that in the previous five years the cost of a slave in Upper Guinea had risen from 80 to 250 or 300 *panos*, which is from 50 to between

<sup>169</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 39–44.

<sup>170</sup> AGNL SO CO Leg. 21 Jorge López de Paz to Manuel Bautista Pérez 15 Feb. 1634.

<sup>171</sup> Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "Origin of the Slaves in the Lima Region in Peru (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," in *From Chains to Bonds: The Slave Trade Revisited*, ed. Doudou Diène (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2001), 45, 52–53. It is worth noting that his figures refer to all Afro-Peruvians, not just slaves or *bozales*.

<sup>172</sup> Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 105.

156 and 188 pesos.<sup>173</sup> Based largely on the stability of prices paid for slaves in Cartagena and Lima, Frederick Bowser, argues that this increase in price was exaggerated.<sup>174</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that prices were rising. In 1618 Manuel Bautista Pérez was paying 150 *panos*, the equivalent of 94 pesos, for a slave,<sup>175</sup> while in 1622 royal officials in Santa Fe estimated that the price for Guinea slaves in Africa was 1,000 reals or 125 pesos, which was the equivalent of 200 *panos*. At the same time they claimed that slaves from Angola, Kongo and Arda cost only half that price.<sup>176</sup> The lower price of Angolan slaves is supported by evidence for sale prices in Angola where in the early seventeenth century slaves cost between 21,000 and 22,000 *réis* or between 525 and 550 reals.<sup>177</sup> The lower cost of Angolan slaves may reflect the fact that at this time many of them were acquired in conflict rather than by purchase and therefore cost nothing, but even those that were purchased could yield significant profits since *pombeiros* could acquire them in the interior for only 10,000 *réis*.<sup>178</sup>

These prices suggest that in the early seventeenth century the slave trade may not have been as profitable as is sometimes suggested. In attempting to estimate its profitability, Ernst van den Boogaart assumes an average price for African slaves in the 1620s of 30 guilders or about 75 pesos, which he suggests may be too high for Upper Guinea slaves.<sup>179</sup> However, the evidence presented above suggests that prices

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<sup>173</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos, *Subsídios para a história de Cabo Verde e Guiné* vol. 1 (Lisboa: Academia Real das Ciências, 1899), 211; António Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas de navegação, comércio e tráfico de escravos entre a costa africana e o nordeste brasileiro* (1st ed.), (Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1969), 184.

<sup>174</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 45.

<sup>175</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Jerônimo Rodrigues 30 Jul. 1618.

<sup>176</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 R6 N172/2 Accompanies letter from the Tribunal de Cuentas 27 Jun. 1622. This difference in price between the two regions seems to have continued into the eighteenth century (Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas* (1st ed.), 171).

<sup>177</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 6: 67–68 António Dinis [1622]; Edmundo Correia Lopes, *A escravatura (subsídios para a sua história)* (Lisbon: Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1944), 62; Joseph C. Miller, “Slave Prices in the Portuguese South Atlantic, 1600–1830,” in Paul E. Lovejoy ed. *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 55, 63.

<sup>178</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 6: 67–68 António Dinis [1622].

<sup>179</sup> Ernst van den Boogaart, “The Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World, 1600–1690: Estimates of Trends in Composition and Value,” *Journal of*

were significantly higher, in addition to which Boogaart does not take into account the costs of transport of barter goods and slaves, as well as other costs involved in supporting slaves from purchase to sale.<sup>180</sup> The slave trade was probably not as profitable as he suggests. In 1622 the same royal officials in Santa Fe reported that slaves from Upper Guinea sold in Cartagena for about 2,647 reals, those from Angola and Kongo at 1,650 reals, and Ardas at 1,760 reals (See Table 2.5). Although these represented profits of 165, 230 and 252 percent respectively on the purchase price, when the costs of transport, food, medical treatment and taxes prior to sale were taken into account, the profit on Angolan slaves was only about 11 percent. On the other hand slaves from Upper Guinea were twice as expensive, but because of lower food and transport costs and because they were in greater demand, they could command a profit of nearly 40 percent. In fact in both cases the profits would have been even lower than this because these costs were calculated on the basis of an individual slave rather than a shipment, and therefore do not take into account mortality on the Middle Passage that officials estimated at 10 percent. Including 10 percent mortality would reduce the profit on Upper Guinea slaves to about 25 percent while that on Angolan slaves would have been negligible.

Although the Portuguese slave trade in the early seventeenth century was small scale, compared to later periods it surpassed it in the complexity of the network of business relations that were needed to sustain it. For a single slave trading expedition Manuel Bautista Pérez's accounts detail commercial transactions with over one hundred people, not including investors or bureaucrats in the Iberian Peninsula. At the heart of the operation was a small group of men often related by kinship and nearly always compatriots, some of whom were permanent residents in Africa who operated within local commercial trade networks and dealt in other merchandise as well as slaves. The early seventeenth century saw the growing importance

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*African History* 33 (1992): 377. He gives the exchange rate for 1621–1660 of 1 peso to 2.49 guilders (p. 372).

<sup>180</sup> David Eltis, "The Relative Importance of Slaves and Commodities in the Atlantic Slave Trade of Seventeenth-Century Africa," *Journal of African History* 35 (1994): 237.

Table 2.5. Relative Costs and Profits on Individual Slaves Purchased in Different African Regions

	Ríos (Upper Guinea)	Ardas or Araras	Angolas and Congos
In Africa			
Cost of slave	1000	500	500
<i>Avença</i> (Portuguese tax)	150	150	150
Food in Africa prior to embarkation	25	60	60
Casks and boiling pan	15	15	15
Ships stores	25	30	30
Barber-surgeon	11	11	11
Transport	100	150	150
<i>Total</i>	<i>1326</i>	<i>916</i>	<i>916</i>
In Cartagena			
Customs tax ( <i>aduanilla</i> )	30	30	30
Entry tax ( <i>entrada</i> )	440	440	440
Municipal tax ( <i>Agua de Turbaco</i> )	40	40	40
Sales tax ( <i>alcabala</i> )	30	24	24
Food	24	24	24
Doctor	2	2	2
Barber and care for slaves	2	2	2
Pharmacy	1	1	1
House rent	1	1	1
Burials	3	3	3
<i>Total</i>	<i>573</i>	<i>567</i>	<i>567</i>
Total cost in reals	1899	1483	1483
Sale price in reals	2647	1760	1650
Percentage profit	39.4	18.7	11.3

*Source:* AGI Santa Fe 52 R6 N 172/2 Accompanies letter from the Tribunal de Cuentas of Cartagena, 27 Jun. 1622. In the document the sale prices are given in *ducados* or *pesos ensayados*, which have been converted here into reals.

of Angola as a source of slaves. Here the methods of acquiring slaves were different, as were the conditions the slaves experienced in captivity prior to transshipment. Conditions in the place of origin of the slaves, the food they were fed, the manner in which they were housed and the disease environment they had to cope with, were to be important influences on their survival both on the Middle Passage and in their destinations. It is with conditions on the African coast that the next chapter is concerned.

## CHAPTER THREE

### TIME ON THE COAST

A number of scholars have suggested that mortality during captivity on the African coast was considerable and may even have exceeded that during the Middle Passage.<sup>1</sup> In 1576 Father Garcia Simões suggested that in the previous year 14,000 slaves had been bought and sold in Angola, of which 4,000 had died. The figure of 14,000 has been judged as exaggerated since the Portuguese had only just established a presence in the region, but the statement suggests that significant losses were being incurred.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Miller has speculated that perhaps only 60 to 65 percent of Angolan slaves arrived on the coast alive and that in addition 10 to 15 percent may have died before embarkation.<sup>3</sup> High pre-embarkation losses have been attributed to a variety of factors including the psychological impact of the enslavement process, the movement of slaves into different disease environments, epidemics, dietary changes, as well as inadequate food, water and lodging on the coast.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 281–82; Jan S. Hogendorn, “Economic Modelling of Price Differences in the Slave Trade Between the Central Sudan and the Coast,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 17 (1996), 213; Klein, *Middle Passage*, 87; Postma, “Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade,” 240–46; Miller, “Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade,” 409–10, 412; Robert Stein, “Mortality in the Eighteenth-Century French Slave Trade,” *The Journal of African History* 21(1)(1980): 38–39.

<sup>2</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 146 Garcia Simões 7 Nov. 1576.

<sup>3</sup> Miller, “Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade,” 413; Miller, *Way of Death*, 440; Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 236–38. Richard L. Stein, *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1979), 98 suggests that mortality on shore was as high as during the Middle Passage, both periods accounting for about half of deaths.

<sup>4</sup> Philip D. Curtin, “Epidemiology and the Slave Trade,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 83 (1968): 199–200; Herbert S. Klein and Stanley L. Engerman, “Slave Mortality on British Ships 1791–1797,” in *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition*, eds. Roger Anstey and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1976): 122; Klein, *Middle Passage*, 67, 86–89, 235; Herbert S. Klein and Stanley L. Engerman, “A Note on Mortality in the French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, eds. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 269; Postma, “Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade,” 240–46; Stein, “Mortality in the Eighteenth-

Little is known of the impact of initial enslavement in either Upper Guinea or Angola, except that in the seventeenth century slaves in both regions were generally acquired from within a relatively short distance of the coast. In Upper Guinea they were drawn from less than 100 kilometres inland,<sup>5</sup> and at this time most slaves in Angola came from the Kingdom of Ndongo in the immediate hinterland of Luanda. However, in the 1630s the supply of slaves in Angola began to dry up as the region around Luanda was depopulated by wars and as the Mbundu chiefs who supplied them slaves began to retreat. This meant that *pombeiros* were forced to travel several months into the interior to acquire them. The result was “because they bring them from so far and in chains and with a lack of food [do necessario] many die on the road”.<sup>6</sup> The process of enslavement would have had equally traumatic effects regardless of the distance travelled. However, slaves drawn from longer distances inland would not only have suffered greater hardships and mortality on the journey, but run greater risks of moving into a new disease environment and of experiencing dietary changes that might adversely affect their health. Because the distance travelled to the coast was shorter in the early years of the slave trade, losses in transit would probably have been lower than they were in the eighteenth century.

If the time spent travelling to the coast was shorter, the period that slaves might spend on the coast prior to shipment was significantly longer. This was despite the fact that in the early seventeenth century there does not seem to have been a shortage of potential slaves and ships tended to be smaller. Slave ships averaged only about 100 tons, with the largest not more than 250 tons.<sup>7</sup> However, markets and communications were less developed so that despite the smaller size of ships it probably took slave traders longer to complete their

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Century French Slave Trade,” 38–39; Miller, “Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade,” 414–18; David Eltis, “Mortality and Voyage Length in the Middle Passage: New Evidence from the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Economic History*, 44 (1984): 308; Herbert S. Klein and Stanley L. Engerman, “Long-Term Trends in African Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade” *Slavery and Abolition*, 18 (1997): 45–46; Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 141–42; Klein, Engerman Haines and Shlomowitz, “Transoceanic Mortality,” 101–102, 109–110.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 2 for the discussion of the main sources of slaves on the Upper Guinea Coast.

<sup>6</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 8: 243 Gonçalo de Sousa 6 Jul. 1633.

<sup>7</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 129–34.



cargoes. It took Manuel Bautista Pérez ten months, from July 1613 to April 1614, to assemble 227 slaves. These were collected fairly consistently throughout the period with only a slight increase in purchases occurring in the last three months before departure.<sup>8</sup> On the second expedition between 1617 and 1618, he similarly spent nearly eleven months acquiring slaves.<sup>9</sup> The Papel, who controlled Cacheu, had the reputation of delaying the delivery of slaves and goods in order to extract more gifts or imports from slave traders. As a result ships might have to wait up to a year to complete their shipments.<sup>10</sup> But these long periods on the coast arose not only from difficulties in assembling a slave cargo, but also because the slave traders were interested in trading other commodities.<sup>11</sup> In the eighteenth century slave traders spent less time on the coast in order to safeguard the health of the crew who quickly succumbed to malaria and other tropical diseases.<sup>12</sup> In fact at that time ships generally anchored at the port of Bissau for only two months.<sup>13</sup> In the seventeenth century tropical fevers may not have been as life threatening, and therefore an obstacle to a long stay on this coast, as they became in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the commercial production of wet rice expanded creating good breeding grounds for mosquitoes.

Little is known of the average time spent by ships collecting slaves in Angola. Tropical fevers were probably not such a significant fac-

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<sup>8</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 153–4, 165–6, 173–4, 179–82 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>9</sup> Accounts only exist of slave acquisitions and accommodation from 4th January 1618, but it is known that Manuel Bautista Pérez arrived in Cacheu on May 8th 1617. By January 4th he had purchased 261 slaves and 76 were being accommodated on board the ship, which departed on 25th March.

<sup>10</sup> Rodney, "Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly," 315; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 146. This was probably not a factor affecting the acquisition of slaves by Manuel Bautista Pérez since the largest batches came from regions outside Papel territory, essentially from among the Banhun at Bichangor, from the Biafada on the Grande River, from the Mandinga and Biafada at Gêba and from the Bijagós.

<sup>11</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 5: 6 Consulta da junta sobre o baptismo dos negros 27 Jun. 1623.

<sup>12</sup> Dutch slave-traders in the early eighteenth century remained on the Guinea coast for seven to eight months (Postma, "Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade," 244), while in the late eighteenth century British slave ships stayed an average of only 71.5 days on the Upper Guinea Coast and 95.2 in Angola (Klein and Engerman, "Slave Mortality on British Ships," 116). They also tried to stay away from the shore as much as possible (Philip D. Curtin, "White Man's Grave": Image and Reality," *Journal of British Studies* 1(1961): 99).

<sup>13</sup> Carreira, *Os Portugêses*, 44.

tor encouraging short stays on the coast as they came to be on the Guinea Coast. The dry coast of northern Angola does not favour the reproduction of the malaria parasite and later accounts suggest that the coast was healthier than that of Senegambia.<sup>14</sup> Probably a more significant factor causing longer stays on the Angolan coast were wars for although they generated slaves for sale they also led to shifting sources of supply and disrupted trade networks.<sup>15</sup> One shipmaster, Captain Baltasar Amat, justified his late arrival in Cartagena in 1615 on the grounds that among others things he had spent fifteen months completing his cargo in Luanda because the supply of slaves had been disrupted by wars and the death of the King of Kongo.<sup>16</sup>

### *Lodging*

Once the slaves had been acquired they were accommodated quite differently in Cacheu and Luanda. In the early years of the European slave trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, the slaves were collected on board ship, but later they were also lodged on land. According to Manuel Bautista Pérez's accounts for 1617 and 1618 some slaves were sent aboard regularly, generally in larger batches than they had been acquired, but others were housed on shore.<sup>17</sup> At the beginning of January 1618 about 30 percent of his slaves were being accommodated on the ship while the rest remained on land. It is not clear on what basis slaves were selected to be sent aboard, but during the three months prior to departure at the end of March no less than eighty three slaves had to be taken off the ship because they were sick, some of *mal de Loanda*, while onshore fifteen died. It is not clear whether those who died were some of those who had been sent

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<sup>14</sup> K. David Patterson, "Disease Ecologies of Sub-Saharan Africa," in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 450; Stephen D. Behrendt, "Crew Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave Trade," *Slavery and Abolition*, 18 (1997): 59–60; Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 141.

<sup>15</sup> Ernst van den Boogaart, and Pieter C. Emmer, "The Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596–1650," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, eds. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 361–62.

<sup>16</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079B part 1 fol. 43v Antonio Fernández de Elvas . . . contra Baltasar Amat 1620.

<sup>17</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 653–655, 677, 681 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618. Altogether 519 slaves were purchased.

ashore and therefore whether this reflected poorer conditions on the ship. In any case it seems that sick slaves were accommodated on land.

On land the slaves were kept in large mud or thatch houses covered with leaves that during the dry season were a considerable fire risk. At these times the roofs were sometimes replaced by sailcloth.<sup>18</sup> Accommodation in Cacheu was said to be expensive with slave traders having to pay 1,000 *cruzados* (1,250 pesos) to rent houses to accommodate their slaves.<sup>19</sup> This might be compared with the 400 *cruzados* (500 pesos) needed to provide food and lodging for a priest and his servant for a year.<sup>20</sup> In 1613 Manuel Bautista Pérez paid 480 *panos* (300 pesos) for the houses in which he stayed, which at that time was equivalent to the value of three slaves.<sup>21</sup> Philip Curtin suggests that the value of an ordinary house in Senegal was usually equivalent to the price of one slave.<sup>22</sup>

According to Alonso de Sandoval slaves were kept on board ship and shackled together with long chains called *corrientes*.<sup>23</sup> Such chains were probably used on land where there were greater opportunities to escape. Manuel Bautista Pérez accounts include the purchase of a number of locks for metal chains (*cadeados de corrente*). In the eighteenth century slaves at Bissau were secured by long chains that were fixed to rings in the wall and linked them together by the feet or waist. Various other types of metal and wooden shackles and fetters were also used.<sup>24</sup> In Luanda slave traders had a ready-made secure location in the form of the Ilha de Luanda where the slaves were often kept in barracoons.<sup>25</sup> It was difficult to escape from the island so these slaves may not have been chained together as they probably were in Cacheu. However, some were probably kept in houses in Luanda and only transferred to the island for final departure.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> George E. Brooks, *Euraficans*, 77. For protection of merchandise against fire it was stored in houses with earthen roofs (Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 149).

<sup>19</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 248 Sebastião Fernandes 20 Apr. 1607.

<sup>20</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 314 Vice-provincial March 1608.

<sup>21</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 68 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>22</sup> Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa*, 238.

<sup>23</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 152.

<sup>24</sup> Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas* (1st ed.), 77.

<sup>25</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 152.

<sup>26</sup> Miller, *Way of Death*, 405–406.

The office of the *factoria* where the slaves were assessed for taxation purposes and dispatched was located on the island.<sup>27</sup> The higher incidence of wounds and sores among Upper Guinea slaves compared to those from Angola, which will be discussed below, may reflect differences in the way the slaves were secured in the two ports.

### *Food*

There were important differences in the types of provisions used to support slaves while in captivity in Upper Guinea and Angola, as there were in the diets of Africans in general on these coasts. These differences stemmed essentially from variations in indigenous agricultural practices and environmental conditions. Although some attention has been paid to the nature of slave diets in captivity, less attention has been paid to differences in the nutritional and health status of Africans prior to enslavement that might have affected their stature and health and hence their ability to survive the gruelling conditions of captivity.<sup>28</sup> An exception is Joseph Miller's research on the Portuguese slave trade that attributes high mortality on the Middle Passage and in Brazil to drought, food shortages and famines in Angola.<sup>29</sup> The evidence presented below for the health of slaves on arrival in Cartagena also reveals that they suffered from many chronic and permanent conditions that would have been present from childhood or reflected working and living afflictions prior to enslavement. Although their health on arrival in Cartagena would have been affected by conditions on the Middle Passage, since in the early seventeenth century slaves were shipped directly to Cartagena from Africa without refreshment in the Caribbean islands, their health on arrival more closely reflected conditions in Africa than at later periods. Therefore in addition to examining the foods fed to slaves, the following account includes an extended discussion of the foods normally

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<sup>27</sup> AGNB Negros y Esclavos Bolívar 15 fol. 271 António Fernandes d'Elvas contra Juan de Santiago 1620.

<sup>28</sup> This is noted in Klein, *Middle Passage*, 235 and Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 246, but it has generally not been investigated directly.

<sup>29</sup> Miller, "Significance of Drought," 28–30; Miller, "Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade," 412, 417–18.

consumed by the inhabitants of both the Upper Guinea Coast and Angola.

### *The Upper Guinea Coast*

Contemporary observations on agricultural production on the Upper Guinea Coast between the Gambia and Grande Rivers indicate that the main staples raised in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were *milho*, rice and beans.<sup>30</sup> Here provisions were raised in such large quantities that already at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was an export trade to Cape Verde, both to supply visiting ships and to support the local population.<sup>31</sup> By the late sixteenth century the Portuguese had established a substantial trade in provisions, including *milho*, rice and sesame, with the Bran and Banhun on the São Domingos River.<sup>32</sup> About 1615 Cacheu was importing about 1,000 *moios* of *milho* and rice annually,<sup>33</sup> much of which came from Bichangor, Buguendo and from the upriver ports of Songo, Jandem and Sarar.<sup>34</sup> *Milho* seems to have remained the dominant crop among the inland Banhun in the seventeenth century, with individual villages producing more than 500 *moios*.<sup>35</sup> Because of the high demand for provisions, prices in Cacheu were often higher than elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> To the south around the Grande River, according to Almada,

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<sup>30</sup> Fernandes, *Description de la côte occidentale*, 46–49, 54–57; Almada, *Tratado breve*, 19, 30, 44, 73, 76, 90, 105, 116, 126; Gamble and Hair, *Discovery of the River Gambia*, 104–105, 162–63; Donelha, *Descrição*, 81; Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 120, 141, 143, 145, 153, 206, 216.

<sup>31</sup> António Correia e Silva, “Espaço, ecologia e economia interna,” in *História geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. 1 eds. Luís de Albuquerque and Maria Emília Madeira Santos (Lisboa: Centro de estudos de história e cartografia antiga, 2001): 276–79. Between March and September 1610 alone four Santiago traders imported 16,000 *alqueires* of *milho* from the São Domingos River (Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão, “Rotas comerciais, agentes económicos, meios de pagamento,” in *História geral de Cabo Verde*. Vol. 2 ed. Maria Emília Madeira Santos (Lisbon: Centro de estudos de história e cartografia antiga, 2001), 36).

<sup>32</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 73, 76, 84.

<sup>33</sup> A *moio* is the equivalent of 60 *alqueires*.

<sup>34</sup> Manuel Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap 5: 4. In Bichangor 300 *moios* were being sold annually, while Cacheu received about 400 *moios* from Buguendo. See also Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 2 vol. 4: 167–68 Baltasar Barreira 1 Aug. 1606.

<sup>35</sup> Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 153.

<sup>36</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 5: 4.

the staples of the Biafada were *milho* and rice that were made into bread balls. These were made twice a day because they had to be eaten hot.<sup>37</sup> The *milho* was referred to as *milho-massaroca*. Some authors have equated *milho massaroca* with maize (*Zea mays* L.), but descriptions of the flour and form of processing as well as linguistic analyses suggest that it was a variety of millet.<sup>38</sup> Manuel Álvares noted the cultivation of *milho branco* and *massaroca* by the Biafada, but suggested they produced little rice.<sup>39</sup> At this time rice was less commonly cultivated by the Balanta, who produced *milho* and *funde* as well as root crops,<sup>40</sup> while the Bijagós produced large quantities of *milho*, *macarra*, *mafafa*,<sup>41</sup> rice, beans and yams.<sup>42</sup>

*Milho* and rice were the most important foods fed to slaves. Although bread (*pão*) and biscuit (*biscoito*) and some flour referred to as *farinha*<sup>43</sup> appear in the account books, these provisions were issued on credit shortly after the ships arrived on the coast rather than acquired prior to departure. This suggests that they were part of the cargo brought from Spain or acquired in Cape Verde for sale on the coast, rather than to support slaves. The provisions for slaves were acquired on the coast. The Portuguese Manueline laws of 1519 governing the slave trade encouraged the establishment of plantations and clearings using slave labour in order to provide food for the slaves.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 105.

<sup>38</sup> António Carreira and A. Teixeira da Mota, "O milho zaburro e o milho maçaroca na Guiné e ilhas de Cabo Verde," *Revista de história económica e social* no. 17 (1986): 5–19. For the debate on the introduction of maize see: Roland Portères, "L'introduction du maïs en Afrique," *Journal d'agriculture tropicale et de botanique appliquée*, vol. 2 (10–11) (1955): 477–510; Frank Willett, "The Introduction of Maize into West Africa: An Assessment of Recent Evidence," *Africa*, 32 (1962): 1–13; Marvin P. Miracle, "Interpretation of Evidence on the Introduction of Maize into West Africa," *Africa*, 33 (1963): 132–35; M.D.W. Jeffreys, "How Ancient is West African Maize?," *Africa* 33 (1965): 115–31.

<sup>39</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 13: 4.

<sup>40</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 81; Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 12: 1. There was, however, an expansion of paddy rice cultivation from the mid-seventeenth century, partly due to the greater availability of iron for the manufacture of appropriate tools (Walter Hawthorne, "Nourishing a Stateless Society During the Slave Trade: The Rise of Balanta Paddy-Rice Production in Guinea-Bissau," *Journal of African History* 42 (2001), 13–14, 19).

<sup>41</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 90 refers to Ma[n]car[r]a. This is later called mafafa by Coelho and described as like an onion which when cooked with beans was served as a common foodstuff (Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 184).

<sup>42</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 9: 1

<sup>43</sup> Most likely this was flour made from European cereals rather than manioc.

<sup>44</sup> Correia Lopes, *A escravatura*, 40–41.

However, on the Upper Guinea Coast access to land was based on the land use rather than ownership, so that Portuguese residents or *lançados* were unable to acquire land and therefore had to rely on native producers for their supplies.<sup>45</sup> Native leaders later expanded the commercial production of provisions employing slaves to work the land in the rainy season prior to being sold to slave traders.<sup>46</sup> However, there is little evidence for this form of production in the early seventeenth century. Some provisions were bought in the local market, but most were purchased from Portuguese middlemen. In many cases they were acquired as payment for goods they had received on credit. Manuel Bautista Pérez acquired about 3,700 *alqueires*<sup>47</sup> of provisions from twenty named and a few other unnamed persons. The major supplier was Nicolau Rodrigues who on the 1613 to 1614 slaving venture supplied him with over 56 percent of the *milho* and 80 percent of the rice he acquired. Many of those supplying provisions, including Nicolau Rodrigues who was based in Buguendo, were also involved in trading slaves.<sup>48</sup> Other traders acquired provisions from Bichangor and the Bijagós.<sup>49</sup>

Of the 3,700 *alqueires* of provisions acquired by Manuel Bautista Pérez between June 1613 and March 1614 about two-thirds were expended on supporting slaves (Table 3.1). *Milho* accounted for 85 percent of the total provisions traded and 88 percent of those used to support slaves.<sup>50</sup> There was, however, a clear timing in the acquisition of different foodstuffs that reflected the agricultural calendar and hence the availability and price of different cereals. The price of an *alqueire* of *milho* was generally one *pano*,<sup>51</sup> but in seasons of shortage such as June and July it reached 3 *panos*. During the period

<sup>45</sup> Brooks, *Eurafricans*, 50.

<sup>46</sup> Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 107–108, 117–18; Postma, “Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade,” 238; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 265; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 170.

<sup>47</sup> An *alqueire* was a dry measure of 13.80 liters or about 25 lbs.

<sup>48</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 169–170 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618. Another supplier of foodstuffs who also traded in slaves was Jorge Fernandes Gramaxo [p. 151].

<sup>49</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 89 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618; Almada, *Tratado breve*, 90, 92; Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 184.

<sup>50</sup> The breakdown of provisions acquired for slaves was: *milho* 88.1 percent, cous-cous 5.4, rice and beans 1.8 percent each, *funde* 1.0 percent and unspecified provisions 1.9 percent.

<sup>51</sup> See also Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap 5: 4.

Table 3.1. Purchases of Slaves and Provisions on the Upper Guinea Coast 1613 to 1614

	<i>Milho</i> <i>alqueires</i>	Rice <i>alqueires</i>	Couscous <i>alqueires</i>	<i>Funde</i> <i>alqueires</i>	Beans <i>alqueires</i>	General provisions	Total	Slaves purchased	Cumulative total of slaves purchased
1613									
June	20						20	2	2
July	110		96		53		259	15	17
August			11				11	32	49
September			44				44	16	65
October				21			21	16	81
November		148	22.5				170.5	2	83
December	223	60					283		
Unspecified month 1613	75			26		47	148		
1614									
January	533	15					548	5	88
February	438						438	56	144
March	249						249	44	188
April	1500						1500	39	227
Unspecified month 1614	3148	223	173.5	47	53	47	3691.5	227	227
Total	2208	44	135.5	26	44	47	2504.5		
Total expended on slaves	85.28	6.04	4.70	1.27	1.44	1.27	100		
Percentage of total provisions purchased	88.16	1.76	5.41	1.04	1.76	1.88	100		
Percentage of total provisions expended on slaves									

Source: AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

These figures are the amounts of provisions acquired, which include those used to support slaves that are listed separately (pp. 151–52). It excludes 346 *alqueires* of provisions that were acquired and sold on to third parties.



from June to December when *milho* was in short supply, couscous, beans and *funde* dominated, while rice made its appearance in November slightly earlier than *milho*.<sup>52</sup> During this period it seems that Pérez resorted to fairs to acquire provisions and also imported some couscous from Cape Verde. Apart from the increase in purchases prior to departure, these acquisitions clearly reflected seasonal availability with the *milho* harvest occurring in November.<sup>53</sup>

Philip Curtin has estimated that slaves required one kilogram of millet a day.<sup>54</sup> This approximates the amount purchased by Manuel Bautista Pérez in 1613 to 1614. The 2,208 *alqueires* of *milho* acquired for slaves would have represented about 25,082 kilograms. Taking account of the dates on which the slaves were purchased 20,288 daily rations were needed, so this amount would have provided a daily ration of about one kilogram and it does not include other cereals or foods that were purchased.<sup>55</sup> However, it includes the provisions acquired for the transatlantic journey. For an average journey of between 35 and 40 days,<sup>56</sup> this would have added about 40 percent to the amount of food required.<sup>57</sup> That said further provisions would have been loaded in Cape Verde.

*Milho* was by far the most important staple purchased by slave traders,<sup>58</sup> and to a large extent this reflected its local availability. The relatively small amount of rice purchased is perhaps surprising. By the eighteenth century rice dominated among the cereals used to support slaves.<sup>59</sup> In the seventeenth century the price of rice compared favourably with other cereals. One *alqueire* of rice generally cost one *pano*, while one *alqueire* of *milho* varied between 1 and 3 *panos* and an *alqueire* of couscous was about 2 *panos*. Since rice was

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<sup>52</sup> Rice was generally planted in April and May and harvested in September and October at the end of the rainy season (Behrendt, "Markets," 181).

<sup>53</sup> P.E.H. Hair, Adam Jones and Robin Law eds. *Barbot on Guinea: The Writing of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1678–1712* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1992), vol. 1: 109.

<sup>54</sup> Curtin, *Economic Change*, 169.

<sup>55</sup> This does not take account of the 12 who died or those who were loaned out, who would have accounted for 1,720 daily rations.

<sup>56</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 148 n. 69.

<sup>57</sup> This is based on 215 slaves that were eventually dispatched on this journey

<sup>58</sup> See also Almada, *Tratado breve*, 73, 76.

<sup>59</sup> See Carreira, *Companhias pombalinas* (1st ed.), 167–170 for the provisions loaded on three vessels dispatched from Bissau and Cacheu in the mid-1770s. Interestingly *milho* was not listed in any of the three, while yams figured as the next most important staple.

generally cheaper, it suggests that *milho* was preferred, perhaps because it could be prepared in a variety of forms or because of its reputation as a better food; it contains more protein and fat than rice. It is interesting that rice featured less significantly among the provisions fed to slaves than the proportion of the total amount of cereals traded, again suggesting a preference for *milho* as a slave food. In the early sixteenth century the provisions exported to Cape Verde similarly included less than 10 percent rice,<sup>60</sup> while the recommended provisions for slaves that were being transported to the Iberian peninsula in the early sixteenth century were in the ratio of 8 *milho* to one rice.<sup>61</sup> Although rice production was well established when the Portuguese arrived, especially on the Gambia River and coastal regions inhabited by the Bran and Folupo,<sup>62</sup> its cultivation only expanded significantly in the mid-seventeenth century in response to the demand for provisions and the greater availability of iron tools to facilitate its cultivation.<sup>63</sup> It is possible therefore that rice was being imported from the Nunez River and Serra Leoa where it was regarded as the staple food.<sup>64</sup>

In the New World couscous was generally made from maize, but the couscous referred to in the Manuel Bautista Pérez's accounts is likely to have been made from *milho* rather than maize (*maíz*).<sup>65</sup> *Maíz* is not mentioned in his accounts covering Upper Guinea, but the same accounts consistently refer to *maíz* as one of the main items purchased for the maintenance of slaves on the American stretch of the journey. Contemporary observers in Upper Guinea refer to maize infrequently. It has been suggested that the term *milho zaburro* was used to refer to maize, but others have disputed this, in any case this term does not appear very often in early seventeenth-century

<sup>60</sup> Correia e Silva, "Espaço," 265–267.

<sup>61</sup> Sixty slaves were supposed to be given four *moios* of *milho*, ten quintals of biscuit, ten *alqueires* of rice and ten *pipas* of water for the journey to the Iberian peninsula in 1527 (Correia e Silva, "Espaço," 298).

<sup>62</sup> G.R. Crone ed. *The Voyages of Cadamosto*. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1937), 70; Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, ed. George H.T. Kimble (London: Hakluyt Society, 1937), 91; Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 21.

<sup>63</sup> Hawthorne, "Nourishing a Stateless Society," 10 and *Planting Rice*, 35–39; Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2001), 13–22.

<sup>64</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 115, 126; Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 216; Donelha, *Descrição*, 81.

<sup>65</sup> For a description of how to make couscous from *milho* see Hair, *Barbot on Guinea* vol. 1: 122–23.

sources.<sup>66</sup> The 1613 accounts also show that 47 *alqueires* of *funde* (fonio) (*Digitaria exilis* (Kippist) Stapf) were purchased. This cereal is called 'hungry rice' because although it is a millet it tastes like rice and, since it is drought-resistant, it is a useful standby when other crops fail.<sup>67</sup> It was commonly cultivated on the Upper Guinea Coast.<sup>68</sup>

Apart from cultivating cereals, the Banhun and Bran raised cattle, goats and chickens, and were also skilled fishermen to the extent that fish were very cheap.<sup>69</sup> Stock raising was more prevalent among groups to the north, where although plenty of fish was available they preferred meat.<sup>70</sup> Cacheu was described as well supplied with all kinds of provisions including fish and meat.<sup>71</sup> Diets on the Upper Guinea Coast may have been reasonably well balanced with meat and fish occasionally supplementing the main staples of *milho* and rice. However, they often preferred to trade meat and fish rather than consume it.<sup>72</sup> Fish was often dried and traded inland,<sup>73</sup> while in the Cape Verde islands in large quantities of turtles were salted.<sup>74</sup> There was an active trade in salt from Sierra Leone,<sup>75</sup> which among other things was used for salting fish,<sup>76</sup> while on the Gambia River chickens were preserved for sale to the Portuguese.<sup>77</sup> On the 1617–1618 expedition Manuel Bautista Pérez purchased a few barrels of sardines and *bacalhao*, as well as some cattle, probably for consumption

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<sup>66</sup> See the references in footnote 38 for the debate on the antiquity of maize on the West African coast.

<sup>67</sup> De Wet. J.M.J., "Millets," in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Conèe Ornelas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) vol. 1: 116; J. Pablo Morales-Payán, J. Richard Ortiz, Julio Cícero and Francisco Taveras "Digitaria exilis as a Crop in the Dominican Republic". Supplement to *Trends in New Crops and New Uses*, eds. J. Janick and A. Whipkey (ASHS Press, 2002), S1–S2.

<sup>68</sup> Álvares *Etiópia menor*, chap. 3: 12, chap. 11: 1, chap. 13: 4; Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 277 *Relação das coisas da Guiné* May 1607; Donelha, *Descrição*, 81.

<sup>69</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 79; Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 7: 1, chap. 8: 1; Guerreiro, *Relação annual*, vol. 1: 405.

<sup>70</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap. 6: 5; Hair, *Barbot on Guinea*, vol. 1: 71–72.

<sup>71</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* 2nd Ser, vol. 4: 2–3 Lopo Soares de Albergaria ca. 1600.

<sup>72</sup> Jobson, *Discovery of the River Gambia*, 105.

<sup>73</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 214; Coelho, *Duas descrições*, 99–100, 110, 145.

<sup>74</sup> Crone, *Voyages of Cadamosto*, 65.

<sup>75</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 128.

<sup>76</sup> Jobson, *Discovery of the River Gambia*, 232.

<sup>77</sup> Jobson, *Discovery of the River Gambia*, 105.

on the journey. Compared to Angolan slaves, those drawn from the Upper Guinea Coast had a more balanced diet before captivity, which was reflected in their stature and robustness. However, the foods they were fed while awaiting transshipment and during the Middle Passage were more limited in quality and quantity, so that, as will be shown, they often arrived in the New World in poor health.

### *Angola*

During the early seventeenth century the Portuguese slave trade focussed on the region immediately to the east of Luanda.<sup>78</sup> Although a new slave-trading colony was established at Benguela in 1615, in the early seventeenth century most slaves were exported via Luanda. The rainfall in the hinterland of Luanda between the Kwanza and Dande Rivers is moderate though it varies from east to west; the coast is notably drier with about 900mm of rain a year and it rises inland to about 1,400mm in the west near the Kwango River.<sup>79</sup> The rainfall is also highly seasonal, being heaviest in February and March, and then light and irregular from September or October to December. This relatively low and highly variable rainfall meant that droughts, to which millet and sorghum production were particularly sensitive, were common. Severe droughts lasting several years occurred about every generation leading not only to famines, but also to conflict that fuelled the slave trade.<sup>80</sup> There was a prolonged period of drought in the late sixteenth century and a period of severe aridity between 1615 and 1620.<sup>81</sup> The overall shortage and irregular nature of food supplies on the coast meant that provisions to support the slave trade had to be imported, either from Brazil or from the interior where the rainfall was higher and agriculture more productive. As a consequence provisions were expensive.<sup>82</sup> In 1622 it was estimated that

<sup>78</sup> Miller, *Way of Death*, 148; Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 78–80.

<sup>79</sup> Joseph C. Miller, *Kings and Kingsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976), 35.

<sup>80</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 134; Joseph C. Miller, “The Paradoxes of Impoverishment in the Atlantic Zone”, in *History of Central Africa* vol. 1, eds. David Birmingham and Phyllis M. Martin (Longman, London, 1983), 140–41; Miller, “Significance of Drought,” 20, 28–29.

<sup>81</sup> Miller, “Significance of Drought,” 21, 24, 40–43.

<sup>82</sup> Boogaart and Emmer, “Dutch Participation,” 364–65; Behrendt, “Markets,” 184.

the average cost of food to support a slave prior to embarkation in Angola and Kongo was sixty reals compared to only twenty-five reals in Upper Guinea.<sup>83</sup>

In the 1560s the Ndongo region was described as fertile and densely settled. The main crops cultivated were “many kinds of *milho* and *fegones*, calabashes, yams; other roots called *tanbas*,<sup>84</sup> which are like radishes”. The inhabitants also had a few bananas and many palm trees.<sup>85</sup> In addition they reared many chickens, as well as some goats and sheep, although they were all expensive.<sup>86</sup> They also supplemented their diets with game, fish and gathered foods. Early observers converged in their views that the main foods consumed were *milho* and beans.<sup>87</sup> Today, however, manioc and maize are the major staples north of the Kwanza River,<sup>88</sup> and it is generally accepted that both crops were introduced from the Americas.<sup>89</sup> Manioc, which was almost certainly introduced from Brazil, has the advantages that it can be cultivated on soils of very low fertility and is drought and pest resistant. In addition it can be stored easily by being left in the ground and harvested when other crops fail.<sup>90</sup> There is more controversy over the introduction of maize. The Portuguese or other Europeans probably introduced it to West Central Africa, though it may also have arrived in West Africa by an overland via the

<sup>83</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 N172/2 Tribunal de cuentas 27 Jun. 1622.

<sup>84</sup> João António Cavazzi de Montecúcolo, *Descrição histórica dos três reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola* vol. 1 (Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1965), 57. These roots were possibly *Coleus dazo* A. Chev. and Perrot) and like other roots, such as yams, were reduced to a consistency where they could be mixed with sorghum or *milho* to make balls or other foods.

<sup>85</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 2: 510 António Mendes 9 May 1563.

<sup>86</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 135–36 Garcia Simões 20 Oct. 1575, vol. 3: 249 Baltasar Afonso 3 Oct. 1583, vol. 3: 320 Diogo da Costa 20 Jul. 1585, vol. 6: 460 Garcia Mendes Castelo Branco 1620; Miller, *Kings and Kingsmen*, 35–36.

<sup>87</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 135–36 Garcia Simões 20 Oct. 1575, vol. 3: 249 Baltasar Afonso 3 Oct. 1583, vol. 3: 317 Diogo da Costa 28 Jul. 1585, vol. 6: 336 Baltasar Rebelo de Aragão 1618, vol. 6: 460 Garcia Mendes Castelo Branco 1620.

<sup>88</sup> Bruce F. Johnston, *The Staple Food Economies of Western Tropical Africa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), 76, 78, 84–87.

<sup>89</sup> For brief overviews of the introduction of these crops see: Johnston, *Staple Food Economies*, 174–181; William O. Jones, *Manioc in Africa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 60–69.

<sup>90</sup> Johnston, *Staple Food Economies*, 106–109; Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 15–28.

Mediterranean and Egypt.<sup>91</sup> There is little difference in the nutritional value of the cereal crops, but they do have different ecological requirements. Sorghum generally replaces millet as a dry land crop where the rainfall exceeds 600mm, while maize is generally preferred where rainfall is over 1,200mm.<sup>92</sup> Maize has the advantage over sorghum that it can produce two or more crops a year.<sup>93</sup> While manioc is better adapted to rain forest environments, in recent years its better storage qualities, its resistance to pests and its tolerance of poor soils have favoured its expansion at the expense of maize.<sup>94</sup>

In attempting to reconstruct the diet of Angolans in the early seventeenth century, the question arises as to what extent maize or manioc had become established in the region. Apart from the advantages that these crops possess, their early adoption was encouraged by the initial receptiveness of the Kongolese to Portuguese culture.<sup>95</sup> Maize may have spread more rapidly because it could be fitted into the existing agricultural system more easily. The adoption of manioc, at least to make coarse flour known as *farinha*, would have required knowledge of the complex method of processing needed to remove its poisonous juices.<sup>96</sup>

The evidence from Angola for the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is fragmentary. In the late sixteenth century the trader Duarte Lopes writing on the Kongo distinguished *milho branco*, which was indigenous and was probably millet (*Pennisetum glaucum* [L.] R. Br.), from *maís*, which was called massa Mamputo.<sup>97</sup> However, he indicated that maize was not esteemed and was fed to pigs. In 1575 Garcia Simões described the main provisions in Luanda as beans

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<sup>91</sup> For the debate on the introduction of maize see the references above in footnote 38.

<sup>92</sup> De Wet, "Millets," 114.

<sup>93</sup> Johnston, *Staple Food Economies*, 175.

<sup>94</sup> Johnston, *Staple Food Economies*, 175, 178.

<sup>95</sup> Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 60–61; Johnston, *Staple Food Economies*, 176.

<sup>96</sup> Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 30.

<sup>97</sup> Filippi Pigafetta and Eduarte Lopes, *Relação do reino do Congo e das terras circunvizinhas* (Publicações Alfa, Lisbon, 1965), 61. The text reads "There is milho branco called 'massa do Congo', that is the grain of Kongo; and maize, which is the most worthless and fed to pigs; and also rice, which is also held in little esteem, and the maize they call 'massa Mamputo' that is Portuguese grain." Duarte Lopes was a trader in Kongo for 5 years from 1578 and he returned to Europe and gave his account to Filippo Pigafetta (Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 2).

and *milho grosso*. In the seventeenth century the latter was also called *milho zaburro*, a term that has often been interpreted to mean maize. However, Garcia Simões likened the cereal to dried coriander seeds, which suggests that it was probably sorghum rather than maize. The term *grosso* was probably used to distinguish it from millet whose seeds are about one-third of the size of sorghum. The early date of this observation also suggests it was not maize, as do the dry conditions on the coast which would not have favoured its cultivation. When maize cultivation was developed it would have taken place in the more humid interior, but at this time this region had not been conquered and settled.

By the mid-seventeenth century maize appears to have been more widespread. In 1620 Garcia Mendes Castelo Branco distinguished “*masa grossa* which is like *milho zaburro* and *milho* like ours which is better, which makes good bread.”<sup>98</sup> This suggests that *milho zaburro* was indigenous, but that there was another ‘milho’, which was probably maize. In the mid-seventeenth century captain António de Olivera de Cadornega recorded that *milho miúdo* and *grosso* were being cultivated in on the banks of the Kwanza River and its tributaries and were the principal foods of both the local people and whites, who looked down on “*farinha de pão ou de mandioca*”.<sup>99</sup> He noted that *milho miúdo* was different from that in Portugal and he described *milho grosso* as being known in Portugal as *milho zaburro*.<sup>100</sup> His description of *milho miúdo* producing dense bunches of seeds on tall stems suggests that he was describing millet or sorghum and that, unlike Castelo Branco, he was using the term *milho grosso* or *zaburro* to refer to maize. Certainly maize was being widely cultivated at that time for the Capuchin Father João António Cavazzi suggested that *massama-Mputo*, or the cereal from Portugal, that is maize, was the most common.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 460 Garcia Mendes Castelo Branco 1620.

<sup>99</sup> António de Oliveira de Cadornega, *História geral das guerras Angolanas* (Lisboa: Divisão de publicações e biblioteca, Agência geral das colónias, 1942), vol. 3: 135. Captain António de Oliveira de Cadornega arrived in Angola with Governor Pedro César de Meneses in 1639. He remained in the region until his death in 1690, publishing his history of the Angolan wars in 1680 and 1681 (See Cadornega, *História geral*, vol. 1: 8–10).

<sup>100</sup> Cadornega, *História geral*, vol. 3: 45, 53.

<sup>101</sup> Cavazzi de Montecúcolo, *Descrição histórica*, 37.

The cultivation of manioc probably spread more slowly. The first reference to what appears to be manioc dates from the 1570s when Father Baltasar Afonso wrote that people living on a bar at the mouth of the Kwanza were cultivating “raizes de tabua de Portugal”, which were eaten raw, roasted and dried in the sun, and after being ground were made into *farinha*.<sup>102</sup> However, there are few references to the cultivation of manioc. Sir Richard Hawkins’s voyage in 1593 encountered a Portuguese ship sailing for Angola to acquire slaves that had been loaded in Brazil with “. . . meale of cassavi, which the Portingals call Farina de Paw,” which was to be used to support the crew and slaves on the return journey, as well as to sell in Angola, suggesting that there it was in short supply.<sup>103</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century Angola was still dependent on the importation of *farinha de guerra* from Brazil. Olfert Dapper dates the commercial cultivation and processing of manioc in the hinterland of Luanda to 1629 and 1630 when the governor, Fernão de Souza, distributed lands to those who had taken part in the conquest of the region, exhorting them to develop agricultural production and assigning them lands according to the number of slaves they possessed.<sup>104</sup>

Whether or not the introduction of manioc occurred earlier, it is clear that the extension of Portuguese control to the east of Luanda and the expansion of the slave trade created a market for provisions in Luanda that stimulated the establishment of plantations, particularly inland where the rainfall was higher. The main areas of production were the lower Bengo and Dande Rivers, as well as along the Lukala and the Kwanza River at Massangano.<sup>105</sup> The Bengo region was noted for the production of manioc, where in the 1660s it was described as the main staple.<sup>106</sup> At the same time, the province of Musseque, near Massangano, was producing *farinha de mandioca* for the local garrison and supplying Luanda with 35,000 to 40,000 bags

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<sup>102</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 1 vol. 3: 181–82 Baltasar Afonso 14 Jan. 1579.

<sup>103</sup> C.R. Drinkwater Bethune, ed. *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knt.* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1847), 95.

<sup>104</sup> Ogilby, *Africa*, vol. 2: 555–57. See also Cadornega, *História geral*, vol. 1: 40, vol. 3: 136n; Mario José Maestri Filho, *A agricultura africana nos séculos XVI e XVII no litoral angolano* (Porto Alegre: Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1978), 45–46.

<sup>105</sup> Miller, *Way of Death*, 251.

<sup>106</sup> Cavazzi de Montecúcolo, *Descrição histórica*, vol. 1: 31; Maestri Filho, Mario José, *Agricultura africana*, 88.



a year.<sup>107</sup> The production of *farinha* involved the construction of large sheds for drying the grated manioc that were a hundred feet long by thirty or forty feet wide and were fitted with over twenty furnaces. Even a small holder would employ fifty to sixty slaves in the production of *farinha*, while slaves awaiting transport to the New World were often employed to plant or cut the manioc.<sup>108</sup> While the Portuguese depended on provisions produced in these plantations, the adoption of both manioc and maize by the local African population is less certain. In 1682 the Capuchin missionary Jerome Merolla da Sorrento visiting Portuguese stations further north at the mouth of the Kongo River noted that manioc was “more used by the Portuguese than Blacks”.<sup>109</sup>

If Africans had adopted manioc then it seems likely that it was first prepared in the same way as yams that is simply by peeling, slicing and boiling.<sup>110</sup> The more complex process of producing flour was later adopted in some parts of West Central Africa, but the production of manioc meal has never become common in Angola; most is still made into a paste made directly from the fresh roots.<sup>111</sup> This process was noted in the late 1660s when the inhabitants of Luanda were said to pound the manioc to produce a paste and then make it into cakes that were wrapped in a leaf and steamed or boiled.<sup>112</sup> In the 1680s Jerome Merolla also noted it was not made into bread, but was eaten raw or softened in broth.<sup>113</sup> This process may have been African in origin and was probably used for crops other than manioc, such as plantains or yams. However, about the same time Cavazzi noted that both the rich and poor also made manioc flour into gruel, which expanded more than European flour.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Cavazzi de Montecúcolo, *Descrição histórica*, vol. 1: 32. It was also known as *farinha da guerra*.

<sup>108</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, vol. 2: 557, 562.

<sup>109</sup> Jerom Merolla da Sorrento, “A Voyage to Congo and several other countries chiefly in southern Africk,” in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. A. Churchill (London, 1752), vol. 1: 563.

<sup>110</sup> Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 63, 103.

<sup>111</sup> Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 102.

<sup>112</sup> Michael Angelo of Gattina and Denis de Carli of Piacenza, “A Curious and Exact Account of a Voyage to Congo in the years 1666 and 1667,” *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. In A. Churchill (London, 1752), 491; Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 108.

<sup>113</sup> Merolla da Sorrento, “Voyage to Congo,” vol. 1: 563.

<sup>114</sup> Cavazzi de Montecúcolo, *Descrição histórica*, vol. 1: 56.

Yams and manioc are both low in protein, but manioc more so than yams (See Appendix D).<sup>115</sup> Also, manioc is very low in thiamine (vitamin B<sub>1</sub>) and riboflavin (vitamin B<sub>2</sub>). Manioc is, however, rich in vitamin C, though most of this is lost when it is processed to make flour or meal. However, the leaves are rich in vitamin A and C and they may have been used as 'spinach' as they are today.<sup>116</sup> Yams consist mainly of carbohydrate, but they contain more protein than many root crops and are a good source of iron and vitamins C and B<sub>2</sub>.<sup>117</sup> Yams are distinctly better food than manioc, particularly with respect to protein. It seems that manioc was probably adopted in Angola not because of its greater nutritional value, but because it provided greater food security, and possibly because of the greater commercial value placed upon it by the Portuguese. The cereals would have contained more protein than the root crops, but there appears to be little difference between millet, sorghum and maize in terms of their nutrient composition.<sup>118</sup> As such the adoption of maize probably owed more to the fact that it could be cropped more than once a year.<sup>119</sup>

The basic diet of Angolans in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries prior to captivity was therefore *milho*, beans, and roots crops such as yams. The flour from cereals was used to make a porridge or made into paste, called *infunde*, from which they formed balls which were cooked to form a kind of unleavened bread, whereas roots were pounded to produce a mash that was roasted or boiled in a leaf.<sup>120</sup> To these might be added palm oil and occasionally some meat, fish or vegetables. Palm trees were abundant throughout the region,<sup>121</sup> but vegetables were in short supply on the dry coast. As noted above meat was expensive and had to be brought in from the interior. However accounts of the Kwanza Valley suggest that fish

<sup>115</sup> Johnston, *Staple Food Economies*, 160–162; Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 6–10.

<sup>116</sup> Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 10, 109–11.

<sup>117</sup> D.G. Coursey, *Yams* (London: Longmans, 1967), 154–69.

<sup>118</sup> Johnston, *Staple Food Economies*, 160, 165.

<sup>119</sup> Johnston, *Staple Food Economies*, 175.

<sup>120</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 135–36 Garcia Simões 20 Oct. 1575, vol. 3: 349 Anon. 15 Dec. 1587; Angelo and Carli, "A Curious and Exact Account of a Voyage to Congo," vol. 1: 491; Merolla da Sorrento, *Voyage to Congo*, 563.

<sup>121</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 337 Diogo da Costa 31 May 1585, vol. 6: 460 Garcia Mendes Castelo Branco 1620; Cadornega, *História geral*, vol. 3: 40.

were particularly abundant,<sup>122</sup> while on the coast the inhabitants were said to live on little else but smoked fish and wine from millet bran.<sup>123</sup> Angolan slaves testified to the Jesuit, Alonso de Sandoval in Cartagena, that there was a shortage of provisions on the coast, but inland there was maize, *milho* and some beans.<sup>124</sup> Even though *milho* and beans may have been the dominant staples, some may have consumed manioc in the form of *farinha*, particularly in Luanda that depended on imported provisions and on the recently established manioc plantations. In captivity slaves were probably fed a less balanced diet of porridge made of *milho* or manioc flour, supplemented by palm oil and by salted fish, which were abundant on the Ilha de Loanda and were widely used as slave provisions.<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, it was said that in the coastal slave sheds slave traders tried to fortify their slaves after they had weakened on the journey to the coast, by giving them food, drink and palm oil for their skin.<sup>126</sup>

Palm oil would also have been an important dietary supplement, since it would not only have added some carbohydrate to the diet, but facilitated the transport of vitamins A, D and E.<sup>127</sup> Vitamin D is essential for the absorption of calcium and phosphorus by bones and teeth.<sup>128</sup> The small stature of Angolan slaves, indicative of poor nutritional status, was probably related not so much to a chronic imbalance in the nature of the foods available, but to their unreliability. Periods of drought would have destroyed cereals leaving the population to depend on nutrient-deficient root crops and little else. Severe food shortages were often accompanied by disease as malnourished individuals fell victim to infections. Hence in 1626 Governor Fernão de Sousa reported that 4,000 were sick or dying due to small-

<sup>122</sup> Cadornega, *História geral*, vol. 3: 40, 43–44.

<sup>123</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 172 Baltasar Afonso 25 Aug. 1578.

<sup>124</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 134. According to Sandoval the *milho* was called *mazafioli* and *mazamambala*, and the maize *mazamamputo*.

<sup>125</sup> Luis António de Oliveira Mendes, *Memória a respeito dos escravos e tráfico da escravatura entre a costa d'Africa e o Brazil*, ed. José Capela (Porto: Escorpião, 1977), 47.

<sup>126</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, vol. 2: 562.

<sup>127</sup> K.G. Berger and S.M. Martin, "Palm Oil," in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Conèe Ornelas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), vol. 1: 407.

<sup>128</sup> P.M. Gaman and K.B. Sherrington, *The Science of Food*, 4th edn. (Pergamon: Oxford, 1996), 122.

pox and shortages of food.<sup>129</sup> These periods of drought would have affected normal growth rates and resulted in poor nutrition. For these reasons Angola slaves were generally of lower stature and were said to be more prone to sickness and death than other African slaves.<sup>130</sup>

### *Health and Mortality*

During their captivity in Africa slaves suffered from a number of diseases and their health deteriorated as a result of poor food and the conditions in which they were kept. Some of the health problems they faced reflected environmental conditions that affected all Africans, whether in captivity or not, but others were clearly related to the squalid and crowded living conditions in which they were kept, as well as their poor diet. Other ailments derived directly from their captivity. These included wounds inflicted during capture or by chains and shackles that failed to heal.

The African coasts gained a reputation for being unhealthy for Europeans, largely because of the prevalence of tropical fevers,<sup>131</sup> but these and river blindness were found only in certain environments. The Upper Guinea Coast was later regarded as being unhealthy, but except for isolated pockets this does not appear to have been the case in the seventeenth century.<sup>132</sup> The Gambia River was described as somewhat unhealthy because it was covered with very tall trees that impeded the wind and resulted in the presence of many mosquitoes.<sup>133</sup> Some also regarded Cacheu as unhealthy because

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<sup>129</sup> Beatrix Heintze, *Fontes para a história de Angola do século XVII*. Studien zur Kulturkunde 75 (Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, 1985), 253 Relação de Fernão de Sousa, no date [1625–1639].

<sup>130</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 141; Miller, "Significance of Drought," 30.

<sup>131</sup> Curtin, "White Man's Grave," 95; Behrendt, "Crew Mortality," 59–60; Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 141.

<sup>132</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 2–3 Lopo Soares de Albergaria ca. 1600, vol. 4: 170 Baltasar Barreira 1 Aug. 1606. The Jesuit, Sebastião Gomes, claimed the climate of Cape Verde was bad for the health of Europeans. However, he may have been using it to bolster his argument for abandoning Jesuit activities there in favour of Ormuz in India or Havana where he thought they might make more converts (Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 5: 325, 328 Sebastião Gomes 1637).

<sup>133</sup> Almada, *Tratado breve*, 58.

it was swampy and surrounded by water for its defence.<sup>134</sup> However, given the significant Portuguese presence on the coast, there are surprisingly few references to fevers or to Europeans falling sick, and there is no mention of malaria or sleeping sickness (*Trypanosomiasis*).<sup>135</sup> It contrasts with the early experience of the English on the coast of Benin where from an early date they confined their visits to the dry season in order to reduce the risk of fever.<sup>136</sup> Most likely the incidence of malaria on the Upper Guinea Coast expanded with the development of wet rice cultivation that created stagnant pools for breeding mosquitoes. As will be noted below, slaves arriving in Cartagena from Upper Guinea did not commonly suffer from fevers, which in any case could have been associated with other diseases, such as gastrointestinal infections.

Similarly the dry coast of northern Angola was probably largely free of malaria.<sup>137</sup> In the sixteenth century Luanda was described as healthy and enjoying fresh air, though it was noted that some interior regions, particularly along banks of the River Kwanza where there were lakes and swamps, were unhealthy.<sup>138</sup> Although many soldiers on sixteenth-century expeditions fell sick most likely this was when they penetrated inland where the climate is more humid.<sup>139</sup> Sickness was particularly prevalent during the rainy season from November to April.<sup>140</sup> Since the coast of Angola where the slaves were lodged prior to transshipment would have been relatively healthy, the incidence of fevers among Angolan slaves arriving in Cartagena was probably related to infections other than malaria.

African slaves commonly suffered from impaired vision. Although impaired vision can be associated with a large range of diseases, it

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<sup>134</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 170 Baltasar Barreira 1 Aug. 1606; AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 2 fol. 35 Antonio Fernández de Elvas . . . con Jorge Morales 1617.

<sup>135</sup> Carreira, *Os Portugêses*, 20.

<sup>136</sup> A.F.C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans 1485–1897* (London: Longmans, 1969), 81–84.

<sup>137</sup> K. David Patterson, "Disease Ecologies," 450; Stephen D. Behrendt, "Crew Mortality," 58–60; Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 141.

<sup>138</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser.1 vol. 3: 182, Baltasar Afonso 14 Jan. 1579 and vol. 4: 547 Pero Rodrigues [1 May 1594].

<sup>139</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 4: 565 Pero Rodrigues [1 May 1594]. Between 1575 and 1584 the Portuguese lost all but 300 of 2,000 soldiers that were sent to Angola.

<sup>140</sup> Ratelband, *Os holandeses*, 148.

is possible that some were associated with river blindness, which is caused by the roundworm *Onchocerciasis volvulus* whose vector, the blackfly, reproduces in swiftly flowing rivers.<sup>141</sup> The distribution of the disease is patchy but it appears to have been particularly prevalent south of the Sahara from Senegal to Sudan and not extensive in Angola.<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless, one seventeenth-century account noted that there was an unnamed disease in Angola that caused impaired vision.<sup>143</sup> It is interesting that health inspections of slaves landed at Cartagena, which will be discussed in the following chapter, reveal a higher incidence of impaired vision on slaves from Upper Guinea.

A major health hazard in the barracoons was smallpox. Smallpox was quite common in Angola, where it was noted that often people died of the disease because they did not know how to treat it.<sup>144</sup> Crowded conditions in the barracoons and ships where the slaves were housed would have encouraged its spread. Manuel Bautista Pérez lost a number of his slaves to smallpox in Cacheu before departing for Cartagena in 1614.<sup>145</sup> However, many Africans would have acquired some immunity to smallpox in childhood, so the numbers dying of smallpox were relatively small and did not generally erupt into epidemics, with children being the most vulnerable to infection. Other slaves died of scurvy.<sup>146</sup> Scurvy is a nutritional deficiency disease that breaks out after four to six months' deprivation of vitamin C, usually associated with a shortage of fresh fruit and vegetables. It is characterised by internal bleeding evident in swollen, purple and soft gums and may ultimately result in coma and death.<sup>147</sup> Infection, injury and poor physical condition are known

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<sup>141</sup> K. David Patterson, "Onchocerciasis", in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 895–97; Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 216.

<sup>142</sup> WHO, *Onchocerciasis and Its Control*. WHO Technical Report Series 852 (Geneva: WHO, 1995), 25–35. The present-day distribution of onchocerciasis in Africa has been significantly altered by disease control programmes.

<sup>143</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, vol. 2: 555.

<sup>144</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, vol. 2: 555.

<sup>145</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 17,18, 69 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>146</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 654, 656, 768 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>147</sup> Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 59, 90; Roger K. French, "Scurvy," in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1000.

to induce scurvy more rapidly.<sup>148</sup> Scurvy was so common in Angola that it was referred to as ‘mal de Loanda’.<sup>149</sup>

Although they are noted less frequently, it seems likely that amoebic and bacillary dysentery, referred to as ‘cámaras’, were common sources of sickness and death. The two types of dysentery are not easily distinguished but bacillary dysentery has a much shorter incubation period of less than seven days, whereas amoebic dysentery may take twenty to ninety days. The former may thus break out as explosive epidemics and watery stools can cause dehydration and death within twelve days. They are both characterised by diarrhoea, bleeding and dehydration, and even death.<sup>150</sup> Intestinal infections such as dysentery gave rise to an affliction known as *bicho*, which was inflammation of the rectum that resulted in anal prolapse and the onset of gangrene.<sup>151</sup> Both can be contracted directly through the fecal-oral route, but they are most commonly spread through contaminated food or water. They are often associated with conditions of stress and lowered resistance. There seems little doubt that conditions in the barracoons and on ships awaiting dispatch would have favoured the spread of gastrointestinal infections.

Many of the gastrointestinal infections probably derived from polluted sources of water. Except in the wet season when rainwater could be collected, Cacheu depended on springs that were controlled exclusively by Africans.<sup>152</sup> The nearest water supply was regarded as insalubrious and the cause of much sickness.<sup>153</sup> On the dry coast of Angola shortages of water were even more acute. In Luanda people depended on pits or wells for their supply of water, but these often ran dry in time of drought.<sup>154</sup> In the 1660s the Capuchin friar,

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<sup>148</sup> Zachary B. Friedenberg, *Medicine Under Sail* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2002), 43.

<sup>149</sup> Oliveira Mendes, *Memória*, 56–57; Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 198; Miller, *Way of Death*, 383.

<sup>150</sup> David K. Patterson, “Amoebic Dysentery,” in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 568–70 and “Bacillary Dysentery,” in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 604–605; Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 59.

<sup>151</sup> Rudolph Hoeppli, *Parasitic Diseases in Africa and the Western Hemisphere: Early Documentation and Transmission by the Slave Trade* (Basel: Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft, 1969), 187–88; Chandler, “Health and Slavery,” 103; Miller, *Way of Death*, 429–30.

<sup>152</sup> Rodney, “Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly,” 318.

<sup>153</sup> Álvares, *Etiópia menor*, chap 4: 1.

<sup>154</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 131 Garcia Simões 20 Oct.

Michael Angelo, complained that the local water was of poor quality. He described two sources that were used:

It [water] is brought from a neighbouring island, where they dig a trench even with the sea, and the water freshes as it strains through the sand, but not thoroughly. Else they go for it to a river twelve or fourteen miles from Loanda, and load their canoes which are boats made of one piece of timber. These canoes have a hole in the bottom, which they open when they are in the river, and stop it up when the canoe is full enough. When they come home they strain it from the dirt and let it stand some days to settle.<sup>155</sup>

Evidence from some medical inspections conducted in Cartagena in 1633 indicates that 70 percent of incidences of dysentery and 95 percent of cases of *bicho* were associated with Angolan slaves (Table 4.2). *Bicho*, known as *bitios de kis*, was common in Angola, where it was treated with anal applications of lemon, a concoction of tobacco, salt and vinegar, or with a clyster.<sup>156</sup> Malnourished individuals are more prone to dysentery and intestinal infections and the high incidence of intestinal infections and *bicho* among Angolan slaves most likely relates to their poor diet, and possibly to the poorer water supplies, on the Angolan coast.

In the early seventeenth century a slave trader Jorge López de Morales, claimed that in Cacheu there was much sickness and that many slaves died every day.<sup>157</sup> Manuel Bautista Pérez's experience with the slaves he acquired in 1618 provides some insight into the health of African slaves while in captivity in Cacheu. During the final three months of the period over which he acquired 519 slaves, 83 were sent ashore, all but two because they were sick. The accounts do not specify the ailments of all the slaves, but two were suffering from *mal de Loanda*, ten had a pain in the mouth, one had toothache, one stomachache and one a pain in the arm. Most likely the ten with a pain in the mouth were also suffering from scurvy, which among other things is associated with swollen gums.<sup>158</sup> During the

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1575; Cavazzi de Montecúcolo, *Descrição histórica*, vol. 1: 23; Miller, *Way of Death*, 395–397.

<sup>155</sup> Angelo and Carli, "Voyage to Congo," vol. 1: 491.

<sup>156</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, vol. 2: 554–55. Clysters were made from a local herb called *Orore de Bitos*, dried rose leaves, egg yolks, a little alum and rose oil.

<sup>157</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 2 fol.35 Antonio Fernández de Elvas . . . con Jorge Morales 1617.

<sup>158</sup> French, "Scurvy," 1003; Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 90.



same period 15 slaves died on shore, some of them probably the same slaves who had been taken off the ship. When the ship departed eight sick slaves were left with Manoel de Olivera, which included one who was suffering from smallpox, one who was pregnant, one Balanta with a bad mouth and one Biafada with dysentery.<sup>159</sup> The death of 15 out of 519 slaves acquired represents a mortality of 2.9 percent. However, the death toll may have been higher than this since in a letter to his uncle, Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa, Manuel Bautista Pérez claimed that 15 had died suddenly of *mal de Loanda* in the three weeks prior to departure and these may have been different from those noted in the accounts.<sup>160</sup> Some, but not all of these were recorded in the account book, so that the death toll may have been higher. In any case the relatively low mortality experienced by Pérez's slaves while onshore was counterbalanced by exceptionally high losses from *mal de Loanda* during the Middle Passage.

A mortality of just under 3 percent while awaiting embarkation is not dissimilar to the 3 to 5 percent estimated by Johannes Postma among slaves shipped by the Dutch from the Guinea (Gold) Coast in the early eighteenth century.<sup>161</sup> This level of mortality prior to embarkation is considerably lower than under the Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão in the late eighteenth century. Using records of the number of slave deaths and the number of slaves embarked between 1766 and 1777 Jean Mettas suggests that the level of mortality prior to embarkation was 8.6 percent for Cacheu and 11.7 percent for Bissau.<sup>162</sup> These figures do not include any slaves who may have been left behind because they were sick and who may have died subsequently.<sup>163</sup> For the longer period 1758 to 1788 comparative figures for Upper Guinea and Angola suggest that the percentages dying from sickness or in revolts while onshore were

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<sup>159</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 678 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>160</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa 30 Jul. 1618–13 Aug. 1618.

<sup>161</sup> Postma, "Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade," 243 and *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 238.

<sup>162</sup> Jean Mettas, "La traite portugaise en Haute Guinée, 1758–1797: Problèmes et méthodes," *The Journal of African History* 16 (3) (1975): 357.

<sup>163</sup> It was a common occurrence for sick slaves to be left ashore, sometimes in large numbers. See Carreira, *Companhias pombalinas* (1st ed.), 454–65. This seems to have been a more common occurrence in Angola, with ships occasionally leaving 20, 30 or 40 slaves on shore.

8.6 percent and 7.2 percent respectively.<sup>164</sup> Joseph Miller proposes a mortality of between 10 and 12 percent among slaves awaiting embarkation in Angola in the eighteenth century.<sup>165</sup> These estimates of mortality relate to distinct time periods, different geographical regions and to the different ways in which the slave trade was organised. However, it might be expected that mortality onshore would be higher in Angola where there were greater problems with food supplies and there was a higher incidence of scurvy.

Little is known of the medical treatments used to cure sick slaves in Africa, but they were probably similar to those used on the journey from Cartagena and Lima, which are described in Chapter 8. It is known that sick slaves were treated on shore rather than on board the ship. In the early seventeenth century only about 15 percent of the registered slave-trading ships carried a barber or surgeon on board.<sup>166</sup> Very often these medical practitioners were working their passage to Spanish America. While they may well have treated slaves being acquired in Cacheu, more often the services of local healers were probably bought in, for example to heal a wound.<sup>167</sup> Nevertheless, the services of barber-surgeons appear to have accounted for a considerable proportion of expenditure in Africa and during the Middle Passage. It was estimated that eleven reals per slave were spent on barber-surgeons (Table 2.5), which may be compared with the amount spent on food, which was twenty-five reals in Upper Guinea and sixty reals in Angola.<sup>168</sup> Since the cost of medical care was estimated to be the same for both regions, there is a suggestion that the scale of the health problems faced in the two regions was not significantly different.

In general, however, the approach to treating sick slaves was probably to improve their food. Interestingly, as early as 1620 slave traders arriving at Cartagena considered that *mal de Loanda* could be treated by landing the slaves on shore and giving them 'cosas agrias'.<sup>169</sup> The

<sup>164</sup> Carreira, *Companhias pombalinas* (2nd ed.), 87.

<sup>165</sup> Miller, "Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade," 413.

<sup>166</sup> An analysis of 149 slave-trading ships registered in Seville between 1610 and 1640 for which information on the crews is available, indicates that only 22 (nearly 15 percent) carried a barber or less commonly a qualified surgeon (AGI Contratación 2878 to 2896 Registros de esclavos 1616–1640).

<sup>167</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 277 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>168</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 N172/2 Tribunal de cuentas 27 Jun. 1622.

<sup>169</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079B Pieza 3 fol. 226v. Antonio Fernández de Elvás . . . contra Baltasar Amat 1620.

'sour things' perhaps represented an early recognition of the value of citrus fruits in the treatment of scurvy, even if they were not routinely used on long voyages. Citrus fruits commonly figured among the fruits purchased for slaves in Cartagena, but there is no evidence for their purchase in Upper Guinea or Angola, even though they had been grown in both areas since the sixteenth century.<sup>170</sup>

In conclusion, during the early seventeenth century Portuguese slave traders often stayed on the coast for eight months to over a year, not only acquiring slaves but also trading more widely. Since slaves were acquired consistently throughout this period, it meant that some slaves spent extended periods in captivity, during which they were housed in crowded and unsanitary conditions that facilitated the spread of disease, particularly intestinal infections and smallpox. Moreover, they were fed a monotonous and inadequate diet, which evidenced by the high incidence of scurvy particularly in Angola, lacked fresh vegetables and fruit. Even though mortality on the Upper Guinea Coast appears to have been less than 3 percent, it may well have been higher in Angola that often experienced food shortages and even famines. In any case, by the time ships were dispatched those who had survived were in a considerably weakened state and unprepared for the Atlantic crossing which was to take a heavier toll on their lives.

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<sup>170</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 3: 338 Diogo da Costa 31 May 1586, vol. 8: 109 Gonçalo João 10 Feb. 1632; Fernandes, *Côte occidentale*, 54, 126, 146; Pigafetta and Lopes, *Relação*, 61; Almada, *Tratado breve*, 127; Jobson, *Discovery of the River Gambia*, 167; Cadornega, *História geral*, vol. 3: 372.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

Once a suitable sized cargo of slaves, provisions and trade goods had been assembled the ships were ready to be dispatched from Africa. Before this occurred the slaves had to be baptised, branded, inspected and the appropriate taxes paid. Under orders from the Portuguese Crown, slaves were supposed to be baptised before they departed from Africa. However, baptisms were generally summary affairs with little attempt at religious instruction,<sup>1</sup> particularly in Upper Guinea where this was made more difficult by the diversity of languages that were spoken. However, the task was considered more urgent there because of the presence of many resident New Christians and fear of the spread of Judaism.<sup>2</sup> Baptismal certificates issued in Cacheu were supposed to be presented to the Bishop in Cape Verde. However, many slaves were baptised in Cape Verde rather than Cacheu, often in groups of 300, 400 or 700 because of the speed with which ships wished to pass through the islands.<sup>3</sup> There were complaints that slaves were being baptised on board ship rather than in a special ceremony on land.<sup>4</sup> According to the testimony of slaves in Cartagena just before departure they were taken from below deck still in chains and were sprinkled with water without any attempt at Christian instruction.<sup>5</sup> It is doubtful that Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves received any Christian instruction, but his accounts for 1614 and 1618 do indicate that he paid a priest about 1,300 réis (about 4 pesos) to baptise them, a fee that included the cost of masses and burials for those who had died.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 382–90, 412–15 gives a long account of baptisms on the African coast obtained from slave traders and slaves. For summary baptisms in Luanda see: Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, 230–31.

<sup>2</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 2 vol. 5: 5–7 Consulta da junta sobre o baptismo dos negros adultos do Guiné 27 Jun. 1623.

<sup>3</sup> Guerreiro, *Relação anual*, 1: 400.

<sup>4</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 703 Francisco de Moura [c. 1622].

<sup>5</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 384.

<sup>6</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 265, 536, 650 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

In Luanda the slaves were assembled in the church or plaza on the day before departure, when they were given Christian names and baptised. This was done by putting salt in their mouths and sprinkling water on them. The slaves were told they would not see their land again.<sup>7</sup> The evidence from slaves in Cartagena suggests that Angolan slaves more commonly received Christian instruction than those from Upper Guinea.<sup>8</sup> However, they clearly did not understand the meaning of baptism. According to Alonso de Sandoval some slaves believed that baptism was to insure that they did not rebel or have sexual intercourse on the Middle Passage or that it was to protect them from illness.<sup>9</sup> Others thought it was witchcraft and that the Spanish were about to eat them or make powder of them. In Central Africa it was believed that the profits from the sale of slaves returned in the form of trade goods such as cooking oil pressed from their bodies, red wine from their blood or gunpowder from their burnt bones.<sup>10</sup>

Before slave ships set sail export taxes had to be paid. To assess the amount payable and in an attempt to prevent fraud, a royal inspector counted the slaves on to the ship one by one.<sup>11</sup> This meant taking off the ship any slaves that had been accommodated there and re-boarding them. The idea was that they would then be counted off the ship one by one when they arrived at their destination. In this way it was thought that fraud could be avoided. However, as described in Chapter 2, there were numerous ways in which this process could be circumvented. In Africa, ships often loaded additional slaves on the coast after they had left the port or probably more commonly bribed port officials to permit larger numbers of slaves to be loaded than permitted by the *registro* or on which duties

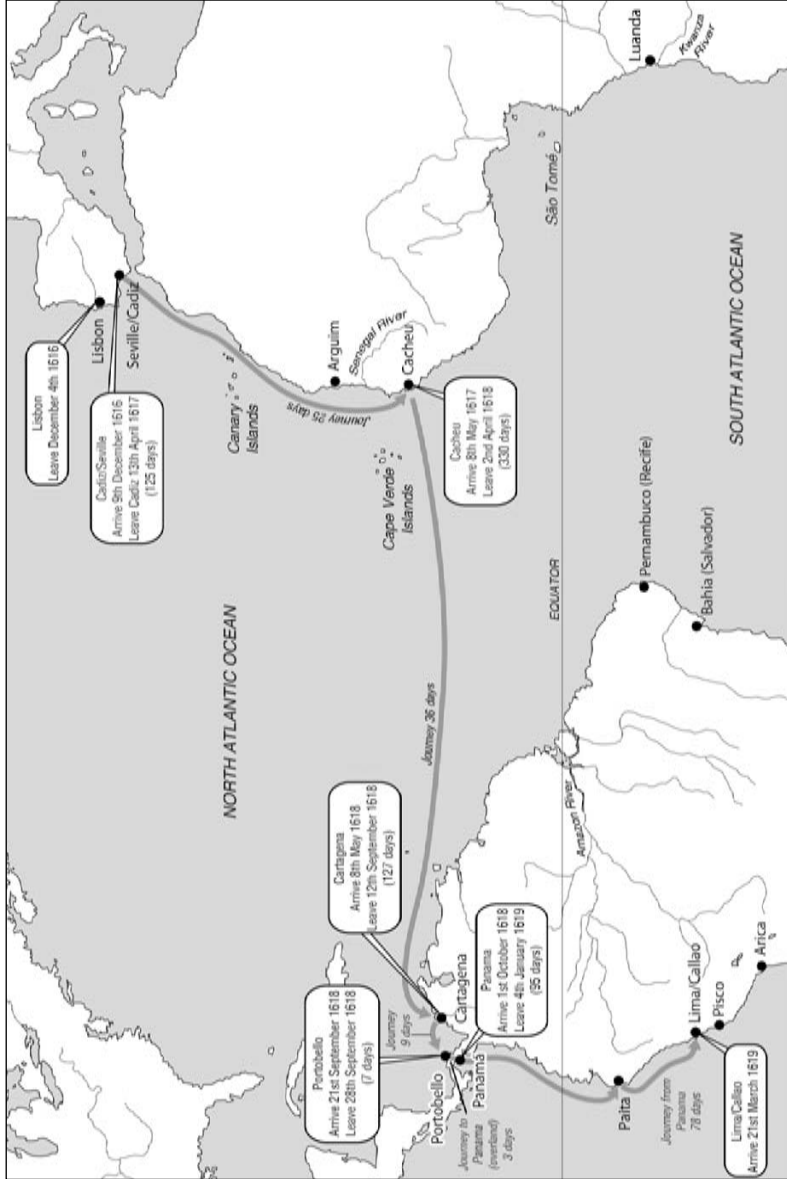
<sup>7</sup> Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, 230–31.

<sup>8</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 412–13.

<sup>9</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 382–90, 398; Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, 230–31

<sup>10</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 383; James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 162.

<sup>11</sup> For examples of this process in Africa see: AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 1 fols. 215–220 Visita del Capitán y factor, Baltasar Pereyra de Castelo Blanco 25 Apr. 1616; AGNC Negros y Esclavos Bolívar 7 fols. 313v.–314v. Benito Jiménez, Guarda Mayor de Cartagena sobre el descamino desclavos 1617; AGI Escribanía de Cámara 21A fols. 87–89 Autos hechos en Santo Domingo por el presidente y oficiales reales . . . contra Leonardo Baez 1628.



Map 3. Manuel Bautista Pérez's Slave Trading Venture 1616 to 1619.

were payable.<sup>12</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century Abreu e Brito claimed that taxes were not paid on one-third of the slaves that left Luanda.<sup>13</sup> In 1616 the export tax in Upper Guinea was set at 6,200 *réis* (nearly 20 pesos) per slave<sup>14</sup> and in Luanda in 1619 it was 6,000 *réis*.<sup>15</sup> This was a significant tax that represented between 15 and 25 percent of the purchase price of a slave.<sup>16</sup> The total tax to be paid was based on the number of *piezas*, or able-bodied males, so women, youths, children and those who had some disability were counted as less than a *pieza*. Sick slaves were not supposed to be boarded.<sup>17</sup> There was clearly considerable discretion in applying discounts. In 1624 the ship, San Joseph, was dispatched from Luanda with 193 slaves, which were valued at 163 *piezas*.<sup>18</sup>

At some stage before departure the slaves were required by Portuguese law to be branded with a mark on the right arm indicating the ownership of the slave.<sup>19</sup> Additional marks indicating that taxes had been paid might also be added. Such marks could be tampered with and scars from smallpox could make the marks difficult to read sometimes leading to lengthy lawsuits over ownership.<sup>20</sup> In most cases, however, they remained for life as a humiliating reminder of this painful experience.

<sup>12</sup> See for example, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 2 fol. 57v. Antonio Fernández de Elvas . . . con Jorge Morales sobre aver cargado para indias ciertas piezas de esclavos sin registro 1617.

<sup>13</sup> Abreu e Brito, Domingos de, *Um inquérito à vida administrativa e economica de Angola e do Brasil* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1931), 37.

<sup>14</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 2 vol. 4: 603 Nicolau de Castilho 30 Jun. 1616; Carreira, "Tratos e resgates," 96. It had previously been 2,000 *réis*, but was increased to 6,000 *réis* in 1611.

<sup>15</sup> AGNB Negros y Esclavos Bolívar 15 ff. 272v.–273 António Fernandes d'Elvas contra Juan de Santiago 1620; AGI Santa Fe 52 R6 N 172/2 Accompanies letter from the Tribunal de Cuentas of Cartagena, 27.6.1622.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 2 for the purchase price of slaves in Africa.

<sup>17</sup> Mauro, Frédéric *Portugal*, vol. 1 : 225; Correia Lopes, *A escravatura*, 41 (Regimento of 1519).

<sup>18</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 21A fols. 87–89 Autos hechos en Santo Domingo . . . contra Leonardo Baez 1628.

<sup>19</sup> Correia Lopes, *A escravatura*, 39 [Regimento of 1519]; Carreira, *Companhias pom-balinas* (1st ed.), 150; Miller, *Way of Death*, 404–405.

<sup>20</sup> See the legal case in AGI Escribanía de Cámara 589A Pieza 4 Contra Geronimo Nunes Caldera sobre 17 esclavos que traía a registrar por cuenta de Manuel de Caravallo 1619.

*Conditions on Board*

Very little evidence exists for conditions on board slave ships in the early seventeenth century. Many scholars rely on the testimonies of slaves to Alonso de Sandoval in Cartagena, which suggest that because of the danger of rebellion, slaves were kept below deck chained in sixes around their necks and bound in twos by shackles on their feet.<sup>21</sup> In the late sixteenth century the Italian trader and voyager, Francesco Carletti, suggested they were kept in groups of ten.<sup>22</sup> Male slaves would have spent most of the voyage below deck lying on wooden boards fitted temporarily for the transport of slaves; on the outward journey the hold would have been full of cargo. Female slaves were accommodated above the deck. It was said that unlike the Dutch, the Portuguese provided mats for the slaves to sleep on and that these were changed every ten or twelve days.<sup>23</sup> The Capuchin Denis de Carli provided a graphic description of a voyage from Luanda to Bahia, Brazil. He wrote,

The ship I went on, when it was ready to sail was loaded with elephants teeth [ivory] and slaves, to the number of 680 men, women, and children. It was a pitiful sight to behold, how all those people were bestowed. The men were standing in the hold, fastened one to another with stakes, for fear they should rise and kill the whites. The women were between the decks, and those that were with child in the great cabin, the children in the steerage pressed together like herrings in a barrel, which caused an intolerable heat and stench.<sup>24</sup>

*Food on Board*

The diet of slaves during the Middle Passage in the early seventeenth century can only be sketched in general terms. The evidence

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<sup>21</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 152, 397. For other evidence that slaves were kept in “grillos y corrientes” see: AGI Indiferente General 2795 Relación de los inconvenientes que tiene navegárense las pieças de los esclavos a las indias por Sevilla, no date. Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 148 provides a description of the configuration of some slave ships.

<sup>22</sup> Francesco Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World*, trans. Herbert Weinstock. (London: Methuen, 1965), 15–16.

<sup>23</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, vol. 2: 562.

<sup>24</sup> Angelo and Carli, “*Voyage to Congo*,” 507. See also Thomas de Mercado, *Summa de tratos e contratos* (Sevilla: Fernando Diaz, 1637), 104–105.



presented in Chapter 3 indicates that slave traders on the Upper Guinea Coast were purchasing mainly *milho*, some couscous probably made from *milho*, and a little rice. In the late sixteenth century Francesco Carletti, observed that on the Middle Passage from the Guinea Coast slaves were fed millet cooked in water and flavoured with oil and salt and, on other occasions, beans. He also noted that on the voyage some slaves died of dysentery, which he attributed to them being fed badly cooked or almost raw fish that were caught during the voyage.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, Alonso de Sandoval recorded that on the Middle Passage slaves from Angola were fed half a spoonful of maize or *milho* flour, or raw millet, and a small jug of water, and nothing else.<sup>26</sup> A half spoonful of *milho* clearly represented an inadequate diet, even though the energy demands of slaves would have been low due to their sedentary state. In the eighteenth century Angolan slaves were given manioc meal (*farinha*), supplemented by beans, boiled into a mush with perhaps some dried fish and palm oil.<sup>27</sup> These important nutritive supplements were probably also used in earlier periods.

Despite differences in the nature of agricultural production in Upper Guinea and Angola and as a consequence in the price of food in the two regions, there appears to have been little difference in the content of basic diet of slaves during the Middle Passage. If anything the difference was probably more one of quantity. Despite the difference in the price of food in the two regions, the expenditure on ships stores (*matalotaje*) acquired for the Middle Passage was only slightly higher in Angola than Upper Guinea, being 30 reals as opposed to 25 reals per slave (Table 2.5) and this might be explicable by the longer journey from Angola<sup>28</sup> This may have meant that the actual amount fed to slaves in Angola was lower and that slave traders there took greater risks in provisioning ships.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, it did not make economic sense for slave traders to cut down on food rations to the extent that they induced nutritional deficiency

<sup>25</sup> Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World*, 15–17.

<sup>26</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 134, 152.

<sup>27</sup> Miller, *Way of Death*, 413–17.

<sup>28</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 N172/2 Tribunal de cuentas 27 Jun. 1622.

<sup>29</sup> Joseph C. Miller, "Some Aspects of the Commercial Organization of Slaving at Luanda, Angola–1760–1830," in *The Uncommon Market*, eds. Henry A Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 102.

diseases, such as scurvy, or even starvation. After all expenditure on food in Africa and on the Middle Passage represented only about 6 percent of the total cost of delivering an Angolan slave for sale in Cartagena and only 2.6 percent for an Upper Guinea slave (Table 2.5).<sup>30</sup> However, space was as much a consideration as cost. The provision of water posed a major problem since it took up much valuable space. As a guide the Portuguese laws of 1684 governing slave ships specified that each slave should be given a *canada* or 1.6 litres of water a day, which meant that one cask would only provide 300 daily rations.<sup>31</sup> Storage space for food and water was a particular problem on small ships that could not afford to carry large amounts of water in case of an unexpectedly long journey.<sup>32</sup>

Within the constraints of space on board and with an eye on the profits that could be made, slave traders sought a balance between the number of slaves transported and the provisions needed to support them. Some shipmasters were more skilled at making that judgment than others. In 1620 Juan de Santiago, the shipmaster of the *Nuestra Señora de las Nieves*, sailing from Angola claimed that he had loaded provisions for fifty days which was regarded as the average time taken for ships to sail to Cartagena.<sup>33</sup> It is not known whether this was a typical provisioning strategy, but it indicates that some ships at least were only taking sufficient supplies to cover an average journey and were gambling on the absence of delays. Unfortunately in this case the ship was held up by bad weather so that the slaves fell ill with fever, *mal de Loanda* and dysentery forcing it to land at Santa Marta after sixty-eight days.

In the early seventeenth century Alonso de Sandoval commented that at that time some slave traders treated slaves better than he had described, implying that conditions had been worse at an earlier

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<sup>30</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 N172/2 Tribunal de cuentas 27 Jun. 1622. For a similar comment and figure see: Klein and Engerman, "Note on Mortality in the French Slave Trade," 270.

<sup>31</sup> "Ley sobre as arqueações dos navios que carregarem escravos," *Arquivos de Angola* 2 (1936): 315. There were 300 *canadas* to a *pipa* or cask.

<sup>32</sup> AGI Indiferente General 2795 Juan Núñez Correa, no date. This was an argument against ships having to sail to the Americas via Seville and particularly those going from Angola that were said to be smaller and for which the journey was longer.

<sup>33</sup> AGNB Negros y Esclavos Bolívar 15 ff. 273v–282r Antonio Fernández de Elvas contra Juan de Santiago 1620. His estimate of the average length of journey is supported by Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 148 n. 69.

date. The first Dutch Director of Luanda, Pieter Mortamer, believed that the Portuguese took greater care of their slaves and fed them better than other nationalities, so that they could transport them with lower mortality, a view also expressed by Olfert Dapper in his account of Angola.<sup>34</sup> According to Mortamer they washed the deck down every other day and fed the slaves two hot meals a day, one with beans and the other with maize, mixed with a spoonful of palm oil and a little salt, and sometimes with a piece of fish. During the day they had a little *farinha* and some water, while wine was given to the sick. Charles Boxer doubts that conditions for slaves varied much between national carriers citing comments by Jesuits on the state of slaves arriving in Buenos Aires. His view is supported by evidence for the mortality experienced on over 4,500 ships, which shows little variation by nationality of the carrier, especially when the region of origin is taken into account.<sup>35</sup> In any case evidence of mortality during the Middle Passage and from the inspections of slaves conducted on arrival in Cartagena suggests that those on Portuguese carriers also suffered from malnutrition that would have compounded any nutritional deficiencies they had experienced in captivity on the African coast. In some cases this would have been exacerbated by seasickness that encouraged outbreaks of diarrhoea and dysentery.<sup>36</sup> Even if slaves did not develop scurvy, the fact that they often became sick when faced with a richer diet on arrival in Cartagena suggests they often arrived in a very malnourished state.<sup>37</sup>

#### *Mortality During the Middle Passage*

Only fragmentary evidence exists for mortality in the Middle Passage in the early seventeenth century. Officials and critics of the slave trade had rather different perspectives. The *asientos* issued by the Spanish Crown allowed slave traders to load by law 20 percent in excess of the contract to take account of anticipated losses on the

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<sup>34</sup> Ogilby, [Dapper], *Africa*, 562; Boxer, *Salvador de Sá*, 232.

<sup>35</sup> Klein, Engerman, Haines and Shlomowitz, "Transoceanic Mortality," 101, 114.

<sup>36</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 61–62.

<sup>37</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 153.

Middle Passage.<sup>38</sup> This was increased to 43 percent in 1615.<sup>39</sup> However, this dramatic increase, which was continued in later years, was not indicative of raised mortality, but rather a way of compensating *asentistas* for the smaller size of contracts at this time.<sup>40</sup> About this time royal officials in Santa Fe de Bogotá were calculating the costs of importing slaves to work in the silver mines of Lajas de Mariquita on the assumption that 10 percent of slaves would die on the Middle Passage.<sup>41</sup> Critics of the slave trade put losses much higher. The Jesuit, Alonso de Sandoval, claimed that one third died on the transatlantic crossing,<sup>42</sup> while the Dominican, Thomas de Mercado, claimed that it was rare that a journey from Cape Verde experienced less than 20 percent mortality.<sup>43</sup>

The range of estimates made by observers was paralleled by the experiences of individual slave ships. But even here contraband trade makes the evidence difficult to interpret. The numbers officially embarked and landed are generally inadequate because additional slaves were often loaded and subsequently landed illegally. Slave traders often attempted to explain shortfalls by outbreaks of smallpox, revolts or other disasters, when in fact the slaves had been landed clandestinely. Nevertheless, a few examples suggest that occasionally losses could be quite high. In 1616 Jorge López Morales boarded 245 slaves in Cacheu on the ship Santa Cruz. During the 48-day journey to Cartagena, it was claimed that 40 slaves died and 2 or 3 others were thrown overboard because they had smallpox or other diseases.<sup>44</sup> This suggests a mortality of about 17 percent, but there is some doubt about the numbers that were embarked. Antonio Fernández d'Elvas who was in charge of the sale of slaves in Cartagena

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<sup>38</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 49. 20 percent excess was included in the Rodríguez Coutiño asiento (See AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1012A Juan Rodríguez Coutiño y Pedro Gomez Reynel 1602).

<sup>39</sup> AGI Indiferente General 2767 Asiento de Antonio Fernández de Elvas, 1615. Elvas was permitted to carry 1,500 *piezas* in excess of the 3,500 he was contracted to deliver.

<sup>40</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 139.

<sup>41</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 R6 N 172/2 Tribunal de Cuentas 27 Jun. 1622.

<sup>42</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 152.

<sup>43</sup> Mercado, *Summa de Tratos e Contratos*, 104.

<sup>44</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 1 fol. .33 Jorge López Morales 14 Mar. 1617. Another witness claimed that 38 died and that 2 were thrown overboard and drowned because they attempted to flee.

claimed that officials in Cacheu had allowed over 500 slaves to be dispatched without taxes being paid on over 200 of them.<sup>45</sup> If this was the case then either many more had died or more likely had been smuggled ashore. High mortality was also experienced on the 50-ton San Joseph, which although it only had a licence to carry 80 slaves, left Luanda on December 22nd 1624 with 193 slaves. The ship allegedly ran into bad weather resulting in shortages of food and water and forcing it to head for the nearest land north of Pernambuco in Brazil. Here it was said that they could obtain only “crabs and fish and bad fruits” from which many died of food poisoning. Having repaired the ship it set sail for Cartagena, but letting water badly and suffering from shortages of food, it headed for Santo Domingo where it arrived on 18 April the following year with only 75 slaves.<sup>46</sup> While this represents an exceptionally high loss of 61 percent, again many were probably sold illegally on the journey, either in Brazil or the Caribbean.

Ships such as these may have been exceptional coming to the notice of officials because of suspicions of contraband trade aroused by shortfalls in the number of slaves arriving in comparison with the *registro*. The mortality experienced on these journeys may not therefore have been typical. Unfortunately little information is available on the mortality experienced on ships arriving at Cartagena on more systematic basis. Although the numbers of slaves landed in Cartagena are available from fiscal records, information is generally lacking on how many were boarded in Africa. However, data compiled by Enriqueta Vila Vilar for twenty-nine ships sailing to Veracruz between 1605 and 1621 suggests a mortality rate of 23 percent. However, she argues that mortality is likely to have been lower since royal officials often colluded in registering the arrival of fewer slaves for their own financial gain.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, one might expect mortality to be slightly higher on the longer journey to Veracruz.

Unremarkable journeys included that of Francesco Carletti from Cape Verde to Cartagena in 1594, when the journey took only thirty days and 7 out of the 75 slaves embarked died, a mortality of 9.3

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<sup>45</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 1 fol. 57v. Antonio Fernández de Elvas . . . con Jorge Morales 1617.

<sup>46</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 21A fols. 87–89 Autos hechos . . . contra Leonardo Baez 1628.

<sup>47</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 139–140.

percent.<sup>48</sup> Another was Manuel Bautista Pérez's first slave-trading venture in 1614 when he lost 26 of his 215 slaves on the Middle Passage, a loss of about 12 percent.<sup>49</sup> However, his second journey in 1618 was less successful for on this voyage 94 out of the 482 slaves finally dispatched from Cacheu died. He described this mortality of about 19 percent as a "punishment from God" suggesting mortality on this scale was exceptional.<sup>50</sup> Royal officials in Santa Fe made no distinction in the level of mortality between slaves coming from the Upper Guinea Coast, Angola or Benguela,<sup>51</sup> but other studies suggest that losses on the journey from Angola were greater than from Senegambia.<sup>52</sup> This is supported by figures of between 17 and 28 percent mortality on four slave ships from Angola that were inspected by Inquisition officials in 1634 and 1635.<sup>53</sup> However, these figures are not very precise since they are based on the testimonies of the crew and passengers who expressed the numbers in terms of tens and hundreds.

Richard Bean has suggested that in general mortality on the Middle Passage reflected prices for slaves in Africa, with mortality highest when slave prices were low.<sup>54</sup> In reality the causes of mortality on

<sup>48</sup> Carletti, *Voyage Around the World*, 21.

<sup>49</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 195–6, 227–8 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618. While 227 were purchased, one had died and another 11 had been loaned out or exchanged and it is not clear whether they were also dispatched. If so, the mortality would be lower.

<sup>50</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Manoel de Oliveira Serrão 30 Jul. 1618.

<sup>51</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 N172/2 Tribunal de Cuentas 27 Jun. 1622.

<sup>52</sup> Klein, Engerman, Haines and Shlomowitz, "Transoceanic Mortality," 114. This study suggests a 24.7 percent mortality among slaves shipped from West Central Africa compared to 11.6 percent from Senegambia. However, this data covers the broad time period of 1597 to 1700 and includes voyages to a range of destinations undertaken by a variety of flag carriers, not just the Portuguese. A similar difference is apparent on British slave ships in the 1790s, where the mortality rate was 2.91 from Senegambia compared to 3.65 from Angola-Congo (Klein and Engerman, "Slave Mortality on British Ships," 118). For the Portuguese trade between 1758 and 1788 mortality in the Middle Passage was 10.8 and 18.8 percent for slaves from Guinea and Angola respectively, though in this case the destination was Brazil (Carreira, *Companhias pombalinas* (2nd ed.), 87). The journey to Brazil was generally shorter than that to Spanish America, varying from 35 days to the northeast and 50 days to Rio de Janeiro (Mauro, *Portugal*, 250).

<sup>53</sup> AHNM 4816 Ramo 3 no 32 ff. 1–102 Testimonio de las visitas de navíos de negros que se han hecho por los oficiales del santo oficio de la inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias desde 30 julio del año pasado del 1634 hasta fin de Julio de 1635.

<sup>54</sup> Bean, *British Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, 66 n. 25.

the Middle Passage were much more complex and were a function of a variety of interrelated factors, which included the regions from which the slaves were drawn and their ports of embarkation. However, it seems that mortality rates generally declined over time. The Transatlantic Database of over 5,000 voyages for which data on mortality exists suggests that slave mortality generally declined from 22.6 percent prior to 1700 to 11.2 percent by 1800.<sup>55</sup> It is argued that this was due to greater medical care, partly encouraged by bonuses for ships' captains and doctors who arrived with lower losses, but also due to the more careful selection of slaves. However, there were considerable differences in trends between the regions. Mortality from West Central Africa followed this general trend declining from 24.7 percent in the seventeenth century to only about 8.0 percent at the end of the eighteenth century, whereas in Senegambia mortality does not appear to have varied significantly throughout the period ranging from 11.6 to 13.6 percent. Unfortunately the figures for both regions for the seventeenth century include very few observations from the first half of the century.

The evidence here seems to suggest average mortality on the Middle Passage from Upper Guinea to Cartagena in the early seventeenth century may have been between 10 and 15 percent, and from Angola slightly more. The figure of 15 percent is the same as that suggested by Philip Curtin for the early centuries of the Portuguese slave trade.<sup>56</sup> Dutch losses appear to have been only marginally higher at 18 percent between 1630 and 1650, but at that time the trade focussed on Brazil.<sup>57</sup> However, these relatively low figures might be exceeded where there were outbreaks of disease or particularly bad weather and unexpected delays, in which case mortality rates could rise to over 25 percent.<sup>58</sup> These factors affected all those on board, so that crew mortality, although slightly lower, was often correlated with slave mortality.<sup>59</sup> It is worth keeping in mind, however, that on

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<sup>55</sup> Klein, Engerman, Haines and Shlomowitz, "Transoceanic Mortality," 114.

<sup>56</sup> Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 276.

<sup>57</sup> Postma, "Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade," 253 and *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 250. The mortality rate on Dutch slave ships from Guinea and Angola to the Caribbean and the Guianas between 1695 and 1795 was about 17 percent showing no overall decrease during this period.

<sup>58</sup> Postma, "Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade," 250-53; Klein, Engerman, Haines and Shlomowitz, "Transoceanic Mortality," 103.

<sup>59</sup> Klein, Engerman, Haines and Shlomowitz, "Transoceanic Mortality," 105.

an average shipment of three hundred slaves to Cartagena, even a loss of ten percent would mean that on the Middle Passage a slave would die at least every other day.

Unfortunately very little evidence exists for differences in mortality between men and women during the Middle Passage. Of the 26 slaves who died on Manuel Bautista Pérez's first journey in 1614 only one was female, yet women comprised about one-third of the total number of 227 that had been purchased. This is very limited evidence, but it is consistent with other studies that suggest mortality was lower among women. Johannes Postma speculates that women may have received better treatment, being kept above deck, often unchained and being the object of sexual attention. They may also have assisted in the preparation of foods and have had greater stamina and will to survive, particularly if they were accompanied by children.<sup>60</sup> Kept below deck, men not only experienced harsher conditions, but they may have been at a nutritional disadvantage being deprived of the light necessary to stimulate the production of vitamin D.<sup>61</sup>

### *Causes of Mortality*

Much has been written about the causes of mortality in the Middle Passage drawing mainly on the evidence presented by the abolitionists in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the causes most frequently mentioned in seventeenth century accounts were smallpox and scurvy, followed by shortages of food and water due to unexpected delays, and then shipwrecks and shipboard revolts. Not surprisingly ill treatment and psychological factors received scant attention, but little is also said about 'tight packing', where the concern seems to have been with tax evasion rather than the conditions experienced by the slaves.

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<sup>60</sup> Postma, "Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade," 256; Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 64; Frantz Tardo-Dino, *Le collier de servitude: la condition sanitaire des esclaves aux Antilles françaises de XVII<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Editions Caribéennes, 1985), 46–48.

<sup>61</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 59.



*Disease*

Smallpox and scurvy were the two diseases that were generally identified as being responsible for high mortality on the Middle Passage.<sup>62</sup> Slave traders left behind those slaves who were obviously suffering from an infection, but the symptoms of smallpox may not have been obvious at the start of the journey. As such it could easily be carried aboard where confined conditions would have meant that few slaves would have been able to escape infection and mortality could be high. Scurvy or *mal de Loanda* on the other hand is not infectious or contagious, but it is a nutritional deficiency disease caused by a shortage of vitamin C. Nevertheless, it might appear to take an epidemic form because groups of slaves experiencing the same diet over a prolonged period might fall sick simultaneously.

Manuel Bautista Pérez's second voyage in 1618 is illustrative of the devastation that might be caused by smallpox and *mal de Loanda* alone. A number of his slaves had been afflicted with *mal de Loanda* prior to embarkation and one was left in Cacheu suffering from smallpox.<sup>63</sup> These two diseases were to explode on the Middle Passage accounting for the death of ninety-four slaves. Pérez described the journey to an associate:

Smallpox began to afflict me to the extent that most of the people became sick with it and those who escaped this disease succumbed to one greater and more severe, which was *mal de Loanda* of which more than forty slaves died of that alone.<sup>64</sup>

Interestingly this suggests that *mal de Loanda* was regarded as more life-threatening than smallpox. Also, it is worth noting that most of the cabin boys and two named individuals Salgado and Luiz, who were probably sailors, also died of *mal de Loanda*.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> For example, AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 1 fol. 33 Jorge López Morales 14 Mar. 1617, Escribanía de Cámara 1079B Antonio Fernández de Elvas . . . contra el Capitán Balthasar Amat 1620; AGNB Negros y Esclavos Bolívar 15 fol. 275 Antonio Fernández de Elvas contra Juan de Santiago 1620.

<sup>63</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 654, 656, 678 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>64</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Manoel de Oliveira Serrão 30 Jul. 1618.

<sup>65</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Pérez a Francisco de Narvaes 30 Jul. 1618.

*Mal de Loanda* probably also contributed to mortality on Manuel Bautista Pérez's earlier journey in 1614 when 26 slaves died.<sup>66</sup> In this case the dates of their deaths are recorded, but not the causes. However, the dates reveal that during the long 72-day journey mortality peaked in the second to fourth weeks, with about 85 percent dying in the first four weeks of the journey and very few in its later stages. This pattern of mortality would seem to reflect conditions in Africa that were aggravated by a limited diet, thereby inducing scurvy or a gastrointestinal infection. In fact Richard Stein has suggested that mortality on the Middle Passage can be related to the length of time spent onshore during which the slaves were malnourished and diseases could incubate.<sup>67</sup> Johannes Postma has noted that deaths from scurvy often occurred shortly after boarding,<sup>68</sup> while Richard Steckel and Richard Jensen have related peaks in mortality in the third to fifth week among slaves on British ships in the 1790s to outbreaks of gastrointestinal disease.<sup>69</sup> The decline in mortality in the later stages of the 1614 journey suggests that there was not a provisioning problem.<sup>70</sup>

Most accounts of disease mortality only specify smallpox and *mal de Loanda*, to which the term "and other diseases" is often appended. The "other diseases" almost certainly included dysentery, since other studies suggest this was one of the main killers in the Middle Passage. Johannes Postma's study of 3,563 slave deaths on eighteenth-century Dutch ships from a variety of ports found that about one third died of dysentery and that smallpox and scurvy accounted for a further 15 percent each.<sup>71</sup> The importance of dysentery is evident from medical inspections conducted in Cartagena to be discussed below. Dysentery might have been the major systematic killer, but it was

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<sup>66</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 195–6, 227–8 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>67</sup> Stein, *French Slave Trade*, 100. He estimates that ships taking less than seven months in Africa experienced losses of 6 percent in the Middle Passage, while that for those spending over nine months reached over 18 percent.

<sup>68</sup> Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 246.

<sup>69</sup> Steckel and Jensen, "Slave and Crew Mortality," 63.

<sup>70</sup> Haines, McDonald and Shlomowitz "Mortality and Voyage Length," 527–29; Miller, "Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade," 409.

<sup>71</sup> Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 244–45. The dominance of dysentery as a cause of death is also noted in Klein and Engerman, "Note on Mortality in the French Slave Trade," 271.

outbreaks of smallpox or other highly communicable diseases that resulted in the exceptionally high mortality.<sup>72</sup> Scurvy and smallpox appear to have been more important in the earlier phases of the slave trade, but by the eighteenth century slave traders had learned to control these diseases to some degree.<sup>73</sup>

Another indirect cause of death was blindness probably caused by ophthalmia (trachoma or conjunctivitis), which could spread rapidly aboard ship affecting both crew and slaves. Although not life threatening in itself, the loss of a crewmember's sight, particularly that of the pilot, might be disastrous for navigation and threaten the lives of all, not just the slaves.<sup>74</sup> Meanwhile slaves who became blind were of no value to their owners since they could not be sold. They might therefore be thrown overboard alive to save food and water, as was sometimes the case with slaves who were found to have smallpox.<sup>75</sup> In other cases, slaves who became blind were given to charitable institutions when they arrived in the New World. Hence, on his first voyage in 1614 Manuel Bautista Pérez gave away two slaves who went blind, one to the convent of San Diego in Cartagena.<sup>76</sup>

Ships carried medicine boxes and sometimes a barber or surgeon to care for the sick, that included the crew and as well as the slaves. Some of the barber-surgeons were working their passage to the New World, but others may have been picked up in Africa. Crewmembers often provided rudimentary medical care and African slaves with medical skills were probably called upon also. These different medical practitioners were largely untrained and most of their medicines ineffective. They would have been powerless to prevent the spread of smallpox, but the death toll from *mal de Loanda* might be reduced by better nutrition. Sick slaves were cared for separately and were fed special diets,<sup>77</sup> but fresh food were always in short supply. By the late seventeenth century if not earlier "lemons" were commonly

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<sup>72</sup> Klein, *Middle Passage*, 234.

<sup>73</sup> Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 152.

<sup>74</sup> This was the reason given why the Nuestra Señora de las Nieves had to put in at Santa Marta rather than Cartagena (AGNB Negros y Esclavos 15 fol. 245v. António Fernandes d'Elvas contra Juan de Santiago 1620).

<sup>75</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 1 fol. 33 Jorge López Morales 14 Mar. 1617.

<sup>76</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 195–96 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>77</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, 562.

carried on ships,<sup>78</sup> but they tended to be used more as a therapeutic than a preventative.<sup>79</sup> White lead was generally used to treat *bicho*.

### *Tight Packing*

The appalling cramped airless fetid conditions in which slaves were shipped across the Atlantic prompted critics of the slave trade to argue that 'tight packing' contributed significantly to mortality on the Middle Passage, not directly, but through leaving little room for food and water and by encouraging the spread of disease.<sup>80</sup> Tight packing and its impact on shortages of food might not in themselves result in high mortality. The Capuchin friar, Denis de Carli, from Luanda to Bahia in 1667 described how on a journey to Brazil with 680 slaves, which took fifty rather than the normal thirty to thirty five days, the ship ran out of food forcing them to survive on water for three days. Although he feared that half the slaves would die, in the event only 33 perished.<sup>81</sup> In this case the absence of disease may have been a crucial factor in this relatively low mortality.

Recent academic research generally suggests that there was little correlation between slave mortality on the Middle Passage and 'tight packing',<sup>82</sup> even taking into account that the actual amount of space on ships of equal size might vary according to their configuration.<sup>83</sup> It is argued that slave-traders were rational, profit-maximizers who within space constraints sought a balance between the number of slaves transported and the provisions needed to support them.<sup>84</sup> The lack of direct correlation between tight packing and mortality, while

<sup>78</sup> Ogilby [Dapper], *Africa*, 562.

<sup>79</sup> Friedenberg, *Medicine Under Sail*, 48.

<sup>80</sup> Carreira, *Companhias pombalinas* (1st ed.), 142.

<sup>81</sup> Angelo and Carli, "Voyage to Congo," 507–508.

<sup>82</sup> Steckel and Jensen, "Slave and Crew Mortality," 72–73.

<sup>83</sup> Charles Garland and Herbert S. Klein, "The Allotment of Space for Slaves Aboard Eighteenth-Century British Slave Ships," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 42 (1985): 247–48.

<sup>84</sup> Klein and Engerman, "Slave Mortality on British Ships," 122; Klein, *Middle Passage*, 65–66, 194–96, 199, 229, 234; Klein and Engerman, "Note on Mortality in the French Slave Trade," 270, 272; Postma, "Mortality in the Dutch Slave Trade," 249–50; Raymond L. Cohn and Richard A. Jensen, "The Determinants of Slave Mortality Rates on the Middle Passage," *Explorations in Economic History*, 19 (1982): 272; Eltis, "Mortality and Voyage Length," 307; Garland and Klein, "Allotment of Space for Slaves," 238–48; Miller, *Way of Death*, 338–39.

counter-intuitive, is also supported by the fact that the ships experiencing the highest slave mortality also suffered the heaviest losses among the crew. On the voyage in 1618 when Manuel Bautista Pérez lost 94 slaves on the Middle Passage the losses were highest among the “grumetes ladinos” who travelled unchained above deck and who would have received better food.<sup>85</sup>

The 1684 Portuguese law governing the slave trade post-dated the period discussed here, but it constitutes a useful guide to conditions that were considered acceptable at the time.<sup>86</sup> This law set limits on the number of slaves that should be carried at five slaves per two tons or, if the ship had portholes, seven slaves per two tons, while five slaves a ton could be carried above deck. Similarly, the British Dolben Act of 1799 in an attempt to tackle the perceived problem of overcrowding regulated the capacity of slave ships at five slaves per three tons for vessels up to 200 tons, and one slave per ton for each additional ton thereafter.<sup>87</sup>

Most of the 429 ships registered in Seville between 1610 and 1640 were registered to carry fewer than 2.5 slaves per ton, as specified in the 1684 Portuguese law, although there was only a weak correlation between the size of the ship and the number of licenses granted.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, overcrowding was most common on ships less than 100 tons, where about 20 percent of ships were licensed to acquire more than 2.5 slaves per ton and occasionally as high as 5 slaves per ton (Table 4.1). These figures can be compared with those given by Herbert Klein and Stanley Engerman for French ships in the eighteenth century, though their figures represent the numbers actually transported rather than the number of licences issued.<sup>89</sup> The numbers used here exclude the 20 percent excess permitted to take account of anticipated mortality in the Middle Passage and of course contraband trade, which was considerable. Manuel Bautista Pérez’s venture in 1618 may have been fairly typical. He

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<sup>85</sup> AGN SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Álvaro Gonçalves Francês 30 Jul. 1618.

<sup>86</sup> “Ley sobre as arqueações dos navios,” 315.

<sup>87</sup> Klein and Engerman, “Slave Mortality on British Ships,” 119.

<sup>88</sup> AGI Contratación 2878 to 2896 Registros 1616 to 1640. The correlation is +0.26.

<sup>89</sup> Klein and Engerman, “Note on Mortality in the French Slave Trade,” 265 gives a range of 1.39 to 2.88 slaves per ton.

Table 4.1. Number of Slaves Per Ton of Registered Slave Ships  
1610 to 1640

	Number of ships	Average number of slaves per ton	Range of slaves per ton	Number of ships with over 2.5 slaves per ton	Slaves per ton on eighteenth century French ships <sup>1</sup>
Under 100	191	2.05	0.88–5.00	39	2.36
100–149	181	1.28	0.55–2.30	0	2.43
150–199	50	1.05	0.50–1.87	0	2.31
200–249	5	0.92	0.65–1.02	0	2.11
Over 250	2	0.75	0.62–0.88	0	1.84
	429	1.59	0.5–5.0	39	2.26

Source: AGI Contratación 2877 to 2896 Registros 1610 to 1640

<sup>1</sup> See Herbert S. Klein and Stanley L. Engerman, "A Note on Mortality in the French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, edited by Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 267 Table 10.2.

was licensed to take 280 slaves on the Nuestra Señora del Vencimento, a ship of 150 tons, but in fact departed Africa with 482 slaves, a difference of between 1.9 and 3.2 slaves per ton.

Further evidence for ships carrying slaves in excess of official registers is to be found in judicial proceedings in Cartagena against those suspected of conducting contraband trade. Of 24 ships subject to confiscation of part of their cargoes in 1620 most were less than 100 tons. Seventeen were carrying slaves in excess of the *registro*, while others possessed no *registro* or had been seized on suspicion of contraband trade. The seventeen exceeding the *registro* together had licences for 2,822 slaves but landed 5,373, an excess of 90 percent. Several were carrying over 400 or 500 slaves. Unfortunately the size of only nine of the ships is known, but for these ships the average number of slaves per ton was 4.77. One, the Nuestra Señora de la Piedad, which was only 60 tons but licensed to introduce 180, was carrying an incredible 512 slaves.<sup>90</sup> There were many comments from contemporary observers about the excessive numbers of slaves

<sup>90</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A Pieza 6 fols. 17–148, Pieza 9 fols. 36–58 Procedido desclavos negros que se condenaron por descaminados Junio 1617 hasta 25 Nov. 1619, Santa Fe 56B N52c Oficiales reales 17 Jun. 1620, Santa Fe 73 N 71a Pedro Guiral sobre lo tocante a negros bozales... 1621, Escribanía de Cámara 587C Pieza 6 El fiscal contra Lope Fernandes Morales 1622.

transported by some vessels.<sup>91</sup> However, even if there was some risk that overcrowding might increase mortality, it was not directly responsible for many losses. Its greatest effects would have been indirect through encouraging the spread of disease or to a lesser extent limiting the amount of supplies that might be carried.

### *Other Factors*

Another factor that might contribute to high mortality was shipwrecks. These were particularly disastrous for slaves since they were often kept in chains below deck. Alonso de Sandoval recorded that a shipmaster had told him that he had lost all but 30 of his 900 slaves when he was shipwrecked on a sandbank off the coast of Cartagena.<sup>92</sup> Similarly high mortality might be experienced in bad storms, such as that experienced on the *Nuestra Señora de Montserrat* in 1618, when only 17 slaves of the 47 that had departed from Angola survived and the crew became sick.<sup>93</sup>

Resistance or rebellion might also result in elevated mortality as violence resulted in slaves being killed, thrown overboard or subsequently harshly treated. They might also sustain wounds that failed to heal. One slave trader, Jorge López de Morales, considered this to be a significant cause of mortality on the Middle Passage, though not as important as disease.<sup>94</sup> Slaves from Upper Guinea appear to have been more likely than slaves from other regions to be involved in shipboard revolts and to have generally been more rebellious.<sup>95</sup> The Bijagó, in particular, were renowned for their propensity to rebel and to commit suicide.<sup>96</sup> The Jolofo were also considered by

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<sup>91</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana* Ser. 2 vol. 4: 700–701 Francisco de Moura [c. 1622]; Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 151; Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 105.

<sup>92</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 145.

<sup>93</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A Pieza 6 fols. 116–149 Sobre el descamino del navío y negros, maestre de *Nuestra Señora de Montserrat*, Pedro Hernandes 1 Sep. 1625.

<sup>94</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1079A Ramo 8 Pieza 2 fol. 35 Antonio Fernández de Elvas . . . con Jorge López de Morales 1617.

<sup>95</sup> David Richardson, “Shipboard Revolts, African Authority, and the Atlantic Slave Trade,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 58 (2001): 76–77, 81, 91; Stephen D. Behrendt, David Eltis and David Richardson, “The Costs of Coercion: African Agency in the Pre-Modern Atlantic World,” *Economic History Review*, 54 (2001): 457.

<sup>96</sup> Mettas, “Traite Portugaise,” 358.

the Spanish to be arrogant, troublesome and the cause of revolts to the extent that the Crown banned their transport to the New World.<sup>97</sup> This ban was, of course, impossible to enforce.

The psychological reaction to enslavement and shipment to an unknown destination, as well as to conditions on board, would have instilled in many a 'loss of will to survive' and contributed to raised mortality. In some cases it might have prompted suicide. However, the refusal to eat, judged by contemporary observers to be an attempt to commit suicide, may actually have been a physiological response to starvation, since beyond a certain point the body will no longer accept food.<sup>98</sup> More often the psychological impact of their captive experience was probably expressed in fatalistic attitudes to recovery from sickness that hastened their demise. Elevated mortality on a voyage was said to induce melancholy and was judged sufficient to "finish them off".<sup>99</sup>

#### *Health Status on Arrival in Cartagena*

The experience of slaves, both prior to captivity and while awaiting shipment in Africa, as well as their treatment on the Middle Passage was reflected in their health when they arrived in Cartagena.<sup>100</sup> Angolan slaves were regarded as less robust and more prone to sickness than slaves from Upper Guinea, and as such commanded lower prices.<sup>101</sup> In the 1620s and 1630s Manuel Bautista Pérez was paying 310 pesos and 270 pesos respectively for slaves from Upper Guinea and Angola in Cartagena.<sup>102</sup> About the same time royal officials in Santa Fe indicated an even greater difference in the price of slaves of 330 pesos for those from Upper Guinea and 205 pesos for Angolans.<sup>103</sup> Evidence from medical inspections of slaves conducted

<sup>97</sup> Tardieu, "Origin of the Slaves," 51–52.

<sup>98</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 63.

<sup>99</sup> AGNB Negros y Esclavos Bolívar 15 fol. 280v. António Fernandes d'Elvas contra Juan de Santiago 1620.

<sup>100</sup> This section is based on Linda A. Newson and Susie Minchin, "Slave Mortality and African Origins: A View from Cartagena, Colombia in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Slavery and Abolition* 35 (3)(2004): 21–32.

<sup>101</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 110–11, 136, 141. See also the discussion of prices in Cartagena in Chapter 5.

<sup>102</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>103</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 R6 N172/2 Tribunal de Cuentas 27 Jun. 1622.



when the slaves were sold indicates why there may have been such a difference.

On arrival in the New World slave ships were inspected to ensure that they carried no contraband and were free of infection, but little evidence for such inspections has survived for Cartagena.<sup>104</sup> Those landing slaves were anxious to realize their capital and sold their cargoes to local factors or merchants as quickly as they could. In fact investors in the slave trade expected the sale of slaves to be conducted within ten or fifteen days.<sup>105</sup> When slaves were sold two doctors inspected them, one working for the buyer and the other for the seller. These doctors assessed the health of the slaves and identified any defects or *daños* for which the purchaser might receive a monetary discount. In the case of sick slaves, no discount was made, but the seller was required to deliver them to the purchaser in a healthy state, in which case the phrase ‘delo sano’ was inserted in the margin (See Appendix E).<sup>106</sup> This process was of obvious advantage to the purchaser but it also provided some legal protection for the seller against a later claim that defects had not been disclosed at the time of sale. Because these assessments were made immediately the slaves were sold, they can provide some insight into the health status of slaves on arrival.

Unfortunately very few lists of *daños* survive. However, accounts kept by Sebastián Duarte, include lists of *daños* relating to 23 batches of slaves purchased over nine months between December 1632 and September 1633. Table 4.2 provides a summary of the *daños* recorded on 291 individuals, of whom 60 were women, out of a total of 454.<sup>107</sup> *Daños* were recorded on about 50 percent of Upper Guinea slaves and 45 percent of Angolan slaves.<sup>108</sup> The average discount for *daños* was significantly higher for Upper Guinea slaves at about fifteen

<sup>104</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 153–54.

<sup>105</sup> See AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 for his contracts with Gonçalo Carvalho 23 Mar. 1618 and António de Silveira 1 Apr. 1618.

<sup>106</sup> This process is exemplified in the redhibitory case of Juan Rodríguez Meza against the slave trader Diego Morales (AGNB Negros y Esclavos de Bolívar 3 fols. 633–763 1633).

<sup>107</sup> The total number of slaves in each batch can only be ascertained for 19 out of the 23 batches. The size of the batches is not always indicated on the records of *daños* but has been ascertained from the records of purchases (AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts of Manuel Bautista Pérez 1632–1633).

<sup>108</sup> However, in four batches the figure exceeded 60 percent.

Table 4.2. *Daños* Recorded on Slaves Purchased in Cartagena in 1633

	Upper Guinea		Angola		Upper Guinea		Angola		Total		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Muculoskeletal Complaints</i>												
Hernia	22	0	8	0	22	0	8	0	30	0	30	0
Missing fingers, toes and nails	13	2	3	1	15	1	4	3	16	3	19	3
Missing arm or leg	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Missing member ( <i>miembro cortado</i> )	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Crippled members ( <i>tuertos</i> )	10	3	8	1	13	1	9	4	18	4	22	4
Deformity	5	2	4	00	7	0	4	2	9	2	11	2
Cuts ( <i>cuchilladas</i> )	15	0	1	0	15	0	1	0	16	0	16	0
Wounds ( <i>heridas</i> )	8	0	4	1	8	1	5	1	12	1	13	1
Burns	6	2	8	2	8	2	10	4	14	4	18	4
Total	81	9	36	5	90	5	41	14	117	14	131	14
<i>Skin Complaints</i>												
<i>Flema salada</i>	4	1	2	0	5	0	2	1	6	1	7	1
Body parts described as 'overas'	1	0	3	0	1	0	3	0	4	0	4	0
<i>Manchas de morfeo</i>	3	1	1	0	4	0	1	1	4	1	5	1
Pinta ( <i>tiña</i> )	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
Scabies ( <i>sarna</i> , rash)	3	9	8	4	12	4	12	11	11	13	24	13
Rash ( <i>empeñe</i> )	2	1	0	1	3	1	1	2	2	2	4	2
Unspecified 'manchas'	3	1	10	1	4	1	11	2	13	2	15	2
Sores ( <i>llagas</i> )	3	1	7	2	4	2	9	3	10	3	13	3
Tumours ( <i>apostema</i> , tumor, <i>lobanillo</i> )	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	3	0
Total	20	14	33	9	34	9	42	23	53	23	76	23



<i>Lymphatic disease</i>	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Scrofula ( <i>lamparones</i> )	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
Filariasis ( <i>pie regardado</i> )												
<i>Other</i>												
Fever	7	3	22	8	10	10	30	29	11	40		
Scurvy ( <i>Mal de Loanda</i> )	1	0	2	0	1	1	2	3	0	3		

Source: ANHS VM 77-I fols. 83-121

The classification of the *daños* broadly follows David L. Chandler, "Health and Slavery: A Study of Health Conditions Among Negro Slaves in the Viceroyalty of New Granada and its Associated Slave Trade, 1600-1810." (PhD diss. Tulane University, 1972), 277-280. However, the following sources have also been used: Juan de Esteyneffer, *Florilegio medicinal de todas las enfermedades*. 2 vols., edited by María del Carmen Anzures y Bolaños (Mexico DF: Academia Nacional de Medicina, 1978); Alejandro de la Fuente García, "Índices de morbilidad e incidencia de enfermedades entre los esclavos en la Habana, 1580-1699," *Asclepio*, 43 (1991): 18-20; Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Enfermos y sanadores en la Castilla del siglo XVII* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1993), 54-63; Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 146-184, 384-89; Nancy E. Van Deusen, "The 'Alienated' Body: Slaves and Castas in the Hospital de San Bartolomé in Lima, 1680 to 1700," *The Americas*, 56 (1999): 23-25; Marisa Vega Franco, *El tráfico de esclavos con América (asientos de Grillo y Lomelín, 1663-1674)* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispаноamericanos, 1984), 140-141.

pesos compared to six pesos for Angolans. This might suggest that the former were less healthy, but Upper Guinea slaves were more highly esteemed and were often employed in domestic service where the physical appearance of a slave was of paramount importance; an equivalent defect might therefore be considered to be more significant on a slave from Upper Guinea than on one from Angola. For fourteen batches where the breakdown of male and female slaves is known, it appears that *daños* were more frequently recorded on male slaves, and there appears to have been a significant difference between Upper Guinea and Angolan female slaves where the incidence was 57 percent and 25 percent respectively. Unfortunately the lists of *daños* do not include any reference to the age of the slaves. However, accounts of the sale of 395 individual slaves in Lima between May 1633 and May 1635, some of whom would have been those on which *daños* were calculated in Cartagena, indicate that the average age of male and female slaves was 21 years and 19 years respectively for both groups of slaves.

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 summarize the incidence of *daños*, the first by the type of health problem recorded and the second by the number of individuals. Since many slaves were suffering from more than one affliction, the total number of *daños* in Table 4.3 exceeds the number of individuals. While doctors sometimes identified specific diseases, such as dysentery, more often they described external symptoms without specifying a cause. Hence in many cases skin complaints may have been early indications of more serious diseases such as yaws or scurvy. The classification used here does not attempt to identify causes, but is based on the external symptoms recorded by doctors. The following discussion focuses on the important differences in the health of Upper Guinea and Angolan slaves, showing how their health was related not only to conditions on the Middle Passage, but also their lives prior to captivity.

#### *Dental Disease*

One of the most marked differences between slaves from Angola and Upper Guinea was the extent of tooth loss. Of the eighty-two cases of tooth loss, which were found on about 15 percent of the total number of slaves examined, no less than 85 percent were associated with Angolan slaves. This difference does not appear to be age-related, since the average age of Upper Guinea and Angolan slaves

Table 4.3. *Daños* Recorded on Slaves Purchased in Cartagena in 1633 by Individual

	Number of individuals with a defect	Males	Females	Cuts and Wounds	Per cent*	Burns	Per cent*	Hernias	Per cent*
Jolofo	1	1	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Mandinga	9	8	1	1	12.5	0	0.0	2	25.0
Banhun (Bañol)	11	11	0	5	36.4	0	0.0	4	36.4
Folupo	14	7	7	2	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Bran	20	17	3	4	12.5	1	6.3	6	35.3
Papel	2	1	1	1	0.0	1	100.0	1	100.0
Balanta	15	13	2	0	0.0	3	21.4	2	15.4
Biafada (Biafara)	13	10	3	4	30.0	3	30.0	0	0.0
Bijagó (Bioho)	19	13	6	4	30.8	0	0.0	3	23.1
Nalu	7	6	1	1	33.3	0	0.0	1	16.7
Cocoli	4	4	0	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	25.0
Soaza	1	1	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Zape	6	4	2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0
Unspecified	6	1	5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total Upper Guinea	128	97	31	23	18.6	8	8.2	22	22.7
Total Angola	163	134	29	6	4.5	10	7.5	8	6.0

Ethnonyms as recorded in the documents

\*Percentage of males with the defect

Source: ANHS VM 77-I fols. 83-121.

was similar. Indeed evidence from the sale of slaves in Lima indicates that nearly 40 percent of Angolan slaves who were noted as having missing teeth were twenty years old or under.<sup>109</sup> Alonso de Sandoval observed that some slaves coming from Luanda modified their teeth. The Anzico worked their teeth into sharp points and separated them, while the Malemba removed the two lower teeth and cut the upper two teeth obliquely.<sup>110</sup> However, these two groups from the northern Kongo constituted only a very small minority of the slaves shipped from Luanda; the majority were Angolans. Alonso de Sandoval also describes the physical features of Angolans but in this case makes no comment on any cultural modification to their teeth. Also, while a few entries in the list of *daños* refer to ‘missing teeth, two below and two above’ that might suggest deliberate removal, there is no consistency in the location of tooth loss on different individuals. Many entries just refer to ‘many missing teeth’ or occasionally indicate that they had rotten teeth or lacked wisdom teeth, features that are more suggestive of dental health problems.

Most likely the absence of teeth on Angolan slaves was related to their poorer nutritional status. Tooth loss is associated among other things with dental caries, abscesses, also noted on a few individuals, and excess attrition. Dental caries is caused by the demineralisation of teeth by organic acids produced by the action of bacteria, a process that is positively associated with carbohydrate in the diet.<sup>111</sup> As already discussed, diets in Angola largely comprised carbohydrate foods, essentially sorghum, millet or yams made into a paste or gruel, which might be supplemented by small amounts of meat, fish or other vegetables; manioc was only just spreading into the region.<sup>112</sup> Even when manioc was introduced, it was processed in the same way as yams; unlike on the Guinea Coast, it was made into a paste rather

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<sup>109</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave sales in Lima 1633–1635.

<sup>110</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 141–42. The Malemba and Anzico were from northern Congo (Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio 1808–1858* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 17–18, 372).

<sup>111</sup> Alan H. Goodman and Debra L. Martin, “Reconstructing Health Profiles from Skeletal Remains,” in *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere*, eds. Richard H. Steckel and Jerome C. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 44–47.

<sup>112</sup> Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria africana*, Ser. 1 vol. 2: 310 António Mendes 9 May 1563; Pigafetta and Lopes, *Relação*, 61–62; Cavazzi de Montecúcolo, *Descrição*, vol. 1: 37–39, 57.

than processed to produce flour.<sup>113</sup> Apart from the high carbohydrate content of the diet, the soft form in which these foods were consumed would have reduced the amount of dental attrition, which if not excessive can inhibit the development of dental caries. Tooth loss may also be associated with a lack of vitamin C that may result in swollen gums and loosening of the teeth, conditions that are generally associated with scurvy.<sup>114</sup> The relatively high incidence of tooth loss among Angolan slaves probably relates to their poorer nutritional status compared to slaves from the Upper Guinea Coast, where as previously described food supplies were relatively abundant and diets of millet, rice or beans were probably routinely supplemented by meat, fish and other vegetables.

Due to the association of women with cultivation and food processing it is common to find that dental health is poorer in women.<sup>115</sup> However, in this case the incidence of tooth loss was similar for males and females in both regions. Tooth loss may have an important impact on nutrition since it reduces the ability to chew and may thus restrict the range of foods that can be eaten.<sup>116</sup> The discount given for lost teeth appears to have been high at about four pesos regardless of the location and number of teeth that were missing. While tooth loss would have detracted from the physical appearance of the slave, it is possible that dental health was recognized as a symptom of poor health in general, even if the link to nutrition was not understood.

### *Dysentery, Bicho and Fevers*

The *daños* also show that Angolan slaves were also more prone to dysentery (*cámaras*) and *bicho*.<sup>117</sup> Seventy percent of occurrences of dysentery and 95 percent of cases of *bicho* were on Angolan slaves.

<sup>113</sup> Jones, *Manioc in Africa*, 63, 102–103.

<sup>114</sup> French, "Scurvy," 1001; Gaman and Sherrington, *Science of Food*, 127.

<sup>115</sup> Clark S. Larsen et al., "A Biohistory of Health and Behavior in the Georgia Bight: The Agricultural Transition and Impact of European Contact," in *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere*, eds. Richard H. Steckel and Jerome C. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 421.

<sup>116</sup> Catherine A. Geissler and John F. Bates, "The Nutritional Effects of Tooth Loss," *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 39 (1984), 478–89.

<sup>117</sup> In fact the term *cámaras* may have included other diarrhoeal infections as well as dysentery.



Like dysentery, *bicho* was clustered in a small number of batches, all from Angola. Malnourished individuals are more prone to dysentery and intestinal infections and its high incidence among Angolan slaves most likely relates to their poor diet in Africa that was exacerbated by conditions in the Middle Passage. The one case of dirt eating or pica, which is commonly associated with mineral deficiencies in the diet,<sup>118</sup> was also associated with an Angolan slave. Dysentery and *bicho* were potentially serious afflictions and as such purchasers did not normally seek a reduction in the price, but required the slaves to be delivered in a healthy condition, thus forcing the seller to bear the financial risk should they fail to recover.

It is worth noting that many Angolan slaves who had dysentery and *bicho* also had a fever. The fevers found on other slaves appear to have been associated with coughs, headaches, perhaps symptomatic of malaria, or infections in other parts of the body. Probably the fevers found on Angolan slaves derived from a variety of sources, but malaria was probably not a major cause there since the dry northern coast was probably free of malaria and, as previously noted, it may not have been so prevalent on the Upper Guinea coast at this time.

### *Hernias*

While tooth loss, dysentery, *bicho* and fevers were more common among Angolan slaves, other afflictions were more prevalent among Upper Guinea slaves. Musculoskeletal defects constituted a significant proportion of the total number of *daños* recorded. Studies of slave populations in the New World have noted the prevalence of hernias and also a number of permanent disabilities that were related to work-related accidents or the arduous labour slaves were required to perform.<sup>119</sup> The evidence here suggests that these disabilities were also a feature of life in Africa. Of the thirty hernias recorded, twenty-two or nearly 75 percent were on Upper Guinea slaves. In fact over 23 percent of male slaves from Upper Guinea had a hernia or the

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<sup>118</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 101.

<sup>119</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 180–84, 269–76; Alejandro de la Fuente García, "Índices de morbilidad e incidencia de enfermedades entre los esclavos en la Habana, 1580–1699," *Asclepio*, 43 (1991): 10, 13–14.

beginnings of one, whereas they were found on only 7 percent of Angolan slaves. Since it is unlikely that the hernias developed during the Middle Passage when the slaves were kept in confined conditions and not forced to work, they must have been acquired in Africa. It seems likely, therefore, that the higher incidence of hernias among Upper Guinea slaves was related to the more intensive forms of agricultural production they practised, such as the cultivation of paddy rice.<sup>120</sup> The greater frequency of missing fingers, toes and nails among Upper Guinea slaves may also be related to the same cause.

### *Diseases of the Eyes*

Thirteen slaves were noted as having impaired vision (*ceguera*), ophthalmia, cloudy lenses or tumours. In some cases the condition was probably related to the diseases trachoma and conjunctivitis caused by bacteria, which may lead to impaired vision and ultimately blindness.<sup>121</sup> Trachoma is widespread in the dry dusty regions of West Africa.<sup>122</sup> Its spread is associated with prolonged contact among individuals living in filthy and overcrowded conditions and was therefore common on the Middle Passage. However, what is interesting is that all except one of the thirteen cases of eye problems were identified on Upper Guinea slaves; the only Angolan slave with an affliction of the eye was described as having a 'pain in the eyes'. It is possible therefore that the impaired vision was due to other causes. One possibility is onchocerciasis or river blindness, which as noted in Chapter 3, was probably more prevalent around the fast-flowing rivers of Upper Guinea. It is possible that the disease was more extensive than the incidence of blindness suggests, since some of the 'manchas' and swellings of the groin recorded in the *daños* may represent the early stages of onchocerciasis, which is characterized by excessive itching, depigmentation of the skin and enlargement of the lymph glands. However, impaired vision can also be associated with

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<sup>120</sup> Carney, *Black Rice*, 19–23; Hawthorne, "Nourishing a Stateless Society," 9; Barry, *Senegambia*, 19; Bühnen, "Ethnic Origins," 105.

<sup>121</sup> Mary C. Karasch, "Ophthalmia (Conjunctivitis and Trachoma)," in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 899–900.

<sup>122</sup> H. Harold Scott, *A History of Tropical Medicine* (London: Edward Arnold, 1939), 998.

a number of diseases such as smallpox, leprosy or syphilis.<sup>123</sup> Most likely a variety of factors were responsible for impaired vision, but the concentration among slaves from Upper Guinea does suggest a causative agent related to conditions in that region.

### *Cuts, Wounds and Burns*

Upper Guinea slaves also appear to have had more cuts (*cuchilladas*) and wounds (*heridas*) than Angolan slaves, while the latter had more burns (*quemaduras*) (Table 4.3). Nearly a quarter of all Upper Guinea slaves with *daños* had injuries of some kind compared to only 10 percent of Angolan slaves. Altogether over 50 percent of injuries were to the head; most of the rest were to the limbs and hands. It may be speculated that these wounds had been sustained in warfare, capture or resistance to captivity.<sup>124</sup> The higher incidence of injuries among Upper Guinea slaves might reflect the fact that they were more likely to be involved in shipboard revolts than slaves from other regions and to have generally been more rebellious.<sup>125</sup> As noted above, the Bijagó in particular were renowned for their rebelliousness.<sup>126</sup> No information exists on whether revolts occurred on the ships that brought Pérez's slaves to Cartagena, but it is possible that some of the injuries were sustained during resistance to captivity or derived from severe punishments for insubordination. On the other hand the higher incidence of injuries in Upper Guinea and even the particular groups affected could also be indicative of political conflicts in the region. Injuries appear to have been more frequent among the Banhun, Bran and Biafada, who were often the main victims of enslaving raids by the Bijagó (Bioho) and Casanga.<sup>127</sup> It has already been noted that security was a more significant problem in Upper Guinea so that slaves had to be chained for longer, perhaps contributing to the greater incidence of wounds.

<sup>123</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 214.

<sup>124</sup> It was common practice to burn villages to facilitate capture (Scott, *History of Tropical Medicine*, 985).

<sup>125</sup> Richardson, "Shipboard Revolts," 76–77, 81, 91; Behrendt, Eltis and Richardson, "Costs of Coercion," 457.

<sup>126</sup> Mettas, "Traite Portugaise," 358.

<sup>127</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 104–105, 109–16.

*Skin Diseases*

None of the other defects noted on the slaves reveals a significant difference in their incidence between Upper Guinea and Angolan slaves, but there were a number that were common to both that are worthy of note. Particularly prevalent were afflictions of the skin that were recorded as *sarna*, sores (*llagas*) and unspecified *manchas*. The most commonly recorded affliction was *sarna* whose precise identification is unknown. *Sarna* was described as a contagious disease producing a rash on the skin and causing great itching. In many cases it may have been scabies.<sup>128</sup> *Sarna* was particularly prevalent on slaves newly arrived in the Americas and those living in crowded conditions in the towns; it is not recorded on slaves later employed on haciendas or in mining.<sup>129</sup> It is clear that *sarna* was regarded as a curable disease since it often attracted no discount but sellers were required to deliver the slaves in a healthy state. Many of the sores were probably associated with injuries sustained during enslavement or as a result of ill treatment that failed to heal due to infection or malnutrition. Others may have been caused by the Guinea worm, a parasite endemic to Africa that can result in ulceration.<sup>130</sup> Causes of the other skin problems identified are impossible to determine. Many of the skin complaints may have been the result of vitamin deficiencies, such as cracked skin, which is associated with deficiency of riboflavin (vitamin B<sub>2</sub>), or pellagra, which is related to a shortage of niacin.<sup>131</sup> Others, although not diseases of the skin, may have been early symptoms of other diseases such as yaws, which was endemic in Africa and common on slave ships.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 137.

<sup>129</sup> Compare the *palmeo* records for newly arrived slaves with those later employed on haciendas and in mining in, Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 90 and 182. See also Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 163–64; Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 137; Hoeppli, *Parasitic Diseases*, 165–66.

<sup>130</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 187.

<sup>131</sup> Gaman and Sherrington, *Science of Food*, 110–11; Kenneth F. Kiple, "Diseases of Sub-Saharan Africa to 1860," in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 297.

<sup>132</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 187–94; Miller, *Way of Death*, 429. A disease referred to as Boasi, which was probably yaws, was prevalent in Angola in the seventeenth century. It was said to cause rotting of the nose, hands, feet, fingers and toes, spreading from joint to joint and causing great pain (Ogilby, *Africa*, 555).

*Scurvy*

It is clear from the above accounts of mortality on shore and during the Middle Passage, that scurvy or *mal de Loanda* was a significant cause of death on the Middle Passage. It is perhaps surprising therefore that only three slaves were recorded as suffering from scurvy when they were purchased in Cartagena. This is especially so, since at this time slaves were being introduced directly from Africa without refreshment in the Caribbean. The symptoms of scurvy are pains in the limbs and joints, lethargy, swollen, purple gums and tooth loss.<sup>133</sup> David Chandler has suggested that many of the blemishes and spots referred to as *flema salada*, *manchas* or *manchas de humor feo* may also have been symptoms of scurvy that is also characterized by a tendency to bruise.<sup>134</sup> However, among the slaves inspected only twelve had *flema salada* or *manchas de humor feo* and the incidence was higher on Upper Guinea slaves. This is contrary to what might be expected given the poorer nutritional status of Angolan slaves and the longer journey from the Central African coast, which contemporary observers recognized resulted in a greater incidence of *mal de Loanda*.<sup>135</sup> However, the relative absence of scurvy, particularly among Angolan slaves, could be explained by the fact they had died from the disease at an earlier stage in the Middle Passage.

*Dropsy*

Another defect that appears common to both Upper Guinea and Angola slaves was swollen feet, legs, and groin probably caused by edema or a build up of fluid. This symptom is characteristic of dropsy, but only one case was specifically referred to as *hydropesía*. Dropsy is often associated with wet beriberi, which develops where diets, especially those that are carbohydrate-rich, are deficient in thiamine.<sup>136</sup> Thiamine is found in cereals and meat and it is perhaps

<sup>133</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 90; French, "Scurvy," 1003.

<sup>134</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 88–89. He claims that these defects were not found on slaves introduced under other *asientos*, but in fact they were still being recorded in the late seventeenth century. See Vega Franco, *Tráfico de esclavos*, 140–44. *Manchas de humor feo* were sometimes referred to as *manchas de morfeo*.

<sup>135</sup> AGI Indiferente General 2795 Relación de los inconvenientes que tiene navegárense las pieças de los esclavos a las indias por Sevilla, no date.

<sup>136</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 97–99; Gaman and Sherrington, *Science of Food*, 108.

surprising that the incidence was slightly higher among Upper Guinea slaves where these provisions were more widely available. However, it was also known in Angola for Olfert Dapper includes beriberi in a list of diseases to be found in the region, indicating that it was treated with oil in front of a large fire.<sup>137</sup> In Colombia dropsy appears to have been more common among newly arrived slaves than those who had been seasoned.<sup>138</sup>

Before concluding it is important to note that while the *daños* offer useful insights into the health status of slaves on arrival, they provide an incomplete picture. Only those features that would have reduced the value of the slave would have been recorded. Other health problems with less obvious physical symptoms and those that did not affect the ability to work or their physical appearance, for example, hypertension or amenorrhoea, would not have been noted.

The evidence presented suggests that mortality on the Middle Passage from Upper Guinea to Cartagena in the early seventeenth century may have been between 10 and 15 percent, and from Angola slightly more, though outbreaks of disease, particularly bad weather or unexpected delays might push this figure to over 25 percent. These figures are perhaps somewhat lower than normally assumed for this early period. Evidence for the afflictions suffered by slaves on arrival in Cartagena suggest that many were diet-related. This is supported by evidence, to be discussed in Chapter 8, which suggests that slaves who were fed a better diet in anticipation of their sale or onward shipment experienced lower mortality rates than those who were confiscated as contraband and put on deposit where their diet remained very meagre. If the mortality rate among slaves could be reduced by better food, it suggests that the life-threatening health problems they faced had some basis in nutrition, which not only reflected conditions on the Middle Passage, but also those in their country of origin. Unfortunately this study can offer little concrete evidence for differences in mortality on the Middle Passage for slaves from Upper Guinea and Angola. However, it does suggest that Angolan slaves were less robust and more prone to sickness, and therefore less able to survive the gruelling conditions of the Middle Passage, and that this was due in part to the poorer diets they had experienced in that region from childhood.

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<sup>137</sup> Ogilby [Dapper] *Africa*, 555.

<sup>138</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," compare pages 90 and 182.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### IN THE BARRACOONS OF CARTAGENA

Spain sought to prevent the infiltration of foreigners into its territories and prevent contraband trade, so up until Antonio Fernández de Elvas's *asiento* of 1615 slave traders, who were nearly always foreigners, were only allowed to land the slaves and were not permitted to trade them inland.<sup>1</sup> The slave trade across the Atlantic thus came to be controlled by slave traders who were largely distinct from those who handled the trade within Spanish America. During the period of the Portuguese *asientos* Cartagena was one of three ports in Spanish America where slaves could be landed legally, the other two being Veracruz and Buenos Aires. Relatively few licences were issued to land slaves at Buenos Aires and many of those that entered there and in the Caribbean did so illegally.<sup>2</sup> Cartagena was also one of the three mainland ports to which Spanish fleets were authorised to sail when the fleet system was established in 1552, the others being Portobello and Veracruz.<sup>3</sup> Portobello was the main focus of the galleon trade since it was here that European merchandise was exchanged for Peruvian silver. However, because the Caribbean coast of Panama was considered unhealthy, the fleets only stopped there for the duration of the annual fair, which lasted only a few weeks. Partly for the same reason, slaves destined for South America were traded in Cartagena rather than Panama. Also favouring the development of the main slave market at Cartagena rather than Portobello was pressure from investors in the transatlantic sector of the trade who wanted the slaves to be landed as quickly as possible to prevent further losses and realise their profits. The journey to Portobello would take an additional nine to ten days. Cartagena was not only the region's most active slave market but also the main legal entry point for slaves for all destinations in South

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<sup>1</sup> Aguirre Beltrán, *Población negra*, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 207–209.

<sup>3</sup> Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918), 201–30.

America. Although at this time some ships touched land before arriving in Cartagena, this was usually in emergencies or to participate in contraband trade rather than to allow the slaves to recover from the transatlantic journey. Under later *asientos* slave traders used intermediate stopping points in the Caribbean where the slaves were 'refreshed' before being transferred to mainland ports.<sup>4</sup>

Cartagena possessed an excellent natural harbour, but initially it was not well placed to function as a major port and trading centre due to its small population and its relatively underdeveloped hinterland. At the time of Spanish conquest the native population of the province of Cartagena may have been about 90,000 to 100,000 or about 30,000 tributaries,<sup>5</sup> but due to epidemics and excessive tribute and labour demands by the early seventeenth century it had fallen by over 90 percent. A *visita* by the *oidor* of *Audiencia* of Santa Fe, Juan de Villabona y Zubiarrre, in 1611 found only 1,569 tributaries in the region.<sup>6</sup> While the native population declined the number of traders and merchants increased, such that the number of *vecinos* in Cartagena rose from 250 in the 1570s<sup>7</sup> to more than 1,500 in the 1630s, by which time the city extended beyond the walls to Getsemaní.<sup>8</sup> The latter figure excluded Mestizos, Mulattoes, free Blacks and other nationalities. As African slaves became more readily available they were employed in a wide range of urban services and as household servants.<sup>9</sup> About the same time Father Simón

<sup>4</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 94; Vega Franco, *Tráfico de esclavos*, 94–100.

<sup>5</sup> Meisel Roca, "Esclavitud, mestizaje y haciendas," 230.

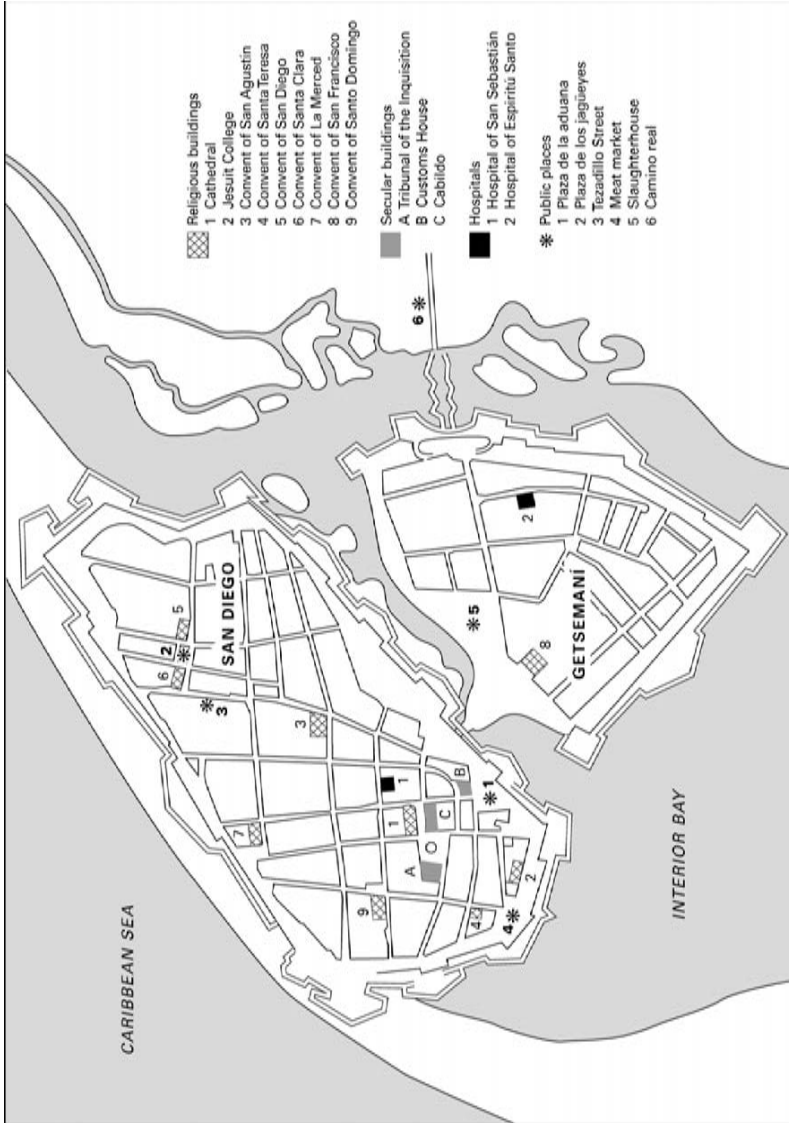
<sup>6</sup> This extensive *visita* is to be found in AGNB Colonia Visitas de Bolívar y Boyacá I, IV and AGI Santa Fe 166. A useful account of the *visita*, including a transcription of the ordinances issued, is to be found in Lola G. Luna, *Resguardos coloniales de Santa Marta y Cartagena y resistencia indígena* (Bogotá: Fondo de Promoción de la Cultura del Banco Popular, 1993), 46–54, 205–253. See also Julián Ruiz Rivera, *Los indios de Cartagena bajo la administración española en el siglo XVII* (Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, 1995), 24–41.

<sup>7</sup> Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y descripción universal de las indias*. Biblioteca de autores españoles 248 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1971), 195; Hermes Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones y visitas a los Andes SXVI. Tomo II Región del Caribe* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispánica, 1994), 415 Descripción de la ciudad de Cartagena [Siglo XVI].

<sup>8</sup> AGI Santa Fe 228 N7 Fray Luis de Cordova Ronquillo 10 Aug. 1634; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 219–20. A detailed account of the householders and economic activities associated with 160 plots in Getsemaní is to be found in AGI Santa Fe 39 R2 N7 doc 2 Relación del sitio y asiento de Gegemani 24 Jul. 1620.

<sup>9</sup> Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias en la articulación del espacio*, 51.





Map 4. Cartagena in the Early Seventeenth Century.

estimated there were about 10,000 to 12,000 slaves living in Cartagena.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the city's civil population there was a significant military presence in the garrison and coastguard. These were required to defend the city and galleon trade against French and English pirates,<sup>11</sup> a need that had been made evident by the six-week occupation of Cartagena by Francis Drake in 1586.<sup>12</sup> In the 1620s about 400 to 500 soldiers were stationed in Cartagena and the coastguard normally employed about 200 people, about half of whom were African slaves and the other half forced labourers.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 1. Plaza de la Aduana, Cartagena, Colombia. Church with the Monastery of San Pedro Claver in the Background (Author).

<sup>10</sup> Pedro Simón, *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de tierra firme en las indias occidentales* (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de Medardo Rivas, 1892), vol. 5 not. 7 cap. 63: 367.

<sup>11</sup> Huguette Chaunu and Pierre Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique, 1450–1650* (Paris: A. Colin, 1959), vol. 8 (1): 1036–37, 1042–51; Enrique Marco Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias: la ciudad y sus monumentos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1951), 9–13.

<sup>12</sup> Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 88–101.

<sup>13</sup> Simón, *Noticias historiales*, 5 part 3 noticia 7 cap. 63: 367–68; Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias*, 198; Chaunu and Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique*, 8(1): 1051; Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 70–77. Dorta (*Cartagena de Indias*, 69–72) provides a description of the physical character of the city in 1633. The figures may have been higher

Among those who arrived in Cartagena were a significant number of foreigners, which was an important justification for the establishment of a tribunal of the Inquisition there in 1610.<sup>14</sup> Among the foreigners were Italians, French and Flemings, but above all Portuguese. In 1627 the governor was able to name twenty-one Portuguese persons of standing in the city in addition to which there said to be about one hundred and fifty shopkeepers, artisans, sailors and some soldiers, many of whom had come via Africa.<sup>15</sup> Many Portuguese were directly or indirectly involved in the slave trade. While some were slave traders, including factors of *asentistas*, others practised as doctors or owned haciendas that supplied provisions. Some even occupied official positions, such as that of *depositario general* who was responsible for the care of slaves confiscated as contraband. Many had several related business interests and worked with those with whom they had kinship ties. As will be revealed below, most of Manuel Bautista Pérez's commercial transactions in Cartagena, were conducted with his compatriots, with one of his main agents being a brother-in-law Sebastián Duarte, who made his first journey from Cartagena to Lima between 1626 and 1627.<sup>16</sup>

Against this background, the rest of this chapter will examine how slaves were bought and sold in Cartagena and subsequently housed and prepared for their onward journey. In doing so it will focus particularly on the diet of slaves, leaving discussions of health conditions and mortality to later chapters.

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than this for as early as 1577 it was said that normally 500 to 1,000 were involved in the *armadas* guarding the coast and port, but when the *Flota* arrived it could be 2,000 (AGI Santa Fe 62 N16 doc 1 fol. 11r Cabildo de Cartagena, no date [1577]).

<sup>14</sup> José Toribio Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena de Indias*. 2nd ed. (Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores, 1978), 20–21.

<sup>15</sup> AGI Santa Fe 39 R2 N19 doc 1 Diego Descobar 5 Aug. 1627; Santa Fe 56B N73 doc 2 Relación y abedario [sic] de los extranjeros 1630. This topic has been studied in some detail by Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Extranjeros en Cartagena (1593–1630)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 16 (1977): 147–184.

<sup>16</sup> Sebastián Duarte arrived in Cartagena in 1622 with a consignment of slaves and subsequently married Isabel Enríquez, a sister of Manuel Bautista Pérez's wife, Guiomar Enríquez (Mellafe, *Esclavitud negra en Chile*, 169, 172–73).

*The Sources*

Much of the evidence for Chapters 5 and 6 is drawn from six account books, referred to here as journals, which were compiled for six shipments between 1626 and 1634, as well as from a mass of unordered accounts covering the period from 1614 to 1634.<sup>17</sup> These documents contain details of all the commercial transactions associated with the annual shipment of slaves from the time they were purchased in Cartagena to their sale in Lima. The journals consist of daily entries of expenditure on individual food items, as well as on medicines, medical services, lodging, transport and taxes (See Figure 2). Other related accounts and papers provide information on the purchase and sale of slaves, on medical inspections at the time of purchase and on slave mortality.

Different agents of Manuel Bautista Pérez drew up the journals, so they differ somewhat in style and the amount of detail they contain. The accounts are fair copies of reports that were submitted to Manuel Bautista Pérez at the end of each journey. These were based on receipts, little scraps of paper and notes taken by the agents along the route, some of which also survive in the Archivo General de la Nación. Except for the 1628 journal, which includes the name of Ambrosio Antunes, who was a servant of Manuel Bautista Pérez, the authors of the journals are not indicated. However, comparisons of the hand writing in other documents suggest that Sebastián Duarte probably compiled the accounts for 1626, 1630 and 1633, while another brother-in-law, Simón Vázquez Enríquez, probably drew up those for 1634. The accounts are particularly valuable because they are private papers and short of possible misdemeanours committed by the agents, there was no real reason for falsifying the figures; indeed they even include bribes paid to royal officials! Also available are accounts kept by Manuel Bautista Pérez himself during the early years of his involvement in the slave trade when he travelled personally to Cartagena to purchase slaves; after the expedition from 1622 to 1623, he remained in Lima and relied on agents in Cartagena

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<sup>17</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca. 20 doc 201 Memoria de los gastos menudos . . . Ambrosio Antunes 1628, Memoria de gastos de los negros . . . 1630, Memoria de los gastos que se van haciendo . . . 1633 and '1634'; ANHS VM 77-II fols. 159-77 Memoria de lo que va gastando con la gente . . . 1626 and fols. 252-265 '1629'.



Figure 2. A Page from the 1633 Journal. AGNL SO CO Ca. 20 doc. 201 (Courtesy Archivo General de la Nación, Lima).

to purchase them for him. The early accounts are much more fragmentary and only provide summary figures for expenditure rather than daily entries.<sup>18</sup>

For Cartagena and Panama all six journals give the daily purchases of food, but only two contain entries for the coast of Peru. For the Panamanian and Peruvian stretches of the journey the entries are less regular and often undated. In addition, the accounts for Panama include some large payments to individuals for goods and services, but they provide few details. A quantitative analysis of the expenditure on different food items is therefore only possible for three years in Panama (1626, 1628, 1629) and for two years for the coast of Peru (1626 and 1630). Another limitation that affects the journals to different degrees is that a proportion of the entries refer only to "daily expenses" or are compound entries, such as "bread, candles and eggs". This is a greater problem with the entries for Panama and Peru. In the analysis the expenditure relating to compound entries has been assigned to the product first mentioned in the list, while those referring to "daily expenses" have not been included. This means that the expenditure on individual items will have a margin of error.<sup>19</sup> However, since the majority of compound entries were for items of relatively little value, it is not thought that assigning them to a single category significantly affects the overall pattern of expenditure identified here. For the calculation of prices only single entries have been analysed.

Accompanying the journals are papers providing details on the purchase of slaves in Cartagena, including the dates on which they were bought, while the journals themselves record the death of any slaves awaiting transshipment. This means that it is possible to calculate precisely the number of slaves held on each day and therefore make some estimation of the daily ration fed to slaves. Such calculations are not possible for later stages of the journey, because the slaves were generally dispatched from Panama to Peru in several batches, but the dates of their departure and the number of slaves that each batch contained are not generally known. In addition some

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<sup>18</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 715–18, 725–32, 735–40 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>19</sup> For Cartagena it has been estimated that about 20 percent of 1,700 entries that contained an item of food were compound entries.

slaves were sold locally and a few fled, but the dates of these events are often not recorded. Before examining the foods fed to slaves, it is necessary to examine how they were acquired and accommodated.

### *Arrival in Cartagena*

Slave ships arriving in Cartagena were required to undergo an inspection during which the numbers of slaves entering the port were counted and the ship searched for any undeclared slaves.<sup>20</sup> A record was made of the number of male and female slaves and their ethnic origin, which was supposed to be consistent with the *registro* and with the number of slaves boarded in Africa.<sup>21</sup> However, as noted in Chapters 2 and 4, contraband trade was rife. In order to avoid paying taxes or to reduce the risk of confiscation shipmasters often bribed officials to register the arrival of smaller numbers of slaves than specified in the *registro*.<sup>22</sup> The taxes payable were quite considerable. They consisted of a customs tax (*aduanilla*) of 2.5 pesos and a hefty entry tax (*entrada*) of 55 pesos per slave payable to the royal exchequer on arrival in the Indies.<sup>23</sup> In addition a local tax, known as the *derecho de agua de Turbaco*, was imposed purportedly to pay for the construction of an aqueduct from Turbaco to supply the city with water. In 1622 this tax was 5 pesos per slave.<sup>24</sup> At the same time the slaves underwent a medical inspection to ensure that they were not carrying any disease.<sup>25</sup> The inspection was undertaken by the

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<sup>20</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 153.

<sup>21</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A Pieza 2 fol. 19v. Cargos comunes de Francisco de Rebolledo 3 Jun. 1621.

<sup>22</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A Pieza 2 f.7v. Visitador Diego de Medina Rosales 25 Jul.1620.

<sup>23</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 R6 N 172/2 Accompanies letter from the Tribunal de Cuentas of Cartagena, 27.6.1622. See also Santa Fè 63 N34 doc 1 Diego Fernandez Calvo, procurador general de la ciudad de Cartagena, no date, [25 Feb. 1622]; AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Cost of 138 ½ piezas taken to the Indies 1615).

<sup>24</sup> Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 23–226; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 13–14. This tax was approved by the Crown in 1565, and was initially set at one peso a slave. The construction was begun but it was destroyed by English corsairs and the funds diverted into building fortifications (AGI Santa Fe 63 N34 doc 1 Diego Fernandez Calvo, procurador general de la ciudad de Cartagena, no date, [25 Feb. 1622]; Carmen Gómez Pérez, “La ciudad sin agua: los poderes locales y el canal de Turbaco a fines del siglo XVI,” *Historia y Cultura* 4 (1996): 292–318.

<sup>25</sup> Chandler, “Health and Slavery”, 65–68.

*protomédico* or in his absence a doctor appointed by the Governor. Those found to be infected with diseases such as smallpox or measles had to remain on board outside the city so that the infection would not spread.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from these inspections by royal officials, the ships were visited separately by officials of the Inquisition primarily to ensure they were not carrying prohibited books, religious images or paintings, or persons “sospechosos en la fe.”<sup>27</sup> As a consequence of the visit they often uncovered large numbers of slaves hidden under the deck behind barrels, piles of mats or other merchandise. Alternatively, it was common practice to move slaves temporarily to other ships in anticipation of inspections in order that the excess would not be discovered. For inspections by royal officials this was not always necessary because they had already been paid a bribe to allow larger numbers to be landed illegally.

The practice was that the ship owner or master would disembark on the coast, commonly at Punta de la Canoa, about fifteen kilometres north of Cartagena, and travel overland to arrange for the “buen despacho” of his cargo. This arrangement generally involved substantial bribes in cash and slaves. One shipmaster, Pedro Morín, claimed he paid the governor and royal officials about 10,000 pesos, sometimes more sometimes less, depending on the number of slaves he was landing illegally. Another, Andrés Díaz de Montesinos, with a *registro* for 120 slaves from Cacheu who wished to introduce 400 slaves, paid 13,000 pesos in cash and eleven slaves, four to the Governor of Cartagena and one each to seven other royal officials, as well as distributed smaller bribes totalling 1,200 pesos to three guards. These particular cases are consistent with a general report by a later governor of Cartagena, Melchor de Aguilera, who suggested that each slave trader arriving had to pay about 14,000 pesos in bribes to over thirty officials and guards.<sup>28</sup> The Governor was said

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<sup>26</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 153–54; Angel Valtierra, *Peter Claver: Saint of the Slaves*, trans. Janet H. Perry and L.J. Woodward. (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1960), 136–37.

<sup>27</sup> AHNM 4816 Ramo 3 no 32 fols. 1–102 Testimonio de las visitas de navios de negros que se han hecho por los oficiales del santo oficio de la inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias desde 30 Julio del año pasado del 1634 hasta fin de Julio de 1635.

<sup>28</sup> AGI Indiferente General 2796 Presidente de la Audiencia del Nuevo Reino de Granada 4 Aug. 1637; Santa Fe 40 R 3 N51 docs. 1 and 2 Melchor de Aguilera 24 Aug. 1639.



to make 30,000 pesos a year from bribes for permitting slaves to be landed illegally, but the figures above given by individual shipmasters suggest this may have been an underestimate. It seems that any slave trader wishing to land slaves illegally had to comply with this process. When Manuel Bautista Pérez arrived in Cartagena from Cacheu in 1618 he was forced to bribe the governor, royal officials and others with slaves and cash totalling 6,170 pesos to allow him to land twice as many slaves.<sup>29</sup> Exasperated he claimed that Antonio Fernández de Elvas had 2,000 “thieves” working for him and that one João Batista Pinto was “the worst pirate in the world.”<sup>30</sup> At an average sale price for slaves in Cartagena of between about 270 and 310 pesos in the 1620s and 1630s, a bribe of 10,000 pesos would have been the equivalent of between 32 and 37 slaves. While this was a significant ‘tax’, it would normally have represented less than 10 to 15 percent of a slave trader’s illegal cargo and it was therefore in a slave trader’s interest to pay the necessary bribes, albeit reluctantly.

Once the slaves had been cleared to enter the city they were taken to one of twenty-four slave sheds, located mainly on the streets of Santa Clara and Santo Domingo, which were owned mainly by captains of the ships who had brought them. Others were taken to private houses, where several hundred slaves might be lodged.<sup>31</sup> A legal case against Juan de Santiago, the shipmaster of the *Nuestra Señora de las Nieves* in 1620, who was charged with landing slaves illegally suggests that individual shiploads were soon dispersed with their owners, who often included the shipmaster and other members of the crew, taking slaves they had acquired on their own account to different private houses.<sup>32</sup> In addition there were temporary enclosures called

<sup>29</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 56.

<sup>30</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Libro borrador Manuel Bautista Pérez 30 Jul. to 30 Aug. 1618.

<sup>31</sup> Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 110–11, 123, 125–26, 142–44. One was owned by Captain Francisco Caballero whose house on the main street near the sea, and others by Doña Teodora de Rivera on Tezadillo Street between the San Agustín church and the sea, Captain Granzo also next to the San Agustín church, Captain Gundisalvo Arias de Aguilar near the Plaza de los Jagueyes, and Captain Francisco de Xenes in the district of San Diego.

<sup>32</sup> AGNB Negros y Esclavos 15 fols. 236, 303 António Fernandes d’Elvas contra Juan de Santiago 1620. Among those houses used by members of the crew of the *Nuestra Señora de las Nieves* were those of Fernando Díaz, Luis de Aguilar, Juan Muñoz de Arce and Capitán Luis de Torres. The first also cared for slaves on deposit. See also: Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 412.

*casas de cabildo* that served as makeshift hospitals for newly arrived sick slaves.<sup>33</sup> Conditions in the slave-sheds and even private houses were appalling. The slave sheds were poorly lit and ventilated and lacked sanitary facilities. They possessed large rooms with benches around on which the slaves slept with the men divided from the women.<sup>34</sup> Sometimes the slaves were not provided with shelter but slept naked on the bare ground of patios. In these crowded conditions diseases spread rapidly and sick slaves were often left to die covered with flies.

Father Sandoval suggests that in general slaves belonging to relatively poorer owners were treated better than those of wealthy merchants who entrusted their welfare to overseers.<sup>35</sup> However, this does not seem to have been the case with Manuel Bautista Pérez' agents who rented private houses for their slaves, often from one Mariana Enríquez, keeping those from Upper Guinea in a separate house from that where those from Angola were lodged.<sup>36</sup> The rent of two houses might cost 500 pesos together.<sup>37</sup> They also purchased wooden boards for the slaves to sleep on and mats for the sick. Some clothing was also purchased for the slaves, including espadrilles.

### *Slave Sales and Purchases in Cartagena*

The Atlantic slave traders were anxious to dispose of their slaves as quickly as possible in order to realise their profits before sickness and disease claimed more of their cargoes. From the second half of the seventeenth century slaves were supposed to be held for two weeks while their legal ownership was ascertained and they were evaluated for customs purposes through a process referred to as the *palmeo*.<sup>38</sup> This was an official inspection where slaves were measured for stature and health in order to estimate the number of *piezas* on which tax should be paid. However, in the early seventeenth century

<sup>33</sup> Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 144, 146; Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 176.

<sup>34</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 153–54; Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 123.

<sup>35</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 154.

<sup>36</sup> In 1633 Sebastián Duarte rented two houses for the slaves and entries in the journals specify that certain goods were destined for the "casa de los Angolas".

<sup>37</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Memoria de los gastos que se van haciendo . . . 1633.

<sup>38</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 75–86; Vega Franco, *Tráfico de esclavos*, 134–55.

the *palmeo* was not conducted and observers at the time commented on the speed with which the slaves were sold.<sup>39</sup> Indeed Manuel Bautista's contracts for the sale of slaves or goods for other clients specified that the slaves had to be sold within ten or fifteen days of arrival in Cartagena, and there is evidence that at least some of these contracts were fulfilled.<sup>40</sup>

Slaves might be sold privately or in the public market, often by auction.<sup>41</sup> The main slave traders purchased large lots from slave owners or factors of *asentista* through private sales. Those who bought large lots might quickly break them down into smaller lots, so that slaves might be sold several times, before they were transported elsewhere. Meanwhile smaller lots, including those that had been seized as contraband, confiscated by the Inquisition or captured as fugitives were sold in public auctions. Many of the slaves were destined for markets in Peru, Panama and Nicaragua, but merchants from the interior highlands of Colombia also came to Cartagena to acquire slaves. The trade in slaves in Cartagena was largely controlled by Portuguese merchants many of whom were New Christians.<sup>42</sup> They dominated the trade until many of them were brought before the Inquisition in either Lima or Cartagena on charges of Judaizing.

An examination of the slaves purchased by Sebastián Duarte on behalf of Manuel Bautista Pérez in 1633 provides some insight into the manner in which slaves were acquired for transshipment to Peru.<sup>43</sup> It also reveals the central role that resident Portuguese played in the slave trade. Between August 1st and September 21st 1633 Sebastián Duarte purchased 28 lots of slaves comprising 377 individuals. Most were purchased in relatively small batches of about 15 to 20 slaves, with only 3 lots exceeding 30 slaves. Some of the largest lots were purchased from Fernando López de Acosta who was factor for the current *asentista*, Manuel Rodríguez Lamego, and from Francisco

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<sup>39</sup> Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 466.

<sup>40</sup> See AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 for examples of the contracts with Gonçalo Carvalho 23 Mar. 1618, Diogo Soares 23 Mar. 1618, Baltasar Pereira de Castelo Blanco 29 Mar. 1618, António de Silveira 1 Apr. 1618.

<sup>41</sup> María Cristina Navarrete, *Historia social del negro en la colonia: Cartagena siglo XVII*. (Universidad del Valle, Santiago de Cali, 1995), 81–82.

<sup>42</sup> AGI Santa Fe 106 N 31 Agustín Calderón 27 Jun. 1627; Vila Vilar, "Estranjeros," 164.

<sup>43</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Memoria de los gastos . . . 1633 and ANHS VM 77–1 fols. 31–32 Memoria de corretajes del Señor Capitán Sebastián Duarte 1633.



Figure 3. Tribunal of the Inquisition, Cartagena, Colombia (Author).

Rodríguez de Solís, who had been the administrator of the former *asentista*, Antonio Fernández de Elvas, his brother-in-law. The largest number of slaves, 72, was bought from Juan Rodríguez Meza and Andrés de Blanquesel, two of Cartagena's long-standing foreign residents.<sup>44</sup> Juan Rodríguez Meza was one of the city's main slave

<sup>44</sup> AGI Santa Fe 39 R5 N51 doc 1 fol. 1v Francisco de Murga 16 Nov. 1631; AGI Santa Fe 56B N73 doc 2 fol. 17r Relación y abedario [sic] de los extranjeros 1630.

traders. Although born in Estremoz in Portugal he had been naturalised in Cartagena. When he was brought before the Inquisition in Cartagena in 1638 he was said to be worth 65,000 pesos.<sup>45</sup> Andrés de Blanquesel was of Flemish origin and a wealthy local landowner who became a *regidor*.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to the main lots there were a large number of small sales of different kinds. Many of those who migrated to the Indies travelled on slave ships,<sup>47</sup> and on the way acquired small numbers of slaves for sale. Indeed serving on a slave ship and acquiring a few slaves for sale was seen as one way in which some of Cartagena's poorer citizens could improve their economic position.<sup>48</sup> Most of the crew and passengers only acquired a few slaves, but some bought larger numbers. For example, in 1630 one passenger, Nuño Freile arrived from Upper Guinea with nine slaves.<sup>49</sup> Doctors also sold slaves in small numbers. The well-known Portuguese surgeon, Blas de Paz Pinto, worked his passage to Cartagena on a slave ship from Angola in 1622. Arriving impoverished having lost more than two-thirds of his slaves to smallpox he turned his hand to buying sick and weak slaves and restoring them to health. This was clearly a profitable business, because when he died as a result of torture by the Inquisition in 1638, he was said to be worth more 50,000 pesos.<sup>50</sup> Sebastián Duarte bought several slaves from Blas de Paz Pinto every year. Other doctors who commonly sold small numbers of slaves were Fernando Vázquez de Silva and Mendo López del Campo, both Portuguese.<sup>51</sup> Apart from the slaves that agents purchased on Manuel

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<sup>45</sup> Medina, *Inquisición en Cartagena*, 117; Alfonso W. Quiroz, "The Expropriation of Portuguese New Christians in Spanish America 1635–1649," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* Jg. 11 H. 4 (1985): 459.

<sup>46</sup> AGI Santa Fe 39 R5 N51 doc 1 fol. 1v Francisco de Murga 16 Nov. 1631.

<sup>47</sup> Of 184 foreigners living in Cartagena in 1630, 77 or 42 per cent had arrived on slave ships as either crew or passengers (AGI Santa Fe 56B N73 doc 2 Relación y abedario [sic] de los extranjeros 1630; Vila Villar, "Estrangeros", 156–57.

<sup>48</sup> Méndez Nieto, *Discursos medicinales*, 423.

<sup>49</sup> AGI Santa Fe 56B N73 doc 2 Relación y abedario [sic] de los extranjeros 1630.

<sup>50</sup> AGI Santa Fe 56B N73 doc 2 Relación y abedario [sic] de los extranjeros 1630; AHNM 1608 No. 14 fol. 8 Bienes de Blas de Paz Pinto 11 May 1638; Medina, *Inquisición en Cartagena*, 117. It seems he may also have received some directly from slave ships as they arrived. When they left Cacheu in 1635 Andrés Díaz de Montesinos and Francisco López de Amézquita were specifically instructed to deliver the slaves to Luis Fernández Suárez and Blas de Paz Pinto (Navarrete, *Historia social del negro*, 61–62).

<sup>51</sup> AGI Santa Fe 56B N73 doc 2 fols. 12r, 21r Relación y abedario [sic] de los extranjeros 1630.

Bautista's account, they also bought small numbers for relatives, friends or clients in Lima and Panama.

Slaves purchased in larger lots tended to be slightly cheaper, probably because single slaves were generally bought for their special qualities; individual slaves from Upper Guinea might cost 380 pesos or more. There were some fluctuations in the price of adult slaves, though it generally followed an upward trend, and in 1634 it was claimed that there were as many as one hundred buyers for every slave.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, during eight years from 1626 to 1633 Upper Guinea slaves were consistently more expensive, often more than 50 pesos more (Table 5.1). Earlier figures provided by officials in Santa Fe in the 1620s suggest a much larger differential with slaves from Upper Guinea estimated at 200 pesos *plata ensayada* (about 330 pesos) and from Angola at 150 *ducados* (about 206 pesos) (See Table 2.5).<sup>53</sup> At this time slaves from the Gold Coast, referred to as Ardas were slightly more expensive than Angolan slaves at 160 *ducados* (about 220 pesos). Similarly, in 1618 Manuel Bautista Pérez bought Upper Guinea slaves for 195 pesos ensayados (322 pesos) and Arda slaves for 175 ducados (241 pesos).<sup>54</sup> Pérez was always keen to purchase Arda slaves,<sup>55</sup> but with the exception of this *empleo*, very few figure in his accounts. As shown in Table 5.2 the slaves acquired by Pérez's agents were primarily from Upper Guinea and Angola, the balance probably reflecting supply rather than demand since there was a market in Lima for slaves from both regions.<sup>56</sup> Since the slaves were purchased in mixed lots of males and females it is not possible to ascertain their relative prices.

As described in the previous chapter, when slaves were sold the seller and buyer negotiated any discounts that were to be applied based on a list of *daños* or physical defects or illness drawn up by licensed doctors. As might be expected the greatest discounts were agreed for physical defects that affected the ability of the slave to work. Hernias seem to have attracted the highest discounts of up to

<sup>52</sup> AGNL SO CO leg. 22 Juan Rodríguez Silva to Jorge Silva 5 Jul. 1634.

<sup>53</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 R6 N 172/2 Accompanies letter from the Tribunal de Cuentas of Cartagena, 27 Jun. 1622.

<sup>54</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 715 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>55</sup> AGNL Tribunal de la Inquisición Contencioso—Siglo XVII leg. 21 Memoria [1633].

<sup>56</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 2.

Table 5.1. Average Prices for Adult Slaves Purchased in Cartagena  
1626 to 1633

	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	Total 1626– 1633
<i>Upper Guinea</i>									
Number of adult slaves for which price is available	29	2	195	174	72	131	12	214	829
Average price in pesos	240	307	283	311	355	335	360	305	312
Top price	275	400	340	450	382	380	375	380	373
<i>Angola</i>									
Number of adult slaves for which price is available	90	73	87	37	64	177	227	183	938
Average price in pesos	204	267	230	272	305	276	305	283	268
Top price	240	370	255	300	310	330	355	310	309
Difference in average price	36	40	53	39	50	59	55	22	44

*Sources:* AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201, ANHS VM 77–II fols. 56–58, 155–156v, 158, 267v, VM 79 fols. 116, 141–141v., 153–153v, 161, VM 79–II fols. 314v, 319.

Table 5.2. Slaves Purchased in Cartagena 1626 to 1633

	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633
Upper Guinea	58	201	261	195	73	138	31	229
Angola	108	83	108	40	64	296	233	191
Gold Coast	8	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
Criollo	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cape Verde	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total origin known	174	285	372	235	137	435	266	420
Origin unknown	2	57	0	11	16	29	9	3
<i>Total number</i>	<i>176</i>	<i>342</i>	<i>372</i>	<i>246</i>	<i>153</i>	<i>464</i>	<i>275</i>	<i>423</i>
Male	106	61	255	185	99	316	186	285
Female	59	40	110	61	40	145	89	75
Total sex known	165	101	365	246	139	461	275	360
Sex unknown	11	241	7	0	14	3	0	63
<i>Total number</i>	<i>176</i>	<i>342</i>	<i>372</i>	<i>246</i>	<i>153</i>	<i>464</i>	<i>275</i>	<i>423</i>

Table 5.2 (*cont.*)

Origin and sex known	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633
Percent Upper Guinea	33.3	70.5	70.2	83.0	53.3	31.7	11.7	54.5
Percent Angola	62.1	29.1	29.0	17.0	46.7	68.0	87.6	45.5
Percent male	64.2	60.4	69.9	75.2	71.2	68.5	67.6	79.2
Percent female	35.8	39.6	30.1	24.8	28.8	31.5	32.4	20.8

Sources: AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201, ANHS VM 77-II fols. 56-58, 155-156v, 158, 267v, VM 79 fols. 116, 141-141v, 153-153v, 161, VM 79-II fols. 314v, 319.

thirty-five pesos. The price was generally reduced by about ten pesos for one hernia and twenty pesos for two hernias. Quite large discounts of about thirty pesos were given for a broken arm or missing fingers, but surprisingly small reductions of about two to eight pesos were made for impaired vision. This may be compared with similar reductions for those with skin problems. *Sarna* attracted a discount of about four to six pesos, but 'manchas' varied, probably in part according to the severity of the ailment, but also the parts of the body affected. Not surprisingly 'manchas' on the head or face attracted higher discounts, sometimes over twenty pesos, even though they would not have affected their value as workers.

Overall it seems that considerable attention was paid to the physical appearance of the slave, such that discounts were given for physical features that would not have impaired the physical work of the slaves, but affected their marketability, especially if they were destined to work in domestic service where their appearance was of utmost importance. Twenty-one slaves had defects that were described as unsightly or 'fealdad'. They were equally divided between Upper Guinea and Angolan slaves and 60 percent of them were scars from cuts or burns, over half of them affecting the face or head. Others included congenital deformities such as knock-knees, six fingers on the hand, or the absence of eyebrows, as well as cultural markers, such as 'a drawing on the shoulder'.<sup>57</sup>

Manuel Bautista Pérez's first two slave trading expeditions are unusual in that he accompanied at least some of the slaves all the

<sup>57</sup> ANHS VM 77-I fols. 83-121 *Daños* on slaves purchased in 1633.



way to Peru. In Chapter 4 it was estimated that about 482 slaves were dispatched from Cacheu in March 1618 and by the time they reached Cartagena on 8th May 94 had died. During his stay in the city Pérez bought and sold some slaves. He sold at least three large batches totalling 176 slaves, as well as 27 other slaves and 8 children.<sup>58</sup> The adults were sold for about 315 pesos each. Taking into account the costs of food, transport, medical expenses and taxes in Africa and on the transatlantic journey, which may have amounted to about 122 pesos (Table 2.5), this would have represented a profit of about 52 percent on each slave. However, it does not take account of the fact that 94 out of the 482 dispatched from Africa died on the journey. If those who died are included then the overall profit per slave landed in Cartagena falls to only 13 percent.<sup>59</sup> However, it should be noted that this was regarded as an exceptionally high loss and profits would normally have been much higher. While in Cartagena he acquired 30 Ardas valued at about 240 pesos and 40 weak slaves at 200 pesos. There were probably a number of other smaller transactions. Of the total number of 235 in his possession in Cartagena, he then resold 21 slaves, mostly those who were sick, and returned two, while four died. After about four months in Cartagena on 12th September he finally left for Portobello with 208 slaves.<sup>60</sup>

The slaves that were confiscated as contraband were mostly sold at auction. The *depositario general* placed the confiscated slaves on deposit until the legal process of ascertaining the ownership of the slaves was complete. During this process those persons designated to take care of the slaves in their private houses and estates were paid between 1.00 and 1.75 reals a day each for lodging, food and medical care. Many of the slaves were deposited with Luis Gómez Barreto, who for much of the period was the *depositario general*.<sup>61</sup> Others who

<sup>58</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 685–86, 701 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>59</sup> This is based on the price of 94 pesos paid for slaves in Africa and the cost of maintaining the 94 slaves who died only while they were in Africa.

<sup>60</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 715–716 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>61</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A Pieza 6 fols. 17–65 Procedido desclavos negros que se condenaron por descaminados . . . june 1617 to 15 Nov. 1619, Pieza 9 fols. 37r–41v, 52r–55v Testimonios sobre descaminos . . . Cartagena 1625; Vilar Vilar, “Extranjeros”, 172–75. He was denounced before the Inquisition in 1636 by Blas de Paz Pinto and Juan Rodríguez Meza and was eventually exiled from Cartagena (Tejado Fernández, *Aspectos de la vida social*, 169–79).

received slaves on deposit were Jorge Fernández Gramaxo and his nephew, Antonio Núñez Gramaxo, Lucas Rodríguez and Fernando Díaz.<sup>62</sup> There was little incentive for those entrusted with the care of the slaves to treat them well so that conditions in the *depósitos* were appalling and mortality rates extremely high.<sup>63</sup> Those who survived were sold at auction to the highest bidder. Since they were often in poor condition and described as “deshechos” (wasted) they sold for less than 100 pesos, with those who were sick and in danger of dying selling for only 50 pesos.<sup>64</sup> This was less than one-third of the price of healthy slaves. Conditions were so bad in the *depósitos* that royal officials and slave traders alike argued that the confiscated slaves should be valued and remain with their owners under guarantee while the case was being considered.<sup>65</sup> This, it was argued, would result in more slaves surviving and in them being able to command higher prices in the market, thereby increasing royal revenue. Doctors turned slave traders, of which Blas de Paz Pinto was only one, made a good business out of buying up such sick and weak slaves and restoring them to health.

In 1618 Manuel Bautista Pérez spent four months in Cartagena buying and selling slaves and other merchandise including large quantities of wax.<sup>66</sup> The period spent in Cartagena seems to have been typical of later years, when three to four months were spent acquiring slaves mainly between the months of July and November. In general the largest number of slaves were purchased at the beginning of the period. Even though a longer stay in Cartagena would increase costs and slave traders were anxious to leave Panama and

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<sup>62</sup> Jorge Fernández Gramaxo undertook four journeys to Lima before settling in Cartagena where he acquired a *finca* in Bocachica and a house next to the San Agustín church. Most likely some of the slaves were held at his *finca*, which was also used to conceal illegal slaves that were disembarked before the ships entered Cartagena (AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1022C leg. 18 doc 1 Luis Gómez Barreto depositario general de la ciudad de Cartagena con el fiscal de SM 1628; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 120–22).

<sup>63</sup> Slave mortality in Cartagena is discussed below in Chapter 8.

<sup>64</sup> AGI Santa Fe 73 N71a Pedro Guiral, contador sobre lo tocante a negros esclavos bozales que se llevan de Guinea . . . 1621.

<sup>65</sup> AGI Santa Fe 73 N 71A fols. 1–2 Pedro Guiral sobre lo tocante a negros bozales 7 July 1621; AGI Escribanía de Cámara 587C Pieza 9 fol. 46 Pleito sobre la manifestación de Simón Rodríguez, maestro del navío San Pedro, que vino de Angola 1623.

<sup>66</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 5–13 Borrador de gastos de Manuel Bautista Pérez 1618–1622; AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 695 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

arrive in Lima ahead of other traders,<sup>67</sup> it seems that they wanted to wait until the slaves had put on some weight before embarking on the journey.<sup>68</sup>

### *Slave Diets in Cartagena*

To a large extent slave diets depended on the availability and price of individual foods, although as will be shown, the slave traders did not always choose the cheapest available. In contrast to the *Flota* which required foodstuffs that would last the long journey to Spain and would not take up the valuable cargo space needed for silver, for the three to five months when a shipment of slaves was being assembled in Cartagena<sup>69</sup> and for the short journey to Portobello the slave traders could take advantage of locally produced fresh foods. However, during the sixteenth century their supply was often problematic.

In the sixteenth century the decline in the native population in the face of the growth population of Cartagena and its passing traffic posed considerable food supply problems that were exacerbated by exports to neighbouring regions, such as Panama.<sup>70</sup> Bans on the export of provisions from the province and their exemption from local taxes did little to relieve food shortages and prices began to rise.<sup>71</sup> This encouraged Spaniards to acquire land for the production of provisions and livestock using imported slave labour.<sup>72</sup> Between 1589 and 1631 over 400,000 hectares of land in the hinterland of Cartagena were allocated by the *cabildo*.<sup>73</sup> The number and size of

<sup>67</sup> ANHS VM 79-II fol. 6v. Manuel Bautista Pérez a Sebastián Duarte 8 May 1633 to 1 Jul. 1633.

<sup>68</sup> AGNL Tribunal de la Inquisición Contencioso—Siglo XVII leg. 35 fol. 73 Simón Vázquez Enríquez 20 Oct. 1634.

<sup>69</sup> Slave ships generally arrived between July and September and left in October or November.

<sup>70</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 590A Cargos contra el maestro de campo, Melchor de Aguilera 20 Jan. 1641.

<sup>71</sup> José P. Urueta, *Documentos para la historia de Cartagena* vol. 1 (Cartagena: Tip. Antonio Araújo, 1887), 200 [7 Jan. 1575], 208 [17 Jun. 1588, 5 Jun. 1589], 218; AGNB Colonia Visitas de Bolívar 1 fol. 49v. Ordenanzas del presidente Dr. Antonio González 19 Dec. 1589; Gómez Pérez, "Ciudad sin agua," 292–94. Provisions were exempt from the *sisá* tax for the construction of a canal for the provision of water from Turbaco that was sanctioned in 1565; Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 385–87.

<sup>72</sup> Meisel Roca, "Esclavitud", 242–44; Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 76–77.

<sup>73</sup> Eduardo Gutiérrez de Piñeres, *Documentos para la historia del departamento de Bolívar*

the grants increased over time, particularly after the *visita* by oidor Juan de Villabona y Zubiarre in 1611 that involved a programme of *congregación* which released large stretches of land for allocation.<sup>74</sup> Other lands were opened up further into the interior. Captain Duarte de León Marqués was apparently the first to establish a hacienda in the sparsely populated jurisdiction of María in 1616 with the expressed aim of producing maize and other provisions for the city of Cartagena, the armada and the galleon trade, and this acted as a stimulus to other *vecinos* to do the same.<sup>75</sup> In fact between 1616 and 1620 twenty land grants were made in this area comprising approximately 31,000 hectares.<sup>76</sup> One of the landowners was Luis Gómez Barreto who was the *depositario general* of Cartagena and in charge of barracooning slaves seized as contraband.<sup>77</sup> Another was Andrés de Blanquesel, who acquired seventeen *caballerías* in Carnapacua, María, Tigua, Tierra Adentro and Mompo, and became one of the slave traders' major suppliers of maize.<sup>78</sup> Hence by the 1620s there were many haciendas in the jurisdiction of Cartagena producing maize, manioc and plantains as well as raising livestock, in addition to which there was some small-scale production of sugar.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, the city still

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(Cartagena: Tip. De Antonio Araújo L., A. Cargo de O'Byrne, 1889), 149–65; Meisel Roca, "Esclavitud", 241.

<sup>74</sup> AGI Santa Fe 19 R1 N6 Audiencia to Crown 23 Jun. 1612. This programme of *congregación* reduced a total of 86 communities to only 25.

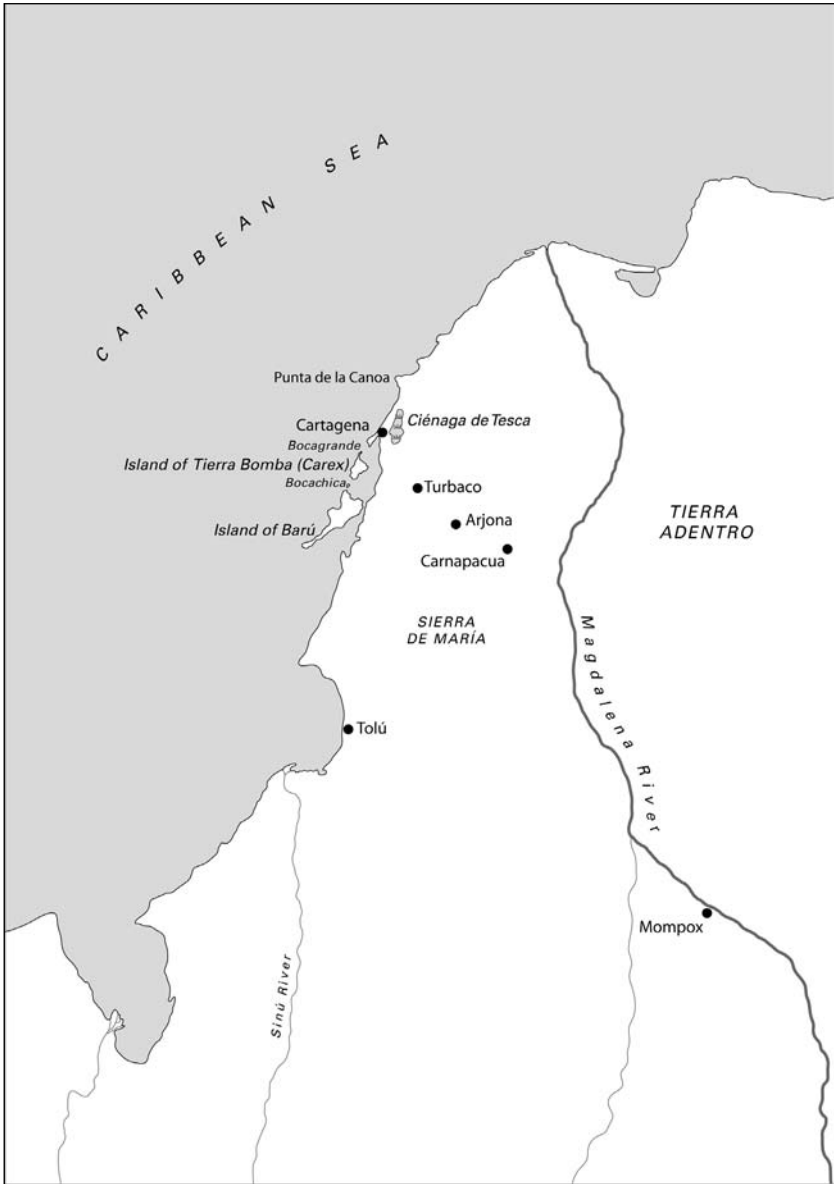
<sup>75</sup> AGI Santa Fe 102 N3 fols. 265–69 Información de Capitán Duarte León Marqués 5 Jul. 1618

<sup>76</sup> Gutiérrez de Piñeres, *Documentos*, 149–65. Seventy-two *caballerías* were allocated. One *caballería* was equivalent to 427 hectares 500 meters square (Meisel Roca, "Esclavitud", 240). By 1620 the population of the region had grown so much that a priest was needed for the parish of María which had lacked one for many years because the Indian population had declined (AGI Santa Fe 228 N78 Fray D. Altamirano 24 Jul. 1620).

<sup>77</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 1022C leg. 18 doc 1 Probanza de Luis Gómez Barreto 17 Jul. 1621.

<sup>78</sup> Gutiérrez de Piñeres, *Documentos*, 149–65; Journals for 1626, 1628, 1630, 1633. In 1628 Andrés de Blanquesel supplied 281 *fanegas* of maize for the slave traders. Other major suppliers of maize were: Francisco López, María Villoria, Francisco Castellhendo and Barahona (probably Agustín). María Villoria was *encomendera* of Tubará and this maize may have been produced by forced Indian labour rather than African slaves (AGI Santa Fe 105 N40 Petición de Doña María Villoria 25 Jan. 1625).

<sup>79</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 221–22. Inventories of haciendas when they were sold indicate that in the early seventeenth century they were raising maize, manioc and plantains, and possessed equipment for making *casabe* (AGNB Colonia Tierras de Bolívar 1 fols. 136–41 Pleito... por tierras llamadas Santa Cruz de



Map 5. The Cartagena Region in the Early Seventeenth Century.

suffered from shortages of maize, which had to be imported from more distant regions such as Tolú and the River Sinú.<sup>80</sup>

Due to the tropical climate not all provisions could be produced locally. In the early colonial period flour, barley, cheese, ham and other provisions had to be imported from more temperate highland regions via the Magdalena River.<sup>81</sup> For the *armada* wheat and flour to make *bizcocho*, cheese and chickpeas were assembled at Honda from the jurisdictions of Tunja, Villa de Leiva and Valle de Sogamoso for transport downriver.<sup>82</sup> However such sources often failed to meet demand so that these and other provisions had to be imported from the Caribbean islands or neighbouring Venezuela. Sugar, honey, *bizcocho*, flour, lard, wine and hides were imported from Cuba, while sugar, tobacco and hides came from Santo Domingo and Jamaica. Venezuela was a major supplier of wheat flour, but other products included tobacco and sugar from Maracaibo and Mérida.<sup>83</sup> Antonino Vidal Ortega maintains that 90 percent of the commercial traffic of Cartagena was with the Caribbean and only 10 percent with the interior.<sup>84</sup>

The journals allow a unique insight into the diet of slaves while awaiting transshipment in Cartagena. It might be expected that slave traders would purchase the cheapest foods available, with prices reflecting local environmental and economic conditions. While the slave traders certainly wanted to maximize their profits, inadequate

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Matunilla 1757; AGNB Colonia Tierras de Bolívar 1 fols. 904–33 Juan de Simancas pide amparo de tierras 1680; AGNB Colonia Tierras de Bolívar 2 fols. 634–38 Litigio de los vecinos del sitio de Timiriguaco 1805; AGNB Colonia Tierras de Bolívar 5 fols. 478r–483v Remate de la hacienda de campo San Francisco y Candelaria 1724).

<sup>80</sup> AGI Santa Fe 40 R2 N 40 fol. 4v. Testimonio de autos de la urca 24. Oct. 1636; Enrique Marco Dorta, “Cartagena de Indias: Riquezas ganaderas y problemas,” III Congreso Hispanoamericano de historia, II de Cartagena de Indias Tomo I (Cartagena: Talleres Gráficos Mogollón, 1962), 338–39; Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias en la articulación del espacio*, 64–65.

<sup>81</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 196; Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 366; Antonio Ybot León, *La arteria histórica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Cartagena-Santa Fe, 1538–1798). Los trabajadores del río Magdalena y el canal del Dique según documentos del Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1952), 43, 177.

<sup>82</sup> AGI Santa Fe 40 R1 N4 doc 98 Don Juan de Borja 20 Jun. 1624

<sup>83</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 366–67; Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias en la articulación del espacio*, 88–93 and *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe, 1580–1640* (Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 2002), 183–205.

<sup>84</sup> Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias en la articulación del espacio*, 98.

diets would be counterproductive for they could lead to poor health and increase mortality. In the 1620s and 1630s slaves were being purchased in Cartagena for between about 270 and 310 pesos and could be sold in Lima for over 600 pesos. Since a good profit could be made on each slave, it made little economic sense to reduce the expenditure on food to the extent that poor nutrition became life threatening. Nevertheless, slave traders wished to keep food costs as low as possible and generally budgeted on about one real per slave per day.<sup>85</sup> This figure is supported by the detailed analysis below that indicates that in 1633 expenditure on food in Cartagena totaled 24,482 reals, while 21,517 daily rations were needed, an expenditure of about 1.1 reals per slave per day.

Even though slave traders wanted to minimize costs, they often purchased foods, which although they were more expensive were regarded as healthier. As such pork and chickens were routinely bought for weak and sick slaves. Also it was recognized that slaves benefited from being fed foods with which they were familiar.<sup>86</sup> This practice was most evident in the processing of maize to make cous-cous rather than bread. They also provided them with tobacco that was probably chewed rather than smoked,<sup>87</sup> it was needed for medicinal purposes but also to give the slaves some pleasure and thereby reduce their propensity to rebel or flee.<sup>88</sup> There are no entries in the accounts for the purchase of kola nuts (*Cola nitida*), but there are for jars used to store them, which suggests they may also have been given to the slaves.<sup>89</sup> Kola nuts were highly esteemed on the Guinea Coast as a stimulant.<sup>90</sup> These particular slave traders were concerned not only with the slaves' material needs, but also with their spiritual

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<sup>85</sup> AGNL SO CO ca. 18 doc 197 pp. 265–68 Accounts regarding 138.5 piezas taken to the Indies (1614–15). Those caring for confiscated slaves were paid between 1 real and 1.75 reals per slave a day for food, lodging and medical care (AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A Pieza 6 fols. 17–65 Procedido desclavos negros que se condenaron por descaminados . . . Cartagena, June 1617 to 15 Nov. 1619, Pieza 9 fols. 37r–41v, 52r–55v Testimonios sobre descaminos . . . Cartagena 1625).

<sup>86</sup> Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 124; Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 175.

<sup>87</sup> Bowser (*African Slave*, 225) notes that slaves in Lima were given tobacco to chew. Indigenous people on the Atlantic Coast of Colombia used tobacco as a stimulant and it was often smoked in ceremonies (Simón, *Noticias históricas*, vol. 3 no. 1 cap. 9: 369).

<sup>88</sup> Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 124; Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 231.

<sup>89</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journal for 1634.

<sup>90</sup> Gamble and Hair, *Discovery of the Gambia River*, 134–35.

welfare as they saw it. As such they stuck strictly to the Catholic practice of feeding the slaves alternative foods, particularly fish, on Fridays and Saturdays when Christians were required to abstain from eating flesh meat.<sup>91</sup> Ultimately, however, the diet of slaves reflected the availability of different foods, which varied throughout the journey according to local environmental and socio-economic conditions.

Before embarking on an account of slave diets it is important to note that much of the discussion is based on an analysis of expenditure on different food items which reflected their price as well as the significance in the diet. The importance of relatively expensive products in the diet may therefore be overestimated. Where possible expenditure on different items has been converted to an amount of food by weight or another measure to gauge their contributions to the diet.

### *Bread Staples and Cereals*

In Cartagena the basic diet of slaves was maize bread, consumed primarily in the form of *bollos*, or *casabe* together with some meat or fish. These products accounted for nearly two-thirds of the expenditure on food. Although there was some variation in the importance of different types of foods purchased in different years, it is clear that the highest expenditure was on bread and meat (Table 5.3). This diet was apparently the same as that of common people in the city.<sup>92</sup>

About four times more maize was purchased than *casabe*,<sup>93</sup> with maize acquired every few days and *casabe* often before embarkation for Portobello. *Casabe* was preferred to maize bread for journeys because of its longer lasting qualities and the difficulty of preparing

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<sup>91</sup> P.M.J. Clancy, "Fast and Abstinence," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Catholic University of America, 1967), vol. 5: 847–48. The practice of requiring slaves to abstain from eating meat on Fridays and Saturdays appears to have been a common procedure (Bowser, *African Slave*, 225).

<sup>92</sup> Simón, *Noticias historiales*, vol. 5 no. 7 cap. 63: 365.

<sup>93</sup> One problem in assessing the proportion of maize bread and *casabe* purchased is that entries often refer only to bread without specifying whether it was made from maize, cassava or wheat. Also, some entries combine bread with other products such as meat, firewood and candles. However, the accounts for 1633 which include only a few compound entries and references to unspecified bread suggest that *casabe* accounted for about 18 percent.



Table 5.3. Expenditure on Food for Slaves in Cartagena 1626 to 1634

	Expenditure in reals	Percent of food category	Percent of total expenditure	Unit	Price in reals (average)
<i>Cereals and bread</i>					
Maize	22,854	67.8	24.1	<i>fanega</i>	8-24 (17)
<i>Casabe</i>	5,558	16.5	5.9	<i>adorote</i>	24-40 (27)
Barley	54	0.2	0.1	n/a	
Rice	214	0.6	0.2	<i>botija</i>	18-33 (23)
<i>Bizcocho</i>	951	2.8	1.0	<i>petaca</i>	176
Unspecified bread	4,067	12.1	4.3		
<i>Total</i>	<i>33,698</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>35.5</i>		
<i>Meat</i>					
Beef	6,485	29.8	6.8	<i>arroba</i>	4.5-5
Beef and pork	7,126	32.8	7.5		
Pork	3,792	17.4	4.0	piece	100
Mixed and unspecified meat	4,345	20	4.6		
<i>Total</i>	<i>21,748</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>22.9</i>		
<i>Chickens and eggs</i>					
Chickens (include <i>gallinas</i> , <i>pollos</i> and other birds)	6,141	89.5	6.5	piece	7-12 (9)
Eggs	721	10.5	0.8		
<i>Total</i>	<i>6,862</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>7.2</i>		
<i>Fish and turtle</i>					
Fish	1,719	33.7	1.8	<i>arroba</i>	16-20 (18)
Salt fish	1,308	25.6	1.4	<i>arroba</i>	18-24 (21)
Turtle	2,080	40.7	2.2	piece	8-76
<i>Total</i>	<i>5,107</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>5.4</i>		

<i>Meat products and cheese</i>						
Jerky	3,691	57.3	3.9	<i>arroba</i>	8-16 (12)	
Salted meat	336	5.2	0.4	n/a		
Bacon	468	7.3	0.5	piece	7	
Ham	1,006	15.6	1.1	piece	16-26 (20)	
Ham and cheese	820	12.7	0.9			
Cheese	124	1.9	0.1	piece	8	
<i>Total</i>	6,445	100	6.8			
<i>Vegetables and fruit</i>						
Plantain	1,690	41.6	1.8	1,000	16-32 (28)	
Amaranth	1,146	28.2	1.2	n/a		
Beans	222	5.5	0.2		8-28 (18)	
Chickpeas	2	0	0.0	n/a		
Squashes ( <i>calabaza</i> and <i>ayama</i> )	604	14.9	0.6	n/a		
Onions	96	2.4	0.1	n/a		
Guavas	116	2.9	0.1	caja	40	
Oranges and lemons	191	4.7	0.2	n/a		
<i>Total</i>	4,067	100	4.3			
<i>Other products</i>						
Honey	4,032	23.7	4.2	<i>botija</i>	16-32 (20)	
Sugar	2,160	12.7	2.3	<i>arroba</i>	20-60 (37)	
Conserves	636	3.7	0.7	boxes of various sizes		
Nuts (almonds and hazelnuts)	472	2.8	0.5	<i>botija</i> (almonds)	45-88 (66)	
Lard	1,888	11.1	2.0	<i>botija</i>	20-34 (26)	
Oil	1,754	10.3	1.8	<i>botija</i>	14-32 (21)	
Vinegar	148	0.9	0.2	<i>botija</i>	16-48 (26)	
Salt	257	1.5	0.3	<i>fanega</i>	16-24 (22)	

Table 5.3 (*cont.*)

	Expenditure in reals	Percent of food category	Percent of total expenditure	Unit	Price in reals (average)
Pepper	64	0.4	0.1	<i>libra</i>	7-8 (8)
Garlic	8	0	0.0		
Capers	1,960	11.5	2.1	barril	227
Saffron	583	3.4	0.6	pound	96-128 (113)
Cinnamon	55	0.3	0.1	pound	8-20 (14)
Herbs and spices (unspecified)	3	0	0.0		
Tobacco	1,129	6.6	1.2	<i>petaca</i>	80-120 (100)
Wine	758	4.5	0.8	<i>botija</i>	32-44 (36)
<i>Aguardiente</i>	352	2.1	0.4	flasks of various sizes	
Cacao	240	1.4	0.3	<i>costal</i>	240
Mixed entries	518	3	0.5		
<i>Total</i>	<i>17,017</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>17.9</i>		
<i>Total expenditure</i>	<i>94,944</i>				

Sources: AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 1628, 1630,1633, 1634; ANHS VM 77-II fols. 159-77, 252-265 1626 and 1629

the latter on board ship. In fact it was claimed that *casabe* could go “to Spain and back”.<sup>94</sup> The dominance of maize and *casabe* is not surprising given that they were the region’s traditional staples and were suited to the humid tropical climate of the Atlantic Coast, even though by then most was being commercially produced on haciendas employing African slaves rather than native labour.

In the late sixteenth century *casabe* or *pan de yuca* was cheaper than maize bread and was the main bread consumed in Cartagena.<sup>95</sup> In 1588 a *torta* of one and a half pounds of *pan de casabe* cost half a real whereas a pound of *pan de maíz* in the form of *bollos* cost the same price and of *arepas* one real.<sup>96</sup> Shortages of maize meant that bread was twice as expensive in Cartagena as it was in Mexico where one real could buy four pounds. Despite an expansion in commercial production of maize in the early seventeenth century its price rose from fifteen reals a *fanega* in 1588 to an average of seventeen reals in the 1620s and 1630s, although it might fluctuate between one and three pesos (See Table 5.3).<sup>97</sup>

Maize was generally consumed in the form of *bollos* rather than *tortillas*; in the seventeenth century a *bollo* of maize and a roast plantain were described as the most common foods consumed by slaves in Cartagena.<sup>98</sup> However, the journals indicate some maize was made into couscous and the large number of bowls, mats and baskets for processing, drying and storing couscous, suggests that this was a relatively common form in which maize was fed to slaves. This manner of preparation was similar to the way that millet and sorghum were prepared in Upper Guinea and Angola,<sup>99</sup> and would seem to be an attempt by the slave traders to replicate African diets. It suggests that there was already some understanding of the need to provide slaves with a diet with which they were familiar in their home country and to introduce them to new foods slowly.

Against the traditional staples of maize and manioc, other cereals made little headway and they remained relatively expensive. There

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<sup>94</sup> AGI Santa Fe 62 N16 doc 3 fols. 18v, 24v, 30v Cabildo of Cartagena to crown, no date [1577].

<sup>95</sup> Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 385.

<sup>96</sup> AGI Santa Fe 62 N 16 doc 1 fols. 11r. Cabildo of Cartagena, no date [1577]; Urueta, *Documentos*, 226.

<sup>97</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 226.

<sup>98</sup> Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 252; R.B. Cunninghame Graham, *Cartagena and the Banks of the Simú* (London: William Heinemann, 1921), 32.

<sup>99</sup> See Chapter 3.

are no references in the journals to the purchase of wheat, while barley and biscuit (*bizcocho*) were rarely purchased. Wheat and barley could not be grown in the tropical lowlands,<sup>100</sup> so as noted above they had to be imported from the more temperate interior highlands of Colombia or from overseas. The price of *bizcocho* is not specified in the accounts, but according to a list of prices drawn up in 1588 it was two and a half reals a pound, which was five times the price of *bollos* of maize. Wheat and barley were regarded as foods for the rich.<sup>101</sup> However, *acemitas*, coarse bran buns, were regularly purchased although only in small amounts, sometimes specifically for the sick.

It is worth noting that each year the slave traders also purchased a few *botijas* of rice at about three pesos each. These small quantities may have been acquired from Atlantic traders who possessed surpluses at the end of transatlantic journeys, but it was also produced on the Atlantic Coast, notably around Tolú from which it was imported.<sup>102</sup> In the 1620s it was regarded as one of the main foods consumed by commoners along with maize, *casabe* and plantains.<sup>103</sup> At that time rice was being given to sick slaves with some salt<sup>104</sup> and the small quantities that were purchased may have been specifically for this purpose. Africans in Upper Guinea commonly consumed rice and its medicinal use may have been in recognition of the health benefits to be gained from feeding slaves foods with which they were familiar.

### *Animal Protein*

Apart from maize and manioc, the slave traders purchased large quantities of meat. The journals suggest that about a quarter of the total expenditure on food for slaves was on meat (Table 5.3). Most

<sup>100</sup> Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 418 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571]; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 196.

<sup>101</sup> AGI Santa Fe 62 N16 doc 3 fols. 18v, 24v, 30v. Cabildo of Cartagena, no date [1577].

<sup>102</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 part 3 noticia 7 cap. 63: 365; María del Carmen Borrego Plá, *Palenques de negros en Cartagena de Indias a fines del siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1973), 23–24. In the eighteenth century rice was being produced at Palenque and other parts of the coast of María (Dorta, “Riquezas ganaderas”, 341).

<sup>103</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, vol. 5 no. 7 cap. 63: 365; Borrego Plá, *Palenques de negros*, 23–24.

<sup>104</sup> Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 252; Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 141.

of the land in the immediate hinterland of Cartagena was forested and there was little pasture for raising of livestock. Since pigs did not require pasture and could be raised on maize, they dominated livestock production.<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, the supply failed to meet demand and from an early date the export of pigs from province was prohibited.<sup>106</sup> Despite the shortage of pasture some cattle were imported from Española to develop cattle ranching,<sup>107</sup> and in order to encourage production the slaughter of cows was forbidden.<sup>108</sup> Livestock became more important in the jurisdiction of Tolú, where cattle, horses, and goats were raised and chickens and partridges were also abundant.<sup>109</sup> However, even here the raising of pigs predominated.

To ensure a supply of meat for the city, the *cabildo* of Cartagena sought to control its availability and price. As was common in Spanish American cities, the town council of Cartagena appointed a *carnicero*, a post initially paid for by the *cabildo* but later rented out. The *carnicero* had the monopoly of slaughtering livestock in the city,<sup>110</sup> and laws banning the slaughter and sale of livestock outside the official slaughterhouse reinforced this monopoly.<sup>111</sup> Fixed price lists were drawn up and to prevent fraud and public inspector of weights and measures was appointed.<sup>112</sup> The *cabildo* made contracts with a number of ranchers to supply the city with a number of cattle at agreed prices on a *rota* basis.<sup>113</sup> Although efforts to confine the slaughter of livestock to the official slaughterhouse were not wholly successful,<sup>114</sup> they probably had some effect in ensuring the city was supplied with meat, albeit at an elevated price. Many of the *hatos* contracted to supply the city were in the hinterland of Cartagena in the savanna

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<sup>105</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 194; Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 430 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571].

<sup>106</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 200 [7 Jan. 1575].

<sup>107</sup> AGI Santa Fe 38 R2 N49 doc 1 Gerónimo de Zuazo, no date [1603]; Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 390.

<sup>108</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 195 [8 Jul. 1569].

<sup>109</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 197.

<sup>110</sup> Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 389.

<sup>111</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 190 [19 Jul. 1559], 196 [16 Jun. 1572]; 201 [7 Aug. 1577], 193 [8 Feb. 1606], 499 [7 Jun. 1583, 4 Nov. 1583], 501 [11 Sep. 1586].

<sup>112</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 189 [29 Jul. 1558]; Urueta, *Documentos*, 225 for the list of prices for 1588.

<sup>113</sup> Adelaida Sourdis Nájera, "Estructura de la ganadería en el Caribe Colombiano durante el siglo XVIII," *Huellas* (Revista de la Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla) nos. 47–48 (1996): 41.

<sup>114</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 207 [17 Jun. 1598].

of Arjona and Tierra Adentro, and only a few in the savannas of Tolú and Mompox.<sup>115</sup> Initially the supply was based on the exploitation of feral cattle,<sup>116</sup> and production was unable to meet the demand, so some cattle had to be imported from Coro and Latuya in Venezuela.<sup>117</sup> It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that cattle raising developed on a large scale and Mompox and Santa Marta began to emerge as Cartagena's main suppliers.<sup>118</sup>

Beef was the main meat consumed, though pork was not insignificant. It is difficult to be precise about the relative importance of the two meats since they were often entered together in the journals or the meat was just referred to as *carne*. The beef available in Cartagena was generally of poor quality; the cattle were scrawny due to the poor pasture and the distance they had to travel to the city.<sup>119</sup> Because pigs were raised on maize, pork was more expensive but regarded as healthier.<sup>120</sup> In 1588 pork cost sixteen reals an *arroba* whereas beef was selling at four reals.<sup>121</sup> By the 1620s and 1630s the price of pork had risen to twenty-five reals an *arroba*, while beef had risen only slightly to between four and a half and five reals.<sup>122</sup> Although pork was more expensive, it was commonly purchased for weak and sick slaves, particularly those who were being purged.<sup>123</sup> In 1628 over 40 percent of the pork that was purchased was specified as being for the sick. Nevertheless, it was not thought to be as healthy as chicken for the sick, but it was cheaper.<sup>124</sup> Live

<sup>115</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 590A Cuaderno 4 fols. 122v.-142r. Rueda de carne de vaca, no date [1640]; Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 366.

<sup>116</sup> Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias en la articulación del espacio*, 67, 96.

<sup>117</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 366.

<sup>118</sup> Dorta, "Riquezas ganaderas", 341; Sourdis Nájera, "Estructura de la ganadería", 41.

<sup>119</sup> AGI Santa Fe 62 N16 doc 3 fols. 41v. Cabildo of Cartagena, no date [1577]; Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 365. See also López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 195; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 219.

<sup>120</sup> Juan de Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres*. Biblioteca de autores españoles 4 (Madrid: Imp. de los sucesores de Hernando, 1914), 368; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 194; Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 430 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571].

<sup>121</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 225. This may be compared to the Audiencia of Quito where in 1598 an *arroba* of beef cost 2 reals. (Constantino Bayle, *Los cabildos seculares en la América Española* (Madrid: Sapientia, 1952), 475).

<sup>122</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 366. Simón says the price of pork was one real a pound, which is the equivalent to 25 reals an *arroba*.

<sup>123</sup> In the 1628 account book over 40 per cent of the 179 pesos spent on pork was specified as being for the weak and sick.

<sup>124</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 366.

pigs were also loaded on ships bound for Portobello to provide fresh meat during the journey.

The journals suggest that most expenditure on meat was on fresh meat. Processed meats in the form of salted meat, jerky, bacon and ham, together with some cheese accounted for a variable proportion of the total expenditure but it was always under 10 percent.<sup>125</sup> Salting was easy due to the availability of salt in the Ciénaga de Tesca and island of Barú.<sup>126</sup> Jerky was two to three times the price of fresh beef, while cheese was also more expensive because it was imported from the interior or from Venezuela.<sup>127</sup> As such the purchase of processed foods was restricted to the period immediately before the departure to Portobello, which suggests they may have been used as a substitute for fresh meat. On the other hand, the “sweets and ham” that were bought by Manuel Bautista Pérez in 1618 were specified as being for royal officials, which probably means they were used as bribes.<sup>128</sup>

While the daily diet of slaves in Cartagena generally comprised beef and maize or *casabe*, the slave traders purchased fish, salt fish or turtle for consumption on Fridays and Saturdays. Both the fish and salt came from the Ciénagas of Tesca and Matuna.<sup>129</sup> With the exception of one barrel of tuna, the journals do not indicate what type of fish was purchased, but Vázquez de Espinosa noted that the fish found in the Ciénaga de Tesca included sea bass, various kinds of mullet, mojarra and large shad.<sup>130</sup> In 1588 one and a half pounds of salt fish cost one real whereas two pounds of barbecued and fried fish cost one real.<sup>131</sup> By the 1630s an *arroba* (twenty-five pounds) of salt fish had risen to about three pesos, while fresh fish was between two and two and a half pesos. Turtles were abundant in the region

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<sup>125</sup> The account book for 1630 suggests the much higher proportion of 32 percent, while the proportion of fresh meat was correspondingly lower. The reason for this is unknown, since this account book would appear to have been drawn up by Sebastián Duarte who also compiled those for 1626 and 1633.

<sup>126</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 196; Dorta, “Cartagena de Indias: Riquezas ganaderas”, 342.

<sup>127</sup> Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias en la articulación del espacio*, 90, 93.

<sup>128</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 715 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>129</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 196; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 222; Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 366–67.

<sup>130</sup> Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 426–27 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571].; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 222.

<sup>131</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 226.



and like fish were regarded as one of the daily foods of the local population.<sup>132</sup> Some Indian communities supplied turtles and manatees to Cartagena as part of their forced labour requirements.<sup>133</sup> Turtles feature quite commonly in the journals, albeit mainly on Fridays and Saturdays and in small numbers of variable size. They were often loaded on ships for the journey to Portobello.

The journals suggest that chickens and eggs were purchased regularly about every two or three days. Larger quantities were purchased just prior to departure for Portobello since both would have been important sources of fresh food on board. Chickens were rapidly adopted on the Atlantic coast of Colombia.<sup>134</sup> They were a specified item of tribute payment, were raised on haciendas and were kept in the yards of most households.<sup>135</sup> Between 1588 and the 1620s and 1630s the price of chickens (*gallinas*) rose considerably between from five reals to an average of nine reals.<sup>136</sup> Chickens were considerably more expensive than those raised in Mexico, where in 1642 the wholesale price was three reals.<sup>137</sup> Apart from their use as foods, chickens and eggs were purchased for medicinal purposes.<sup>138</sup>

### *Fruit and Vegetables*

Meat, fish, *casabe* and maize bread together accounted for nearly two-thirds of the total expenditure on food for the slaves while in Cartagena. Less than five percent was spent on vegetables and fruit, but two items figured quite highly—amaranth (*bledos*) (*Amaranthus* spp.) and plantains. In over three-quarters of cases when amaranth was purchased it was acquired on the same day as fish or turtle,

<sup>132</sup> Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 420 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571]; Bernabé Cobo, *Obras* (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1956), vol. 1: 293.

<sup>133</sup> AGI Santa Fe 245 Juan de Tordesillas 30 Aug. 1630.

<sup>134</sup> Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. Biblioteca de autores españoles 119 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959), 3 lib. 8 part 27 cap. 6: 150.

<sup>135</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 222.

<sup>136</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 266. At variance with prices available in the account books, Simón suggests that *gallinas* cost 2 reals, though even this was regarded as expensive.

<sup>137</sup> Woodrow W. Borah and, Sherburne F. Cook, *Price Trends of Some Basic Commodities in Central Mexico, 1531–1570*. Ibero-Americana 40 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), 79.

<sup>138</sup> See Chapter 8.

which suggests that it was probably used as a vegetable in a fish or turtle stew rather than as a grain. Amaranth contains a higher proportion of protein than wheat or barley, and is therefore an important dietary supplement where protein is lacking; it also contains more iron than spinach, is rich in calcium and phosphorus and possesses some essential minerals and vitamins.<sup>139</sup> Squashes, both *calabazas* and *ayuyamas* (*Cucurbita moschata* Duchesne ex Lam.) may have also been consumed in the same way. Because they could be stored easily many were also purchased “for the journey”.

Plantains were purchased on a more regular basis and they were probably a daily staple, though larger quantities were purchased prior to sailing and when new slaves were acquired.<sup>140</sup> In the journals they are referred to as “plantanos” and it is assumed that they were plantains rather than bananas. There is some debate as to whether plantains were indigenous to the Americas,<sup>141</sup> but they appear to have been well established around Cartagena in the sixteenth-century<sup>142</sup> where they were a common slave food.<sup>143</sup> Though deficient in protein, plantains are rich in Vitamin C and A and they may have helped the slaves resist infection and bring about a quick improvement in their nutritional status.<sup>144</sup> It is noteworthy that plantains figured among the foods that the Jesuit, Pedro Claver took to newly arrived slaves.<sup>145</sup> The nutritional qualities of plantains and the fact

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<sup>139</sup> Mary C. Karasch, “Amaranth,” in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, eds. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemheld Coneè Ornelas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 1: 75. It contains potassium, thiamin, riboflavin, niacin and vitamins A and C.

<sup>140</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 715 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

<sup>141</sup> Bananas have their origins in Southeast Asia and were probably introduced to the Americas by the Spanish and Portuguese, but the case of plantains is not clear. Many believe that they were indigenous to the Americas since many indigenous names exist for them and they were widespread in the tropics by the second half of the sixteenth century (See: Carl O. Sauer, “Cultivated Plants of South and Central America,” in *Handbook of South American Indians*. Bulletin of the Smithsonian Institution 143, vol. 6, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution 1950), 526–27).

<sup>142</sup> Castellanos, *Elegías*, 367; Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 428 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571]; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 218. See also Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 part 3 noticia 7 cap. 63: 365–6.

<sup>143</sup> Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 252.

<sup>144</sup> Will C. McClatchey, “Bananas and Plantains,” in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, eds. Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemheld Coneè Ornelas, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1:175.

<sup>145</sup> Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 124 refers to bananas but the term used in the Spanish

they could be easily transported, led to an expansion in production. In the 1620s twelve to fourteen large boats with more than 30,000 to 40,000 plantains each were leaving Tolú annually for Cartagena.<sup>146</sup> The expansion of production appears to have led to a fall in price from about 6 pesos for 1,000 in 1588 to less than 4 pesos in the 1620s and 1630s.

Despite the abundance of both indigenous and Old World vegetables and fruits on the Atlantic coast at this time,<sup>147</sup> very few figure in the journals. Old World vegetables such as onions, cabbages, lettuces, aubergines and radishes were grown around Cartagena in the 1570s, though the onions and lettuces did not produce seeds so they had to be brought from Spain.<sup>148</sup> Onions appear only occasionally in the journals and they were generally purchased “to give away” suggesting they were gifts, or more likely bribes. This function suggests that they were not common in the region and were highly prized; certainly they were expensive for in 1588 two onions cost one real. Despite their high price lettuces were commonly used as a food for the sick. Beans were also bought occasionally, but only in large amounts in one journal, and it is not clear whether they were grown locally or imported.<sup>149</sup>

Early observers commented on the large number of fruits grown in the region. Those most commonly mentioned were anona or sweetsop, *caimito* or star apple, *guanábana* or soursop, *hobo* or hog-plum, *guayaba* or guava, *papaya*, *mamey*, *mamón* or genip, pineapple, plantains, *uvilla* or *uchuva* and various types of plums, including the

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edition is *plátanos* (Angel Valtierra, *Pedro Claver* (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1980), 1: 36. Pedro Claver was born in 1580 and arrived in Cartagena in 1608. After a period of working the interior of Colombia he returned to Cartagena in 1616 where he stayed until his death in 1654. He was designated as *compañero* to Alonso de Sandoval (Fernando de Armas Medina, “El santo de los esclavos,” *Estudios Americanos* 9 (1955): 57–60.

<sup>146</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, vol. 5 no. 7 cap. 63 p. 367; AGI Santa Fe 245 Juan de Tordesillas 30 Aug. 1630. Although it is not explicitly stated, it is assumed that these figures referred to an annual trade.

<sup>147</sup> Castellanos, *Elegías*, 367; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 195; Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 418, 426–27 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571]; Vázquez de Espinosa, 221–22; Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 noticia 7 cap. 63: 365.

<sup>148</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 195; Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 418 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571]. In the 1971 version of López de Velasco’s, *Geografía*, it would seem that “no” has been omitted before “echar”.

<sup>149</sup> In the journal for 1634 23 *botijas* of unspecified beans were purchased at 61 pesos 4 reals (AGNL SO Ca 20 doc 201).

coco plum that grew on the coast.<sup>150</sup> However, only plantains and guavas appear in the journals, the latter being used for medicinal purposes, particularly for the treatment of diarrhoea.<sup>151</sup> In the early colonial period fruits brought from Europe added to the variety of fruits available. Most notable were the citrus fruits—oranges, limes, lemons, citrons—as well as pomegranates, melons, figs and grapes, which quickly became established in local gardens.<sup>152</sup> Oranges figured quite highly in the 1626 journal, but only occasionally in the others, while, lemons were purchased in small numbers more consistently, almost certainly for medicinal purposes.<sup>153</sup>

#### *Other Food Commodities*

A large proportion of the expenditure on other food products was on items used for cooking, flavouring or sweetening food. Olive oil was an essential ingredient of the Mediterranean diet, but there was no counterpart in indigenous cuisines. Indeed frying appears to have been a post-conquest form of cooking. However, the cultivation of the olive spread slowly so that most olive oil was imported. Given the availability of livestock, *manteca* in the form of pork fat or lard would have been more commonly used for cooking. It is therefore surprising that the price for *manteca* was slightly higher than that for oil (Table 5.3). However, it could be that much of the oil was locally produced palm oil rather than imported olive oil, as some of the entries suggest.

The herbs used in cooking were generally not specified, possibly because they cost very little. Particularly noteworthy, however, is the high expenditure on capers, which were purchased in large quantities despite their high cost.<sup>154</sup> Capers were used extensively in the Mediterranean cooking to add a salty taste to foods and sauces. It is not clear whether they were used for this purpose in Cartagena.

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<sup>150</sup> Castellanos, *Elegías*, 367; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 195; Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 418, 426–27 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571]; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 221–22.

<sup>151</sup> Cobo, *Obras*, 1: 245.

<sup>152</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 195; Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 418 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571]; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 221–22

<sup>153</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>154</sup> In 1630 3 barrels of capers cost 85 pesos.

They may have been acquired for sale in Peru rather than as a food for the slaves,<sup>155</sup> though some were probably used for medicinal purposes, mainly as a diuretic.<sup>156</sup> Spices figured in the journals more commonly than herbs. This is perhaps because of their higher price, since they would have been unsuited for cultivation in the humid tropics and therefore would have had to be imported. The accounts also contain entries for saffron, a common ingredient in Mediterranean cooking, cinnamon, cloves, cumin, mustard and pepper. Often the spices were used for medicinal rather than culinary purposes.

Sweeteners in the form of honey and sugar accounted for over 35 percent of expenditure on non-basic food items. Some sugar was grown on haciendas around Cartagena, but probably most was imported from the Caribbean Islands and Venezuela.<sup>157</sup> Probably for this reason, honey continued to be more important than sugar. The journals indicate that sugar and honey were also used to make purgatives, medicinal syrups and creams, and to revive sick slaves. Wine, which was imported from Spain, was expensive at between four and five pesos a *botija*, but on each journey a small number of bottles were purchased, again most likely for medicinal purposes.<sup>158</sup>

### *The Daily Ration*

The journals enable some calculations to be made of both the total amount of food purchased and the numbers of slaves being supported. The following discussion is based on the foods purchased for slaves that were shipped from Cartagena in 1633, since for this year the information is particularly complete.<sup>159</sup> In 1633 423 slaves were acquired on different dates between 1st August and November 2nd 1633, but during this period 18 of them died.<sup>160</sup> One batch of 205

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<sup>155</sup> Simón Vázquez Enríquez was told by Manuel Bautista Pérez to take some capers as a gift for Manuel de Acosta, one of his agents in Arica (AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Libro borrador Manuel Bautista Pérez 16.9.1628).

<sup>156</sup> Enrique Laval, *Botica de los Jesuitas de Santiago* (Santiago: Asociación Chilena de Asistencia Social, 1953), 47.

<sup>157</sup> Simón, *Noticias históricas*, 5 not. 7 cap. 63: 366–67; Antonino Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe, 1580–1640* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispánicoamericanos, 2002), 66–68, 167–208.

<sup>158</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>159</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca. 20 doc 201 Memoria de los gastos . . . 1633.

<sup>160</sup> This number includes 46 slaves who were being purchased on other accounts; as noted above, 377 were purchased for Manuel Bautista Pérez.

slaves was shipped to Portobello on 15th September and the other on 2nd November. Taking account of the dates of the purchase, death and dispatch of individual slaves, it can be calculated that 21,517 daily rations would have been required to support them while they were in Cartagena. It seems likely that the food also supported those who were guarding and looking after the slaves, but since they were probably few, they have not been included in the calculations. The dietary intake calculated below would also have been slightly less than that indicated because some of the foods would have been used on the nine to ten day journey to Portobello.

### *Meat and Fish Rations*

The journals suggest that the slaves may have been fed as much as 485 grams or about one pound one ounce of beef a day.<sup>161</sup> This estimate takes account of the fact that slaves were not fed meat on Fridays or Saturdays, when fish or turtle were normally purchased. It also takes account of the fact that the meat would most likely have been purchased on the bone. Today about 40 percent of the carcass weight of an animal is bone so the total amount of meat available for the slaves has been reduced by this percentage.<sup>162</sup> In fact the percentage of bone may have been higher in the past because scientific breeding has improved the quality of meat. This would apply to Cartagena where the cattle were thin because of the poor pasture. This still represents a considerable intake of animal protein and it does not take account of the possible consumption of other

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<sup>161</sup> Until the end of August beef and pork were listed separately, but thereafter they were often listed together. Given that in the period that they were listed separately pork accounted for about 16 percent of the total expenditure on meat, it is reasonable to assume that pork accounted for approximately the same proportion during the rest of the period. On this assumption, the total expenditure on beef may be estimated at 5,568 reals (698 pesos 2 reals). Although the price of beef was not registered in the accounts for Cartagena for 1633, the accounts for other years suggest that its price remained fairly constant at about 5 reals an *arroba* of 25 pounds. This means that the total amount of meat purchased can be calculated at 27,840 pounds. The account books indicate that slaves were not fed meat on Fridays or Saturdays, when fish or turtle were normally purchased. Between August 1 and November 2, 1633 there were 26 non-meat days, which accounted for 5,886 rations. Subtracting these rations from the total number required, gives an average of about 1 pound 12 ounces (808 grams) of beef per slave per day.

<sup>162</sup> <http://www.fao.org/WAICENT/FAOINFO/AGRfilled/ICULT/AGP/AGPC/doc/PUBLICAT/FAOBUL3/B3021.htm> [Accessed 27 Aug. 2006].

meats, such as pork and chickens, though these were often fed to the sick. This ration is even higher than the average per capita meat consumption in Europe at the time, which peaked in the sixteenth century; it also exceeds the rations for soldiers and seaman that often specified a half a pound of meat.<sup>163</sup> However, it is comparable with the ration of one pound (454 grams) of meat specified for the sick in the hospital of Cartagena in the late sixteenth century and also with the average 410 grams of meat consumed in neighbouring Venezuela in the eighteenth century.<sup>164</sup> This figure should be regarded as a general guide to the level of consumption rather than a precise amount, but the importance of meat in the diet is not unexpected given its low cost compared to other foods.

Between August 1 and November 2, 1633 there were 26 non-meat days, when fish or turtle was purchased. Assuming that fish was consumed on non-meat days only and excluding four of these days when turtle was purchased gives an average daily ration of about 4.8 ounces or 135 grams of fish.<sup>165</sup> While this amount is significantly lower than the ration of meat provided, it is important to note that salt fish accounted for about half the fish purchased. Salt fish is nutritionally superior to fresh fish, to the extent that in

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<sup>163</sup> AGI Santa Fe 40 R3 N61 doc 3 Oficiales reales 30 Jul. 1639; Earl J. Hamilton, "Wages and Subsistence on Spanish Treasure Ships, 1503–1660," *Journal of Political Economy* 37 (1929): 434; Bartolomé Bennassar and Joseph Goy, "Contribution à l'histoire de la consommation alimentaire du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup>," *Annales ESC* 30 (2–3)(1975): 421–23, 425; Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow W. Borah, *Essays in Population History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979) 3: 176.

<sup>164</sup> AGI Contaduría 496 Las raciones que se deben del hospital de Cartagena de los enfermos 1575. The ration of one pound of meat appears to have been fairly consistent through the colonial period (See also AGNB Colonia Hospitales 6 fols. 544–552 Administrador del hospital, Don Nicolás García, Cartagena, 29 Oct. 1760). For the consumption of meat in Venezuela in the late eighteenth century see: José R. Lovera, *Historia de la alimentación en Venezuela* (Caracas: Monte Ávila Editores, 1988), 67.

<sup>165</sup> Apart from the 80 pesos that were spent on salt fish, fourteen of the entries were multiple entries, in which the main other item was amaranth. Since amaranth is likely to have accounted for only a small proportion of the expenditure, it is estimated that 75 of the other 79 pesos were spent on fish, of which 20 were on salt fish and 55 on fresh fish. Expenditure on 'salt fish for the journey' has been excluded. During the whole period therefore about 100 pesos were spent on salt fish and 55 pesos on fresh fish. In 1633 salt fish was slightly more expensive at 3 pesos an *arroba*, while fresh fish generally sold for 18 reales. This outlay would have enabled the slave traders to acquire about 833 pounds of salt fish and 611 pounds of fresh fish. On days when turtles were purchased a total of 1,027 rations were needed.

the sixteenth century the ration specified for sailors equated about one-third of a pound of salt fish to one pound of fresh meat.<sup>166</sup> The protein intake of slaves might not therefore have been significantly different on meat and non-meat days.

### *Bread Rations*

The amount of maize and *casabe* purchased is more difficult to calculate. While it is easy to calculate the total amount of maize purchased, it is more difficult to be certain about the amount of *casabe* acquired because it was bought in *adorotes* or basket loads of an unspecified size with only the price paid being recorded. The only indication is that in 1588 a *torta* of *casabe* weighing one and a half pounds cost half a real.<sup>167</sup> At this price, in 1633 the 200 pesos spent on *casabe* could have bought 4,800 pounds. Given that in 1639 the daily ration for soldiers stationed in Cartagena was 26 ounces of *casabe* a day, this amount could have provided 2,954 rations.<sup>168</sup> Deducting this number of rations from the total number of 21,517 required would suggest that the 281 fanegas or 28,100 pounds of maize purchased for consumption in Cartagena would have provided daily rations of about one and a half pounds or 680 grams. Although most maize was probably consumed in the form of *bollos*, the account books indicate that some was used to make couscous. The amounts consumed are likely to have been somewhat less than 680 grams because of wastage during processing. In the previous year Manuel Bautista Pérez reported that he was feeding slaves awaiting sale in Lima about one and a quarter pounds (567 grams) of bread a day, of which 40 percent was wheat bread.<sup>169</sup> The rations of maize and *casabe* in Cartagena are consistent with the amounts of bread specified for soldiers, sailors and the sick in the late sixteenth century.<sup>170</sup> They are also comparable with bread consumption in Europe at that time

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<sup>166</sup> John C. Super, "Spanish Diet in the Atlantic Crossing, the 1570s," *Terrae Incognitae* 16 (1984): 61–62

<sup>167</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 226.

<sup>168</sup> AGI Santa Fe 40 R 3 N 61 doc 3 Oficiales reales of Cartagena, 30 Jul. 1639.

<sup>169</sup> ANHS VM 79–II fol. 12 Manuel Bautista Pérez to Sebastián Duarte 1 Jul. 1633.

<sup>170</sup> AGI Contaduría 496 Las raciones que se deben del hospital de Cartagena de los enfermos 1575 and Relación de las raciones... de los dichos galcones en esta ciudad de Cartagena 1575.



which generally exceeded 500 grams a day.<sup>171</sup> However it was slightly lower than in Central Mexico in the sixteenth-century where Woodrow Borah indicates that Indians working as forced labourers were given one *cuartillo* of maize (958 grams) a day, though this amount was probably intended to support a family.<sup>172</sup> In the eighteenth century the rations specified for the sick in the hospital of San Lázaro in Cartagena included between 1.5 and 2 pounds of maize in the form of *bollos*.<sup>173</sup>

### *The Nutritional Value of the Core Diet*

The above analysis suggests that slaves were fed about one pound of beef or five ounces of fish a day, together with about one and a half pounds of maize bread or *casabe*. In reality, due to wastage the amounts were probably somewhat less, but the provisions are likely to have been consumed by the slaves, because they would have been unable to hoard them for sale, as was common practice among sailors and soldiers.<sup>174</sup>

The composition of the basic diet can be estimated with a margin of error, but assessing its nutritional value poses further difficulties.<sup>175</sup> Although nutritional composition tables will be used here to assess the nutrient value of diets, they have a number of limitations. First, they are necessarily based on present-day foodstuffs that have often undergone changes through scientific breeding. Second, the selection of an appropriate table for a particular food item is not always easy. For example, many tables exist for beef that are based on different cuts of meat with different amounts of fat, but only very basic information exists on the quality of meat purchased in Cartagena in the seventeenth century. The same problem applies to processed foods, which although possessing the same name, for example, *bizcocho*, may

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<sup>171</sup> Massimo Livi-Bacci, *Population and Nutrition: An Essay on European Demographic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 87–91; Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th to 18th Century, Vol. 1: The Structures of Everyday Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 132.

<sup>172</sup> Cook and Borah, *Essays* 3: 164–65.

<sup>173</sup> AGNB Colonia Hospitales 6 fols. 533r–536v Razón de la ración diaria . . . 1755 and ff. 544r–552r Administrador del hospital, Don Nicolás García 29 Oct. 1760.

<sup>174</sup> Super, “Spanish Diet”, 63–64.

<sup>175</sup> See Super, “Spanish Diet”, 63–67 and John C. Super, “Sources and Methods for the Study of Historical Nutrition in Latin America,” *Historical Methods* 14 (1981): 25–27 for a discussion of these issues.

have quite different nutritive values. The nutritional composition tables that have been used here have been selected because they correspond most closely to the foods as the slaves would have consumed them. Hence, with the exception of salt fish, they all take account of the manner of preparation. The nutritional compositions of *bollos de maíz* and *casabe* are drawn from analyses of these foods in Colombia.<sup>176</sup> Despite efforts to use the most appropriate nutritional composition tables, it is recognized that the estimates here necessarily have a margin of error.

Once the nutritional composition of the foods has been established, further difficulties arise in assessing the adequacy of the diet. Historical studies of nutrition tend to rely on Recommended Dietary Allowances (RDAs) that are based on food consumption and activity patterns in western industrial societies today. While these provide some guide to human nutritional needs, they may not be applicable to societies in the past or in different contexts. The calorie requirements of slaves while barracooned in Cartagena are likely to have been less due to their lower stature,<sup>177</sup> the warm climate and because they were confined to slave-pens.<sup>178</sup> It is estimated here that male slaves required between 1,700 to 2,000 calories and female slaves between 1,350 and 1,700 calories. These figures are about two-thirds of present day needs. Fernand Braudel has estimated that prior to the eighteenth century commoners in Europe required about 2,000 calories.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> These are compiled by the Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar, Bogotá, and are available at: FAO Latin Foods <http://www.rlc.fao.org/bases/alimento/default.htm> [Accessed 27 Aug. 2006].

<sup>177</sup> This is based on the heights of Senegambian and Central African slaves on Caribbean plantations in the nineteenth century taken from Barry W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Kingston: The Press University of the West Indies, 1995), 281. For the origins of slaves see pages 126–27.

<sup>178</sup> For the equivalence of stature and body weight and the calculation of calorie needs see: Frances Sizer and Eleanor Whitney, *Nutrition: Concepts and Controversies* 8th edn. (Belmont, CA: Wadworth, 2000), 316–17, 320. The calculation involves estimating the energy needs for basic metabolism at 1 calorie per kilogram per hour for a man and 0.9 for a woman. This is then added to the amount needed to support physical activity. Here it is assumed that there was little physical activity so estimates are based on those for a sedentary person, which is between 25 to 40 percent of the basal metabolic rate for a man and between 25 to 35 percent for a woman. This gives an estimated calorie need of between 1,796 and 2,012 calories for males from Senegambia and of 1,688 to 1,890 for those from central Africa. Corresponding figures for females may be calculated at 1,468 and 1,586 for Senegambian women and 1,371 to 1,481 to those from Central Africa.

<sup>179</sup> Braudel, *Structures*, 130, 132.

Table 5.4. Composition of Basic Slave Diets in Early Seventeenth-Century Cartagena

	Daily intake g	Calories kcal	Protein g	Fat g	Source
<i>Meat days</i>					
Beef	485	1411	128	96	USDA 13796
Maize ( <i>bollos</i> )	680	1013.2	32.64	6.12	FAO Latin Foods S020
<i>Total</i>		<i>2425</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>102</i>	
Beef	485	1411	128	96	USDA 13796
<i>Casabe</i>	737	2513	12	1	FAO Latin Foods S217
<i>Total</i>		<i>3925</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>97</i>	
<i>Non-meat days</i>					
Salt fish	135	392	85	3	USDA 15018
Maize ( <i>bollos</i> )	680	1013.2	32.64	6.12	FAO Latin Foods S020
<i>Total</i>		<i>1405</i>	<i>117</i>	<i>9</i>	
Salt fish	135	392	85	3	USDA 15018
<i>Casabe</i>	737	2513	12	1	FAO Latin Foods S217
<i>Total</i>		<i>2905</i>	<i>97</i>	<i>5</i>	
Fish (mullet)	135	203	33	7	USDA 15056
Maize ( <i>bollos</i> )	680	1013.2	32.64	6.12	FAO Latin Foods S020
<i>Total</i>		<i>1216</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>13</i>	
Fish (mullet)	135	203	33	7	USDA 15056
<i>Casabe</i>	737	2513	12	1	FAO Latin Foods S217
<i>Total</i>		<i>2716</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>8</i>	
RDA adult males (current)		2,900	58		
RDA adult females (current)		2,200	46.0		
Estimated RDA for male slaves		1,700–2,000			See text
Estimated RDA for female slaves		1,350–1,700			See text

*Sources:*

USDA US Department of Agriculture National Nutrient Database <http://www.nal.usda.gov/fnic/foodcomp/search/>;

FAO Latin Foods <http://www.rlc.fao.org/bases/alimento/default.htm>;

RDA Recommended Daily Allowance <http://www.nal.usda.gov/fnic/dga/rda.pdf>

Table 5.4 suggests that the daily calories provided by different diets were generally above their estimated needs; only where fish was combined with *bollos* of maize would the calorie intake appear to have been less than the lower limit for female slaves. The protein content of all core diets, however, would appear to have been relatively good, generally exceeding today's recommended daily allowances. The greatest deficiency in macronutrients was in the fat available in the diet, particularly those that were based on fish. The established

world minimum for fat is between 80 and 125 grams a day<sup>180</sup> and in only two of the six diets was this minimum exceeded. The diets probably contained more fat than these figures suggest since large amounts of *manteca* were purchased, which suggests that the food was often fried. Indeed occasional entries in the journals note that foods were purchased “for frying”. The significance of low fat in the diet is that it acts as a carrier for a number of vitamins, notably vitamin A and D, and is important in the transformation of carotene to vitamin A.

While the core diets may have been more or less adequate in terms of calories, they were short in some essential minerals and vitamins (Table 5.5). The main deficiency was in calcium, which is necessary for bone and teeth development. Calcium is found mainly in dairy products and in small amounts in vegetables and cereals, but most tropical foods are fairly low in calcium. The analysis also suggests that the core diets were deficient in vitamins A and C. They may also have been short in some B vitamins—thiamin (vitamin B<sub>1</sub>), riboflavin (vitamin B<sub>2</sub>) and niacin (nicotinic acid). Although maize contains these B vitamins, nutrients would have been lost in milling and since they are water-soluble during cooking. While some B vitamins would have been available in the beef consumed, the slaves’ requirements may have been high because the low fat content of the diet meant that calories would have had to be obtained from carbohydrates whose metabolism is dependent on B vitamins.<sup>181</sup> As such although the B vitamins may not have been so low as to induce deficiency diseases, they may have impaired the ability of slaves to benefit from the foods they were fed.<sup>182</sup> Nevertheless, these diets contrast with those in other parts of Colombia, such as Antioquia, and perhaps the Pacific lowlands where maize formed a substantial part of the slave diet and where pellagra, which is associated with a shortage of niacin, appears to have been endemic.<sup>183</sup>

Finally, because vitamin D is found only in a few foods, notably oily fish, eggs and dairy products, the slaves’ intake of vitamin D

<sup>180</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean*, 81–82.

<sup>181</sup> Gaman and Sherrington, *Science of Food*, 107–13; Daphne A. Roe, “Vitamin B Complex,” in Kiple and Ornelas, *Cambridge World History of Food*, vol. 1: 750–52.

<sup>182</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 84.

<sup>183</sup> Chandler, “Health and Slavery,” 170–71; Pablo Rodríguez, *En busca de lo cotidiano: honor, sexo, fiesta y sociedad s.XVII–XIX* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2002), 220–22, 225–26.

Table 5.5. Nutritional Composition of Foods Consumed by Slaves in Cartagena

	Daily ration g	Calories kcal	Protein g	Fat g	Calcium mg	Iron mg	Phosphorus mg	Potassium mg	Vitamin A mg	Thiamin mg	Riboflavin mg	Niacin mg	Vitamin C mg	Source
<i>Basic components</i>														
<i>of diets</i>														
Beef	485	1411	128	96	43.65	13.00	1008.8	1547.15	0	0.44	1.07	18.04	0	USDA 13796
Fish (Mullet)	135	203	34	6	41.85	1.90	329.4	618.3	190.35	0.14	0.14	8.51	1.62	USDA 15056
Salted cod	135	392	85	3	216.0	3.88	1282.5	1968.3	190.35	0.36	0.32	10.13	0	USDA 15018
Maize ( <i>bollos</i> )	680	1013	33	6	81.6	1.36	476	Not given	20.4	0.82	0.34	6.8	34	FAO Latin Foods S020
<i>Casabe</i>	737	2513	12	2	221.1	2.21	515.9	Not given	0	0.81	0.52	3.69	0	FAO Latin Foods B217
<i>Vegetable and fruit</i>														
<i>supplements</i>														
Amaranth (boiled with salt)	100	21	2.11	0.18	209	2.26	72	641	2770	0.02	0.13	0.56	41.1	USDA 11700
<i>Ayama</i> (Cucurbita maxima)	100	45	0.9	0.4	26	0.3	87	Not given	1021	0.08	0.05	0.7	4	FAO Latin Foods B105
Plantains (cooked)	100	116	0.79	0.18	2	0.58	28	465	909	0.05	0.05	0.76	10.9	USDA 09278
Orange	100	49	0.91	0.15	43	0.13	23	166	247	0.07	0.05	0.43	59.1	USDA 09202
Lemon	100	29	1.1	0.3	26	0.6	16	138	22	0.04	0.02	0.1	53	USDA 09150
RDA adult males (current)		2900	58		1000.0	10.0	700.0	70	1000.0	1.5	1.7	19.0	60.0	
RDA adult females (current)		2200	46		800.0	15.0	700.0	60	800.0	1.1	1.3	15.0	60.0	

Sources:  
 USDA US Department of Agriculture National Nutrient Database <http://www.nal.usda.gov/fnic/foodcomp/search/>;  
 FAO Latin Foods <http://www.rlc.fao.org/bases/alimento/default.htm>;  
 RDA Recommended Daily Allowance <http://www.nal.usda.gov/fnic/dga/rda.pdf>

was probably minimal. However, it may be formed under the skin under the stimulus of sunlight.<sup>184</sup> While the dark skin of the slaves would have inhibited vitamin D production through sunlight stimulation,<sup>185</sup> it would have been facilitated by the accommodation of slaves in open compounds and patios. As such, vitamin D deficiency is unlikely.

Some deficiencies in the basic diets would have been made good by supplements of fruit and vegetables. Those diets based on fish probably contained greater amounts of vitamins A and C than indicated since they were often consumed with amaranth or squash (*ayuyama*). Both vegetables are rich in carotene and amaranths are also a good source of vitamin C. Plantains, which were consumed on a regular basis, would have also been a good source of carotene and would have provided some additional calories. As for vitamin C, the slave traders purchased both oranges and lemons. Even though they appear to have been used primarily for medicinal purposes rather than as regular foods, it did mean that deficiencies of vitamin C probably did not reach such low levels as to become life threatening. Other foods, such as beans, guavas and *acemitas*, which were occasionally fed to the slaves, would have provided additional vitamins and minerals.

Overall the analysis suggests that while barracooned in Cartagena the slaves were fed a substantial diet that supplied the slaves with sufficient calories, but may have been deficient in fat, calcium and some vitamins. It was comparable to the rations specified for the sick in hospitals and for soldiers and seamen in the sixteenth century whose energy needs would have been greater. The daily ration for sailors on coastguard duty was half a pound of beef or salt fish and twenty-six ounces of casabe.<sup>186</sup> It also compared favourably with the rations of slaves employed in Colombia during the colonial period, particularly in the mining areas, where diets were less varied and were often lacking in essential vitamins.<sup>187</sup> Here the cost of a ration

<sup>184</sup> Gaman and Sherrington, *The Science of Food*, 99–101.

<sup>185</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 39–42.

<sup>186</sup> AGI Santa Fe 40 R3 N 61 doc 3 Oficiales reales 30 Jul. 1639. See also Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 443 which suggests that they might also have received beans or mazamorra, a corn soup or porridge.

<sup>187</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery", 170–71; Pable Rodríguez, *En busca de lo cotidiano: Honor, sexo, fiesta y sociedad s.XVII–XIX* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2002), 220–22.

was generally well under one real day.<sup>188</sup> They were also more substantial than those of slaves on Caribbean plantations which were barely adequate in terms of protein and very low in fat, as well as being deficient in vitamins A and C, low in B vitamins and calcium, but high in phosphorous.<sup>189</sup> While diets in Cartagena contained the same basic elements as those of Caribbean slaves, they contained over double the amount of beef and maize. What those in Cartagena probably lacked in comparison was the variety of vegetables and fruits that might provide some essential vitamins and minerals, though the amaranth and plantains they were given would have been particularly nutritious. This analysis therefore supports Father Alonso de Sandoval's assertion that slave traders ordered their slaves to be 'fatted up' in order to make larger profits.<sup>190</sup> Yet this strategy was not always successful. These new diets represented a significant change in the type and quantity of food the slaves had experienced both in Africa and on the Middle Passage. They often provoked diarrhoea and dysentery, circumstances that would have weakened them even further and reduced their immunity to infections in what was a new disease environment.

#### *Other Expenses*

Food for the slaves averaged about half of the total expenditure incurred by the slave traders while they were in Cartagena.<sup>191</sup> Administrative costs accounted for about 30 percent of expenditure, and equipment and medical care just under 10 percent each (Table 5.6). The expenditure on goods and services is not consistently recorded in the journals, so these figures should be regarded as being rather crude estimates.

Administrative costs included taxes, legal fees, bribes, accommodation and services provided. Such services generally included the saying of mass prior to departure for Portobello and searching for

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<sup>188</sup> William F. Sharp, "The Profitability of Slavery in the Colombian Chocó, 1680–1810," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 55 (3) (1975): 475–476.

<sup>189</sup> Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 88.

<sup>190</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 152; Kiple, *Caribbean Slave*, 66.

<sup>191</sup> The accounts for 1618 reveal a similar breakdown (AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Expenses for 1618–1619).

Table 5.6. Breakdown of Expenditure on Slaves in Cartagena  
1626 to 1634

	1626	1628	1629	1630	1633	1633	Total	Percent
Food	11,233	16,158	18,853	8,950	24,482	15,268	94,944	50.7
Administration	5,560	3,780	5,862	11,050	28,618	480	55,350	29.6
Equipment	1,921	2,992	3,556	1,144	6,186	2,051	17,850	9.5
Medical care	1,174	8,617	2,356	1,332	3,740	836	18,055	9.7
Burials	202	120	76	0	416	149	963	0.5
	20,090	31,667	30,703	22,476	63,442	18,784	187,162	100.0

Expenditure is given in reals.

Sources: AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 1628, 1630,1633, 1634; ANHS VM 77-II fols. 159-77, 252-265 1626 and 1629

slaves who had fled. In most years several slaves attempted to escape, generally in ones and twos, and payments of about ten pesos apiece were paid to bring them back. However, the largest expenditure in this category was on *fes*. A *fé* was an official document certifying that a slave had been imported legally and that the duty payable on arrival in Cartagena had indeed been paid. These documents were inspected prior to departure for Portobello, so that slave traders who had purchased slaves without *fes* would have to acquire them. The number required varied from year to year, as did their cost, which depended on their availability, from whom they were purchased and the origin of the slaves. In 1626 Pérez's agents bought 87 *fes* at the cost of between eight and ten pesos, or slightly less if the sales tax (*alcabala*) had not been paid. The majority (58) were bought in small batches from Juan Rodríguez Mesa and 9 from Blas de Paz Pinto.<sup>192</sup> The price of *fes* seems to have increased over the following decade to an average of about twelve pesos. However, there would appear to have been a significant difference in the price of *fes* for Upper Guinea and Angolan slaves. In 1631 the former cost between thirteen and sixteen pesos and were nearly double the price of the latter, which could be bought for eight or nine pesos.<sup>193</sup> Counterfeit *fes* might cost less.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>192</sup> ANHS VM 77-II ff. 156-157 Deven las fes que compré para los despachos de esta jente 1626; 1633 account book. Bowser, *African Slave*, 62 gives the much higher figure of 18 pesos in 1634.

<sup>193</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Las fes que compré en Cartagena 1631.

<sup>194</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 62.



Various types of equipment were also purchased to support the slaves in Cartagena. Nearly 40 percent was spent on cooking equipment, storage vessels and eating bowls. For the slaves themselves there were wooden boards for sleeping on, plus mats for the sick, as well as clothes and espadrilles.

*Setting Sail for Portobello*

As the ship was preparing for departure to Portobello, further costs were incurred in loading the ship with slaves and cargo. Sick slaves were not embarked but left behind for medical treatment with the aim that they would join the main shipment at a later date. So for example, in 1620 Manuel Bautista Pérez left thirteen slaves, some with smallpox, in the care of one Juana Marmoleja.<sup>195</sup> For the transportation of the slaves to Portobello slave traders generally contracted with shipmasters for their passage at a standard price of 20 reals apiece. At the time of departure the ship's registry would be drawn up, a process that might involve further bribes, for "el buen despacho de la visita" (for the good outcome of the inspection). Other bribes were given to guards, generally after the *registro* had been drawn up, probably to allow additional cargo to be loaded. The bribes might be monetary payments but they also included silver dishes, sweets, and on several occasions onions.

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<sup>195</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Memoria de los negros que dejó en Cartagena, Manuel Bautista Pérez, 1620.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE FINAL PASSAGE

The final journey for slaves from Cartagena to Lima was characterised by numerous variations in their diet and living conditions. The foods fed to slaves differed markedly on different stretches of the journey reflecting local environmental conditions, traditional agricultural practices, as well as the availability of labour, the demand for provisions and the spread of European and African crops and livestock. While these affected the price of foods and hence those that were fed to slaves, slave traders did not always select the cheapest foods available since inadequate diets would lead to poor health, increase mortality and reduce profits. On the journey from Cartagena in 1633 the cost of maintenance for one slave, which included food, clothing, lodging and medical treatment from the time of purchase in Cartagena to arrival in Lima, was calculated at about 17 pesos 4 reals.<sup>1</sup> (Table 6.1). This was about one-third of the total cost of transshipment, which averaged between 50 and 60 pesos per slave; transport and taxes accounted for the rest. About this time slaves were being purchased in Cartagena for an average of between 270 and 310 pesos and could be sold in Lima for between 580 or 600 pesos. Since a good profit could be made on each slave, it was in the slave traders' interest to maintain the health of slaves and not economise excessively on expenditure on food. Slave traders therefore continued to purchase foods, such as pork and chickens that they regarded as healthier, even though they were more expensive, and also to provide them with foods in a form with which they were familiar. To put these changes in context and explore the conditions experienced by slaves more generally, the analysis will follow their journey through Panama to the coast of Peru and finally to Lima.

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<sup>1</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 715 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618; AGNL SO CO ca. 20 doc 201 Money owed by Juan de la Cueva for the purchase and upkeep of slaves 1633; AGNL SO CO ca. 20 doc 201 Slaves purchased (August–December, 1629). See also: AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 210 expenses generated by 4–5 slaves belonging to Antonio Rodríguez de Acosta (1622) and p. 214 Expenses generated by 4 slaves belonging to Diego de Ovalle [1623].

Table 6.1. Costs Incurred in the Transport of Slaves from Cartagena to Lima in 1633

	Cost	Percent
Transport from Cartagena to Portobello	20 reales	4.4
Food and supplies from Cartagena to Portobello	4 pesos	7.0
Entry tax in Portobello	2 pesos males, 1 peso females (pesos of 9 reales)	4.0
Food and other expenses in Portobello and on the journey across the isthmus, including the hire of mules	2 pesos	3.5
New entry tax in Panama	12 reales	2.6
Valuation of slaves in Panama	4 reales	0.9
Blankets for the slaves in Panama	12 reales	2.6
Expenses in Panama and Paita, and supplies for the journey to Lima (includes food and medical treatment)	10 pesos	17.6
Transport to Lima	13 pesos ensayados	37.9
Royal taxes	3 pesos 4 tomines ensayados	10.1
Local tax ( <i>cimarrones</i> )	25 reales	5.5
Customs tax	9 reales	2.0
Valuation in Lima	1 peso	1.8
	56 pesos 6 reales	99.9

*Source:* AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Money owed by Juan de la Cueva for the purchase and transport of eighteen Angolan slaves 1633.

The percentage of expenditure is calculated on the taxes paid for male slaves.

### *The Journey to Panama*

The journey from Cartagena to Portobello on the Caribbean coast of Panama took nine to ten days.<sup>2</sup> Due to its vulnerability to pirate attack and its reputation for being unhealthy,<sup>3</sup> Portobello was only occupied for brief periods of the year when the Spanish fleets arrived to exchange European manufactures for Peruvian silver. The fair generally lasted fifteen days and was held in late July and early

<sup>2</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 63.

<sup>3</sup> There are numerous accounts of the unhealthiness of Portobello from the time it was founded. See for example, AGI Panamá 32 N26 La ciudad de San Phelipe de Puertobelo 1603, Panamá 32 N175 Tesorero Baltasar Pérez Bernal 4 Nov. 1603, Panamá 45 N49 Alcalde Mayor, Don Bernardo de Vargas 3 Jun. 1603, Panamá 64B N4 doc 1 Información de los méritos. Don Gonzalo Mendina Lisón 1629.

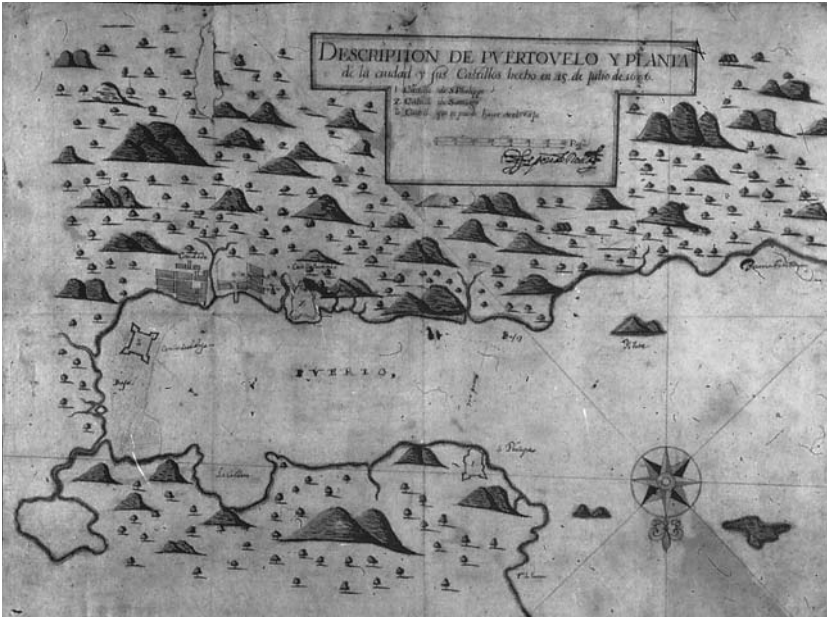


Figure 4. Portobello in 1626. (Courtesy Spain. Ministerio de Cultura. Archivo General de Indias Mapas y Planos Panamá 42 Descripción de Puertovelo y Planta de la ciudad y sus castillos in 1626 by Cristóbal de Roda).

August.<sup>4</sup> Although Portobello had been founded in 1597 with thirty wealthy *vecinos*,<sup>5</sup> by 1618 many houses had been abandoned and only twelve poor *vecinos* were living there.<sup>6</sup> The city's small resident population of Spaniards, free Blacks and Mulattoes,<sup>7</sup> meant that few agricultural activities developed in its hinterland, where in 1607 it

<sup>4</sup> A.C. Loosely, "The Puerto Belo Fairs," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 13 (1933): 318, 320–21; Thomas Gage, *Travels in the New World*, edited by J. Eric S. Thompson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 329; Lawrence A. Clayton, "Trade and Navigation in the Seventeenth-Century Viceroyalty of Peru," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 7(1)(1975): 2–3.

<sup>5</sup> Within ten years of being founded it had only 50 wooden houses roofed with thatch, plus another 34 houses in four suburbs inhabited by free Black and poor Spaniards (CDI 9: 109–10 Descripción corográfica 1607).

<sup>6</sup> AGI Panamá 63A N 15 doc 1 Ciudad de Puerto Velo 1618. This document includes a *padrón* of the residents of Portobello and those who had houses there but no longer lived in the city. See also AGI Panamá 47 N3 Sargento Mayor Don Francisco de Narváez 24 Apr. 1620.

<sup>7</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 212.



Figure 5. Portobello. Colonial Warehouses in the Background (Author).

was said there were only three *chacras* raising plantains, fruit and some chickens.<sup>8</sup> Meat and maize therefore had to be brought in; some came from estates around Panamá,<sup>9</sup> but it was often cheaper to import food from Cartagena and Tolú. Due to Portobello's reliance on food imports and the enormous demand for provisions, food prices were exceptionally high, particularly during the few weeks of the fair, when apart from the influx of residents from Panamá the fleet might bring 4,000 to 5,000 sailors and soldiers.<sup>10</sup>

Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves did not arrive in Portobello at the time of the fair, but between October or December and most commonly in November. Because of the high cost of provisions and its unhealthy reputation, most merchants and travellers stayed in Portobello

<sup>8</sup> CDI 9: 115 Descripción corográfica 1607.

<sup>9</sup> The name Panamá is used to refer to the city of Panama and Panama to the region.

<sup>10</sup> Visiting the Portobello fair in 1637 Thomas Gage was outraged that a chicken cost twelve reals whereas he normally paid only one real, and that a pound of beef cost two reals when elsewhere a half a real could buy thirteen pounds (Gage, *Travels*, 330). Evidence from the account books suggests that these figures were exaggerated or quite exceptional, though the general observation that prices were very high was valid.

for as short a time as possible. Most consignments of slaves remained there for only three or four days, sufficient for the slave traders to despatch the paper work, pay the *entrada* tax,<sup>11</sup> and assemble the mules and provisions for the journey across the isthmus. As was common practice, these bureaucratic procedures involved a range of gifts and bribes.<sup>12</sup> During this time the slaves were lodged in houses rented at between 25 and 35 pesos.

In the early colonial period the journey across the isthmus from Portobello took one of two routes.<sup>13</sup> First there was an eighteen-league overland trail through the mountains. The initial stretch of this trail was steep as it crossed the Capira or Santa Clara mountains where it followed a tortuous path that continued down the Boquerón Valley. Here the landscape was rugged with steep slopes, deep ravines and fast flowing rivers. The trail was sometimes only a few feet wide and flanked by drops of 120 to 150 metres. After the junction of the Boquerón and Pequeñí Rivers the going became easier until it reached the River Chagres, which had to be crossed before proceeding to Panamá. The journey overland from Portobello to Panamá normally took four days.

Alternatively, the greater part of the journey could be undertaken by the Chagres River, which originated three leagues from Panamá and flowed north to the Caribbean Coast entering the sea about eight leagues west of Portobello. The reverse route from Portobello involved a short passage by sea to the mouth of the Chagres and then transference to small boats or barges propelled by slaves using long poles, which could navigate the shallow river to Venta de Cruces. Here passengers and cargoes were unloaded to continue the remaining five leagues of the journey overland by mule. The total journey took between one and two weeks, depending on the river level and currents.<sup>14</sup> The river was highest in November and December and

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<sup>11</sup> This tax was two pesos of nine reals for each male and one peso of nine reals for each female (see AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Money owed by Juan de la Cueva, for the purchase and upkeep of slaves (1633) and Journal for 1634).

<sup>12</sup> Manuel Bautista Pérez's accounts indicate that he might pay up to 150 pesos.

<sup>13</sup> *Descripción del virreinato del Perú*, 117–120; Roland D. Hussey, "Spanish Colonial Trails in Panama," *Revista de Historia de América* 6 (1939): 58–64; Christopher Ward, *Imperial Panama: Commerce and Conflict in Isthmian America, 1550–1800* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 56–60; María Carmen del Mena García, *La ciudad en un cruce de caminos: Panamá y sus orígenes urbanos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1992), 73–79.

<sup>14</sup> This journey upriver by Francesco Carletti in 1594 took 19 days (Carletti, *Voyage*, 29).



Map 6. Routes Across the Panamanian Isthmus in the Early Seventeenth Century.

could not be used in the dry season from January to April.<sup>15</sup> When Thomas Gage travelled this route in 1637 the difficulties of navigating in low water meant that the normally quicker journey downriver from Venta de Cruces took twelve days.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the river route was two to three times cheaper and was generally preferred for bulk transport, even though it was vulnerable to attack by foreign corsairs, particularly on the short stretch of the journey on the open water between the mouth of the Chagres River and Portobello.<sup>17</sup>

From the account books it appears that Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves took both routes. Most slaves crossed the isthmus on foot, with the river route being used primarily for weak or sick slaves, for whom boards were provided for sleeping on. One disadvantage of the overland route was the greater ease with which slaves could flee. Hence significant sums were expended in the supervision of the slaves in Portobello and in escorting them on the journey; it is doubtful that they were chained together for on most journeys several slaves fled, some of whom were never found.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps to minimise fugitivism as well as undertake general supervisory duties, it was common practice to select one of the slaves as 'capitán'.<sup>19</sup> The slaves were accompanied by a number of mules, which carried provisions and merchandise destined for Peru. The main supplier of mules to the slave traders at this time was Pedro Cano who hired them out for the journey across the isthmus at 25 to 30 pesos apiece.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 178; *Descripción del virreinato del Perú*, 119.

<sup>16</sup> Gage, *Travels*, 328. Because the journey up river took longer it was more expensive than downriver (Alfredo Castillero Calvo, *La ruta transistmica y las comunicaciones marítimas hispanas, siglos XVI a XIX* (Panama: Ediciones Nari, 1984, 19).

<sup>17</sup> Castillero Calvo, "Ruta transistmica", 10; Ward, *Imperial Panama*, 57–58.

<sup>18</sup> In 1633 94 pesos were spent in trying to find several slaves who fled, but in the end two male Angolan slaves were never found (AGNL SO carpeta 20 doc 201 Memoria de los negros que el Capitán Sebastián Duarte compró el año pasado de 1633).

<sup>19</sup> AGNL Real Audiencia Causas Civiles Leg. 45 Cuad. 171 Autos seguidos por Don Pedro Gómez de Mora, barbero, contra Don Francisco Guisado y otros Paita, 4.4.1618; Bowser, *African Slave*, 63–64.

<sup>20</sup> Ward, *Imperial Panama*, 64; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 212. Alfredo Castillero Calvo, has undertaken a detailed analysis of the cost of mule transport across the Panamanian isthmus revealing the journey to be the most costly in Spanish America (*Economía terciaria y sociedad: Panamá siglos XVI y XVII* (Panama: Instituto Nacional de Cultura de Panamá, 1980), 21–33. Nearly all the mules were imported from Nicaragua, as well as parts of Honduras and El Salvador (Castillero Calvo, *Economía terciaria*, 23–25; 1987; Linda A. Newson, *The Cost of Conquest: Indian*



It was the practice for those crossing the isthmus to travel overnight to avoid the heat of the day.<sup>21</sup> Most slaves would have slept in the open air, but small settlements with lodging houses for merchants and other travellers, would have been used by the slave traders. Expenses appear in the account books for accommodation at Boquerón, Pequeñí and Chagres, and also at Cruces for those travelling by the Chagres River. Slaves who were too sick to travel were often left for medical treatment at Portobello or one of these stopping points and caught up with the main group of slaves at a later date. On entry into Panamá the number of slaves was counted again to ensure that no slaves had been sold illegally on the isthmus.<sup>22</sup> A local *entrada* tax of 12 reals was payable on each slave to pay for the construction of a bridge.<sup>23</sup> Arriving at Panamá the slaves would be lodged at a nearby *hato* until they were boarded for the journey to Peru. Most commonly they were housed at an estate belonging to Antonio Franco, who supplied provisions in the form of beef and chickens.<sup>24</sup> On this estate two huts were constructed to house the slaves together with a kitchen to serve them. The hut for male slaves measured 90 feet long by 22 feet wide and was regarded as very spacious, while a middle-sized one was built for female slaves.<sup>25</sup> In these houses slaves were provided with boards to sleep on. A small number of other slaves were sometimes kept in a house rented by the slave traders, possibly because they were sick, but the sources are not clear. Large quantities of sackcloth were purchased for blankets, but probably for use on the journey to Peru rather than in Panama. The time spent near Panamá might vary between three and ten weeks, with the ships generally departing for Peru in January or early February.<sup>26</sup>

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*Societies in Honduras under Spanish Rule* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1986), 141–42 and *Indian Survival in Colonial Nicaragua* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 145.

<sup>21</sup> Gage, *Travels*, 327.

<sup>22</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 63.

<sup>23</sup> This tax was introduced in 1619 in order to fund the construction of a bridge in Panamá (AGI Panamá 35 N23 Jueces oficiales 3 Jul. 1636; AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Money owed by Juan de la Cueva 1633).

<sup>24</sup> ANHS VM 77-I fols. 38–39 Pedro Duarte 1633 and 79 fols. 58–58v. Simón Vázquez Enríquez 19 Oct. 1633.

<sup>25</sup> ANHS VM 79 fol. 197 Pedro Duarte 31 Jan. 1633.

<sup>26</sup> ANHS VM 79 fols. 58–58v. Simón Vázquez Enríquez to Sebastián Duarte, Panamá, 19 Oct. 1633. In 1633 the slaves arrived at the *hato* on October 16, exactly one month after having left Cartagena. The second group arrived in November, but the slaves did not leave Panama until the last day of February the following year (ANHS VM 79 fols. 196–196v. Pedro Duarte 26 Feb. 1633).

During the sojourn in Panamá the slave traders not only tended to their slaves, but as in Cartagena were probably also active in acquiring merchandise for sale in Lima that included contraband goods that arrived from Asia via the Philippines and Mexico.<sup>27</sup>

As in Cartagena, commercial activities in Panama were conducted through relatives and compatriots. Manuel Bautista Pérez initially used Felipe Rodríguez, who was one of Sebastián Duarte's uncles, with whom he often entered into a business partnership to sell slaves. After his death about 1627 to 1628, Sebastián Duarte's brother, Pedro Duarte, became his main agent, as well as business partner, in Panama. Pedro Duarte seems to have overseen in detail most aspects of the slave trade across the isthmus, arranging for the payment of taxes, as well as the accommodation, maintenance and onward shipment of the slaves and other merchandise to Peru.<sup>28</sup> Pedro Duarte, like his brother, was prosecuted by the Inquisition in Cartagena and under torture confessed to being a Jew.<sup>29</sup>

### *Slave Provisions in Panama*

Providing food for slaves during the few months they were in Panama involved an element of financial risk because the cost of provisions was quite variable, particularly in Portobello. This was partly because Panama depended heavily on food imports; agriculture was regarded as a less profitable economic pursuit than trade or its associated activities.<sup>30</sup> A small number of *vecinos* made substantial profits through monopolising the provision of boats and mules for the isthmus trade,<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Clayton, "Trade and Navigation," 5–6; Alfonso W. Quiroz, "The Expropriation of Portuguese New Christians in Spanish America 1635–1649," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* Jg. 11 H. 4 (1985): 413, 450; Minchin, "'May You Always Care for Those of your Patria'," 157–60, 179–85.

<sup>28</sup> For some of his accounts see: ANHS VM 77-I fols. 37–37v., 40–40v., 38–39 *Gastos con los negros que remitió mi hermano y trajo el año de 1633* and VM 77-I fols. 41–42 *Gasto que hago con los negros de mi hermano, Pedro Duarte 1633*; AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 *Pedro Duarte con Capitán Pedro de Burgos 10 Feb. 1633*.

<sup>29</sup> Medina, *Inquisición en Cartagena*, 125; Anna María Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición en el Tribunal de Cartagena de Indias: 1610–1660* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispánica, 1997), vol. 3: 112.

<sup>30</sup> Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas y geográficas de América Central* (Madrid: Librería General de V. Suárez, 1908), 71 *Relación histórica*. Don Juan Requejo Salcedo [1640].

<sup>31</sup> Castellero Calvo, *Economía terciaria*, 26–29; Ward, *Imperial Panama*, 63–65.

while others made good incomes through renting out houses.<sup>32</sup> The development of agricultural enterprises was also hindered by shortages of labour and because many crops, such as wheat and barley that were in high demand could not be grown in its hot, humid climate. Even the maize that was grown was said to be of poor quality and fit only for horses and mules.<sup>33</sup> Agricultural production was also hampered by the variable demand for provisions that was strongly linked to the arrival of the fleets and the fair at Portobello.<sup>34</sup> Producers were reluctant to expand production when there was no guaranteed market and this problem became more acute in the seventeenth century when the arrival of the fleets became more irregular. In response agricultural producers placed greater emphasis on ranching than crop production, since it was more adaptable to the variable demand, while they sought to maintain profits through adopting monopolistic practices that restricted supply and maintained high prices.<sup>35</sup> The agricultural economy thus came to be dominated largely by livestock raising and reliant on imports, which meant that the cost of provisions remained high. The Crown was aware of how critical the supply of provisions was for the operation of the fleet system and the flow of silver to Spain, so from the time that Portobello was founded in 1597 it enjoyed exemption from the payment of the taxes of *almojarifazgo* and *alcabala* on maize, wheat, chickens, wax, salted meat and other goods from Nicaragua, Cartagena and Veragua.<sup>36</sup> These exemptions helped to reduce prices,<sup>37</sup> but Panama struggled to meet the demand for provisions and it was said that at times its inhabitants were forced to subsist on plantains.<sup>38</sup>

From the earliest years of the colony Panama was unable to meet the demand for provisions and had to rely on food imports. In the

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<sup>32</sup> Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo: apariencia y realidad del comercio con Indias," *Anuario de estudios americanos* 39 (1982): 281–82.

<sup>33</sup> AGI Panamá 30 N23 doc 1 La ciudad de Panama 1583.

<sup>34</sup> Ward, *Imperial Panama*, 61.

<sup>35</sup> Castellero Calvo, *Economía terciaria*, 14–16; María Carmen del Mena García, *La ciudad en un cruce de caminos: Panamá y sus orígenes urbanos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1992), 124; Ward, *Imperial Panama*, 61.

<sup>36</sup> AGI Panamá 32 N30 doc 1 Cabildo of Portobello, no date [1617].

<sup>37</sup> When in 1634 this exemption had not been renewed, the price of maize rose from three to sixteen pesos a *fanega* (AGI Panamá 19 R1 N13 doc 1 Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera 20 Jul. 1634).

<sup>38</sup> Mena García, *Sociedad de Panamá*, 111–12.

sixteenth century *tasajos*, pigs, chickens and sugar were imported from Santo Domingo and other Caribbean islands,<sup>39</sup> but in the seventeenth century most provisions, notably chickens, pigs and maize, came from Cartagena and Tolú in Colombia. Similar products came from Costa Rica via the port of Suerre, while honey, sugar, tobacco, chickens and some maize were shipped from Nicaragua via the Desaguadero.<sup>40</sup> At the same time wheat flour, *bizcocho*, sugar, honey, conserves, beans and garbanzos came from Peru, and to a lesser extent Nicaragua.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately this trade was highly variable due to difficulties with the weather,<sup>42</sup> pirate attacks and government policies in regions of supply.<sup>43</sup> Pirate attacks might not only destroy cargoes, but also divert agricultural labour into defence with adverse effects on production; goods from Nicaragua passing through the Desaguadero and along the Caribbean coast were under constant threat of attack.<sup>44</sup> Even when there was no immediate crisis officials in Peru or Cartagena might introduce trade restrictions to prevent local shortages or contraband trade.<sup>45</sup> The problem of assuring adequate food supplies in Panama was exacerbated by the hot humid climate which meant that provisions could not be stored for more than four or five months.

Despite the reliance on imports, the high prices for provisions did stimulate some local commercial agricultural production, notably the raising of cattle and the production of maize. Extensive pastures

<sup>39</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 173.

<sup>40</sup> CDI 9: 115 Descripción corográfica 1607; Mena García, *Sociedad de Panamá*, 109, 112; *Descripción del virreinato del Perú*, 117.

<sup>41</sup> CDI 9: 91, 97 Descripción corográfica 1610; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*: 198–200 Descripción de Panamá 1607; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 212; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 39 Relación histórica Requejo Salcedo 1640.

<sup>42</sup> For example earthquakes or flooding, most likely associated with El Niño, might adversely affect production on the coast of Peru (AGI Panamá 17 R 3 N39 Audiencia of Panama 27 Jun. 1619).

<sup>43</sup> AGI Panamá 30 N23 doc 1 La ciudad de Panamá 1583, Panamá 17 R9 N159 doc 1 Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco 28 Aug. 1624).

<sup>44</sup> AGI Panamá 19 R4 N43 Don Henrique Henríquez 15 Jun. 1637.

<sup>45</sup> For example, AGI Panamá 33 N119 Oficiales reales, Nombre de Dios 2 Mar. 1581, Panamá 32 N33 doc 1 Cabildo of Portobello [1620]. In 1654 when the Viceroy of Peru closed the ports of Peru in order to stem the illegal traffic in silver, Panama suffered from severe shortages of provisions, such that the price of wheat flour rose from 6 to 8 reals to 18 and 20 and was of poor quality, while maize increased from 20 and 24 reals a *fanega* to 100 and 120, and a *botija* of rice rose from 20 and 24 reals to 64 (AGI Panamá 31 N58 Ciudad de Panamá 4 Dec. 1654).

Table 6.2. Prices of Selected Foods Purchased for Slaves 1626 to 1634

	Unit	Cartagena	Panama	Paita	Lima
Beef	<i>arroba</i>	4.5–5	2–2.5 <sup>1</sup>	Not purchased	4.5
Pork	piece	64–160	112–128	No price given	Not purchased
Mutton	piece	Not purchased	Not purchased	No price given	10
Chicken ( <i>gallina</i> )	piece	7–12 (8.5)	7–10 (9)	5–8 (6)	8
Fresh fish	<i>arroba</i>	16–20 (18)	18–48 (33)	11	[16] <sup>2</sup>
Salt fish	<i>arroba</i>	18–24 (21)	15–20 (18)	Not purchased	Not purchased
Turtle	piece	8–76	22–48	Not purchased	Not purchased
Maize	<i>fanega</i>	8–24 (17)	13–64 (33)	18–32 (29)	16–22 (19)
<i>Casabe</i>	<i>adorote</i>	24–40 (17)	Not purchased	Not purchased	Not purchased
Rice	<i>botija</i>	24–30 ((27)	18–32 (24)	Not purchased	Not purchased
<i>Bizcocho</i>	<i>petaca</i>	176			
<i>Bizcocho</i>	<i>quintal</i>		68–96 (83)	Not purchased	Not purchased
Beans	<i>botija</i>	8–28 (18)	14		
Beans	<i>costal</i>		12–32 (21)		
Beans	<i>fanega</i>		[48] <sup>1</sup>	48	16–24

Average prices in reals are given in parentheses

Sources: 1628, 1630, 1633, 1634 AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201

1626 and 1629 ANHS VM 77–II fols. 159–77, 252–265

For Lima see: ANHS VM 79 fols. 107, 108v. Expenses generated by slaves in Lima [1627]; AGNL SO-CO Ca 20 doc 201 Lo que se va gastando con los negros 1633 and Gasto que se va haciendo con los negros 1634.

<sup>1</sup> CDI 9: 97–98 Descripción corográfica 1610; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 199 Relación histórica 1607.

<sup>2</sup> AGNL Cajas Reales, H-3, leg. 4, lib. 24a fols. 31–33 Abecedario de la tasa 1617.

existed in the hinterland of Panamá, especially the *sabana* de Pacora, and livestock raising had the advantage that it required little labour and was better adapted to fluctuations in demand.<sup>46</sup> In 1609 there were 73 *hatos* with 88,000 head of cattle in the jurisdiction of Panamá and Nata, and there were a further 24 *hatos* with 23,600 cattle else-

<sup>46</sup> Mena García, *Sociedad en Panamá*, 104.

where.<sup>47</sup> The merchant traveller Francesco Carletti observed that in Panama there were some very rich ranchers who had so many cattle they could not count them.<sup>48</sup> Despite conflicts between producers over access to markets,<sup>49</sup> the beef produced in Panama was very cheap. According to local observers it generally sold for between two and two and half reals an *arroba*, which was considerably cheaper than in Cartagena (Table 6.2).<sup>50</sup> Furthermore the beef purchased for the upkeep of slaves appears to have been even cheaper, probably because it was supplied from the estate where the slaves were lodged. In 1633 a cow sold for 5 pesos.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, in Portobello it cost between 4 and 5 reals an *arroba* because it had to be imported.<sup>52</sup>

In Panama pigs and chickens were only raised in small quantities. Some pigs were raised in pens in the urban suburbs and some goats raised for milk within the city and on estates.<sup>53</sup> However, most pigs were imported from Costa Rica and Cartagena and Tolú,<sup>54</sup> such that pork was considerably dearer than beef. In 1610 pigs were selling at between 8 and 12 pesos each,<sup>55</sup> and in the 1620s and 1630s for between 14 and 16 pesos. Not surprisingly the purchase of pigs does not figure significantly in the account books, with most being

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<sup>47</sup> AGI Panamá 46 N 27d Memoria de los hatos de ganado que hay [1609]. A copy of the list of those around Panamá and Nata is given in Mena García, *Sociedad en Panamá*, 127–29. See also CDI 9: 98 Descripción corográfica 1610; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 171 Descripción de Panamá 1607; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 72 *Relación históricas* Requejo Salcedo 1640.

<sup>48</sup> Carletti, *Voyage*, 32.

<sup>49</sup> AGI Panamá 30 N28 doc 1 Andrés Pérez de Salinas 12 Oct. 1591; Mena García, *Sociedad de Panamá*, 116–25.

<sup>50</sup> *Descripción del virreinato del Perú*, 117; Carletti, *Voyage*, 33. In 1607 a cow sold in Panama for between 18 and 22 reals, though the price varied during the year. Between Easter and San Juan beef sold for 2.5 reals an *arroba* and veal for 5 reals, and at other times of the year 2 reals and 4 reals respectively, and during Lent only veal was available at 8 reals (CDI 9: 97–98 Descripción corográfica 1610; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 199 Relación histórica 1607).

<sup>51</sup> Another account suggests that the price of an *arroba* of beef was one peso (ANHS VM 77-I ff.37–37v, 38–39, 40–40v Gastos con los negros que remitió mi hermano y trajo el año de 1633). This could have reflected a temporary shortage, because all other evidence suggests that beef was cheap.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Gage was outraged that a pound of beef cost 2 reals in Portobello when elsewhere 13 pounds cost only 0.5 real (*Travels*, 330). This is most likely a considerable exaggeration but it draws attention to the high cost of provisions in Portobello.

<sup>53</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 151 Descripción de Panamá 1607.

<sup>54</sup> CDI 9: 115 Descripción corográfica 1607.

<sup>55</sup> CDI 9: 98 Descripción corográfica 1610.

bought for the journey, often in the form of suckling pigs, or for salting. There are few references to the raising of chickens in the colonial sources.<sup>56</sup> In Portobello some chickens were raised on local *chacras*, but most were imported from Costa Rica and Nicaragua.<sup>57</sup> Despite the absence of references to the raising of chickens, they sold for about the same price as in Cartagena; in 1606 they were selling at between 8 to 10 reals a piece,<sup>58</sup> and the price did not change in the 1620s and 1630s (Table 6.2).

Fish were plentiful on both the Caribbean and Pacific Coasts;<sup>59</sup> indeed Panamá took its name from the indigenous word for “a place of abundant fish”.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, fishing appears to have declined as an economic activity to the extent that by 1607 it was said that no fishing took place off Panamá.<sup>61</sup> Fish was in such short supply that the church granted permission for local people to eat meat on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays during Lent.<sup>62</sup> Apparently they consumed iguana as a substitute for fish on Fridays.<sup>63</sup> The shortage of fish was probably related to the widespread availability of cheap meat, but shortages of labour and the distain of Spaniards for fishing may have also been contributory factors.<sup>64</sup> However, on the Caribbean Coast where cattle were scarce, “fish and tortoises [turtles]” were the cheapest forms of meat available.<sup>65</sup> In Portobello turtles cost between about three and six pesos each according to size.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless it was said that slaves employed in the construction of Portobello would not eat fish, so that when meat was not available, they abandoned their work and sought food on distant haciendas.<sup>67</sup> It is not clear whether this resistance to fish derived from a lack of familiar-

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<sup>56</sup> Though one account suggest they were abundant (*Descripción del virreinato del Perú*, 117).

<sup>57</sup> CDI 9: 115 Descripción corográfica 1607.

<sup>58</sup> AGI Panamá 62 N 49 doc 1 fol. 4 Información . . . sobre la necesidad que hay de acrecentar el salario 5 Aug. 1606.

<sup>59</sup> CDI 9: 102, 117 Descripción corográfica 1610 and 1607.

<sup>60</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 68 *Relación históricas* Requejo Salcedo 1640.

<sup>61</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 143 Descripción de Panamá 1607.

<sup>62</sup> Carletti, *Travels*, 33.

<sup>63</sup> CDI 9: 100 Descripción corográfica 1610.

<sup>64</sup> Carletti, *Voyage*, 41. Here he was referring to the Peruvian coast, but the comment has general validity.

<sup>65</sup> Gage, *Travels*, 368.

<sup>66</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journals for 1626, 1628 and 1629.

<sup>67</sup> AGI Panamá 14 Dr. de Villanueva Zapata 12 May 1595.

ity with it in Africa or because in Panama they had become accustomed to eating meat.

Despite the difficulty of growing wheat in Panama's hot humid climate, bread made from wheat flour was preferred, though in times of shortage and for variety, all social groups consumed *tortillas*, *bollos de maíz* and plantains.<sup>68</sup> In the early seventeenth century the price of bread was usually 0.5 real for 12 ounces, though it varied with the price of flour,<sup>69</sup> and it was often double that price in Portobello.<sup>70</sup> Maize was the main staple of slaves and those who lived outside the city. During the early colonial period maize was imported from Manta and Puerto Viejo in Ecuador or alternatively from Nicoya and Realejo in Nicaragua.<sup>71</sup> However, maize production expanded around Panamá and in the hinterlands of the cities of Nata and Villa de los Santos, with the latter producing some 30,000 *fanegas* in 1575.<sup>72</sup> Maize was grown on *estancias* under a system of shifting cultivation, for yields usually declined significantly in the second year after planting.<sup>73</sup> However, production did not expand and may even have declined in the mid-seventeenth century due to fluctuations in demand related to the irregularity of the fleets and fairs at Portobello. As such Panamá still depended on imports of maize.<sup>74</sup> Maize generally sold for two to four pesos a *fanega*, which was about twice that in Cartagena, and it could rise to six or eight pesos. As with meat, hoarding to encourage higher prices was common practice, in this case by shopkeepers who monopolised the maize produced by farmers in Nata, Villa de los Santos and elsewhere.<sup>75</sup> It seems that it was often cheaper for Portobello to import maize from Cartagena than for it to be transported from the other side of the isthmus.

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<sup>68</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 198 Descripción de Panamá 1607; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 77 Relación histórica Requejo Salcedo 1640; Mena García, *Sociedad de Panamá*, 105–107, 113–14.

<sup>69</sup> CDI 9: 97 Descripción corográfica 1610; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 198 Descripción de Panamá 1607.

<sup>70</sup> CDI 9: 115 Descripción corográfica 1607.

<sup>71</sup> AGI Panamá 16 R1 N5 Don Francisco Valverde de Mercado 23 May 1609.

<sup>72</sup> Mena García, *Sociedad en Panamá*, 107.

<sup>73</sup> AGI Panamá 16 R1 N5 Don Francisco Valverde de Mercado, 23 May 1609; CDI 9: 96 Descripción corográfica 1610; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 148 Descripción de Panamá 1607.

<sup>74</sup> AGI Panamá 17 R9 N159 doc 1 Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, 28 Aug. 1624.

<sup>75</sup> AGI Panamá 31 N47 doc 1 Ciudad de Panamá 19 Jun. 1647.



*Slave Rations in Panama*

It is more difficult to establish the rations given to slaves in Panama. Generally the expenses incurred in Portobello and Panamá are distinguished, but daily entries for Portobello only exist for one year. Another limitation is that in several accounts large payments were paid to individuals, but the goods and services they provided were not recorded. This is significant because in cases where some of the detail can be filled in from other accounts of expenditure, for example for the 1633 venture, it would appear that they were often payments for large quantities of provisions. An additional problem in calculating the total amount of food purchased is many of the entries give the prices of combinations of goods, such as “bread, candles and eggs”, or refer only to “daily expenses”. Finally, it is difficult to calculate the number of slaves that were being supported. A few slaves were sold locally and some fled during their stay in Panama, but the dates of these incidents are not recorded. Even though it is not possible to calculate the daily ration precisely, the accounts do give a clear indication of the composition of the slave diet, which was significantly different in Portobello than when they were lodged at an estate near Panamá (Table 6.3).

In Portobello the main protein consumed by the slaves was turtle (Table 6.4), though a few chickens and some beef were purchased

Table 6.3. Percentage of Expenditure on Different Categories of Food for Slaves 1626 to 1634

	Cartagena	Portobello	Panama	Paita
Meat	22.9	9.6	9.9	3.7
Chickens, other birds and eggs	7.2	0.0	8.1	21.0
Processed meats and cheese	6.8	0.0	3.6	1.4
Fish, salt fish and turtle	5.4	42.2	0.7	25.5
Bread (maize, <i>casabe</i> and other cereals)	35.5	29.5	62.6	23.6
Vegetables and fruit	4.3	2.4	2.4	15.5
Other foods	17.9	16.3	12.7	9.3
	100	100	100	100

*Sources:*

1628, 1630, 1633, 1634 AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201

1626 and 1629 ANHS VM 77-II 159-77, 252-265

The figures for Cartagena are taken from all six accounts, those for Panama for 1626, 1628, 1629, and for Paita for 1626 and 1630.

Table 6.4. Percentage of Expenditure on Different Foods for Slaves  
1626 to 1634

<i>Cereals and bread</i>	Cartagena	Portobello	Panama	Paita
Maize	67.8	100.0	46.9	83.4
<i>Casabe</i>	16.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Barley	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rice	0.6	0.0	3.9	0.0
<i>Bizcocho</i>	2.8	0.0	43.2	0.0
Unspecified bread	12.1	0.0	6.0	16.6
<i>Total expenditure in reals</i>	33,698	984	43,327	1,340
<i>Meat, fish and dairy products</i>	Cartagena	Portobello	Panama	Paita
Meat	54.2	18.5	44.2	7.2
Chickens, other birds and eggs	17.1	0.0	36.2	40.7
Processed meats and cheese	16.0	0.0	16.3	2.7
Fish, salt fish and turtle	12.7	81.5	3.3	49.4
<i>Total expenditure in reals</i>	40,162	1,728	15,506	2,927
<i>Fresh meat</i>	Cartagena	Portobello	Panama	Paita
Beef	29.8	100.0	56.5	0.0
Beef and pork	32.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pork	17.4	0.0	10.4	7.6
Mutton	0.0	0.0	88.6	
Mixed or unspecified meats	20.0	0.0	33.1	3.8
<i>Total expenditure in reals</i>	21,748	320	6852	211
<i>Vegetables and fruit</i>	Cartagena	Portobello	Panama	Paita
Plantains	41.6	100.0	21.3	0.0
Amaranth	28.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Beans	5.5	0.0	52.8	10.9
Squashes	14.9	0.0	24.5	60.8
Sweet potatoes	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.2
Chickpeas	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8
Onions and cabbages	2.4	0.0	0.0	3.6
Guavas	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Oranges and lemons	4.7	0.0	1.3	5.9
Melons	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.8
<i>Total expenditure in reals</i>	4,067	80	1,662	883

*Sources:*

1628, 1630, 1633, 1634 AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201

1626 and 1629 ANHS VM 77-II 159-77, 252-265

The figures for Cartagena are taken from all six accounts, those for Panama for 1626, 1628, 1629, and for Paita for 1626 and 1630.

notably for the journey; the only other foods acquired were small amounts of plantains and maize. The slaves' diet changed markedly when they arrived near Panamá and were fed primarily on beef and bread. In 1633 Antonio Franco supplied 184 head of cattle and 22 *arrobas* of beef for the support of the slaves.<sup>76</sup> Beef was generally preferred to pork because it was cheaper, but when it was not available pork was purchased, perhaps suggesting that the slave traders considered it important that the slaves received a ration of meat of some kind.<sup>77</sup> The greatest expenditure on pork was in the form of suckling pigs that were commonly purchased prior to the journey to Peru. In 1633 chickens accounted for only a small proportion of the protein purchased, but the accounts for this year are incomplete and those relating to three consignments of slaves in the 1620s indicate that chickens were acquired in large numbers, accounting for about one-third of the total expenditure on meat.<sup>78</sup> The importance of chicken in the diet is also underlined by the inclusion of expenses for the construction and maintenance of hen houses while the slaves were in Panama.

Cereals and cereal products accounted for nearly two-thirds of the expenditure on food for the slaves, with about half spent on maize and half on imported *bizcocho*. Most of the *bizcocho*, in the form of both *bizcocho blanco* and *bizcocho negro*, was acquired in large quantities one or two days before the departure for Peru, but it was also purchased in the absence of *casabe* and when there were shortages of maize.<sup>79</sup> Because of the poor quality of the maize, it was not fed to slaves when they were ill.<sup>80</sup> Whether for this reason or because the slave traders preferred to feed the slaves foods with which they were familiar, much of the maize they were fed on the isthmus was in the form of couscous.<sup>81</sup> Apart from maize, rice was grown locally

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<sup>76</sup> ANHS VM 77-I fol. 38 Gastos con los negros que remitió mi hermano y trajo el año de 1633.

<sup>77</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca. 20 doc 201 Memoria de los gastos que se hicieron con los negros 1631.

<sup>78</sup> The accounts for 1626, 1628 and 1629 indicate that chickens accounted for 33, 38 and 49 percent respectively of total expenditure on protein.

<sup>79</sup> The major suppliers of *bizcocho* were María Egipcíaca, Alférez Jorge de Silva and Joseph de Cuellar.

<sup>80</sup> AGI Panamá 14 Dr. de Villanueva Zapata 12 May 1595.

<sup>81</sup> It is clear from the number of bowls, mortars and baskets that were purchased that much of the maize was made into couscous, as was specified in a number of entries.

on the banks of swamps and in sufficient quantities to enable it to be exported to Peru.<sup>82</sup> Its availability and good storage qualities meant that it was purchased more often in Panama than in Cartagena, though it probably did not account for more than 10 percent of expenditure on cereals and bread on any one journey.<sup>83</sup>

Meat and bread accounted for about 75 to 85 percent of the total expenditure on food. Virtually no fish were purchased and the accounts for 1633 include a payment of 15 pesos for a dispensation to allow the slaves to eat meat on fish days. Vegetables and fruit accounted for less than 3 percent of expenditure. The Panamanian isthmus possessed an abundance of native and introduced fruits and vegetables;<sup>84</sup> indeed Thomas Gage noted that “fish, fruits and herbage for salads” were more plentiful than meat.<sup>85</sup> However, the commercial production of vegetables and fruits appears to have been limited, for in the early seventeenth century it was said there were no *chacras* raising vegetables and fruits around the city of Panamá, only a few *huertas*.<sup>86</sup> The only vegetables and fruits purchased were plantains, guavas, oranges, lemons, beans and squashes (both *zapallos* and *ayumas*). Plantains were particularly abundant in Panama, where they were eaten raw, boiled roasted or stewed, and were regarded as a regular food of Africans.<sup>87</sup> Even so, plantains appear to have made only a small contribution to the slave diet, being consumed

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<sup>82</sup> CDI 9: 96–97 Descripción corográfica 1610; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 142 Descripción de Panamá 1607; *Descripción del virreinato del Perú*, 117.

<sup>83</sup> It is very difficult to calculate the precise percentage, because although the quantities of rice are generally recorded separately, the same is not true for bread where the entries often include other items. As such it is not easy to calculate the total expenditure on cereals and bread, and therefore the proportion spent on different types.

<sup>84</sup> CDI 9: 96–97, 114–15 Descripción corográfica 1610 and 1607; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 147 Descripción de Panamá 1607; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 73–75 Relación histórica Requejo Salcedo 1640; *Descripción del virreinato del Perú*, 117. Native fruits included *mameyes* (mamey sapote), *caimitos* (star apples), *anonas* (custard apples), *guanábanas* (soursops), guavas, pineapples, papayas, passion fruits, *nisperos* (sapodillas) and plantains, while introduced fruits included oranges, lemons, limes, plums, figs, grapes, pomegranates, quinces and melons.

<sup>85</sup> Gage, *Travels*, 327.

<sup>86</sup> Serrano y Sanz *Relaciones históricas*, 170 Descripción de Panamá 1607. See also Carletti, *Voyage*, 33.

<sup>87</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 147 Descripción de Panamá 1607, 74–75 Relación histórica Requejo Salcedo 1640. The local plantain was distinguished from a “plátano de Guinea” which was imported from Cartagena and said to be more tasty but not as good as a food (CDI 9: 115 Descripción corográfica 1607).

in Portobello where other foods were in short supply or purchased for the journey. Similarly, beans and squashes were most often purchased just prior to departure. Guavas, which sold on the isthmus at 20 a real, were used to cure diarrhoea.<sup>88</sup> In general fruit appears to have been purchased mainly for the sick and therefore bought in small amounts as the need required, rather than on a regular basis.

Sugar, honey and lard were important dietary supplements to the extent that expenditure on these items exceeded that on vegetables and fruit. In 1607 there were three *trapiches* in Panama, but no *ingenios* for the production of sugar, and the sugar that was produced was deemed inferior to that of Peru. Sugar sold for 4 pesos an *arroba* and *miel de caña* (sugar syrup) at three pesos a *botija*.<sup>89</sup> These prices seem to have remained fairly constant through the 1620s and 1630s. Portobello seems to have obtained imported honey from bees and sugar cane from Nicaragua.<sup>90</sup> As in Cartagena, the other major expenditure on non-staples was on lard, which would have been used extensively in cooking. In conclusion, the diet of slaves on their journey through Panama was similar to that to slaves employed in the country itself, where slaves employed in the construction of the port in the 1590s were fed maize, beef, oil, beans or lard or honey.<sup>91</sup>

### *Into the South Sea*

While the slaves were lodged at an estate, the ships that would transport them to Peru were being fitted out for the journey. The harbour at Panamá was shallow and exposed to the sea and the tides. In 1575 vessels of sixty tons could still dock at there at high tide, but the harbour gradually silted up so that in the early seventeenth century even small vessels found difficulty landing there and large ships had to moor some two leagues away at the island of Perico.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> CDI 9: 97, 114 Descripción corográfica 1610 and 1607.

<sup>89</sup> Serrano y Sanz *Relaciones históricas*, 170, 199–200 Descripción de Panamá 1607.

<sup>90</sup> CDI 9: 115 Descripción corográfica 1607.

<sup>91</sup> AGI Panamá 44 N30g Memorial del gasto . . . las fortificaciones y fábricas reales deste Puerto de Puertobelo [1596]. See also AGI Panamá 14 Dr. de Villanueva Zapata 12 May 1595; Panamá 31 Informe y cuentas sobre la fábrica . . . 8 May 1626, 7 Mar. 1626.

<sup>92</sup> Carletti, *Voyage*, 34–35; Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, 187.

Perico had deeper water, but it possessed no wharf, offered limited shelter and the movement of goods and passengers to and from the land was risky due to the undertow and marked changes in the tides.<sup>93</sup> It was at Perico that the slave ships were fitted out for the journey to Peru. When the ship was ready, the slaves were transferred by rowing boat to the island, where they sometimes waited several days before being boarded onto the ship.<sup>94</sup> Before the ships departed their registers had to be drawn up and the value of the slaves assessed. The cost of valuation was four reals per slave, but further bribes were often required to facilitate the process.<sup>95</sup>

Manuel Bautista Pérez and Pedro Duarte, who normally made the contracts in Panama, used the same ships and shipmasters over a number of years, employing them not only to transport slaves and merchandise to Lima, but also to return to Panama with other goods. A ship generally undertook only one return trip a year.<sup>96</sup> In most years Pérez's annual consignment of slaves was transported on board two ships.<sup>97</sup> In the early 1630s he was employing Pedro de Burgos and Andrés Meléndez who were shipmasters of the Santiago and San Joseph respectively.<sup>98</sup>

Little is known about the merchant vessels that operated on the Pacific Coast, of which there were probably between forty and sixty

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<sup>93</sup> CDI 9: 102–103 Descripción corográfica 1607; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 40; AGI Panamá 89 Don Inigo de Lara 8 Sep. 1672; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 173; Gage, *Travels*, 326–27; Mena García, *Cruce de caminos*, 61–71.

<sup>94</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journal for 1630.

<sup>95</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 725 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618; AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Money owed by Juan de la Cueva 1633.

<sup>96</sup> Pedro de Burgos in the ship Santiago left Panama for Lima on 28 February 1633 and arrived back in Panama on 22 September 1633. It began loading in Panama in 19 October 1633 but did not arrive in Lima until 4 February 1634 (ANHS VM 79 fols. 196–196v. Pedro Duarte 26 Feb. 1633; VM 79 fols. 60–60v. Simón Vázquez Enríquez 24 Sep. 1633; VM 79 ff. 58–58v. Simón Vázquez Enríquez 19 Oct. 1633; AGNL SO CO Ca 40 doc 383 fols. 304–305v. Tribunal del Consulado 1636. One journey in 1609 took over nine months from Paita to Lima with the ship having been forced back to Paita twice (AGNL Consulado Caja 144 fols. 268–316 Diego Abarez 16 Apr. 1613). Clayton also judges that only one round trip was possible a year (Lawrence A. Clayton, “Notes on a Shipwreck”, *South Eastern Latin Americanist*, 17(4)(1974): 3).

<sup>97</sup> When there were fewer slaves to transport, as was the case in 1631 when he only purchased 150 slaves, only one was used.

<sup>98</sup> AGI Lima 45 and 46 Navios que han entrado al puerto del Callao . . . desde 14 Jan. 1629 para adelante 15 May 1635 and AGNL SO CO Ca 40 doc 383 fols. 304–305v Cuenta con Manuel Bautista Pérez de la avería de entrada de negros 1631–1635.

of between 150 and 350 tons in the early seventeenth century.<sup>99</sup> Pablo Pérez Mallaina describes the construction of galleons that served in the Armada del Mar del Sur.<sup>100</sup> These galleons were sometimes used to transport cargo, but their decks were generally higher than those of merchant vessels due to the need to position artillery above the water level. According to the Italian merchant traveller Francesco Carletti merchant ships had only one deck in order to stow as much cargo as possible. He observed that because the ships were constantly sailing against the winds they were wide from the middle towards the prow and narrow towards the poop and they had no superstructure built above the first deck from the mainmast down. As a result only the captain and a few passengers could be accommodated in the poop, while the rest had to remain on deck uncovered day and night and exposed to any inclement weather.<sup>101</sup> Although some slaves were being transported on the vessel described by Carletti, he gives no account of how the slaves were accommodated. The open nature of merchant ships is also suggested in a letter from Manuel Bautista Pérez, who describing his journey to Peru in 1619, said he feared for the safety of the ship because so many people were collected on the deck.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, ships carrying large numbers of slaves probably accommodated them below deck and in some cases, such as with the Santiago, may have had two decks.<sup>103</sup> The high loss of life associated with shipwrecks, as in the case of the Nuestra Señora del Rosario near Callao in 1632, when 120 of the 125 slaves aboard were drowned, also suggests that slaves were being carried below deck.<sup>104</sup> Similarly 103 lives were lost in a shipwreck off the coast of Panama the following year, because it was said that there was so much cargo aboard that the passengers that included 190 slaves had to be transported below deck.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Clayton, "Notes on the Shipwreck," and "Trade and Navigation," 1, 6; Peter Bradley (personal communication, 10 Jan. 2003). See also Woodrow W. Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1954), 66–68.

<sup>100</sup> Pablo E. Pérez Mallaina and Torres Ramírez, Bibiano, *La Armada del Mar del Sur*. (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1987), 110–111.

<sup>101</sup> Carletti, *Voyage*, 35.

<sup>102</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Manuel Bautista Pérez 24 Apr. 1619.

<sup>103</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Contract between Capitán Pedro de Burgos and Capitán Pedro Duarte 10 Feb. 1633.

<sup>104</sup> AGI Lima 43 Book for 1632 fols. 21–23 Conde de Chinchón 12 Mar. 1632

<sup>105</sup> ANHS VM 79 fols. 197–199 Pedro Duarte 31 Jan. 1633.

Merchant vessels were particularly prone to shipwreck because they only made one round trip a year between Panama and Peru and there was therefore a tendency to use large ships and to overload them making them less manoeuvrable.<sup>106</sup> Although poor navigation contributed to the shipwreck of the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* in 1632 it was mainly attributed to overloading, prompting the viceroy, the Conde de Chinchón, to request that ships be inspected in Panama before departing for Peru.<sup>107</sup> With such crowded conditions on board, the space for slaves would have been minimal.

Ships operating in the South Sea that carried cargo from Lima to Panama, had to be specially fitted out for the transport of slaves on the return journey. A contract between Pedro Duarte with the captain of the *Santiago*, Pedro de Burgos, for the transport of 270 slaves to Callao in 1633, specified that he was to supply two dozen wooden boards, which were for the slaves to sleep on, and to provide a storeroom with a separate key for the slaves' provisions, a separate galley for cooking the slaves' food, and space for bottles of water for sick slaves on the deck and forecabin.<sup>108</sup> The slaves were also to be provided with blankets at twelve reals apiece, which Manuel Bautista Pérez insisted should be made of good quality material and not coarse cloth, which was bad for them though he didn't say why.<sup>109</sup> Burgos was to be paid 13 pesos *ensayados* for each slave transported.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Clayton, "Notes on the Shipwreck", 3. For insight into living conditions on ships, though on the Atlantic crossing see: Pérez Mallaina, *Spain's Men of the Sea*, 129–140, where he calculates that each person might have 1.5 square metres of space (p. 131).

<sup>107</sup> AGI Lima 43 Book for 1632 fols. 21–23 Conde de Chinchón 12 Mar. 1632; Clayton, "Notes on the Shipwreck", 1–5. The ship was probably between 300 and 500 tons and was carrying 1,500 boxes of cloth, 150 cakes of wax, 69 Spaniards and 125 slaves.

<sup>108</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Contract between Pedro de Burgos and Pedro Duarte 10 Feb. 1633.

<sup>109</sup> ANHS VM 79–II fol. 12v. Manuel Bautista Pérez 1.7.1633. For the provision of mantas see: ANHS VM 79 fols. 189–190v. Pedro Duarte 14 Mar. 1633; AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Money owed by Juan de la Cueva for the purchase and upkeep of slaves (1633); AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 725 Uppewr Guinea accounts 1613–1619.

<sup>110</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Money owed by Juan de la Cueva, for the purchase and upkeep of slaves 1633. See also the contract the following year with the shipmaster, Captain Andrés Meléndez, who was paid 13 pesos (of 8 reals) for the transport of each slave from Panama to Lima (ANHS VM 77-I fol. 29 *Concierto de Sebastián Duarte y Capitán Andrés Meléndez* 4 Apr. 1634).



The account books include numerous references to provisions purchased in Panama for the journey to Peru. In March 1633 Pedro Duarte reported that for the support of 211 *piezas* for the journey to Lima he had embarked in the Santiago 65 good sacks of couscous, 61 *quintales* of *bizcocho*, 7 *arobas* of beef and a lot of honey and lard.<sup>111</sup> Unfortunately it is not clear whether the provisions loaded on board were expected to cover the journey to Paita only or the whole voyage to Lima. Other accounts also indicate that *bizcocho* was one of the main sources of food on board ship, much of it being purchased from one supplier in Panama, María Egipcíaca. The *bizcocho* would not have been produced locally but imported from Peru or Nicaragua. In Panama slaves awaiting transshipment were generally fed maize in the form of couscous and this continued during the journey. The couscous was prepared in Panama prior to sailing, probably because its preparation was labour intensive; the maize that was loaded onto the ships was fed to chickens. Live chickens and suckling pigs were also loaded, and sometimes some fresh fish or meat for the first few days. Apart from large quantities of *bizcocho* and couscous, the San Pablo, which carried slaves and merchandise to Peru in 1627, had two chicken coops containing 106 chickens and a pen for 17 suckling pigs.<sup>112</sup> Other provisions included eggs, salt fish and some preserves, including quince preserve that was used for sick slaves. Beans, rice and sugar also figured occasionally. Many of these items, notably the flour, sugar, conserves, chickpeas and beans were imported from Peru,<sup>113</sup> while the suckling pigs and chickens probably came from Costa Rica and Peru. These provisions are consistent with those ordered for ships of the Armada del Mar del Sur, which were required to carry up to 30 and 80 chickens, depending on the size of the ship, and 4 *arobas* of conserves for the treatment of the sick.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> AHNS VM 79 fols. 189–190v. Pedro Duarte 14 Mar. 1633.

<sup>112</sup> AHNS VM 79 V. 155–156 Memoria de lo que voi embarcando con . . . San Pablo 1627 Manuel Bautista Pérez 1627. Similar items were loaded for the transshipment in 1618 (AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Accounts for 1618–1619).

<sup>113</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 171 Descripción de Panamá 1607; CDI 9: 91, 97 Descripción corográfica 1610c.

<sup>114</sup> AGI Lima 38 Asiento del Armada del Mar del Sur con Capitán Lea Plaça y Lorenço de Mendoça 18 Apr. 1619.

*The Journey to Peru*

The journey from Perico to Paita, which was usually the first stopping point on the journey to Callao, regularly took about two weeks.<sup>115</sup> However the journey from there onwards was less predictable due to the northward flowing Humboldt Current that often caused ships to be blown back up the coast. Here navigation was difficult and ships had to stick close to the shore, while finding a safe landing at Callao might take ten, twelve or even twenty days.<sup>116</sup> A good voyage from Paita to Callao lasted forty to fifty days, but the journey often took more than two months, and even a year.<sup>117</sup> Manuel Bautista Pérez's two journeys in 1619 and 1621 each took just over seventy days.<sup>118</sup> Because of the unpredictability of the journey south from Paita, passengers often disembarked there and continued their journey overland. When the Marqués de Guadalcázar arrived in Peru from Mexico in 1622, he chose to take the overland route to Lima. This took nearly three months, but he regarded it as a wise decision because the ship that had left him in Paita took four months.<sup>119</sup> Ships continuing the journey south might stop at Huaura, Santa or Trujillo. In Trujillo the harbour was unsheltered and conditions dangerous,<sup>120</sup> but here slaves might also be disembarked to continue their

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<sup>115</sup> The length of journeys seems to have varied between 10 and 17 days. See also RGI 2: 33 *Relación de la ciudad de Piura*, no date.

<sup>116</sup> Lawrence A. Clayton, *Los astilleros de Guayaquil colonial*. Colección monográfica, Archivo Histórico del Guayas no. 11 (Guayaquil: Archivo Histórico del Guayas, 1978), 60; Pérez-Mallaína and Torres Ramírez, *Armada del Mar del Sur*, 194.

<sup>117</sup> RGI 2: 33 *Relación de la ciudad de Sant Miguel de Piura*, no date; Peter T. Bradley, "The Ships of the Armada of the Viceroyalty of Peru in the Seventeenth Century," *The Mariner's Mirror* 79(4)(1993): 394–5; Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Historia marítima del Perú: Vol. IV Siglos XVII y XVIII* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Histórico-Marítimos del Perú, 1981), 227; Pérez-Mallaína and Torres Ramírez, *Armada del Mar del Sur*, 201.

<sup>118</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Manuel Bautista Pérez 24 Apr. 1619 and 28 Apr. 1621. On the first voyage it took 76 days to Callao and on the second voyage it took 14 days to Paita and 57 days to Callao. Peter Bradley ("Ships of the Armada", 394–96) suggests that the average journey from Panama to Lima regularly lasted four months and sometimes six months and Marie Hellmer ("Le Callao (1615–1618).", *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 2 (1965): 176) five to twelve months. Most likely the longer lengths of journeys suggested by Hellmer can be explained by the fact she is discussing smaller merchant vessels that often stopped at a number of points along the coast.

<sup>119</sup> AGI Lima 39 N15 El Marqués de Guadalcázar 15 Dec. 1622.

<sup>120</sup> AGI Lima 111 Cabildo of Trujillo 24 Mar. 1614; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 238.

journey overland.<sup>121</sup> It was said that the best time to travel southwards was between September and December<sup>122</sup> but in the early 1630s at least most ships were arriving between January and April.<sup>123</sup>

*On the Coast of Peru*

The best port on the coast between Perico and Callao was Paita and this was the first stopping point for the majority of ships leaving Panama. It had a deep and safe harbour and it was exaggeratedly claimed that one thousand ships could anchor in its bay.<sup>124</sup> However the port lacked water which had to be brought on rafts by sea from Colán about a league away and consequently it was very expensive.<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, it was at Paita that ships stopped for provisions and slaves were commonly unloaded to continue their journey overland. Here the *almojarifazgo*, a five percent value-added tax on the difference in price between Panama and Peru, was paid on specified goods that included slaves. Since prices varied considerably according to the market and quality of the slaves, this tax was often quite arbitrary. The minimum payable was two and a half pesos per slave though it might be as much as twenty pesos.<sup>126</sup> During the early seventeenth century the *almojarifazgo* paid on each slave landed at Paita was 3.5 pesos (of 13.5 *reales ensayados*).<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> This was the case with a consignment of slaves in the frigate, Nuestra Señora de la Fuente, owned by Diego de León, when 132 were disembarked, while 8 continued the journey by ship (AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journal for 1634).

<sup>122</sup> RGI 2: 33 Relación de la ciudad de Sant Miguel de Piura, no date. In the sixteenth century it was suggested that the average time taken from Panama to Callao was 60 days (RGI 2: 33 Relación de la ciudad de Piura, no date).

<sup>123</sup> AGI Lima 45 and 46 Navíos que han entrado al puerto del Callao . . . desde 14 Jan. 1629 para adelante 15 May 1635. Of the 91 ships entering Callao from Panama between January 1629 and February 1635, two-thirds arrived between January and April.

<sup>124</sup> RGI 2: 34 Relación de la ciudad de Sant Miguel de Piura, no date; López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 224; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 277.

<sup>125</sup> RGI 1: 125 Salazar de Villasante, no date [1571?]; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 277. On the 1630 journey 12 pesos were spent on water. In the early seventeenth century 3 *botijas* of water cost 1 real (Luis M. Glave, "La puerta del Perú: Paita y el extremo norte costero, 1600–1615," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 22(2) (1993): 506), but by 1630 1 real could only buy one *botija* (RGI 1: 253).

<sup>126</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 68, 370–71.

<sup>127</sup> Glave, "Puerta del Perú," 515–16.

Due to the influence of the cold Humboldt Current the prevailing westerly winds carry little moisture so that the coast of Peru is arid and even when the air is forced to rise as it reaches the Andes and the moisture condenses, it does not bring rain, but forms only a fog or *garúa*. The coast is therefore dependent on water from the Andes that is supplied by seasonal rivers and irrigation systems. The journey south from Paita passed along the arid narrow coastal strip, known as the Llanos or, because they were broken up by irrigated valleys, as “los valles”. These valleys produced large quantities of provisions, particularly wheat, maize and sugar cane and conserves, which not only supplied passing travellers but also supported Lima and an export trade to Central America.<sup>128</sup> Agricultural production in these northern valleys had been stimulated by the exemption from *almojarifazgo* on provisions destined for regions to the south<sup>129</sup> and by establishment of a number of new towns, such as Santa in 1557 and Saña in 1563.<sup>130</sup> Due to the decline in the native population on the coast,<sup>131</sup> agricultural production there depended on African slave labour despite the high capital investment involved.<sup>132</sup> It was therefore common for small numbers of slaves to be sold on the route from Piura to Lima. In 1626 there were said to be 12,000 slaves in the jurisdiction of Trujillo.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 275–78; *Descripción del Virreinato*, 22–30; Reginaldo de Lizárraga, *Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Río de la Plata y Chile*. Biblioteca de autores españoles 216 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1968), caps. 9–20: 10–18 *passim*; Lohmann Villena, *Historia marítima* 4: 215–16; Marie Hellmer, “Le Callao (1615–1618),” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 2 (1965): 183–84; AGI Lima 111 Cabildo of Trujillo 24 Mar. 1614; Katharine Coleman, “Provincial Urban Problems: Trujillo, Peru, 1600–1784,” in *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America*, edited by David J. Robinson (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International), 381.

<sup>129</sup> Lohmann Villena, *Historia marítima* 4: 226.

<sup>130</sup> Robert G. Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda System on the Peruvian Coast* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976): 84; Susan E. Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs: Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985): 63–64.

<sup>131</sup> For an account of the decline of the population on the north coast of Peru see: Noble David Cook *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru 1520–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 116–44, who has estimated that between 1570 and 1620 the tributary population of the northern coast of Peru declined from 20,398 to 5,844 (p. 118). Around Piura alone the number fell from about 14,250 in 1545 to about 1,500 in 1600 (p. 125).

<sup>132</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 88–96; Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs*, 110.

<sup>133</sup> AGI Lima 156 Licenciado Juan Muñoz de Hoyo al rey, sobre suspensión de

The most difficult stretch of the coast was the “despoblado de Sechura” just south of Piura where temperatures could rise to over 40 degrees centigrade and there was no water. This very arid region could be crossed in two days or else a longer route could be taken around it.<sup>134</sup> Olmos de los Arrieros located immediately to the south of the “despoblado” was a town of muleteers who met ships arriving in Paita and accompanied travellers south to Lima at a charge of forty to fifty pesos.<sup>135</sup> From Olmos the route led through Lambayeque, Saña, Trujillo, Santa and Guambacho, negotiating a number of difficult crossings at the Jequetepeque, Chicama, Santa and Pativilca Rivers, particularly in the rainy season.<sup>136</sup> An anonymous account written about 1615 provides details of the overland route to Lima and agricultural production in the valleys.<sup>137</sup> The whole distance from Paita to Lima was 180 leagues and a normal journey might take thirty days.<sup>138</sup> Travel took place from late afternoon and overnight, rather than during the day.<sup>139</sup> Slaves would have made the journey on foot, though sick slaves probably travelled by mule. Although provisions were abundant in the irrigated valleys, this was a tiring journey at the end of a long passage that must have sapped the strength of already weakened slaves.

During the journey south provisions to support the slaves were relatively abundant in the irrigated valleys. In the 1620s wheat and maize cost two to three pesos and one and a half to two pesos a *fanega* respectively,<sup>140</sup> while a wide range of native and European

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la mita. 2 Feb. 1626; RGI 2: 44 Relación de la ciudad de Sant Miguel de Piura, no date. See also AGI IG 2796 Capitán Fernando de Silva Solís, no date.

<sup>134</sup> Susana Aldana, *Empresas coloniales: las tinas de jabón en Piura* (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado and Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 1988), 54.

<sup>135</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 277.

<sup>136</sup> Aldana, *Empresas coloniales*, 55.

<sup>137</sup> *Descripción del Virreinato*, 22–30. See also Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Relaciones de viajes (siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII): Vol. 5*. (Lima: Compañía de Impresiones y Publicidad, 1947), 111–14 Viaje que Juan de Herrera y Montemayor hizo el año 1617. See also Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*. Vol. 2 (Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1964), 215–26.

<sup>138</sup> Vargas Ugarte, *Relaciones de viajes*, 111–14 Viaje que Juan de Herrera y Montemayor hizo el año 1617. From Piura to Olmos was 3 days, from Olmos to Saña 7 days, subsequently 5 days from there to Trujillo and finally 7 days to Lima. These times exclude lodging time in the towns.

<sup>139</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 275–77.

<sup>140</sup> RGI 2: 37 Relación de la ciudad de Sant Miguel de Piura, no date; *Descripción*

crops was cultivated including chickpeas, lentils, melons, citrus fruits, cucumbers and aubergines. For the most part the journey south to Lima followed an inland route, but fish were plentiful on the coast, especially in Paita, but also in Lambayeque, which was close to the sea.<sup>141</sup> The inhabitants of Paita were regarded as great fishermen and fresh fish, particularly dogfish and mullet, were always available, and sardines, swordfish and tuna were also caught.<sup>142</sup> In fact ships often took on board fish, especially dogfish, and fish products for sale further south.<sup>143</sup> Sheep were raised in the Piura Valley,<sup>144</sup> but elsewhere on the coast the shortage of pasture meant that they were raised in the neighbouring hills.<sup>145</sup> In Piura a sheep cost one peso or less and goats half a peso, but pigs, cattle and llamas (*ovejas de la tierra*) were between five and six pesos.<sup>146</sup> Some livestock were raised in irrigated valleys, but due to the seasonal availability of water, the pasture often had to be supplemented by green wheat, barley or maize. The coastal towns were largely supplied with meat by the more inland provinces of Chachapoyas and Huánuco or even Quito.<sup>147</sup>

The food purchased for slaves reflected the availability of foods on the coast. On the 1630 journey fish, in the form of dogfish and tuna, constituted the single most important item of expenditure in Paita, followed by maize, chickens and mutton. In fact meat accounted for less than 4 percent of the total expenditure on food. Large quantities of vegetables were also purchased, especially squashes, which accounted for over two-thirds of the expenditure on vegetables, but also sweet potatoes and lima beans.<sup>148</sup> This diet reflects the dominance of indigenous subsistence traditions. When Manuel Bautista

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*del Virreinato*, 22–30; Glave, “Puerta del Perú”, 506. The 1630 journal gives the price of maize as 4 pesos a *fanega* (AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journal for 1630).

<sup>141</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 276.

<sup>142</sup> RGI 1: 125–26 Salazar de Villasante, no date [1571?]; RGI 2: 38 Relación de la ciudad de Sant Miguel de Piura, no date; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 277; Glave, “Puerta del Perú”, 510, 517–18.

<sup>143</sup> Glave, “Puerta del Perú”, 517. Glave calculates that between 1600 and 1606 no less than 178,000 *tollos* (dogfish) were exported.

<sup>144</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 278.

<sup>145</sup> RGI 1: 124 Salazar de Villasante, no date [1571?].

<sup>146</sup> RGI 2: 38 Relación de la ciudad de Sant Miguel de Piura, no date.

<sup>147</sup> RGI 1: 124 Salazar de Villasante, no date [1571?].

<sup>148</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journal for 1630. Some chickpeas were also purchased.

Pérez undertook this journey himself in 1619 in Paita he purchased dogfish, mutton, maize, pumpkins, plantains, bread and potatoes. This particular consignment of slaves continued the journey by sea, and at Huaura, twenty leagues from Lima, the ship took on board nine quintals of *bizcocho*, thirty-four *fanegas* of maize, honey, bread, beans and fish.<sup>149</sup> On the coast slaves benefited from fresh food, whereas rations consumed at sea comprised more processed foods such as *bizcocho* and salted meat, as was the case with rations provided for seamen on the Armada del Mar del Sur.<sup>150</sup>

### *Arrival in Lima*

On arrival in Callao, the port of Lima, the slaves were inspected to ensure that they were not carrying any disease and assessments were made of the taxes payable.<sup>151</sup> These included the payment of *almojarifazgo*, unless it had been previously paid in Piura or Trujillo, as well as a head tax of twenty five reals, known as *cimarrones*, which was levied to finance the capture of fugitive slaves.<sup>152</sup> In addition a nine reals customs tax was payable and on top of this one peso had to be paid for the valuation of each slave. This came to a total of about eleven pesos per slave.<sup>153</sup> Once these formalities had been completed the slaves could be taken to lodgings in Lima.

In the early days of the slave trade slaves arriving in Lima were lodged in houses within the city that belonged to or were rented by the slave traders. Due to the health risk this posed, in 1624 the *cabildo* suggested that a large compound should be established on the northern side of the Rímac River in the district of San Lázaro.<sup>154</sup> For this purpose the Viceroy, Marqués de Guadalcazar, imposed a tax of one peso on each arriving slave to support the construction

<sup>149</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Accounts for 1618–1619.

<sup>150</sup> Glave, “Puerta del Perú,” 503–508.

<sup>151</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 66.

<sup>152</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Money owed by Juan de la Cueva, for the purchase and upkeep of slaves (1633). In the sixteenth century the tax appears to have been two pesos (Bowser, *African Slave*, 67–68).

<sup>153</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave purchases 1629; Money owed by Juan de la Cueva, for the purchase and upkeep of slaves (1633).

<sup>154</sup> LCL 19: 826–28 Cabildo of Lima 18 Mar. 1624.



Figure 6. Lima and Callao in 1740. (Courtesy Spain. Ministerio de Cultura. Archivo General de Indias. Mapas y Planos Perú y Chile 22 Copia del Plano Topográfico de la Ciudad de Perú, y de sus Presidio y Puerto del Callao, 1740).



of four separate quarters for slaves.<sup>155</sup> They were not built, however, until the early 1630s under the subsequent viceroy the Conde de Chinchón, when four houses with yards were constructed in the district of San Lázaro so that men and women over the age of ten could be housed separately.<sup>156</sup>

In the 1620s Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves appear to have been lodged in rented houses,<sup>157</sup> but this changed once he acquired a *chácara* at Bocanegra and accommodation was provided at San Lázaro. In the 1630s it seems that his slaves did not go direct to San Lázaro. When one of his consignments of slaves arrived on December 1st 1634 the men and women were separated with the men being taken to his *chácara* at Bocanegra and the women kept in the house of one Juan Ruiz.<sup>158</sup> The slaves were then visited at Bocanegra by Doctor Juan de Vega on December 16th and declared free of "achaques [ailments] ni enfermedad alguna de contagio."<sup>159</sup> They were then allowed to enter the city where they were put in a compound in San Lázaro for which the slave traders normally paid a rent of about 300 pesos.<sup>160</sup> The slaves appear to have been kept at the estate and transferred to San Lázaro in small batches. At the end of April the same year 36 slaves out of a consignment of 117 that had arrived on February 4th were still being held at Bocanegra.<sup>161</sup> It seems that those being kept at the estate were those who were less healthy, for on occasions sick slaves were sent back to the *chácara* from San Lázaro. Sick slaves were given blankets and *barbacoas* to sleep on.

Provisions were abundant on the central Peruvian coast, so providing food for the slaves while they were awaiting sale in Lima did not pose significant problems.<sup>162</sup> Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves were fed maize, wheat and meat, either beef or mutton, and were given

<sup>155</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 67.

<sup>156</sup> AGI Lima 44 Conde de Chinchón 24 Apr. 1633.

<sup>157</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 739 Accounts for 1618–1619 and Libro borrador, p. 69 Accounts for 1618–1619.

<sup>158</sup> ANHS VM 77-II fol. 8 Joseph Núñez de Prado 8 Dec. 1634 and VM 77-I fol. 195 Solicitud para que visiten negros en Bocanegra . . . Manuel Bautista Pérez 14 Dec. 1634.

<sup>159</sup> ANHS VM 77-I fol. 195v Doctor Juan de Vega 16 Dec. 1634.

<sup>160</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Gasto que se va haciendo con los negros que trajo Simón Vázquez en el navío Maestre Pedro de Burgos 1634.

<sup>161</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1633–1634.

<sup>162</sup> Cobo, *Obras*, 2: 315.

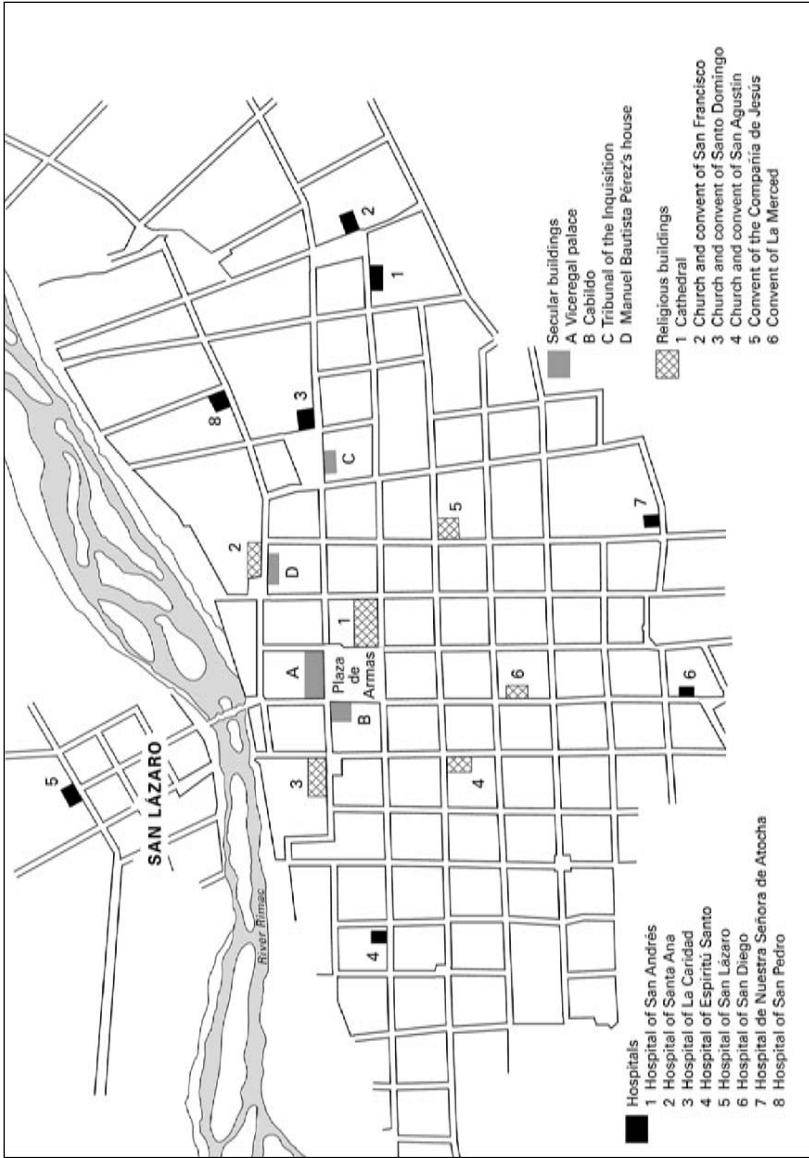




Figure 7. Manuel Bautista Pérez's House (Casa de Pilatos) in Lima Located Opposite the Church of San Francisco on Ancash Street (Author).

fish on Fridays and Saturdays.<sup>163</sup> Occasionally they were also given honey, wine and tobacco. The accounts for 1632 indicate that expenditure on food accounted for approximately 14 percent of the total costs associated with slaves whilst they were in Lima, with maize and wheat accounting for about 53 and 47 percent of the total respectively.<sup>164</sup> The accounts for this particular year include no other food items, but the following year fish, that included anchovies and shrimps, as well as beans and *acemitas* were purchased regularly. These foods are always included with other items and it seems likely that they were also purchased in 1632. However, it is possible that

<sup>163</sup> ANHS VM 79 fols. 107, 108v. Expenses generated by slaves in Lima [1627]; AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1632 and 1633. Similar rations of mutton, wheat, maize and beans were provided for slaves on the estate of Captain Lorenzo Pérez de Noguera (AGNL Real Audiencia. Causas civiles. Leg 103 cuaderno 38 fol. 562 Autos del concurso de acreedores formado a los bienes de D. Lorenzo Pérez Noguera 1637).

<sup>164</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1632. The proportion spent on food would have depended on a variety of factors, in particular how long it took to sell the slaves.

the later arrival of the 1632 consignment, in April rather than February, may have meant that fish was less available. Fish was said to be abundant in Callao between November and April, but absent during the rest of the year when the *garúas* prevailed.<sup>165</sup> At times when fresh fish was not available the slaves were probably fed dried or salt fish imported from the north coast.<sup>166</sup>

In Lima the slaves consumed large quantities of meat, mostly in the form of beef. From the 1540s livestock raising enterprises developed around the city to meet the growing demand for meat.<sup>167</sup> Cattle dominated on the coast where the climate did not favour the raising of sheep, but both cattle and sheep were raised in the sierra and brought down to the coast for fattening. In order to ensure an adequate supply of meat for the city at low prices, the *cabildo* controlled its sale and the butchering of livestock, which was restricted to two public slaughterhouses, one on the other side of the River Rímac and the other next to the church of Santa Ana. According to Father Cobo over 600 *carneros* were killed daily at these abattoirs and 2,700 cattle slaughtered every year.<sup>168</sup> Even though Lima was well supplied with meat, the limited availability of pasture meant that the cattle were often thin, such that they had to be fed alfalfa, which raised the price of meat.<sup>169</sup> The slaves appear to have been fed significant amounts of meat. In 1634 36 slaves held at Pérez's *chácara* were being fed two and a half *arobas* (62.5 pounds) of meat a day. Taking into account that the meat would probably have been purchased on the bone,<sup>170</sup> this would have provided a daily ration of just under one pound a day. In the late sixteenth century the daily ration of slaves working in the hospital of Santa Ana in Lima was one and a half pounds of meat for male slaves and one pound of beef and mutton for female slaves, as well as three *acemitas* for men and two for women for lunch and dinner, while on fish days they were given

<sup>165</sup> Lizárraga, *Descripción breve*, cap. 57: 42.

<sup>166</sup> Cobo, *Obras* 2: 316; Glave, "Puerta del Perú", 517.

<sup>167</sup> Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change*, 56–64.

<sup>168</sup> Cobo, *Obras* 2: 316. In 1619 the raisers of *carneros* in the hinterland of Lima claimed that they were raising more than 160,000 *carneros* a year, which were drawn from 100 leagues around the city (AGI Lima 149 Memorial de los criadores de ganado ovejuno 1619).

<sup>169</sup> AGI Lima 108 Cabildo de Lima 18 Jan. 1621.

<sup>170</sup> As with the calculation of meat consumption in Cartagena, it is assumed that 40 percent of a carcass was bone, but it may have been higher.

a fish broth.<sup>171</sup> In Lima an *arroba* (25 pounds) of beef sold for about six reals,<sup>172</sup> whilst *carneros* usually cost between ten and twelve reals and were generally sold in quarters of seven pounds each.<sup>173</sup> This meant that mutton was about one third more expensive than beef, selling at one pound for 0.36 reals compared to 0.24 reals for beef. In the account books many entries just refer to “carne” or meat so that it is difficult to be precise about the proportions of beef and mutton that were purchased. However, where mutton is mentioned it seems to have been bought in much smaller quantities and to have been preferred for the sick;<sup>174</sup> it may have been used as a substitute for fish on Fridays and Saturdays.<sup>175</sup> On Jesuit haciendas slaves were fed primarily beef with lamb and jerky only given to them when this was not available.<sup>176</sup> Entries for the purchase of firewood “para guisar” suggest that the beef may have been prepared as a stew.

Compared to beef and mutton, pork and chicken were less commonly fed to slaves. Although pigs were said to be very cheap, because of the lack of oil for cooking they were generally raised for their fat rather than for meat.<sup>177</sup> Pork was occasionally fed to the sick, though not as extensively as in Cartagena. Chicken was rarely fed to slaves in Lima, despite being relatively cheap at between 2 and 4 reals each.<sup>178</sup> The few that were purchased were for the sick.<sup>179</sup> Indeed chicken coops were a common feature of hospitals in Lima.<sup>180</sup> In 1606 the hospital of Santa Ana had a chicken coop containing

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<sup>171</sup> ABPL 9086 f.87 Ordenanzas para el hospital de Santa Ana 4 Dec. 1590. The basic rations did not differ in the amount of meat provided for administrators and slaves, but the former received 2 pounds of white bread and 2 pochuelas [*pozuelas*] of wine, as well as more vegetables and fruit.

<sup>172</sup> *Descripción del Virreinato*, 52; LC 19 61–617 Cabildo of Lima 2 Jun. 1623.

<sup>173</sup> ANHS VM 79 fols. 107, 108v. Expenses generated by slaves [1627]; AGNP Real Audiencia. Causas civiles. Leg 103 cuaderno 38 fol.562 Autos del concurso de acreedores formado a los bienes de D. Lorenzo Pérez Noguera [1637].

<sup>174</sup> See also Nicholas P. Cushner, *Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600–1767* (Albany: SUNY Press 1980), 94.

<sup>175</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1633; Cobo, *Obras* 2: 316.

<sup>176</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 92.

<sup>177</sup> *Descripción del Virreinato*, 52; Cobo, *Obras* 2: 316.

<sup>178</sup> *Descripción del Virreinato*, 52.

<sup>179</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Accounts for 1618–1619 and Libro borrador, pp. 69–70 1618–1619.

<sup>180</sup> AGI Lima 131 ff. 7v–8v Visita of the hospital of San Andrés by lic Alonso Maldonado de Torres 22.2.1588; ABPL 9086 fols. 65–92 Visita al Hospital de Santa Ana Ordenanzas para el hospital 4 Dec. 1590.

100 chickens, but given that it consumed about 6,000 a year, this was regarded as insufficient and the inspectors ordered that another 1,000 should be purchased.<sup>181</sup>

The main cereals consumed by the slaves were maize and wheat. Slaves in Peru commonly ate maize and wheat in the form of gruel, known as *sango*, to which condiments might be added, but maize was also made into balls that were boiled.<sup>182</sup> However, the account book suggests that the wheat and maize consumed by those lodged at both Bocanegra and San Lázaro was made into bread or *acemitas* made of bran.<sup>183</sup> In 1633 weak slaves were being fed about one pound four ounces of bread a day, comprising rather more maize than bread (*pan amasado*).<sup>184</sup> According to the hospital ordinances of Santa Ana in 1590, four *fanegas* of wheat could provide 90 loaves of white bread and 90 *acemitas* weighing one pound each.<sup>185</sup> Being favoured by the Spanish and well suited to the climatic conditions of the region, the cultivation of wheat was encouraged by *encomenderos* and expanded rapidly on small *estancias* around Lima in the 1540s.<sup>186</sup> Father Cobo claimed that yields of wheat reached as high as one to fifteen or thirty, which were double normal yields.<sup>187</sup> In addition he claimed that as much as 150,000 *fanegas* each of wheat and maize were being imported from other coastal valleys from as far north as Santa and as far south as Pisco.<sup>188</sup> As such by the early seventeenth century maize and wheat were said to command the same price of between ten and twelve reals a *fanega*.<sup>189</sup> However, by the 1620s and 1630s the price of wheat had risen. Wheat producers attributed rising

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<sup>181</sup> ABPL 9806 fols. 47–48 Visita al hospital de Santa Ana 2 Oct. 1606. See also ABPL 9806 fols. 71–72 Visita al hospital de Santa Ana Autos issued in Lima 27 Jul. 1587.

<sup>182</sup> AGNL Real Audiencia Causas Civiles leg. 103 cuaderno 38 fols. 557–77 Cuenta que doy yo el Capitán Alonso Bravo de los aprovechamientos y gastos 1637; *Descripción del Virreinato*, 48–49; Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 95.

<sup>183</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1632 and 1633.

<sup>184</sup> Manuel Bautista Pérez claimed he was feeding 140 weak slaves the same amount of food as 200 Upper Guinea slaves which was one *fanega* of *pan amasado* (probably wheat bread) in the morning and 1.5 *fanegas* of maize in the afternoon (ANHS VM 79–II fol. 12 Manuel Bautista Pérez to Sebastián Duarte 1 Jul. 1633).

<sup>185</sup> ABPL 9086 fol. 94v Ordenanzas para el hospital de Santa Ana 4 Dec. 1590.

<sup>186</sup> Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change*, 65–75.

<sup>187</sup> Cobo, *Obras* 1: 408.

<sup>188</sup> Cobo, *Obras* 2: 315.

<sup>189</sup> *Descripción del Virreinato*, 53.

prices to the decline in the native labour, the rising costs of slaves and oxen, attacks by pests and declining yields.<sup>190</sup> As such in the 1630s wheat was selling at three pesos and maize between two and two and a half pesos a *fanega*.<sup>191</sup>

Agricultural production in the hinterland of Lima was diversified, such that many of those who grew wheat or maize also cultivated vegetables and fruit for the urban market. These crops included beans, melons, avocados, lucumas and plantains, as well as a range of European crops such as cabbages, aubergines, lettuces, endives, radishes and artichokes.<sup>192</sup> Despite the abundance of vegetables and fruit in Lima, the only item listed in the accounts of food purchased for slaves was beans. It is possible that vegetables and fruit were so cheap that they did not merit inclusion in the accounts, though they are recorded for other stretches of the journey. It is also possible that some fruits were supplied from Manuel Bautista Pérez's estate at Bocanegra, where plantains, guavas, avocados, figs, oranges, lemons and other fruit trees were cultivated.<sup>193</sup> However, it does not appear to have been common practice to provide vegetables and fruit for slaves in Lima. They were not included in rations for slaves working in hospitals, whereas they were for their administrators.<sup>194</sup> The only other items purchased for the slaves were sugar, conserves and wine, which appear to have been only for the sick.

Manuel Bautista Pérez budgeted on the basis that a slave ration cost one real a day.<sup>195</sup> This would seem to be generous compared to rations provided for slaves working in the hospital of Santa Ana,

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<sup>190</sup> AGI Lima 158 Los labradores de la ciudad de los reyes con el fiscal de su majestad 12 Oct. 1621.

<sup>191</sup> AGNL SOCO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1632 and 1633.

<sup>192</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 236; Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 295; Cobo, *Obras* 2: 317; Carletti, *Voyage*, 42–43; *Descripción del Virreinato*, 44–48; Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change*, 66–72. The inventory of Manuel Bautista Pérez's estate of 100 *fanegadas* at Bocanegra reveals that apart from a large number of livestock, the estate produced maize, wheat, barley, olives, plantains and many fruits. It also employed thirty-one slaves (AGNL SO CO Ca 108 doc 848 El Fisco Real de este Santo Oficio 10 Oct. 1633).

<sup>193</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 108 doc 848 El Fisco Real de este Santo Oficio 10 Oct. 1633.

<sup>194</sup> ABPL 9086 fol. 73 Ordenanzas para el hospital de Santa Ana 4 Dec. 1590.

<sup>195</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca. 18 doc 197 pp. 265–68 Accounts regarding 138.5 piezas taken to the Indies (1614–15).

where it cost less than half a real a day.<sup>196</sup> However, it was less than that provided for artisans, which was between one and a quarter and one and a half reals a day, but many of these would have been working in construction, such as in sawmills, carpentry or brick making, where their energy needs would have been greater.<sup>197</sup> One real a day seems to have been fairly common in Lima, though rather less in rural areas where the slaves probably supplemented their rations from garden plots.<sup>198</sup>

### *Slave Sales in Lima*

In most cases Manuel Bautista Pérez's consignments of slaves arrived in March or April and by the end of August generally 90 percent had been sold.<sup>199</sup> Any remaining slaves were transported south to be sold in Pisco or Arica in October or November. While many of these remaining slaves were of poor quality, as will be shown below, there was also a good market for Angolan slaves in these regions. The time taken to dispose of the slaves would have varied with market conditions. On his disastrous venture in 1620 to 1621 when he lost 61 slaves to smallpox and measles in Panama and arrived in Lima after other slave traders, within the first two weeks he had only been able to sell 40 of the remaining 229 slaves.<sup>200</sup> Most of the slaves were sold in ones and twos. For example, the sale of 208 slaves in 1619 involved 104 transactions.<sup>201</sup> This reflected the high cost of the slaves. In the early seventeenth century *corregidores* were paid between 1,000 and 2,000 *pesos ensayados* and officials of the royal

<sup>196</sup> ABPL 9086 f.87 Ordenanzas para el hospital de Santa Ana 4 Dec. 1590.

<sup>197</sup> Emilio Harth-terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, "Las bellas artes en el virreynato del Perú: el artesano negro en la arquitectura virreinal limeña," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 25 (1961): 377.

<sup>198</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 224–26.

<sup>199</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave sales 1623, 1625, 1626, 1629–1634 and AGNL SO CO Ca 25 doc 251 Slave sales 1626. For example, in 1619 he arrived in Lima with 208 slaves on March 21 and by August he had sold 181 slaves, while 9 had died (AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Venta e rendimento de duzentas e vinte e sete peças de escravos 1620).

<sup>200</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Libro borrador, Manuel Bautista Pérez to Felipe Rodríguez 28 Apr. 1621.

<sup>201</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Venta e rendimento de duzentas e vinte e sete peças de escravos 1620.



exchequer less than 1,000 pesos,<sup>202</sup> so that slaves costing between 550 and 600 pesos represented a significant proportion of an individual's annual salary or income. Nevertheless, given that a skilled slave could be hired out at fourteen reals a day and that food cost between one and a quarter and one and a half reals a day, investment in a slave worth 600 pesos could be recovered in about fifteen months, though this did not take account of other expenses such as clothing or medical care.<sup>203</sup> In fact it was said that a poor widow or orphan could live off the labour of only one slave.<sup>204</sup>

Due to the high price of slaves most purchasers could not afford to buy them in a single cash transaction, even though slave traders preferred this method of payment since they needed the ready money to pay their investors and suppliers and also to purchase further slaves in Cartagena the following year. Manuel Bautista Pérez aimed to remit his silver to associates in Panama and Cartagena under the protection of the Armada del Mar del Sur that left Callao for Panama in May.<sup>205</sup> However, from the earliest years of his involvement in the slave trade Pérez was forced to offer various forms of credit.<sup>206</sup> Typically only a few slaves would be bought for cash; most were purchased on credit in the form of an initial down payment, normally about half of the purchase price, with the rest payable the following year, or occasionally over two years. On rare occasions monthly payments might be agreed. Hence in 1619 out of a total expected income of 122,175 pesos from the sale of slaves, he initially received only 46.8 percent in cash, with the rest payable the following year.<sup>207</sup> In later years the proportion paid up front in cash tended to decline, although it was highly variable,<sup>208</sup> and by the 1630s some slaves were sold entirely on credit and on occasions repayments were made in

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<sup>202</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 505–507. The salaries of oidores, alcaldes and fiscales were only 3,000 ducados.

<sup>203</sup> This is a recalculation of Bowser's estimate using an average slave price of 600 pesos (*African Slave*, 138).

<sup>204</sup> AGI Santa Fe 40 R 3 N51 doc 1 Melchor de Aguilera 24 Aug. 1639.

<sup>205</sup> Clayton, "Trade and Navigation," 2.

<sup>206</sup> For a discussion of the complex credit transactions involved in the sale of slaves see Minchin, "May You Always Care for those of Your Patria" 72–77; Bowser, *African Slave*, 70.

<sup>207</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Venta e rendimento de duzentas e vinte e sete peças de escravos 1619–1620.

<sup>208</sup> Minchin, "May You Always Care for those of Your Patria," 73.

the form of commodities such as wheat, barley or maize.<sup>209</sup> Although most of the purchases were on credit, few failed to make the repayments. Getting the balance between income and expenditure, when many transactions were based on credit and when there were investors and numerous suppliers to be paid at different points in the trade, required considerable planning and business skill. Manuel Bautista Pérez earned the reputation of being a trusted supplier of good quality slaves and a reliable source of credit, so that his business thrived while disasters and the lack of access to credit claimed the enterprises of less astute merchants.<sup>210</sup>

In Lima slaves were not generally acquired for large agricultural or mining enterprises, but rather for domestic service and for employment as skilled assistants or artisans. That said, those purchased in larger lots were generally for agricultural labour. From the outset Manuel Bautista Pérez aimed to operate at the top end of the market. Even though he was new to the slave trade, his clients in 1619 included a lawyer to the *Audiencia*, a treasury official, several priests and a musician attached to the cathedral. However, most were artisans, including a silversmith, tailor, hat maker, saddler, rope maker and several cake makers, as well as a pharmacist and a number of shopkeepers and small holders.<sup>211</sup> The range of occupations of Pérez's clients continued in later years. Perhaps he understood that when a fixed transport cost is applied to two similar goods the effect is to make the better quality good less expensive.<sup>212</sup>

There is considerable evidence for the sale of slaves by Manuel Bautista Pérez in Lima. It is difficult to tie all the sales in any one year to a specific consignment, since it might take several years to sell all the slaves and small numbers were sometimes returned as unsatisfactory to be resold at a later date. However, since most slaves were sold within a short time of arrival in Lima, the prices of slaves given in Table 6.5 are largely comparable, though not totally, with those in Table 5.1 which gives their purchase price in Cartagena.

<sup>209</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave sales 1633.

<sup>210</sup> Minchin, "May You Always Care for those of Your Patria," 59–60. Minchin (pp. 98–107) provides details on the less successful slave trading ventures of Jorge de Silva and Juan Rodríguez de Silva.

<sup>211</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Libro borrador Ventas de esclavos 1619–1620.

<sup>212</sup> Jonathan B. Pritchett and Richard M. Chamberlain, "Selection in the Market for Slaves: New Orleans, 1830–1860," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 108 (2)(1993): 466.

Table 6.5. Average Prices of Slaves Sold in Lima, Pisco and Arica 1619 to 1634

	1619	1621	1623	1625	1626	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634
Angola females		587	603	521	535		546	580	567	579	588
Angola males		595	616	546	549		547	583	587	595	606
Upper Guinea females	666	584	602	546	556	556	601	573	589	581	627
Upper Guinea males	643	610	613	586	594	576	600	603	611	608	626
Gold Coast females		601	603								
Gold Coast males		626	616	616	598						
Total number of observations	134	212	74	369	255	107	51	39	313	183	261
Average price	649	604	612	567	563	568	584	588	591	593	615

*Sources:* AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Venta e rendimento de duzentas e vinte e sete peças de escravos 1619–1620; AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave sales 1623, 1625, 1626, 1629–1634; AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Libro borrador—Slave sales 1621–22 and AGNL SO CO Ca 25 doc 251 Slave sales 1626.

Includes only adult slaves and those whose ethnic origin is known. Prices are in pesos.

The price of slaves depended on the quality and particular attributes of the slaves, but it was also affected by market conditions. Able-bodied slaves in their late teens and early twenties commanded the highest prices. Female slaves were generally about 10 to 20 pesos cheaper than male slaves with the difference in the price of male and female slaves being higher for those from Upper Guinea, while youths generally cost about 100 to 150 pesos less than adults.<sup>213</sup> Those with defects such as missing teeth, cloudy lenses, hernias or sores sold for slightly less and were generally the last to be sold. On the other hand particularly attractive slaves and those with special skills or a suitable temperament might command higher prices. The average price for Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves in Lima ranged

<sup>213</sup> This differential is considerably lower than in Brazil and North America where the value of female slaves was only 70–80 percent and 80–90 percent of the value of a male slave respectively. It is even less than that found in parts of Spanish America, which was about 90 percent (Carlos Newland and María Jesús San Segundo, "Human Capital and Other Determinants of the Price Life Cycle of a Slave: Peru and La Plata in the Eighteenth Century," *The Journal of Economic History* 56 (3) (1996): 699.

between about 570 and 600 pesos (Table 6.5). In Cartagena slaves from Upper Guinea cost 40 to 50 pesos more than Angola slaves, but the sale prices in Lima did not exhibit such a consistently high differential. Upper Guinea slaves were generally more expensive, but the difference in price varied considerably from year to year.

Sick or weak slaves from Upper Guinea were generally the last to be sold and, together with some Angola slaves, were shipped out of Lima for sale in Pisco, Arica, or Moquegua. Some were taken by a brother-in-law, either García Vázquez Enríquez or Simón Vázquez Enríquez, who also collected debts,<sup>214</sup> but Pérez also had an agent, Manuel de Acosta, based in Arica. Simón Vázquez Enríquez first undertook this task in 1628 when he received detailed instructions from Pérez about the transport and sale of fifty slaves. Of these slaves he was to sell only a few in Pisco, because it was said that greater profits could be made in Arica. He was also instructed to be open about any physical defects the slaves might have, otherwise they would be returned. For provisions he was to acquire maize, some fish and meat, and other foods, as well as water, making sure that he spent as little as possible, and also see that the slaves did not travel in the sun or were given food or other things that might harm them.<sup>215</sup> It seems that the slaves travelled overland to Pisco and then by sea to Arica.

Despite the additional costs of transport and maintenance prior to sale, which might mount to about 25 to 40 pesos a slave, those shipped to southern regions were not always more expensive.<sup>216</sup> In 1625 the average price of forty-four slaves sold in Pisco, Arica and the Sama Valley, excluding three youths, was 540 pesos, which may be compared to an average price in Lima at the time of 567 pesos.<sup>217</sup> However, the average price varied with the place of sale and with the ethnic origin of the slaves. Slaves of whatever origin were consistently more expensive in Pisco than in Lima, with the difference in price exceeding the additional costs of transport. Here Angolan slaves were comparable if not more expensive than slaves from Upper

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<sup>214</sup> AGNL SO CO Siglo XVII leg. 21 Manuel Bautista Pérez to Sebastián Duarte 2 Sep. 1628. In 1628 he was sending 65 slaves to Arica.

<sup>215</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Libro borrador Manuel Bautista Pérez 16 Sep. 1628.

<sup>216</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 25 doc 251 Accounts for 1625–1627.

<sup>217</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Venta de las pieças que llevó Sebastián Duarte de mi quenta a Pisco y a Arica [1626].

Table 6.6. Average Prices for Slaves Sold in Lima and Southern Peru 1625 to 1626

	Average price 1626	Price in Lima 1626	Price in Pisco and Chincha 1626	Price in Arica and Moquegua 1626	Price in Pisco 1625	Price in Arica 1625
Angola females	535 (39)	526 (34)	594 (5)	—	578 (2)	540 (2)
Angola males	549 (94)	519 (65)	602 (15)	564 (14)	625 (1)	553 (3)
Upper Guinea females	556 (37)	562 (33)	600 (1)	493 (3)	—	570 (1)
Upper Guinea males	594 (77)	599 (68)	616 (5)	479 (4)	618 (2)	557 (8)

Sources: AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Venta de las piezas que llevó Sebastián Duarte 1626; AGNL SO CO Ca 25 doc 251 Slave sales 1626.

The table only includes adult slaves and those whose ethnic origin is known. Prices are in pesos and the numbers sold are given in parentheses.

Guinea (Table 6.6). This probably reflected two things: the tasks in which they were to be employed and the quality of the slaves. First, it probably indicated the general preference for Angolan slaves for agricultural labour.<sup>218</sup> Although only fragmentary information is available for the occupation of buyers, several were *chacareros*, who probably employed them in the cultivation of vines, sugar and cereals.<sup>219</sup> On the other hand the lower price for Upper Guinea slaves seems to have reflected their poor quality. In 1625 the average price for Angolas sold outside Lima was 563 pesos, for those from Upper Guinea 525 pesos and for those from the Gold Coast—Ardas and Caravalís—516 pesos. Seven of these forty-four slaves had physical defects, such as missing fingers or toes, a hernia or ringworm (*tiña*), and two were in their thirties and all were associated with Upper Guinea slaves. However, there was a difference in prices in Pisco and Arica. Contrary to the advice given to Simón Vázquez Enríquez on this occasion slaves commanded much lower prices in Arica despite

<sup>218</sup> Tardieu, “Origin of the Slaves,” 45–46, 53. Such a preference is suggested in a commission from a client, Jorge López de Paz in Arequipa, for the purchase of Angolas “strong for agricultural labour” (AGNL SO CO Siglo XVII Leg. 21 Jorge López de Paz to Manuel Bautista Pérez 15 Feb. 1634).

<sup>219</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 325–26, 345–50.

the additional costs of transport costs.<sup>220</sup> Here at the end of the line the slave traders would have been anxious to dispose of the small number of remaining slaves at whatever cost.

Apart from the qualities of the slaves, their price was also affected by a large range of factors, many of which were out of the hands of the slave traders. The price of slaves might depend on their cost in Africa, the supply and demand for slaves in Cartagena and the mortality experienced by other operators on the journey to Peru. Frederick Bowser suggests that in the early seventeenth century between 1,000 and 1,500 African slaves were arriving annually at Callao,<sup>221</sup> and it was generally thought that most slave traders would do well if the total number did not exceed 1,000 a year.<sup>222</sup> With each slave trading ship carrying several hundred slaves, the loss of a single ship or part of a consignment through disease could significantly affect the availability and hence price of slaves. But, the price also depended on demand that might be affected by depressions in mining or agriculture and the availability of silver. The prices that Pérez obtained for his slaves generally support Frederick Bowser's assertion that the highest prices prevailed in the late 1610s and early 1620s, showing a decline towards the end of the 1630s,<sup>223</sup> though Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves were consistently more expensive than most and his prices do not reveal such a sharp decline in the 1630s. While this trend probably reflected the availability of slaves, monopolistic practices may have contributed to the particularly high prices for slaves during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, when the *cabildo* complained that three suppliers were working together to maintain prices as high as 700 to 800 pesos.<sup>224</sup>

Comparing the average sale prices for slaves in Lima with purchase prices in Cartagena, and taking into account transport and maintenance costs on the journey, profits on individual slaves appear to have ranged quite widely from 44 to 77 percent (Table 6.7).<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> ANHS VM 77-II fols. 138–139 Venta de los negros . . . en Arica 1627. Excluding youths, in this year the average price of Angolas was 579 pesos and for Upper Guinea slaves 573 pesos. Five had missing teeth, one a hernia, one was deaf and had a broken arm, and one was blind in one eye.

<sup>221</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 74–78.

<sup>222</sup> Minchin, “‘May You Always Care for those of Your Patria’,” 89.

<sup>223</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 342–45.

<sup>224</sup> LC 18: 794 Cabildo of Lima 17 Feb. 1620; Bowser, *African Slave*, 71.

<sup>225</sup> These calculations do not include the extra transport and maintenance costs in Lima or on the journey south.

Table 6.7. Profits on Individual Slaves Sold in Lima 1628 to 1634

Year of purchase	1618	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633
Year of sale	1619	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634
Purchase price of Angolan slaves		230	272	305	276	305	283
Sale price of Angolan slaves		N/A	546	582	581	591	602
<i>Percentage difference</i>		<i>N/A</i>	<i>100.7</i>	<i>90.8</i>	<i>110.5</i>	<i>93.8</i>	<i>112.7</i>
Purchase price of Upper Guinea slaves	316	283	311	355	335	360	305
Sale price of Upper Guinea slaves	649	568	600	596	608	600	626
<i>Percentage difference</i>	<i>105.4</i>	<i>100.7</i>	<i>92.9</i>	<i>67.9</i>	<i>81.5</i>	<i>66.7</i>	<i>105.2</i>
Expenses (transport, food, medical care, taxes, etc.)	56.75	56.75	56.75	56.75	56.75	56.75	56.75
Profit on Angolan slaves <sup>1</sup>		N/A	66.1	60.9	74.6	63.4	77.2
Profit on Upper Guinea slaves <sup>1</sup>	74.1	67.2	63.2	44.7	55.2	44.0	73.0
Profit on Angolan slaves assuming 10 percent mortality <sup>2</sup>		N/A	49.5	44.8	57.1	47.0	59.5
Profit on Upper Guinea slaves assuming 10 percent mortality <sup>2</sup>	56.7	50.5	46.8	30.3	39.7	29.6	55.7

*Sources:* AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 715–18, 725–32, 735–40 Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618; AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Venta e rendimento de duzentas e vinte e sete peças de escravos 1619–1620; AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Slave sales 1629–1634; AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201, ANHS VM 77-II fols. 56–58, 155–156v, 158, 267v, VM 79 fols. 116, 141–141v, 153–153v, 161, VM 79 II fols. 314v, 319. Includes only adult slaves and those whose ethnic origin is known. Prices are in pesos.

<sup>1</sup> Profit is based on calculations for an individual slave and does not take account of mortality. It also excludes costs incurred in Lima.

<sup>2</sup> Calculated on the basis of a shipment of 300 slaves.

An unexpected finding is that Angolan slaves seem to have generated higher profits. This is opposite of that found on the Atlantic sector of the trade where slaves from Upper Guinea were more profitable. This reverse position would seem to derive from the greater availability and hence relatively lower prices for Angolan slaves in Cartagena and the sustained high demand for slaves of any kind in Peru. This is suggested by the fact that the purchase price for the slaves from the two regions differed by about 40 to 50 pesos, but the difference in sale price in Lima was considerably less. However, these estimated profits are based on the costs of landing a single

Table 6.8. Profits on Annual Shipments from Cartagena in 1625, 1626 and 1631

Year accounts drawn up (slaves would have been acquired in the previous year)	1625	1626	1631
Price of slaves (pesos)	52,572	114,118	49,889
Number of slaves purchased	166	411	153
Death toll to date (no.)	8	88	6
Expenses from Panama or Cartagena to Callao (pesos)	8,925	18,444	8,866
Expenses in Lima (pesos)	2,957	8,168	3,511
Expenses of slaves shipped for sale outside of Lima (pesos)	909	2,791	N/A
<i>Total expenses (pesos)</i>	<i>65,363</i>	<i>143,521</i>	<i>62,266</i>
Realised to date (pesos)	23,282	Included above	55,817
Accounts receivable (pesos)	63,360	Included above	27,820
<i>Expected income (pesos) on slaves sold</i>	<i>86,642</i>	<i>170,527</i>	<i>83,637</i>
	(from 153 slaves)	(from 310 slaves)	(from 143 slaves)
Slaves unsold when accounts drawn up	13	13	10
<i>Net profit (pesos)</i>	<i>21,279</i>	<i>27,006</i>	<i>21,371</i>
<i>Percentage profit</i>	<i>32.6</i>	<i>18.8</i>	<i>34.3</i>
<i>Net profit margin (percent)</i>	<i>24.5</i>	<i>15.8</i>	<i>25.5</i>

Sources: AGNL SO CO Ca 25 doc 251 and AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201.

Note: Since a number of slaves still had to be sold, the final profit is likely to have been higher. The average cost of slaves differs from that shown in Table 6.6 because of the inclusion of children and slaves from different ethnic backgrounds.

slave in Lima and do not take account of mortality on the journey. A mortality of 10 percent on a cargo of 300 slaves might reduce the profits by between 14 and 18 percent. In addition to this, these estimated profits do not take into account the costs of maintenance in Lima, which could extend over several months, or the expenses involved in shipping the remaining slaves to southern Peru, which as indicated above might cost between 25 and 40 pesos. Neither do the figures take into account slave mortality in Lima, which in many years accounted for over half of the deaths experienced in any one consignment. The evidence from three annual shipments suggests that when the accounts were closed, the percentage profit was between 19 and 34 percent (Table 6.8).<sup>226</sup> In fact the profits would have been

<sup>226</sup> Frederick Bowser (*African Slave*, 70, 372) includes similar tables for 1630 and 1631. The figures he includes for 1630 are correctly transcribed from the documentary source, but there is clearly an error in the document since other sources



higher than this because not all the slaves had been sold at the time the accounts were drawn up. Reduced levels of profit appear to have been linked to high levels of mortality rather than to differences between the sale and purchase prices, while profits could be maintained by shipping larger numbers of slaves. In monetary terms the profit on a single consignment in the late 1620s was only about half of the 40,000 pesos profit he claimed to have made on his African venture in 1618 to 1619 when exceptionally high prices prevailed in Lima.<sup>227</sup> In fact the profit from his early ventures may have enabled him to establish his business in Lima. Even though profits may have been lower in the following two decades, comparisons with the profits made on the Atlantic sector of the trade indicate that Manuel Pérez had made a wise decision to focus his business interests in the Americas.

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(see Table 5.1) suggest that the slaves purchased in Cartagena would not have cost 390 pesos. Most likely the number of slaves purchased is underestimated. The table for 1631 differs slightly from Bowser's since it includes information on the sale of additional sales in Lima, which has been obtained from another document in the same *legajo*.

<sup>227</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Manuel Bautista Pérez to Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa 12 Jul. 1620.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SLAVE DOCTORS, SURGEONS AND POPULAR HEALERS

From the time the slaves were purchased in Cartagena to the time they were sold in Lima and other parts of Peru, the slave traders tried to maximise their profits by minimizing mortality and restoring sick slaves to health. They did this by providing sick slaves with special diets and through employing doctors and others to treat the sick. That said, in Cartagena the expenditure on medical care, which included the costs of doctors, medical equipment and medicines, accounted for only about 4 to 6 percent of total expenditure. This excluded food purchased specifically for sick slaves, which might add another one to two percent to the cost (Table 7.1). However, costs could rise with an outbreak of dysentery or smallpox and expenditure on medical care in Lima was consistently higher, since weaker, less healthy slaves appear to have been the last to be sold.

Between 40 to 60 percent of expenditure on medical care went on the services provided by doctors and other medical practitioners. These came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds and medical traditions, and hence employed different methods of curing. First, there were the licensed physicians, surgeons and others who had received some formal training and had passed the requisite examinations. However, they were vastly outnumbered by unlicensed practitioners ranging from those who had acquired their knowledge through practice, often by working along side licensed doctors, to popular healers and *curanderos*, many of whom were of African descent. Finally, due to the Christian obligation to care for the sick, priests and nuns also provided nursing care and most monasteries had infirmaries and pharmacies.<sup>1</sup> Medical care on board ship was more limited. Slave traders generally loaded the ship with boxes of medicines and contracted a barber-surgeon to accompany the slaves on the journey to

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<sup>1</sup> Francisco Guerra, “The Role of Religion in Spanish American Medicine”, in *Medicine and Culture*, ed. F.N.L. Poynter (London: Wellcome Institute, 1969), 179–81.

Table 7.1. Expenditure in Reals on Medical Care for Slaves in Cartagena 1626 to 1634

	1626	1628	1629	1630	1633	1634	Total	Percent of medical expenditure
Doctors	532	4,104	958	968	2,076	538	9,176	45.0
Medicines	458	3,998	1,142	120	992	72	6,782	33.3
Medical equipment	184	515	256	244	672	226	2,097	10.3
Food for medicinal purposes	177	1,128	272	20	456	285	2,338	11.5
Total	1,351	9,745	2,628	1,352	4,196	1,121	20,393	100.0
Number of deaths	10	6	4	0	18	6	44	
Total expenditure	20,090	31,667	30,703	22,476	63,442	18,784	187,162	

Sources: 1628, 1630, 1633, 1634 AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201  
1626 and 1629 ANHS VM 77-II fols. 159-77, 252-265

Peru.<sup>2</sup> Probably most of them were unlicensed. During their transshipment from Cartagena to Lima the slaves came into contact with all these types of practitioners who came from a range of medical traditions in Spain, the Americas and Africa.

### *Licensed Physicians and Surgeons in Spain and Spanish America*

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Spain controlled the practice of medicine more than any other European country.<sup>3</sup> This control was exercised through the establishment of chairs in universities for teaching medicine and by the regulation of medical practice through

<sup>2</sup> AGNL Real Audiencia Causas Civiles leg. 45 cuad. 171 Año 1618 Autos seguidos por Don Pedro Gómez de Mora, barbero, contra Don Francisco Guisado y otros, por cantidad de pesos por la curación de unos esclavos.

<sup>3</sup> Guenter B. Risse, "Medicine in New Spain," in *Medicine in the New World: New Spain, New France and New England*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 15; Paula S. de Vos, "The Art of Pharmacy in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001), 6.

the establishment of medical boards, known as *tribunales del protomedicato*, which among other things licensed doctors.<sup>4</sup> However, professional practice was confined to physicians, since surgery fell into the category of technology rather than science and was governed by its own guilds.<sup>5</sup> Physicians had to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree from a recognized university, which took four years, followed by four years education at a Faculty of Medicine in order to obtain the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. Finally, they had to work under the supervision of recognised doctors for two years before they were allowed to practice. Surgeons on the other hand only had to show that they had practised under a recognised surgeon for four years, though some formal training was available in a number of universities, where chairs of surgery were established. As such a distinction was made between surgeons who had obtained a bachelors degree at university in addition to practising four years and those who had not. The former were known as *cirujanos latinos*, because they were familiar with and had been examined in Latin; those without a university education who were examined in Spanish were known as *cirujanos romancistas*. Apparently there was less division between physicians and surgeons in Spain than in most parts of Europe at the time. Apothecaries were in a similar position to surgeons, since from 1477 they only had to practise for four years before they could be examined and licensed. However, they had to be able to read Latin in order to understand the writings and prescriptions of physicians. These elements of formal training gave surgeons and apothecaries a higher status than barbers, bonesetters, phlebotomists and others who continued to undertake basic activities, though in the sixteenth century they too were subject to regulation.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> John Tate Lanning, *The Royal Protomedicato: The Regulation of the Medical Professions in the Spanish Empire*, ed. John Jay TePaske (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), 60–62; John Jay TePaske, “Regulation of medical practitioners in the age of Francisco Hernández,” in *Searching for the Secrets of Nature: The Life and Works of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, eds. Simon Varey, Rafael Chabrán and Dora B. Weiner (Stanford: Stanford University Press: Stanford, 2000), 55–64.

<sup>5</sup> José María López Piñero, “The Medical Profession in 16th Century Spain”, in *The Town and State Physician in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Band 17, ed. Andrew W. Russell (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1981), 88–91; Lanning, *Royal Protomedicato*, 230–32, 260–62, 282–84.

<sup>6</sup> David C. Goodman, “Philip II’s Patronage of Science and Engineering,” *British Journal for the History of Science* 16 (1983), 54–55; Jairo Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad en Cartagena de Indias siglos XVI y XVII* (Barranquilla: Universidad del Atlántico, 1998), 103–104.

University education in Spain was restricted to those who could demonstrate *limpieza de sangre*, so in theory Jews and Muslims should not have been able to become licensed doctors. However, there were always ways around the prohibition and because of the low status of the profession compared to the law many Jews and Muslims became doctors, even ascending to the position of court physician.<sup>7</sup> When the Jews were expelled in 1492 many doctors left Spain, but the medical profession remained so dominated by *conversos*, and to a lesser extent *moriscos*, that merely entering the profession exposed an individual to the charge of having Jewish or Muslim ancestry.<sup>8</sup> Jewish doctors were treated no better in Portugal so that between 1580 and 1640 when the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, many took the opportunity to migrate to Spanish America.<sup>9</sup>

It was not only Jewish and *converso* doctors who migrated to Spanish America, but also those who sought to escape the conservative environment of the Counter Reformation and practice more freely. Medical practice in sixteenth-century Spain was dominated by the views of Galen and Hippocrates where illness was seen as a function of an imbalance in the humours or fluids that could be redressed through diet, medicines, purging, vomiting and bleeding.<sup>10</sup> Since sickness was regarded as a divine punishment for sin there was no need to search for an alternative cause. However, new approaches to medicine were emerging that favoured experimentation and the use of practical techniques. In the early sixteenth century Paracelsus suggested that

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<sup>7</sup> Harry Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1944), 2: 620, 701–71; David C. Goodman, *Power and Penury: Government, Technology and Science in Philip II's Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 219–21; Luis García-Ballester, "The Inquisition and Minority Medical Practitioners in Counter Reformation Spain: Judaizing and Morisco Practitioners, 1560–1610," in *Medicine and the Reformation*, eds. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1993), 156–66; Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 65–68; Uriel García Cáceres, *Juan del Valle y Caviades: Cronista de la medicina* (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú and Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia, 1999), 53.

<sup>8</sup> Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 2: 702; López Piñero, "Medical Profession," 90–92; Peter O'Malley Pierson, "Philip II: Imperial Obligations and Scientific Vision," in *Searching for the Secrets of Nature: The Life and Works of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, eds. Simon Varey, Rafael Chabrán and Dora B. Weiner (Stanford: Stanford University Press: Stanford, 2000), 11–18.

<sup>9</sup> Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 2: 695–97.

<sup>10</sup> George M. Foster, *Hippocrates' Latin American Legacy: Humoral Medicine in the New World* (Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 2–4.

illnesses were caused by some external factor that could be detected and cured through observation and experiment. About the same time Andreas Vesalius undertook dissections that exposed flaws in Galen's anatomical writings thereby laying the basis for William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. This experimental approach appealed to surgeons, apothecaries and unlicensed practitioners who used similar methods and to those who saw medicine as a charitable activity concerned with the relief of suffering.<sup>11</sup>

This progressive movement was, however, discouraged by the Counter Reformation, which tried to reassert the authority of the Catholic Church.<sup>12</sup> Following the Reformation many countries in Europe began censoring the publication of heretical books and controlling the introduction of foreign literature. Some controls were introduced in Castile in 1502, but the main impetus came in 1558 when the Spanish Inquisition was ordered to compile an Index of prohibited books.<sup>13</sup> It included those by Paracelsus, which being based on chemical principles were linked to witchcraft, and by Vesalius because of the nudity and sexual organs depicted in his illustrations. Then in 1559 Philip II banned Spaniards from studying abroad thus cutting them off from the main European centres of medical education at Bologna, Padua, Paris and Montpellier.

Some debate exists about the impact that the Counter Reformation and Inquisition had on the development of medicine in Spain, and indeed science in general. Some historians see these measures as having a detrimental effect closing Spain off from medical advances elsewhere in Europe.<sup>14</sup> However, others have argued that their impact

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<sup>11</sup> José María López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica en la sociedad española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Barcelona: Labor Universitaria, 1979), 154–63; Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: The Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 201–16.

<sup>12</sup> López Piñero, José María, "Paracelsus and His Work in 16th and 17th Century Spain," *Chio Medica*, 8 (1973), 119–31 and "The Vesalian Movement in Sixteenth Century Spain", *Journal of the History of Biology*, 12 (1979), 81.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1997), 103–34.

<sup>14</sup> López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica*, 141–44; Jonathan I. Israel, "Counter Reformation, Economic Decline, and the Delayed Impact of the Medical Revolution in Catholic Europe," in *Health Care and Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe*, eds. Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham, with Jon Arrizabalaga (London: Routledge, 1999), 40–55.

was limited because few Spaniards sought training abroad and the law was often circumvented or ignored.<sup>15</sup> Whether or not these bans were effective, they did create a conservative intellectual climate which, even if they did not result in imprisonment or the confiscation of goods at the hands of the Inquisition, encouraged some of a more progressive persuasion to develop their careers elsewhere, often in Spanish America.

Although Spain regulated medicine more than in any other European country, it was slow to establish a medical infrastructure in the New World. Scholars have argued that this was not due to any lack of interest on behalf of the Crown, but rather its unwillingness to commit sufficient funds to support it in the face of more pressing demands on its treasury.<sup>16</sup> It was not until at least the second half of the sixteenth century therefore that formal royal *protomedicatos* were established in the New World. In the interim local *cabildos* filled the vacuum by appointing their own *protomédicos*. From 1537 the *cabildo* of Lima appointed *protomédicos* with the authority to licence doctors and inspect *boticas*, but only in 1568 did the Crown appoint a *protomédico general* and president of the *Tribunal* in the person of Francisco Sánchez Renedo.<sup>17</sup> Despite royal appointments, it eventually became the norm in Lima for the *protomédicos* to be appointed by the Viceroy, to whom they generally acted as chamber physicians.<sup>18</sup> For the period under study, Dr. Melchor de Amusco held the office of *protomédico* from 1614 until his death in 1636, after which Doctor Juan de Vega filled the office.<sup>19</sup>

In Nueva Granada the first appointment of a royal *protomédico* only came in 1598 when Álvaro de Auñón y Cañizares was given the

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<sup>15</sup> Goodman, "Philip II's Patronage," 50–53 and David C. Goodman, *Power and Penury: Government, Technology and Science in Philip II's Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 220–21; Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 104–108.

<sup>16</sup> Lanning, *Royal Protomedicato*, 11; Goodman, *Power and Penury*, 261–64.

<sup>17</sup> Juan B. Lastres, *Historia de la medicina peruana* (Lima: Impr. Santa María, 1951), 2: 29–38, 57–58; Lanning, *Royal Protomedicato*, 29–30, 62. The municipality exerted control over the appointment of *protomédicos* for longer in Mexico City where a *Tribunal* was not established until 1646.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Juan de la Vega was the Conde de Chinchón's physician and he accompanied him to Spain (AGI Lima 165 Marqués de Mancera 29 May 1640).

<sup>19</sup> AGI Lima 165 Doctor Juan de Vega to the Crown 3.7.1642. Dr. Melchor de Amusco was also *médico* to the Santo Oficio. Dr. Vega's credentials were that he had read the arts and philosophy before studying medicine in Seville for nine years.

authority to inspect the licenses of doctors, surgeons, barbers, apothecaries and other medical practitioners.<sup>20</sup> However his jurisdiction and that of his successor Dr. Mendo López del Campo, who was appointed in 1621,<sup>21</sup> did not extend to the city of Cartagena where medical appointments and the inspection of licenses continued to be made by the *cabildo*. The *cabildo* selected the physician and surgeon attached to the hospital of San Sebastián in Cartagena and paid their salaries; according to the hospital ordinances they were required to visit the sick twice, or at least once a day.<sup>22</sup> Apart from having their own private practices, doctors were obliged to attend to the poor, to organise preventative and palliative measures in the event of epidemics and to inspect apothecaries' shops.

Financial difficulties also delayed the early establishment of university medical faculties capable of awarding medical degrees in Spanish America. Although some medical courses were taught at the University of San Marcos in Lima from the 1570s, it was not until 1634 under growing pressure from the *cabildo* and with the support of the viceroy, the Conde de Chinchón, who were concerned about the shortage of doctors and the harm perpetrated by unlicensed practitioners, that two chairs of medicine and surgery were established there.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile the Universidad Convento de Santo Domingo in Bogotá had been given the right to establish a chair of medicine in the early seventeenth century, but the first course in medicine was not taught there until 1760.<sup>24</sup> Since in the Americas opportunities to study at university were more limited and there were more effective restrictions on those who could not demonstrate *limpieza de sangre*, the distinction between *cirujanos latinos* and *romancistas* was hard to

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<sup>20</sup> AGNB Miscelánea de Colonia Médicos 11 número 6 fols. 792v–793r real cédula 19 May 1598. There is some doubt about the date of the appointment of the first royal *protomédico* (Emilio Quevedo V., *Historia social de la ciencia en Colombia: Tomo VIII Medicina (I)* (Colciencias: Bogotá, 1993), 54–56.

<sup>21</sup> AGNB Colonia Médicos y Abogados 6 fols. 849–50 real cédula 7 Feb. 1621.

<sup>22</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 209–21.

<sup>23</sup> AGI Lima 45 N4 fols. 146–147 El Conde de Chinchón 21 Apr. 1634, Marqués de Mancera 29 May 1640; Lastres, *Historia de la medicina*, 2: 51, 87–92; Lanning, *Royal Protomedicato*, 327–28; Luis Martín, *The Intellectual Conquest of Peru: The Jesuit College of San Pablo, 1568–1767* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1968), 98. This was to be paid for out of the *estanco de solimán* (sublimated mercury) whose sale was controlled by law.

<sup>24</sup> Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Medicina tradicional de Colombia: El triple legado* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1985), 150.



sustain. In the Americas this requirement excluded not only non-Christian Whites, but also Indians, Africans and those of mixed race. Since this barrier seriously restricted the number of titled surgeons, the *protomedicato* in Lima took a rather relaxed view towards the requirement in granting the title of *cirujano latino*. Many titles were issued to people with “not very pure blood,” including the son of a slave. This flexible attitude towards *limpieza de sangre* in titling surgeons, does not appear to have applied to physicians, however; indeed it suggested that medical tribunals in the New World took an even harder line than in Spain.<sup>25</sup>

Due to the lack of medical education in the colony, there was a shortage of licensed medical practitioners in the New World. Many of the physicians and surgeons who came from Europe stayed only a few years. They were often more interested in improving their economic status than providing medical care and many developed commercial interests alongside their medical practice.<sup>26</sup> Cartagena was a popular destination for medical practitioners, being the first stopping point for ships sailing to Spanish America. In fact many worked their passage to the Americas as ships’ doctors and surgeons, some travelling on slave ships from Africa, while the arrival of debilitated and sick crews, passengers and slaves and the presence of soldiers in the garrison and coastguard provided them with ample work.

It would appear that Cartagena’s first licensed doctor, Luis de Soria, arrived with the founder of the city, Pedro de Heredia, but he soon left for Panama because he found it so healthy that he had no business.<sup>27</sup> Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Cartagena had only a handful of licensed doctors.<sup>28</sup> A *padrón* of the city in 1579 shows that it had only two licensed doctors—a physician Licenciado Juan Méndez Nieto and a surgeon, Gaspar Ternero, in addition to which it had a *boticario*, Rodrigo Méndez.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> García Cáceres, *Juan del Valle y Caviedes*, 50–52, 92. For a discussion of the importance of *limpieza de sangre* in university and medical training see: Lanning, *Royal Protomedicato*, 175–89 and “Legitimacy and *Limpieza de Sangre* in the Practice of Medicine in the Spanish Empire,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 4 (1967): 46–54.

<sup>26</sup> García Cáceres, *Juan de Valle y Caviedes*, 53.

<sup>27</sup> CDI 41: 414 Licenciado Xoan de Vadillo 15 Oct. 1537; María del Carmen Gómez Pérez, *Pedro de Heredia y Cartagena de Indias* (Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos: Sevilla, 1984), 144.

<sup>28</sup> Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Medicina tradicional*, 1: 140.

<sup>29</sup> Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 405, 476–77.

Among the licensed doctors who migrated from the Iberian Peninsula were some who probably sought to practice more freely. Of particular importance was Pedro López de León who arrived in Cartagena in 1590 as surgeon to the city's hospital, garrison and fleets.<sup>30</sup> He spent more than twenty-five years in Cartagena and published a famous treatise entitled *Práctica[sic] y teórica de las apostemas en general y particular* (1628). He was a student of the progressive surgeon, Bartolomé Hidalgo de Agüero at the Hospital del Cardenal in Seville, who as a result of experimentation had come to oppose trepanation and periosteotomy and favour the drying and closing wounds to prevent contamination.<sup>31</sup> Hidalgo de Agüero was an adversary of the conservative surgeon Juan Frago, a copy of whose book, *Cirugía universal*, was the only medical treatise to be found in Manuel Bautista Pérez's library when it was confiscated by the Inquisition.<sup>32</sup> Another doctor who settled in Cartagena was the physician Juan Méndez Nieto, who had been a medical student at the University of Salamanca. He left for the Indies having had a number of disputes in Spain and possibly being persecuted as a Portuguese *converso*. He arrived in Cartagena in 1569 and continued to practice there until his death publishing a volume entitled *Discursos medicinales* (1607). While trained in the Galenic tradition, his book is noteworthy for its advocacy of the use of native plants.<sup>33</sup> As far as possible the spread of prohibited books, which included certain progressive medical treatises, was discouraged by the routine inspection of all ships arriving in Cartagena by the Inquisition.<sup>34</sup>

The dynamic character of medical practice in Cartagena may not have been typical of other cities. It appears to have been more conservative in Lima, where no medical treatise was published in the sixteenth century. In fact the first royal *protomédico*, Francisco Sánchez Renedo had accumulated a large amount of material relating to local medical practice, but this remained unpublished on his death in 1580.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad*, 127–29.

<sup>31</sup> Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad*, 110–11.

<sup>32</sup> Pedro Guibovich Pérez, "La cultura libresca de un converso procesado por la inquisición de Lima," *Historia y cultura*, 20 (1990): 154.

<sup>33</sup> Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad*, 67, 238–42, 251.

<sup>34</sup> AHNM 4816 Ramo 3 no. 32 fols. 1–102 Testimonio de las visitas de navíos de negros 1634–1635.

<sup>35</sup> Luis Deza Bringas, *Testimonios del linaje médico peruano en los libros del cabildo de Lima siglo XVI* (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porras, 2004), 163, 166.

Among the licensed physicians that practised in Cartagena were a significant number of foreign doctors, many of whom were Portuguese. A list of 184 foreigners drawn up in Cartagena in 1630 includes eight medical practitioners, of whom three were barber-surgeons who were passing through. The list includes Fernando Vázquez de Silva, whose father was Portuguese though he was born in Seville and Mendo López del Campo, a native of Puertoalegre in Portugal, who as noted above had been appointed *protomédico* of Nueva Granada, but did not have a licence to live in the city. Among the surgeons were an Italian, Francisco Pianeta,<sup>36</sup> and a Portuguese, Blas de Paz Pinto, who specialised in acquiring weak or sick slaves and restoring them to health. Finally, there was an apothecary, Francisco Sánchez, from Villaviciosa in Portugal, who had established a *botica* without license. All were regarded as performing an important service for the city.<sup>37</sup>

However, there were many more practitioners than appeared in official accounts. This is implied in an order from the *cabildo* in 1574 for all doctors and surgeons to present their licenses and for barbers to be approved.<sup>38</sup> In the early seventeenth century Méndez Nieto claimed that there were twenty or more doctors in Cartagena, who did great damage to health, since there was no surgeon, apothecary or barber who did not practice medicine.<sup>39</sup> But even the doctors were not always well trained. On arrival in Santo Domingo, where conditions would have been similar to Cartagena, Méndez Nieto had found four doctors, which he said were:

... all of the kind that usually go to the Indies, who are driven away because they are unable to subsist in Spain because no one will give them a mule to cure, so they all come here to the land of the blind where a person with one eye is king or at least a *regidor*.<sup>40</sup>

There were frequent complaints about the harm that unlicensed doctors did to patients and about the dangerous and expensive medi-

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<sup>36</sup> For more information on Francisco Pianeta from Milan who came without license with the Armada in 1605 see: AGI Escribanía de Cámara 598B pieza 30 Case against Francisco de Pianeta, extranjero, cirujano, 1620.

<sup>37</sup> AGI Santa Fe 56B N73 doc 2 fol. 21 Relación y abecedario de los extranjeros 13 May 1631.

<sup>38</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 200.

<sup>39</sup> Méndez Nieto, *Discursos medicinales*, 455.

<sup>40</sup> Méndez Nieto, *Discursos medicinales*, 137.

cines dispensed by apothecaries. Lawsuits against doctors for having killed or harmed patients were not uncommon, such as that against one unlicensed doctor in Santa Fe, Juan de Tordesillas, who was accused of having prescribed a purgative for a merchant Melchor Rico who subsequently died.<sup>41</sup> For Peru these criticisms were encapsulated in the satirical poetry of Juan del Valle y Caviedes. In some fifty poems he condemned professional doctors referring to them as “verdugo en latín” [executioner in Latin], “doctor de la sepultura” [doctor of the grave] and more generally “médicos matantes” [killer doctors].<sup>42</sup> An associate of Manuel Bautista Pérez who was resident in Arequipa claimed that there “they kill healthy people because they know no more medicine than an ass.”<sup>43</sup> Such public criticism of medical practice was not exceptional for the time, indeed it was commonplace in Europe, where it was similarly satirised by writers such as Rabelais, Molière and Shakespeare.<sup>44</sup> These universal complaints probably had more to do with the limitations of humoral medicine than the shortcomings of physicians or apothecaries; in fact popular healers who used herbal remedies probably inflicted less harm. Often the complaints came from licensed practitioners who wished to reinforce their privileged status.

Despite lawsuits over the injury or death of patients and public criticism of doctors, attempts by the authorities to regulate medical practice more closely often met with opposition. Hence, in 1626 when the Crown tried to impose the law in Nueva Granada that doctors had to have titles to practise, the citizens, *cabildo* and priests of Santa Fe de Bogotá united in protest.<sup>45</sup> They claimed this would

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<sup>41</sup> AGNB Miscelánea de Colonia Médicos 11 número 6 fols. 816–829 Mendo López del Campo contra Juan de Tordesillas 1626. Two prescriptions included a drink made of two ounces of *mana* [a sugar or honey liquid], four ounces of a *cocimiento* of senna and *flores cordiales* [fol. 820] and the other an electuary made of a quarter of an ounce each of girapliega, benedicta and diacatholicon [fol. 819].

<sup>42</sup> Daniel R. Reedy, *The Poetic Art of Juan Valle Caviedes* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1964), 60–79; García Cáceres, *Juan del Valle y Caviedes*, 55–119 *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> AGNL SO CO 21 Jorge López de Paz to Manuel Bautista Pérez, Arequipa 11 Nov. 1635.

<sup>44</sup> García Cáceres, *Juan del Valle y Caviedes*, pp. 34–35; Tanya Pollard, *Drugs and Theater in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2005), pp. 23–54.

<sup>45</sup> AGNB Miscelánea de Colonia Médicos 11 número 6 fols. 840–857 Various letters from the *cabildo*, vecinos, priests and convents of Santa Fe 1626. Those who did not have title to practice had been ordered to cease practising under a penalty

mean there was only one doctor in the city, when six or seven were needed, and that those practising were highly experienced and even better than those who came from Spain who often made many mistakes because the country was “a different region [with] a different climate, different medicines, different complexions, different foods and as such different subjects”.<sup>46</sup> In any case the poor could not afford to pay for expensive licensed doctors or their medicines. In fact not all those who practised medicine were totally untrained; rather they had not been able to sit the requisite examinations due to the absence of medical training in local universities. One doctor who objected, Miguel de Çepeda, claimed he had been practising for thirty-six years and had read all the serious Latin authors and those who had received doctorates from Salamanca and Bologna.<sup>47</sup> Others who were practising claimed to have lost their titles, one during a pirate attack on the way from Cuba<sup>48</sup> and another from Agreda in a storm on an expedition to Santa Marta.<sup>49</sup> Given the shortage of licensed doctors the lack of formal qualifications did not constitute a barrier to appointment to even the most senior positions in the medical profession. It was claimed that many barbers rose to be surgeons without having the scientific knowledge to cure more than a simple wound.<sup>50</sup> As such, through fraudulent means Martín Sánchez de Velasco was able to become Cartagena’s *cirujano* and inspector of apothecaries, without having any formal title to practice.<sup>51</sup>

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fine of 100 *ducados castellanos* and *boticarios* were ordered not to receive prescriptions from unlicensed doctors.

<sup>46</sup> AGNB Miscelánea de Colonia Médicos 11 número 6 fol. 853 Miguel de Çepeda Santa Cruz [1626].

<sup>47</sup> AGNB Miscelánea de Colonia Médicos 11 número 6 fols. 816–829 Mendo López del Campo contra Miguel de Çepeda [1626]. In fact there is no evidence that he had any medical training. He went to Nueva Granada in 1595 at the behest of his rich uncle who had no children was already established and wished him to inherit (Indiferente General 2102 N2 f. 5–7 Licence for Miguel de Çepeda 7 Nov. 1595).

<sup>48</sup> AGNB Colonia Médicos y Abogados 6 fols. 651–58 Don Francisco de Quesada 15 Oct. 1682.

<sup>49</sup> AGNB Colonia Médicos y Abogados 3 fols. 470–90 Francisco Gómez Rondón, no date.

<sup>50</sup> Méndez Nieto, *Discursos medicinales*, 501.

<sup>51</sup> AGNB Colonia Médicos y Abogados 6 fols. 880–1033 Francisco Sánchez, Rafael de Mogueymes y Juan de Cueto con Martín Sánchez de Velasco 1634. This fascinating case reveals the importance of examinations in licensing medical practitioners and also the strict demarcation of practices between them. Sánchez de Velasco was later criticised for levying taxes to conduct *visitas* and of preparing his

There were other healers who worked on the fringes of the professional sector acquiring their skills in hospitals or from other practitioners.<sup>52</sup> One such person was Diego López, a Mulatto surgeon, who learned his skill while working in a hospital in Cartagena and later went to Santa Fe to be examined.<sup>53</sup> In fact some people found guilty of witchcraft by the Inquisition were sent to work in the hospital of San Sebastián.<sup>54</sup> In Lima too, inspections of hospitals indicate that African slaves were assisting in surgery, acting as nurses and administering medicines. Hospitals also received donations of slaves from private individuals.<sup>55</sup> In the hospital of Santa Ana slaves were applying unctions of mercury and one Francisca Bran was treating *bubas* using sarssaparilla.<sup>56</sup> The same hospital also trained an Indian, Pedro Capicha, to be a barber-surgeon on its sheep *estancia* near Jauja.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile in the hospital of San Andrés the *boticario* was one Juan de Mandinga.<sup>58</sup> As early as 1572 the *cabildo* was concerned that Blacks and Indians were making medicines that did not comply with prescriptions, sometimes substituting opium for other healthy ingredients and selling mercury. It was judged that the art of being an apothecary required scientific knowledge, skill and precision, which according to racist attitudes of the time, it was considered impossible for Blacks and Indians to possess.<sup>59</sup> Even though there was general discrimination against African practitioners, there seems to have been some recognition of their medical skills, for in a serious outbreak of smallpox in Lima in 1589, the shortage of surgeons

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own medicines when only licensed *boticarios* were permitted to do so (AGNB Colonia Médicos y Abogados 6 fols. 880–1033 Case against Martín Sánchez de Velasco by *boticarios*, Francisco Sánchez, Raphael de Mogueymes and Juan de Cueto 1634).

<sup>52</sup> Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Medicina tradicional*, 1: 14–42, 149.

<sup>53</sup> María Cristina Navarrete, *Prácticas religiosas de los negros en la colonia: Cartagena siglo XVII* (Cali: Universidad del Valle, 1995), 111–18, 161–67.

<sup>54</sup> Navarrete, *Historia social del negro*, 102.

<sup>55</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 105.

<sup>56</sup> ABPL 9806 fols. 104–105 Visita al Hospital de Santa Ana sin fecha [1588]; AAL Causas de Negros Legajo 1 documento 2 Expediente de los autos que sigue el Doctor Vásquez Fajardo contra Gaspar Guerrero 1593.

<sup>57</sup> ABPL Santa Ana Vol. 1 doc 6 fols. 87–89 Títulos de la hacienda de Santa Ana 31 Aug. 1617.

<sup>58</sup> ABPL 9806 fols. 104–105 Visita al Hospital de Santa Ana sin fecha [1588]; AHRA Maldonado A-III-306 fol. 115 Libro de egresos e ingresos del hospital de San Andrés 1612.

<sup>59</sup> LC 7: 268, 270–71 Cabildo of Lima 28.4.1572.

prompted the *cabildo* to order that Mulatto and Black surgeons should be conscripted to serve the poor.<sup>60</sup>

### *Popular Healers*

Apart from those who aspired to be licensed doctors, there were many other popular healers in Cartagena and Lima to whom its citizens turned for medical advice. The use of popular healers had been a common feature of medical practice in Spain, where they included unexamined empirics and specialists, such as midwives, bonesetters and dentists, and others who treated hernias, cataracts, or extracted bladder stones, all of whom employed natural remedies.<sup>61</sup> In addition there were other healers often referred to as *curanderos*, who combined natural remedies with magical practices based on ancient folklore and customs<sup>62</sup> that often drew on pre-Christian or Arab concepts, such as belief in the evil eye.<sup>63</sup> These practitioners were often referred to as witches and sorcerers and their practices were regarded as heretical since they were thought to have acquired their powers through a pact with the Devil. While witches were considered to have innate powers and could harm people without performing any special acts, the latter were supposed to have learned how to conduct rituals or cast spells either from other sorcerers or from books.<sup>64</sup> Healing practices might involve charms, spells and herbs that were considered to have magical qualities, and astrology was often used to ascertain the appropriate time for the appli-

<sup>60</sup> LC 11 Cabildo of Lima 31 May 1589, 28 Jun. 1589, 7 Jul. 1589.

<sup>61</sup> Luis S. Granjel, *La medicina española renacentista* (Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca: Salamanca, 1980), 133–50; Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Enfermos y sanadores en la Castilla del siglo XVI* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1993), 39–49; Enrique Perdiguero, “Protomedicato y curandersimo,” *Dynamis* 16 (1996), 101–102.

<sup>62</sup> Perdiguero, “Protomedicato y curandersimo,” 101 properly advises against defining the term *curandero/a* since the meaning would vary with the social, economic, religious, political and scientific context.

<sup>63</sup> George M. Foster, “Relationship Between Spanish and Spanish-American Folk Medicine,” *Journal of American Folklore* 66 (1953): 201–17.

<sup>64</sup> Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, 1971), 521–34; Geoffrey Scarre, *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 3, 17, 49; Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 17–25; Navarrete, *Prácticas religiosas*, 37–38.

cation of a therapy. Sometimes these activities were combined with Christian prayers, hagiolatry and the use of Christian relics.<sup>65</sup>

Such magico-religious beliefs were also a feature of healing practices in both America and Africa. In both regions illness was seen as a punishment for transgressing religious taboos or the product of witchcraft perpetrated by an enemy, magicians or sorcerers that might result in spirit possession or soul loss. Shamans operating between the material and spiritual worlds used divination to make diagnoses often using hallucinogens to enter into a trance, which enabled them to make contact with the spirits from whom they received guidance on how to effect a cure. Curing might involve rituals and offerings, fasting, massaging, sucking or the use of medicinal plants.<sup>66</sup> Some of the methods of curing were similar in both Native American and African medicine, for example, placing the mouth over the infected part of the body and sucking, using birds in rituals, placing items in the mouth and removing them to signify the elimination of the cause of the illness or putting saliva on a bird's beak and asking the sick person to do the same in order to transfer the illness from the patient to the bird.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, there were clear differences in the deities worshipped and in Africa more emphasis was placed on ancestor worship, the use of potions and the wearing of amulets for protection against evil spirits.<sup>68</sup>

Even though to varying degrees Spanish medicine came to dominate medical practice in Spanish America, there was a significant

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<sup>65</sup> Foster, "Spanish and Spanish-American Folk Medicine," 203, 213; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), 149–50.

<sup>66</sup> Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Medicina y magia: el proceso de aculturación en la estructura colonial* (Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1963), 36–65; Michael Taussig, "Folk Healing and the Structure of Conquest in Southwest Colombia," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 6(2) (1980): 217–278; Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Medicina tradicional*, 2: 23; Luz María Hernández Sáenz, and George Foster, "Curers and their Cures in Colonial New Spain and Guatemala: The Spanish Component," in *Mesoamerican Healers*, eds. Brad R. Huber and Alan R. Sandstrom (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 41; Robert A. Voeks, (African medicine and magic in the Americas. *Geographical Review* 83(1) (1993): 69–72; Robert A. Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

<sup>67</sup> Inés Sosadías, "El negro curandero en la Inquisición de Cartagena de Indias siglo XVII" (Master's thesis, Universidad de los Andes, 1981), Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo, "Botánica y medicina africana en la Nueva Granada, siglo XVII," *Historia crítica* 19 (2000), 39–42.

<sup>68</sup> Navarrete, *Prácticas religiosas*, 61, 97.



amount of fusion between European, American and African medical systems that was greatly facilitated by their similarities. All three were based on magico-religious beliefs where illness was thought to result from supernatural forces; all three were involved in ritual practices and all three made extensive use of medicinal plants.<sup>69</sup> Broad similarities in concepts of healing and familiarity with popular healers in Spain,<sup>70</sup> facilitated their widespread acceptance and use in the New World, such that in the absence or ineffectiveness of medical care provided by the secular authorities people from all walks of life resorted to the use of various types of *curanderos*,<sup>71</sup> many of whom were Africans or Mulattoes.

Despite this reliance on popular healers, there was a concern that some *curanderos* had acquired powers from the Devil, which they could use to harm people and which might pose a threat to the authority of Catholic Church. As such, many *curanderos* were brought before the Inquisition on charges of witchcraft and sorcery. In the sixteenth century jurisdiction over witchcraft passed to the Inquisition and after it was established in Cartagena in 1610 charges were brought against a number of *curanderos*.<sup>72</sup> Inés Sosadías's study of twenty-three Mulatto and African *curanderos* indicates that only two, both women, were charged with being *brujas*, though they were also

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<sup>69</sup> Solange Alberro, *Del gachupín al criollo o de cómo los españoles de México dejaron de serlo* (Mexico, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1992), 103.

<sup>70</sup> Aguirre Beltrán, *Medicina y magia*, 261; Luis García-Ballester, "Academicism Versus Empiricism in Practical Medicine in Sixteenth-century Spain with Regard to Morisco Practitioners," in *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Wear, Roger K. French, and Iain M. Lonie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 251; Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Medicina tradicional*, 2: 23–25; Alberro, *Del gachupín al criollo*, 121–25; Benjamín Flores Hernández, "Medicina de los conquistadores, en la *Milicia Indiana* de Bernardo de Vargas Machuca," *Boletín mexicano de historia y filosofía de la medicina*, 6(1) (2003), 7–9.

<sup>71</sup> David Sowell, *The Tale of Healer Miguel Perdomo Neira: Medicine, Ideologies, and Power in the Nineteenth-Century Andes* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2001), 23–34, 26.

<sup>72</sup> Documents referring to the trials of *curanderos* are to be found in the Inquisition section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional Madrid. These sources have been studied in detail by a number of authors, notably Manuel Tejado Fernández, *Aspectos de la vida social en Cartagena de Indias durante el seiscientos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1954), Sosadías, "El negro curandero" and Navarrete, *Prácticas religiosas*. Prior to 1610 cases brought before the Inquisition in Colombia had been handled by the Inquisition in Lima which was established in 1570 (Anna María Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición en el tribunal de Cartagena de Indias: 1610–1660* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispánica, Bogotá, 1997) 1: 108.

referred to as *hechiceras*, suggesting that there was some unspecified distinction between them.<sup>73</sup> As such Juana Estupiñán was charged with being a “bruja, hechicera e hierbatera” on the grounds she had killed people and made them ill using different herbs, powders, birds, stones, small sticks, hair and other things.<sup>74</sup> Of the twenty-three accused, eight were charged with being *hechiceros* and ten as diviners (*sortilegos* and *adivinadores*). The diviners were accused of using magical powers to locate lost objects, identify those who had committed crimes, or read palms.<sup>75</sup> Others were merely identified as *curanderos* (healers) and *hierbateros* (herbalists). The distinction between these different practitioners is not clear but *brujos*, *hechiceros* and *sortilegos* appear to have used magic and fetishes as well as different types of medicines and their activities could be either beneficent or maleficent. While some had learned their skills in Africa, others claimed to have acquired their knowledge from Indians.<sup>76</sup>

Likewise there were a large number of healers in Lima in the early seventeenth century, whose practices were generally regarded as heretical since they not only used herbs, but also employed superstitious practices, charms and sacrifices.<sup>77</sup> Because of their healing skills, *curanderos* were allowed to practice as long as they did not use superstitious or idolatrous methods, when they might be brought before the Inquisition or ecclesiastical courts.<sup>78</sup> At that time Africans

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<sup>73</sup> Sosadías, “El negro curandero,” Cuadro 2, between pages 174–75. The author suggests that *brujería* referred to collective acts and *hechicería* to individual ones, but it would appear that the Inquisition distinguished between *brujos* who renounced Christianity and *hechiceros* who did not (José Enríque Sánchez Bohórquez, “La hechicería, la brujería y el reniego de la fe, delitos comunes entre blancos y negros esclavos”, in Splendiani, *Cincuenta años de Inquisición*, 1: 224.

<sup>74</sup> AHNM Inquisición Cartagena de Indias Libro 1022 fol. 28 Causa de Juana de Estupiñán 1656–1657.

<sup>75</sup> AHNM Inquisición Cartagena de Indias Libro 1021 fols. 301r–303v Causa de Ambrosio Hernández 1651.

<sup>76</sup> AHNM Inquisición Cartagena de Indias Libro 1021 fol. 304v Causa de Mateo Arara 1651; Navarrete, *Prácticas religiosas*, 61, 64.

<sup>77</sup> Murúa, *Historia general*, 100–103; Bernabé Cobo, *Obras*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 92 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1956), 2: 227–29.

<sup>78</sup> Nicholas Griffiths, “Andean *Curanderos* and their Repressors: The Persecution of Native Healing in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Peru, in *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions Between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*, eds. Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1999), 185–97. For cases against *hechiceras* see, AAL Hechicerías leg. 1 exp. 7 fol. 2 Causa seguida contra Pedro Sayo, acusado de curar enfermos con hierbas 1621; Mannarelli, *Hechiceras*, 38; Ana Sánchez, *Amancebados, hechiceros y rebeldes (Chancay, siglo XVII)* (Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos: Cusco, 1991), xxxv.

comprised slightly less than half of the total population of Lima, which was recorded at a conservative 25,000 to 27,000, while the Indian population of the city had declined to less than 2,000.<sup>79</sup> Although numerically less significant, Indians would have possessed knowledge of local plants and the close association of persons of Indian, African and mixed race descent in the poor neighbourhoods of Lima facilitated the exchange of medical ideas and practices. People from all social and racial backgrounds consulted these popular healers, the majority of whom were women.<sup>80</sup> Hence, in one redhibition case involving an African slave, his owner a carpenter, Juan López, in seeking to cure him of dysentery had consulted an Indian, Antonia Marcela, from El Cercado, an Indian village in the district of San Lázaro, as well as one Beatriz Criolla, an African slave.<sup>81</sup>

### *The Church and Hospitals*

Apart from the healing practices of licensed practitioners and popular healers, the Church played a significant role in caring for the sick, particularly though not solely through the establishment of hospices and hospitals. Catholic orthodox beliefs and the moral philosophy of the time saw sickness as a punishment from God, so the emphasis in hospitals was on charitable care rather than curing, with primacy given to prayers and the healing power of God and the saints, rather than medical treatment. Indeed, Papal decrees in the early thirteenth century discouraged the clergy from practising medicine because it distracted them from their spiritual goals. However, due to the shortage of professional physicians and their commitment to the poor and sick many priests continued to provide some form of nursing or medical care. They were generally fairly orthodox in

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<sup>79</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 340–41. Bowser gives figures from the censuses of Lima in 1614 and 1636. He suggests (p. 75) that the number of Blacks may have been about 20,000 in 1640.

<sup>80</sup> Alejandra B. Osorio, *El Callejón de la Soledad: Vectors of Cultural Hybridity in Seventeenth-Century Lima*, in *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions Between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*, eds. Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1999), 199–200, 217.

<sup>81</sup> AAL Causas de Negros 1609 leg. 1 exp. 31 Juan López, carpintero, contra el Padre Diego de Ybarreta 13 Oct. 1608.

their medical treatments having acquired any medical knowledge through the private study of medical treatises that were based on humoral principles and placed emphasis on dietary changes, purging and bloodletting. However they also made extensive use of herbal remedies often prepared in their own pharmacies.<sup>82</sup>

Cartagena, Portobello, Panama and Lima all had hospitals in the seventeenth century, but they were not used by the slave traders studied here. Nevertheless, other slave owners sent their slaves to hospitals and contemporary accounts of their facilities and operation provide some insight into medical practice at the time.

In the early seventeenth century Cartagena possessed three hospitals but, unlike foundations elsewhere, initially they were founded by the secular authorities rather than the Church.<sup>83</sup> The first, San Sebastián, was founded in 1534 with some Crown support, but it was largely dependent on donations from Cartagena's citizens. However, in 1612 was transferred to the Order of San Juan de Dios. It was enlarged and improved several times. In 1605 it had two large rooms, a pharmacy, kitchen, dispensary or surgery, as well as a refectory and offices for the brothers of the Order, but it lacked a ward for women and a chapel.<sup>84</sup> In the 1620s the surgeon, Pedro López de León recorded that it ordinarily had 80 beds, but when the fleet and armada were in port it had 150 to 200 and was always full.<sup>85</sup> In the 1640s it catered mainly for poor Spaniards, slaves and those passing through the port,<sup>86</sup> but also served the neighbouring regions

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<sup>82</sup> Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 7–9, 26, 43–44, 50; Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 123–29; Guenter B. Risse, *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 73–109.

<sup>83</sup> Simón, *Noticias historiales*, part 3 noticia 7 cap. 63: 364; Francisco Guerra, *El hospital en hispanoamérica y filipinas 1492–1898* (Madrid: Ministerio de Sanidad y Consumo, 1994), 373, 375–76, 378–79; Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 17.

<sup>84</sup> AGI Santa Fe 38 R 2 N 72 Don Hernando de Çuaço, gobernador 1 Nov. 1605.

<sup>85</sup> Pedro López de León, *Prática [sic] y teórica de las apostemas en general y particular: cuestiones y prácticas de cirugía, de heridas, llagas, y otras cosas nuevas, y particulares* (Seville: Oficina de Luys Estupiñan, 1628), 298; Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad*, 210. In the 1640s the numbers being cared for often exceeded 300 (AGI Santa Fe 40 R 3 N 86 Governor Melchor de Aguilera, 28 Jan. 1641).

<sup>86</sup> AGI Santa Fe 244 Fathers of the hospital of San Sebastián, Cartagena, 2 Apr. 1623; Simón, *Noticias historiales*, part 3 noticia 7 cap. 63: 364; AHNM Inquisición, Cartagena de Indias lib. 1021 fol. 337 Causa contra Domingo López 22 Jul. 1654, fol.404v Causa de Luis de Páez [1654]; AGNB Hospitales 1 fols. 440–51 Visita actuada . . . por el padre Fray Miguel de Isla 18 Dec. 1786; Guerra, *El hospital*, 373.

of Tolú and María, which did not have hospitals.<sup>87</sup> The presence of well-respected doctors and surgeons, including Pedro López de León himself, meant that in the early seventeenth century it was renowned throughout Nueva Granada and the Caribbean.<sup>88</sup> This put such pressure on the hospital that the fathers in charge were forced to seek a levy on all ships entering the port for its maintenance and use.<sup>89</sup>

The Order of San Juan de Dios also administered the convalescent hospital of Espíritu Santo, which was established on the island of Getsemaní in 1562.<sup>90</sup> In 1620 it was 72 feet by 147 feet and had an infirmary and church, and also owned a number of houses and plots in the area.<sup>91</sup> The hospital of San Lázaro for lepers was established outside the city by the *cabildo* in 1610 and from 1615 was visited by Pedro Claver. It received donations from the Crown and was expanded to house seventy people, though often it held one hundred. In reality the hospital only consisted of some badly constructed huts of cane and palm and possessed no beds, only cane *barbacoas* with some poor mats.<sup>92</sup>

Hospitals in Panama were scarcely more substantial. In 1597 the site of the terminus of the Atlantic fleet was switched from Nombre de Dios to Portobello partly on health grounds, but the new site was no more salubrious. The hospital of San Sebastián was founded at the same time as the port of Portobello and in 1629 it passed to the administration of the Order of San Juan de Dios.<sup>93</sup> It catered

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<sup>87</sup> AGI Santa Fe 228 11a Bishop of Cartagena, don fray Dionisio de Santo 1577. He also says that Mompox had no hospital, but one had been established there in 1555 (Guerra, *El hospital*, 374).

<sup>88</sup> Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad*, 128, 210, 266. López de León, *Práctica [sic] y teórica de las apostemas*, 298 notes that people came to the hospital from Panama, Portobello, Santa Marta, Río de la Hacha, Caracas, Margarita and the Windward Islands.

<sup>89</sup> AGI Santa Fe 244 Fathers of the hospital of San Sebastián 2 Apr. 1623.

<sup>90</sup> Although Vázquez de Espinosa (*Compendio*, 220) claims it was a hospital for incurables, other sources indicate that it was a convalescent hospital (AGI Santa Fe 39 R2 N 7 doc 2 fol. 6r Relación del sitio y asiento de Getsemaní 24 Jul. 1620, Santa Fe 244 No author, no date [ca. 1623?], Guerra, *El hospital*, 375–76).

<sup>91</sup> AGI Santa Fe 39 R2 N 7 doc 2 fol. 6r Relación del sitio y asiento de Getsemaní 24 Jul. 1620.

<sup>92</sup> AGI Santa Fe 40 R1 N 12 doc 1 Governor Francisco de Murga, 18 Aug. 1635, Santa Fe 40 R3 N 86 Governor Melchor de Aguilera, 28 Jan. 1641; Guerra, *El hospital*, 378–379.

<sup>93</sup> Gage, *Travels*, 331; Guerra, *El hospital*, 364–66. See also CDI 9:109 Descripción corográfica 1607.

not only for passing travellers but also soldiers stationed in the local garrison. Hence despite the fact that Portobello had a small resident population, the hospital had some forty or fifty beds and at the time of the fair might serve over one hundred people.<sup>94</sup> Also because Portobello was the point at which merchandise from Spain was unloaded, the hospital pharmacy was comparatively well stocked.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, there is no evidence that any use was made of it by the slave traders. The accounts suggest that they generally bought in the services of a local barber, while sick slaves were left behind in the care of a local resident until they were fit to undertake the journey across the isthmus in the company of an overseer who had remained behind with them. In Panama City there existed another hospital of San Sebastián, which possessed a physician, apothecary, nurse and chaplain, while the city as a whole possessed four surgeons and two apothecaries.<sup>96</sup> These were considered inadequate given the unhealthy climate and the large numbers of travellers that had to be catered for.<sup>97</sup>

With the exception of Lima, there was a distinct lack of medical services on the coast of Peru. Although there was a hospital in Trujillo, much of the time it was not staffed. In 1630 the *procurador* of Trujillo requested the appointment of *licenciado* Francisco Flores, as physician, surgeon and pharmacist to the city's hospital, saying that there was no other between Paita and Lima and that many people had died because there had been no surgeon or pharmacist for two years.<sup>98</sup> Little use appears to have been made of the hospital in Trujillo. When slaves fell ill on the north coast of Peru, the barber-surgeon accompanying a shipment often stayed with them until they recovered to continue their journey.<sup>99</sup>

As capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru, more hospitals were established in Lima and it probably experienced fewer health problems

<sup>94</sup> AGI Panamá 48 N24a Hernando Núñez 10 Jan. 1623.

<sup>95</sup> Guerra, *El hospital*, 366.

<sup>96</sup> CDI 9: 107 Descripción corográfica 1607; Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, p. 169 Descripción de Panamá 1607; Guerra, *El hospital*, 363–364.

<sup>97</sup> AGI Panamá 62 N48 Audiencia 2 Aug. 1605.

<sup>98</sup> AAL Hospitales leg. 2 exp. 14 Solicitud presentada por cap Pedro de Herrera Salazar, procurador general de Trujillo 1630. In fact there was another doctor, Doctor Alonso de Quirós, but it was said he did not treat the poor as well.

<sup>99</sup> AGNL Real Audiencia Causas Civiles leg. 45 cuad. 171 Año 1618 Autos seguidos por Don Pedro Gómez de Mora, Barbero, contra Don Francisco Guisado y otros, por cantidad de pesos por la curación de unos esclavos.

than Cartagena or Panama because of its dry climate. In the early seventeenth century it possessed eight main hospitals, those of San Andrés, San Pedro, Santa Ana, El Espíritu Santo, San Lázaro, San Diego, La Caridad and Nuestra Señora de Atocha, which each catered for different sectors of the population.<sup>100</sup> There was, however, no hospital for African and Mulatto slaves until the construction of the hospital of San Bartolomé in 1661, though a primitive one operated there from 1646.<sup>101</sup> In the early seventeenth century African slaves were most commonly treated in the hospital of San Andrés or Santa Ana, their owners paying a small fee to cover their expenses. In the late sixteenth century it cost twenty pesos a month to have a slave cared for in the hospital of Santa Ana.<sup>102</sup> Occasionally sick slaves, particularly those at risk of death, were donated to the hospital probably to avoid the cost of medical treatment.<sup>103</sup> The hospital of San Andrés treated about two thousand patients a year, most of them Spaniards and some free Blacks and Mulattoes, in addition to which it ordinarily housed about sixteen to twenty mentally ill patients.<sup>104</sup> Because of overcrowding and the lack of beds for poor Spaniards, in 1640 the Crown ordered that slaves who had commonly been sent to the hospital by their owners were no longer to be treated there, but no alternative provision was made for them.<sup>105</sup>

San Andrés was founded in 1538 and Viceroy Francisco de Toledo drew up ordinances for its management in 1577. However, by 1602

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<sup>100</sup> AGI Lima 301 Relación de los hospitales que ay en esta ciudad de los Reies . . . 20 Apr. 1619; BNP Manuscritos B1236 Hospitales y casa de recogimiento 1633; Cobo, *Obras* 2: 441–.

<sup>101</sup> Van Deusen, “The ‘Alienated’ Body,” 18–21.

<sup>102</sup> ABPL 9085 fols. 10–11 Libro de cuentas del hospital de Santa Ana 1595–1597.

<sup>103</sup> For example, ABPL 8444 fol. 4r Libro donde se asientan los enfermos que se entran a curar . . . desde 13 Apr. 1619. For those treated in the hospital of San Andrés between 1619 and 1657 see ABPL legs 8444–8447, 8453, 8455. Nancy E. Van Deusen, “The ‘Alienated’ Body: Slaves and Castas in the Hospital de San Bartolomé in Lima, 1680–1700,” *The Americas* 56 (10(1999): 27–28.

<sup>104</sup> AGI Lima 301 Relación de los hospitales que ay en esta ciudad de los Reies . . . 20 Apr. 1619; BNP Manuscritos B1563 Libro en que se escriben y asientan los enfermos . . . Hospital Real de San Andrés . . . desde 1 May 1609. For earlier accounts of the hospital of San Andrés in 1592 see AGI Lima 131 Información y averiguaciones fechas de . . . la necesidad que tiene el hospital de los espanoles 1563–1592 and AGI Lima 209 N22 docs 1 and 4 Francisco de Molina 30 May 1592. The former is discussed in detail by Amalia Castelli, “La primera imagen del hospital real de San Andrés a través de la visita de 1563,” *Historia y Cultura* 13–14 (1981): 207–216.

<sup>105</sup> AGI Lima 584 lib. 20 fols. 292v.–293v. real cédula 26 Mar. 1640.

it was in ruins. At that time the *mayordomo* complained that there was insufficient money to buy items for the *botica* or suitable foods for the sick, such as chickens, or to pay the salaries of its employees. It cost an estimated 26,000 pesos a year to run when its annual income was only 12,000 pesos.<sup>106</sup> Conditions seemed to have improved thereafter. It was rebuilt in 1607 and in the early seventeenth century it had six large and two medium-sized wards, one to administer unctions of mercury<sup>107</sup> and the other for free Blacks and Mulattoes who were attended separately from Spaniards.<sup>108</sup> Altogether there was enough room to care for up to two hundred people, though it normally housed only about one hundred and fifty, many of them soldiers from the armadas. The hospital had a kitchen, pantry, bakery, clothes store and pharmacy, as well as a large well-laid out garden with many medicinal herbs, flowers and fruit trees. Overseen by a *hermandad* of twenty-four wealthy *limeños*, it was run by an elected *mayordomo* and four deputies and employed a physician, surgeon, barber-surgeon, pharmacist and nurse. It also possessed twenty-five slaves who provided services for the hospital.

The hospital of Santa Ana for Indians was described by Bernabé Cobo as the richest in the kingdom. Founded in 1549 it possessed two wards for men and women, and another for contagious diseases.<sup>109</sup> Slaves were not supposed to be treated in the hospital of Santa Ana, but it seems that the Viceroy permitted this if their owners were poor.<sup>110</sup> The hospital could house 300 patients, although there were generally between 70 and 200, and in the early seventeenth century it was treating over 1,800 Indian men and women a year, among whom the most common complaint was *lamparones* (scrofula).<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> AGI Lima 214 N19 doc 1 Don Fernando de Córdova y Figueroa, *mayordomo* of San Andrés 6 Oct. 1602.

<sup>107</sup> These were used to treat *bubas*.

<sup>108</sup> Cobo, *Obras* 2: 441–44; Reginaldo de Lizárraga, *Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucumán, Río de la Plata y Chile*. Biblioteca de autores españoles 216 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1968), cap. 43: 36; AGI Lima 214 N19 doc 1 Don Fernando de Córdova y Figueroa, *mayordomo* of San Andrés 6 Oct. 1602.

<sup>109</sup> Cobo *Obras* 2: 445–447. For a *visita* of the hospital in 1563 see: Amalia Castelli, “La primera imagen del hospital real de San Andrés a través de la visita de 1563,” *Historia y Cultura* 13–14 (1981): 211–14.

<sup>110</sup> ABPL 9806 fols. 313–16, fol. 345 *Visita al Hospital de Santa Ana* [1588].

<sup>111</sup> AGI Lima 301 *Relación de los hospitales que ay en esta ciudad de los Reies* . . . 20 Apr. 1619.



Although Manuel Bautista Pérez did not use this hospital on a regular basis, two of his Angolan slaves who were cared for by a nun but who died of dysentery were subsequently buried in the hospital of Santa Ana.<sup>112</sup>

In 1588 the hospital of Santa Ana had a physician, Doctor Franco, a surgeon, Hernando de Aguilar, and a pharmacist, Rodrigo de Vargas, together with two nurses, one of whom specialised in curing dysentery. The slaves not only worked in routine activities such as preparing food, washing and cleaning, but male slaves were often employed on its *chácara* or looked after the sheep and chickens, while female slaves worked on the wards, assisted with surgery and helped apply unctions of mercury.<sup>113</sup>

Women and children were treated in two hospitals that also provided for their general welfare. The hospital de la Caridad cared for fifty to sixty poor women and housed female orphans for whom they provided dowries.<sup>114</sup> Although it catered for women of all ethnic backgrounds, Spanish women lived in a separate section of the hospital. It also tended to the poor in their houses. According to Bernabé Cobo it had two physicians, two surgeons and a barber-surgeon.<sup>115</sup> Meanwhile the hospital and *colegio* of Nuestra Señora de Atocha was founded for the large number of illegitimate children in the city. While forty to fifty children were brought up in the orphanage annually, another eighty were placed with salaried wet-nurses.<sup>116</sup>

Other hospitals catered for different occupational groups or treated particular ailments. The hospital of Espíritu Santo was founded in 1573 for sailors, navigators, ship owners and other seamen and their sons, who were attended in their homes by a doctor, surgeon and

<sup>112</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Expenses generated by slaves shipped in 1632.

<sup>113</sup> ABPL 9806 fols. 104–105 Visita al Hospital de Santa Ana sin fecha [1588]. Of the 29 slaves, of whom 26 were of working age, three worked in the *chácara*, one tended the sheep and another the chickens, two worked in the mill, three supplied water and firewood, while another worked as a blacksmith. There were also three cooks, a baker, five nurses including one who administered unctions of mercury and medicines, one who worked in the surgery, two laundrywomen, one who washed the bowls of the sick and two general servants.

<sup>114</sup> AGI Lima 301 Relación de los hospitales que ay en esta ciudad de los Reies . . . 20 Apr. 1619; AGI Lima 154 Autos sobre el Hospital de la Caridad de Lima 1622.

<sup>115</sup> Cobo, *Obras* 2: 449.

<sup>116</sup> Cobo, *Obras* 2: 453.

barber-surgeon.<sup>117</sup> It usually looked after fifteen to twenty people, though it could provide for seventy, and its services were paid for by a tax on ships using the port of Callao. Also catering for seamen was the hospital of Nuestra Señora de Covadonga which was founded in 1615 and possessed 70 beds.<sup>118</sup> Poor priests were cared for in the hospital of San Andrés until 1599 when the hospital of San Pedro was established and cared for four to eight priests.<sup>119</sup> Finally the hospital de San Diego, which was run by the brotherhood of San Juan de Dios, was founded in 1594 as a convalescent hospital for about thirty to forty old and poor people who were referred there from the hospital of San Andrés.<sup>120</sup> The poorest hospital was that of San Lázaro which only catered for those with leprosy, which in 1619 numbered six or seven.<sup>121</sup>

#### *Medical Services Used for Slaves*

The slave traders employed a variety of medical practitioners to treat their sick slaves. The practice for private families was to call in doctors to diagnose illnesses and prescribe medicines that would then be supplied by a *boticario*. Juan Lastres estimates that in sixteenth-century Lima a medical examination by a doctor might cost six *ducados* or by a surgeon or *boticario* four *ducados*.<sup>122</sup> However, elite families seem to have made annual contracts with doctors and surgeons for their services. An annual contract usually cost about thirty to forty pesos for the family, with payments occasionally paid in kind, for example in bags of wheat.<sup>123</sup> On top of this they would pay for any

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<sup>117</sup> AGI Lima 301 Relación de los hospitales que ay en esta ciudad de los Reies . . . 20 Apr. 1619; BNP 1236 Hospitales y casas de recogimiento 1633; Cobo, *Obras* 2: 450.

<sup>118</sup> Guerra, *Hospital en hispanoamérica*, 453; AAL Hospitales leg. 2 exp. 1 Doctor Nicolás Martínez Clavero cura y vicario deste puerto de Callao 14 May 1621.

<sup>119</sup> AGI Lima 301 Relación de los hospitales que ay en esta ciudad de los Reies . . . 20.4.1619; Cobo, *Obras* 2: 451–52.

<sup>120</sup> AGI Lima 301 Relación de los hospitales que ay en esta ciudad de los Reies . . . 20 Apr. 1619; Cobo, *Obras* 2: 450.

<sup>121</sup> AGI Lima 301 Relación de los hospitales que ay en esta ciudad de los Reies . . . 20 Apr. 1619.

<sup>122</sup> Lastres, *Historia de la medicina* 2: 81.

<sup>123</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 44 doc 394 fols. 772–775 Conciertos de curar de Tomé Cuaresma 1623, 1625 and 1630.

specific treatments and medicines. A single bloodletting or application of an enema or purgative cost about four reals.<sup>124</sup> Similar contracts seem to have been made with *boticarios*.<sup>125</sup> There is evidence that in Lima Manuel Bautista Pérez made contracts with at least two *boticarios*, namely Pedro de Bilbao and Alonso de Carrión, to treat his household and the slaves on his *chácara*. Similar contracts were probably also made by his agents in Cartagena, though medical services would have been needed only for that part of the year when the slaves were being assembled for shipment. Contracts were also made with barbers and surgeons to accompany slaves on the journey to Lima. Barbers were paid between sixty to eighty pesos and surgeons one hundred pesos.<sup>126</sup> In 1629 Sebastián Duarte contracted a barber-surgeon, Pedro de Torre, to accompany his slaves from Cartagena to Lima, paying him fifty pesos, but providing him with food and free passage.<sup>127</sup> Some only sought a free trip to Lima and were content to provide their services for no pay.<sup>128</sup> Apart from these contracts, many other services were bought in as the need arose.

While the slaves were in Cartagena awaiting transshipment they came into contact with a wide variety of people who were concerned with their health. Among the first people to visit them when they arrived in Cartagena was the *protomédico* or in his absence the surgeon of the local garrison or another doctor appointed by the Governor, who did nothing more than ensure that the slaves were

<sup>124</sup> These figures are found in the journals and the invoices for medicines submitted to Manuel Bautista Pérez by *boticarios* (see AGNL SO CO Ca 57 doc 431 Alonso de Carrión 1636, 1638, 1639).

<sup>125</sup> The contracts are evident from claims by *boticarios* for medicines dispensed to individual families. See for example, in 1629 Pedro de Bilbao was owed 400 pesos for medicines dispensed to the household of Don Juan Arévalo de Espinosa (AGNL SO CO Ca 27 doc 277 Pedro de Bilbao contra Don Juan Arévalo de Espinosa 1629). For the bills incurred by Manuel Bautista Pérez with Pedro de Bilbao and Alonso de Carrión see: AGNL SO CO Ca 57 doc 431 1629, 1635–1640.

<sup>126</sup> See the journals for 1626, 1628 and 1634. This may be compared to 240 pesos a year paid to the barber-surgeon of the hospital of Santa Ana in 1649 (AHRA Colección Maldonado, A III-307, Lima Data y descargo de los pesos... Hospital de Señora Santa 1649–1650).

<sup>127</sup> ANHS VM 77-II fols. 403–404 Concierto entre Sebastián Duarte y Pedro de Torre 17 Nov. 1629.

<sup>128</sup> AGNL Real Audiencia Causas Civiles leg. 45 cuad. 171 Autos seguidos por Don Pedro Gómez de Mora, Barbero, contra Don Francisco Guisado y otros, por cantidad de pesos por la curación de unos esclavos 1618.

not carrying any disease.<sup>129</sup> Possibly the first people to attend to their medical needs were Jesuit priests who once they heard that a slave ship had arrived immediately visited the slaves taking them food and fresh water. The well-known accounts of the care provided for newly-arrived slaves by Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval and his successor Pedro Claver describe how they took them sweet foods, such as tamarinds preserved with honey and sugar, or *bizcocho* dipped in wine, and tried to procure foods with which they were familiar in their homeland, as well as tobacco.<sup>130</sup> These priests were not doctors but the care they provided may have given succour to the weak, sick and disoriented slaves.

When slaves were landed in Cartagena in the late seventeenth century they had to go through a rigorous medical examination called the *palmeo* which was undertaken to establish the amount of customs duty that was payable.<sup>131</sup> Slaves were classified according to approximate age and size, which was measured using a stick divided into *palmos*, with each *palmo* equivalent to a quarter of a *vara*. A *pieza de Indias*, the unit in which slaves were counted for tax purposes, was an adult of over seven *palmos*, while shorter men, women and children were less. For each batch of slaves the total number of *palmos* was calculated and then discounts were given for illnesses or defects. Finally the total number of *palmos* was divided by seven to give the total number of *piezas de Indias*. The inspections undertaken by doctors provide valuable insight on the health of slaves when they first arrived in Cartagena, but few have survived. Moreover, the *palmeo* was not introduced until the *asiento* was made with the Genoese Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelín in 1663.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery", 65–68.

<sup>130</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 152; Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida*, 122, 137, 175, 214; Valtierra, *Pedro Claver*, 124, 140.

<sup>131</sup> See Chandler, "Health and Slavery", 83–86 for a detailed account of the process. According to Chandler slaves were assigned to one of four categories: a *pieza de Indias* was more than 7 *palmos*; *mulecones* (adolescents) who were 6 *palmos* or more; *muleques* (older children) who were over 5 *palmos*; and *mulequitos* (children) who were over 4 *palmos*.

<sup>132</sup> Marisa Vega Franco, *El tráfico de esclavos con América (Asientos de Grillo y Lomelín, 1663–1674)* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1984), 136–144. This includes a detailed example of the information available from a *palmeo* of 644 slaves landed in Cartagena in 1672 taken from AGI Contaduría 263 and 1485 Testimonio del avalúo a la armazón de negros del navío Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso y San Carlos, Cartagena 7 Jul. 1672. See also Chandler, "Health and Slavery", 86–93.

After the initial inspection, the next contact that the newly-landed slaves had with medical practitioners was when they were sold. At this stage licensed doctors were employed to calculate the *daños* or discounts on the sale price for any sickness or physical defects they possessed.<sup>133</sup> The seller and the buyer each had their own licensed doctors who examined the slaves and agreed a discount that the purchaser should receive. This process had to take place within three days of the sale and it was designed to prevent costly lawsuits. Manuel Bautista Pérez's agents generally employed the surgeon Blas de Paz Pinto, but also used the *protomédico* at the time, Doctor Mendo López. Other slave traders also employed these physicians.<sup>134</sup> As has been shown in Chapter 4, the documents referring to the calculation of *daños* constitute important evidence for the health of slaves at the time of arrival, while the extent of the discount applied provides insight into the slave traders' perceptions of the desirable qualities of slaves and how they affected their marketability. Despite the paucity of these documents, they have certain advantages over the later *palmeo* records in that they give details on the defects noted, the precise amount of discount applied and the ethnic origin for individual slaves.

During their stay in the barracoons of Cartagena, doctors were also called on to treat sick slaves, though it seems that this was mainly when they were critically ill. Although Doctor Mendo López attended on occasions, Doctor Fernando Vázquez de Silva, who was of Portuguese descent although he had been born in Seville,<sup>135</sup> was more commonly employed. Not surprisingly Blas de Paz Pinto figured among the surgeons he used, but one Licenciado Mora also treated his slaves, as well as the Mulatto surgeon mentioned above, Diego López.<sup>136</sup> Diego López not only practised as a surgeon, but also became involved with a group that practised witchcraft and used magic to cure bewitchment, treat poisonings and remove spells. As such was brought before the Inquisition on charges of witchcraft,

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For an example of the *palmeo* procedure in Portobello see: AGI Contaduría 1507 doc 31 fols. 204–237 *Visita* of the San Juan Bautista by Lic. Alonso Sánchez de Velasco, cirujano médico 4 Jun. 1667.

<sup>133</sup> For a list of the *daños* drawn up see: ANHS VM 77–I fols. 83–121 *passim*.

<sup>134</sup> AGNB Negros y Esclavos Bolívar 3 fols. 633–763 Juan Rodríguez Meza . . . petición sobre treinta negros que compró a Diego Morales 1633.

<sup>135</sup> AGI Santa Fe 56B N73 doc 2 fol. 12v *Relación y abecedario de los extranjeros* 13 May 1631.

<sup>136</sup> The Mulatto surgeon, Diego López, is mentioned in the journal for 1629.

heresy and rejecting Christianity.<sup>137</sup> He was a close friend of Blas de Paz Pinto and of the city's appointed surgeon and inspector of apothecaries, Martín Sánchez de Velasco. It is worth noting that the aforementioned doctors and surgeons were among the most eminent in the city; they also happened to be predominantly Portuguese. While the employment of the expensive doctors by the slave traders might suggest a concern to minimise mortality, more likely it reflected their preference for using compatriots. There is no evidence that the slave traders used the hospitals in Cartagena, though doctors and surgeons who practised there may have attended the slaves as private patients.

Apart from these physicians and surgeons, the journals indicate that many different barber-surgeons and others were also paid to apply blistering jars and let blood. In addition other people were used to help cure specific ailments. Probably most of these had no formal medical training. In 1633 a young man who specialised in treating Angolan slaves was hired and paid in the form of a dress, and the following year an African woman was employed to treat diarrhoea.<sup>138</sup> Use was often made of the services of one Nava, described as a tailor, who appears to have specialised in treating people with *pasmo* (tetanus). Occasionally slaves were also sent to private homes for nursing care, such as that of one Ana Enríquez, while other women were also employed as midwives.<sup>139</sup>

On the journey to Portobello and subsequently down the Pacific coast, the treatment of slaves on board ship would have been undertaken by a barber-surgeon, who was generally contracted to care for the slaves and crew for the whole journey from Cartagena to Lima. However, if slaves became too sick then they were often left behind with the barber or an overseer until they had recovered.<sup>140</sup> This appears to have occurred in Portobello where no use was made of the local hospital of San Sebastián. Interestingly in 1620 a slave was left in Portobello with a *Morena* called Lumbreras.<sup>141</sup> Similarly in Panamá sick slaves were not treated in hospital but were housed

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<sup>137</sup> Navarrete, *Prácticas religiosas*, 111–18, 161–67 discusses his case at length based on AHNM 1620 no. 7 Causa de fe de Diego López 1633.

<sup>138</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journals for 1633 and 1634.

<sup>139</sup> ANHS VM 77-II fols. 159–77 Journal for 1626 and AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journal for 634.

<sup>140</sup> ANHS VM 77-II fols. 159–77 Journal for 1626.

<sup>141</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 101 Accounts for 1620–1621.

separately, perhaps under the care of a local resident. Meanwhile doctors, surgeons, midwives and women who cured worms were called in as the need arose.

Since it was the capital of the Viceroyalty, it might be expected that medical care in Lima would have been more readily available. However, as noted above, there was always a shortage of licensed physicians and surgeons and persistent criticism of the quality of medical care. As in Cartagena the first doctors to come into contact with the slaves were those encharged with their inspection prior to entry into the city. Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves were kept at his *chácara* at Bocanegra where Doctor Juan de Vega, who only ensured that they were not carrying any infection, visited them.<sup>142</sup> Subsequently any sick slaves continued to be housed at Bocanegra. The fact that newly-arrived and sick slaves were often kept on private estates such as this made it more difficult for Jesuits, such as Francisco de Castillo, to attend to them as was the case for Alonso de Sandoval and Pedro Claver in Cartagena.<sup>143</sup>

Although only fragments of accounts of the expenditure on slaves in Lima remain, they reveal a similar pattern of employing different types of practitioners. Of the licensed physicians, Manuel Bautista Pérez continued to rely on his compatriots, notably Tomé Cuaresma, who was also brought before the Inquisition on charges of Judaizing.<sup>144</sup> Tomé Cuaresma not only treated his slaves, but was also used as witness for him in redhibition cases. In one of these cases the prosecutors claimed that all the witnesses were "servants, compatriots, [and] close relatives" of Manuel Bautista Pérez.<sup>145</sup> Other persons paid for attending the sick slaves included a Mulatto, Manuel Pérez, a 'negra curandera',<sup>146</sup> and a María Montero, about whom no further information is available.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>142</sup> ANHS VM 77-I fol. 195v Doctor Juan de Vega 16 Dec. 1634.

<sup>143</sup> Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Vida del Venerable Padre Francisco del Castillo* (Lima: Imprenta Enrique R. Lulli, 1946), 50.

<sup>144</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Expenses generated by slaves shipped in 1633.

<sup>145</sup> AGNL Real Audiencia Causas Cíviles leg. 70 cuad. 263 Autos seguidos por Doña Francisca de Guzmán y Quintana contra Manuel Bautista Pérez sobre la redhibitoria de un esclavo 1626.

<sup>146</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Gasto que se va haciendo con los negros que trajo Simón Vázquez en el navío Maestre Pedro de Burgos 1634.

<sup>147</sup> AHS VM 77-I fol. 43 El señor Rodríguez Duarte debe 1633.

Manuel Bautista Pérez like many other slave owners preferred private to hospitalised care because of the expense involved and the danger that slaves might contract diseases if placed in a hospital.<sup>148</sup> Poorer slave owners could not afford either type of professional care and resorted to common healers.<sup>149</sup> It was also common practice for very sick slaves to be donated to the hospital to save on expenditure, leaving the hospitals to benefit if the slave recovered. A large number of Pérez's slaves were cared for by a nun of the third order of San Francisco, Isabel Medel Cansino. She treated them in her own house "as if they were her own" giving them sweet things and other foods to aid their recovery. It would seem that she was often caring for ten to twenty slaves at a time most of whom seem to have recovered. A female slave assisted her in this task and a male slave was employed to acquire herbs and obtain medicines from the *botica*. Her house had two rooms, one for men and one for women, and their main afflictions were "sores, dysentery and sarna", which were referred to as "severe and protracted." For the treatment of these slaves the nun purchased

meat, bread, wood, wine, eggs, piedra lipes, oil, cardenillo, fish, tallow, virgin oil, alum, lavender, espingo [ishpink], pingo pingo,<sup>150</sup> vilcatongo,<sup>151</sup> mastic, chochos,<sup>152</sup> honey, aniseed, fat, sulphur, candles and salt.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Van Deusen, "The 'Alienated' Body," 15. Some did, however, pay for extended periods in hospital, mainly the hospital of Santa Ana (for example, AAL Causas de Negros leg. 1 doc 2 Expediente de los autos que sigue el doctor Vásquez Fajardo contra Gaspar Guerrero 1593).

<sup>149</sup> AAL Causas de Negros leg. 7 exp. 43 Alonso Román del Castillo contra el licenciado Jorge de Andrade, presbítero 1639. There are a large number of redhibition cases in AAL Causas de Negros which indicate the types of medical care paid for by slave owners prior to taking out a case against the seller.

<sup>150</sup> Pingo pingo (*Ephedra andina*) is a native Andean herb that was used as a diuretic and depurative.

<sup>151</sup> This was probably a native herb. It was put in chicha and used as a purgative by an Indian, María Ynes, in Chancay, who in 1662 was accused in an ecclesiastical *visita* of being an *hechicera* (Ana Sánchez, *Amancebados, hechicheros y rebeldes (Chancay, siglo XVII)* (Cusco: Centro de estudios regionales andinos, Bartolomé de las Casas, 1991), 27.

<sup>152</sup> Lupin *Lupinus mutabilis* Sweet.

<sup>153</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 40 doc 383 fols. 461–480 Doña Isabel Medel Cansino 1636; AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 fols. 621–22 Fragment of an invoice drawn up by Isabel Medel Cansino, no date.



The cost to Manuel Bautista Pérez averaged 20 pesos a slave.

Even though the slave traders paid considerable attention to the health of their slaves, as will be shown in the next chapter, the treatments employed by medical practitioners probably did little to reduce mortality. This was partly due to the nature of medical treatments employed, but also because smallpox was one of the main causes of mortality, and at that time there was little understanding of its epidemiology, and even less about its cure.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### MEDICINES AND MORTALITY

Medical practice in sixteenth-century Spain was dominated by the views of Galen and Hippocrates, which during the Renaissance received renewed interest as humanist scholars turned back to Ancient Greece for their inspiration and began to examine the original Greek sources. Galen and Hippocrates saw illness as a function of an imbalance in the humours or fluids—blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile—which, like all substances, were regarded as hot or cold, moist or dry.<sup>1</sup> Hence blood was hot and wet, phlegm cold and wet, yellow bile hot and dry and black bile cold and dry. An imbalance in the humours could be redressed through diet, purging, vomiting, and bleeding.

In Spanish America humoral medicine spread to become the most popular form of medicine practised. George Foster writes of humoral medicine ‘filtering down’ from the professional to the popular level through hospitals, pharmacies, popular *recetarios* (books of prescriptions) and the work of the religious orders.<sup>2</sup> The influence of humoral medicine is evident in the texts available to doctors in the New World. The Inquisition routinely inspected all ships arriving in Cartagena to ensure that they were not carrying any heretical literature, including books written by some empirics, such as Paracelsus and Vesalius.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the variety of texts available in the New World was greater than might be supposed. In the early seventeenth century the medical library of the Jesuit monastery of San Pablo in Lima was dominated by medical books from Spain, but also included a large number of texts on different branches of medicine published

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<sup>1</sup> George Foster, “Relationship between Spanish and Spanish-American Folk Medicine”, *Journal of American Folklore*, 66 (1953): 201–202; Foster, *Hippocrates’ Latin American Legacy*, 2–4; Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: The Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (HarperCollins, London 1997), 55–62, 73–77, 168–168–186.

<sup>2</sup> Foster, *Hippocrates’ Latin American Legacy*, 147–59.

<sup>3</sup> AHNM 4816 Ramo 3 no 32 fols. 1–102 Testimonio de las visitas de navíos de negros 1634–1635.

in Italy and France. It included the great pharmacopoeias of Luis de Oviedo and Juan de Castillo that were widely used in Spain at the time,<sup>4</sup> but also Girolamo Mercuriale's *De compositione medicamentorum* published in Venice in 1590. The last may have been brought by the Italian Jesuit pharmacist, Augustino Salumbrino, who arrived at the College in 1605 and established a pharmacy intended to supply other Jesuit colleges and haciendas throughout the Viceroyalty.<sup>5</sup> Books on surgery included *Thesoro de la verdadera cirugía y via particular contra la común* [1604] by the progressive surgeon Bartolomé Hidalgo, as well as *Primera y segunda parte de la cirugía universal del cuerpo humano* [1587] by Juan Calvo. Italian authors included Giovanni Battista Cortesi, an anatomist from Bologna, Gabrielle Falopio from Padua and Michele Mercati from Milan, and there were also writings by the Parisian anatomist, Jean Riolan. The pharmacy of the hospital of Santa Ana possessed more traditional works including Bernardino de Laredo's, *Un modus faciendi* (1527), Luis Lobera de Ávila's, *Banquete de nobles caballeros* (1542 second edition) and a book of Mesué, either the elder or younger.<sup>6</sup>

Individual doctors themselves also possessed medical treatises, particularly those who came from Italy and Flanders. In 1612 the library of a surgeon from Flanders, Alexandre Pérez, who was brought before the Inquisition contained books on surgery by Doctor León,<sup>7</sup> Doctor Hidalgo,<sup>8</sup> Doctor Francisco Díaz,<sup>9</sup> and Doctor Murillo,<sup>10</sup> revealing a

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<sup>4</sup> Luis de Oviedo, *Methodo de la coleccion, y reposicion de las medicinas simples, de su correccion, y preparacion*, Madrid [1581] and Juan de Castillo, *Pharmacopoea, universa medicamenta in officinis pharmaceuticis usitata complectens, et explicans* (Gadibus: Apud Joannem de Borja) [1622].

<sup>5</sup> Martín, *Intellectual Conquest*, 99–100, 106; Luis Martín, “La biblioteca del Colegio de San Pablo (1568–1767), antecedente de la Biblioteca Nacional.” In *La Biblioteca Nacional: aportes para su historia*, 29. <http://www.comunidadandina.org/bda/docs/PE-CA-0015.pdf> [Accessed 27 Aug. 2006].

<sup>6</sup> Miguel Rabí Chara, “La primera botica de los hospitales de la ciudad de Lima en el siglo XVI,” *Asclepio* 52 (2000): 276–77.

<sup>7</sup> This would not have been the book by Pedro López de León which was not published until 1628. Possibly it was that of Andrés de León, *Tratados de medicina, cirugía, y anatomía* (Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1605).

<sup>8</sup> Probably Bartolomé de Agüero Hidalgo, *Thesoro de la verdadera cirugía* [1604].

<sup>9</sup> Possibly *Tratado nuevamente impresso, de todas las enfermedades de los riñones, vexiga, y carnosidades de la verga, y urina* (Madrid: F. Sánchez, 1588).

<sup>10</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca. 16 doc 194 fols. 1–8 Secuestro de Alexandre Pérez, cirujano, de Flandes, en el pueblo de Yllimo (Saña) 1612. Other items confiscated were two books of remedies, part in Spanish and in Flemish, several boxes containing

mixture of progressive and traditional authors. Noteworthy is the fact the Manuel Bautista Pérez's library of about 150 books contained only one medical tract, *Cirugía universal* [1581], written by the conservative surgeon, Juan Frago. <sup>11</sup>

Even though humoral medicine may have come to dominate in colonial Spanish America, it is important to note the influence of other medical traditions. The plurality of medical traditions in Spain has been noted in the previous chapter and elements of Spanish popular beliefs, for example, belief in the evil eye, penetrated evolving medical systems in the New World. <sup>12</sup> Meanwhile Native American and African forms of curing continued, with African practices adapting to the local flora and borrowing medical ideas not only from Native Americans and Europeans, but also from other Africans. <sup>13</sup> However, the spread of humoral medicine was aided by the failure of indigenous medicine to deal with the onslaught of Old World diseases, which undermined confidence in traditional medical systems. <sup>14</sup> It was also facilitated by its broad similarities to the Native American and African medical traditions it encountered in the New World. All three were based on magico-religious beliefs where illness was thought to result from supernatural forces; all three were involved in ritual practices; and all three made extensive use of medicinal plants. <sup>15</sup>

### *The Drug Trade*

Medical treatments were dependent on the availability of ingredients to make appropriate medicines. Pharmacies contained a wide variety of herbs, spices, barks of trees, resins, balsams, dried flowers and

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drugs wrapped in paper, a small chest with pharmacists' weights, two blistering jars and their covers, a bag of surgical instruments and some jars of medicinal cream.

<sup>11</sup> Guibovich Pérez, "Cultura libresca", 154.

<sup>12</sup> Foster, "Spanish and Spanish-American Folk Medicine".

<sup>13</sup> Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo, "Botánica y medicina africanas en la Nueva Granada, siglo XVII," *Historia crítica* 19 (2000): 27-47.

<sup>14</sup> Luz María Hernández Sáenz, and George Foster, "Curers and their Cures in Colonial New Spain and Guatemala: The Spanish Component," in *Mesoamerican Healers*, eds. Brad R. Huber and Alan R. Sandstrom (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 42.

<sup>15</sup> Alberro, *Del gachupín al criollo*, 103.

fruits, seeds, animal parts, and minerals.<sup>16</sup> Although it is difficult to be certain about the origin of many medicinal ingredients, some plant materials would have been obtained locally, though they could be imported species that had been established in local gardens at an early date or those indigenous to the area. However, the majority including minerals, spices, compound medicines and other plant materials, such as senna, which was used extensively as a purgative, were probably imported.<sup>17</sup>

Most medicines arrived in the New World through the normal trade routes from Spain, although merchants based in Lisbon, Antwerp or Venice supplied them. While merchants probably dominated the trade, *boticarios* in Spain also traded directly with apothecaries in the New World; some even became domiciled there, opening up pharmacies and conducting an import business.<sup>18</sup> Spain was not the only source of medicines; others, such as, *guaiaicum*, *mechoacán*, *canime* and sarsaparilla, were traded within Spanish America.<sup>19</sup> Doctors, hospitals and monasteries initially obtained their medicines from merchants or from *boticarios*, but because of difficulties of timely supply, the poor quality of medicines and probably cost, most hospitals and monasteries established their own herb gardens and pharmacies, even though this involved the additional cost of employing a *boticario*.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> De Vos, "Art of Pharmacy," 83–87.

<sup>17</sup> For a list of medicines shipped to the New World see: Mercedes Fernández-Carrión and José Luis Valverde, "Envío de medicamentos al Nuevo Mundo en los primeros años del siglo XVI," *Boletín de la sociedad española de historia de la farmacia*, year 38 (1987): 88–95 and Juan Riera Palmero and Guadalupe Albi Romero, "Productos medicinales en la flota de Indias de 1519," *Llull* 19 (1996): 562–69.

<sup>18</sup> Francisco Guerra, "Drugs from the Indies and the Political Economy of the Sixteenth Century," *Analecta médico-histórica* 1 (1966): 44–48; Mercedes Fernández-Carrión and José Luis Valverde, *Farmacia y sociedad en Sevilla en el siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Biblioteca de Temas Sevillanos, Servicio de Publicaciones del Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1985), 62–68; Mercedes Fernández-Carrión and D. Martín-Castilla, "Envío de medicamentos al Nuevo Mundo en los primeros años del siglo XVI," *Boletín de la sociedad española de historia de la farmacia*, year 38 (1987): 85–95; Mercedes Fernández-Carrión and José Luis Valverde "Research Note on Spanish-American Drug Trade," *Pharmacy in History* 30(1) (1988): 29–30; De Vos, "Art of Pharmacy," 90–101. See Lutgado García Fuentes, *El comercio español con América, 1650–1700* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1980), 550–551 for examples of medicines traded between *boticarios* in Spain and Cartagena in the late seventeenth century.

<sup>19</sup> Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad*, 200–20. De Vos, "Art of Pharmacy," 102–110.

<sup>20</sup> De Vos, "Art of Pharmacy," 265–70. In 1588 the *boticario* of the Hospital of Santa Ana, Rodrigo de Vargas, was paid 400 pesos a year, provided with accom-



one should be examined in pharmacy that had not worked with an examined *boticario* for four years and did not know Latin.<sup>27</sup> An age qualification of 25 was later added. The stipulation that they were apprenticed to examined *boticarios* was difficult to comply with in the New World due to the shortage of qualified practitioners. Many *boticarios* therefore operated without being examined and, due to the shortage of doctors and because their services were cheaper, many people, including slaves, often resorted to them for medical advice and medicines.<sup>28</sup> They generally employed assistants, who were commonly Indians, *castas* or African slaves.

In the same way that elite families made contracts with physicians and surgeons for their services, they also had contracts with *boticarios*. *Boticarios* seem to have dispensed medicines largely on credit and were often owed considerable sums of money. One *boticario*, Pedro de Bilbao, who made a claim on Manuel Bautista Pérez's estate, presented a bill for 1,052 pesos 2 reals for medicines dispensed to his household in 1628.<sup>29</sup> *Boticarios* generally inflated the cost of medicines and sometimes changed prescriptions or added additional items. Hence, Pérez claimed that he normally only paid them one third of what they asked.<sup>30</sup> Although Pérez may have been under pressure from the Inquisition to reduce the amount he owed, it suggests that overcharging was common practice; indeed the *cabildo* in Lima recognised the problem and tried to deal with it by establishing a list of fixed prices for medicines.<sup>31</sup> In the 1620s it also tried to fix the price of medicines for the city's monasteries at 2,200 pesos, which at that time were being supplied by two *boticarios* who were running up bills of 12,000 to 14,000 pesos a year.<sup>32</sup> Despite municipal attempts to

<sup>27</sup> *Recopilación de las leyes*, cap. 12 ordinances 1 and 2: 155–56.

<sup>28</sup> See the redhibitory case in AAL Causas de Negros leg. 4 doc 7 Hernando de Valdés, contra el licenciado don Diego de Morales 1620, where a female slave resorted to a *boticario* to seek treatment for *sarna*.

<sup>29</sup> For the bills incurred by Manuel Bautista Pérez with Pedro de Bilbao and Alonso de Carrión see: AGNL SO CO Ca. 57 doc 431 1629, 1635–1640. See also AGNL SO CO Ca. 27 doc 277 Pedro de Bilbao contra Don Juan Arévalo de Espinosa [1629].

<sup>30</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca. 57 doc 431 Juan de Santillán Albacea contra Manuel Bautista Pérez 1636.

<sup>31</sup> Lastres, *Historia de la medicina peruana*, 2: 37.

<sup>32</sup> AGI Lima 97 Consulta a la Real Audiencia sobre las medicinas donadas a los conventos Lima, 12 May 1621 and Carta de la Real Audiencia al rey sobre limosna de medicinas a los conventos. Lima, 6 May 1622.

control the price of medicines, *boticarios* generally made a good living. In Cartagena in 1579 the income of the *boticario* was estimated to be the same as the surgeon, Gaspar Ternero,<sup>33</sup> while a Portuguese *boticario*, Francisco Sánchez, who arrived there without licence in 1626, was by 1630 one of the richest foreigners in the city having acquired an estate of 5,000 pesos in the pharmacy goods, slaves, silverware and furniture.<sup>34</sup>

### *Humoral Medicine in Practice*

The evidence available in the slave traders' accounts suggests that humoral medicine predominated in the treatment of slaves with purging and bloodletting common practices. This is evident in the employment of barbers and surgeons to let blood, as well as in the items of medical equipment purchased, which included blistering jars, lancets, syringes, purging pans and bandages as well as surgical tools, and finally in the types of medicines that were applied. Unfortunately very little is known about the medical treatments that may have been used by popular healers, who it is known were employed by the slave traders.

The slave traders' journals and other accounts provide some detail of the simple and compound medicines purchased to treat slaves while they were in Cartagena and during their journey to Peru. In addition, they contain lists of medicines supplied to Manuel Bautista Pérez's household and *chácara* at Bocanegra outside Lima where slaves were accommodated before being transferred to the city for sale. Many of the entries in the accounts for Cartagena and the journey to Peru refer only generally to 'medicines', enemas, purgatives, wax for medicinal ointments and wine for plasters and purgatives, but some are more specific. The journal entries (See Table 8.1) generally refer to the purchase of single medicinal ingredients, referred to in pharmaceutical terms as simples, that were used to make compound medicines, known as *compuestos*. Paula De Vos provides an excellent account of the techniques used to prepare different types

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<sup>33</sup> Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 405, 476–77.

<sup>34</sup> AGI Santa Fe 56B N73 R2 fol. 12r Relación y abedecario de los extranjeros 1630.



Table 8.1. Simples Purchased for Medicines for Slaves in Cartagena and During the Journey 1626 to 1634

Simples	Pesos-reals	Percent
Plants (senna, <i>cañafistola</i> , sarsaparilla, <i>mechoacán</i> , <i>mate de asín</i> , <i>ambire</i> )	35–2	22.6
Minerals (sulphur, copper carbonate ( <i>cardenillo</i> ) lead carbonate ( <i>albayalde</i> ), alum ( <i>piedra alumbre</i> ), copper sulphate ( <i>piedra lípes</i> ), nitric acid ( <i>aqua fortis</i> ) and red precipitate of mercury ( <i>polvos de juanes</i> )	55–4	35.6
Ointments ( <i>egipciaco</i> , <i>bubas</i> )	11–4	5.4
Atriacia (an antidote)	0–4	0.3
Animal parts (bezoar stone)	2–0	1.3
Waters (rose water and vinegar)	12–4	8.0
Oils ( <i>María</i> , <i>canime</i> , <i>higuerilla</i> )	16–6	10.7
Miscellaneous (honey)	10–0	6.4
Balsams and resins (mastic, <i>cativo</i> , <i>bálsamo</i> , <i>bálsamo</i> <i>de copaiba</i> )	15–0	9.6
Total	159–0	100.0

Sources: AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journals for 1628, 1630, 1633, 1634 and ANHS VM 77-II fols. 159–77, 252–265 1626 and 1629.

of medicines.<sup>35</sup> The highest expenditure was on minerals and chemicals, which probably reflected the fact that they were imported whereas many other items could be obtained locally. Many of the minerals, such as alum (*piedra alumbre*), copper carbonate (*cardenillo*) and lead carbonate (*albayalde*) were used as astringents to dry wounds and ulcers or harden the skin.<sup>36</sup> Red precipitate of mercury (*polvos de juanes*) was used for skin diseases and syphilitic ulcers.<sup>37</sup> At this time minerals were only just beginning to be incorporated into medicines in Europe and because of their toxicity were largely used externally.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> De Vos, "Art of Pharmacy," 111–55.

<sup>36</sup> José Luis Fresquet Febrer, "Uso de productos del reino mineral en la terapéutica del siglo XVI: El libro de los *Medicamentos Simples* de Juan Fragoso (1581) and el *Antidotario* de Juan Calvo (1580)," *Asclepio* 51 (1999): 66, 77; Vargas Machuca, *Milicia*, 131; Santiago Díaz Piedrahita and Luis Carlos Mantilla, *La terapéutica en el Nuevo Reino de Granada: un recetario franciscano del siglo XVIII* (Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, 2002), 71, 116, 131, 135, 137, 148.

<sup>37</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 139.

<sup>38</sup> Riera Palmero and Albi Romero, "Productos medicinales", 562. In Juan Fragoso, *Libro de medicamentos simples* (1581) minerals only account for about 10 percent of simples (Fresquet Febrer, "Uso de productos," 62, 88).

Nearly a quarter of the expenditure on simples was spent on vegetable products, notably senna and *cañafistola* (both species of *Cassia*) and *mechoacán* (*Ipomoea purga* (Wender.) Hayne), which together with *aceite de higuerrilla* (castor oil), were all used to make purgatives.<sup>39</sup> Slightly less was spent on the purchase of balsams, resins and oils, some of which, such as *cativo* (*Prioria copiaifera* Griseb.), *canime* (*Copaifera* sp.) and *aceite de María*, would probably have been obtained locally having been used by the indigenous population in pre-Columbian times.<sup>40</sup> It seems likely that the unspecified balsams included *bálsamo de Tolú* which became renowned for healing wounds, including those in inflicted during surgery and bloodletting.<sup>41</sup> Balsams figured more commonly in Cartagena, whereas oils were purchased more often in Panama. Finally, another local product was *ambire de Santa Marta*, a tobacco essence that was used as a strong antidote against wounds inflicted by poisoned arrows.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to the simples purchased for use on the six annual shipments, Sebastián Duarte drew up a list of the medicines used to treat one shipment of slaves, probably that of 1633 to 1634 (Table 8.2). This list includes compound syrups, electuaries and plasters, and also specifies the number of times they were applied. These medicines would have been prepared by *boticarios*, whereas simples purchased for the journey would probably have been employed by the barber-surgeon who accompanied them or, in their absence, a member of the crew. The predominant medicines were syrups or ointments. Simple syrups were made from honey or sugar with another ingredient, such as dried violets, roses, fern or chicory, or less commonly myrtle, peach, or lemon. Syrups made of violet or fern were used as general tonics, as well as for chest infections and to regulate menstruation.<sup>43</sup> There were also thick syrups called *lamedores*, which were licked. Electuaries were more complex syrups that were very sugary to disguise the unpleasant taste of other ingredients,

<sup>39</sup> Vargas Machuca, *Milicia*, 125; Laval, *Botica*, 82, 137.

<sup>40</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 36–37; Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad*, 199–200, 220–21; Andrés Soriano Lleras, *La medicina en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, durante la conquista y colonia*. Biblioteca de Historia Nacional vol. 119, 2nd ed. (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1972), 37.

<sup>41</sup> López Piñero, “Las ‘nuevas medicinas,’” 34; De Vos, “Art of Pharmacy,” 105.

<sup>42</sup> Vargas Machuca, *Milicia*, 127; Solano Alonso, *Salud, cultura y sociedad*, 202.

<sup>43</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 101–102, 131; Arrebola Nacle and López Andújar, “Suministro de medicamentos,” 49.

Table 8.2. Simple and Compound Medicines Purchased for the Slaves of Sebastián Duarte in 1633

Simple and compound medicines Percent	Total expenditure	
	(pesos-reals)	
Plants (senna, <i>manzanilla</i> , <i>cañafistola</i> )	5-5	2.4
Minerals (antimony, zinc oxide, sulphur, mercury, aluminium potassium sulphate)	6-2	2.7
Ointments (mastic, white, yellow, lead, <i>de la Condesa</i> , <i>Zacarias</i> )	89-4	38.3
Compound vegetable ingredients ( <i>diaphenicon</i> , <i>girapliega</i> )	3-0	1.3
Syrups (chicory, dried roses, fern, violet)	19-4	8.3
Syrups with barley water (violet, fern, chicory, oily syrups)	16-4	7.1
<i>Lamedor</i> (syrups that are licked) (violet and fern)	12-0	5.1
Electuaries	41-4	17.8
Plasters (rose oil, mastic, <i>manzanilla</i> and <i>diapalma</i> )	15-6	6.7
Potions (cooling, with salt or <i>diamargariton</i> )	18-0	7.7
Oils (mastic, scorpion, wormwood)	3-0	1.3
Miscellaneous (eye wash, honey, rose aromatic powder, rose water, rose vinegar)	3-0	1.3
Total	233-5	100.0

Source: ANHS VM 77-I fols. 9-10v Memoria de las medicinas que han llevado para los negros del Señor Capitán Sebastián Duarte 1633

which might include powders or other plant material. The most common were *diacatholicon* (a light purgative based on senna and rhubarb), *diaphenicon* (a purgative based on dates and quince), *diamargariton* (a compound including powder of ground pearls) and *girapliega* (based on a variety of ingredients that might include balsam wood, aloes wood, mastic and cinnamon), while *bol arménico* (stone from Armenia) and powder of the myrobalan plant were also common components. These were all used as purgatives and laxatives.<sup>44</sup>

Other treatments included plasters that were placed on the outside of the body to cure both internal and external afflictions. Containing either 'hot' or 'cold' substances they were used to restore the balance in the humours.<sup>45</sup> Hence Pedro López de León noted that African slaves suffering from *mal de Loanda* were treated with

<sup>44</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 105, 106, 141; Arrebola Nacle and López Andújar, "Suministro de medicamentos," 46.

<sup>45</sup> Gutiérrez de Pineda, *Medicina tradicional* 1: 94.

plasters made of the powder of *bol arménico* and flour, in the ratio of one ounce of powder to one pound of flour.<sup>46</sup> One specific plaster was *diapalma* that was employed to heal ulcers, wounds, dislocations and fractures.<sup>47</sup>

Simple syrups, plasters and ointments cost between two and three reals an application, but more complex purgatives were between sixteen and twenty-four reals. Of Sebastián Duarte's total expenditure on medicines, ointments accounted for about 40 percent. Ointments were made of wax, animal fat, resins with vegetable or chemical ingredients and they were used primarily to treat ailments of the skin, such as *sarna*, but less commonly for venereal disease and muscle strain.<sup>48</sup> The most important were yellow ointment, Zacarías ointment and white ointment. Yellow ointment was made of yellow wax, fat, oil and resins and was used as a suppurative. Zacarías ointment was also made of yellow wax, but contained beef, pork and chicken fat, linseed oil and fenugreek and was used as an expectorant and to soften hard parts of the skin. White ointment served a variety of purposes, but was commonly used for the treatment of burns and skin infections.<sup>49</sup> The importance of ointments could reflect a difference in the types of infections or ailments suffered by the slaves or a concern with their physical appearance that would have affected their sale value. On the other hand ointments figured prominently in most pharmacies of the time and were among the most important medicines used on Spanish ships.<sup>50</sup>

The medicines purchased in Cartagena or sometimes on the journey do not differ significantly in type or relative importance from those used to treat slaves in Lima (Table 8.3). The two *boticarios*, Pedro de Bilbao and Alonso de Carrión, who made claims on Pérez's estate following his death, submitted lists of the medicines they had supplied to his estate between 1629 and 1640. Some of these annual accounts indicate that the medicines were used for members of the household as well as for slaves who were being housed at the *chácara*

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<sup>46</sup> López de León, *Pratica [sic] y teorica de las apostemas*, 325–326.

<sup>47</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 108.

<sup>48</sup> Rojo Vega, *Enfermos y sanadores*, 75; Laval, *Botica*, 189–97.

<sup>49</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 189–90, 195.

<sup>50</sup> Fernández-Carrión and Valverde, *Farmacia y sociedad en Sevilla*, 52; Pilar Arrebola Nacle and José Luis Valverde, "Aprovisionamiento de medicamentos a galeones de la Armada de Lisboa (1591)," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Historia de la Farmacia* 36 (1985): 87.

Table 8.3. Medicines Supplied to Treat Slaves at the *Chácara* of Manuel Bautista Pérez 1635 to 1636

	Number of entries	Number of types	Expenditure in reals	Percentage of expenditure
Ointments	181	22	813	23.8
Syrups	38	17	704	20.6
Plasters	37	12	577	16.9
Electuaries	18	7	408	12.0
Oils	30	15	177	5.2
<i>Lamedores</i>	36	5	162	4.7
Simples	33	18	158	4.6
Powders	19	11	112	3.3
Minerals	31	9	80	2.3
Honey	15	1	51	1.5
Animal parts	5	3	32	0.9
Compound vegetable	1	1	24	0.7
Gums	14	1	23	0.7
Wine	2	1	20	0.6
Eye wash	2	1	20	0.6
Waters	4	4	20	0.6
Caustic	2	1	16	0.5
Potions	1	1	8	0.2
Bean flour	2	1	3	0.1
Resins and balsams	3	2	3	0.1
Vinegar	2	1	2	0.1
	476	134	3413	100.0

*Source:* AGNL SO CO Ca 57 doc 431 La medicinas que se han llevado de la botica para los negros y negras de la chácara . . . de Manuel Bautista Pérez 1635–1636.

prior to sale. The list for 1635 to 1636 is the only one that refers exclusively to the care of slaves though it seems likely that the medicines would also have been used to treat other residents of the estate. This list contains 476 entries and reveals the dominance of ointments, syrups, electuaries and plasters, which together accounted for about three-quarters of the expenditure on medicines.<sup>51</sup>

In Lima ointments continued to be the most important medicines purchased accounting for 196 out of the 476 entries. Twenty-two varieties of ointments were supplied, but as on the journey, the most

<sup>51</sup> AGNL SO CO ca 57 doc 431 Las medicinas que se han llevado para casa del señor Manuel Bautista Pérez 1629 and Memorias de medicinas dadas por Alonso de Carrión 1635–1636, 1636–1638, 1638–1639, 1639–1640.

common were yellow ointment and Zacarías ointment, which together accounted for over half of the expenditure on ointments.<sup>52</sup> About 20 percent of the total expenditure was on syrups, variously referred to in the accounts as *jarabes*, *arropes* or more commonly in Latin, *sirupus*. They appear to have been applied more frequently in Lima, perhaps reflecting the greater availability of sugar. These syrups were similar to those purchased on the journey and they contained some combination of rose, chicory, borage, violets, fumaria, fern, and occasionally purslane or myrobalan. Fumaria was used to treat *sama*, violets for pulmonary infections, chicory for stomach problems, and borage as a diuretic and to induce sweating.<sup>53</sup> Where possible these flowers and herbs would have been grown locally to reduce the cost. *Lamedores* contained similar ingredients to these syrups, but occasionally also contained calabash and poppy seed. While some of the syrups were used as purgatives, electuaries containing *diacatholicon*, *diafenicon* and complex *confecciones de jacinto* and *Hamech* were also applied. The last was also used to treat skin infections, scurvy and venereal disease.<sup>54</sup> Other electuaries contained vegetable purgatives such as myrobalan, senna and *cañafistola*. The accounts include the number of times the treatments were applied with each costing an average of four reals.

Plasters were the next important form in which medicines were applied after syrups. Most plasters were based on flour, but only a few entries refer to specific types of plaster applied, such as *emplasto confortativo* and *diapalma*, which as noted above was used for dislocations and to heal fractures and wounds. Another simple plaster was *diaquilon*, which was made of litharge (lead oxide), olive oil and water and used as an emollient.<sup>55</sup>

*Boticarios* also supplied a large variety of oils, even though they accounted for only a small proportion of total expenditure. By far the most important was rose oil, which was employed primarily as an astringent.<sup>56</sup> This appears to have been widely used, since large

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<sup>52</sup> There were 67 entries for yellow ointment and 34 for Zacarías ointment, with three entries combining the two.

<sup>53</sup> Arrebola Nacle and López Andújar, "Aprovisionamiento de medicamentos," 83.

<sup>54</sup> Arrebola Nacle and López Andújar, "Aprovisionamiento de medicamentos," 83; Laval, *Botica*, 106.

<sup>55</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 108.

<sup>56</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 172.

quantities of roses were also purchased by hospital pharmacies in Lima.<sup>57</sup> Other significant oils in order of importance were those made of myrtle and quince, as well as one referred to as *aceite de Mexia*, which was made in Peru and described as “the best in the world” for healing wounds.<sup>58</sup> The first two were used as astringents and for stomach complaints, as were oils made of wormwood, rue and mastic.<sup>59</sup> *Aceite de higuera* and *canime*, which figured significantly in Cartagena and Panama were not used in Peru, and only two types of resin and one type of gum were listed. The last was turpentine, which was probably imported from Nicaragua.<sup>60</sup> The relative absence of oils and resins probably reflects the treeless character of the Peruvian coast.

Conversely minerals accounted for a larger number of entries in Lima than further north. The most important were copper sulphate (*pedra lípes*) and copper carbonate (*cardenillo*). Copper sulphate may have been used as an emetic and to treat sores and wounds,<sup>61</sup> and its importance in Lima rather than further north may reflect its great availability in the south Andes. Copper carbonate was used to treat fevers and when contained in ointments employed to treat skin infections.<sup>62</sup>

The items purchased to treat slaves do not appear to be significantly different from those used to treat the soldiers and crew of the Portuguese armada in the 1590s.<sup>63</sup> However, compared to the pharmaceutical items shipped to the Indies in the early sixteenth century,<sup>64</sup> minerals and electuaries figure more significantly. Although it

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<sup>57</sup> See for example, ABPL 9084 Libro de cuentas de gastos del hospital de Santa Ana 1598, which indicates that 175 pounds of roses were purchased.

<sup>58</sup> *Descripción del Virreinato*, 76–77. It was described as being green in colour, but its composition is not specified.

<sup>59</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 37, 43, 173. Others included oil of pine (*abeto*), sweet almonds, worms (*lombrices*) and *aceite confortativo*.

<sup>60</sup> In the accounts of the hospital of Santa Ana it is referred to as *trementina de Nicaragua* (AHRA Colección Maldonado A III-307 Cuaderno donde se asientan los ingresos y egresos habidos en el Hospital Real de Santa Ana, siendo Mayordomo Gregorio de Beristain 1650).

<sup>61</sup> Frequet Febrer, “Uso de productos,” 76.

<sup>62</sup> Laval, *Botica*, 84.

<sup>63</sup> Arrebola Nacle and López Andújar, “Aprovisionamiento de medicamentos,” 82–88.

<sup>64</sup> Riera Palmero and Albi, “Productos medicinales,” 562–63.

is not possible to be certain about the afflictions for which medicines were used, the high expenditure on ointments suggests that skin complaints were common, while the various forms of purgatives that were employed were almost certainly used to treat dysentery and other stomach and intestinal complaints as they are today.<sup>65</sup>

Very little is known of the treatments that may have been used by popular healers. The only insights that exist come from testimonies of *curanderos* who were brought before the Inquisition or ecclesiastical courts. Evidence from the Inquisition records in Cartagena, where cases were commonly brought against African or Mulatto healers, suggests that they were using herbs from a variety of origins. Indigenous plants included *altamisa* (*Artemisia vulgaris* L.), which is still used as a purgative today,<sup>66</sup> as well as *bejuco*, also known as *jalap* or *mechoacán*. *Achiote* and *verbena* were used to heal abscesses. Other unknown plants included the bark of *palo de orejón* and *cañoco*. *Santa María* (costmary) (*Tanacetum balsamita* L.), which was originally of Oriental origin but was grown in Europe, was made into an infusion and used to treat sores. It seems that on occasions African herbs such as *chibaca* (*Warburgia salutaris* (Bertol.f.) Chiov.) were also used by healers, though in this case as a charm rather than a medicine.<sup>67</sup>

### *Foods for the Sick*

The treatment of diseases and ailments based on humoral principles involved not only the application of medicines but also attention to a patient's diet. Even though slave traders wanted to minimize costs, as noted in earlier Chapters, they often purchased foods, which although they were more expensive were regarded as healthier. The most important of these were chicken and pork that were routinely purchased for weak and sick slaves. Chicken was regarded as preferable, but it was often more expensive. The journal indicates that eggs and chicken were used to treat diarrhoea, with eggs also being

<sup>65</sup> Zuluaga and Amaya, "Uso de los purgantes," 325–27.

<sup>66</sup> Amaya and Zuluaga, "Uso de los purgantes," 325.

<sup>67</sup> AHNM Inquisición Cartagena de Indias lib. 1021 Causa de Francisco Mandinga 1648, Causa de Juana de Estupiñán 1656; Sosadías, "Negro curandero," 144–50.



used to make purgatives and enemas, and sometimes to treat wounds, while chicken was made into chicken soup. Other items specified for the sick were *acemitas*, plantains and wine. These foods were similar to the “bananas, cakes and other sweet things” that the Jesuit, Pedro Claver, is said to have taken to newly arrived slaves in Cartagena.<sup>68</sup> Other less common items purchased for the sick were raisins and quince preserve, the latter being used to treat diarrhoea. In anticipation of a smallpox epidemic in Lima in 1589 the government ordered that the sick were to be confined to hospitals where those with a fever were to receive only barley, sugar, raisins and vegetables, but no meat, where as those who did not have a fever could be given lamb, chicken, goat and vegetables. Those who were recovering might also be given some wine.<sup>69</sup>

Wine, which was imported from Spain, was expensive at between four and five pesos a *botija*, but on each journey a small number of bottles were purchased, most likely for medicinal purposes. Wine was used to make plasters, eye lotion and to bathe the skin, probably to treat sores and act as a suppurative, while *bizcocho* was often dipped in wine and fed to sick slaves, who were also given small amounts to drink.<sup>70</sup> Sugar and honey were also used to make purgatives, medicinal syrups and creams, and to revive sick slaves.

The use of special foods to improve the health of slaves appears to have been a common practice. In one redhibition case a carpenter sought the assistance of an Indian, Antonia Marcela, to cure a slave who was suffering from dysentery. She did this by feeding him chicken, but also claimed that the owner had looked after him better than a doctor, because he had given him “foods very suitable for the sick, and *pistos*, *hormiguillos*,<sup>71</sup> macaroons and other potions and things important for health.”<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 124.

<sup>69</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 94.

<sup>70</sup> AGNB Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar XV fol. 360v. Memoria de los gastos, Antônio Fernandes Delvas contra Juan de Santiago, Santa Marta, 1620; ANHS VM vol. 77–III fol. 15 Memoria de lo qué ha de llevar el agua para los ojos 1628; Josef Fernández, *Apostólica y penitente vida de el V.P. Pedro Claver* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, 1666), 214.

<sup>71</sup> A mixture of ground hazelnuts, breadcrumbs and honey (*Diccionario de autoridades*).

<sup>72</sup> AAL Causas de Negros 1609 leg. 1 exp. 31 Juan López, carpintero, contra el Padre Diego de Ybarreta 13 Oct. 1608.

The foods purchased for sick slaves were similar to those specified for use in hospitals. Hospitals in Lima were required to possess sufficient chickens for the sick and patients were not to be fed mutton except on the expressed orders of a physician.<sup>73</sup> Given the large number of chickens required, hospitals were ordered to maintain chicken coops.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately inspections often found the quality of the chicken and mutton was poor.<sup>75</sup> Hospitals, such as that of Santa Ana, had their own *estancias* that supplied them with provisions. At the same time hospitals were required to maintain herb and vegetable gardens that were always stocked with “lettuces, cabbages, borage, parsley and other herbs” and to ensure that there was a box of “conserves, bizcochuelos and other good things [*regalos*] necessary for the sick.”<sup>76</sup> At the beginning of the eighteenth century about one-third of the expenditure in the hospital of San Andrés on food was on mutton, a further third on chickens and vegetables together, and twenty percent on wheat to make bread. Small amounts were spent on eggs, fish and bizcochuelos, and some tobacco and *acemitas* were provided specifically for Africans.<sup>77</sup>

*Slave Mortality from Cartagena to Lima*

Despite considerable attention to the health of slaves, further losses were inevitable on the final journey to Lima. However, there were considerable variations in mortality in different years. Most of the losses can be attributed to infectious diseases, especially smallpox and measles, but some derived from the squalid conditions in which the slaves were housed and the hazardous nature of the journey. In addition, changes in the food and water provided to the slaves often resulted in dysentery, as indeed the slave traders themselves recognised.<sup>78</sup> In fact, in the eighteenth century when the slaves arrived in

<sup>73</sup> ABPL 9806 fols. 71–72 Visita al hospital de Santa Ana 27 Jul. 1587.

<sup>74</sup> ABPL 9806 fol. 47 Visita al hospital de Santa Ana 2 Oct. 1606.

<sup>75</sup> ABPL 9806 fols. 320–23 Visita al Hospital de Santa Ana Cargos que resultan contra el bachiller Juan Manuel Carrasco mayordomo del hospital de los naturales 17 Jan. 1607.

<sup>76</sup> ABPL 9806 fol. 271v Visita al hospital de Santa Ana 26 May 1588.

<sup>77</sup> ABPL 8485 Libro de cargo y data pertenecientes al hospital real de San Andrés desde 1 Jan. 1709 hasta 31 Dec. 1712.

<sup>78</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Manuel Bautista Pérez to Duarte León Marques 24 Apr. 1619.

the New World the Dutch weaned the slaves off water brought from Africa only slowly.<sup>79</sup> Most of the losses occurred while the slaves were on land; very few occurred at sea because distances between the ports were relatively short and sick slaves were generally left behind for medical treatment before continuing on their journey.

### *Slave Mortality in Cartagena*

Despite the role of Cartagena as a port, few observations exist on the health conditions in the city. The Atlantic region of Colombia has a humid tropical climate, but due to the moderating effects of sea breezes and its lower rainfall the coast itself was considered to be healthy.<sup>80</sup> Certainly it was significantly healthier than Panama, which is why the fleets stayed in Cartagena rather than Portobello while they were awaiting the arrival of silver from Peru. Many of the health conditions that afflicted the city's resident and transient populations seem to have emanated from social rather than environmental conditions. There were problems of water shortage, which were not overcome by unsuccessful attempts to construct a canal to bring water from Turbaco. The city therefore had to obtain its water from wells, known locally as *jagüeyes*.<sup>81</sup> Although there are no comments on the poor quality of the water, dysentery was regarded as one of the two main illnesses in the region the other being colds.<sup>82</sup> The *cabildo* attempted to control sanitary conditions by introducing ordinances controlling the disposal of waste, street cleaning and the slaughter of livestock, but they probably had little effect.<sup>83</sup> However, the greatest threat to health came from the constant movement of people through the port who carried with them a range of infec-

<sup>79</sup> Postma, *Dutch Slave Trade*, 235.

<sup>80</sup> Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones*, 416 Descripción de la gobernación de Cartagena [1571]; Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres*, 367–68; Simón, *Noticias Historiales* 5 cap. 63: 363. For an account of the geography of the region see: *Gran enciclopedia de Colombia vol. 3: Geografía*, especially the accounts of the individual departments of Atlántico, Bolívar, Córdoba and Sucre by Bernal Duffo, “Departamentos y regiones de Colombia,” 163–64, 166–67, 188–89, 237–38.

<sup>81</sup> Simón, *Noticias Historiales* 5 cap. 63: 363–64; Gómez Pérez, “Ciudad sin agua,” 287–318; Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 24–25.

<sup>82</sup> Simón, *Noticias Historiales* 5 cap. 63: 363.

<sup>83</sup> Urueta, *Documentos*, 1: 216–17 Ordenanzas hechas sobre la limpieza 1586; Borrego Plá, *Cartagena de Indias*, 27–29.

tious diseases.<sup>84</sup> These included smallpox and measles, as well as syphilis, which became a significant health problem. In the 1620s Pedro López de León claimed that five hundred people with *bubas* (syphilis) were being cured in the hospital of San Sebastián annually.<sup>85</sup>

Intestinal infections, smallpox and measles were the diseases that most affected the slaves, with their incidence heightened by the crowded and often squalid conditions in which they were housed. Alonso de Sandoval provides graphic accounts of conditions in the slave quarters where a slave might be left to die covered with flies “causing no more comment than if he were a dog.”<sup>86</sup> Mortality was so high that Jesuits visiting the slaves were ordered to carry with them everything for the last rites.<sup>87</sup> The slaves generally arrived in a poor nutritional state often suffering from various kinds of sores and ulcers, and once on land changes to their food and water often provoked dysentery, which caused additional sanitary problems. The foul-smelling running sores, lack of hygiene and the airless damp conditions of the barracoons created a fetid environment that those visiting the slaves found difficult to bear.<sup>88</sup> Once sold conditions for the slaves may have improved since their new owners had greater economic incentive to treat their slaves well than their vendors whose prime interest was to sell their cargoes as quickly as possible. As described in previous chapters, this meant providing them with an adequate diet, as well as medical care, special beds and clothing for the sick. However, there was little they could do to prevent the spread of infectious diseases such as smallpox and measles.

The greater care taken of the slaves purchased by Manuel Bautista Pérez's agents is suggested by the lower mortality they experienced in comparison to the slaves who were confiscated as contraband and kept on deposit until the legality of their ownership could be determined. Mortality among the slaves purchased by his agents in five separate years between 1626 and 1633 ranged from zero to 0.71 per 1000 per day (or 259 per annum). These rates are lower than

<sup>84</sup> Valtierra, *Pedro Claver*, 136–38; Chandler, “Health and Slavery,” 77–81.

<sup>85</sup> López de León, *Prática [sic] y teórica de las apostemas*, 298.

<sup>86</sup> Sandoval, *Tratado sobre la esclavitud*, 152–54.

<sup>87</sup> Valtierra, *Pedro Claver*, 140.

<sup>88</sup> On the afflictions of slaves and conditions in the barracoons see: Valtierra, *Pedro Claver*, 132–45; Fernández, *Apostolica y penitente vida*, 198–200; Chandler, “Health and Slavery,” 64–81.

those on the Middle Passage that generally exceeded 400 per 1000 per annum, and were often considerably higher.<sup>89</sup> The daily mortality figures are also significantly lower than the 2.39 per 1000 per day calculated for slaves landed at Buenos Aires in the early eighteenth century.<sup>90</sup> Unfortunately it is only possible to estimate the death rate among slaves in Cartagena by place of origin for 1633, since for other years the ethnic background of the slaves who died is not known (Table 8.4).<sup>91</sup> These data indicate that 2.2 percent of slaves from Upper Guinea died, whereas the figure for Angolan slaves was 6.8 percent. In both cases mortality was higher among female slaves, a feature that is also apparent in the overall figures for 1626 to 1633, which show that 8 percent of all female slaves died, compared to less than 3 percent for males. This is the opposite of findings in studies of mortality on the Middle Passage where women appear to have been able to survive the harsh conditions of Middle Passage better than men.<sup>92</sup> These two sets of findings may not be inconsistent, however, for higher death rates among males on the Middle Passage might mean that only the healthier slaves survived thereby moderating their mortality after arrival in Cartagena.

Mortality rates among those African slaves who were confiscated by royal officials and placed on deposit as contraband were significantly higher. As described in Chapter 5, the person designated to take charge of them was paid a per diem of about one to one and three-quarters of a real for each slave for food, lodging and medical care. There was little incentive for those charged with the care of these slaves to treat them well. Mortality rates were high, disease was rife and those that survived generally fetched less than 100 pesos at auction.

Evidence for seventeen batches of slaves put on deposit between 1617 and 1622 (Table 8.5), suggests that the average mortality was 4.20 per 1000 per day, which means that they would not have survived a year. However, there were significant variations between

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<sup>89</sup> Miller, "Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade," 394–402; Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 251–52.

<sup>90</sup> Miller, "Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade," 411 n. 28.

<sup>91</sup> Unfortunately it is not possible to calculate the daily mortality rate for different ethnic groups since over half the slaves were despatched to Panama before the rest and there is no indication which slaves were sent first.

<sup>92</sup> Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, 257–58.

Table 8.4. Slave Mortality in Cartagena in 1633 by Ethnic Background

	Upper Guinea males	Upper Guinea females	Total	Angolan males	Angolan females	Total	Unknown males	Unknown females	Total
Account of Manuel Bautista Pérez and Sebastián Duarte	163	41	204	147* [94]	26* [16]	173			377
Account of Juan Rodríguez Meza and Don Juan de Espinosa	12	4	16	7	4	11			27
Individual accounts	2	6	8	7	1	8		3	19
<i>Total in 1633 shipment</i>	<i>177</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>238</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>192</i>		<i>3</i>	<i>423</i>
Number dying in Cartagena	2	3	5	9	4	13		0	18
<i>Percent dying</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>5.9</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>5.6</i>	<i>12.9</i>	<i>6.8</i>		<i>0</i>	<i>4.3</i>

AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journal and accounts for 1633.

\*Sex estimated by assuming the same proportion as those known, which are given in parenthesis.

different groups of slaves ranging from no deaths to 6.44 per 1000 per day. As might be expected the mortality rate was generally lower where the period on deposit was short; other factors such as differences in the origins of slaves or treatment by the persons charged with their care do not appear to have been significant. Not only did overall mortality increase with the length of time on deposit, but also the daily death rate. Unfortunately only a few details exist on the ethnicity or gender of the slaves that died on deposit. Of 66 slaves who died out of a batch of 422 Arda slaves that were confiscated in 1622, the losses among female and male slaves were 17.9 percent and 14.7 percent respectively.<sup>93</sup> In this case most were described as having died ‘naturally’ and only one of smallpox.

Unfortunately most accounts do not specify the causes of death of the slaves. From the lists of *daños*, described in Chapter 4, it appears that many of the slaves were suffering from dysentery, *bicho* and fever, and it seems likely that dysentery contributed significantly to mortality. Indeed there are several references to the treatment of *cámaras* through purging and bloodletting and, as noted above, the journals contain entries for the purchase of purging pans and for the payment of fees to let blood.<sup>94</sup> With the exception of dysentery and possibly coughs, only limited evidence exists for acute infections contracted by Manuel Bautista Pérez’s slaves in Cartagena, but as will be shown below during later stages of the journey smallpox sometimes appeared and other medical conditions might deteriorate. For example, sores often became gangrenous and necessitated amputations from which the slaves generally died. The incubation period for smallpox is about twelve days and the fact that slaves often succumbed to the disease later in the journey suggests that slaves may have contracted it in the barracoons of Cartagena rather than in Africa or on the Middle Passage.<sup>95</sup> One contemporary observer noted that in the house of the *depositario general*, where confiscated slaves

<sup>93</sup> AGI EC 587C pieza 6 fols. 11, 176–209 El Fiscal contra Lope Fernandes Morales 1622.

<sup>94</sup> These were common practices to treat diarrhoea and dysentery, which were probably not distinguished (Richard B. Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the West Indies, 1680–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 210).

<sup>95</sup> Alfred W. Crosby, “Smallpox,” in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, edited by Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1009.

Table 8.5. Slave Mortality While on Deposit in Cartagena 1618 to 1622

Date of deposit	Ship	Ship master	Origin	Number confiscated	Number sold or returned	Number dying	Days on deposit	Per cent dying	Mortality per day	Mortality per 1000 per day	Deposited with
25 Mar. 1618	NS de Monserrate	Pedro Fernández	Angola	16	15	1	27	6.3	0.04	2.32	Luis Díaz
30 Apr. 1618	Santa Catalina Mártir	Pedro de Sequera	Angola	72	72	0	17	0.0	0.00	0.00	Fernando Díaz de Estremoz
23 Aug. 1618	NS de Gracia y Guía	Pedro Alonso de Castilla	Cape Verde	45	45	0	13	0.0	0.00	0.00	Lucas Rodríguez
2 Oct. 1618	NS de Monserrate	Salvador Alfonso	Angola	56	37	19	53*	33.9	0.36	6.40	Lucas Rodríguez
10 Jan. 1619	NS del Rosario	Roque Pérez	Angola	68	68	0	20*	0.0	0.00	0.00	Lucas Rodríguez
2 Feb. 1619	San Francisco	Sebastián Cintrón	Angola	182	138	44	67	24.2	0.66	3.61	Luis Gómez Barreto
26 Mar. 1619	NS de los Remedios	Juan Pinto	Angola	60	59	1	60	1.7	0.02	0.28	Luis Gómez Barreto
20 May 1619	San Salvador	Gil Franco	São Tomé	41	38	3	25	7.3	0.12	2.93	Lucas Rodríguez
29 May 1619	Ns del Buen Viaje	Pnelo Fernández	Angola	78	76	2	29	2.6	0.07	0.88	Luis Gómez Barreto
3 Jun. 1619	San Antonio de Padua	Manuel Ferrera	São Tomé	102	91	11	28	10.8	0.39	3.85	Luis Gómez Barreto
7 Jun. 1619	San Pedro	Jorge Rivero	Arca and São Tomé	131	104	27	32	20.6	0.84	6.44	Luis Gómez



Table 8.5 (*cont.*)

Date of deposit	Ship	Ship master	Origin	Number confiscated	Number sold or returned	Number dying	Days on deposit	Per cent dying	Mortality per day	Mortality per 1000 per day	Deposited with
12 Sep. 1619	NS del Castillo	Antonio de Silva	Angola	268	191	77	68	28.7	1.13	4.23	Luis Gómez Barreto
16 Mar. 1620	Magdalena	Rodrigo Álvarez	Angola	223	174	46	46	20.6	1.00	4.48	Jorge Fernández Gramaxo
20 Mar. 1620	San Juan Bautista	Juan Salvador Camero	Angola	149	107	42	59	28.2	0.71	4.78	Luis Gómez Barreto
1 Apr. 1620	NS de los Remedios	Añas Niñez	Angola Barreto	60	59	1	60	1.7	0.02	0.28	Luis Gómez
25 Apr. 1620	El Espíritu Santo	Lope de Sequera	Angola	163	154	9	15	5.5	0.60	3.68	Antonio Niñez Gramaxo
30 Jun. 1622	NS del Buen Viaje	Lope Fernandés Morales	Arda	422	356	66	42	15.6	1.57	3.72	Juan de Briçuela
Average				126	105	21	39	16.3	0.54	4.20	

*Sources:* AGI Escribanía de Cámara 632A pieza 6 ff. 17-148, Pieza 9 fols. 36-58 Procedido desclavos negros que se condenaron por descaminados Junio 1617 hasta 25 Nov. 1619; Escribanía de Cámara 587C Pieza 6 El fiscal contra Lope Fernandés Morales 1622; AGI Santa Fe 73 número 71a Pedro Guiral sobre lo tocante a negros bozales . . . 1621.

\* Number of days estimated from payments made for slave food and lodging.

were kept, “there are generally slaves sick with smallpox and it is well known that it spreads easily from one to another.”<sup>96</sup>

Part of the difference in the mortality rates of slaves purchased by Manuel Bautista Pérez’s agents and those placed on deposit may be explained by the fact that these merchants acquired high quality slaves, some specifically for wealthy clients in Lima; they would not have purchased obviously weak or sick slaves. However there is no evidence to suggest that those placed on deposit represented anything other than a cross-section of slaves being landed at Cartagena at the time. What appears more significant in explaining the lower mortality experienced by slaves purchased by the slave merchants was the greater care taken of them, particularly in terms of the food they provided. As described in Chapter 5, the accounts listing the foods purchased by merchants to support the slaves in Cartagena suggests that the basic diet was about one pound of beef a day, together with about one and a half pounds of *casabe* or maize bread or balls, and with fish provided on Fridays and Saturdays. Unfortunately there is no evidence for the foods fed to slaves held on deposit, but there would have been little incentive for those caring for them to treat them well; indeed their priority is likely to have been to minimize costs in order to profit from the *per diem* paid. If the mortality rate among slaves in Cartagena could be reduced by better food and health care, although the latter probably had minimal impact, it suggests that the life-threatening health problems they faced had some basis in nutrition, which not only reflected conditions on the Middle Passage, but most likely those in their country of origin.

### *Slave Mortality in Panama*

Overall numbers dying on the journey to Peru were small. This was particularly true on board ship, since the journeys by sea were short and sick slaves could be sold prior to departure or be left behind for treatment before continuing their journey.<sup>97</sup> Mortality on land was considerably higher, though it varied significantly from year to

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<sup>96</sup> AGI Escribanía de Cámara 587C pieza 9 fol. 46 Pleito sobre la manifestación de Simón Rodrigues, maestre del navío San Pedro, que vino de Angola 1623.

<sup>97</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Upper Guinea accounts pp. 715 1618–1619. In 1618 20 slaves were sold in Cartagena, before the journey commenced.

year. From an early date the Isthmus of Panama had a reputation for being unhealthy. Seventeenth century accounts indicate that the major health hazards of the region were dysentery, fevers (tertian and quartan) and *pasmo*.<sup>98</sup> Tertian and quartan fevers almost certainly referred to malaria, to which Spaniards would have been particularly susceptible. *Pasmo* probably referred to spasms or convulsions, or to tetanus, although one account suggests that in Panama the term was used to refer to colds or chills.<sup>99</sup>

In 1637 Thomas Gage singled out dysentery and fevers as the major health hazards in Portobello estimating that five hundred people died while he was there. He attributed the dysentery to “too much eating of fruit and drinking of water”, which were almost certainly contaminated as a result of the squalid conditions created by the massive influx of people at the time of the fair.<sup>100</sup> Health conditions were so poor that he suggested that Portobello should be renamed Portomalo. Speaking of Portobello Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa described it as “the grave of Spaniards” and particularly of recently arrived travellers and those who strayed into eating fruit.<sup>101</sup> Similar conditions prevailed in Panamá since it lacked springs and the well water was contaminated and not fit for drinking, cooking or washing. As such water was brought from one and a half leagues away but even this was muddy and polluted in winter.<sup>102</sup> In 1620 Manuel Bautista Pérez himself fell ill in Panama, because of, as he described it, the “malícia da terra.”<sup>103</sup>

Unfortunately there is little precise information on the cause of death of individual slaves while in Panama. Dysentery accounted for some deaths, but the highest mortality was associated with outbreaks of smallpox and measles. In 1620 Manuel Pérez purchased 314 slaves in Cartagena (119 from Upper Guinea, 143 Ardas and 52 Angolas), of whom only 5 died in Cartagena, but 61 died in Panama and another 6 had to be left there where 3 subsequently died.<sup>104</sup> The

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<sup>98</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 200 Descripción de Panamá 1607; CDI 9: 112 Descripción corográfica 1607.

<sup>99</sup> CDI 9: 93 Descripción corográfica 1607.

<sup>100</sup> Gage, *Travels*, 330.

<sup>101</sup> Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 212.

<sup>102</sup> Serrano y Sanz, *Relaciones históricas*, 141–42 Descripción de Panamá 1607.

<sup>103</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa 30 Apr. 1621.

<sup>104</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez

majority of deaths were of smallpox and measles among a single batch of Ardas purchased from one Sebastián Feo, though others died of dysentery.<sup>105</sup> (Table 8.6) In fact signs of the impending disaster had been visible in Cartagena where 13 slaves some of whom were suffering from smallpox had to be left behind.<sup>106</sup> Similarly the particularly high mortality experienced among slaves purchased in 1633, when 53 out of 433 slaves died, was associated with smallpox, though in this case the mortality was sustained throughout the journey and in Lima.<sup>107</sup> The same is true of a consignment of slaves bought on the account of Captain Amador Pérez, of which 15 out of 46 died, the majority from smallpox, but others from dysentery, a fistula, an abscess and *dolor de costado*.<sup>108</sup> The last could refer to a number of infections such as pleurisy, pneumonia, typhus, influenza or even plague.<sup>109</sup>

### *Slave Mortality in Peru*

During the journey from Panama to Paita only a few slaves generally died. Fairly typical was one shipment in 1629 when on a 17-day journey four died, one from dysentery and three from sores.<sup>110</sup> Indeed sores seem to have been a common occurrence on this stretch of the journey. In 1618 a large number of slaves being shipped by another slave trader to Peru suffered from foul-smelling cancerous sores, so that the barber-surgeon who was accompanying them from Panama had to remain with fifteen to sixteen of them in Paita for two months, where he had to undertake some amputations.<sup>111</sup> Similarly,

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a Felipe Rodríguez 28.4.1621; Borrador de carta que MBP le escribió a Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa 30 Apr. 1621; AGNL SO CO Siglo XVII leg. 10 Manuel Bautista Pérez a Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa 18 Jul. 1622

<sup>105</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 89, 99, 103, 104 Libro Borrador, Muertes de negros 1620–1621.

<sup>106</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 p. 91 Libro Borrador, Memoria de los negros que dejé 27 Sep. 1620.

<sup>107</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1633 to 1634.

<sup>108</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Información sobre 15 piezas 1623.

<sup>109</sup> Cook, *Born to Die*, 104–105.

<sup>110</sup> ANHS VM 77-II fols. 294v.–296v. Sebastián Duarte 29 Jan. 1629. In fact the accounts record only three deaths, probably those relating to Manuel Bautista Pérez's account, while another was on the account of García Vázquez.

<sup>111</sup> AGNL Real Audiencia Causas Civiles leg. 45 cuad. 171 Autos seguidos por Don Pedro Gómez de Mora, barbero, contra Don Francisco Guisado y otros Paita, 4 Apr. 1618.

Table 8.6. Slave Mortality Between Cartagena and Lima 1618 to 1634

	1618-1619	1620-1621	1625-1626	1626-1627	1628-1629	1629-1630	1630-1631	1632-1633	1633-1634
Number of slaves purchased in Cartagena	226	314	411	176	372	246	153	224	423
Number dying in Cartagena	3	5 (also 13 left in Cartagena)	Unknown	10	6	4 (2 sick left behind)	0		18
Number dying in Panama	2	61	39 from Panama to Lima	1	11	3	1	10	14
Number dying at sea			10	1	9	3	2		0
Left in Panama	2	6 (of whom 3 died)	4 (of whom 2 fled, 1 sold)	4 (of whom 1 died)	2 fled	7 (1 fled, 3 sold, 1 sick)			2 fled
Number dying in Lima	10	12	39 (5 die in Arica)	Unknown	11	Unknown	3	22	21
Total mortality	15	81	88	13	37	10	6	32	53
Percent mortality	6.6	25.8	21.3	7.4	9.9	4.1	3.9	14.3	12.5
Proportion dying in Lima	66.7	14.8	44.3		29.7		50.0	68.8	39.6

Sources: For 1618-1619 AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Venta e rendimento de duzentas e vinte e sete peças de escravos 1619; AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 pp. 715-18, 725-32, 735-40 Upper Guinea accounts 1618-19; for 1620-1621 AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Libro borrador, Manuel Bautista Pérez to Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa 30 Apr. 1621; AGNL SO CO Siglo XVII leg. 10 Manuel Bautista Pérez a Diogo Rodrigues de Lisboa 18 Jul. 1622; for 1625-1626 AGNL SO CO Ca 25 doc 251 Accounts for 1625-1626; for 1626-1633 AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Journals for 1626, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1 633; for 1632 AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1632 and ANHS VM 77-I fols. 56-58 Compra de negros 1632.

in 1621 Manuel Bautista Pérez' journey from Panama experienced no deaths at seas, but he arrived in Lima with thirty slaves with "very large sores".<sup>112</sup> The cause of these lesions is not known, but they may have been associated with gangrene resulting from infected wounds or injuries. The fact that such large numbers of slaves were affected on particular voyages suggests the infection may have come from a common agent. In this case some of the afflicted slaves died, very often when amputations were necessary, but most later recovered. Sores and abscesses were apparently common afflictions of slaves living on haciendas in Peru.<sup>113</sup>

As in Panama, the highest mortality among slaves once they arrived in Lima appears to have been associated with smallpox, measles or dysentery. Early observers commented favourably on Lima's temperate climate, its fresh winds and the absence of heavy rains.<sup>114</sup> The main diseases to afflict the city were said to be "catarros y romadizos" that were caused by the winter *garúa* or sea mist.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, as with Cartagena, the large volume of traffic frequenting the port of Callao meant that the most important health risk to the city was the introduction of smallpox and measles. Outbreaks of these diseases continued throughout the early seventeenth century and, despite attempts at quarantining, took a heavy toll of all ethnic groups in the city.<sup>116</sup> While slaves arriving in Lima might be carrying the infections themselves, equally they might contract them on arrival in the city. In 1623 a sailor who visited one of Manuel Bautista Pérez's houses claimed that he saw over seventy ill with smallpox.<sup>117</sup> Intestinal afflictions also appear to have been common and were attributed to contaminated food and water.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 Borrador de carta de Manuel Bautista Pérez a Felipe Rodríguez 28 Apr. 1621; AGNL SO CO Siglo XVII leg. 10 Manuel Bautista Pérez a Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa 18 Jul. 1622.

<sup>113</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 95. See also Van Deusen, "'Alienated' Body", 26.

<sup>114</sup> *Descripción del Virreinato*, 57, 65; Vargas Ugarte, *Relaciones de viajes*, 113 Viaje que Juan de Herrera y Montemayor hizo el año 1617.

<sup>115</sup> López de Velasco, *Geografía*, 233, 236

<sup>116</sup> AGI Lima 38 Libro IV Principe de Esquilache 27.3.1619; Henry F. Dobyns, "An Outline of Andean Epidemic History to 1720." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 37 (1963):509–10; Cook, *Born to Die*, 187–88.

<sup>117</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8 Información sobre 15 piezas 1623.

<sup>118</sup> AGI Lima 149 Don Nicolás de Mendoza Carvajal 28 Apr. 1619; AGI Lima 108 Cabildo de Lima 18 Jan. 1621.

For most years few details remain of the causes of death of Manuel Bautista Pérez's slaves while they were awaiting sale in Lima. However, some evidence is available for a consignment of 214 slaves that arrived from Panama in 1633. Of this number 22 died between April and January the following year. Of 20 whose origin is known only 2 were from Upper Guinea and of the total number dying only 6 were female. While these figures may suggest that mortality varied according to ethnic origin and gender, in fact they reflect the composition of the consignment.<sup>119</sup> The cause of death is not indicated in all cases, but six died of dysentery and seven of smallpox or measles. Other causes were fever, cough (*pechuguera*) and *dolor de costado*.<sup>120</sup>

Overall mortality from Cartagena to Lima was highly variable, with outbreaks of smallpox or measles being the main source of the variation. When these occurred mortality might rise to over 20 percent, but in their absence it was generally under 10 percent from the time of purchase in Cartagena.<sup>121</sup> Variations in mortality in Lima might also reflect the time taken to dispose of a cargo, which could often be more than a year. It is important to note that losses in Lima were often greater than on the journey from Cartagena.

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<sup>119</sup> It is difficult to be precise about mortality by ethnic origin and gender, because information is lacking on the 214 slaves that arrived in Lima. However, information is only available for 275 slaves that were purchased in Lima, of which only 224 were on Manuel Bautista Pérez and Sebastián Duarte's account and to which the 214 arriving in Lima are related. The consignment of 275 slaves comprised 186 males and 89 females, with 31 from Upper Guinea and 233 from Angola (AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1632 and ANHS VM 77-I fols. 56–58 *Compra de negros* 1632).

<sup>120</sup> AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201 Accounts for 1632.

<sup>121</sup> See Bowser, *African Slave*, 66. His figures appear somewhat higher than those presented here. The accounts are often inconsistent, particularly with respect to base population. Figures here include those being carried on all accounts, not only that of Manuel Bautista Pérez.

## CONCLUSION

The Portuguese slave trade in the early seventeenth century was a hazardous business. The slave trade always involved an element of risk, but it was greater in the early years of its operation because neither sources of supply, market demand nor the supporting infrastructure were well established. This was particularly evident in Angola where during the early seventeenth century political upheavals and wars, though they generated significant numbers of slaves, militated against the establishment of political and economic relationships that could ensure regular supplies of slaves. Some stability was provided by the monopoly contracts issued by the Spanish Crown, but even so many *asentistas* went bankrupt or had to resort to fraudulent practices to cover their costs.

At this time the slave trade, and indeed business more generally, was organised through kinship networks; joint-stock monopoly trading companies, which could draw on institutional resources over a wide area and came to characterise the later slave trade, were not a feature of this period. Operations were generally small-scale with slave traders entering into business partnerships with a small number of relatives and compatriots, who would provide the necessary finance and facilitate credit arrangements. In a risky business such as this family partnerships were preferred because they were enduring and considered trustworthier.<sup>1</sup> Kinship relations could, however, emerge through business operations rather than be a precondition for them. But mobilising the necessary finance was only part of the venture. The slave trade was a highly complex business that involved numerous commercial transactions, many of which involved elaborate credit arrangements with individuals, who not only acquired slaves, but also provided barter goods, transport, food supplies and medical care. A large proportion of those who formed the support network were from Portugal and many were also *conversos*. Initially Manuel Bautista Pérez's contact in Cacheu was his brother Juan, while later his key agents in the Americas were Sebastián Duarte,

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<sup>1</sup> Stein, *French Slave Trade*, 61–62.



who organised the purchase of slaves in Cartagena and later became his brother-in-law, and the latter's brother Pedro Duarte, who was based in Panama and mobilised supplies and transport for the onward journey to Lima. Other brothers-in-law, García Vázquez Enríquez and Simón Vázquez Enríquez, were engaged in selling slaves outside Lima, notably in Pisco and Arica. The Bautista Pérez, Duarte and Enríquez families constituted one of the largest merchant households in Lima comprising over fifty people.<sup>2</sup>

During the early seventeenth century the Portuguese African slave trade focussed on Upper Guinea and Angola, but in both areas it was still very small scale. In Upper Guinea slaves were obtained through intermediaries, often *lançados*, who bartered with African leaders for slaves that had been acquired either through the judicial process or increasingly specifically for the European slave trade. Portuguese reliance on intermediaries without the establishment of permanent slaving trading forts distinguished this early period of the trade. In Angola conditions differed somewhat, because although similar intermediaries, known there as *pombeiros*, also operated, in the early seventeenth century the slave trade was largely supplied by captives taken in conquest or wars, or else paid as tribute by defeated rulers. This made the supply of slaves irregular and unpredictable. Though at times political conflicts contributed to delayed departures from Angola, it was probably not for this reason that Portuguese slave traders spent as much as a year on the African coast. In Upper Guinea slaves were generally purchased in very small numbers, often ones and twos. While this might reflect in part weakly developed supply networks, equally it is clear that extended periods on the coast reflected the broader trading interests of both Europeans and Africans. Longer stays may have also been possible because there are suggestions that the coast of Upper Guinea may have been healthier in the early seventeenth century. Later concerns about the high mortality experienced by Europeans in Africa led to a reduction in the time spent on the coast to only a few months.

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<sup>2</sup> Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, "Interdependence and the Collective Pursuit of Profits: Portuguese Commercial Networks in the Early Modern Atlantic," in *Commercial Networks in the Early Modern World*, Diogo Ramada Curto and Anthony Molho (eds.) European University Institute Working Paper HEC 2002/2 (Florence: European University Institute), 98–99, 118.

While some goods came from Spain and Portugal, many were imported from northern Europe at elevated prices, while others came from Asia or were produced locally. Many of the Asian goods were made available through commercial networks that involved relatives based in India. Asian goods probably dominated this phase of the slave trade more than any other. Evidence from Manuel Bautista Pérez's slave trading venture in Upper Guinea between 1617 to 1618 indicates that he had commercial transactions with over one hundred people based in Cacheu and that he was trading over one hundred and fifty types of commodities, over seventy imported from Europe, not including those of different colours and sizes. The African market for such products was highly volatile largely reflecting changing taste and fashion. Cloth, clothing, beads, semi-precious stones, iron, hardware, food and wine were among the most important items traded, but also local products such as kola and cloth. Compared to the second half of the seventeenth century, guns were not an important item of trade. At this time *panos* and *negros* were used as units of equivalence, whereas later in the century iron bars became the most common.

Just as the slaves were acquired in small numbers, so also the scale of the slave trade was limited. While Enriqueta Vila Vilar estimates that under the Portuguese *asientos* about 1,000 slaves a year were landed legally at Cartagena and trebled this figure to 3,000 to take account of contraband trade,<sup>3</sup> the numerous contemporary observations on the illegal trade, both on the scale and variety of methods employed, suggest that the level of contraband trade was probably even higher. At this time the centre of the slave trade was Upper Guinea where it focussed on the Bran, Banhun, Biafada and Folupo. However, those arriving in Cartagena included a growing number of slaves from Angola, as military campaigns in the early seventeenth century increased their availability and as French and Dutch activities threatened Portuguese footholds on the Upper Guinea Coast. Nevertheless, during the 1620s and 1630s there were marked fluctuations in the proportions of slaves arriving in Cartagena from

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<sup>3</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*, 206. This is consistent with figures for *entrada* taxes collected on slaves in Cartagena 1597 to 1601 that were recorded in an inspection of the accounts of the Santa Hermandad of Cartagena (Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias*, 162).

the two regions. This probably reflected variations in supply since the demand for both types of slaves was consistently high throughout the period. The Portuguese *asientos* specified that one-third of the slaves to be carried should be women and this seems to have been the common reality.

Slaves from Upper Guinea cost between about 100 and 125 pesos in Africa, while Angolans cost about half that price. Although the difference between the purchase price in Africa and the sale price in Cartagena was greater for Angolans, because of the higher costs of transport and of food on that part of the African coast, profits on these slaves were lower. When mortality is taken into account the profit on Upper Guinea slaves probably did not average more than 25 percent and would have been negligible for Angolan slaves. A 10 percent profit on the Atlantic sector of the trade was regarded as good, but not outstanding, and it might take a long time to be realised.<sup>4</sup> And this was in the 1620s and 1630s, which were regarded as a golden age for slave traders on the Angolan coast.<sup>5</sup> Profits were generally lower on the Atlantic sector of the trade than on the American sector where high demand contributed to exceptionally high prices and where in the absence of outbreaks of smallpox or dysentery, the risk of mortality in transit was relatively low.

Slave survival in captivity on the coast of Africa and on the Middle Passage depended in large part on their nutritional status. This reflected their livelihoods prior to captivity as well as the food they received while awaiting and during transshipment. This study suggests that there were significant differences in the health status of Angolan and Upper Guinea slaves. The basic diet of Angolans in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was *milho*, beans, and roots crops such as yams, with the cereals made into porridge or unleavened bread balls, and roots pounded to produce a mash that was roasted or boiled. To these might be added palm oil and occasionally some meat, fish or vegetables. The problem for Angolan slaves was that the coastal region suffered from periodic droughts that caused major food shortages, which in turn encouraged the spread of disease. Prior to captivity slaves from Upper Guinea enjoyed a more varied diet based on *milho*, rice and beans, which was rou-

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<sup>4</sup> Klein, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 98–99.

<sup>5</sup> Miller, “Slave Prices,” 65.

tinely supplemented by readily available fish, meat or vegetables. The availability of food supplies was reflected in differences in the cost of supporting a slave in captivity prior to transshipment in the two regions with the provisions for slaves in Angola costing over double those in Upper Guinea.<sup>6</sup>

These diets differed significantly from those in Africa today. The diet of Africans during the early seventeenth century suggests that although American foods, notably maize and manioc, were grown in small quantities they had not become staple foods in the region. This is particularly true of Upper Guinea where maize is hardly mentioned; in Angola it seems to have spread more quickly than manioc, but before the effective colonisation of the region in the early seventeenth century, Luanda still relied on imported provisions, particularly in the form of *farinha* from Brazil. The full impact of the Columbian Exchange in Africa was still to be felt.

Physical examinations of the slaves when they were sold in Cartagena confirm contemporary observations that Angolan slaves were less healthy than those from Upper Guinea. They suffered from a number of diet-related diseases, such as scurvy, dysentery and *bicho*, as well as dental disease, which probably derived from the soft form in which they consumed starchy foods. However slaves from Upper Guinea also suffered nutritional diseases, such as scurvy, for in captivity their diets dominated by *milho* and rice were more monotonous than those they had been used to in pre-captive times. Moreover, slaves from this region suffered many other afflictions that had their origin in hard labour and conflict, or, in the case of ophthalmia, reflected local environmental conditions. Little is known about losses that occurred during enslavement or transport to the ports, but despite poor food and living conditions during their several months in captivity on the coast, mortality in Upper Guinea was relatively low at about 3 percent. The relatively healthy condition of the slaves was illusory, however, because many became severely malnourished or contracted infections that were to erupt into serious outbreaks during the Middle Passage.

It is often suggested that mortality on the Middle Passage declined over time as ships became faster, less time was spent on the coast, and greater attention was paid to healthcare. Evidence from the

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<sup>6</sup> AGI Santa Fe 52 N172/2 Tribunal de Cuentas 27 Jun. 1622.

Transatlantic Database suggests that average mortality declined from 22.6 percent prior to 1700 to 11.2 percent in 1800.<sup>7</sup> However, these averages mask significant variations between different regions of origin. The same database indicates that for the period prior to 1700 mortality on the crossing from Senegambia was 11.6 percent, whereas from West Central Africa it was 24.7 percent. Even though these figures are drawn from the whole of the seventeenth century, the evidence presented here shows a broadly similar pattern. Average mortality on the Middle Passage from Upper Guinea to Cartagena has been estimated at between 10 and 15 percent, and slightly higher from Angola but probably not exceeding 20 percent. However, these figures could be reached and even surpassed in cases where there were outbreaks of disease or where ships were delayed by bad weather, pirate attack or a shipboard revolt. Unfortunately the evidence is not detailed enough to throw light on gender and ethnic differences in mortality. Outbreaks of smallpox or scurvy were consistently reported as the main causes of exceptionally high mortality, but the evidence from medical inspections in Cartagena suggests that dysentery was also a significant killer. As the centuries progressed refreshment in the Caribbean and the wider use of limes to cure scurvy contributed to lowered mortality, though it is worth noting that in the early seventeenth century the use of limes to treat scurvy and the principles of using fresh foods to aid recovery were already familiar. There is good evidence that 'tight packing' was common, particularly on ships of less than a hundred tons, and this would have contributed to unsanitary conditions and the spread of disease.

In Cartagena the slave traders purchased slaves in small lots, mainly from factors or Portuguese merchants of New Christians ancestry. During the 1620s and 1630s the average price for slaves was between 270 and 310 pesos, though slaves from Upper Guinea were often more than 50 pesos more than those from Angola. The slave traders generally spent three to four months in Cartagena. Good profits were to be made from the sale of slaves in Lima, so once the slaves had been purchased in Cartagena the slave traders paid considerable attention to their diet and health in order to protect their investment. Throughout the journey, the slaves were fed a substantial and varied diet that included large quantities of bread, meat, and fish,

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<sup>7</sup> Klein, Engerman, Haines and Shlomowitz, "Transoceanic Mortality," 114.

and occasionally vegetables. However, the precise foods fed to slaves varied according to availability and price, which reflected local environmental, economic, social and political conditions. Hence maize, *casabe*, beef and fish dominated diets in Cartagena, but on arrival in Portobello the slaves were fed fish and turtle, while on the other side of the isthmus they received mainly maize and imported *bizcocho* with some beef or chicken. Diets were most varied on the north coast of Peru where fish, chicken and vegetables, such as squashes, sweet potatoes and beans, were acquired together with some mutton, while in Lima the diet was dominated once again by bread, but made of wheat as well as maize, and accompanied by beef or mutton. Although the bulk of expenditure on food was on bread, cereals or meat, over thirty other items were provided which included vegetables, fruits, herbs, condiments, honey, sugar, tobacco and wine.

The slave traders would have had no scientific knowledge of dietetics, but they were aware that certain foods, such as pork and chicken, were better for the weak and sick and often purchased them even though they were more expensive. In addition they seem to have made some attempt to provide the slaves with foods with which they were familiar, which was recognized as giving some comfort to them and as having beneficial effects on their health. This practice was most evident in the processing of maize to make couscous rather than bread. These particular slave traders were concerned not only with the slaves' material needs, but also with their spiritual welfare as they saw it. A notable finding of this study is that they stuck strictly to the Catholic practice of feeding the slaves alternative foods, particularly fish, on Fridays and Saturdays, when Christians were required to abstain from eating flesh meat. They even went as far as paying for an episcopal dispensation to allow them to eat meat on such days when fish or other alternative foods were not available.

Slave diets reflected the influence of Iberian food traditions, which favoured the cultivation of wheat, wine, and oil, accompanied by meat or fish, but they also took into account the availability of foods, which were generally better suited to local environmental conditions and had been well established in native food complexes since pre-Columbian times. However, few domesticated animals existed in the New World to compete with the cattle, pigs and chickens that were introduced from Spain, and by the end of the sixteenth century meat had become a feature of the daily diet in many regions of Spanish America. Wheat and barley faced greater competition. Neither could

be grown in the regions of transit, so reliance was placed on maize and *casabe*, while only small amounts of cereals were imported from the highlands of Colombia or from Peru in the form of wheat flour or *bizcocho*. Many Old World vegetables and fruits were being cultivated in all three regions of transit in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the only Old World crops to be purchased in any significant quantities by the slave traders were citrus fruits, which were used for medicinal purposes rather than as regular foods. While Old World foods, with the exception of meat, do not appear to have penetrated basic diets, their influence was more apparent in the items used to cook, flavour and sweeten food, such as olive oil, sugar and some herbs, many of which offered something that was not readily available in indigenous food complexes. Frying appears to have become a common form of cooking in the post-conquest period with animal fat being widely used.

It has only been possible to calculate the precise quantities of food fed to the slaves while they were in Cartagena. Here they were provided with about one pound of beef or five ounces of fish a day, together with about one and a half pounds of maize bread or *casabe*. The core diet would have been more or less adequate in terms of calories, but short in fat, calcium and vitamins A and C. However, much of the meat appears to have been fried, which would have increased the fat content of the diet, while the regular consumption of amaranth and plantains would have provided some vitamin A and C. The diet compared favourably with that of slaves employed in both Colombia and Peru and was comparable to the rations specified for the sick in hospitals and for soldiers and seamen whose energy needs would have been greater. While this daily ration may seem generous, it was budgeted to cost only one real per slave per day, such that the total cost of food and supplies to support each slave on the journey from Cartagena to Lima was between about 17 and 20 pesos. This was about one-third of the total costs of transshipment; the rest being transport and taxes. The cost of food from purchase to sale thus represented just over 3 percent of the potential value of a slave when sold in Lima. The provision of a substantial and varied diet would not therefore have affected the level of profit significantly, whereas a poor diet might result in sickness that could seriously affect the sale price of a slave or result in a significant financial loss through premature death.

The other way that the slave traders aimed to safeguard their investment was through treating the sick. This they did by providing the slaves with special diets and by paying for medicines, medical equipment and the services of medical practitioners. The slaves appear to have been treated in much the same way as other citizens with medical care drawing on a wide range of expertise from licensed doctors, barber-surgeons to popular healers. Among the professional doctors Manuel Bautista Pérez preferred to employ his Portuguese compatriots, such as Mendo López and Tomé Cuaresma, some of whom were New Christians, but often the popular healers he used were of African descent. The slave traders made no use of hospitals; rather they preferred private care. As was common practice at the time they made annual contracts with licensed doctors and apothecaries to provide care and medicines for the slaves. They also regularly used particular nurses and a nun (*beata*) to look after them. Many of the popular healers were specialists in curing particular types of ailments, such as worms or diarrhoea, or in treating particular ethnic groups. Thus the medical pluralism that existed in Spain was mirrored in the New World.

Evidence from the types of medicines and medical equipment purchased, which included blistering jars, lances, syringes and purging pans, suggests that humoral medicine predominated with an emphasis on purging and bloodletting. However, the employment of a wide range of non-licensed practitioners and evidence for the adoption of local and some African plant materials suggests that there was a degree of experimentation in medical treatments. The main types of medicines employed were ointments and purgatives. Ointments were used primarily to treat skin complaints and purgatives to treat diarrhoea and other intestinal infections. In common with medical practice of the time, minerals do not appear to have been widely used and then primarily externally. These might be used in plasters and to dry wounds and ulcers, including those associated with syphilis. Medicines were made predominantly of plant material from a wide range of sources. While some herbs from Europe were cultivated in hospital and monastery herb gardens, other plants were indigenous and often acquired locally. There were, however, local variations in the availability, so that on the dry treeless coast of Peru balsams and resins were not commonly used, but syrups were more frequently employed, perhaps reflecting the greater availability of sugar in the region.



Despite the careful selection of slaves when they were purchased and the considerable attention to the diet and health of slaves some slaves died on the journey to Peru. The cramped conditions in which the slaves were accommodated and transported would have contributed to unhygienic conditions that encouraged the spread of intestinal infections, as would changes to food and water provided for the slaves that would have provoked diarrhoea. Levels of mortality were highly variable, however, depending largely on whether there were outbreaks of smallpox or measles. Mortality in Cartagena during the three to four months the slaves were barracooned in the city was low, generally well under 5 percent. The relatively low mortality in Cartagena may be explained in part by the fact that the slave traders would not have purchased slaves who were obviously sick, but attention to their diet probably also worked to reduce mortality. This is suggested by the high death rate among slaves who were confiscated as contraband and put on deposit, who judged by the condition in which most were subsequently sold, did not receive such a substantial and varied diet. Among these slaves mortality might exceed that on the Middle Passage. Since it would seem that slave survival could be enhanced by attention to the diet, it would appear that many of the afflictions they were suffering from on arrival in the Americas had some basis in nutrition. There are suggestions that the mortality among Angolan slaves was higher than among those from Upper Guinea but also their poorer diet in Africa both prior to and during captivity.

Although mortality in Cartagena was relatively low, the constant addition of small numbers of slaves as consignments were put together created opportunities for the introduction of infections that might erupt later in the journey. On a 'normal' journey, which might last four to five months, much of it spent on land in Panama, mortality in the absence of an outbreak of smallpox was generally about 3 percent; when epidemics occurred the toll might rise to over 20 percent. Finally, mortality did not end with arrival in Lima. Most slaves were sold within the first few weeks of arrival, but the weaker, less healthy slaves appear to have been the last to be sold and in fact many died. In addition opportunities for the spread of infection increased when the slaves were once again brought into contact with others awaiting sale in the city's barracoons. Few studies have taken account of mortality while awaiting sale, but this study suggests that as many if not more died during this period than on the journey from Cartagena.

Taking the period from initial captivity in Africa to sale in Lima a consignment of 300 slaves experiencing no exceptional conditions, might be successively reduced to about 223 to 236, this is assuming 3 percent mortality in Africa, a further 10 to 15 percent on the Middle Passage, and another 10 percent from purchase in Cartagena to sale in Lima. This does not take account of any losses in moving slaves to the ports of embarkation in Africa, but at this time most were drawn from within a short distance from the coast so they are likely to have been small. This overall estimate of mortality is very crude. It is also unrealistic because individual or small groups of slaves were sold at different stages of the journey so that no consignment of slaves remained intact throughout the passage. However, it gives a general indication of the overall magnitude of mortality suffered under 'normal' conditions; it would have been considerably higher on those occasions where there was an outbreak of smallpox, shipwreck or other disaster. The evidence is admittedly limited, but there are suggestions that mortality for Angolan slaves was slightly higher, deriving primarily from poorer nutrition prior to captivity, poorer food supplies on the coast and a longer and less well provisioned sea crossing. Thereafter there does not appear to have been any difference in the treatment of slaves from Upper Guinea and Angola, so that differences in mortality prior to sale probably reflected their poorer nutritional status. It suggests that greater knowledge of agricultural production and subsistence patterns in Africa might throw some light on differences in mortality rates on the Middle Passage and on survival rates in the New World. This study has focussed on the early seventeenth century and it might be speculated that changes in agricultural production in Africa that were associated with the introduction of American crops may have changed the nutritional status of Africans and been a factor behind changing mortality rates among slaves shipped from different regions and over time.

The American sector of the trade was generally more profitable than the Atlantic sector, and it appears to have been particularly profitable at this time. The cost of slaves constituted by far the most important proportion of expenditure; the cost of transport, taxes and maintenance of the slaves might account for only about 15 percent of total outlay, though this did not take into account the additional costs of the maintenance of the slaves awaiting sale in Lima or regions further south. In the 1620s and 1630s slaves were selling in Lima for about 570 to 600 pesos. Given the high prices for slaves,

profits at this time might exceed 30 percent, though they were highly variable, depending largely on levels of mortality, but they could also be affected by adverse market conditions. This level of profit was high compared to most other forms of investment. In the late colonial period rates of return on investment in land were about 5 percent and on gold mining in Nueva Granada maybe 7 to 10 percent. Trade might yield much higher profits, perhaps as high as 50 percent, but like the slave trade was a much riskier business.<sup>8</sup>

An unexpected finding of this study is that profits seem to have been greater on Angolan slaves, which raises the question as to why Pérez continued to deal primarily in slaves from Upper Guinea even though Angolan slaves were becoming more readily available at this time. It may be speculated that this reflected his greater knowledge of the elite market in Lima where slaves were acquired primarily for domestic service or for skilled urban labour for which those from Upper Guinea were preferred.

### *Epilogue*

The system of Portuguese *asientos* came to an abrupt end with the Portuguese revolt in 1640 when the Spanish slave trade was officially suspended for ten years. By this time Manuel Bautista Pérez, Sebastián Duarte, Pedro Duarte, Juan Rodríguez Meza, Blas de Paz Pinto, Luis Gómez Barreto and many of those involved in his slave-trading network had been put to death or financially destroyed by the Inquisition.<sup>9</sup> Between 1640 and 1650 there was a period of anarchy dominated by contraband trade, but the slave trade continued as the demand for labour in the Americas remained high and African chiefs' desire for the European merchandise did not diminish.<sup>10</sup> Wishing to distance itself from the Portuguese and from its current enemy, the Dutch, who together dominated the slave trade at this time, the Crown vacillated over its strategy for the supply of slaves.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Sharp, "Profitability of Slavery," 487–89.

<sup>9</sup> Quiroz, "Expropriation of Portuguese New Christians," 413; Thomas, *Slave Trade*, 178–80.

<sup>10</sup> Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "La sublevación de Portugal y la trata de negros," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* Jg.2 H. 3 (1976): 179–89.

<sup>11</sup> Rodney, *Upper Guinea Coast*, 128–32; Vila Vilar, "Sublevación," 173–79, 184–86.

The *Casa de Contratación* always opposed the involvement of the Portuguese, who they saw as draining away Spanish silver and who they always suspected of being New Christians.<sup>12</sup> In growing recognition of the loss of revenue that this represented, not only associated with the slave trade but with the increase in the illegal trade in merchandise that accompanied it, in 1651 it reverted to a system of individual licenses entrusting its administration to the Universidad de Mercaderes de Sevilla. This was opposed by traders who had benefited from the freedom of trade and by the *consulados* in Seville and the Americas, which had enjoyed certain rights to collect taxes, some of which were associated with the slave trade.<sup>13</sup> Since this arrangement did not provide effective control of the trade and produced little by way of profit, the Crown finally decided to revert to a system of *asientos*, preferring an agreed monopoly that could bring in a regular income. Although Dutch traders made various overtures to assume the *asiento* they were rejected and when a new one was drawn up in 1662 it went to the Genoese, Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelin. In practice, however, the Dutch and English supplied the slaves. Curaçao and Jamaica thus became the main points where slaves were landed and from here most of those destined for Peru entered not through Cartagena, but through Portobello, where the market was better.<sup>14</sup> Neither the Portuguese nor Cartagena were again to play such prominent roles in the Atlantic slave trade.

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<sup>12</sup> Bowser, *African Slave*, 34–36.

<sup>13</sup> Rolando Mellafe, *Negro Slavery in Latin America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1975), 48–49.

<sup>14</sup> Vega Franco, *Tráfico de esclavos*, 94–96, 175–88.



## APPENDICES



Appendix A Textiles Sold on the Upper Guinea Coast 1613 to 1618

	Measure	Price 1613-14	Price 1617-1618	Type of Textile	Source
<i>European</i>					
Baeta vermelha	1 cóvado		1.53 panos	Red baize (a coarse woollen cloth)	<i>Negocios coloniais</i> , LIII.
Bombazina	1 cóvado	1 pano		Bombazine; striped cotton cloth like velvet	
Estamenha	1 vara		2 panos	Coarse woollen cloth, serge	
Frezada	1 peça	7-15 panos		Thick woollen cloth	
[H]olanda frezada	1 peça	16 panos		Fine linen cloth made in Holland	<i>Negocios coloniais</i> , LXII.
[H]olanda (preta, parda, amarela)	1 vara		3 panos	Fine linen cloth made in Holland (black, dark and yellow)	<i>Negocios coloniais</i> , LXII.
[H]olandilha	1 peça		12-18 panos	Cotton cloth from India dyed in Holland in different colours	<i>Negocios coloniais</i> , LXII.
Perpetuana	1 cóvado	2-2.5 panos	2 panos	Durable serge (wool and worsted) made in Holland, Flanders and England	
Jerga [jergeta]	1 vara		2 panos	Serge. Durable woollen cloth made in Holland, England and Spain	Alpern, "What Africans Got", 9.
Ruão	1 vara	1-2 panos	2 panos [fino, ordinario, branquo]	Woollen cloth from Rouen, France	<i>Negocios coloniais</i> , LXVII.
<i>African</i>					
Algodão	1 arroba	6-7 panos	5-7 panos	Raw cotton. Produced in Cape Verde and on the Guinea Coast	
Fale	1 libra		1-1.28 panos	Unknown	



## Appendix A (cont.)

	Measure	Price	Price 1613-14	Type of Textile 1617-1618	Source
Barafula	1 piece	5-6 panos	5 panos	Cloth made of bands of coarse cotton cloth, dyed or with alternate white and blue stripes or lines	Carreira, <i>Panaria</i> , 84.
Barafula de Gambea	1 piece	4 panos		Barafula from the Gambia	
Barafula de Gêba	1 piece	5 panos	5 panos	Barafula from Gêba	
Barafula de fãle	1 piece	5 panos	5 panos	Barafula from Fãle or made of fãle	
Pano amarelo	1 côvado	3-4 panos	3-4 panos	Yellow cloth	
Pano azul	1 côvado	3.5 panos	5 panos	Blue cloth	
Pano branco	1 piece	1 pano	1 pano	White (natural colour) cloth	
Pano da Degoula	1 piece	2-4 panos	3 panos	Cloth from Degoula on the Upper Geba	
Pano de rei	1 piece	4 panos	3.75 to 7.5	Ordinary cloth or barafula. Derived from the fact that its price was regulated.	Carreira, <i>Panaria</i> , 88.
Pano de retrôs	1 piece	1 pano	1 pano	Cloth interwoven with cotton and silk	Carreira, <i>Panaria</i> , 99.
Pano vermelho	1 côvado		3.75 panos	Red cloth	
Pano Jalofô	1 pano		5 panos	Cloth made by the Jalofô	Carreira, <i>Os Portugêses</i> , 59.
Pano preto	1 pano		4 panos	Black cloth made on the Gambia River	Carreira, <i>Os Portugêses</i> , 59.
Pano subo [Sabo?]	1 pano		9 panos	Cloth made on the River Salum	Carreira, <i>Os Portugêses</i> , 59.
Picote da costa	1 peça	3 panos	50-60 panos	Coarse cloth made on the coast	
<i>Indian</i>					
Bertangil	1 peça	3 panos	3 panos	Blue and black calico from Daman, Gujarat	Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 200.
Canequi	1 côvado	0.5 panos	0.5 panos	Good quality thin calico	Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese</i>
	1 peça	7.5-8	7.5-8		

Chaudéis (sing. chaudel)	1 vara 1 corja	panos 1 pano 75 panos	from Daman, Gujarat	<i>Trade</i> , 200; Irwin, "Indian Textile Trade," 26.
Cotonia	1 peça 1 vara	6-8 panos 1 pano	Cloth from Bengal from which bedspreads were made	<i>Glossário</i> ; Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 92, 200.
Fofolims [forfolims]	1 peça 1 corja	3-5 panos 40 panos	made mainly in Bengal or Surat	Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 201.
Lenço	1 peça 1 corja	50 panos 1 peça 3 panos 1 corja	Inferior quality linen made in Balaghat	
Mantaz	1 corja	3 panos	Linen cloth	
Mantaz grande	1 piece	40 panos		
Mantaz pequeno	1 piece	50 panos		
Mantaz preto or preto	1 piece	60 panos		
Seda	1 côvado	3 panos		
Setim branquo	1 côvado	3 panos		
Tafecira	1 peça 1 côvado	16 panos 1.5 panos	Cheap cotton cloth produced in Cambay, often blue or black	<i>Glossário</i> ; Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 201.
Tafecira do Sinde	1 peça 1 côvado	5 panos 1 peça 15 panos 1 covado 2 panos 1 peça 15 panos	Silk White satin from Persia or Bengal Striped cotton cloth Striped cotton cloth produced in Sindh	Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 91-92, 202. Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 92; Irwin, "Indian Textile Trade," 30.
Tafeta [azul, roxo, vermelho, tomassol, leonardo, verde preta, parda]			Tafteta from China or Bengal	Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 92.

## Appendix A (cont.)

	Measure	Price	Price 1613-14	Type of Textile 1617-1618	Source
Toalha do Sinde	1 piece	3 panos		Tablecloth from Sindh	
<i>Other</i>					
Colcha da China	1 piece	100 panos		Chinese bedspread	Sundström, <i>Trade of Guinea</i> , 156.
Lambeis	1 piece	3-3.5 panos	4-6 panos	From alambéis, a striped woollen cloth from North Africa	Carreira, <i>Os Portugêses</i> , 56
		1 corja	75 panos	Alternatively a woollen cloth from Alentejo	
Tafteta da China	1 côvado	1.5 panos		Tafteta from China	
<i>Origin unknown</i>					
Bezuatra	1 piece	25-40 panos	37.5-50 panos	Unknown. Possibly high-quality blue cotton cloth.	Machado, "Gujarati Indian Merchants Networks," Table 3.
Brim	1 vara		1 pano	Sailcloth, a fine linen cloth	
Crea	1 vara		1.5-2 panos	Unknown	
Gram	1 côvado		10 panos	Unknown	
Lona	1 vara	1 pano	1 pano	Coarse linen cloth used for sails	
Toalha de mesa	1 piece		3 panos	Tablecloth	
<i>In the cargo from Spain but not listed in the Upper Guinea accounts</i>					
Melcochado				Unknown	
Melim				Unknown	
Pacharis				White of coloured shawl from southern India.	<i>Glossário</i>

Alternatively a cotton textile produced in Balaghat, Golconda, Bijapur	Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 200
Cloth from Gujarat	
Cotton cloth from Gujarat	Ahmad, <i>Indo-Portuguese Trade</i> , 199
Hemp cloth	

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### Canhamação

A côvado is about 26 inches or 0.66 metre. The number of *côvados* comprising a *peça* seems to have varied (see Carreira, *Panaria*, XC–XCIV). A *corja* comprised 20 pieces of cloth.

Source: AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613–1618.

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Appendix B Beads Sold on the Upper Guinea Coast 1613 to 1618

Type of bead	Measure	Price 1613–1614	Price 1617–1618	Type of Bead	Source
Alaquequa	1 libra	6 panos		Carnelian	<i>Glossário</i>
Ambar	1 onza		25–30 panos	Amber	
Azeviche	1 milheiro		5–10 panos	Jet	
	1 ramal		1 pano		
Brandil	1 libra	6 panos	5.75 panos	Semi-precious stone from India	Almada, <i>Tratado breve</i> , 119.
Buzio	1 arroba		25 panos	Cowry shells	
Cano de pato	1 libra		0.8–3.8 panos	Elongated bead	
Conta branca raxada	100 milheiros	40 panos	42.9 panos	White striped beads	Almada, <i>Tratado breve</i> , 49
Conta menina pocate	1 peça/maço	3–4 panos	3 panos	Unknown	
	100 milheiros	40 panos	100 milheiros		
			37.5 to 43 panos		
Conta menina branca	1 maço	3 panos	3 panos	White beads for women	
	100 milheiros	40 panos			
Conta azul ordinario					
Conta azul grosso	100 milheiros	40 panos	41–43 panos	Blue beads (ordinary and large)	
			75 panos	Porcelain beads	
Conta menina porcelana	1 maço	6 panos	100 milheiros		
	100 milheiros	40 panos	42 panos		
			3 panos	Black beads	
Conta menina preta	1 maço		50 panos	Large striped beads	
Conta grossa raxada	100 milheiros		3 panos	Unknown	
Conta coalhada	1 maço		25 panos	Coral	
Coral	1 libra	24 panos	3 panos		
	1 ramal	4 panos	[coral grosso 6 panos]		

Crystal no 14	1 milheiro	4 panos	37.5 panos	Indian beads the size	Almada, <i>Tratado</i>
Fêmea	1 libra		1 ramal fêmea	of good neat	<i>breve</i> , 25.
			grosso 4 panos	pomegranate seeds	
Margarideta	1 libra	1 pano	1-1.5 panos	Pearls	
		2 pano [large?]	Margarideta		
			muito fina		
			8 panos		

A *maço* was divided into 12 branches, each called a *ramal*, which was divided in 10 strings. The weight of a *maço* varied with the type of bead. See Philip D. *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 318.

Source: AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613-1618.

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Appendix C Other Commodities Sold on the Upper Guinea Coast  
1613 to 1618

Commodity	Measure	Price 1613-1614	Price 1617-1618	Commodity
<i>Clothes</i>				
Chapeo	1	3 panos	8 panos	Hat
Capote	1	7 panos	5 panos	Cloak
Meas de seda	1 pair		15 panos	Silk stockings
Meas de lâ	1 pair			Woollen stockings
Meas de cabrestilho	1 pair	5 panos	2-3 panos	Short socks without a foot used by farmers
Meas de pé				Foot socks
Meas de linhas				Linen stockings
Talabarte	1		3 panos	Belt
Capatos	1 pair		3 panos	Shoes
Jubois bombazina	1		10 panos	Bombazine tunic
Jubois branquo	1		7-8 panos	White (undyed) tunic
Jubois	1	6 panos		Tunic
Camisa	1	3 panos		Shirt
<i>Staple Foods</i>				
Arros	1 alqueire	1 pano	1-2 panos	Rice
Arros limpio	1 alqueire		1-2 panos	Husked rice
Arros de casca	1 alqueire		1 pano	Unhusked rice
Cuscus	1 alqueire	1-2 panos		Couscous
Milho	1 alqueire	1 pano	1 pano	Millet
	1 moio	60 panos		
Funde	1 alqueire	0.5 pano		Funde
Farinha	1 arroba	5 panos	5-6 panos	Flour
Biscoito	1 barril	20-25 panos	30 panos	Biscuit
Pão	1 barril	20-25 panos	30 panos	Bread
<i>Other Foods</i>				
Açafrão	1 ounce	3 panos	2 panos	Saffron
Pimenta	1 libra	2 panos	1.5-2 panos	Pepper
Vinagre	1 peruleira	5 panos	5 panos	Vinegar
Azeite	1 botija	4 panos	4 panos	Oil
Azeite amargoso	1 peruleira		5 panos	Bitter oil
Manteiga	1 botija	7 panos	5 panos	Butter
Sardinhas	1 barril		15-50 panos	Sardines
Bacalhau	1 arroba		5-6 panos	Codfish
Azeitonas	1 barril	8 panos		Olives
Comfeitos	1 frasco	3 panos	3 panos	Sugared confectionery
Marmelada	1 caixa		2-2.5 panos	Quince jam
Figos recheados	1 barril	3 panos		Stuffed figs
Passas	1 arroba		3-8 panos	Raisins

Appendix C (*cont.*)

Commodity	Measure	Price 1613-1614	Price 1617-1618	Commodity
Pesego	1 barril		3 panos	Peaches
Perada	1 caixa		3 panos	Sweet made of pears
Açucar rosado	1 panela		2.5-3 panos	Rose-coloured sugar
Amêndoas	1 libra		1 pano	Almonds
	1 alqueire		5 panos	
Queijo	1	2 panos	3 panos	Cheese
Queijo de Alentejo	1	2 panos	1.5-2 panos	Cheese from Alentejo
<i>Beverages</i>				
Vinho	1 peruleira	5-6 panos	6-7 panos	Wine
Aguardente	1 barril	24-30 panos	50 panos	Spirits, brandy
	1 frasco	1.5 panos	2 panos	
<i>Miscellaneous</i>				
Carapeta dourada	1		6 panos	Gold spinning top
Carda	1		4 panos	Carder
Cascabel	1		1-2.25 panos	Rattle
Cera	1 quintal	40 panos	40-50 panos	Wax
Cochinilha	1 côvado		6.5 pano	Cochineal
Tinta	1 peruleira		10 panos	Dye
Cola	1 godenho	25 panos	30 panos	Kola
Gato dalgalia	1		80 panos	Civet cat [for perfume]
Marfim	1 arroba	10 panos	10 panos	Ivory
Jogo de cartas	36 packs		20 panos	Card game
Papel	1 resma	4-5 panos	5 panos	Ream of paper
Taboa	1		2.5-4 panos	Plank, board
Xarcia	1 quintal		35 panos	Cordage/rigging

One *moio* was equivalent to 60 *alqueires* of *milho*.

Source: AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197 *passim* Upper Guinea accounts 1613-1618.



### Appendix D Nutritional Composition of Selected West African Staples

	Calories	Protein	Fat	Ca	Fe	P	K	Vitamin A	thiamin	riboflavin	niacin	ascorbic	Source
		g	mg	mg	mg	mg	mg	ug	mg	mg	mg	acid mg	
Yams (cooked)	485	1.49	0.14	14	0.52	49	670	0	0.095	0.028	0.552	12.1	USDA 111602
Mandioc—Cassava (raw)	669	1.16	0.28	16	0.27	27	271	25	0.087	0.048	0.854	20.6	USDA 111134
Millet (cooked)	498	3.51	1.00	3	0.63	44	62	0	0.106	0.082	1.330	0.0	USDA 20032
Sorghum	339	11.3	3.3	28	4.40	287	350	0	0.237	0.142	2.927	0.0	USDA 20067
Maize (Commmeal)	362	8.12	3.59	6	3.45	241	287	469	0.385	0.201	3.632	0.0	USDA 20020
Plantains (cooked)	116	0.79	0.18	2	0.58	28	465	909	0.046	0.052	0.756	10.9	USDA 09278

*Source:* USDA National Nutrient Database for Standard Reference at [www.nal.usda.gov/fnic/cgi-bin/nut\\_search.pl](http://www.nal.usda.gov/fnic/cgi-bin/nut_search.pl). Value per 100 grams of edible portion.

Appendix E Lists of *Daños* Calculated on Slaves Purchased  
in Cartagena 1633

Account of the *daños* on the Blacks [Angolans] of señor  
Diego de Montesinos:

	A male Black called Diego with three missing upper teeth	4 pesos
	Another Juan; two lower teeth missing with part of the small finger on the right hand missing.	6 [pesos]
	Another called Miguel with two upper and lower teeth missing.	4 [pesos]
Deliver healthy	Another called Agustín with a humoral obstruction and fever.	
Nothing	Another called Gabriel with marks of <i>flema salada</i> on the left hand.	
Nothing	Another called Pedro with two lower teeth missing.	10 [pesos]
	Another called Camate with the beginning of a hernia on the left side.	
Deliver healthy	Another called Juan with a bloody sore in the right armpit	
	Another Black Paulo with a missing molar and two lower and upper teeth missing	6 [pesos]
Deliver healthy	Another Black Jorge with a little fever.	
Deliver healthy	Another Black Antonio with fever and two upper and lower teeth missing. For the teeth, four pesos.	4 [pesos]
Female Blacks:		
	One female Black Luisa with three upper teeth and two lower teeth missing and some spots on the face.	6 [pesos]
	Another called Cristina with two upper and lower teeth missing	4 [pesos]
	Another called Guiomar with a swollen right hand.	6 [pesos]
	Another called María with the little finger on the right hand missing and two upper teeth missing.	10 [pesos]
		60 pesos
		Doctor Mendo [López]

*Source:* ANHS VM 77-I fol. 101 [1633]

*Daños* on 15 Upper Guinea slaves [of Manuel de Acosta]:

6 pesos	Firstly, a male Biafara with a drawing on his right shoulder
15 pesos	Another Biafara without eyebrows, which is unhealthy and ugly
4 pesos	Another Biafara with a wound on the left foot
2 pesos	A female Biafara with ophthalmia
<u>27 pesos</u>	

## Daños on 22 Upper Guinea slaves of [Manuel de] Acosta:

12 pesos	A male Biojo with a mark on the calf of the left leg
30 pesos	A male Balanta with two hernias in both testicles and with a sore on the shoulder
15 pesos	A male Bañon with two hernias in both testicles
20 pesos	A male Bañon with a hernia in the right testicle
4 pesos	A male Balanta with ophthalmia and an injured finger on the right hand
<u>25 pesos</u>	Three female Blacks with scabies
106 pesos	
25 pesos	One Black with a cloudy eye

*Source:* ANHS VM 77-I fol. 97 [1633]

APPENDIX F  
BUSINESS ASSOCIATES OF MANUEL BAUTISTA PÉREZ  
(For consistency the Spanish spelling of Portuguese  
proper names has been used)

*The Partners*

Manuel Bautista Pérez. Nationality: Portuguese. Manuel Bautista Pérez was born on 2 July, 1589, in Ançã, Archbishopric of Coimbra. At the age of five Pérez was sent to Lisbon to live with his maternal aunt, Blanca Gómez. Six to eight years later nephew and aunt emigrated to Seville, from where Manuel Bautista eventually departed around 1607. The young man was initiated in the trade of African slaves by his uncle and mentor, Portuguese-born Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa. After a brief stay in Lisbon, Pérez travelled to Guinea, where he worked in partnership with his elder brother, Juan Bautista Pérez. From at least 1614 Manuel Bautista started travelling to Cartagena de Indias in charge of shipments of slaves, but finally established himself in Lima around 1619. In 1626 he married his second cousin, doña Guiomar Enríquez, by proxy, but the marriage was ratified upon her arrival in Cartagena de Indias, the following year. The couple lived in Lima and had six children. In 1635 Manuel Bautista Pérez was arrested by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Lima under charges of Judaizing. After nearly four years in jail and one alleged suicide attempt he was sentenced to burn at the stake and to the full confiscation of his estate on 23 January 1639. He denied all charges of Judaizing to the end.

Sebastián Duarte. Nationality: Portuguese. Sebastián Duarte was born in Montemor o Novo around 1603. Duarte was most probably introduced to Manuel Bautista Pérez by Felipe Rodríguez, an important supplier of slaves, resident in Panama. Having originally settled in Panama, by 1619 Duarte had moved down to Lima, where he bought a store. Duarte ran his modest business until about 1621, when he decided to sell it. During this time Manuel Bautista Pérez was a regular supplier of goods for Duarte's store. Pérez's close association with Duarte in the slave trade started around this time. Their relationship was further cemented by Duarte's marriage to doña

Isabel Enríquez, Manuel Bautista's wife's sister, around 1629. The couple remained childless until Duarte's arrest by the Inquisition in 1635 under charges of Judaizing. Like Manuel Bautista, Duarte was sentenced to die at the stake in 1639, but denied all charges of Judaizing throughout.

*In Guinea*

Juan Bautista Pérez. Nationality: Portuguese. Manuel Bautista Pérez's eldest brother. Both brothers settled in Cacheu from at least 1612, where they worked in partnership in the trade of African slaves to the New World. News of Juan Bautista's premature death in Cacheu dates to around 1617 and may have contributed to Manuel Bautista's decision to establish himself in Peru a couple of years later.

Antonio Rodríguez de Acosta. Nationality: Portuguese. Antonio Rodríguez de Acosta worked closely with Manuel Bautista Pérez, Juan Bautista Pérez and Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa in Guinea. After Manuel Bautista Pérez left for the New World, Antonio Rodríguez continued to work in association with Diego Rodríguez, but ran into financial difficulties. By 1625 Diego Rodríguez asked Manuel Bautista to help him to get started in Peru. Both friends worked together and remained close until Antonio Rodríguez's death around 1628, when Pérez was appointed executor of his estate. Antonio Rodríguez's main activities in Peru involved taking Manuel Bautista's slaves to be sold in the southern port of Arica. After his death Antonio Rodríguez was replaced in this task by his brother, Manuel de Acosta.

*In Portugal*

Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa. Nationality: Portuguese. Manuel Bautista Pérez's 'uncle' (technically Pérez's mother's cousin) and sponsor, who initiated his nephew in the trade of African slaves. A resident of Lisbon, Diego Rodríguez's role became less important as Manuel Bautista became more established in Peru; certainly from around the mid-1620s onwards.

*In Spain (Seville)*

Duarte Rodríguez de León. Nationality: Unknown. Married to Manuel Bautista Pérez's wife's sister, Blanca Enríquez. Duarte Rodríguez was

in charge of receiving and distributing the remittances of precious metals sent by Manuel Bautista from the New World to Seville.

*In Cartagena de Indias*

Duarte de León Márquez. Nationality: Portuguese. Between 1613-early 1620s he was in charge of collecting money owed to Manuel Bautista Pérez, especially debts deriving from credit sales of slaves secured in Cartagena. Duarte Rodríguez was also in charge of organizing Manuel Bautista's remittances of precious metals to Europe, but was replaced in this activity by Antonio Núñez Gramaxo, due to his advanced age, after around 1624.

Licentiate Blas de Paz Pinto. Nationality: Portuguese. A licensed medical doctor, who specialized in buying sick slaves, treating them and selling them once their health had been restored. Blas de Paz sold slaves to Manuel Bautista Pérez regularly, in addition to treating many of his sick slaves and drawing up *daños* documents. He was an illustrious member of Cartagena's society and appointed *mayordomo* of two confraternities. The surgeon was prosecuted by the Inquisition of Cartagena on charges of Judaizing, but died in prison as a result of torture in 1638. According to the Holy Office, Blas de Paz would have admitted to Judaizing.

Jorge Fernández Gramaxo. Nationality: Portuguese. He was a wealthy merchant, whose fortune derived mainly from the trade in African slaves. He arrived in Santo Domingo in 1587, where he remained for three years. After that, Jorge Fernández settled in Cartagena, where he acquired a *finca* in Bocachica. Slave ships disembarked slaves at Bocachica and, thus, evaded tax. He was also *alcalde ordinario*, *administrador* of the hospital of Cartagena, and funded the construction of the Franciscan monastery of San Diego. Diego Rodríguez de Lisboa and Manuel Bautista Pérez sent him slaves from Africa from at least 1618, and probably earlier. Due to his advanced age he was replaced in the business by his nephew, Antonio Núñez Gramaxo, and died about 1626.

Antonio Núñez Gramaxo. Nationality: Portuguese. A nephew of Jorge Fernández Gramaxo, Antonio Núñez took charge of slave trading activities formerly performed by his uncle. From 1624 was in charge of organizing Manuel Bautista Pérez's remittances of precious metals to Spain and Portugal. In 1627 Governor Diego de Escobar opened an inquest into Antonio Núñez's fraudulent activities and his

estate was embargoed. In 1630 Antonio Núñez was sent to Seville and imprisoned, but was pardoned after payment of 14,000 ducats to the Crown. Antonio Núñez Gramaxo re-built his life. By 1640 Antonio Núñez was the holder of an *hábito*, and a member of the Sevillian Consulate by 1687.

Andrés de Blanquesel. Nationality: Flemish. Andrés de Blanquesel held the office of *regidor* and was deeply involved in Cartagena's slave trade. Blanquesel was a regular provider of slaves for Manuel Bautista Pérez and of foodstuffs for their upkeep.

Juan Rodríguez Meza: Nationality: Portuguese. Juan Rodríguez Meza was born in Estremoz in Portugal but was naturalised in Cartagena. He was an important player in Cartagena's slave trade and sold slaves to Manuel Bautista Pérez regularly. Rodríguez Meza was incarcerated by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Cartagena in 1636, under charges of Judaizing, and his depositions led to the arrests of many Portuguese residents of Cartagena at the time, including those of Blas de Paz Pinto and Luis Gómez Barreto. Juan Rodríguez Meza admitted to Judaizing and his estate was confiscated, but he was reconciled by the Holy Office in 1638.

Luis Gómez Barreto. Nationality: Portuguese. Luis Gómez Barreto started his commercial career in the slave trade, which included trips to Angola, Brazil and São Tomé. By 1607 Gómez Barreto had settled in Cartagena, where he paid 10,000 ducats for the office of *depositario general*. Whilst in office he sold slaves who had been embargoed, thus making considerable profits. Manuel Bautista Pérez was a regular buyer of his slaves. Luis Gómez Barreto was charged with Judaizing by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Cartagena, but managed to defend himself from the accusations, between 1636 and 1638. Nevertheless, his case was re-opened in 1649 and Luis Gómez Barreto was arrested the following year. The sentence passed by the Holy Office included the confiscation of his estate, deportation from the Indies and required Gómez Barreto to wear the *sambenito* (penitential garments) in the auto de fe of 1655.

### *In Panama*

Felipe Rodríguez. Nationality: Portuguese. Sebastián Duarte's uncle, who worked closely with his nephews in the trade of African slaves passing through Panama. Felipe Rodríguez was one of Manuel Bautista Pérez's main suppliers of slaves until the former's death around

1627–8. The gap left by Felipe Rodríguez's death was filled by Pedro Rodríguez, an elder brother of Sebastián Duarte, and after 1629 by Pedro Duarte.

Pedro Duarte. Nationality: Portuguese. Sebastián Duarte's brother. Pedro Duarte played an important role as Manuel Bautista Pérez's agent in Panama. Amongst other duties, Duarte oversaw the shipment of the Pérez's slave cargoes through Panama. Pedro Duarte was prosecuted by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Cartagena, under charges of Judaizing, in 1641.

### *In Lima*

Pablo Rodríguez. Nationality: Portuguese. Pablo Rodríguez was a half-brother of Sebastián Duarte, who worked as an apprentice under the supervision of Juan Rodríguez Duarte, in Manuel Bautista Pérez's and Sebastián Duarte's business ventures. Pablo Rodríguez was arrested by the Inquisition of Lima accused of Judaizing, in 1638, but was reconciled.

Juan Rodríguez Duarte. Nationality: Portuguese. Juan Rodríguez Duarte was Sebastián Duarte's nephew. Rodríguez Duarte was taken into Manuel Bautista Pérez's large extended family home in Lima and, in exchange, worked as a travelling agent for his sponsors. He was arrested by the Inquisition of Lima accused of Judaizing, in 1636, but was reconciled.

García Vázquez Enríquez. Nationality: Spanish. García Vázquez Enríquez was one of Manuel Bautista Pérez's wife's brothers, who acted as a travelling agent for the Pérez-Duarte partners. García Vázquez was arrested by the Inquisition of Lima accused of Judaizing, in 1638, but was reconciled.

Simón Vázquez Enríquez. Nationality: Spanish. Simón Vázquez Enríquez was another of Manuel Bautista Pérez's wife's brothers. From 1628 Simón Vázquez was travelling extensively in the south of Peru, taking slaves to be sold and collecting debts. Vázquez also travelled to Cartagena and Tierra Firme, in charge of increasingly more important ventures. Curiously, Simón Vázquez Enríquez was the only male member of the household not to be arrested by the Inquisition of Lima. After the arrests Simón Vázquez looked after his sisters (Manuel Bautista Pérez's and Sebastián Duarte's wives), nieces and nephews. Simón Vázquez was appointed administrator of Manuel Bautista's landed estate of Bocanegra, which was sequestrated by the Holy Office at the time



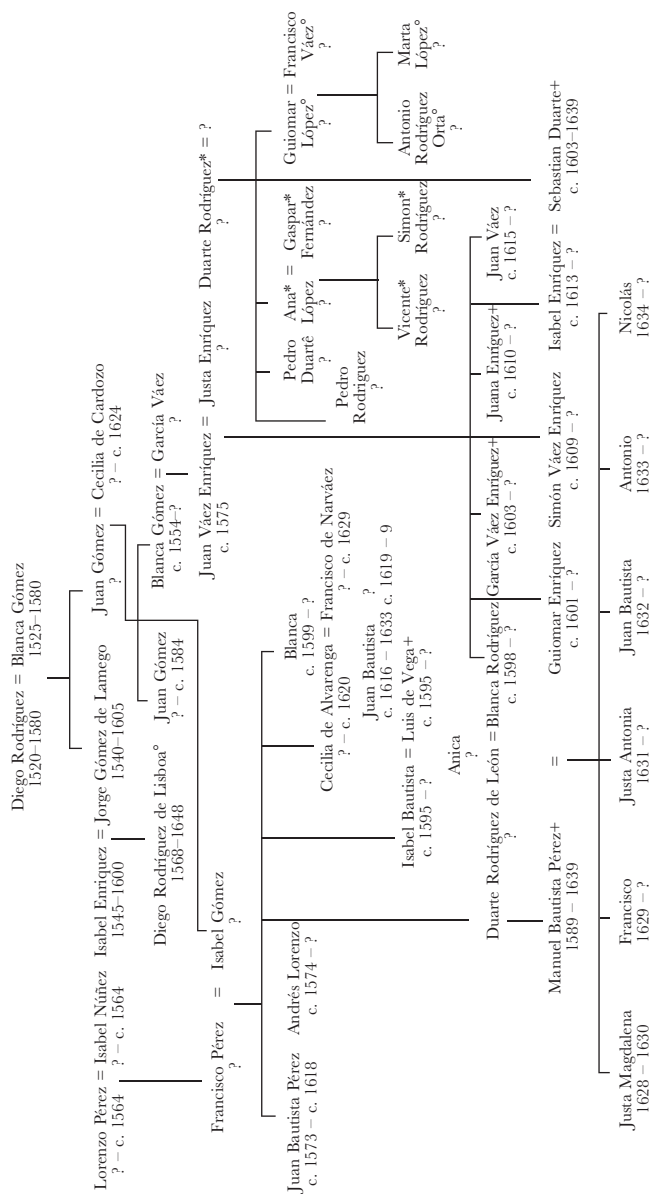
of his arrest. The property had around 150 slaves who were to be sold by Vázquez. The transactions were reported periodically to Holy Office accountants and the proceeds were added to Manuel Bautista Pérez's estate, which was eventually confiscated by the Inquisition.

Luis de Vega. Nationality: Portuguese. Luis de Vega was married to one of Manuel Bautista Pérez's sisters, doña Isabel Bautista. Vega came to Lima to join the family business, but was arrested by the Inquisition shortly after his arrival, accused of Judaizing. Luis de Vega was reconciled by the Holy Office in 1639.

*In Arica*

Manuel de Acosta. Nationality: Portuguese. Manuel de Acosta was a brother of Antonio Núñez de Acosta. Upon his brother's death, Manuel de Acosta oversaw both the sales of slaves sent by the Pérez-Duarte partners to Arica and the collection of debts contracted in previous voyages.

## Appendix G Select Genealogy of the Pérez-Duarte Families



Sources: AHNM Inquisición 1647 exp. 13, fols. 246-8.

AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8.

José T. Medina, *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima (1569-1820)*

(Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico J.T. Medina, 1956), vol. 2: 136-37, 56.

J.C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626-1650* (New

Brunswick: Rutgers U.P., 1983), p. 130 and Appendix A-6

The Spanish spelling of the proper names of Portuguese individuals has

been used in this family tree.

\* Arrested by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Évora, Portugal

o Arrested by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Lisbon, Portugal

+ Arrested by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Lima, Peru (1635-8)

^ Arrested by the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Cartagena de Indias (1641)



## GLOSSARY OF SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE TERMS

For the types of textiles and beads see Appendices A and B.

Acemita	Small sweet bran cakes or biscuits
Adorote	Basket, pannier
Aduanilla	Customs tax
Aguardiente/aguardente (Port.)	Alcoholic spirit
Alambre	Brass or copper rods
Alcabala	Sales tax
Alcalde/alcaide (Port.)	Magistrate
Almojarifazgo	Valued added tax
Alqueire	Unit of dry measure, 13.8 dry litres
Arepa	Maize bread or roll
Armada	Armed fleet
Arroba	Weight equivalent to 25 pounds or 11.5 kilograms
Asentista	Person with whom an <i>asiento</i> was made
Asiento	Contract, in this case with an individual or company for the introduction of slaves
Auyama	A type of squash
Avença (Port.)	Agreement for the export of slaves between a Portuguese revenue collector in West Africa and a slave trader
Bacalao/bacalhau (Port.)	Cod fish
Barbacoa	Raised wooden platform, on which slaves sometimes slept
Beata	A nun who lived and worked outside a convent
Bledo	Amaranth
Bicho	Inflammation of the rectum that resulted in anal collapse and the onset of gangrene
Bizcocho/biscoito (Port.)	Biscuit
Bolo	Ball
Botica	Pharmacy
Boticario	Pharmacist, apothecary
Botija	Bottle
Bozal	Unseasoned slave
Bruja	Witch
Bubas	Swelling, bubo, syphilis
Caballería	Area measurement equivalent to about 38 hectares or about 95 acres
Cabildo	Town council
Calabaza	Squash
Cámaras	Dysentery
Carnero	Ram, sheep
Carnicero	Butcher
Carreira (Port.)	Round voyage between Portugal and her colonies
Casabe	Bread made from manioc flour
Chácara	Smallholding or farm
Chacarero	Owner of a smallholding or farm

Chacra	Smallholding or farm
Cimarrones	Runaway slaves; a tax imposed to pay for the cost of searching and punishing runaway slaves.
Cirujano latino	Surgeon examined in Latin
Cirujano romancista	Surgeon examined in Spanish
Compuesto	Compound medicine
Condestable	Sergeant of artillery
Contador	Treasurer
Contramaestre	Shipmaster's assistant
Contratador (Port.)	Licence to acquire slaves in a specified region of West Africa
Converso	New Christian or crypto-Jew
Corja	A measure of 20 units, often used for pieces of cloth
Correntes (Port.)	Long chains used for securing slaves
Costal	Sack, bag
Côvado	A measure of length, 68 centimetres
Cruzado	Portuguese currency, 400 réis
Curandero	Popular healer
Daño	Discount for defects
Depositario general	Receiver of slaves and goods placed on deposit
Depósito	Warehouse or place of deposit
Dispensero	Steward or boatswain
Ducado	Ducat, equivalent to 375 maravedís
Emplasto	Plaster, poultice
Empleo	A business venture
Entrada	Entrance, often related to a tax
Encomienda	An allocation of Indians to an individual who was entitled to exact tribute and labour from them in return for Christian instruction.
Escribano	Notary, scribe
Espingarda	Gun, musket
Estancia	Ranch for raising livestock
Fanega	Measure of capacity, about 1.3 bushels
Farinha (Port.)	Flour, often used to refer to manioc flour. Also referred to as <i>farinha da guerra</i>
Flota	Merchant fleet
Funde	Fonio, an African cereal
Garúa	Fog, drizzle, sea mist
Grumete	Cabin boy.
Guardián	Steward or boatswain's helper.
Hato	Ranch
Hechicero/a	Witch
Hermandad	Brotherhood, fraternity
Hierbatero/a	Herbalist
Huerta	Vegetable or fruit garden
Ingenio	Sugar mill
Jagüeyes	A well. A local name used in Cartagena.
Jarabe	Syrup
Lamedor	Thick medicinal syrup that was licked.
Lançado (Port.)	Individuals who had 'thrown' themselves into African society.
Licenciado	Title given to a person with a bachelor's degree or licenciate.
Limpieza de sangre	Purity of blood

Llaga	Sore, ulcer
Maço (Port.)	A mass. A measure used for beads that was divided into 12 branches or <i>ramais</i> .
Maestre	Shipmaster
Mal de Loanda	Scurvy
Mandioca (Port.)	Manioc
Manteca	Lard, animal fat
Marinero	Sailor
Mayordomo	Overseer, manager
Miel de caña	Sugarcane syrup
Milho (Port.)	Cereal, generally millet or sorghum
Moio (Port.)	Unit of dry measure equivalent to 60 <i>alqueires</i>
Oidor	Judge
Orchil	Purple dye
Oveja de la tierra	Llama
Padrón	Detailed census
Palmeo	Process for measuring and assessing slaves for the payment of taxes
Palmo	Quarter of a vara
Pan amasado	Leavened bread
Pano	Cloth
Pão (Port.)	Bread, or when used to refer to wax, a block of wax
Pasmo	Spasms or convulsions
Patache	Schooner, sloop
Peruleira (Port.)	Container for liquids
Peso ensayado	Imaginary currency used for business purposes. Equivalent to 450 maravedis.
Petaca	Leather-covered chest or case
Pieza de Indias/peça da Índia	Equivalent to a prime male slave
Piloto	Ship's pilot
Pipa	Cask, approximately 500 litres capacity
Plata ensayada	Assayed silver
Pombeiro (Port.)	Petty trader in the interior (Angola).
Procurador	Representative, solicitor, attorney
Protomedicato, Tribunal del	Medical board, entrusted with examining and licensing medical practitioners.
Protomédico	Medical examiner, member of the protomedicato
Quintal	100 pounds, equivalent to 4 arrobas
Ramal	Branch of beads divided into 10 strings
Regidor	Councillor
Registro	Registration
Rendeiro (Port.)	Tax collector
Sarna	Skin ailment, scabies
Tangomao (Port.)	Portuguese or Cape Verdean outcast who settled on the Upper Guinea Coast and became a trade
Tinta (Port.)	Indigo in the form of sticks or pieces
Torta	Tart, flan or pie
Tortilla	Unleavened maize bread, tortilla
Trapiche	Sugar mill
Tribunal del protomedicato	Medical board
Vara	About 33 inches or 84 centimetres
Vecino	Citizen
Visita	Inspection



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Archival Sources*

The key sources for this study were documents contained in the Inquisition (Santo Oficio) section of the *Archivo General de la Nación*, in Lima, Peru. Manuel Bautista Pérez and a number of his business associates were brought before the Inquisition on charges of Judaizing in 1635 and during the process their private business papers and personal letters were seized. The papers date from 1614 and among them were four journals for 1628, 1630, 1633 and 1634 that detail all the expenditure involved in slave trading expeditions between Cartagena and Peru initiated in those years. They also include exceptional accounts in Portuguese of two slave trading ventures in Upper Guinea between 1614 and 1619.

The papers to be found in the AGN in Lima are contained in six large uncatalogued bundles. Some documents in these *legajos* were used by Frederick Bowser in his magisterial study, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru 1524–1650*, but since its publication in 1974 the bundles have been reclassified. The Concurso/Pérez *legajos* to which Bowser refers are now found under Santo Oficio (SO) Contencioso (CO) and their current equivalences are:

Concurso/Pérez 34 now AGNL SO CO Ca 2 doc 8  
Concurso/Pérez 35 now AGNL SO CO Ca 18 doc 197  
Concurso/Pérez 36 now AGNL SO CO Ca 20 doc 201  
Concurso/Pérez 37 now AGNL SO CO Ca 25 doc 251  
Concurso/Pérez 38 now AGNL SO CO Ca 40 doc 383  
Concurso/Pérez 39 now AGNL SO CO Ca 57 doc 431

Some of the papers belonging to Sebastián Duarte became detached during the War of the Pacific and are now found in volumes 77–79 of the section Vicuña Mackenna in the Archivo Nacional Histórico, in Santiago, Chile. They contain the journals corresponding to 1626 and 1629. These papers have been briefly studied by Rolando Mellafe, *La introducción de la esclavitud negra en Chile* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1959), 169–181.

Colonial research benefits from both colonial and local perspectives so archival research was conducted in a number of archives in Spain and Spanish America. The most important archive in Spain was the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. This contains information on the operation of the slave trade, including contracts with *asentistas*, which are to be found in the section Indiferente General, and in the registration of slave trading vessels contained in Contratación *legajos* 2878 to 2896. As Enriqueta Vila Vilar has indicated, unfortunately records for the arrival of slave ships in Cartagena do not appear to have survived. On the other hand a high level inquiry in 1620 into the contraband trade in slaves in Cartagena generated a large volume of documentation, contained in Contaduría 632A, which throws light on the operation of the slave trade in general. Other contextual materials providing information on the slave trade, hospitals, food production and prices were found in the sections Audiencia of Santa Fe, Panama, and Lima sections. The AGI digitalisation project covers some documents contained in Audiencias of Santa Fe and Panama sections, but not those for the Audiencia of Lima. Some of the digitalised documents can be read remotely through the ‘Archivos españoles en red’ website at: [http://aer.mcu.es/sgae/index\\_acr.jsp](http://aer.mcu.es/sgae/index_acr.jsp).



The other major archive consulted in Spain was the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. This contains the records of the Tribunal of the Inquisition that was established in Cartagena in 1610. These were used primarily as sources for popular healing practices in Cartagena in the early seventeenth century. The documents were consulted in Madrid, but microfilm copies are held in the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (ICANH) in Bogotá.

In Latin America the sources used were diverse. In Colombia, the Archivo Histórico de Cartagena only contains documents dating from the nineteenth century. However, the well catalogued Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá houses a diverse range of materials with relevance to the slave trade and slavery, including redhibition cases relating to the Cartagena region in the section Negros y Esclavos de Bolívar, while information relating to medical practice is contained in the sections, Médicos y Abogados and Hospitales. Documents from the section Negros y Esclavos relating to slavery have been digitalised through collaboration between the AGN, York University, Canada, UNESCO and a number of other institutions and are available at: <http://negrosyesclavos2.archivogeneral.gov.co:8080/>.

Few colonial documents remain in Panama so that contextual information was obtained from the AGI in Seville. However, in Lima a variety of archives were consulted. Apart from the Inquisition records discussed above, the section Real Hacienda in the AGN yielded information on trade and taxes in general and the section Causas Civiles included legal cases concerning African slaves. The notarial records contained in the section Protocolos were also consulted to check the validity of Manuel Bautista Pérez's records of slave sales in Lima. A significant number of redhibition cases, which shed light on the ailments suffered by slaves and the treatments used to cure them were also found in the Causas de Negros section of the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima. Extremely important for understanding the nature of medical practice in Lima were records of the hospitals of Santa Ana and San Andrés dating from the sixteenth century contained in the Archivo de la Beneficencia Pública and to a lesser extent in the Archivo Histórico Riva-Agüero.

At the outset of this project it was not envisaged that the study would extend to the slave trade in Africa. However, on uncovering hitherto unknown Portuguese accounts referring to the trade in slaves on the Upper Guinea Coast in the AGN in Lima, it was decided to include the region in this study. However, no archival research was undertaken in Portugal or Africa. Rather reliance was placed on the two major series of published documents from archives in Lisbon referring to Central Africa (1st Series) and Upper Guinea (2nd Series) that were published by António Brásio under the title *Monumenta missionaria africana*. Despite the title, the documents are wide-ranging in their subject matter.

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