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4.5. Slave Labour

This essay reviews the literature on the slave-labour dimension of slavery since 1500. I seek to emphasize slavery as labour history, in an effort to make it directly comparable to wage labour and other dimensions of labour history—rather than consider the full range of the historiography of slavery. Inevitably, however, some broader consideration of slavery as a social institution and historical process will enter the discussion. That is, the literature on the labour history of slavery is encompassed within a larger and more general literature that mixes the labours of the enslaved with studies of the institutional structures of slavery, the recruitment of slaves, the social and cultural history of slaves, and the individual and collective campaigns for emancipation. To clarify the literature on the labour history of slavery in the overall context of slavery studies, this essay begins with an introductory characterization of the literature on slavery and continues with sections discussing the debates over slave labour within four periods of historical writing.

The topics and debates in historical writing on slavery and slave labour differed substantially from period to period, as a result of changes in the global regime of slavery and also in response to more general shifts in the socio-economic order. In each temporal section I begin with comments on the political economy of slavery and labour, then discuss specific contributions and debates in the literature published in that period. Since slavery is based on social conflict and oppression, the interpretation of slavery in each period highlighted differences between those who saw slavery as a natural, minimal, or negligible element of the social order to those who saw slavery as a focus of oppression, exploitation, and social transformation. (1) In the era of imperial slavery, from 1500 to 1800, enslavement expanded steadily and came to be reformulated in increasingly racial terms, but was rarely challenged at the level of literate society. In this era, debates focused especially on who was subject to enslavement; only at the end of this period did objections to slavery itself become prominent. (2) In the era of emancipation within colonialism, from 1800 up to 1950, debates and struggles over slavery became central social issues. Enslavement expanded and spread to new regions, but a great movement of emancipation challenged the institution of slavery and brought its downfall progressively in Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa. In this era, the proponents of slavery argued for its profitability and indeed for its social necessity but also for the inferior character and value of those enslaved, while opponents of slavery claimed it to be immoral; in latter parts of this period, voices from enslaved communities began to be heard. (3) In the post-colonial era, from 1950 to 1990, powerful processes of decolonization and anti-racism brought an outpouring of studies on past slavery. In this period, dominated by rejection and critique of the role of slavery in individual societies, some researchers documented slavery and condemned its effects on slaves and society generally; others argued that slavery, while lamentable, had few seriously negative

effects. (4) In the years after 1990, slave labour came to be studied in global context, as the increasingly global conceptualization of history brought reinterpretations of slavery as a significant factor in global social transformation. After 1990, some researchers treated slavery as a global system of forced labour, while others preferred to treat slavery region by region; in this period, slave labour began to be integrated into labour history more broadly.

Where does the study of slave labour fit into the larger discourse on labour history? Certainly slave labour must fit as an important dimension of labour in general, but three obstacles tend to restrict the ease of integrating slave labour with wage labour and all the other forms of labour. The three obstacles are the neglect of slavery in studies of labour history, the neglect of labour in the literature on slavery, and the isolated, national frameworks of analysis in both labour history and slavery studies. Thus, the early studies of labour history in the nineteenth century narrated and celebrated the industrial proletariat and its organizations, leaving slavery in the margin except as a metaphorical alternative to wage labour. Only gradually did slave labour enter into the purview of labour history.¹ Scholars still need to clarify the significance of the apparent fact that the number of labourers held in slavery appears to have exceeded the number of wage labourers until slavery itself contracted in the later nineteenth century.² Second, within the extensive though widely scattered literature on the history of slavery, labour history forms a relatively small part of the totality. That is, the literature on slavery focuses not so much on the labour of the enslaved as on the institutions and practices of slave control, the social conditions of slave life, the recruitment of slave labour through slave trade, and the escapes and rebellions of the enslaved. While the literature on wage rates for free labour is huge, the equivalent literature on slave prices (and on the wage earnings or rental of slaves) is small by comparison. Occupational structures are described in far greater detail for wage labour than for slave labour. In these ways, the literature on slavery is deficient in its coverage of key issues in labour history. In other ways, the literature on slavery documents important questions in labour history. For instance, workplace, home, and family are considered at once within slavery, while workplace is commonly separated from home and family in studies of wage workers. Thirdly, the narrow, national perspective of both labour history and slavery studies minimized the possibility of tracing the interplay of slave and free labour in the productive system as a whole. Isolated European studies of industrialization, paralleled by isolated studies on Caribbean plantations, led to neglect of the flows of labour, raw materials, finished goods, and capital from place to place. The “methodological nationalism” of both la-

1 Marcel van der Linden, *Workers of the World. Essays Toward a Global Labour History* (Leiden and Boston, 2008).

2 To my knowledge, there has been no serious effort to compare the relative size of slave-labour and wage-labour work forces at national, continental, or global levels. I assume that the slave-labour work force, especially as it expanded from the 16th into the 19th centuries, greatly exceeded the wage-labour workforce until late in the nineteenth century.

bour history and slavery studies slowed the incorporation of slave labour into the historiography of labour.

For each chronological section of the chapter, a brief opening narrative describes the contemporary social conditions in which the literature on slavery and slave labour was produced. Then follows the literature published in that period, largely in chronological order, but also with regard to several main topics. First of these is the Interpretive approach of works on slavery—whether they express opposition to or support for slavery; whether they see slavery as a significant or marginal factor in economic and social history. Second is the work and labour conditions of people in slave status—the principal objective of this chapter (but as will be seen, this dimension of the literature only becomes prominent in the twentieth century). Third is the other aspects of the social history of slavery, including the recruitment and socialization of slaves, family and community life, institutional structures of slavery, and the individual and collective campaigns for emancipation.

The imperial and colonial era, 1500 to 1800

A great shift in global relations took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the European-led expansion in trans-oceanic voyaging: commercial relations and migration became truly global. Within the global economy, Europeans led in spreading enslavement from its Eurasian core to all the shores of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, accumulating wealth and power as slavery encroached on island and mainland terrains. Some slaves escaped to upward mobility, joining peasant or commodity exchange sectors; more fell under expanding techniques of oppression, and some were forced into industrial-scale production.

Of the debates on enslavement that arose with the European expansion of colonization, the best known is that over the status of Amerindians within the Spanish empire. In a formal debate at Valladolid in Spain, organized by King Charles V in 1550–1551, Bartolomé de las Casas argued that Amerindians were fully capable of reason, were qualified to become full Christians, and should not be enslaved. Juan Gines de Sepúlveda argued that Amerindians fit Aristotle's category of barbarians and were natural slaves.³ In the succeeding years, Amerindians were rarely enslaved; they could be Christians but could not enter the priesthood. Nevertheless, Africans were enslaved throughout the Spanish empire, while both Amerindians and Africans were commonly enslaved in Portuguese Brazil.

When the West Indian system of plantation slavery became fully established in the eighteenth century, supporters and opponents of slavery made their respective

³ Las Casas (1484–1566) wrote his *Historia de las Indias* in the years after the debate; it was published posthumously in 1575. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias. Selections* (New York, 2012); Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Tratado sobre las Justas Causas de la Guerra contra los Indios* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1941).

cases. In France, l'abbé Raynal led in preparation of a 4-volume *Philosophical and Political History of the Two Indies* (1770) that was sharply critical of the colonial order and the exploitation of slaves. Four years later, the Jamaican planter Edward Long published a 3-volume *History of Jamaica* (1774) including great detail on slave life and strong support for the subordination of Africans in slave status; Moreau de Saint-Méry wrote a parallel interpretation and defense of slavery for French St. Domingue that appeared just before the Haitian revolution.⁴ The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, founded in London in 1787, immediately commissioned a medallion, produced by ceramicist Josiah Wedgwood, of a black man on bended knee with the caption, "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" This direct challenge to the institution of slavery was succeeded, in 1789, by an image inspired by Thomas Clarkson that showed the placement of some 400 captives in the slave ship *Brookes*. The Society chose to focus on slave trade rather than slavery: its persistent campaign led to British abolition of slave trade in 1807.⁵

Colonialism and emancipation, 1800 to 1950

The nineteenth century brought further industrialization of slavery, especially in Cuba, the United States, and Brazil. At the same time, slavery expanded in Africa and Asia, as new elites sought to build empires and nations, amassing great numbers of slaves. Where slavery was best established, a powerful movement for emancipation arose: in the early stages, fuelled by the self-liberatory efforts of the slaves and by the plan to turn ex-slaves into an industrial wage-labour force. In Africa and Asia at a later stage, the emancipation campaign was directed from Europe against the new elites, to limit their control of labour. Under colonialism, slave labourers worked under two sets of masters: new-elite rulers and colonial overlords. Communities of freed workers carried out impressive campaigns of economic and cultural renewal on every continent, but had to contend with a new oppressive force, explicit racism and social segregation.

Debates over slavery and emancipation raged until Atlantic emancipation had largely succeeded. As the campaign for emancipation moved to Africa and Asia, the writings of David Livingstone, missionary and traveller, came to symbolize the persistence of enslavement in Africa.⁶ Near the end of the nineteenth century, one

4 L'Abbé Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *L'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 4 vols (Amsterdam, 1770); Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, 3 vols (London, 1774); Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description topographique et politique de la partie française de Saint-Domingue* (Philadelphia, 1789).

5 Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade* (London, 1788).

6 Thomas Fowell Buxton, *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy* (London, 1840); David Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa*, 2 vols. Edited by Horace Waller (London, 1974).

of the first academic studies of slavery appeared, by W. E. B Du Bois on the suppression of slave trade to the United States.⁷ Social scientists, often self-trained, began at the same time to write about slavery in region after region. A remarkable such volume was Herman J. Nieboer's *Slavery as an Industrial System* (1900), which described institutions of slavery and their economic role, especially in societies of the Dutch East Indies—though, surprisingly, it made no reference to the history and practice of enslavement by Dutch owners. In Cuba, shortly after its independence from Spain (though under United States hegemony), Fernando Ortiz Fernández wrote the first two of what would be a substantial list of works on black people, slavery, and plantation life in Cuba.⁸ In the United States, where Civil War and Reconstruction had been followed by a period of intimidating racism under Jim Crow laws, Ulrich B. Phillips wrote histories of American antebellum slavery (after the abolition of overseas slave trade) that emphasized the paternalism of the owners.⁹

In the interwar years, critical studies of slavery and slave trade appeared in growing numbers. Lowell Ragatz, in the United States, published several volumes on history of the British West Indies, mostly notably on the downfall of the planter class. Gaston Martin's study of the slave trade of Nantes initiated what became a substantial number of studies of European slave-trade ports.¹⁰ Two larger-scale studies brought forth great quantities of documentation on slave trade and enslavement in the United States. Elizabeth Donnan edited four volumes of documents on slave trade, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington; the Federal Writers' Project, an institution of the Roosevelt-era New Deal, conducted and published hundreds of interviews in the 1930s with ex-slaves in which they recalled slavery as they had known it seventy years earlier.¹¹ Large-scale studies by individual authors included Gilberto Freyre's study of plantations and slave life in Brazil and W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*, an analysis of the agency of African Americans in the era of the American Civil War and especially of the Reconstruction Era, 1865–1877. In the same period, as the world suffered from a serious economic depression, the Trinida-

7 W.E.B Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (New York, 1896).

8 Fernando Ortiz Fernández, *Hampa afro-cubana. Los negros brujos* (Madrid, 1906); *Hampa afro-cubana. Los negros esclavos* (Havana, 1916).

9 U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918); and Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929).

10 Lowell J. Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763–1833* (New York, 1928); Gaston Martin, *Nantes au XVIIIe siècle. L'ère des négriers (1717–1774)* (Paris, 1931).

11 Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols (Washington, DC, 1930–1935); Federal Writers' Project, *Slave Narratives. A Folk History of Slavery in the United States, from Interviews with Former Slaves*, 17 vols in 33 parts (Washington, DC, 1936–1938).

dian scholar C. L. R. James published his study of slave rebellion, the overthrow of slavery, and the establishment of an independent state.¹²

New debates on slave society developed as the literature became more sophisticated. E. Franklin Frazier, a leading sociologist, argued that the family and cultural patterns of African Americans in the American South arose entirely from the experience of plantation slavery. In contrast, anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits, whose research extended to West Africa and the Caribbean, argued that African American families maintained many cultural survivals from Africa, even if they had been attenuated by the influence of European-based society. In a work published during World War II, Eric Williams advanced the historical theses that slavery had provided profits essential to the expansion of British industrial production and that the expansion of wage labour in industry encouraged British industrialists to press for the abolition of slavery. Frank Tannenbaum, concisely comparing slavery throughout the Americas, concluded that slavery was most severe in the United States, as indicated especially by the rate of manumission.¹³ Each of these theses was to be debated for years.

Critical views in the post-colonial era, 1950–1990

Defeat of the race-based campaigns of the Axis powers in World War II brought a general reaction against racial categorization that fuelled decolonization in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, as well as the parallel Civil Rights movement in the United States. Most Asian countries had gained independence by 1950 (Malaya and Vietnam were exceptions). Independence for sub-Saharan Africa began with Sudan in 1955 and Ghana in 1957. Decolonization brought forceful critique of the colonial era, focusing on its heritage of slavery and slave labour. For descendants of slaves under racially white direct hegemony, this was a campaign of democratization. In the new nations, decolonization opened contending social and ideological social movements for democratization by descendants of slaves and peasants, but also efforts by the surviving elites from the nineteenth century to rebound and seek hierarchical control.

The atmosphere of decolonization fuelled the preparation of numerous works on slavery and slave trade. In an extensive study, Charles Verlinden analysed medieval slavery, with particular concentration on the steady extension of slave-produced

¹² Du Bois's interpretation included treating the response of black communities during the Civil War as a "general strike". Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro, 1933); Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction* (New York, 1935); C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins. Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York, 1963).

¹³ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago, 1939); Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York, 1941); Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1944); Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen. The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1946).

sugar on islands of the Mediterranean from Cyprus in the east to the Balearic islands in the west, and to the Atlantic islands and the coast of Morocco. M. I. Finley, a distinguished scholar on the classical Mediterranean, turned to study of ancient slavery, publishing the first of several books in 1960.¹⁴ Mauricio Goulart published a book on African slavery in Brazil and, in the first book on slave trade for a North American audience since that of Du Bois, Daniel Mannix and Malcolm Cowley published *Black Cargoes* in 1962, gaining wide attention in a country where a social movement for civil rights had become powerful.¹⁵ As this movement gained strength, more and more studies of U.S. slavery appeared. Kenneth Stampp's study of "the peculiar institution" challenged the justification of slavery by U. B. Phillips; Stanley Elkins drew on imagery from World War II and concentration camps to describe the character and impact of enslavement; and John Blassingame emphasized the perspective from within the slave community.¹⁶

The expanding fields of labour history and social history soon brought echoes in the study of slavery. Edward P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) – radical working-class history, drawing on Marxism, post-war concern for workers' welfare, and drawing attention to the agency of common people in construction of their own future – inspired a generation of historians to apply this vision of the past. Thompson's eclectic analysis was soon followed by more formal analysis of modes of production, which included attention to slavery. Through both of these approaches to work, parallels in the experience of slavery throughout the Atlantic became increasingly apparent. In cautious response, other scholars sought to explore slavery yet minimize its significance as a factor in modern history. In a mix of outlooks, David Brion Davis reached from North America across the Atlantic to consider slavery as an intellectual problem in Western culture, tracing the evolution of abolitionist thought.¹⁷

A recurring dimension of the study of slavery was that scholars who took up the study of slavery with an ideological predisposition to minimizing its significance nevertheless launched empirical studies that greatly expanded the understanding of slavery's significance. Philip Curtin, a historian of Africa, drew on secondary literature and demographic analysis to propose in 1969 a new total—roughly 10 million persons—for the number transported across the Atlantic in slavery.¹⁸ Curtin's figure

¹⁴ Charles Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, 2 vols (Bruges, 1955); M.I. Finley, *Slavery in Classical Antiquity. Views and Controversies* (Cambridge, 1960).

¹⁵ Mauricio Goulart, *Escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1950); Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley, *Black Cargoes. A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518–1862* (New York, 1962).

¹⁶ Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution. Slavery in the Ante-bellum South* (New York, 1956); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, 1968); John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community. Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1972).

¹⁷ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, NY, 1966); Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, NY, 1975); and other works.

¹⁸ Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, WI, 1969).

was lower than some previous speculations, and it has since been increased by further research. In one sense, this result served to diminish claims of imperial exploitation of Africans, and it brought critical opposition from some scholars. In another sense, it opened the door to a generation of detailed archival research and analysis, with the result that the various national literatures were brought into contact; more slowly, research on Africa and the Americas were brought into contact. John Fage responded immediately to Curtin's estimates by using them to project the effects of slave trade on the population of West Africa, concluding that the loss of slaves may have done "no more than cream-off surplus population" of Africa.¹⁹ Fage's argument established a minimalist orthodoxy that remained little challenged for some time.

Economic theorization, developing on various topics, now entered the analysis of slavery, mostly with minimalist approach, suggesting that the economy was controlled from the top and that the lower social strata were invisible and without agency. Eugene Genovese expanded Marxian analysis into the history of U.S. slavery with his 1967 *Political Economy of Slavery*. Genovese's later works continued his class analysis of slavery, but they also emphasized paternalism in the slave regime in a way that reflected the earlier work of U.B. Phillips.²⁰ Evsey Domar, proposed a 1970 model explaining the presence and absence of slavery in terms of the relative scarcity of land and labour.²¹ In a 1974 follow-up, Henry Gemery and Jan Hogendorn drew on Hla Myint's vent-for-surplus model for agricultural exports to propose a vent-for-surplus model for export of African population. This era of minimization of the significance of slavery and slave trade included reconsideration of the theses of Eric Williams' theses. Stanley Engerman argued that the profits of British West Indian slavery were too small to have financed the expansion of the British textile industry.²² The greatest debate over slavery came with the publication of *Time on the Cross*, an eco-

19 John D. Fage, "The Effect of the Export Slave Trade on African Populations", in: R. P. Moss and R.J.A. Rathbone (eds), *The Population Factor in African Studies* (London, 1975), p. 20.

20 Eugene Genovese, *Political Economy of Slavery* (New York, 1965); Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll. The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974). Genovese also edited a volume of essays by U. B. Phillips: Genovese (ed.), *The Slave Economy of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1968). Ultimately Genovese renounced his radical views and became an ideological conservative.

21 Domar drew on the Russian historian and analyst of serfdom, Vassilii Kliuchevsky, and paralleled the analysis of Nieboer. Evsey Domar, "The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis" *Economic History Review*, 30, 1 (March 1970), pp. 18–32; Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, "The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Tentative Economic Model" *Journal of African History*, 15 (1974), pp. 223–246.

22 Stanley L. Engerman, "The Slave Trade and British Capital Formation in the Eighteenth Century: A Comment on the Williams Thesis", *Business History Review*, 46, 4 (Winter 1972), pp. 430–443. This discussion went on for more than another decade, including a critical response to Engerman by Ronald Bailey and a co-edited volume by Barbara Solow and Stanley Engerman in which the criticism of Williams was greatly muted. Ronald W. Bailey, "Africa, the Slave Trade, and the Rise of Industrial Capitalism in Europe and the United States: A Historiographical Review", *American History: A Bibliographical Review*, 2 (1986), pp. 1–91; Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman (eds), *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery. The Legacy of Eric Williams* (Cambridge, 1987).

nomic-historical analysis of slavery in the American South that emphasized both the profitability and the viability of slavery as a system of production, and also emphasized how the enslaved were able to sustain themselves as a community and grow in population. Among the many critical responses, the best known is that of Herbert G. Gutman, whose *Slavery and the Numbers Game* focused with particular emphasis on estimates of the number of beatings received by slaves.²³

Research on slavery and slave trade outside the United States continued, largely along a separate track—it was still to be some time before the various segments of the literature on slavery became well connected. Robert Conrad wrote another sort of narrative on anti-slavery, this one on the campaign against Brazilian slavery up to 1888: this work made clear the parallel of two great slave migrations: the movement of U.S. slaves from tobacco along the Atlantic to cotton in the Deep South, and the movement of Brazilian slaves from sugar in the Northeast to coffee in São Paulo. Walter Rodney, a Guyanese historian of Africa trained in Britain, published his critical narrative, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, in 1972, expanding on earlier work arguing that Portuguese enslavement had brought decay to the society of Upper Guinea.²⁴ In an effective use of official documents, B. W. Higman wrote two books on slave population and economy in the British West Indies. Higman relied on the detailed annual reports on the number and characteristics of slaves, 1808–1834, intended to ensure that no additional people were brought in slavery to British Caribbean colonies.²⁵

Anthropological studies of Africa led in contending directions. Claude Meillassoux's edited volume on led Francophone West Africa analysed slavery in terms of political economy and the conflicts among social strata. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff led a collection which, relying especially on U.S.-based scholars and addressing many regions of Africa, gave a somewhat romanticized image of African slavery by de-emphasizing hierarchy but underscoring the varieties, specificities, and protections within African slavery.²⁶ Part of the difference in approach between these volumes was in the period targeted. Chapters in the Meillassoux volume focused on the precolonial era in which a brutal slave trade was still active; chapters in the Miers and Kopytoff drew mostly on evidence from early colonial years (generally after 1890)—in these cases, raiding and other forms of enslavement were no longer permit-

²³ Fogel won the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences, especially for this work, in 1993. Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross. The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, with supplementary volume (Boston, 1974); Herbert G. Gutman, *Slavery and the Numbers Game. A Critique of Time on the Cross* (Urbana, IL, 1975).

²⁴ Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery* (Berkeley, CA, 1972), pp. 47–69; Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1972).

²⁵ B. W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1834* (Cambridge, 1976); Higman, *Slave Population in the British West Indies, 1807–1834* (Baltimore, 1984).

²⁶ Claude Meillassoux, ed., *Esclavage en Afrique précoloniale* (Paris: F. Maspéro, 1975); Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, (eds), *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

ted, and the maintenance of slavery required masters to treat slaves, especially women and children, so as to preserve their lives since they could not easily be replaced.

By the late 1970s, the public debate on slavery, civil rights, and decolonization had died down considerably, but the institutional basis for studies of slavery had expanded considerably: university appointments in history of Africa and the Caribbean expanded in the Americas, Europe, and Africa; university programs in Black Studies and Ethnic Studies expanded, especially in North America. The parallels among area-studies disciplines clarified, creating links among African, Latin American, and Asian studies. In this era, Ann Pescatello wrote a substantial essay on Africans in Portuguese India; though the research agenda she proposed in that essay was pursued only after a substantial delay. James Warren launched study of nineteenth-century slavery in the islands of the Indonesian and Philippine archipelagos; James Watson edited a 1980 book that allowed comparison of systems of slavery in Asia and Africa.²⁷ On African slavery, Frederick Cooper analysed plantation slavery on the east coast of Africa, where nineteenth-century production focused on cloves and grains. Joseph Inikori's study of firearms in West Africa documented the positive correlation between the import of firearms and the export of captives.²⁸ Substantial studies of African slave prices appeared in the 1970s, though studies of African slave prices declined in quantity thereafter.²⁹

From the 1980s, the pace of publication on the history of slavery slowed somewhat, while the studies that appeared offered summations and new perspectives. Patrick Manning's 1981 model of slavery showed relationships among population sizes and sex ratios in a demographic system linking Africa and overseas regions: mostly males in the Americas, mostly females in Africa and Asia, and in each case shifts in marital relations and sexual division of labour. Christian limits on cross-racial marriage meant that distinct black populations persisted in the Americas, while Islamic patterns of intermarriage led to steady incorporation of slaves into host pop-

27 Ann M. Pescatello, "The African Presence in Portuguese India", *Journal of Asian History* 11 (1977), pp. 26–48; Indrani Chatterjee and Richard M. Eaton, (eds), *Slavery and South Asian history* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006). James F. Warren, "Slave Markets and Exchange in the Malay World: The Sulu Sultanate, 1770–1878", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (1977), pp. 162–175. James L. Watson, ed., *Asian and African Systems of Slavery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

28 Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East African Coast* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Joseph Inikori, "The Import of Firearms into West Africa, 1750–1897: A Quantitative Analysis", *Journal of African History* 18 (1977), pp. 339–368.

29 Richard Bean, *The British Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1650–1775* (New York: Arno Press, 1975); Joseph C. Miller, "Slave Prices in the Portuguese Southern Atlantic", in: Paul E. Lovejoy (ed.), *Africans in Bondage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), pp. 43–77. Other studies of slave prices were published by David Tambo, Emmanuel Terray, Patrick Manning, Robin Law, and Paul Lovejoy.

ulations.³⁰ Richard Hellie documented slavery in Russia from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries; Michael Craton wrote on resistance of Caribbean slaves; Claire Robertson and Martin Klein edited an important collection on women and slavery in Africa; Jan Hogendorn and Marion Johnson conducted a global study documenting the role of cowrie shells in slave trade; and Sidney Mintz surveyed the expanding role of sugar in the Atlantic economy.³¹ Paul Lovejoy's 1983 survey of slavery in Africa advanced the thesis of slavery's progressive transformation of African societies.³² Major works of the late 1980s included Abdul Sheriff's study of slavery and society on the Swahili coast; David Eltis's analysis of the role of slave trade in New World economic growth; and Joseph C. Miller's study of the Angolan slave trade in Atlantic context.³³ Nuclear families could and did exist among Caribbean slaves, especially if African values survived and high-status male slaves had garden plots, but in the United States the sale and forced migration of slaves from the tobacco-growing Old South to the cotton-growing New South involved the breakup of many families.³⁴

Neoliberalism and global interpretation, since 1990

The late twentieth century brought three important shifts in academic and political outlook. First was the rise of neoliberalism, which used the ideology of free markets to attack regulation, used the monopoly power of great corporations to expand inequality in domestic and international relations, and expanded the influence and profitability of the financial sector. Second was the development of global social movements, calling for broad unity among workers and professionals, which had periodic significance in political affairs. Third was the expansion of global frameworks

30 Patrick Manning, "The Enslavement of Africans: A Demographic Model", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 15 (1981), pp. 499–526.

31 *Idem*; Manning, "The Formal Demography of a Global System", *Social Science History*, 14 (1990), pp. 225–279; Richard Hellie, *Slavery in Russia, 1450–1725* (Chicago, 1982); Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains. Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, NY, 1982); Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (eds), *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison, WI, 1983); Jan S. Hogendorn and Marion Johnson, *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge, 1986); and Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1986).

32 Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery. A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 1983).

33 Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge, 1985); Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices, and Ivory in Zanzibar* (London, 1987); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford, 1987); Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death. Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison, WI, 1989). See also the study of Thomas M. Ricks on the work of slaves in the Persian Gulf. Ricks, "Slaves and Slave Traders in the Persian Gulf, 18th and 19th Centuries: An Assessment", *Slavery and Abolition*, 9 (1988), pp. 60–70.

34 Marietta Morrissey, "Women's Work, Family Formation, and Reproduction among Caribbean Slaves", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 9 (1986), pp. 339–367; Michael Tadmán, *Speculators and Slaves. Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* (Madison, WI, 1989).

of interpretation, supplementing the previously dominant national and binational analyses with more complex understandings of history and current affairs. In this circumstance, both hegemonic and democratic influences sought to recast their visions in global terms. The history of slavery and the experience of slave labour remained significant in these contending interpretations. Perhaps in response to the neoliberal climate and its weakening of the conditions of labourers, but perhaps because of the maturation of studies in slavery, this period brought a substantial increase of attention to the labour of the enslaved.

From 1990, the literature on slavery, itself increasingly wide-ranging and interconnected, found its linkages reaffirmed by a broad shift in historiography toward interest in global patterns. Patrick Manning's *Slavery and African Life* presented an economic and demographic analysis of slavery throughout Africa, tracing the interpenetrating flows of slaves and other commodities to regions across the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and the Sahara—confirming that African populations declined because of losses to the slave trade and showing, for instance, that female captives came from coastal regions of Africa while males came from the interior.³⁵ Janet Ewald expanded the documentation of enslavement in the Nile Valley; W. G. Clarence-Smith edited a volume on Indian Ocean slavery; Gwendolyn Hall traced the rise of Louisiana's slave system through the eighteenth century; Stuart Schwartz analysed the role of black ex-slaves as peasants in Brazil; and John Monteiro published a volume on Amerindian enslavement in Brazil.³⁶ Paul Lovejoy and Jan Hogendorn traced the last decades of slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate, under British rule: among the distinctive contributions of this volume is the detail of its documentation of concubinage.³⁷ In contrast, a study of church records in a community in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century São Paulo province showed high levels of marriage among slaves, and a study of slave families based on the African-American slave narratives of the 1930s showed that over half of all respondents had two-parent families.³⁸

35 Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life. Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge, 1990).

36 Janet Ewald, *Soldiers, Traders, and Slaves. State Formation and Economic Transformation in the Greater Nile Valley, 1700–1885* (Madison, WI, 1990); W. G. Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1989); Gwendolyn M. Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana. The Development of Afro-Creole Culture* (Baton Rouge, 1992); Stuart Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels. Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Urbana, IL, 1992); John Manuel Monteiro, *Negros da terra. Índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1994).

37 Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery. The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897–1936* (Cambridge, 1993).

38 Alida Metcalf, "Searching for the Slave Family in Colonial Brazil: A Reconstruction from São Paulo", *Journal of Family History*, 16 (1991), pp. 283–297; Stephen Crawford, "The Slave Family: A View from the Slave Narratives", in: Claudia Goldin and Hugh Rockoff (eds), *Strategic Factors in Nineteenth Century American Economic History. A Volume to Honor Robert W. Fogel* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 331–350.

As an important dimension of global thinking, the concept of the African diaspora became widely adopted beginning in the 1990s. This framework emphasized the continuities and connections among people of African origin for the African continent and the diasporas to the north, east, and west. Attention to the diaspora framework encouraged greater attention to comparison of slave systems around the world, showed the evolution of slave communities, confirmed that there were always significant numbers of freed people in slave communities, and documented the complexity of the nineteenth century, in which waves of emancipation and enslavement collided.³⁹ Work of global scope on bibliography of slavery expanded in parallel. Bibliographic references on slavery and slave trade worldwide appeared in the 1970s, continuing through the end of the century; numerous collective volumes appeared with chapters on slavery and slave trade.⁴⁰ Encyclopedias of slavery began appearing in 1997.⁴¹

The development of the internet meant that data on slavery and slave trade could then be placed online. The largest collection was the compilation of data on the trans-Atlantic slave trade edited by David Eltis and colleagues. This dataset drew on research results submitted by many scholars, and has been updated at various times since it first appeared as a CD-ROM in 1999. Another major online resource of a different sort, directed by Jane Landers of Vanderbilt University, reproduces religious and secular documents on slaves and slave life in the Americas.⁴² The expansion of these resources enabled the integration of studies of slave trade into a developing global framework for migration studies.⁴³

Additional major contributions to the history of slavery, including the history of slave labour, have continued to appear in the twenty-first century. Sylviane Diouf's collection on anti-slavery campaigns within African societies provided an important

39 Joseph E. Harris (ed.), *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (Washington, DC, 1980); Michael Gomez, *Reversing Sail. A History of the African Diaspora* (Cambridge, 2005); Patrick Manning, *The African Diaspora. A History through Culture* (New York, 2009).

40 The most recent bibliography, which cites earlier bibliographies, is Joseph C. Miller (ed.), *Slavery and Slaving in World History. A Bibliography* (Armonk, NY, 1999). For a listing of most collective works on slavery up to 1996, see Patrick Manning, *Slavery. Globalization of Forced Labour* (Aldershot, UK, 1996), pp. xxx–xxxiv.

41 See, for instance, Junius P. Rodriguez (ed.), *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA, 1997); and Paul Finkelman and Joseph C. Miller (eds), *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery* (New York, 1999).

42 *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (Emory University, 2013), <http://slavevoyages.org>; *Ecclesiastical and Secular Sources for Slave Societies* (Vanderbilt University Department of History, 2017), <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/essss/>. See also the work of Henry Lovejoy in *The Liberated Africans Project*, <http://www.liberatedafricans.org>.

43 Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (London, 2004); Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen and Patrick Manning (eds), *Migration History in World History. Multidisciplinary Approaches* (Leiden and Boston, 2010); Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (eds), *Globalising Migration History. The Eurasian Experience (16th–21st Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston, 2014).

corrective to an absence in the literature.⁴⁴ Luiz Felipe Alencastro's early-colonial analysis showed the centrality of Angola and slave trade in every dimension of colonial Brazilian history. Drawing on Spanish state and church archives, Alejandro de la Fuente's study of sixteenth-century Havana shows the interplay of slave and free in creating a port and hinterland that became central to Atlantic commerce, while David M. Stark documented the work of Africans on ranch work in Puerto Rico.⁴⁵ James Sweet's study of Afro-Brazilian culture confirmed the value of Inquisition documents in the social history of slavery. For nineteenth-century Brazil, a major collective work shows the interplay of labour systems, free and slave. For Brazil at the same time, additional recent studies show the precarious labour relations of slaves and the manumitted, as contracts could guarantee their work but also extend their term of enslavement.⁴⁶ For coffee porters in early twentieth-century Rio, in contrast, their background as enslaved porters provided the basis for a successful trade union.⁴⁷ On North American slavery, which continued almost as long as that of Brazil, Gavin Wright's review of the literature privileges the issue of economic growth, effectively summarizing the continuing (if still somewhat isolated) work in that field.⁴⁸

The assembly of new research results is clarifying larger historic patterns in enslavement. Thus, Chouki El Hamel's analysis of Moulay Isma'il's late-seventeenth-century enslavement of black Moroccans, to build his army, fit precisely with imposition of the *Code noir* by Louis XIV of France, in that racialization of slavery took place simultaneously on both sides of the continental and religious divides.

This tidal shift in enslavement can be fit into a longer-term narrative of alternations in upward mobility of subaltern blacks, followed by periods of expanded re-

⁴⁴ Sylviane A. Diouf (ed.), *Fighting the Slave Trade: West African Strategies* (Athens, OH and Oxford, 2003).

⁴⁵ Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos viventes. Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul* (São Paulo, 2000); Alejandro de la Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2008); David M. Stark, *Slave Families and the Hato Economy in Puerto Rico* (Gainesville, FL, 2015).

⁴⁶ James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa. Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003); Marcela Goldmacher, Marcelo Badaró Mattos and Paulo Cruz Terra (eds), *Faces do trabalho. Escravizados e livres* (Niterói, 2010); Enrique Espada Lima, "Freedom, Precariousness, and the Law: Freed Persons Contracting out their Labour in Nineteenth-Century Brazil", *International Review of Social History*, 54, 3 (December 2009), pp. 391–416; Sidney Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society (Brazil in the Nineteenth Century)", *International Review of Social History*, 56, 3 (December 2011), pp. 405–439; Sidney Chalhoub, "The Politics of Ambiguity: Conditional Manumission, Labor Contracts and Slave Emancipation in Brazil (1850s to 1888)", *International Review of Social History*, 60, 2 (August 2015), pp. 161–191.

⁴⁷ Maria Cecilia Velasco e Cruz, "Puzzling Out Slave Origins in Rio de Janeiro Port Unionism: The 1906 Strike and the Sociedade de Resistência dos Trabalhadores em Trapiche e Café", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 86, 2 (2006), pp. 205–245; Marcelo Badaró Mattos, *Laborers and Enslaved Workers. Experiences in Common in the Making of Rio de Janeiro's Working Class, 1850–1920* (Oxford and New York, 2017).

⁴⁸ Gavin Wright, *Slavery and American Economic Development* (Baton Rouge, 2006).

pression.⁴⁹ In another new approach, Michael Zeuske and Dale Tomich opened discussion on the “second slavery” of the nineteenth-century Atlantic in such a fashion that debate expanded to include contemporaneous enslavement in the Old World as well.⁵⁰ It is clear that innovations in the historical study of slavery continue to unfold. In the present atmosphere, where the work forces of the world are experiencing increasing integration and—perhaps—common consciousness, it is reasonable to expect that studies of slave labour will be pursued in greater depth, giving greater attention to linkages and comparisons with other elements of the human work force.

⁴⁹ Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco. A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (New York, 2013); Jean-François Niort, *Le Code noir. Idées reçues sur un texte symbolique* (Paris, 2015); Patrick Manning, “Locating Africans on the World Stage: A Problem in World History”, *Journal of World History*, 26 (2015), pp. 630–631.

⁵⁰ Michael Zeuske, *Amistad. A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants*, Trans. Steven Rendall (Princeton, NJ, 2015); Dale Tomich and Michael Zeuske, “Introduction, the Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories”, *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 31 (2008), pp. 91–100.

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