Michael Zeuske

# Slavery and Slaves as "Global and Globalizing"?

Slavery and the enslaved, under whatever culturally shaped name, are ubiquitous in the history of all continents, territories, oceans, nations, countries, and societies of our globe or whatever spatial-social concept. It has been so from the emergence of – or at least since – the so-called "Neolithic Revolution," when people settled down and began to live on the basis of agriculture, weaving, pottery, and, later, animal husbandry (with the very important invention of preservation and storage, such as grain in pottery or meat in herds).[1] Animal husbandry, especially of horses, enabled elites to become influential and rich, while also facilitating massive raids on other settlements (which, of course, also took place on foot or by water). In addition to domestic slavery, this also enabled the integration of enslaved male warriors.[2] In this respect, slavery is not only a global, but also, in my view as a researcher concentrating not on Europe but on the Caribbean, a universalist issue.[3] To what extent this also applies to

**1** On this complicated question (whether slavery really existed in all groups/communities and all societies) there are only very few texts. One of the most important comes from the historical-anthropological research based on works by Alain Testart; see Christophe Darmangeat, "Paiements, esclavage et exploitation: éléments d'un triptyque," *Cahiers d'économie Politique* 75, no. 2 (2018): 227–53. The answer or, rather, the perspective, will always remain in a certain sense hypothetical (although in archeology there are more and more interpretations in the sense that there was a specific "status of enslaved without slavery," very local but as such universal. This is what I call the First Plateau). Christophe Darmangeat says: "Plus récemment, A. Testart [2003] reliait l'absence d'esclavage dans certaines aires culturelles à une disposition particulière du droit de la guerre selon laquelle le vainqueur devait, pour conclure la paix, indemniser le vaincu pour ses tués. L'argument, certes séduisant, reste néanmoins quelque peu circulaire; on ne voit pas pourquoi l'absence d'esclavage résulterait davantage d'un droit de la guerre spécifique que l'inverse. Par ailleurs, si une forte proportion de sociétés non esclavagistes se concentrent en effet dans trois principales aires culturelles, de nombreuses autres se situent en dehors d'elles, auxquelles cette thèse ne peut s'appliquer. On en restera donc ici au constat d'une question qui, en raison de sa complexité, n'a jamais reçu de réponse satisfaisante, et qui constituerait un vaste et passionnant programme de recherche." Of course, if slavery is seen as an institution, the platform of the "status of enslaved 'without institution' does not appear": see Alain Testart, *L'institution de l'esclavage: Une approche mondiale*, ed. Valérie Lécrivain (Paris: Gallimard, 2018).

**2** Detlef Gronenborn, "Zum (möglichen) Nachweis von Sklaven/Unfreien in prähistorischen Gesellschaften Mitteleuropas," *Ethnologisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 42, no. 1 (2001): 1–42; Martin Schmidt, "Die Welt des Eumaios," in *Geschichte und Fiktion in der homerischen Odyssee*, ed. Andreas Luther (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006): 117–38; Michael Zeuske, "Globalhistorische Sklavereiplateaus," in *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021): 41–140.

**3** Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019); Michael Zeuske, "Writing Global Histories of Slavery," in *Writing the History of Slavery*, ed. David Stefan Doddington and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022): 41–57.


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so-called "slave labor" today (i.e., extremely hard labor without a legal framework of ownership), a concept which emanated from Brazil and is now being debated worldwide, is still under discussion.[4]

In reality, it always was and still is about *slaveries*. No other term or name for the institution, whether "servility" or "unfree work," can better grasp the global meaning of these terms, namely the ubiquity of these forms of strong asymmetrical dependencies.[5] But, for reasons of language economy, we have to stick to the singular word *slavery*. Whether the sociological/anthropological (functional) concept of "extreme asymmetrical dependency"[6] works (it is ahistorical, but is certainly useful as a heuristic approach in the sense of more functionalist analysis) is currently being intensively researched at the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS).

Slavery, if one absolutely wants a definition, is the exploitation and control of human bodies, their productivity (work, energy, services), reproduction, time, and mobility by other people, institutions, or corporations. This includes their use as bodily capital and a commodity for (more) slaves, economic success, power, value, wealth and productivity/reproduction, status, and health; their use as currency or life assurance; and sometimes the very specific use of parts or the whole of the enslaved body. Slaving or enslavement as the procurement of those to be enslaved by mostly marginal elites or as mutual "gifts" between elite members of empires actually makes slavery an institution (or vice versa: slavery and enslaved people are important for founding and maintaining imperial states).[7] Slavery was never a "mode of production," but always part of other social systems and cultures (imperial, monarchical, republican, as well as in so-called pre-state, small-scale societies).

Slavery as an object of research is now more and more seen by historians as a social-historical global phenomenon with many cultural-historical dimensions and as the basis of many societies, states, and empires. But for other historians and many

**4** Rebecca J. Scott, "O Trabalho Escravo Contemporâneo e os Usos da História," *Mundos do Trabalho* (Florianópolis, Brazil) 5, no. 9 (2013): 129–37; Rebecca J. Scott, Leonardo Augusto de Andrade Barbosa and Carlos Henrique Borlido Haddad, "How Does the Law Put a Historical Analogy to Work?: Defining the Imposition of 'A Condition Analogous to That of a Slave' in Modern Brazil," *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law & Public Policy* 13, no. 1 (2017), https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3058191 [accessed 26.01.2023].

**5** One of the best examples of research into slavery as slaveries and their interdependencies is that into the diverse slaveries in North America, including northern Mexico and the Caribbean: see Bonnie Martin and James Brooks, eds., *Linking the Histories of Slavery in North America and Its Borderlands* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2015).

**6** Ehud R. Toledano, "Models of Global Enslavement," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2020): 31–51.

**7** John Bodel and Walter Scheidel, eds., *On Human Bondage: After Slavery and Social Death* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2017); Joseph C. Miller, "Slaving as Historical Process: Examples from the Ancient Mediterranean and the Modern Atlantic," in *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern*, ed. Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 70–102; Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

more sociologists and anthropologists, it is not considered a global phenomenon. In many societies and historiographies, the mention of the word "slavery" is actively prevented or does not matter. This is a real problem in many ways. I want to start with one here. Slaveries are always local, even in the earliest times, but are spread over entire areas of human populations. They are local-global, or, in current terminology, glocal. However, they are rarely connected by supra-regional exchange networks (which can be relativized by captivity). Truly global structures, that is, the global networks of sailing ships and trade that spanned the globe (in a German word from the fifteenth century, *Erdball*) from around 1570 (Manila) belonged more to slave traders, merchants, captains, ship crews (as well as other auxiliary groups or individuals, such as doctors, cooks, healers, and translators), and members of the global Christian orders (such as Jesuits, i.e., in a very general sense, people of knowledge). There were certainly also some men enslaved on the ships that sailed these global network routes. But relatively few. Enslaved people have been hemispherically "global" (i.e., in the Atlantic World or in the Indian Ocean World, and the marginal seas of the Pacific) or terrestrially "global" – between China, India, Asia Minor, the Middle East, North Africa, Arabia, and the edges of Europe (with a center in Central Asia). Slavery and its social actors were not totally global until the nineteenth century, already mingled with the mass migration of indentured laborers (most of them from China, India, the Pacific Islands, and Indonesia).[8] But they were globalizing in the sense of a globalizing transculturation "from below" (food, plants, epidemics, performances, knowledge of life in the tropics, etc.). The most global and globalizing cosmopolitans from below were slave traders, captains, and their personnel (like seamen, sometimes enslaved ones, and Atlantic creoles).[9]

The connections to real global communications and mobilities began in the sixteenth century. To be more explicit: prior to the circumnavigation of the Earth by Iberian ships (Magellan/El Cano, 1519–1522) and the founding of Manila in 1571, nothing about slavery was global in terms of globally connected slavery/slaveries, slavery regimes, and slave trades. There was also no such thing as global biographies of enslaved people (although there is the myth of a global life history).[10] All slaveries were

**8** Michael Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos: Global Dimensions of Second Slavery," in *Bonded Labour: Global and Comparative Perspectives (18th–21st Century)*, ed. Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf et al. (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016): 35–57.

**9** Damian Alan Pargas, "Slavery as a Global and Globalizing Phenomenon: An Editorial Note," *Journal of Global Slavery* 1 (2016): 1–4; see also Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal and Kären Wigen, eds., *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

**10** Eberhard Crailsheim, "Die Manila-Galeone: Ein Akteur der frühen Globalisierung" [The Manila Galleon: An Actor in Early Globalization], in *Seehandelsrouten: Wegbereiter der frühen Globalisierung*, ed. Franz Halbartschlager, Andreas Obenaus and Philipp A. Sutner (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2019): 188–224; Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born Again: Globalization's Sixteenth Century Origins (Asian/Global versus European Dynamics)," *Pacific Economic Review* 13, no. 3 (2008): 359–87.

"systems of belonging" (E. Toledano)[11] for different forms of kin and households, as well as (sometimes very large) regional, social, and political entities. This means that all slaveries were also systems of territorial and culturally rooted dependencies – after almost always very violent acts, actions, and processes of enslavement against individuals and groups. All the systems we know of were initially local, but also regional, continental, imperial, and, perhaps, as said above, "hemispheric" or interhemispheric, such as Mongol (East and Southeast Asia to Eastern Europe) or Islamic commercial networks (North India, with connections to the Malay world, North and East Africa, and Europe).

But before the nineteenth century, the "global," in a spatial sense of the entire globe, did not exist. Let me repeat this before I explain the basic structures below. With the advent of the global market, based on real networks and sailing routes, in around 1550, regional or local slavery regimes (house slaveries and slaveries of women and children, which were collective slaveries, often under the control of local elites) were increasingly globalized.[12] But, before the so-called *Welthandel* (the world economy from around 1860), global colonialities and overseas colonies slaveries were not totally global, only, at most, national-imperial and, as I said, hemispheric work systems. For the nineteenth century, this globalized slavery is conceptualized as *second slavery* in a *hidden Atlantic* (in and for the Americas in 1820–1888) with worldwide ramifications – despite (or precisely because of) Western and other abolition discourses. Before, alongside, and after these processes of globalization, many local slaveries, slavery regimes, and slave trading systems under other names (and cultural traditions) existed, regional slavery among regional elites and myriads of migrations in forced labor systems.

## 1 Chronological-Spatial Plateaus of Slavery in World and Global History

There are chronological-spatial plateaus (as I call them) of slavery. Hypothetically, they began between 20,000 and 10,000–8,000 BCE and are spatial to differing degrees, ranging from local to larger spaces. However, they always grew from local roots in

**11** Ehud R. Toledano, "Enslavement in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–AD 1804*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 34; see also Gudrun Krämer, "Fürstendiener und Pfortensklaven," in *Der Vordere Orient und Nordafrika ab 1500* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2016): 85–87.

**12** Angus Dalrymple-Smith and Matthias van Rossum, "Globalization and Coerced Labour in Early Modern Asia and Africa," in *The Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global. From "Capitalism and Slavery" to Slavery as Capitalism*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Michael Zeuske [= *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 30, no. 5–6 (2020)]: 543–59.

some form, which was also culturally defined (religious-legal forms, such as forms of bondage and serfdom in Europe). They were, even in their very local beginnings, "global." This does not contradict the above. This "global," as I have said already, was global in the sense that slaves existed, such as enslaved women and children without slavery as an institution and as prisoners in groups in the absence of a state or in "small-scale societies," across the entire globe (especially on land).[13]

Now, the plateaus. It is important to stress that all these plateaus have a starting point, but no end (i.e., they continue to this day), with the relative exception of the third plateau (Atlantic slavery), which was abolished formally in the West (including all of the Americas and the Caribbean) in 1803 (Haiti), 1810–1850s (the new republics), 1838 (UK), 1848 (France), 1863 (Netherlands), 1865 (USA), Puerto Rico (1873), 1886 (Cuba), and 1888 (Brazil). Today's slaveries all exist without legal concepts of ownership (under "Roman" law – as well as other civil codes and traditional Anglo-American case law).

The First Plateau consists chiefly of enslaved women and children or, better, poor women/children as victims and/or part of concrete actions of slaving within or between communities (hunger, interruption of mobility, shelter, rape, raids, war, and ritual/sacrificial captivity/slavery).[14] This plateau includes the self-enslavement of women, children, and poor people for the sake of food and survival. This was "slavery without an institution," which, as already mentioned, has existed since between 20,000 and 8,000 BCE,[15] and still does.

Even if there is a type of contract (as was the case very early in China), once it is signed these people totally disappear as legal persons, often under other forms of social dependencies (like the enslavement of orphans, adoption, forced marriage or female house servitude, children's bondage, and the buying or lending of girls, boys, and women).

A possibly even older form of slavery is what we might call sacrificial slavery and the use of enslaved people as parts of rituals of death. This means the use of living human bodies as part of rituals that imply the death of an individual or a group of captive/enslaved persons (the debate about "voluntary" participation often reveals

**13** Catherine M. Cameron, "Captives in Prehistory: Agents of Social Change," in *Invisible Citizens: Captives and Their Consequences*, ed. Catherine M. Cameron (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008): 1–24; Catherine M. Cameron, "How People Moved among Ancient Societies: Broadening the View," *American Anthropologist* 115, no. 2 (2013): 218–31; Catherine M. Cameron, "Captive Taking in Global Perspective," in *Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016): 19–42; Testart, *L'institution de l'esclavage*; Catherine M. Cameron, "The Nature of Slavery in Small-Scale Societies," in *What Is a Slave Society? The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective*, ed. Noel Lenski and Catherine M. Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 151–68.

**14** Cameron, "The Nature of Slavery."

**15** Joseph C. Miller, "Slaving in Historical Africa: Early Times to ca. 2000 BCE," in *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012): 90–96.

individuals who have already been subjected to another type of extreme dependency/captivity/slaveries).[16]

The Second Plateau is that of "house" or kin slaveries (domestic), shading into the small-scale earlier personal networks of kinship, affinity, age group, guilds of skilled people (like hunters, warriors, ritual specialists, healers, etc.), and clientage. There is, in the conceptualization of the times, often no name for what we call "slaving,"[17] or there is a lack of sources. This is a dimension of mobility between groups, in the majority of cases involuntary, but in some cases voluntary (clientage, oath warriors, self-enslavement). The enslaved arrive into a household group or a household (whatever basial construction for living there is in a given place – this includes huts, houses, houseboats, tents, temples, palaces, etc.).[18] This plateau forms what I call the Pandora's box of all slaveries until today (debt slavery, collective slavery, raid slavery, sex slavery, and the slave trade (more or less since the beginning of mass metal working and trading)). And it forms, possibly, the most widespread and quantitatively largest forms of all slaveries ever.[19]

The Third Plateau is constituted by so-called Atlantic slavery,[20] from around 1400 to 1900 in the expanding "West" – including the Americas and West Africa, as well as parts of East Africa (ending even later than the mid-1900s) and the islands of the Indian Ocean (from the eighteenth century onwards). This refers not only to all the "hegemonic" slaveries of modern times (see below under historiography), but also different types of other slaveries – other plateaus, plateaus mingled, other forms of the aforementioned first and second plateaus, types of slaving zones (frontiers, war or raiding zones) of independent peoples and/or colonial unfreedom/hidden house slaveries,[21] and colonial territories as slaving zones.[22] The last period of this plateau is formed by some very extensive, almost global, slaveries, like second slaveries, slavery modernities, or slavery capitalisms.[23] This was based on colonialism, Western war capitalism (the USA,

**16** Alain Testart, *La Servitude Volontaire*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2004).

**17** Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*; Zeuske, "Writing Global Histories of Slavery."

**18** Alfredo González-Ruibal and Marisa Ruiz-Gálvez, "House Societies in the Ancient Mediterranean (2000–500 BC)," *Journal of World Prehistory* 29, no. 4 (2016): 383–437.

**19** Christine E. Sears, "'In Algiers, the City of Bondage': Urban Slavery in Comparative Context," in *New Directions in Slavery Studies: Commodification, Community, and Comparison*, ed. Jeff Forret and Christine E. Sears (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015): 201–18.

**20** Michael Zeuske, "Atlantic Slavery und Wirtschaftskultur in welt – und globalhistorischer Perspektive," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 66, no. 5–6 (2015): 280–301; Michael Zeuske, "Out of the Americas: Slave Traders and the *Hidden Atlantic* in the Nineteenth Century," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 15, no. 1 (2018): 103–35.

**21** Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016).

**22** Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas, eds., *Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

**23** Robert William Fogel, "American Slavery: A Flexible, Highly Developed Form of Capitalism," in *Society and Culture in the Slave South*, ed. J. William Harris (London: Routledge, 1992): 77–99; Bonnie

Cuba, Brazil, Surinam, partly French territories)[24] and the capital-multiplying space of the *hidden Atlantic* (first of all in the cases of Cuba/Spain and Brazil/Portugal).[25] This Third Plateau is the only plateau in history in which Atlantic south-south connections (direct trade between West African places and islands to the Iberian Caribbean and then to the other Americas), followed by European political centers, set up an entire maritime commercial transport system for enslaved people (partly also land-based, as transports also moved to and from the Atlantic coasts in Africa and America). I repeat, the Atlantic slave trade between the Americas and Atlantic Africa, as well as later parts of East Africa, were mainly a south-south phenomenon.[26] And it is the only plateau that found a formal end in state-proclaimed abolitions. In a very broad global perspective, this may be the main reason why there is no country/nation today that still has *legal ownership* of human bodies as a base of whatever type or plateau of still-existing informal slaveries.[27]

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Martin, "Slavery's Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property," *Journal of Southern History* 76, no. 4 (2010): 817–66; Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Dale Tomich, ed., *Slavery and Historical Capitalism During the Nineteenth Century* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017); for slavery as capitalism in Cuba/Spain, see Eduardo Marrero Cruz, "Traficante de esclavos y chinos," in *Julián de Zulutea y Amondo: Promotor del capitalismo en Cuba* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2006): 46–79; for a perspective of all Americas, see Rafael de Bivar Marquese and Ricardo Salles, eds., *Escravidão e capitalismo histórico no século XIX: Brasil, Cuba e Estados Unidos* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2015); Mariana Muaze and Ricardo Salles, eds., *O Vale do Paraíba e o Império do Brasil nos quadros da Segunda Escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2015); José Antonio Piqueras, ed., *Esclavitud y capitalismo histórico en el siglo XIX: Brazil, Cuba y Estados Unidos* (Santiago de Cuba: Casa del Caribe, 2016); Daniel B. Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Mariana Muaze and Ricardo H. Salles, eds., *A Segunda Escravidão e o Império do Brasil em Perspectiva Histórica* (São Leopoldo: Casa Leiria, 2020); Conermann and Zeuske, "Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global."

**24** Sven Beckert, "Einleitung," in *King Cotton: Eine Geschichte des globalen Kapitalismus*, trans. Annabel Zettel and Martin Richter (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2014): 12. Originally published as Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

**25** Michael Zeuske, "The Hidden Atlantic/El Atlántico oculto (Agosto de 2019/August 2019)," https://www.academia.edu/40119218/2019 [accessed 12.06.2020]; Zeuske, "Out of the Americas."

**26** See "SlaveVoyages: Home Page," SlaveVoyages, 2021, https://www.slavevoyages.org/ [accessed 26.01.2023]; David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat, "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015): 433–61.

**27** Seymour Drescher, "The Long Goodbye: Dutch Capitalism and Antislavery in Comparative Perspective," in *Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit*, ed. Gert Oostindie (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995): 25–66; Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of*

The Fourth Plateau, starting around 1800, is, as I understand it, the most complicated one.[28] This was a period of Western abolition policies and mass antislavery discourses and politics, especially in England and the United States (1808–1840) and partly in France (1790–1802 and 1830–1848), on the one hand, and the global colonial expansion of "new" slaveries (1800–1960), on the other (together with developing discourses of racism).[29] The "West" really became global, with colonial expansions in India, the Indian Ocean, the so-called Opium Wars, and expansion in Africa (from 1830 onwards for France, at least from 1880 for the other colonial powers). Westerners, under the pressure of their own abolition rhetoric ("freedom") and local names/customs of slaveries, first of all in the eastern hemisphere, did not call slaveries slavery or the enslaved slaves anymore.[30] Instead, they used many traditional names or newly invented and more sociological concepts, such as "bond labor" and other terms for colonial forms of collective slaveries (like "forced labor" from the end of the nineteenth century onwards), to hide collective colonial slaveries. The same, but under "local" names (customs/traditions) of the respective cultures, happened to forms of slavery under local enslavers and slavery regimes in China, India, Persia, and Arabia, Islamic countries or countries with Islamized elites and many other local slaveries (often in continued forms from the First and Second Plateaus).[31]

This was paralleled first by large-scale migrations of forced workers into and from the Indian Ocean, China, and other territories of the eastern hemisphere to the

*Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Marcel van der Linden, ed., *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-Term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, Studies in Global Social History 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

**28** Michael Zeuske, "Viertes Sklavereiplateau – Abolitionsdiskurse, *Bond-Sklaverei* und *Second Slaveries* (Beginn um 1800)," in *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021): 96–126.

**29** Richard B. Allen, "Slave Trading, Abolitionism, and 'New Systems of Slavery' in the Nineteenth-Century Indian Ocean World," in *Indian Ocean Slavery in the Age of Abolition*, ed. Robert Harms, Bernard K. Freamon and David W. Blight (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013): 183–99; James Francis Warren, "The Structure of Slavery in the Sulu Zone in the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia*, ed. Gwyn Campbell (London: Frank Cass, 2004): 111–28; Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

**30** For India, see Andrea Major, "'To Call a Slave a Slave': Recovering Indian Slavery," in *Slavery, Abolition and Empire in India, 1772–1843* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012): 18–38; for China, see Michael Zeuske, "Andere globale Räume – andere Sklavereien. Das Fallbeispiel China," in *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021): 154–71.

**31** Frederick Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890–1925* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980); Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997); Matthew S. Hopper, *Slaves of One Master: Globalization and Slavery in Arabia in the Age of Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); Oliver Tappe and Ulrike Lindner, "Global Variants of Bonded Labour," in *Bonded Labour: Global and Comparative Perspectives (18th–21st Century)*, ed. Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf et al. (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016): 9–34.

western hemisphere and Australia,[32] as well as mixed forms of indenture, free labor, and bond slaveries, based on the aforementioned national-imperial war capitalism (Sven Beckert).[33] Second, it was paralleled by formal or informal second slaveries (in the Americas as formal slaveries until 1865–1888). It may be that with this plateau, we have a kind of global second slavery.[34] All this takes place under what I call "no end after the end."[35] This means that abolition was merely an informalization of former "big," legal slaveries into smaller complexes of slaveries with no name (or under another name, with "slavery" regarded as a controversial concept), but with the same extremely hard work within the same production structures (plantations and others; also as mass slaveries in colonies or on colonial frontiers), often in even stronger asymmetrical dependencies, and with the same low status (or even lower status for the ex-slaves) of the officially abolished slavery. All this began with practices under Toussaint Louverture in Saint-Domingue/Haiti in 1800 and the first British attempts to bring "contract" workers from Bengal to plantation islands, as well as colonial policies under British pressure from around 1815 onwards – the so-called *emancipated* or *liberated slaves* or *recaptives*, in Spanish *emancipados*.[36] These informal state slaves had

**32** Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "La Trata Amarilla: The 'Yellow Trade' and the Middle Passage, 1847–1884," in *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus and Marcus Rediker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 166–83; Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Latin America in Asia-Pacific Perspective," in *Asian Diasporas: New Formations, New Conceptions*, ed. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas and Lok C.D. Siu (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007): 29–61; Evelyn Hu-DeHart and Kathleen López, "Asian Diasporas in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Historical Overview," *Afro-Hispanic Review* 27, no. 1 (2008): 9–21; Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846–1940," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 155–90; Adam McKeown, "Chinese Emigration in Global Context, 1850–1940," *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 95–124; Allen, "New Systems of Slavery"; Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos"; see also Laurence Brown, "'A Most Irregular Traffic': The Oceanic Passages of the Melanesian Labor Trade," in *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus and Marcus Rediker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 184–203.

**33** Sven Beckert, "Die Bildung globaler Netzwerke," in *King Cotton: Eine Geschichte des globalen Kapitalismus*, trans. Annabel Zettel and Martin Richter (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2014): 197–229.

**34** Janet J. Ewald, "African Slavery and the African Slave Trade: A Review Essay," *American Historical Review* 97 (1992): 465–85; Hopper, *Slaves of One Master*; Mohammed Bashir Salau, *Plantation Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate: A Historical and Comparative Study* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2018); Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos"; Michael Zeuske, "Versklavte und Sklavereien in der Geschichte Chinas aus global-historischer Sicht: Perspektiven und Probleme," *Dhau: Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte* 2 (2017): 25–51.

**35** Michael Zeuske, "Kein Ende nach dem Ende-Diskurse und Realitäten der globalen Sklaverei seit 1800," in *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021): 212–44; see also Amalia Ribi Forclaz, *Humanitarian Imperialism: The Politics of Anti-Slavery Activism, 1880–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Olivier Grenouilleau, *La révolution abolitionniste*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 2017).

**36** Inés Roldán de Montaud, "On the Blurred Boundaries of Freedom: Liberated Africans in Cuba, 1817–1870," in *New Frontiers of Slavery*, ed. Dale W. Tomich (Albany: State University of New York

to work after their "liberation/emancipation" from a slave vessel (they were often officially registered in written form as "liberated slaves") for seven or more years in the hard conditions of slavery and frontier regimes, often harder than those in slavery.[37]

The Fifth and Sixth Plateaus, which I will not treat here extensively, comprise first of all slaveries of women and children (mostly under other names), collective colonial and state slaveries,[38] slaveries in prisons and camps (German concentration camps, Japanese prisoner camps, the Russian gulags from 1920 to 1970, US jails, and Chinese and North Korean camps), and the so-called "modern slaveries."

## 2 Some Historiographical Thoughts

The basic historiography for this chapter is not easy. First of all because there is so much of it. It touches on the subject of slavery and the historical slave trade, which has been a kind of hegemonic historiography from around 1800 onwards. This hegemonic historiography referred especially to slavery in ancient Greece and Rome, as well as in relation to Anglo-British slavery and slavery in the American South from the beginnings

Press, 2015): 127–55; Michael Zeuske, "Emancipados oder 'befreite' Verschleppte als Staatssklaven der Atlantisierung [Emancipados or 'liberated' enslaved persons as state-slaves of Atlanticization/Emancipados o esclavizados 'liberados' como esclavos del Estado de la atlantización]," https://www.academia.edu/15139503 [accessed 12.06.2020]; Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*; Henry B. Lovejoy, "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Implementation and Policy, 1824–1841," *Slavery and Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2016): 23–44.

**37** Fernando Ortiz, "Los 'Emancipados.' Su historia. Su situación desventajosa," in *Los negros esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1976): 298–305; G. Ugo Nwokeji and David Eltis, "Characteristics of Captives Leaving the Cameroons for the Americas, 1822–37," *Journal of African History* 43, no. 2 (2002): 191–210; G. Ugo Nwokeji and David Eltis, "The Roots of the African Diaspora: Methodological Considerations in the Analysis of Names in the Liberated African Registers of Sierra Leone and Havana," *History in Africa* 29 (2002): 368–73; David Eltis, "O significado da investigação sobre os africanos escapados de navios negreiros no século XIX," *História: Questões & Debates* 52, no. 1 (2010): 13–39; Sharla M. Fett, *Recaptured Africans: Surviving Slave Ships, Detention, and Dislocation in the Final Years of the Slave Trade* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

**38** Slaveries in global history have, in global perspective, two main legal-real dimensions: the construction of "one master/one slave" ("private slavery") and collective slaveries (*glebae adscripti* – rural populations and entire villages are bound to the land, which can be sold, "gifted" – also as a privilege), as well as state controlled populations of subjugated and settled people or masses of people in camps; for collective colonial slaveries, see Julia Seibert, "More Continuity than Change? New Forms of Unfree Labor in the Belgian Congo, 1908–1930," in *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-Term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, ed. Marcel van der Linden (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 369–86; Vincent Houben and Julia Seibert, "(Un)Freedom: Colonial Labour Relations in Belgian Congo and the Dutch East Indies Compared," in *Colonial Exploitation and Economic Development: The Belgian Congo and the Netherlands Indies Compared*, ed. Ewout Frankema and Frans Buelens (London: Routledge, 2013): 178–92; Julia Seibert, *In die globale Wirtschaft gezwungen: Arbeit und kolonialer Kapitalismus im Kongo (1885–1960)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2016).

of the twentieth century. It also considers what has become a major topic in the modern world, migration (since around 2000, where slaveries are analyzed even under the aforementioned "other names").[39] What is certain is that when "slavery" was referenced in European and US historiography, what was meant initially was slavery in classical antiquity. From the 1980s onwards, it has become clear that slavery has not always been the same, but that there have been many different slaveries and slavery regimes in terms of development, entanglements, and mutual influence.[40] I would therefore like to express a few thoughts on slavery historiography up to the Fourth Plateau (including the European colonies until around 1960). This is mainly because, firstly, it reflects the real history of slavery quite well (at least as far as the Atlantic West and the global expansion of large slaveries are concerned: see Finley's "slave societies")[41] and, secondly, because the historiographies are connected to the emergence and global expansion of capitalism. Most of the historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries focused on slavery in antiquity, on the aforementioned large-scale, hegemonic slaveries, the national-imperial slaveries (despite the fact that there is nothing less national than slaveries, except in historiographies, registers, and national archival systems), often with the final goal of becoming a part of the "Western" abolition and civilization discourse. Under the concepts of Atlantic history and/or "new global history" or "new history of capitalism," it may also refer to an inflated imperial-national slavery ("British slavery," "French slavery," all types of some "national-imperial" Atlantics – Iberian, British, French, etc.).[42]

I think it was Cuban historiography that started to debate and compare different slaveries in the world and to write the first actual world history of slavery. At the

**39** Michael Zeuske, "Quellen – und Literaturverzeichnis," in *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019): 1059–323.

**40** Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie de l'esclavage: Le ventre de fer et le argent* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986); the following title expresses very well that there were very different slaveries: Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, "Slavery Is Not Slavery: On Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire, Introduction," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020): 11–27.

**41** Noel Lenski, "Framing the Question: What Is a Slave Society," in *What Is a Slave Society? The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective*, ed. Noel Lenski and Catherine M. Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 15–57.

**42** Michael Zeuske, "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 57, no. 1 (2012): 87–111; Michael Zeuske, "Historiografie und Forschungsprobleme in globalhistorischer Perspektive," in *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019): 51–190. "Atlantics" have been springing up like mushrooms since 2000: see Michael Zeuske and Stephan Conermann, "The Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global: From 'Capitalism and Slavery' to Slavery as Capitalism. Introduction," in *The Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global. From "Capitalism and Slavery" to Slavery as Capitalism*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Michael Zeuske [= *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 30, no. 5–6 (2020)]: 448–63.

time, in the nineteenth century, Cuba itself was at the peak of a global development in the highly dynamic *second slavery*.[43] José Antonio Saco (1797–1879), a Cuban intellectual and historian from the tiny town of Bayamo in eastern Cuba, wrote a unique world history of slavery in the nineteenth century.[44] He himself possessed house slaves. All the other important first macro-histories of slavery focused on slavery in antiquity, especially Roman and Greek slaveries. Saco also concentrated on Roman slavery, but in addition he looked, very broadly, at Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Chinese, Indian, Persian, Scythian, Carthaginian, and other large-scale slaveries in antiquity.[45] Eduardo Torres-Cuevas, himself an eminent historian of slavery and ex-director of the Cuban National Library (*Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba*), says about Saco's opus magnum: "¿Quién podía, incluso, decir que conocía la historia de la esclavitud en el mundo, sin haber estudiado una de las obras mayores que se ha escrito acerca del tema y que, además, tenía una asombrosa óptica americana y no europea? [Who could even say that they know the history of slavery in the world without having studied one of the greatest works that has been written on the subject and that, moreover, had an amazing American, not European, perspective?]."[46]

Saco took a comprehensive and comparative look at many large-scale slaveries, as well as Roman slavery. He did so to explain to his fellow Cuban slave owners that the covert slave trade of the *hidden Atlantic* had to be abolished (also because it was controlled mainly by Spaniards and Catalans),[47] but by no means Cuban slavery itself.[48] And he explained this with the disasters of Roman development after the fifth

**43** Dale Tomich, "The 'Second Slavery': Bonded Labor and the Transformations of the Nineteenth-Century World Economy," in *Rethinking the Nineteenth Century: Contradictions and Movement*, ed. Francisco O. Ramirez (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988): 103–17; Dale Tomich, "The Wealth of the Empire: Francisco de Arango y Parreño, Political Economy, and the Second Slavery in Cuba," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 1 (2003): 4–28; Dale W. Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); Dale Tomich and Michael Zeuske, eds., *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories*, 2 vols. (Binghamton: Binghamton University, 2009) [=Special issue: *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton University* 31, no. 2–3 (2008)]; Zeuske and Conermann, "Introduction."

**44** At that time, "global" did not exist – it was something like "universal" history.

**45** José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días*, vols. 1–2 (Paris: Kugelmann, 1875), vol. 3 (Barcelona: Jaime Jepús, 1878); modern edition: José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud*, vol. 1, Biblioteca de Clásicos Cubanos (Havana: Imagen Contemporánea, 2002).

**46** Eduardo Torres-Cuevas, "Ensayo introductorio. La esclavitud y su historia," in *Historia de la esclavitud*, by José Antonio Saco, vol.1, Biblioteca de Clásicos Cubanos (Havana: Imagen Contemporánea, 2002): 2.

**47** Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and Lizbeth J. Chaviano Pérez, eds., *Negreros y esclavos: Barcelona y la esclavitud atlántica (siglos XVI-XIX)* (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2017); Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and María del Carmen Cózar Navarro, eds., *Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos: De la legalidad a la clandestinidad* (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2018).

**48** Saco wrote also, as single volumes, a history of the "African race" (*raza Africana*) in the Americas, first of all in Hispano-America (the Spanish colonies in Central and South America and the Caribbean):

century CE (Western Rome, to be exact). His main argument was that not one second in world history had passed without slaves and slavery: "¿Existió jamás algún pueblo donde ésta [la esclavitud – MZ] no penetrase bajo alguna de las formas que reviste? ¿Hay por ventura en los fastos de la humanidad algún período, por corto que sea, en que haya desaparecido de la tierra? [Was there ever a people where it [slavery – MZ] did not penetrate in any of its forms? Was there, perhaps, a period in humanity's fate, however short, when it disappeared from the earth?]."[49] Saco was right at the time, and he is still right today (despite the fact that I am writing today, just as nearly all histories of slavery are written, with the goal of denouncing all forms of slavery, including contemporary ones, as "bad" and unethical and with the aim of abolishing and ending all forms of slaveries).

## 3 The Reach of the Plateaus and the Global Reach of Atlantic Slavery Based on the Capital of Human Bodies as a Basic Element of the Slave Trade

As a preliminary thought about the global reach of the plateaus described above, I should highlight that during all plateaus from the third to the sixth, the slaveries of the first and second plateaus continued to exist or were reinvented (mostly slaveries of women and children, but also of male captives, a good part of them due to war captivity or indebtedness).[50]

The most local-"global" slaveries as the basis of imperial systems since the Second Plateau were the long-distance slaveries of the Bronze Ages;[51] ancient slaveries (including all the slaveries in the ancient empires, like Egypt, Sumer or Assyria, the wider

José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo y en especial en los países Americo-Hispanos*, 4 vols. (Havana: A. Álvarez, 1893); and a history of the slavery of the Indians of the new world: José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de los indios en el nuevo mundo: Seguida de la Historia de los repartimientos y encomiendas*, 2 vols., Colección de Libros cubanos 28–29 (Havana: Cultural S.A., 1932); Torres-Cuevas informs us that in the papers of Saco, found after his death, were manuscripts about slavery in the French colonies of Caribbean and about slavery in the British colonies of North America and the Caribbean; see Torres-Cuevas, "Ensayo introductorio."

**49** José Antonio Saco, "Introducción – Egipto – Etiopía – Hebreos – Fenicios," in *Historia de la esclavitud desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días*, vol. 1 (Paris: Kugelmann, 1875): 29.

**50** All after Zeuske, "Globalhistorische Sklavereiplateaus": 41–40, passim. See also Suzanne Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003); Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers and Joseph C. Miller, eds., *Women and Slavery*, 2 vols. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007–2008).

**51** Kristian Kristiansen, Thomas Lindkvist and Janken Myrdal, eds., *Trade and Civilisation: Economic Networks and Cultural Ties, from Prehistory to the Early Modern Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

ancient Mediterranean, like the Thracians, Lydians, Jews/Israelites, Scythians, Parthians, Egyptians, Celts, Britons, Teutons, Numidians, Nubians, etc.);[52] Byzantine imperial slave trades and slaveries;[53] Carolingian slaveries and slave trades and those of other early Christian elites,[54] especially those who founded independent monarchies, among them the Norse/Viking/Varangian slave trades and slaveries;[55] imperial Islamic and islamicate slave trades and slaveries (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most global slavery on the three continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe, including the Malay world, Southeast Asia, and part of the Philippines), with their continuation and concentration in Ottoman slavery against the background of Mediterranean slavery and forced labor systems; and Mongolian slavery (especially in the thirteenth century until the Great Plague, with links to Chinese and other Asian slavery regimes). In terms of territorial expansion and volume, the largest (to this day, although there are no estimates of demographics or the number of ships, enslaved persons, etc.) were perhaps the Chinese imperial slaveries and slave trades (often under other names); the mosaics of Indian Ocean slaveries and maritime and land-based slave trades around the Indian Ocean (including Arab slaveries);[56] Indian slaveries;[57] and Russian-Asian slaveries,[58] without greater European involvement. Quantitatively very large until the beginning of the

**52** Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Slavery in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Winfried Schmitz, "Überlegungen zur Verbreitung der Sklaverei in der griechischen Landwirtschaft," in *Kultur (en) – Formen des Alltäglichen in der Antike: Festschrift für Ingomar Weiler zum 75. Geburtstag*, vol. 2, ed. Peter Mauritsch and Christoph Ulf (Graz: Grazer Universitätsverlag, 2013): 535–52; David Lewis, "Near Eastern Slaves in Classical Attica and the Slave Trade with Persian Territories," *Classical Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2011): 91–113; Bodel and Scheidel, *On Human Bondage*; David Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems in Their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800–146 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

**53** Youval Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Youval Rotman, "Byzantium and the International Slave Trade in the Central Middle Ages," in *Trade in Byzantium: Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Nevra Necipoğlu (Istanbul: Koç University Publications, 2016): 129–42.

**54** Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communication and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Michael McCormick, "Geography of the European Slave Trade," in *Origins of the European Economy*: 759–77; Michale McCormick, "Slaves," in *Origins of the European Economy*: 244–54; Michael McCormick, "New Light on the 'Dark Ages': How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy," *Past & Present* 177 (2002): 17–54.

**55** Anders Winroth, *Die Wikinger: Das Zeitalter des Nordens* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016); Rudolf Simek, "Undesirable Biographies: Victims of Viking Slavery and Ransom Payments," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 23 (2018): 111–24.

**56** Gwyn Campbell, ed., *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London: Frank Cass, 2004); Stephan Conermann, "South Asia and the Indian Ocean," in *Empires and Encounters: 1350–1750*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015): 389–552.

**57** Michael Mann, *Sahibs, Sklaven und Soldaten: Geschichte des Menschenhandels rund um den Indischen Ozean* (Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2011).

**58** Christoph Witzenrath, ed., *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

sixteenth century were mostly local slaveries (slavery regimes), i.e., mass enslavements on a local or regional level.[59] The local "points" (houses, buildings, residential units) of these slaveries, most of them urban domestic slaveries or slaveries in the vicinity of households in the sense of the Second Plateau, covered very large, often imperial territories.

Is there a global dimension of Atlantic slavery in the sense of really covering the globe? I would say no, but with a caveat. During the Third Plateau, Atlantic slavery (slaveries controlled by Christian Europeans and the settlers of European colonies, as well as enslaved people themselves) played a global and historical role in the rise of Western Europe. This plateau was dominated by the trading and slavery empires of Portugal and Spain (the "Catholic or Christian Atlantic"):[60] the new capitalist trade empires of the Netherlands and England/Great Britain, the French Atlantic regions, and regions of the North and the Baltic Seas controlled by the cities of Denmark, Sweden, and Brandenburg-Prussia (the "Protestant Atlantic")[61] also played a role. Barbados and the French *Amériques* played a major role in the early compression and dynamization of commodification and capitalist slavery. But Atlantic slavery was not completely global; it was, at best, hemispherical, with some routes and ships into the other hemisphere, because exchanges, as I said above, happened largely between south and south (Africa-Atlantic-America (AAA), partly also East Africa-America or Africa-Asia). Slavery and slave trading systems were nowhere totally global until around 1840 (when they began to mingle with indentured migrations). The same is true for the life histories of most enslaved people; the few exceptions can probably only be represented in micro-historical biographies. Before I go into this, let us briefly review the Slavery Atlantic and its globalizing dynamics. I will first give a comprehensive synthesis of the "Atlantics," followed by a detailed historical outline.

1400–1640: the First Atlantic or African-Iberian Atlantic (with connections to the Indian Ocean from 1488 and to the Pacific Ocean from 1520);

1650–1800: the Second Atlantic, a double Atlantic with many interconnections (especially in the Caribbean and West Africa; in some cases, also in East Africa, the western Indian Ocean, and East Asia-Mexico/Spanish America). This Second Atlantic was a Christian Atlantic, but it had two main dimensions that influenced each other: a

**59** Matthias van Rossum et al., *Testimonies of Enslavement: Sources on Slavery from the Indian Ocean World* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020). For bibliographies of global slavery, see the chapter Zeuske, "Historiografie und Forschungsprobleme."

**60** Jonathan Schorsch, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconversos, Afroiberians and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

**61** Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London: Verso, 1997); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "How the 'Reformation' Invented Separate Catholic and Protestant Atlantics," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History* 108, no. 1 (2017): 245–54.

Protestant African-Northwest-European Atlantic and a Catholic African-Iberian *Atlântico Sul* (Portugal/Brazil and Spain/Spanish America);[62]

1800–1900: the third or African-Iberian *hidden Atlantic*, with between two and three million displaced persons through illegal trafficking from West and East Africa (mostly Catholic, with Protestant, mostly North American, partners/captains, crews, doctors, and factors).[63]

The basic spatial structures in chronological order were the first Atlantic, the two second Atlantics, and the third Atlantic. The first Atlantic is traditionally referred to as the Iberian Atlantic.[64] But it was much more. First of all, it was an African-Iberian Atlantic with many global connections, such as with Manila in the Philippines, and with Spanish America (especially *Nueva España*/*México*) as a center between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. In this sense, the Iberian colonial empires, especially the Spanish colonial empire in the Americas, were an early global center between the Pacific (China and Southeast Asia via Macao and the Philippines)[65] and the Atlantic. In its beginning (1415–1520), this first Iberian Atlantic in West Africa (islands and emporia) was not yet a pure forerunner of the subsequent Atlantic slavery, although it contained a macro-orientation towards the connection between Senegambia, the West African islands, and the Caribbean islands from about 1518.[66]

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**62** Cañizares-Esguerra, "How the 'Reformation' Invented."

**63** Leonardo Marques, *The United States and the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776–1867* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016); John Harris, *The Last Slave Ships: New York and the End of the Middle Passage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).

**64** Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); António de Almeida Mendes, "The Foundations of the System: A Reassessment of the Slave Trade to the Spanish Americas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008): 63–94; António de Almeida Mendes, "Les Portugais et le premier Atlantique (XVe-XVIe siècles)," in *Les Territoires de la Méditerranée: XIe-XVIe siècle*, by Annliese Nef, ed. Damien Coulon, Christophe Picard and Dominique Valérian (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013): 137–57; João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso, Roberto Guedes and Thiago Nascimento Krause, *A América portuguesa e os sistemas atlânticos na Época Moderna* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2013).

**65** Tatiana Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila: 1580–1640," *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* 32, no. 1 (2008): 19–38; Sucheta Mazumdar, "China and the Global Atlantic: Sugar from the Age of Columbus to Pepsi-Coke and Ethanol," *Food and Foodways* 16, no. 2 (2008): 135–47 [= Special issue: *Sweetness and Power: Rethinking Sidney Mintz's Classic Work*]; Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

**66** Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Marc Eagle and David Wheat, "The Early Iberian Slave Trade to the Spanish Caribbean, 1500–1580," in *From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*, ed. Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020): 47–72.

In total, the Iberian dimensions were Mediterranean-Atlantic, African-American, Pacific-European, and soon a pan-Atlantic world that was rooted in global Iberian expansionism. It used African and other forms of slaveries and slave trades as a basis (until the end of the Third Plateau and in the Fourth Plateau). It encompassed West Africa, the Americas, East Asia (Macao, the Philippines), and parts of South and Southeast Asia, as well as Iberia and its mainly Mediterranean contact zones, along with northwest European countries such as the Spanish Netherlands and England until around 1570 (James Lovell, John Hawkins, and Francis Drake's slave journeys took place within the framework of the African-Iberian Atlantic).[67] This dynamic, translocal, transcultural, and above all transnational area of Atlantic xlavery was at the same time part of the religious-philosophically-based Iberian global orientation *por toda la tierra* – on all oceans and continents (despite many real borders and limits).[68] And it was, even then, a north-south dimension that was given a specific Atlantic east-west dimension (south-south = Africa-America (in the Iberian sense)) in the south, on the Atlantic, by Columbus. After this first north-south orientation, it became a gigantic African-Iberian south-south enterprise (with northwest European north-south dimensions as entrances, as well as commodity and profit routes) from around 1520. Starting from this general south-south dimension of the Slavery Atlantic, it remains to be investigated whether there was a kind of what I call *Atlanticization* (*Atlantisierung*) of Europe, and also some routes of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. All of this was used by individual actors, such as merchants, slave traders, captains of ships full of enslaved individuals, and captains smuggling only some slaves.[69]

**67** Tobias Green, "Fear and Atlantic History: Some Observations Derived from Cape Verde Islands and the African Atlantic," *Atlantic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2006): 25–42; Toby Green, "Baculamento or Encomienda?: Legal Pluralisms and the Contestation of Power in the Pan-Atlantic World of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Global Slavery* 2, no. 3 (2017): 310–36; Rafael Valladares, *"Por toda la Tierra": España y Portugal: globalización y ruptura (1580–1700)* (Lisbon: CHAM, 2016).

**68** Carlos Martínez Shaw and José Antonio Martínez Torres, eds., *España y Portugal en el mundo (1581–1668)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2014); Amélia Polónia and Cátia Antunes, eds., *Mechanisms of Global Empire Building* (Porto: CITCEM/Edições Afrontamento, 2017); Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, *The Portuguese in the East: A Cultural History of a Maritime Trading Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017); Ryan Dominic Crewe, "Connecting the Indies: The Hispano-Asian Pacific World in Early Modern Global History," *Estudos Históricos* (Rio de Janeiro) 30, no. 60 (2017): 17–34; Susana Truchuelo and Emir Reitano, eds., *Las fronteras en el Mundo Atlántico (siglos XVI-XIX)*, HisMundI 1 (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2017); on whether Spain should be defined as a land empire or a sea empire, see Horst Pietschmann, "Frühneuzeitliche Imperialkriege Spaniens: Ein Beitrag zur Abgrenzung komplexer Kriegsformen in Raum und Zeit," in *Imperialkriege von 1500 bis heute: Strukturen – Akteure – Lernprozesse*, ed. Tanja Bührer, Christian Stachelbeck and Dierk Walter (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011): 73–92; Bentley, Bridenthal and Wigen, *Seascapes*; Pius Onyemechi Adiele, *The Popes, the Catholic Church and the Transatlantic Enslavement of Black Africans 1418–1839* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2017).

**69** Lúcio de Sousa, "The Manila Slave Market, the Korean Gaspar, the Japanese Miguel Jerónimo, and Ventura," in *The Jewish Diaspora and the Perez Family Case in China, Japan, the Philippines, and the*

And there were global plans in Philip II's time to conquer China (until ca. 1600).[70] Today we know that, at least until around 1840, this was more an attack on (or disruption of) the dominance of Asia, especially China and Indian territories, and the superiority of African and Islamic states/societies. This was due to global economic and cultural interests, as well as the monetary globalization of silver and the biological globalizations of animals, diseases, and food/plants. Much of the American silver went to China in particular (mostly for silk, lacquerware, other luxury products, and tea), but also a great many plants were introduced from the Americas to Asia. Spanish America was full of Chinese silk and other products, even more so than in Europe. Indian cotton and Indian textiles were global commodities (for example, *guinées* or *calico*, which arrived first in West Africa rather than in Europe: there, European imitations of Indian textiles were called *indiennes*, produced first of all in the so-called global peripheries of Europe, i.e., German territories, Switzerland, etc.).[71] These global textiles were especially used in the slave trade. The same applies to linen fabrics, mainly from Silesia.

There was, however, an important spatial limitation to these types of globalization (textiles/commodities, plants, and precious metals) because of the necessary material

*Americas (16th Century)*, trans. Joseph Abraham Levi (Macao: Fundaçao Macau, 2015): 119–23; for West Africa, see Benjamin Scheller, "Erfahrungsraum und Möglichkeitsraum: Das sub-saharische Westafrika in den Navigazioni Atlantiche Alvise Cadamostos," in *Venezia e la nuova oikoumene Cartografia del Quattrocento/Venedig und die neue Oikoumene: Kartographie im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Piero Falchetta (Rome: Viella, 2016): 201–20.

**70** Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China: De la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2002); Carlos Martínez Shaw and Marina Alfonso Mola, eds., *La ruta española a China* (Madrid: El Viso, 2007); José Miguel Herrera Reviriego, "Manila, entrepôt comercial," in "Manila y la gobernación de Filipinas en el mundo interconectado de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII" (PhD diss., Universitat Jaume I, n.d.): 46–53, https://www.academia.edu/30718539 [accessed 02.10.2019]; Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto, "Manila, Macao and Chinese Networks in South China Sea: Adaptive Strategies of Cooperation and Survival (Sixteenth-to-Seventeenth Centuries)," *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 15 (2014): 79–100.

**71** Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi, eds., *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Giorgio Riello, "Luxury or Commodity? The Success of Indian Cotton Cloth in the First Global Age," in *Luxury in Global Perspective: Objects and Practices, 1600–2000*, ed. Bernd-Stefan Grewe and Karin Hofmeester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016): 138–68; Pedro Machado, "Cloths of Fashion: Indian Ocean Networks of Exchange and Cloth Zones of Contact in Africa and India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 53–83; Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Pedro Machado, *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Mariano Bonialian, *China en la América colonial: bienes, mercados, comercio y cultura del consumo desde México hasta Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Biblos-Instituto/Mexico City: Instituto Mora, 2014); Kazuo Kobayashi, "Inroduction," in *Indian Cotton Textiles in West Africa: African Agency, Consumer Demand and the Making of the Global Economy, 1750–1850*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 1–27.

elements of transportation and security from the counter-violence of the enslaved. As such, slaving zones, slavery, and slave trading systems were mostly local and regional, at best hemispherical, in Atlantic slavery. The slave trade centers between the Atlantic and the continents were always tiny points on a world map (individual cities, often cities or loading zones on easily controllable islands or peninsulas ("off-shore"), protected by infrastructures of violence, *barracoons*). As I said above, slavery was not completely global (if only because it was subject to national-imperial laws or because of the mentioned structural limitations of slave trading points (harbor cities and islands)). Truly global was the exchange of diseases, viruses, microbes, animals, plants (including many plants worked on by enslaved labor, such as sugar cane, tobacco, yuca/cassava, tapioca; corn, tobacco, and potatoes, because they also grew in temperate latitudes, were truly global plants), and great masses of goods and precious metals. Slaves may have been members of ship crews, including the many slave ships that sailed the great global routes.

Anglo-American scholarship on the slave trade mostly deals with the so-called Second Atlantic, the north-west European Atlantic between around 1600 and 1808. It concentrates largely on Great Britain as an example. But early modern France, on the path to absolutism, had similar global plans for the Atlantic to those of Spain from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.[72] The Second Atlantic was characterized by massive French efforts, carried out by corsairs/pirates, and intense Dutch exertions up to about 1670, followed by the British.[73] Then came a phase of British-French great power competition in Asian and trade wars, as well as monopoly companies and a Bourbon Atlantic shared by France and Spain. France was "absolutely Atlantic" at that time (and indeed remained so until 1803).[74] Spain tried to consolidate a "national" empire on both sides of the Atlantic and a continent-sized colonial territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific as an "empire of slaves" (with capitalist free trade in slaves from Africa and many "other" informal slaveries) in the late eighteenth century.[75] From the War of the

**72** Christopher Hodson and Brett Rushforth, "Absolutely Atlantic: Colonialism and the Early Modern French State in Recent Historiography," *History Compass* 8, no. 1 (2010): 101–17.

**73** Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Peter A. Coclanis, *The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005); Wim Klooster, *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

**74** Hodson and Rushforth, "Absolutely Atlantic"; Susanne Lachenicht, "Histoires naturelles, récits de voyage et géopolitique religieuse dans l'Atlantique français XVIe et XVIIe siècles," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 69, no. 4 (2016): 27–45.

**75** Xosé-Manoel Núñez, "Nation-Building and Regional Integration: The Case of the Spanish Empire, 1700–1914," in *Nationalizing Empires*, ed. Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015): 195–245; for the legal side, see Alejandro García-Montón, "The Cost of the Asiento: Private Merchants, Royal Monopolies, and the Making of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the Spanish Empire," in *Mechanisms of Global Empire Building*, ed. Amélia Polónia and Cátia Antunes

Spanish Succession and especially from the British occupation of Havana and Manila in the Seven Years' War (1762–1763/64), this connection applied not only to Spanish America as a link between the eastern and western hemispheres and the Caribbean, but also in and around Africa. This was accompanied by an even greater interest in slaves and the slave trade, which expanded to include existing regional slaveries and slavery regimes in and around the Indian Ocean and on the edges of the Pacific,[76] but still without really comprehensive global slavery in the sense defined above or enslaved people as global actors. The latter occurred, as mentioned, mostly in ship crews on the ever longer transport routes. Dutch and Baltic traders were in between – especially in the conflicts over trading places/emporia (fortresses) in West Africa, in Caribbean smuggling (in which many Danes participated at the end of the eighteenth century), in and on the Indian Ocean, and in the Malay world.[77] This epoch of the Atlantic ended for the North Atlantic, including the northwest European slave trade, with the revolution of Saint-Domingue (1791–1803), the Napoleonic Wars, and the British and US abolition of the Atlantic slave trade on national ships in 1807/08. The Atlantic narrative for the northwest-European Atlantic in the epoch from 1650 to 1808 is one of the traditional readings of modern Atlantic history (it has been around for 70 years and has been dominant until very recently).

However, the first "globalized" Atlantic, the Iberian Atlantic, did not disappear after 1640. Up until that time, it was under Spanish control as the Iberian Atlantic (from a European perspective). As mentioned above, it was envisaged as a global space (with many real borders) simply because it included the Portuguese ambitions of Catholic globalization and, formally, Portuguese networks, colonies, and emporia (such as Goa or Macau, temporarily also Nagasaki and Formosa/Taiwan). Despite, or perhaps because of, the conflicts between Spain and Portugal and the rapprochement between Portugal and Great Britain, the first Iberian Atlantic continued to exist after 1640. As an increasingly more globalized Slavery Atlantic (with a number of routes, including via Cartagena (Nombre de Díos; Portobelo; Chagres)/Panamá/Lima, and Cape Horn, via the land route of Buenos Aires-Chile-Charcas/Potosí-Lima, and via the Cape of Good Hope and Manila-Acapulco), it really flourished as a slavery ocean,

(Porto: CITCEM/Edições Afrontamento, 2017): 11–34; Anne-Charlotte Martineau, "A Forgotten Chapter in the History of International Commercial Arbitration: The Slave Trade's Dispute Settlement System," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 31, no. 2 (2018): 219–41.

**76** Elena A. Schneider, "A Slaving Fever," in *The Occupation of Havana: War, Trade, and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018): 270–84; Dalrymple-Smith and Rossum, "Globalization and Coerced Labour."

**77** James Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie, *Realm Between Empires: The Second Dutch Atlantic, 1680–1815* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2018).

especially in the south and south-center (also across the Caribbean), as an Iberian *Atlântico Sul*.[78]

For this purpose (after experiences in the Caribbean/Northern South America),[79] an Atlanticized western part of the Indian Ocean and new regional/hemispherical slaving zones in East Africa were created. This was also because mainly Arab elites (such as the Omanis) took over Portuguese emporia, islands, fortresses, slave trading, and slaving/slavery practices. The structures and routes changed, especially from and to Spanish America and between the colonial empires.[80] The global south Atlantic (*Atlântico Sul*), the massive slave trade to Brazil, and the massive capital accumulation of the Atlantic slave trade, at the heart of the African-Iberian Atlantic, pushed the Indian Ocean and Asia somewhat out of the focus of Iberian global attention, even if the Indian Ocean became increasingly important economically and a target for colonization efforts. Not so for the Dutch, French, and English merchants, commercial companies, slave traders, and their increasingly globalized networks. As already mentioned, local elites such as the Omanis in East Africa or the slave-hunting states of the Zulu Sea grew stronger.

From 1808, but above all from 1820 (when Spain abolished formally the Atlantic slave trade), a third Atlantic was formed (or, if we assume a northwestern European Atlantic and an Iberian-African Atlantic from 1640 to 1800, a fourth Atlantic). This was the *hidden Atlantic* of human smuggling, despite (or precisely because of) the formal

**78** Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "Le versant brésilien de l'Atlantique-Sud: 1550–1850," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 61, no. 2 (2006): 339–82; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "Brazil in the South Atlantic: 1550–1850," *Mediations* 23, no. 1 (2007): 125–74; Guy Saupin, ed., *Africains et Européens dans le monde atlantique: XVe-XIXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014); David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, "Introduction: The South Atlantic Slave Trade in Historical Perspective," in *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590–1867*, ed. David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 1–29; Graça Almeida Borges, "The South Atlantic and Transatlantic Slave Trade: Review Essay," e-*Journal of Portuguese History* 15, no. 1 (2017), http://www.scielo.mec.pt/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1645-64322017000100009 [accessed 21.10.2019]; Selwyn H.H. Carrington and Ronald C. Noel, "Slaves and Tropical Commodities: The Caribbean in the South Atlantic System," in *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples*, ed. Stephan Palmié and Francisco A. Scarano (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011): 231–42.

**79** Erin Stone, "Chasing 'Caribs': Defining Zones of Legal Indigenous Enslavement in the Circum-Caribbean, 1493–1542," in *Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery*, ed. Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 118–47.

**80** Alejandro García-Montón, "The Rise of Portobelo and the Transformation of the Spanish American Slave Trade, 1640s–1730s: Transimperial Connections and Intra-American Shipping," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 99, no. 3 (2019): 399–429; Linda K. Salvucci, "Atlantic Intersections: Early American Commerce and the Rise of the Spanish West Indies (Cuba)," *Business History Review* 79 (2005): 781–810; Nadine Hunt, "Scattered Memories: The Intra-Caribbean Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700–1750," in *Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora*, ed. Ana Lucia Araujo, Mariana P. Candido and Paul E. Lovejoy, Harriet Tubman Series on the African Diaspora (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2011): 105–27; Hernán Venegas Delgado, *Trinidad de Cuba: Corsarios, azúcar y revolución en el Caribe* (Havana: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello, 2005).

abolitions in the so-called "West."[81] This *hidden Atlantic* was, together with the second slaveries, especially in the Caribbean, a space of new technologies, organization, finance, science, medicine, culture, elite luxury, art, etc. In general, we must think of modern slavery, and even of Atlantic slavery, as capitalism, with its own industrial bases and dynamics.[82] That is, the Atlantic I refer to in this essay as the African-Iberian Atlantic existed (if we count the history of West Africa (since 1400) and East Africa and the *hidden Atlantic* within the framework of AAA continuously, of course with spatial extensions, new routes, coastal territories, ports, cities, and actors) from around 1400 to at least 1900. I say "at least" because it is still not entirely clear when exactly it ended, due to the transitions to hidden forms of enslavement and bond-slaveries and the difficulties of delimiting the Fourth Plateau of global slaveries. Above all, it is unclear whether this Atlantic Ocean did not merge relatively seamlessly into the even wider global economy of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with its global mass migrations and embedded forms of slaveries/asymmetrical dependencies.[83] This *Welthandel*, as traditional wisdom calls it, with its technological/communicative elements, covered all oceans and important peripheral seas (including whaling and the whale industry).

Despite some possible examples of truly global lives of enslaved people (I repeat, especially members of ship crews), there was no completely global slavery and no completely global slave trading system. On the other hand, there were global diseases (epidemics/pandemics), whose carriers (viruses, bacteria, insects) moved using transport and trading systems – this is clearly the case with the smallpox and yellow fever epidemics, and especially the cholera pandemics of the nineteenth century. These diseases used animals (rats, dogs, cattle), but above all plants and so-called cash crops, the latter of which (sugar, tobacco, cotton/textiles), along with precious metals, were truly global commodities, reaching Australia in 1788.

When we summarize all the "Atlantics" of 1400–1900, the following scheme results:1400–1640: the First Atlantic or African-Iberian Atlantic;1650–1800: the Second Atlantic, a double Atlantic with many interconnections (Protestant African-Northwest-European Atlantic/Catholic African-Iberian *Atlântico Sul*); 1800–1900: the third or African-Iberian *hidden Atlantic*.

**81** Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Negociantes, fazendeiros e escravos: o tráfico ilegal de escravos no Brasil," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 18–22 (1999): 9–28; João Lopes Filho, "Tráfico clandestino," in *Cabo Verde: Abolição da escravatura; Subsídios para o estudo* (Praia: Spleen, 2006): 45–75; Zeuske, "Out of the Americas."

**82** Adrian Leonard and David Pretel, eds., *The Caribbean and the Atlantic World Economy: Circuits of Trade, Money and Knowledge, 1650–1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Rood, *Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery*; Conermann and Zeuske, "Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global."

**83** McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846–1940"; McKeown, "Chinese Emigration"; Hu-DeHart, "Asia-Pacific Perspective"; Hu-DeHart and López, "Asian Diasporas in Latin America"; Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos."

There is another interesting estimate of the Atlantic slave trade and the rise of the "West": between 1640 and 1820, eight million enslaved people were taken from Africa to the Americas, 75% men and *piezas de Indias*[84] (theoretical) for prices of 200–300 silver-pesos each (*peso de a ocho reales*; *piasters* – a global currency at the time).[85] They were mainly connected to three production complexes that were increasingly globally oriented: precious metals (especially gold, platinum, copper, and precious stones), crop production (sugar, cocoa, tobacco, tea, etc.), and raw materials for textile production (especially cotton, produced by slaves, but also dyes and materials for sewing). This means that Atlantic capital (of c. eight million human bodies) consisted of between 1.6 to 2.4 billion silver pesos.[86] Together with commodities produced

**84** The basic currency for large billing operations in the Atlantic slave trade was enslaved persons. The account unit for this type of operations in Spanish was *pieza de Indias* (roughly piece of Indies; in Portuguese, *peça*, also *boa peça*, *peça da Índia*), which was used throughout the Iberian Empire and the Slavery Atlantics until more or less 1820, meaning a healthy man between 15 and 30 years of age with a certain height and healthy, tall, young women expected to have healthy and strong children were considered full *pieza*. Older women (over 25 years of age), as well as adolescents and children, were valued as half or two-thirds *pieza.* Fernando Ortiz gives a working definition of the value measure and ideal type of the "pieza de Indias": "El esclavo tipo era el varón o hembra de quince a treinta años, sano, bien conformado y con la dentadura completa, el cual recibía el nombre de pieza de Indias [The slave type was a man or woman from fifteen to thirty years of age, healthy, well-built, and with complete dentition, which was named pieza de Indias]," in Fernando Ortiz, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos; Estudio sociológico y de derecho público* (Havana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916) [many reprints, e.g. the one that is always quoted today:] Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1976): 133; see also Fernando Ortiz, "Clasificación de los esclavos. 'Bozales' y 'Ladinos'. 'Piezas de Indias', 'Muleques' y 'Mulecones'. Negros de "Nación," in *Los negros esclavos*: 168–69; the original definition of the *pieza de Indias* comes from 1662: Manuel Lucena Salmoral, "El período de los asientos con particulares (1595–1700)," in *La esclavitud en la América española*, Estudios y Materiales 22 (Warszawa: Universidad de Varsovia, Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2002): 180: "destacó el [asiento] realizado con Lomelín y Grillo el 5 de Julio de 1662 [. . .] porque en él se definó por vez primera lo que era una 'pieza' de Indias: un negro de siete cuartas de alto, sin defectos (ni ciego, ni tuerto, etc.). Los negros que fueran más bajos había que juntarlos para complete las siete cuartas" – "highlighted the [asiento de negros] made with Lomelín and Grillo on July 5, 1662 [. . .] because in it was defined for the first time what was a 'piece' of the Indies: a black man seven cuadras high, without defects (neither blind nor one-eyed, etc.). The blacks who were shorter had to be put together to complete the seven cuadras."

**85** Drawn from "SlaveVoyages" (website); see also Carlos Marichal, "The Spanish-American Silver Peso: Export Commodity and Global Money of the Ancien Regime, 1500–1800," in *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500–2000*, ed. Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal and Zephyr Frank, American Encounters/Global Interactions (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006): 25–52.

**86** I'm making theoretical estimates here, for real slave prices for the British Caribbean, see David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis and David Richardson, "Slave Prices, the African Slave Trade, and Productivity in the Caribbean, 1674–1807," *Economic History Review* 58, no. 4 (2005): 673–700; see also Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper and Keith McClelland, "Introduction," in *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, ed. Catherine Hall et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 1–32.

*for and by* the enslaved, land, foodstuffs, working and guard animals (cattle, horses, mules, dogs, etc.), animals to be eaten (pigs, chicken), clothing, tools (machetes, hoes, axes, shovels, sticks with iron tops to plant sugar, etc.), ships, crews, ports, docks, and barracks, this accumulation from the capital of human bodies (plus the products for and by enslaved people) was of immense global value. Was it worth more than precious metals and European goods? Was this Atlantic capital and its accumulation the most important and dynamic basis for global capitalism (not only normal Western capitalism, but also slavery capitalism in the Americas and Africa)? Was this global economy (globalizing European economies on this basis) the cause of the great divergence? To start to answer this question, I will merely give yet another sequence of estimated numbers. In the eighteenth century, the century of the Enlightenment, the beginning of "Western" capitalism as we know it (especially in England and the Southern Netherlands (Belgium)), and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution (Great Britain), around six million people were abducted from Africa to the Americas. If we estimate, as I did above, around 300 *pesos de a ocho* per human body as a commodity, the result is the gigantic sum of 18 billion silver *pesos.* Alexander von Humboldt already calculated this (only for Cuba – but even these sums are extremely high). Humboldt published an estimate for the 15,647 *negros bozales* (enslaved Africans without knowledge of an Iberian language) imported to Cuba in the years 1797–1800: the price per enslaved person (per capita) was on average 375 *pesos de a ocho* (piastres).[87] If we apply this average price to the 307,000 deported from Africa to Cuba during the period 1790–1823, the total is 115 million silver pesos.[88]

In short, my hypothesis for a global history of slaveries here is thus: human bodies, as capital and commodities (in the slave trade in Africa, on the Atlantic, to the Americas, and in/between the individual slaving colonies of the Americas and the Caribbean), as potential producers and reproducers, and as settlers on the islands of Western Africa and the Americas, were more important than the European goods transported in exchange to the Americas, more even than the precious metals that Spain, above all, exported and traded from the Americas. In this respect, the greater Caribbean (including Brazil) was economically more important than Peru.[89]

But, I repeat, what spread globally was plants, animals, food, epidemics, viruses, products, commodities, and knowledge. The *consumption revolution*, with its slavery capitalisms in the Americas (especially Cuba and the USA, but also Brazil, Puerto Rico,

**87** See also Jorge Felipe-González, "Reassessing the Slave Trade to Cuba, 1790–1820," in *From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*, ed. Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020): 223–48.

**88** According to sources from the *Consulado de la Habana*; *Papel Periódico*, 1801, p. 12, see Alexander von Humboldt, "Population," in *Essai politique sur l'ile de Cuba: Avec une carte et un supplément qui renferme des considérations sur la population, la richesse territoriale et le commerce de l'Archipel des Antilles et de Colombia*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Gide et fils, 1826): 171, n. 1.

**89** Carrington and Noel, "Slaves and Tropical Commodities."

Suriname, and other Caribbean places),[90] was already far more global than the European-British industrial revolution until around 1840 (and Great Britain was, on this basis, much more militarily aggressive than China).[91] The Fourth Plateau of slaveries developed against the background of the approximately eight million humans enslaved in AAA (even if we do not have numbers for Africa). It developed on the global Atlantic (the spread of models of Atlantic slaveries) and increasing global consumption and resource demand. Despite, or perhaps because of, abolition and civilization discourses, new slaveries and global migrations (around 1840–1960) developed during the Fourth Plateau: large-scale forced migrations around, within, and from the Indian Ocean (eastern hemisphere), China, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands (also to Australia), indenture, and bond-slaveries. The question is whether there was a global *second slavery*, especially in the transport systems: in the Indian Ocean world as part of the supply of migrants to the Atlantic hemisphere and possibly as second slaveries under local elites (the Arabian Gulf region; Omanis-Zanzibar/East Africa; Madagascar), but also in the Sokoto-Caliphate, in Southeast Asia, and in the Malayan world. The traditional areas of the Second Plateau (such as the Ottoman Empire) continued with second-plateau slavery (with the possible exception of Egypt in the nineteenth century).[92]

## 4 Enslaved and Otherwise Bonded People as Globalizing Actors?

I repeat, captives are local and regional enslaved people, enslaved people from migrations who are not globally connected but can be found all over the world and in world history: they are transcultural local-global agents between "small slaveries" or regional slavery regimes, as well as slaving zones and greater transportation systems.[93] Transculturation and cosmopolitism from below, at most, reach through

**90** Zeuske and Conermann, "Introduction."

**91** Priya Satia, "Introduction," in *Empire of Guns: The Violent Making of the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Penguin Press, 2018): 1–23.

**92** Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression, 1840–1890* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Ehud R. Toledano, *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ehud R. Toledano, "Ottoman Concepts of Slavery in the Period of Reform, 1830s–1880s," in *Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia*, ed. Martin A. Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993): 37–63; Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Ehud R. Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Ehud R. Toledano, "An Empire of Many Households: The Case of Ottoman Enslavement," in *Slaves and Households in the Near East*, ed. Laura Culbertson (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011): 85–97.

**93** Cameron, "Nature of Slavery."

different imperial-national territories. But slaves are, relatively speaking, almost always more socially and spatially global than the local populations of the groups or societies they come from or to (apart from slave traders, seafarers, and, of course, the millions of victims of local slaveries, in which the enslaved came from the immediate areas of the enslavers). The African diaspora concept is also mostly hemispherical and, as such, very transcultural. Important biographies in this trans-imperial/transcultural sense certainly include those of Mohammed Baquaqua and Mohammed Nicolas Said, from Islamic Africa to the Ottoman Empire, then to Europe, Brazil, the Caribbean, and the USA. Mohammed Baquaqua and Nicolas Said are examples of enslaved trans-imperial cosmopolitans from below.[94]

As we see, in the view of the masses of enslaved people in Africa and in the eastern hemisphere, it is a complicated question where (at what distance to the place of enslavement) and if the enslavement and life histories of the enslaved form a global pattern.[95] In contrast, epidemics, plants, food, and the products and commodities produced by enslaved labor, as well as precious metals, are much more clearly global and parts of global patterns.

As I mentioned above, slave traders and partly enslaved crews also operated globally as cosmopolitans "from below." So, we can say that we do not know of any truly global life histories of enslaved people; the only really global phenomena are biological (plants, some animals, viruses, diseases, pandemics – often bound to climatic

**94** Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Princeton, NJ: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 2001); Paul E. Lovejoy, "Identidade e a miragem da etnicidade: A jornada de Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua para as Américas," *Afro-Ásia* 27 (2002): 9–39; Mohammad Ali Sa'id, *The Autobiography of Nicholas Said: A Native of Bornou, Eastern Soudan, Central Africa* (Memphis: Shotwell, 1873), www.docsouth.unc.edu/neh/said/said.html [accessed 04.04.2017]; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Mohammed Ali Nicholas Sa'id: From Enslavement to American Civil War Veteran," in *Microhistoria de esclavas y esclavos*, ed. Vicent Sanz Rozalén and Michael Zeuske [= *Millars: Espai i Història* 42 (2017)]: 219–32.

**95** Patrick Manning et al., "Demographic Models for Projecting Population and Migration: Methods for African Historical Analysis," *Journal of World-Historical Information* 2–3, no. 1 (2015): 24–40, https://jwsr.pitt.edu/ojs/jwhi/article/view/817 [accessed 03.06.2020]; see p. 37: "The question of how far continental captives traveled before their settlement as slaves is unanswered empirically, though there is a simple solution in computation. Beyond these issues in calculation, two contradictory interpretive problems arise. First, there appear to be no demographic relationships by which to estimate the historical level of enslavement. That is, the proportion of African populations enslaved in each region and period appears to be 'autonomous' – indeterminate and arbitrary – in that there is no clear way to calibrate it with other information in the system. Nonetheless, in contrast, if one looks broadly enough there does seem to be a general pattern in nineteenth century enslavement. The qualitative historical record for tropical Africa and Asia in the nineteenth century conveys a broad pattern of expanded enslavement. That is, despite the British anti-slavery campaign, enslavement expanded across the Old-World tropics until late in the nineteenth century in what is arguably a common pattern. This hypothesis provides one more argument that the effort of modeling population and migration on a large and systematic scale may bring about clarification of important patterns in large-scale social processes and relationships that had previously escaped notice."

factors), elements of global value exchanges (silver, gold, sugar, tobacco, cotton), and structural: the nineteenth-century slave and coolie trades; imperial colonialisms and collective slaveries; slavery as capitalism (second slaveries), until more or less 1900 in the western hemisphere, as colonial and local slaveries until around 1960: and global migrations to this day.

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