

The Internal Slave Trade in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: A Study of Slave Importations into Rio de Janeiro in 1852

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WITH THE TERMINATION of the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil after 1850, the internal slave trade within the Brazilian Empire increased dramatically.¹ Though contemporaries were aware of the development and later historians have commented on it, the dimensions and characteristics of the trade have not been fully explored.² Due to the scarcity of published data, both quantitative and qualitative, historians have been unable to assess the trade's dynamics in terms of the types of slaves shipped, their place of origin, their occupations, or the impact on the exporting and importing zones. It is the aim of this study, which is based on an analysis of manuscript port registrations for the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1852, to deal with these and several other aspects of this important trade.

Before analyzing this material, some general discussion of the nature of the trade is necessary. Clearly internal migration of slaves, even seaborne inter-regional movement, was not a new phenomenon in 1850. A steady, widespread inter-provincial trade had gone on while the Atlantic slave trade was at its height. Also an important part of the internal trade, both before and after 1850, was quite local, involving the land transfer of slaves within provincial borders, or between contiguous provinces. However, long-distance seaborne trade, the concern of this study, developed most fully after the Atlantic slave trade was terminated. While it still had elements of intra-regional movement, especially among the northeastern ports, it was primarily a trade in slaves from northeastern and southern ports to the central coffee zones of Brazil.

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1. The most recent survey of the struggle to end the Atlantic trade is Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* (Cambridge, England, 1970).

2. For tentative statements about the nature of this post-1850 trade, see Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil* (7th rev. ed.; São Paulo, 1967),

The principal destinations were Rio de Janeiro and Santos, the former being the more important. In 1852, for example, Rio de Janeiro was reported to have imported over 4,400 slaves, and its average per annum importation for the years 1852-1859 was estimated at 3,327.³ Though no figures are available this early for Santos, its annual importation of slaves over a decade later was in the 1,000 to 2,000 range. Thus in 1867, 904 slaves were imported, 1,229 arrived in 1868 and 2,129 in 1869.⁴ Considering that these were the primary ports of entry for slaves transported by sea, importation may have reached as high as 5,000 to 6,000 per annum in these two decades. One contemporary Brazilian authority, in fact, estimated in 1860 that in the decade of the 1850s some 5,500 slaves were annually being exported to the central states from the North alone.⁵

p. 127, and Caio Prado Júnior, *História econômica do Brasil* (6th ed.; São Paulo, 1961), p. 179.

3. One contemporary source reported that 26,622 slaves were imported into Rio de Janeiro between 1852-1859, which would give an annual average of 3,327 slaves. This source stated that slave imports into Rio de Janeiro were as follows:

1852	4,409	1856	5,006
1853	2,090	1857	4,211
1854	4,418	1858	1,993
1855	3,532	1859	963

Sebastião Ferreira Soares, *Notas estatísticas sobre a produção agrícola e carestia dos generos alimentícios no Império do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1860), pp. 135-136. The British Minister to Rio de Janeiro, W. D. Christie, reported 34,688 slaves were imported by sea into Rio de Janeiro between January 1852 and July 1862, which would give a rate of 275 per month or 3,300 per annum. W. D. Christie, *Notes on Brazilian Questions* (London, 1865), p. 93. Both of these sources are cited in Bethell, *Abolition*, pp. 375-76.

4. For the respective importation figures see: Joaquim Saldanha Marinho, *Relatorio apresentado á assembléa legislativa provincial de São Paulo . . . no dia 2 de fevereiro de 1868 pelo presidente da mesma provincia. . .* (São Paulo, 1868), p. 15; Barão de Itauna, *Relatorio com que s. exc. o sr. . . . passou a administração da provincia ao exm. sr. . . . 3° Vice-presidente* (São Paulo, 1869), Anexo no. 1, Mappa n. 7; and Antonio Candido da Rocha, *Relatorio apresentado á assembléa legislativa provincial de São Paulo pelo presidente da provincia. . .* (São Paulo, 1870), pp. 65-66. It should also be noted that slaves were exported from this same port and that the net gain for the port was 580 slaves in 1867, 780 in 1868 and 1,746 in 1869.

5. Ferreira Soares, *Notas estatísticas*, pp. 135-136. It should be noted here as well, that while southern ports such as Santos exported as well as imported slaves, northern ports such as Salvador da Bahia also imported as well as exported. Thus in 1855, Bahia exported 1,699 slaves and imported 471 for a net loss of 1,228. In 1856 its net loss was 1,794, with 2,388 slaves exported to other ports of the empire and 594 imported. Alvaro Tiberio de Moncouro e Lima, *Falla recitada na abertura da assembléa legislativa da Bahia. . .* (Bahia, 1856), Mappa n. 48; João Lins Vieira Cansansão de Sinimbu, *Falla recitada na abertura da assembléa legislativa da Bahia. . .* (Bahia, 1857), Mappa n. 24.

This pattern of some 5,000 to 6,000 slaves transported by sea in the 1850s and 1860s would also seem to hold for the early 1870s. Between 1872 and 1876 some 25,711 slaves were imported into Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo provinces. This number, however, must have included a considerable inland and intra-regional element, since Minas Gerais lost slaves through export during this same period.⁶ Increasingly severe export taxes and other provincial government restrictions seem to have curtailed the trade seriously by the later 1870s and the early 1880s, even before its final abolition with emancipation in 1888.

Given the increasing restrictions of the last decades, and the shifting demands for slaves in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo throughout the existence of the trade, it is difficult to determine the exact volume for the period 1850-1888. If we accept 5,500 slaves per annum as an upper limit, then it could be estimated that the internal slave trade involved the transportation between regions of no more than 209,000 slaves in this thirty-eight-year period.⁷ It can be suspected that further research in port registers will reduce this figure considerably. But even the 209,000 estimate would represent a relatively small volume when compared to the older trans-Atlantic slave trade. The latter was estimated to have involved some 24,000 slaves per annum in the last decades before 1850, bringing in over 482,000 in the period 1831-1850.⁸

While a rough idea can thus be obtained about the volume of the internal slave trade, ascertaining the quality of that trade is another matter. The deliberate destruction of the enormous mass of slave censuses, masters' registration lists and individual slave passports, which could have provided the answers, forces the researcher to seek al-

6. Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Relatorio annexo ao do Ministerio dos Negocios do Imperio de 1878* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.) p. 120.

7. Using British consular reports as his source, J. H. Galloway estimates the total loss of the Northeast at 90,000 slave migrants between 1850 and 1880, or 3,000 slaves per annum shipped by sea from the region to the port of Rio de Janeiro. See Galloway's "The Last Years of Slavery on the Sugar Plantations of Northeastern Brazil," in this issue of the *HAHR*. His estimate may be considered the lower limit, since it excludes southern exports and any post-1880 figures. Thus the internal seaborne slave trade probably involved the migration of between 100,000 to 200,000 slaves between 1850 and 1888.

8. Bethell, *Abolition*, p. 390. It was also smaller than the internal slave trade in the United States. Between 1820-1860, it was estimated that the United States internal slave trade involved some 742,000 slaves, or a per annum rate of 18,555, a figure three times the Brazilian maximum estimate. It should be remembered, however, that the total slave populations in the two societies differed considerably, with the 3.9 million United States slaves in 1860 being two and a half times greater than the 1.5 million slaves in Brazil in 1872. For the United States data see Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2d. ed., Gloucester, Mass., 1958), II, 651.

ternative documentation. One of the few such documentary sources remaining is an early register, kept by the police of the imperial court, of slaves imported into the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1852.⁹ It is from these detailed demographic, social and economic statistics, as well as from analysis of other relevant demographic materials, that some initial hypotheses concerning the new slave trade will be proposed.

The legal recording of the arrival of these slaves in Rio de Janeiro derives from legislation associated with termination of the old Atlantic slave trade. As part of the extensive related legislation, the Brazilian government passed a series of acts requiring registration of the national slave population. One of these supplemental decrees was a law of July 8, 1852, which required that the secretariat of police of the court district (which was by definition the municipal limits of Rio de Janeiro) inspect all slaves imported into the city by ship. The object of this inspection, which required an interview with each slave and examination of the relevant ownership papers and slave "passports" (i.e. identity cards), was to determine if the slaves had originally entered the empire illegally.¹⁰ The results of this inspection form a very complete body of information on the age, sex, color, occupation and nativity of each slave imported by ship into the city during the months in question, as well as a listing of the type of vessel in which he had been transported and that ship's last port of call. The major deficiencies of this body of data, of course, are that it is only a small sample of the whole trade (less than 1% of the maximum estimated total volume), that it represents less than one year's importation even in one port, and finally that it comes at the very earliest period of the trade. Unfortunately, no other registration lists for this trade could be found in the Arquivo Nacional of Brazil, and until other sources can be discovered, this non-random sample of the internal seaborne slave trade will have to serve as a basis for the establishment of some tentative hypotheses about the trade.

As can be seen in Table 1, well over two-thirds of the 978 slaves imported into Rio de Janeiro between July and November of 1852 were overwhelmingly Brazilian born, or *crioulos*, and almost as large a proportion were male. A preponderance of males is to be expected for a migrating group in nineteenth-century America. Such a high

9. In the Arquivo Nacional of Brazil of Rio de Janeiro, hereafter cited as ANRJ, are preserved the manuscript reports of the police of the port of Rio de Janeiro on all the slaves imported into the city between 18 July 1852 and 17 November 1852, a list which includes 978 slaves. These reports are found in ANRJ, Policia, Códice 397.

10. For the typical formula of inspection, see the examination of the steamship *Conceição* on 29 July 1852, in *ibid.*, folios 44-45v.

TABLE 1: Sex and Origin of Brazilian Slaves Imported into Rio de Janeiro in 1852^a.

Sex	Native Born	African Born	TOTALS
Male.....	458	196	654 (67%)
Female.....	251	73	324 (33%)
TOTALS.....	709 (72%)	269 (28%)	978 (100%)

^aThe source for the 1852 group in this and subsequent tables is ANRJ, Policia, Códice 397.

male contingent, as well as a concentration of ages in the adult category, was a fairly standard phenomenon among European migrants to America throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, and was also typical of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.¹¹ Because of the very heavy volume of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the nineteenth century, the slave population of Brazil in 1852 was weighted toward males. Nevertheless, the male/female ratio of the 1852 slave group is even higher than one would expect. Males represented 67% of the total group, or 201 males per 100 females. In the province of Rio de Janeiro as a whole in 1850, the sex ratio of the slaves was 151 males per 100 females; while two years earlier in a separate census for the city of Rio de Janeiro, the sex ratio was 145 male slaves to 100 females. Another importing province, São Paulo, in an 1836 census, had 126 males per 100 females.¹²

11. For Europeans see United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, Population Division, Population Studies no. 11, *Sex and Age of International Migrants: Statistics for 1918-1947* (New York, 1953), p. 10. One of the few sources for sexual division among slaves moving across the Atlantic is provided by the records of the Companhia do Grão Pará e Maranhão which transported some 20,141 slaves from Africa to Brazil between the 1750s and 1780s. Of these slaves, 62% were males, or 165 males per 100 females. Antonio Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas de navegação, comércio e tráfico de escravos entre a costa africana e o nordeste brasileiro* (Porto, 1969), pp. 94-95.

12. The census will be found in [Joaquim Norberto de Souza e Silva], *Investigações sobre os recenseamentos da população geral do Império* (Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Serviço Nacional de Recenseamento, Documentos Censitários, Série B, Número 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1951), [original edition 1870], pp. 84, 95, 99. Although individual areas of dense and recently imported slave populations, such as the county of Vassouras (Rio de Janeiro) in the decade 1850-1859 had a high ratio of males, some 63% in this case, as seen in Stanley J. Stein, *Vassouras, A Brazilian Coffee County 1850-1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 77, figure 2, overall provincial averages seem to have been much lower, and considerably lower by the 1872 imperial census. By this date the sex ratio among slaves was 114 males to 100 females (or 53% male). Directoria Geral de Estatística, *Recenseamento geral da população do Brazil a que se procedeu no dia 1° de agosto de 1872* (21 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1872-1876).

TABLE 2: Age Breakdown of the Slaves Imported into Rio de Janeiro in 1852.

Age	Males	Females	TOTAL
Under 1	6	6	12
1-4	9	14	23
5-9	18	10	28
10-14	79	31	110
15-19	99	49	148
20-29	235	134	369
30-39	137	57	194
40-49	53	17	70
50-59	14	5	19
60-69	1	.. ^a	1
70-79	3	..	3
80 & over	..	1	1
TOTALS	654	324	978

^aDots in numerical columns indicate zero in this and all subsequent tables.

TABLE 3: Comparative Age Structure of the Imported Slaves of 1852 and the Slave population of São Paulo in 1836^a.

Age Groups	1852		São Paulo, 1836	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-9	5%	9%	23%	25%
10-19	27%	25%	28%	29%
20-49	65%	64%	38%	35%
50 & Over	3%	2%	11%	10%
TOTALS	100% (N=654)	100% (N=324)	100% (N=2,751)	100% (N=2,568)

^aFor the São Paulo census of 1836, see Maria Luiza Marcilio, *La Ville de São Paulo, peuplement et population, 1750-1850* (Rouen, 1968) p. 214.

The ratio of males transported in the slave trade would then appear to have been higher than in the general slave population at mid-century. A much sharper difference between this group and the non-migratory slave population can be found, however, in age distributions. Though strictly comparable data are not available, we can learn much through comparison of the age structure of the 1852 group (given in Table 2) with that of the urban population of São Paulo in 1836 and the entire slave population in 1872. In each case the 1852 group had a much higher proportion of males and females in the adult grouping (the over 19 or over 15 group in the respective tables). The 1852 group with over 73% in the age group 15-40 exceeded even the 62% of the

TABLE 4: Comparative Age Structure of the Imported Slaves of 1852 and the Slave population of the Empire in 1872.

Age Groups	1852		Empire, 1872	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1-15 ^a	18%	19%	34%	33%
16-50.....	81%	80%	57%	58%
51 & Over.....	1%	2%	9%	9%
TOTALS.....	100% (N = 648)	100% (N = 318)	100% (N = 802,962)	100% (N = 703,813)

^aFrom both the 1872 and 1852 data I have excluded all children 11 months or under, since these were not counted in the 1872 census. I have also excluded from the total N in the 1872 census, all persons whose age was listed as unknown.

TABLE 5: Occupations of Imported Slaves by Sex.

Occupation	Males	Females	TOTAL
Agricultural laborers.....	171	14	185
Domestic servants.....	91	94	185
Skilled workers & artisans.....	112	21	133
Cattlemen & shepherds.....	31	..	31
Fishermen & seamen.....	25	..	25
Unskilled non-agricultural laborers.....	14	..	14
Children under 10 years.....	28	31	59
"Without occupation" ^a	127	5	132
Not given ^b	55	159	214
TOTALS.....	654	324	978

^a"Without occupation" is a translation of the standard occupational category *sem profissão*.

^bIncludes all cases where no occupation was given, nor *sem profissão* indicated. In this figure are also included the 12 males and 2 females whose occupations were listed, but illegible.

Vassouras county slaves in 1840-49, the boom decade when that "black belt" coffee county had its highest ratio of adult working force slaves.¹³

In terms of occupation too, this imported slave group varied from the sedentary national slave population of 1872, though here the archival data are not sufficiently complete to be very affirmative. As can be seen in Table 5, the registration lists fail to indicate the occupations of a large number of the imported slaves. Together with the children too young to have occupations and the officially designated *sem profissão* group, the slaves without an established occupa-

13. Stein, *Vassouras*, p. 79, figure 3.

tion or with unknown occupations make up 41% of the total of 978 slaves. This considerably reduces the sample and may distort the relative weight of the other factors.

Nevertheless, the table gives some approximate idea of the relative importance of various categories of occupations. What is not clear is to what extent this distribution of occupations reflects the rest of the slave population. Here, fortunately, there exists the rough occupational breakdown contained in the 1872 census. Comparing the percentage importance of occupations between these two groups, as is done in Table 6, certain qualities of the 1852 imported slave group stand out. The percentage importance of artisans among the imported slaves, for example, was over double the national norm in 1872, and the percentage of domestic servants was slightly higher. On the other hand, less than half the percentage number of agriculturalists and pastoral workers were to be found in the 1852 group. All this would seem to suggest that the imported slaves, as a group, were far more skilled and far less oriented toward rural occupations than would have been expected if they had been representative of the national slave population. Thus it would appear that skilled and more urbanized slaves were the ones being transported in the internal slave trade. Given the equal costs of transportation, it could be expected that higher priced slaves were more likely to be transported than the cheaper fieldhands.

As to the last major characteristic of the 1852 population, nativity, this group seems to be reasonably representative of the mid-century Brazilian slave population as a whole. Though statistics of Africans within the slave population before the first national census of 1872 are difficult to obtain, some scattered numbers would seem to suggest that the 28% of the 1852 group who were Africans may not have been too far from the average. In the late 1830s, for example, São Paulo had an African-born slave group which was 45% of the total slave population, and Pernambuco also had 45% of its slaves listed as foreign born.¹⁴

Given the general scarcity of pre-1872 census materials on Africans in Brazil, the detailed statistics on the 269 Africans of this group provide a valuable glimpse of the African element in the Brazilian slave society. When compared to the native-born slaves in the 1852 sample, they are more heavily male, much older and much less skilled than the native-born descendants of African slaves. Thus, for ex-

14. [Joaquim Norberto de Souza e Silva], *Investigações*, pp. 48, 99. The city of Rio de Janeiro itself, had an extraordinarily high African-born slave population which represented 60% of its slave labor force in 1849 (*ibid.*, p. 95).

TABLE 6: Comparative Occupational Distribution of the Imported Slaves of 1852 and the Total Slave Population of Brazil in 1872.

Occupation	1852	Brazil, 1872
Skilled workers & artisans.....	14%	5%
Fishermen & seamen.....	2%	— ^a
Agricultural & pastoral laborers.....	21%	54%
Domestic service.....	19%	12%
Unskilled laborers.....	1%	6%
Without profession.....	14%	24%
Children under 10 years.....	6%	..
Not given.....	22%	..
TOTALS.....	100% ^c	100%

^aLess than 1% (actual percentage was .02%)

^bSince the 1872 census classified everyone by profession, I assume that they placed my categories "children under 10 years" and "not given" in the "without profession" listing. Thus I would assume that the two percentages (42% and 24%) are roughly representative of the same groups.

^cColumns do not add up to 100% because of rounding error.

ample, the median ages of Africans, 33 and 30 respectively for males and females, compares to a median age of 20 for both sexes of the Brazilian-born slaves. In the matter of the sex ratio, whereas the African group's ratio is 268 males per 100 females, that of the native born is 182 per 100.

As could also be assumed, the African slaves, having been older when they first arrived,¹⁵ and less easily trained because of the initial language barriers, were less frequently encountered among the skilled occupations than were the creole slaves.¹⁶ It can be seen in Table 7 that Africans were under-represented in these trades.

Whereas Africans formed 28% of the total of 978 slaves, they held only 17% of the skilled trades, and in the five leading skilled occupations, they surpassed their total group percentage importance in only one occupation, that of the stonemasons.

Not only was the nativity data for these imported slaves given in the broad categories of native and African born, but the police records also provided the birthplace for a large number of slaves. As can be

15. Of the 351 slave ships which landed in Rio de Janeiro in the period 1795-1811, for example, only 28% contained any children. Herbert S. Klein, "The Trade in African Slaves to Rio de Janeiro, 1795-1811: estimates of Mortality and Patterns of Voyages," *Journal of African History*, 10:4 (1969), 543.

16. Africans were also much more reduced among the free colored. For a survey of the available statistics on this, see Herbert S. Klein, "The Colored Freedmen in Brazilian Slave Society," *Journal of Social History*, 3:1 (Fall 1969), 40.

TABLE 7: Occupation of Skilled and Artisan Workers by Place of Birth.

Occupation	Africans no. (%)	Creoles no.	TOTALS no.
Seamstresses (costureira)	1 (05%)	20	21
Carpenters (carpinteiro)	5 (25%)	15	20
Shoemakers (sapateiro)	1 (07%)	15	16
Tailors (alfaiate)	1 (07%)	15	16
Stone masons (pedreiro)	5 (34%)	10	15
Coachmen (carters)* (carreiro)	7	7
Sawyers (serrador)	1 (17%)	5	6
Caulkers (calafate)	4	4
Blacksmiths (ferreiro)	4	4
Barbers (barbeiro)	1 (33%)	2	3
Hatmakers (chapeleiro)	1 (50%)	1	2
Muleteers (troleiro)	1 (50%)	1	2
All Other Skilled Occupations (having only one person per occupation)	6 (35%)	11	17
TOTALS	23 (17%)	110	133

*I have restricted this term to teamsters. All other types of coachmen (i.e. those who carried passengers in their vehicles) I have subsumed under the domestic servant category.

seen in Table 8, almost the entire African population was accounted for in this manner, whereas only half of the creoles were so placed. For the Africans, it appears that this imported group was fairly representative of the rest of the African population in Brazil. The two major areas of Guinea and Portuguese West Africa (Angola, Benguela, Cabinda and the Congo) were the best represented group here, as they probably were in the whole of the African born population in nineteenth-century Brazil.¹⁷ As for the creole population, the preponderance of northeastern born slaves clearly reflected the north-south movement of the internal slave trade.

Though the port records show that the slaves arrived aboard ships

17. While "more than 50 per cent" of the Africans from Stein's Vassouras sample came from South West Africa, he claims that the next largest group came from Mozambique (Stein, *Vassouras*, pp. 76-77). Stein, however, provides no exact statistics and he also confuses the location of several African groups. Thus his data, except for the Angolan area, is not quite comparable. According to Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade, A Census* (Madison, 1969), p. 207, Table 62, Angolan slaves accounted for some 68% of the volume of the eighteenth-century slave trade to Brazil, slaves from Costa da Mina making up the remaining 32%. The Mozambique slave trade did not develop on a major scale until the nineteenth century, and even then accounted for no more than one fifth of all African exports to 1843 (*ibid.*, p. 258, table 74). On the dominance of Costa da Mina and Angola in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trade also see Mauricio Goulart, *Escravidão africana no Brasil (das origens à extinção do tráfico)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), p. 186.

TABLE 8: Birthplace of Slaves Imported into Rio de Janeiro in 1852.

Location or Ethnic Group	Males	Females	TOTAL	%
AFRICA.....	196	73	269	100%
1. <i>West Africa</i> :.....	73	40	113	42%
Mina ^a	50	18	68	
Nago (Yoruba) ^a	14	16	30	
Hausa.....	2	1	3	
Monjolla (Djolas).....	4	3	7	
Gege (Dahomey).....	1	1	2	
Calabar.....	1	0	1	
São Tomé.....	0	1	1	
Cabo Verde.....	1	0	1	
2. <i>South-West Africa</i> :.....	98	25	123	46%
Angola.....	34	12	46	
Congo.....	23	4	27	
Cabinda.....	21	3	24	
Benguela.....	12	6	18	
Cassange (Angola).....	7	0	7	
Quissama (Angola).....	1	0	1	
3. <i>South-East Africa</i> :.....	18	4	22	8%
Mozambique.....	17	3	20	
Inhanbane (Mozambique).....	1	1	2	
4. <i>Unknown</i> ^b	7	4	11	4%
BRAZIL.....	458	251	709	100%
1. <i>North</i> ^c	13	8	21	3%
2. <i>Northeast</i> ^d	186	103	289	41%
Maranhão.....	36	15	51	
Piauí.....	3	0	3	
Ceará.....	27	11	38	
Rio Grande do Norte.....	15	8	23	
Paraná.....	2	2	4	
Pernambuco.....	39	23	62	
Alagoas.....	1	7	8	
Sergipe.....	8	9	17	
Bahia.....	55	28	83	
3. <i>Southeast</i> :.....	9	4	13	2%
Rio de Janeiro.....	6	4	10	
Minas Gerais.....	3	0	3	
4. <i>South</i> :.....	16	7	23	3%
Paraná.....	1	0	1	
Santa Catarina.....	7	3	10	
Rio Grande do Sul.....	8	4	12	
5. <i>Unknown</i> ^e	234	129	363	51%

^a*Mina* was a generic term indiscriminately applied to different peoples of Dahomey and the Slave and Gold Coasts. According to Arthur Ramos, the term strictly should apply to the Fanti-Ashanti peoples. Equally, according to Ramos, *Nago* stands for the Yoruba nation. Arthur Ramos, *Introdução à antropologia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1943), I, 352, 353. I am indebted to Philip Curtin for the identification of the *Monjolla* as the Djolas.

^bOf the 11 Africans listed as unknown, 5 were classified simply as *Africana*, with the rest coming from groups whose modern names and location I have been unable to locate (4 Rebolho; 1 Amagui; 1 Ambaia).

^cAll the slaves from the Northern region came from the single state of Pará.

^dI have adopted the regional divisions of the Brazilian Planning Ministry (EPEA), which seem more relevant from a socio-economic viewpoint than the usual IBGE breakdown. For the regional-state divisions see: Escritório de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, *Plano decenal de desenvolvimento econômico e social: Demografia, diagnóstico preliminar* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério do Planejamento e Coordenação Econômica, 1966), p. 73n.

^eAmong the unknowns were large numbers of slaves for whom unlocated towns were listed, rather than provinces.

coming from every major port in Brazil, the majority of the ships, as well as slaves, came from ports north of the province of Rio de Janeiro (Table 9). Within the northern provinces, Bahia was, at least in this sample, the most important exporter of slaves, being four times greater than its nearest competitor, Pernambuco, though its provincial slave population at the time of the 1872 census was only twice as great. Its larger proportion of exports may have been the result of re-exporting slaves from other regions in the North, rather than an actual higher export ratio.

Another important phenomenon noted in this importation table is the place of the importations from Rio Grande do Sul, the second largest provincial exporter of slaves to Rio de Janeiro in this period. Rio Grande do Sul was, of course, the largest slave province of the southern region. But this exportation also reflected the mid-century economic crisis in the jerked beef trade, which caused a major selling of the province's investment in slaves to the "North."¹⁸ The province's export of slaves seems to have continued throughout the period of the internal slave trade and was especially severe after the mid-1860s. In 1863 the province counted over 77,000 slaves, a figure which dropped to some 67,000 by 1872.¹⁹

Turning from the question of the direction of the internal slave trade to its mechanics, the relatively small number of slaves transported in relation to the rather large volume of shipping kept the individual lot of slaves, even in this relatively high importation year of 1852, to a very small number. The average shipment was 4 slaves per vessel. This compares to the figure of over 480 slaves per vessel in the trans-Atlantic slave trade from Africa to Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁰ Clearly, the post-1850 internal slave trade was only part of a diversified trade in which the shipping

18. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Capitalismo e escravidão no Brasil meridional*. . . . (São Paulo, 1962), pp. 68-69.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

20. The average cargo size for the beginning of the 19th century in Rio de Janeiro had been 486 slaves per vessel. Klein, "The Trade," p. 538.

TABLE 9: Brazilian Ports of Origin of Slaves Imported into Rio de Janeiro in 1852.

Port and Region	Numbers	Percentage
NORTHERN PORTS.....	740	76%
Bahia.....	374	
Pernambuco.....	78	
Rio Grande do Norte.....	51	
Paraíba.....	48	
Maceio (Alagoas).....	34	
Vitoria (Espírito Santo).....	13	
Caravella (Bahia).....	4	
São Mateus (Espírito Santo).....	2	
"Portos do Norte" ^a	136	
SOUTHERN PORTS.....	152	16%
Rio Grande do Sul.....	102	
Santa Catarina.....	19	
Ubatuba (São Paulo).....	6	
Iguape (São Paulo).....	4	
Santos (São Paulo).....	4	
São Sebastião (São Paulo).....	1	
Pôrto Alegre.....	5	
Laguna (Santa Catarina).....	4	
Paranaguá (Paraná).....	4	
Itajaí (Santa Catarina).....	3	
PORTS OF THE PROVINCE OF RIO.....	80	8%
Campos.....	41	
Rio de São João de Barra.....	7	
Macaé.....	9	
Angra dos Reis.....	9	
Niterói.....	5	
Ilha Grande.....	4	
Mangaratiba.....	2	
Cabo Frio.....	1	
Parati.....	2	
UNKNOWN PORTS ^b	6	1%
TOTALS.....	978	100%

^a"Portos do Norte" seems to have been an indiscriminate term applied to vessels which had visited several northern ports.

^bThis included two ports which were illegibly written.

of slaves on merchant vessels represented only a minor element. Though a wide variety of shipping entered this trade during the four months of 1852, the bulk of the slaves (or 87%) were carried in only three types of vessels, pinnaces (*patachos*), brigs (*brigues*) and steamships (*vapores*), each of these three equally accounting for over a quarter of the slaves transported.

These data on ports and slaves appear to confirm long-held beliefs that slaves were being drained from the northern states to the central region. But not all of the large, expanding slave states of this

latter area were importing slaves equally. Of the three major central-southern slave states—Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo²¹—the first seemed able to supply most of its slave labor needs by internal growth and redistribution of the slave force within the vast confines of the province. The two smaller slave states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, however, were far less able to meet their labor needs from internal growth and redistribution, or at least so the leading planters of these two regions thought. Throughout the second half of the century, the legislatures of the two states were constantly petitioning for the importation of slaves from outside the provincial boundaries and demanding imperial government support for some type of internal slave trade, or alternative supplies of contract labor.²²

But from the data provided by the 1852 slave imports, it would appear that the internal inter-regional slave trade was relatively small, at least compared to the old Atlantic slave trade, and specialized in small cargoes of domestic, skilled and fieldhand slaves being shipped south. How these slaves, many of whom were not fieldhands, could fill the enormous demand for agricultural laborers is difficult to see. If this 1852 group is representative, and if in later years did not reverse the trend, then it may even be questioned whether the internal slave trade seriously fulfilled the need for agricultural laborers in the coffee fields of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Fortunately, a fairly accurate analysis of the impact of this internal slave trade can be made from data supplied in the 1872 census. In that census, Brazilian born slaves were listed as to their place of birth. For the three major importing states, the birth place of their resident *crioulo* slaves is given in Table 10. As is evident from this table, the impact of imported slaves was quite minimal in Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro, being less than one per cent in the former and less than three per cent in the latter. Even in Rio de Janeiro, if we separate out the city of Rio de Janeiro with its 37,966 native born

21. In 1872 Minas Gerais was the largest slave state in Brazil, with 370,459 slaves. This compared to 341,576 for Rio de Janeiro (city and province) and 156,612 for São Paulo. Between the population estimate of 1819, which was based on fairly reliable church data, and the census of 1872, the slave population in Brazil as a whole had grown by only 0.57 per cent per annum. For the provinces of Minas Gerais, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the per annum growth rates of slave population in these 53 years were respectively: 1.47%, 1.30% and 1.59%. The 1819 estimate of Conselheiro Antonio Rodrigues Velloso de Oliveira, recalculated to fit the 1872 provincial boundaries, is found in [Joaquim Norberto de Souza e Silva], *Investigações*, p. 152 bottom table. This table is also reprinted in vol. I of the 1920 census.

22. Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da senzala à colônia* (São Paulo, 1966), pp. 60-61.

TABLE 10: Place of Birth of Brazilian Born Slaves in the Provinces of Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in 1872.

Province	Minas Gerais		Rio de Janeiro		São Paulo	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
I. Same as place of residence	341,515	(99.76)	266,611	(97.18)	121,501	(84.34)
II. From one of the other two states	192	(0.05)	1,515	(0.55)	9,041	(6.27)
III. Northeastern states, plus Bahia, Sergipe and Espírito Santo	525	(0.15)	5,046	(1.83)	11,815	(8.20)
IV. Southern states, excluding São Paulo	46	(0.01)	973	(0.35)	1,178	(0.81)
V. Center-West	22	(*)	73	(0.02)	427	(0.29)
VI. North	10	(*)	123	(0.04)	89	(0.06)
TOTALS	342,310	(100.0)	274,341	(100.0)	144,051	(100.0)

*Indicates less than 0.01%

Source: Diretoria Geral de Estatística, *Recenseamento da população do Império do Brasil a que se procedeu no dia 1° de agosto de 1872* (21 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1872-1876).

slaves, then the provincial total rises to 99.01% provincial born. Only the figures for São Paulo offer any serious number of slaves born out of the state, and then the figure is only 16% of the *crioulos*. Added to this, if we observe where these three importing states got their slaves, it is clear that their immediate neighbors, themselves importing states, were often as important as the states of the old Northeast. Thus in São Paulo, of the 18.29% out-of-province born slaves, a third, or 6.27%, came from Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro.

It could be argued from this evidence, as Emilia Viotti da Costa has already argued about Minas Gerais, that the bulk of the fieldhand slaves needed in the coffee and sugar fields were stripped from declining areas within the major expanding states themselves, or were brought in from contiguous areas. Thus, while the internal seaborne slave trade may have been supplying skilled slaves to the central Brazilian slave markets, it was too costly a system to supply cheap fieldhand laborers on a large scale. The transportation costs, despite discounts for slave passengers, were still quite high.²³ To this were

23. In the steamship service run from Rio de Janeiro to Santos, for example,

added the sales taxes and, beginning in the last years of the 1850s, increasingly prohibitive export taxes levied by the exporting states, all of which seriously raised the price of northern slaves in southern markets.²⁴ Furthermore, evidence from one of the declining regions in the expanding province of Rio de Janeiro, that of the county of Vassouras, clearly demonstrates a very rapid decline of slaves in the adult work force category as the region's own coffee fields declined.²⁵ It would appear that it was sources such as Vassouras which were the chief suppliers for the famous western paulista plantations.

This hypothesis of a heavily urbanized and/or skilled labor force migration from the north is also supported by some evidence from the northern exporting provinces. In 1855 the President of the Province of Bahia reported that of the 1,835 slaves exported from the province in 1854, 836 came from urban centers, and only 583 had been in agricultural labor, with 416 unknown.²⁶ Three years later, the president of the province of Ceará also reported on the export of slaves from his district. He wrote to the central government that "the major part of these exported slaves are not employed in agriculture, the majority in fact being in skilled occupations which are today filled by free laborers who have withdrawn from agriculture. . . ." He also noted that many of the exported slaves were also "employed in domestic services or in cattle raising."²⁷

On the basis of the birth data from the 1872 census, and the partial occupational data of the 1852 migration sample, some initial hypotheses about the broad impact of this trade on the importing and exporting provinces can be proposed. To begin with, it would appear that the seaborne inter-regional trade was not the main supplier of fieldhand labor for the expanding coffee plantations of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, or the coffee and mixed commercial agriculture of

slaves over 20 went for half the fare of a second class passenger; slave children and youths up to 19 years for some unknown reason paid a slightly higher fare than the adult slaves. Eduardo von Laemmert, *Almanak administrativo, mercantil e industrial da Côrte e Provincia do Rio de Janeiro para a anno de 1861* (Rio de Janeiro, 1861), p. 405.

24. Paulista legislators complained about municipal and imperial taxes imposed on slave sales, which they charged, seriously impeded this trade. Viotti da Costa, *Senzala*, p. 132.

25. Stein's figures on the dramatic decline of slaves in the working-age category 15-40 (from 62% of the total age group in 1840-49, to 40% by 1860-69 and 35% by 1880-88) clearly illustrate this draining of a labor force into an intra-regional trade. Stein, *Vassouras*, pp. 78-79.

26. João Mauricio Wanderley, *Falla recitada na abertura da assembléa legislativa da Bahia*. . . (Bahia, 1855), p. 38.

27. Marquez de Olinda, *Relatório da Repartição dos Negocios do Imperio*, 1858 (Rio de Janeiro, 1858), Anexo G, p. 6.

Minas Gerais.²⁸ Their demands for agricultural labor were in all likelihood met primarily from intra-provincial and intra-regional sources. This in turn would suggest that there was rapid change going on within the three largest slave states of the southeastern region in terms of changing labor utility and agricultural activity. It might also suggest, as an alternative to the Vassouras model of boom-bust and selling off of adult workers, a situation in which slave birth rates in the coffee plantations and contiguous areas were high enough to meet increasing demands for labor in the newer coffee regions. This alternative model, however, can only be tested when basic research on the parish registers finally produces the needed vital statistics of the slave population.

There remain to be considered the questions of the relation of the slave trade to the decline of slavery in the Northeast, and its effect, if any, on the shift of colored population from the older sugar regions to the southeastern states. Fortunately, a recent survey of the post-1850 sugar economy in Pernambuco provides an initial answer to the first question. According to this study, the province lost some 22,000 slaves to the inter-provincial seaborne slave trade between 1850 and 1881. However, it also lost an almost equal number, some 21,000, to the free colored class through private manumission, and another 49,000 through various forms of public manumission before 1888. It would thus seem that for Pernambuco, at least, the internal slave trade accounted for some 24% of the total number of individuals removed from the slave population during the period from 1850 to total emancipation.²⁹

As to determining the impact of the internal slave trade on the redistribution of the total colored population, data are difficult to obtain. Though the extremely poor quality of pre-1872 demographic statistics make anything but very rough estimates difficult, if we compare the slave population in the 1819 census of Conselheiro Velloso de Oliveira (for which no free colored figures are provided), to the total colored population in 1872, and assume that the 1819 distribution of slaves closely resembled the distribution of the total colored class (given the smaller size of the free colored group in 1819), then

28. It should be noted that the heaviest concentration of slaves in Minas Gerais was in the southern area and *zona da mata*, both areas being the center of Minas' important coffee plantation zone. Francisco Iglesias, *Política econômica do governo provincial mineiro (1835-1889)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1958), pp. 70, 131.

29. Peter Eisenberg, "From Slave to Free Labor on Sugar Plantations: The Process in Pernambuco" (paper read at the 1970 meetings of the American Historical Association), Table V.

TABLE 11: Distribution of the Slave and Total Colored Population of Brazil by Region and Province, 1819 and 1872.

Region & Province	Slave 1819 ^a	Slave 1872	Total Colored 1872
I. <i>North:</i>	39,040 (4%)	28,437 (2%)	147,585 (2%)
Amazonas	6,040	979	9,571
Pará	33,000	27,458	138,014
II. <i>Northeast:</i>	567,213 (51%)	480,409 (32%)	3,045,387 (53%)
Maranhão	133,334	74,939	244,584
Piauí	12,405	23,795	145,322
Ceará	55,439	31,913	400,013
Rio Grande do Norte	9,109	13,020	120,475
Paraíba	16,723	21,526	221,938
Pernambuco	97,633	89,028	538,575
Alagoas	69,094	35,741	252,847
Sergipe	26,213	22,623	123,378
Bahia	147,263	167,824	998,255
III. <i>Southeast:</i>	412,542 (37%)	891,306 (59%)	2,184,756 (38%)
Minas Gerais	168,543	370,459	1,176,426
Espírito Santo	20,272	22,659	50,026
Rio de Janeiro ^b	146,060	341,576	593,847
São Paulo	77,667	156,612	364,457
IV. <i>South:</i>	47,616 (4%)	93,335 (6%)	229,634 (4%)
Paraná	10,191	10,560	47,937
Santa Catarina	9,172	14,984	30,968
Rio Grande do Sul	28,253	67,791	150,729
V. <i>Center-West:</i>	40,980 (4%)	17,319 (1%)	148,872 (2%)
Goiás	26,800	10,652	114,216
Mato Grosso	14,180	6,667	34,656
TOTALS	1,107,391 (100%)	1,510,806 (100%)	5,756,234 (100%) ^c

^aFor the 1819 census, which is a recalculation of the original numbers of Conselheiro Antonio Rodrigues Velloso de Oliveira in accordance with 1870 political divisions, done by Norberto de Souza, see [Joaquim Norberto de Souza e Silva], *Investigações sobre os recenseamentos da população geral do império*, p. 152.

^bIncludes the population of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

^cDoes not add up to 100.0% because of rounding.

it would appear from Table 11 that there was a relative stability of colored distribution between these two national censuses. As for the change in the relative distribution of the slave population, this can be accounted for either by heavier African importations in the south-eastern provinces in the period 1819-1850,³⁰ by higher manumission

30. Between 1817 and 1843, according to British statistics, Rio de Janeiro and Santos imported 80% of the total slaves shipped to Brazil from Africa. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, p. 240, table 69.

rates in the older sugar regions of the northeast, or by a combination of the two factors.³¹

Moving from these broader issues to a more specific view of the internal slave trade, the analysis of the 1852 sample does provide ample documentation on many aspects. Since 1852 seems to have been a high importation year, the fact that average cargoes were so small even then clearly indicates the relatively diffuse nature and minor role of this trade within the broader commercial relations between the Northeastern and Southern ports and those of Rio de Janeiro and Santos. This low cargo size further suggests that the slave sales on land were in relatively small lots. The trade also, at least in these early years, moved overwhelmingly from ports north of Rio de Janeiro into the center, with only minor imports from the South. The migrant slave group was predominantly adult and male, and higher priced skilled and urban slaves seem to have been a greater proportion than in the population as a whole. This latter hypothesis would seem a logical outcome when transportation and other costs (such as export taxes) were equal for all slaves regardless of their market price, with the result that it was more economic to ship the higher priced slaves to the Rio de Janeiro market. Finally, the 1852 sample provides a rare glimpse into the African element within the slave population of Brazil at mid-century. It shows that the Africans exhibited all the disabilities that could be expected of older individuals, less acculturated to Brazilian society, who thus constituted a severely disadvantaged minority within the Brazilian slave force.

31. The idea of differential manumission rates can only remain speculative until more complete studies are undertaken on the model of Eisenberg's Pernambuco work.