

## Introduction

### The Ethiopic Ocean—History and Historiography, 1600–1975

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**ABSTRACT:** Atlantic history is generally surveyed through the prism of the North Atlantic. Yet the South Atlantic had a distinct historical pattern through the Sailing Age. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century maps and nautical guides, taking into account the system of currents and winds under the meteorological equator, which is on the north side of the geometrical equator, called the southern part of the Atlantic the “Ethiopic Ocean.” This term helps to emphasize the singularity, the boundaries, and the periodization of South Atlantic history. Indeed, generations of missiologist, colonial, and self-taught authors, as well as great and less great historians, researched such subjects. Their works depict a genealogy of the South Atlantic World that leads to a more diversified and perhaps more conclusive Atlantic history.

**KEYWORDS:** Atlantic history, South Atlantic historiography, Ethiopic Ocean, slave trade

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*The Atlantic, “a space which borrowed its past and was hastily constructed”*

— Fernand Braudel, “Pour une histoire sérieelle”

### Historical and Nautical Contours

It is well known that sixteenth-century European cartographers described the South Atlantic as Mare Aethiopicum (1529), Oceano Australis or Meridionale (1550), and Mare Magnum Australe (1561).<sup>1</sup> Less well known is the major nautical and historical network that stood within this geographical space for three hundred years. In modern atlases and charts, the subequatorial seas of western and eastern Africa bore the name of Oceanus Ethiopicus.<sup>2</sup> Later maps, like the influential Willem Blaeu’s 1606–1638 charts, assigned a different name for the eastern African seas. Thus, the Southern Atlantic remained the Oceanus Ethio-

picus, as the eastern African seas were renamed Mar de India and, later, Indian Ocean.<sup>3</sup>

Over the Transatlantic Sailing Age routes followed currents generated by the South Atlantic Gyre, combining the westerly and southeasterly trade winds. Overreaching the geographical equator, this nautical system has its northeastern limits between 5 degrees and 10 degrees N. Such perimeters overlap the northern summer edge of the southeasterly trade winds and the Intertropical Convergence Zone, or doldrums, forming the meteorological equator, that is, the thermal and atmospheric division between the North and South Atlantic.<sup>4</sup>

Accordingly, several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century marine guides and maps embrace the sub-Saharan coast south of Senegambia into the South Atlantic Ocean.<sup>5</sup> Another chart, John Senex's *A New Map, or Chart in Mercator's Projection of the Ethiopic Ocean* . . . , an acknowledged 1763 map, displays the outsize limits of that part of the ocean.<sup>6</sup> Alongside "South Atlantic," the name Ethiopic Ocean was employed until the end of the nineteenth century, the twilight of the Sailing Age, sketching this "basin" as a whole distinct system, an ocean in its own right, different from either the geographical division below the equator's line or the North Atlantic. Most significantly, *The American Cyclopaedia* (1873) designates the North Atlantic as the "Atlantic proper."<sup>7</sup> Some maps and guides plainly depicted two different Atlantic systems matching the two wheels of currents.

Why did the name Ethiopic Ocean encompass the greater part of the Atlantic? Why are such name and maritime boundaries mostly drawn in English and American charts from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century?

Altogether, the intensification of the French and British slave trade in the eighteenth century improved the information on Atlantic currents and on the African coasts. Crisscrossing the doldrums more often, seamen closely observed the weather edges and currents variations around the equator. Vessels from Newport, Liverpool, or Nantes carrying enslaved from the Bight of Benin or the Bight of Biafra to the Caribbean crossed the doldrums twice, and there were higher mortality rates in the Middle Passage.<sup>8</sup>

Anglo-American whaling voyages through the North and South Atlantic also provided sailing evidence on the two Atlantic current's system to the mapmakers and nautical guides.<sup>9</sup> Beyond a common knowledge of the Atlantic, whaling and slave-trading ships and crews sometimes mingled in nineteenth-century Brazilian and Cuban ports.<sup>10</sup>

More than any other seafaring sailing activity, the migratory whaling demanded a close understanding of the currents and seasonal variations of the seas.<sup>11</sup> Through the first decades of the nineteenth century, Nantucket specialized in sperm whaling, a typically offshore sailing, while the American flag headed the world's whaling business.<sup>12</sup> In his celebrated navigation book on the Atlantic currents published in 1832, James Rennell quotes the "Nantucket whalers" among his sources, just as other contemporary nautical authors did.<sup>13</sup>

Such circumstances may well explain the definition of the outsized northern limits of the Southern or Ethiopic Ocean depicted in the American and British eighteenth- and nineteenth-century maritime maps and guides. Not by chance, the obsolescence of the denotation "Ethiopic Ocean," with its upper equatorial edges meeting the southeasterly trade wind, occurs at the close of Sailing Age and in the rise of whaling by steamships equipped with whale guns in the late nineteenth century.

Meanwhile, Portuguese, Luso-Brazilian, and Luso-African seamen acquired intimate knowledge of routes between Brazil and Africa. Indeed, the presence of black seamen, sometimes enslaved, is a characteristic feature of the Luso-Brazilian slave trade that expanded over sub-Saharan ports.<sup>14</sup> Adding to the Senegambia and Gulf of Guinea shores, Luanda evolved into a significant slaving port as the *Asiento de Negros* found its way in West Central Africa at the turn of the seventeenth century.

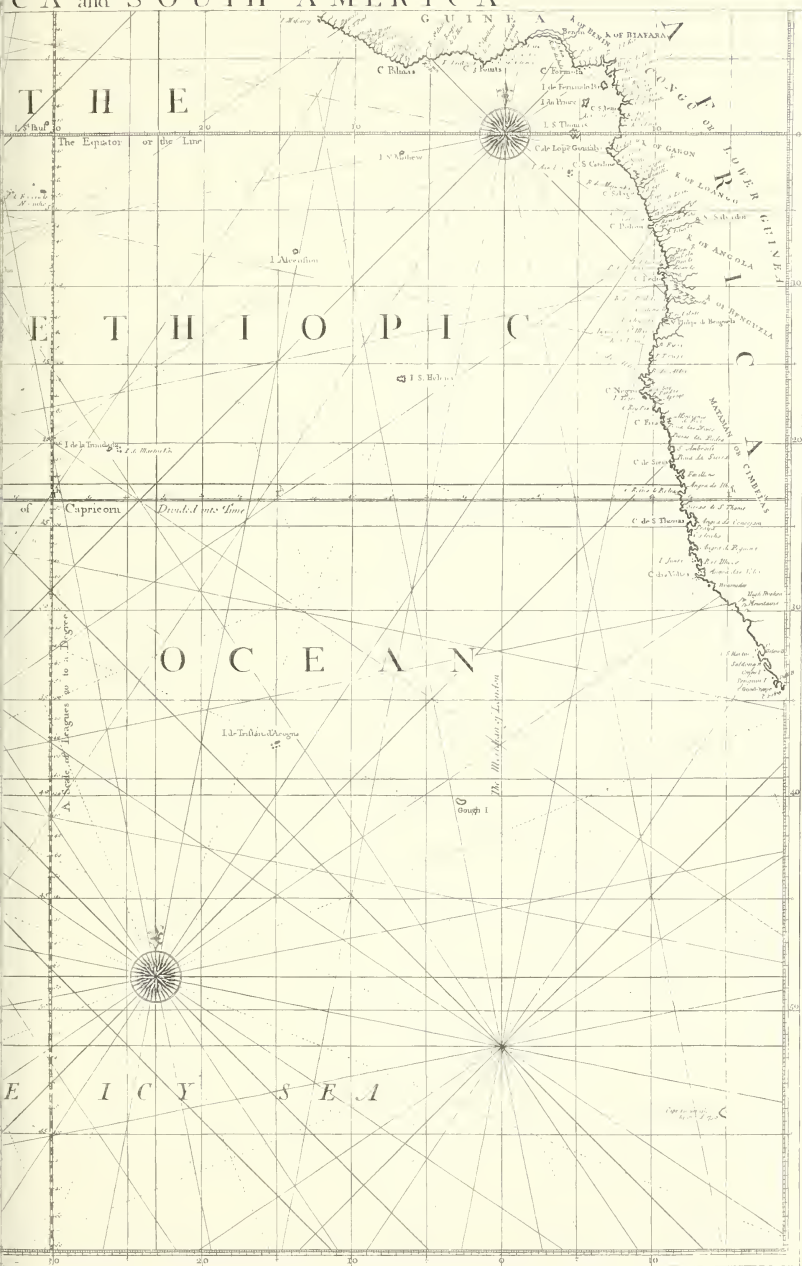
Bilateral trade from Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco to Angola and, later, the Gulf of Guinea extended between the equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. From southward, a portion of the Potosí's silver and, later, tin exports sailed through Buenos Aires toward Brazilian ports. Paired with the African slave trade, those southward exchanges continued, legally or illegally, until 1850.<sup>15</sup> In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Amazon ports of São Luis and Belém connected north of equator to Guinea Bissau. Finally, Mozambique slave trade was "atlanticized" as it was driven to Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the nineteenth century. These four main merchant networks generated around fifteen thousand round trips from Brazilian ports to Africa from 1550 through 1850.<sup>16</sup>

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors such as the French navigator Pyrrard, the Portuguese friar Vicente do Salvador, and the planter and merchant Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão reported the routes linking Brazilian ports to Angola.<sup>17</sup> However, accurate nautical descriptions of such travels are uncommon. In his *Rutter* [*Roteiro*], written during the Iberian Union, the royal cosmographer

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Antonio Mariz de Carneiro, like Manoel de Figueiredo before him, describes the sailing between Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, and the Río de La Plata as standard voyages. Yet neither cosmographer mentioned the existing bilateral crossing from Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro, and occasionally Buenos Aires, to Angola.<sup>18</sup> Surely heuristic knowledge played a key role in the Atlantic World, where navigation was simpler than the round trip between Portugal and India, which covered eighteen thousand to twenty thousand miles in different seas.<sup>19</sup>

Notwithstanding, the first known description of the south-south routes, by José Antonio Caldas, appeared in 1759. A cartographer and engineer born and raised in Salvador de Bahia, Caldas sojourned at São Tomé Island and sailed back and forth from Bahia to the Gulf of Guinea registering nautical information.<sup>20</sup> In 1802 another Luso-Brazilian cartographer, José Fernandes Portugal, published a South Atlantic map detailing nautical parameters from the Brazilian ports to the Río de la Plata and the ports of Benguela and Luanda.<sup>21</sup> Not until 1832—much later than the studies on North Atlantic seafaring—did the full description and maps of the South Atlantic surface currents by James Rennell come out.<sup>22</sup>

Arguably, the decentralization and the Brazilianization of the south-south exchanges obscured their framework. The same can be said for the Africans illegally carried to the Río de la Plata. As Eltis and Davidson observed, the South Atlantic exchanges, which form the larger slave-trading network, are the less well known by Atlantic historians.<sup>23</sup>

In fact, from 1556 until 1850, Atlantic South America, including Brazilian and Río de la Plata ports, received 4,970,000 enslaved people, mostly carried under Portuguese and Brazilian-flagged ships. Brazil was the main destination of enslaved in the Americas: 4,864,000 Africans, 43 percent of all the Atlantic slave trade, disembarked there.<sup>24</sup> The longest and most intense forced migration of the modern era took place below the equator.

As noted earlier, another key difference between the North Atlantic and the South Atlantic is the bilateral trade prevailing between Africa and Brazilian ports and, to a lesser extent, Río de la Plata ports. As a result, 95 percent of the ships carrying Africans to Brazil left Brazil's ports loaded with locally produced or reexported European and Asian goods. As Eltis and Richardson have shown, between 1501 and 1867 more slaving trade voyages were organized in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia than in any other port in the Atlantic.<sup>25</sup>

Brazilian ports shipped cassava flour and cowry to Angola and Congo beginning around the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Through Rio de Janeiro or di-

rectly from Buenos Aires, the Potosí silver arrived into the hands of slave merchants in Luanda. In the second half of the seventeenth century sugarcane rum (called *jeribita* in Angola and *cachaça* in Brazil) started to be dispatched to West Central Africa and occasionally to the Slave Coast.<sup>27</sup> In practice, exports of Pernambuco and Bahia tobacco outweighed exchanges with the Gulf of Guinea, and specifically with the Slave Coast, from the 1670s onward.<sup>28</sup> Together, Brazilian exports of *jeribita* and tobacco purchased around 48 percent of the 2,587,937 Africans who disembarked in Brazil between 1701 and 1810.<sup>29</sup> Taking into account an unknown quantity of horses, leather, manioc, maize, sugar, and dried and cured meats and fish exported to African ports, as well as the smuggling of eighteenth-century gold and diamonds, Brazilian goods arguably acquired more than half of the Africans introduced into Portuguese America.<sup>30</sup>

Nautical and trade circumstances enabled Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian ships to overcome European competitors in West Central Africa. Adverse winds and longer routes to the Angolan coast made vessels from western and northern Europe sail generally to alternate ports northward, toward the Congo estuary and beyond.

Praising such meteorological determinants, the prominent Jesuit missionary and diplomat Antonio Vieira interpreted the easy sailing between Brazil and Angola as a demonstration of the divine will—or, in other words, as the sense of the South Atlantic colonization. Preaching in Bahia in the 1680s, he proclaimed: “Some great mystery exists in this transmigration, . . . so singularly favored and assisted by God, for [the voyages] . . . that pull those people from their countries to bring them to the practices of the captivity, are always with stern wind and without changing tack.” Like other Portuguese officials and missionaries of his time, Father Vieira justified the slave traffic as a stage in their evangelization. Once extracted from hostile and heathen African villages, the enslaved could be converted and their souls saved in the colonial enclaves of Portuguese America.<sup>31</sup>

Why emphasize Fr. Antonio Vieira’s role? First, his sermons and political writings had a long-lasting influence. Like many other authors, Charles Boxer maintains that Vieira “was certainly the most remarkable man in the seventeenth-century Luso-Brazilian world.”<sup>32</sup> Second, the Jesuits’ doctrine on the slave trade and black slavery is critical insofar as they were the only missionaries continuously present in Angola, from the last quarter of the sixteenth century until their expulsion from Portugal in 1759, adding to the great influence they

exerted in Brazil during the same period. Therefore the Jesuits formed the core of the South Atlantic slave system. They were missionaries and slave owners on both shores of the ocean. It was up to them to morally validate the African's enslavement and deportation.

More so than in the *Estado da Índia*, trade and evangelization played complementary roles in the Portuguese Atlantic. Noted sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese charts of Africa such as those by Pero Fernandes (1525 and 1527), Antônio Sanchez (1641), and Costa Miranda (1681) depict two major illustrations: the fortress of São Jorge de Mina, built by the Portuguese in 1482 (Elmina, taken by the Dutch in 1637), a chief trade center of an area that was one of the main sources of the gold imported in Europe from 1500 to 1700, and the "church of Manicongo," in São Salvador do Congo, which was, beginning in 1596, the bishopric seat of the Congo and Angola diocese.<sup>33</sup> These were strong symbols of the Iberian overseas. Indeed, São Jorge da Mina's fortress was the first European trading post in the sub-Saharan world, as São Salvador do Congo was the first episcopal see in continental Africa since the Muslim conquest of North Africa.

Decisive events in the last decades of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth—the American Revolution, the Haitian Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Ibero-American colonies' emancipation—had rather different effects in the North and South Atlantic.

Usually, economic consequences of the Latin America country's independence are summarized as a stopover change that led Liverpool to replace Cádiz and Lisbon as the main commercial port of the former Iberian colonies.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the opening of direct trade between Brazil and England (1808) and, later, Brazil's independence (1822) did not alter its entire colonial spatial matrix. Whereas Liverpool replaced Lisbon as the main Brazilian commerce port, Luanda retained second place in Brazil's foreign exchanges. Despite the post-Vienna balance of power and the encroachment of the Royal Navy in the south-south trade, the Ethiopic Ocean's historical context remains relevant until the middle of the nineteenth century as an essential trait of the Brazilian state building among the new American countries.

From 1808 until 1850, Brazil fostered the Atlantic slave trade in African ports forsaken by American and British vessels, drew the Mozambican trade into the Atlantic, and supported African inland traffic with reexported European merchandise. Stimulated by British finance and manufactured exports, Brazil demon-



strated the viability of the slavery/slave trade system as a modern economy coupled with the Industrial Revolution. To be sure, Cuba had an equivalent slave system fed by African deportees. However, only independent Brazil's continentwide slavery economy, with its Luso-Brazilian maritime networks, could embrace and thrive across all sub-Saharan trading areas, sustaining a predatory economy on both shores of the South Atlantic. In the end, the Brazilian Crown invigorated slavery in its entire national territory and protected its slave traders with diplomats from a European-bred monarchy apt to defer the Foreign Office and Royal Navy's interventionism in the South Atlantic.

By doing so, the 1822 Brazilian independence thwarted the abolitionist and Republican principles aroused by the American, French, and Haitian Revolutions and thus embodied a genuine Atlantic counterrevolution.<sup>35</sup>

Subsequently, the close of the South Atlantic network generated a defining geopolitical transformation in 1850. Unlike other maritime networks within trading areas such as the Caribbean or the Indian Ocean, the South Atlantic bilateral exchanges did not unravel progressively in the face of new competitors or resume with different commodities. Rather, these maritime exchanges broke down abruptly and vanished under British diplomatic and naval coercion. From then onward, "Ethiopic Ocean" turned into an outdated name as the new international division of labor precluded the south-south trade.

Thenceforth, alluding to the South Atlantic emptiness after the end of the slave trade, a famed British nautical guide states in a 1883 introductory note absent from its previous editions: "A large portion of the coast lying within the Southern tropics, and the absolutely barren nature of its eastern side, render the commerce in this vast area of water of very small importance compared with other seas of equal magnitude."<sup>36</sup>

One century later, in the aftermath of African's countries decolonization, in an utterly diverse geopolitical context, bilateral relations between postcolonial sub-Saharan countries and South America resumed. Policy makers, global traders, military strategists, and editorialists, as well as community leaders, artists, and academics, now ponder the present and the future of the South Atlantic, underlining the distinctions between the two hemispheres. A recent joint report from the World Bank and the Institute for Applied Economic Research, a Brazilian agency, describes the South Atlantic "as a channel of cultural transfers or political and social experiences, rather than as a geopolitical ocean like the North Atlantic"—an arguable description.<sup>37</sup>

These considerations lead to a notional inference. There are no long-term enduring structures or original elements—a “longue durée” movement—encompassing the area in both past and present. Although some authors, including myself, have portrayed the subequatorial interchanges as a “South Atlantic system,” it would be more appropriate to call the transactions shaded by communities and political entities in this part of the ocean a “South Atlantic network.”<sup>38</sup> Yet because this article focuses on the maritime space known in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries as the “Ethiopic Ocean,” I shall utilize that term to design this geohistorical aggregate.<sup>39</sup>

Distinctive from the holistic conceptions of Atlantic history, such a denotation provides a framework for the specificities and the periodization discussed in the following sections. Equally, it facilitates reviewing prior works often neglected by current proponents of Atlantic history. Likewise, conceptions on the past and present of the African countries changed profoundly in the postcolonial era. Therefore, except for some essays related to Atlantic history, this article discusses events and historiography previous to the independence of Angola in 1975.

Noting the growing academic trend toward Atlantic history, David Armitage observed rather ironically, “We are all Atlanticists now.” Going back in time, John Russell-Wood mentioned historians who “unconsciously or not” studied the subject.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding these reflections, the notion of Ethiopic Ocean may contribute to make Atlantic history more complex and, perhaps, more conclusive.

### **The South Atlantic Anomaly**

Seafaring and historic evidence underpins the proposition that the Ethiopic Ocean stands out in conventional Atlantic history.<sup>41</sup> However, despite its past and present significance, there is not a recognized field of scholarship in social sciences pertaining to South Atlantic studies.

Some years ago, a vivid and stimulating debate on US African American and African Studies, Pan-Africanism, Afrocentrism, and different issues related to area studies only incidentally quoted the need to include Brazil and Afro-Brazilians in such research.<sup>42</sup>

Such an oversight, shared by notable specialists of Atlantic history, is hardly a coincidence. As a matter of fact, a common historiographical assumption

holds that the North Atlantic, including the Caribbean, subsumes the entire Atlantic history—a postulation that derives from nineteenth-century theories on merchant capital regarding England and the British empire as the overcomer of national and colonial stages previously performed by other European countries.

As Marx asserted in *Capital*, “The different momenta of primitive accumulation distribute themselves now, more or less in chronological order, particularly over Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, and England. In England at the end of the 17th century, they arrive at a systematical combination, embracing the colonies, the national debt, the modern mode of taxation, and the protectionist system.”<sup>43</sup>

For his part, Max Weber created his own chronological and categorical distinction among the modern colonial powers, regarding the Portuguese and the Spanish colonial systems as related to the “feudal type” while their Dutch and the English counterparts were otherwise “capitalistic.”<sup>44</sup>

Premises of England’s development as a “systematical combination” of other European empires influenced as well the periodization of Atlantic history, insofar as the historiography emphasizes the 1807 English and American Abolition Acts. Eric Williams’s *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) and his appraisals of the “triangular trade”—a characterization he contributed to promoting—as well as on American and British debates on abolitionism, oriented the discussions among postwar historians. Even though Williams stressed the growth of the African’s deportation to Brazil and Cuba after the 1807 abolitions, only in recent decades has research provided evidence that beyond the North Atlantic—the “Atlantic proper”—the South Atlantic network also existed.<sup>45</sup> In any case, with the “Williams debate” as its counterpart, the “Drescher debate” centers on the North Atlantic and consigns the nineteenth-century South Atlantic slave trade to secondary-issue status.

Several circumstances overshadowed the South Atlantic’s geohistorical specificity. First, there is of course the historical namesake above the equator describing the US southern states that is the standard reference to the term at the Library of Congress.<sup>46</sup> Thus concerning the southern United States and Jamaican slave societies as well as their spatial economic specialization, Philip Curtin elaborated in 1955 the first conceptual framing of a historical “South Atlantic system.”<sup>47</sup> Later Curtin abandoned this concept, proposing the notion of “plantation complex” to encompass the tropical slavery regions north and south of the equator.<sup>48</sup>

Inspired by those reflections, another categorization was issued in a widely accepted textbook on American history. Accordingly, James A. Henretta and David Brody defined a "South Atlantic system" that included Brazilian and West Indies sugarcane slavery.<sup>49</sup>

Yet two essential albeit divergent books on Atlantic history, Bernard Bailyn's *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (2005) and Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* (1993), omit the South Atlantic network in the same way, focusing on the Northern Hemisphere as a broader framework for the whole Atlantic history.

Since 1955, Bernard Bailyn has published extensively on Atlantic history. He formed two generations of historians and conducts an influential Harvard seminar on Atlantic history issues.<sup>50</sup> His book scrutinizes the changes in Atlantic historiography through the world wars and the Cold War. As reviewers observed, he focuses mostly on the eighteenth century and the British and Anglo-American dimensions of Atlantic history, disregarding the Haitian Revolution, African history, and the deportation of Africans to the Americas.<sup>51</sup> His single reference to a "South Atlantic" space retook Curtin's earlier formulation concerning the southern US states and Jamaica.<sup>52</sup>

Bailyn's analysis of the evolution of ideas on Atlantic history and an Atlantic World is telling. The book helps us understand the enduring conception of the North Atlantic as a civilizational unity—a theme surfacing time and again at the geopolitical sphere, as is shown in the ongoing negotiations on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the United States and the European Union,<sup>53</sup> even though the notion of Western civilization actually covers other transcontinental contours.<sup>54</sup>

Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* (1993) cast a new light on Atlantic history centered on African American cultures. However, the book focuses equally on the North Atlantic and Caribbean societies and makes no reference to Africa. Although Gilroy highlights the idea of the black diaspora, he does not mention Afro-Brazilians, the largest national community of African descent outside Africa. In addition, nothing is said on the mulattos' agency and characterization, a theme that is a crucial counterpoint to the analyses of African American history and that has been surveyed by generations of significant Brazilian, French, British, and American social scientists.<sup>55</sup>

It must be said that Gilroy in some way acknowledges this oversight. In the preface to the Brazilian translation of his book, he notes that African Brazil's history has been "marginalized" in the literature on African American culture.<sup>56</sup>



Communities and countries below the equator are surveyed in some collective works aiming to encompass the global Atlantic history.

*Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (2009) is edited by Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, both of whom also made significant contributions to Atlantic history.<sup>57</sup> The book splits into different segments: the European empires are included in the South Atlantic network, segregating the “Dutch Atlantic,” the “Portuguese Atlantic,” and the “Spanish Atlantic.” Two chapters examine the Africans and the Amerindians, though the essays on systemic issues do not envision the interactions between the two shores of the southern Atlantic. Encompassing the American colonial period, the chapters overlook the Mozambican traffic to Brazil—a new segment of the Atlantic slave trade—and other long-lasting transformations of the first half of the nineteenth century, when the Cuban and Brazilian slave trade reached their zenith. While Luso-Brazilians surpassed all other Atlantic slave traders, Luanda turned into the most prominent enslaver embarkation port in Africa, and Rio de Janeiro emerged as the main slave trade hub in the Americas.

Nicholas Canny and Philip Morgan edited another compelling book on the field, encompassing a larger period: 1450–1850.<sup>58</sup> This collective work underplays interactions between Angola and Brazil as well as the role of Portuguese *asentistas* in the consolidation of Lisbon’s presence in West Central Africa. Some chapters develop an interesting global approach. Yet the chapter on Atlantic Warfare (Ira D. Gruber) does not comment on the South Atlantic Luso-Dutch war or the expeditionary troops from Brazil who fought in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Angola. Kenneth Mills studies religion, omitting the pluricentennial Catholic missions and religious culture in the Kongo kingdom and Angola. J.-F. Schaub’s chapter on violence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries scarcely cites Africa and eschews the violence generated by the Atlantic slave trade. In the same vein, Schaub’s acknowledgment to Father Vieira’s plea for the Amerindians does not see the other side of the coin: Fr. Vieira’s staunch support of the slave trade and the deportation of the Angolans. Robin Fox addresses the topic of Africa and the Atlantic World, focusing chiefly on the Gulf of Guinea but too briefly on West Central Africa, the main deportation’s area. The complete survey of David Eltis on slavery and the slave trade unfortunately ends at the middle of the eighteenth century, hence there is no information about the recentering of the slave trade in the South Atlantic to the end of the Brazilian (1850) and Cuban (1867) slave trades or about the connections between



the US South, Brazilian, Puerto Rican, and Cuban plantations and the slave trade with British Industrial Revolution—an issue previously studied by Eltis and in the seminal essay titled “Second Slavery” by Dale Tomich.<sup>59</sup>

Other collective works or author’s essays on Atlantic history consider similarly the year 1850 as a baseline for periodization, insofar as the date marks a surge in European trade and emigration. Some of them emphasize either South American or African history.<sup>60</sup> Still, no relationship is elaborated between clear-cut events brought about or performed in the Ethiopic Ocean by the Royal Navy at that time: the end of the Brazilian slave trade (1850), the bombing of Lagos (1851), and the blockade of Ouidah (1852).<sup>61</sup> The combined effects of those episodes sharply marked Atlantic history. Between 1841–1850 and 1851–1860, the deportation of Africans to the Americas decreased by two-thirds, and this fall was almost entirely caused by the near end of disembarkments in Brazil.<sup>62</sup>

That aside, comparisons between the subdivisions of the Atlantic may boast false equivalences, since there is an obvious asymmetry: the continuity, the spatial scope, and the economic and political significance of the North Atlantic overcomes that of the South Atlantic. Which leads us to one question: after all, is South Atlantic history dissimilar from North Atlantic history? The answer is yes, definitely.

To outline those distinctive characteristics, the next paragraphs review issues that delineated the South Atlantic network, as well as the twentieth-century historiography on the field, before Atlantic history became a scholarly area in its own right.

### **Another Atlantic World: The Ethiopic Ocean in the Seventeenth Century**

Due to major changes during the 1600s in South America and Atlantic Africa, the seventeenth century was the heyday of the Ethiopic Ocean.<sup>63</sup>

A new geopolitical space had been shaped by the Iberian-Dutch struggle in Brazil and Angola through the Thirty Years War and beyond; the Portuguese Restoration diplomacy; the refocusing of the Braganza dynasty’s overseas policy from Asia to the Atlantic; the Jesuits’ activities in the Atlantic; the Paulista Indian slaving raids in Paraguay; the annihilation of Indian communities in Portuguese America Northeast; the military expeditions from Brazil to Angola; the Amerindian, Maroon, and African rebellions in Brazil and West Central Africa; the introduction of South American crops (most notably, maize and cassava) in Central African agriculture; the extension of inland trade networks in Angola;

the overthrow of the Ndongo kingdom; the decline of the Kongo kingdom and the emergence of the Lunda and Luba States; the rise of the Dahomey kingdom; the displacements of the Spanish slave *asientos*' networks southward to Luanda and Potosí through Buenos Aires; and, finally, the doctrinaire legitimization of the Atlantic slave trade by the clergy and missionaries of Brazil and Angola.

Throughout the Iberian Union, the Portuguese slave traders, ship-owners, prominent merchants, and their Spanish partners acquired all of the *asientos* auctioned in Madrid from 1595 to 1640. In the process, they added the Spanish American slave market to the management they already wielded on the Brazilian market. Additionally, the *asentistas*' investments broadened the Portuguese dominion in West Central Africa. Settlements and forts in Benguela, Luanda, Muixima, Massangano, and Cambambe were built or reinforced through the *asiento* contracts held by the Portuguese. Such enclaves secured Lisbon's dominance in Angola ports and inland markets, helping to curb the Dutch and, later, French trade to the Soyo County and the Loango kingdom, at the mouth of the Congo River. As a result, the combined spaces of the Ethiopic Ocean frame its historical outline. Typically, Africanists and Americanists singly study crucial and correlated issues of the South Atlantic.

Pondering the intensification of embarkments in Angola at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Africanists emphasize endogenous factors (the escalation of enslavement raids by the Jaga-Imbangala warriors allied to the Portuguese) and overlook the rising slave demand from the *asentistas*' agents newly settled in Luanda.<sup>64</sup> Conversely, examining the shifting from Indian slavery to black slavery in his magisterial book on Bahia's plantations, Stuart Schwartz focuses on the sugar mills' management and does not take into account the increase in African disembarkments in Brazil following the *asentistas*' investments in Angola.<sup>65</sup>

From this same territorial perspective, Americanists often analyze the debate on the legitimacy of black slavery as if the theological and legal controversies on the enslaved African status began when they landed in America. As a matter of fact, the acceptance of the enslaving and trading of Africans predates the discovery of America.

Proposed by the Portuguese Crown and issued by Pope Nicholas V, the bull *Romanus Pontifex* (1455) set the legal basis of the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>66</sup> Later, established by Crown's contracts and configuring a tool of the Iberian policies, the *Asientos de Negros* gave new dimensions to the lawfulness of the African's

enslavement. As mention earlier, Fr. Antonio Vieira, as well as other Iberian Church authorities before him, envisioned the African slave trade as a process for converting the heathen deportees into Catholics within the colonial enclaves in America. Bought at inland markets, branded with the owner's seal after the payment of the Crown's fee in Luanda and West African ports, drawn away from Africa's paganism, and sold to Christian masters, the enslaved was already half-way toward heaven on his arrival in Catholic America. Therefore the problem of the legitimacy of blacks' slavery became a subsidiary and sometimes indiscernible element in Ibero-America.

To be sure, endogenous factors influenced the increase of the inland slave trade to Luanda and other Africans ports as well as the expansion and the legitimacy of the African slavery in South America. However, the South Atlantic perspective offers a more comprehensive approach that prevents pitfalls of disciplinary divisions and territorial interpretations.

On the geopolitical viewpoint, stages of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) operations on both shores of the Atlantic (1630–1654) displayed the unified economic space shaped within the Ethiopic Ocean. The Dutch first occupied the Portuguese sugarcane plantations in Pernambuco (1630), Brazil, and then decided to capture Angola (1641). The other way around, the Portuguese and Brazil's settlers first recaptured Angola (1648) to undermine and expel the WIC from Brazil (1654). The outcomes of the world economic war between Portugal and the United Provinces are thus clear. Across the Pacific, over the Spice War, where factories' control was at stake, Lisbon had lost. In the South Atlantic, over the Sugar War concerning possession of South America's plantations as well as African slave trade areas, thanks to her control over Angolan inland networks, Lisbon had won. Henceforth, the center of the Portuguese overseas shifted from the Pacific to the Atlantic, from an economy of circulation to an economy of production more related to territorial control.

Strengthened by the *asientos* investments and support from metropolitan and Brazil's colonists, Lisbon gained predominance in Angola, winning the largest slave market in Africa. While European powers engaged in slave trade concentrated their commerce on coastal posts, Portugal held inland networks in Angola and became the only European country that undertook official, large-scale military operations to enslave Africans.

The recovery of Angola's networks by the Portuguese as well as the opening of new markets on the Slave Coast raised African deportation to Brazil and im-

pacted the Indian territories in the Northeast. Turning into a less significant reserve of captive labor, Indian villages appeared as a hindrance to the cattle-raising expansion. From then on, with the support of the Paulistas from southern Brazil and militiamen from the North recruited by planters and ranchers, a war was waged against the northeastern Indians, from the Bahia backlands up to the Amazon's south bank. Troops and officers who had previously fought in Angola or in the Brasília War against the Dutch often raided Indians and Maroon villages in northeastern Brazil, particularly during the thirty or so expeditions launched against Palmares from 1654 until 1694. Some of these officers and militiamen returned later to Angola. Back and forth across Brazil and Angola hinterlands, such military propagate a common knowledge on wars waged around the Tropic of Capricorn, forming therefore a new colonial army in the South Atlantic.<sup>67</sup>

Called (significantly) the Barbarian Wars (1651–1704), the campaigns against the northeastern Indians marked a rupture in Portuguese America. For the first time, the colonial offensive aimed the extermination rather than the enslavement of the Indians.<sup>68</sup> Therefore the African slave trade extension had dramatic consequences to the Indian communities as well.

By that time, two major transformations occurred in the Atlantic. In the northern Atlantic, aside from Lisbon and Seville, new organizational centers of the slave trade had arisen in Liverpool, London, Bristol, and Nantes.<sup>69</sup> In the southern Atlantic, a bilateral trade consolidated between Brazil and African ports in Angola and in the Gulf of Guinea.

Such geopolitical space was comprehended and institutionalized by Rome. Reorganized by Pope Innocence X in the 1670s, the Portuguese dioceses underpin the South Atlantic network. Following the maritime currents and exchanges, the new bishopric of Maranhão (North Brazil) was made suffragan of the Lisbon's archbishop (1677). By contrast, the dioceses of Congo-Angola and São Tomé became suffragan of the new archbishopric of Bahia (1676).<sup>70</sup>

Featuring unparalleled transatlantic moves in the Americas, no less than ten military expeditions from Brazil were organized between the middle of the seventeenth century and the middle of the eighteenth, mainly in Pernambuco, to assist Portuguese forces in Angola.<sup>71</sup> Regionalist chroniclers in Brazil registered such activities. Writing about the “glories” of Pernambuco, an eighteenth-century Pernambucano chronicler praised the “rare value” of the Pernambucano combatants who crossed the South Atlantic to fight in Angola, “sustaining with their hands that great share of the Portuguese empire.”<sup>72</sup>



By the same token, royal officers, missionaries, merchants, and adventurers traveled between Brazil and Angola, furthering Portuguese ascendancy in Central Africa. Additionally, several bishops and a dozen governors in Angola occupied similar posts within Portuguese America, prior to assuming or after having assumed their functions in Luanda between 1648 and 1810.<sup>73</sup>

Unlike the plantation enclaves of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the economics of gold mining generated a continental trade network throughout Portuguese America in the eighteenth century. The growth and diversification of the Brazilian economy intensified exchanges with the African ports. Rio de Janeiro and, to a lesser extent, Pernambuco merchants took control of Benguela slave trade as Bahia's vessels sailed more frequently to the Slave Coast. Moreover, under the Crown's and metropolitan merchants' direction, a new slave trade circuit was created between Guinea-Bissau and the Portuguese Amazon seaports of Belém and São Luís.<sup>74</sup>

Major findings on those issues expanded the historiography on the South Atlantic in Argentina, Brazil, and the European colonial powers involved in West Central Africa. Many sources and essays on Congo and Angola discussed below derived from colonial and missionary authors. Referring to the Kongo kingdom, for which there was sixteenth- to eighteenth-century European documentation he aptly considered "richer . . . than for any other state in Africa," Richard Gray stated: "The value of this material is, however, vitiated by its alien nature and there does not seem much likelihood of oral tradition greatly remedying this deficiency."<sup>75</sup>

Taken literally, such approach would imply that no research could be done on most of modern Africa and South America (and on many other places and periods). In any case, the necessary solution is to scrutinize the colonial data in order to uncover the relationship between evolving communities on both sides of the South Atlantic. As we shall see below, the ideological context driving the sources' publication and the colonial historiography constitutes an inescapable aspect of Atlantic history.

### **The Historiography of Portugal's Colonial Atlantic**

Commemorations on the third centennial of the Braganza's Restoration (1640), which reestablished the country's independence in Europe and overseas, brought official sponsorship to historical research and to the Congresso do Mundo Português, held in Lisbon. Gathering historians and social scientists from different



countries when Europe's balance of power was being shaken by the Second World War, the conference centered around the idea of the legitimacy and endurance of the Portuguese colonial possessions.<sup>76</sup> In the meantime, the Agência Geral das Colônias subsidized books and research journals on Portugal's overseas history.<sup>77</sup> Revealing debates, whose influence on later books on Atlantic history has been underestimated, occurred around those two commemorations.<sup>78</sup>

Edgar Prestage's publications on seventeenth-century Portugal's diplomatic history and Hermann Wätjen's book on Dutch colonization in Brazil completed the works of several Portuguese and Brazilian historians.<sup>79</sup> Prestage, who later converted to Catholicism, continued a long tradition of British historians specializing in Anglo-Portuguese relations.

By the time Germany's late colonialism expanded in Africa, Wätjen, a Heidelberg historian, decided to study WIC's policies in the seventeenth-century South Atlantic in order to understand the failure of German colonies during the first European expansion. As is known, the WIC had many Germans beside the Dutch in its settlements in Brazil and Angola, not to mention Johan Moritz von Nassau-Siegen, the Westphalian governor of New Holland.<sup>80</sup>

Some of the Portuguese authors writing on the Atlantic—such as João Lucio de Azevedo, Serafim Leite, Jaime Cortesão, Edmundo Correia Lopes, and Ruela Pombo—lived in Brazil and interacted with Brazilian historians and institutions, improving the common knowledge of South Atlantic history.

A leading Catholic historian, Azevedo renewed the studies on Portuguese colonial economy. Most notably, he offered new perspectives on the endeavors of Fr. Antônio Vieira (1608–1697). Publishing and annotating unknown letters and memorials from Vieira, he brought to light the gifted seventeenth-century preacher, political writer, colonial expert, and statesman who was the first influential author to outline the unity and the geopolitical significance of the Ethiopic Ocean.<sup>81</sup>

The Jesuit Serafim Leite focused his research on the missionaries in Portuguese America. A central idea underlines his works: the protection and spiritual redemption of the Indians by the Jesuits was the greatest accomplishment of the Portuguese in Brazil.<sup>82</sup>

The Christian humanity toward the Indians, epitomized by the Jesuits, overrode the Atlantic slave trade and other tragedies caused by Lisbon's colonialism. Aiming Portuguese and Brazilian readers, his *História* attempts to join both nations—then taken by a wave of nationalism—around the civilizational evan-

gelization achieved by the Jesuits in Portuguese America. Beyond his ideological comments, Leite collected documents in many Portuguese and Jesuit archives illustrating relationships between Catholic doctrine and practice on slavery. Entangled in the national framework of Brazil's historiography, he underplays the connections between the Jesuits' missions in Brazil and Angola.

Jaime Cortesão's research—significantly funded by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs—influenced Brazil's territorial history. His writings on the *bandeirantes* had a double impact. Interpreting the Paulistas' slaving raids on Paraguayan Indian missions as attacks against the Spanish power in South America, Cortesão inscribed the *bandeiras* in the celebrated Restoration Wars, flattering the same São Paulo's oligarchies that had favored his publications. By doing so, he also underlined the extent of the connections between southern Brazil, Paraguay, and Río de la Plata. Though Cortesão had not studied the American nexuses with Africa, his envisioning of the global Portuguese overseas and his larger approach to Iberian America contributed to the depiction of the South Atlantic history.<sup>83</sup>

Edmundo Correia Lopes, philologist and ethnographer, lived and taught in Brazil from 1927 until 1937, where he researched Afro-Brazilian culture in Bahia. In 1944, the Agência Geral das Colônias published his book on slavery in the Portuguese Atlantic, which provided an authoritative quantitative and qualitative overview of the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>84</sup>

A lesser-known Portuguese author, Fr. Ruela Pombo, created the periodical *Diogo Caão* (1931–1938), which was based in Luanda and spurred research on Portuguese West Central Africa.<sup>85</sup> A priest and self-taught historian, he moved from Portugal to Brazil in 1912 and, ten years later, from Brazil to Angola. Impressed by the commemorations of the centennial of Brazil's independence in 1922, he was the first author to do research in Minas Gerais and Luanda archives on the Brazilian rebels deported to Angola in 1789. His works are at times bewildering, but overall inspiring. Conveying his transatlantic parochialism from Porto to Sapucaí (Minas Gerais) and then to Luanda, Ruela Pombo improved research on the South Atlantic.<sup>86</sup> Sources on Angolan-Brazilian relations, Luanda's government, Cadornega's *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* (1680), and significant documents on Congo and Angola were printed and annotated for the first time in *Diogo Caão*, prompting the edition of Luanda's journal titled *Arquivos de Angola*.<sup>87</sup> Well after Ruela Pombo's death, P. E. H. Hair acknowledged his "pio-

neering piece of African history text-editing" and regretted that he remained mostly unknown.<sup>88</sup>

A work of primordial importance, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* describes the struggles in the main European enclave in sub-Saharan Africa. Written in Luanda in a vivid style by an old Angola hand relying on documents collected by three generations of Angola's settlers and authorities as well as on oral African sources, Cadornega—considered "the father of the History of Angola" by Ruela Pombo—inaugurates the "Angolista history," that is, the history of Angola from the settlers' perspective.<sup>89</sup>

No comparable reflection was written in any other European enclave in Africa at that time. Notably, Cadornega establishes a literary connection across the South Atlantic, stating that his *História Geral* emulated Portuguese books on the Brasilic Wars waged in Pernambuco against the Dutch. To him, the battles the Angolistas fought in seventeenth century deserved as much merit as the Brasilic and Portugal's Restoration Wars.

By editing the *História Geral* in 1938–1942, amid the celebrations of the 1640 Restoration, Fr. Ruela Pombo and Canon José Mathias Delgado, professor at the Escola Superior Colonial, gave full significance to Cadornega's work. Echoing eighteenth-century's Lisbon's optimistic prognostics on Brazil, Fr. Delgado concludes his introduction to the 1940 edition of the *História Geral* by praising the endeavors of generations of Portuguese who with the "greatest sacrifices and works bequeathed to us such rich heritage of Angola which constitutes Portugal's future."<sup>90</sup>

Connections between Angola and Brazil, slightly suggested by Cadornega, are much more clearly depicted a century later by the Brazilian-born Elias Alexandre Silva Correa in his *História de Angola* (1787–1799). An army officer in Luanda for seven years, Silva Correa, based on documents and oral sources from Luanda and Rio de Janeiro, envisaged Angola in relationship with Brazil's history. As Joseph Miller observed, Silva Correa "betrays his sympathies with his American countrymen."<sup>91</sup>

Published in 1937 by Manuel Múrias, an influential cultural activist of Salazar's regime, Silva Correa book, like Cadornega's *História*, was viewed as a further testimony "of the Portuguese historic culture" in Africa, outside its South Atlantic context. Conversely, Brazil's historiography or Brazilian authors ignored both books.<sup>92</sup> However, Cadornega and Silva Correa's works constitute

mandatories and incomparable sources on colonial Angola and on South Atlantic history.

Confronted with European competition overseas, Portugal has leveraged her fifteenth- through eighteenth-century overseas chronicles, when Lisbon was a pivotal actor of the first Western expansion, in order to reassert her colonial rights throughout the second expansion in nineteenth and twentieth centuries, wherein she had a quite secondary role.

In his 1841 preface to the first edition of *Cronica da Guiné* (1453–1460), the Viscount of Santarém—an experienced historian and Portuguese diplomat—praised Zurara’s work as a testimony to the “priority” of Lisbon’s arrival in Africa.<sup>93</sup> Three decades later, the Viscount of Paiva Manso’s *História do Congo* (1877), with key historical documents on the Portuguese in Kongo and Angola, was published. A noted jurist, Paiva Manso had previously edited government’s documents and charts probing, against British claims, Portugal’s rights at the Lourenço Marques Bay.<sup>94</sup> His edition of historical sources on the Portuguese presence in the Congo basin aimed then to rebuff the Belgium’s pretensions in the area. Prompting new investigations, his book turned out to be a founding text on the Kongo kingdom’s history.<sup>95</sup>

In turn, the first editors of Cadornega’s *História Geral* (1680) intended to demonstrate in 1940 the precedence of the Portuguese settlements and institutions, including the Portuguese clergy, in Angola. From the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, the publication of those books had the same purpose: to establish the primacy, continuity, and legitimacy of Portugal’s dominance in Africa over the competing colonial powers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Throughout the 1940 commemorations the role of the Portuguese Church gained a new dimension. In 1930, the Colonial Act edited by Salazar established the Portuguese overseas missions as “instruments of civilization and national influence.” Ten years later, the Missions Agreement was set up between Lisbon and the Vatican.<sup>96</sup> By then, the Catholic Church had a more prominent role in Portugal than in any other European colonial power. A fresh colonial power, Belgium sent Catholics and, to a lesser extent, Protestant missionaries to her African territories.<sup>97</sup>

In this context, Lisbon—the main provider of missionaries, catechisms, and churches in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia since the sixteenth century—acted as a stronghold of Catholic colonialism. This dimension was fully assumed by the



dictatorship of Salazar, whose international leadership was enhanced during the Cold War.

As Bernard Bailyn has noted, Salazar was one of the authorities quoted by Ross Hoffman, a leading Catholic historian teaching at Columbia University, in his 1945 plea for an "Atlantic community" aimed at uniting the "progeny of Western Christendom."<sup>98</sup> However, the strategic Portuguese space in the Atlantic, particularly the Azores Allied military base, granted Salazar better assets than the defense of the Christianity in Africa. Although Catholic Spain was still debased by Franco's dictatorship, Portugal's dictator was invited to be a founding member of NATO in 1949.<sup>99</sup> Within this geopolitical and ideological context, three clerical historians and editors undertook a global history of the Portuguese missions in America, Asia, and Africa.

As mentioned above, the first author was Serafim Leite SJ. Father Antonio da Silva Rego was the second. In 1947, with decisive support from Salazar and from Goa's Catholic Patriarch in the East Indies, he edited the first of its ten volumes of documents on the missions in Asia. In his introduction, alluding in a timely way to India's independence, Silva Rêgo asserted the consubstantiality of Portugal's colonization and Christianity: "We intend to study the social and missionary action of the Portuguese in the East, since it is impossible to try to separate them." According to him, only Portuguese colonial rule could protect Catholics in India.<sup>100</sup> A graduate in history at the Catholic University of Louvain, where an *École de Sciences Coloniales* was founded in 1909 to instruct Belgian missionaries and colonial officials, Silva Rêgo himself became an influential professor at Lisbon's *Escola Superior Colonial*. Among other works, he wrote a significant book marking the third centennial of reconquest of Angola by the Portuguese from Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro in 1648.<sup>101</sup>

The third component of the global missionary history was launched in 1952, when Fr. Antonio Brásio published the first volume of his *Monumenta Missionária Africana* (MMA).<sup>102</sup> A Holy Ghost or Spiritan Father, Brásio belonged to the religious congregation regarded as the Jesuit's successors in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century West Central African evangelical task.

Herein lies one of the discrepancies concerning the Catholic missions in the first and second European expansion. Whereas the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Dominicans established missions on four continents from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth, the second European expansion saw the emergence of congregations centered on specific cultural areas. Like the Spiritans order,



re-created in 1848 as a postabolitionist congregation to mission in Haiti, Martinique, and sub-Saharan Africa, the White Fathers was founded in 1868 to act in Muslim North Africa, and the Society of the Divine World missionaries (1875) was effective in China. More specialized culturally and regionally, those missionaries and their scholarship and documentary records lack the global and multicultural approach to evangelization embodying the congregations coupled to the first European expansion.

In 1865 the Spiritan congregation obtained the administration of abandoned Capuchins missions in Congo and Angola.<sup>103</sup> Fr. José Maria Antunes, the first Portuguese-born Provincial of the Spiritans and founder of the Huila missions, allied with Portuguese authorities to repel Boer intrusions into South Angola at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>104</sup> Likewise, aware of the need to keep up the Portuguese past in Angola, Fr. Antunes copied the complete Paris manuscript of Cadornega's *História* and partially published it, for the first time, in a 1902 issue of *Portugal em África*, the Spiritan missionary journal he edited.<sup>105</sup>

In 1943 Fr. Brásio began editing *Portugal em África*, where he collaborated with ideologues and self-taught historians like Manuel Múrias and other personalities of the Salazar regime. Consequently, the MMA series had matured for a decade before the publication of its first volume.<sup>106</sup>

Brásio's works, along with those of many of his country's Africanists, must also be set within the rivalry between the Portuguese and Belgian Catholics, on one side, and the Belgian, English, and American Protestant missionaries and colonial officials in Central and Austral Africa, on the other.<sup>107</sup> Like many Portuguese and Catholic Belgians, Brazil's consul in Luanda believed that Protestant missionaries and American evangelical leaders encouraged ethnic tensions and revolt among Angolans in 1961.<sup>108</sup>

Wisely selecting and occasionally annotating hundreds of unknown or understudied documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through a period of growing academic interest in Portuguese Africa, Fr. Brásio issued the MMA series, with twenty-three volumes edited and published during his lifetime, as a unique repertory. This documentary collection has contributed decisively to most of the research on early West and West Central Africa, making Brásio's intellectual influence more enduring than those of Serafim Leite and Silva Rego. His prefaces to the MMA volumes foreshadow the dramas that preceded and followed the decolonization, namely in Angola, the main country reported in the *Missionária*. In his introduction to volume 12—the first to be published after the

historical chasm caused in Lisbon by the Carnation Revolution and Lusophone African countries' independences—Father Brásio wrote amid resignation and Christian faith: “The history of the African missions is done with heroisms and failures.”<sup>109</sup>

In this way, missionaries, historians, diplomats, and chroniclers revealed, annotated, and edited important manuscript data from Congo and Angola, the only European enclave in Africa where consistent colonial sources existed from the sixteenth century on.<sup>110</sup>

Although Antonio Brásio organized missionary compilations on Portuguese Africa and Serafim Leite presented a historical account of the Jesuits in Portuguese America, both works disregard the connections—recorded in the documents they researched—between Brazil and Angola's Jesuits. This issue may also be raised regarding Dauril Alden's book on the Society of Jesus, which, despite its global scope, suffers from the same territorial bias toward the Jesuits' undertakings in the South Atlantic.<sup>111</sup>

The twentieth century's missionary regional focus, territorial history, and academic divisions severed the global interpretations of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuit chroniclers. Indeed, the separate and sometimes conflicting studies of the missions in Brazil, on one side, and of Angola and Congo, on the other, are a blatant example of the misperceptions engendered by the territorial and national historical frameworks.

### **Brazilian History and the “Territorial Paradigm”**

Notwithstanding the enduring presence of Africa and Africans in South American history, most of the specialists on Brazilian studies in Brazil, America, and Europe follow a territorial paradigm that can be summed up by a false axiom: the history of colonial Brazil unfolds within the Brazilian colonial territory.

As mentioned earlier, the gold exploitation in eighteenth-century Minas Gerais redrew the South Atlantic network and, by extension, the historiography on Brazil. In the last decades of nineteenth century, the Republican movement, aiming to confront the monarchic accounts that showed Emperor Pedro I as the father of Brazil's independency and the Braganza dynasty as its guarantor, emphasized the Inconfidência Mineira, the 1789 rebellion in Minas Gerais, and praised Tirandentes, the rebels' leader, executed by the Crown.<sup>112</sup>

Renewing political ties with the Americas' nations, thenceforth fully ruled by republican systems, the Brazilian new regime invigorated territorial-based

narratives as the dominant model of national history. The fact that Portuguese America's vice-kingdom was the only American colonial aggregate to still stand in its entirety after the national independences improved this territorial historiographical trend.

Meanwhile, important works in economic, diplomatic, and literary history established the key role of the gold cycle and Minas Gerais in the building of the nation-state. To most of the twentieth-century Brazilian authors, Minas Gerais provided the country with an economic and cultural core, a protonational rebellion, and an independence martyr. Highly influential, and endorsed by governmental institutions and textbooks, such interpretations shunned South Atlantic history.

Similarly, dissensions between the states and Rio de Janeiro's central government revived local narratives in Brazil, strengthening the territorial bias. Inspired by São Paulo's and Pernambuco's chronicles written since the 1600s, Paulista and Pernambucano authors narrated the achievements of their ancestors. The seventeenth-century *bandeirantes* Indian wars and the Pernambucano *Brasilic* war against the Dutch (1630–1654) started to be more generally presented as the forerunners of Brazilian independence.<sup>113</sup>

In this context, the rich Pernambucano historiography on the Dutch in Brazil—renewed by *Tempo dos Flamengos* (1947), a key book by José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello—eluded the Dutch and Pernambucano involvement in Angola. Another important work by Gonsalves de Mello, his biography of João Fernandes Vieira, a commander in the *Brasilic* war against the Dutch who was rewarded by Lisbon with governorships in Brazil and Angola, merely dedicates a few pages to his government in Luanda.<sup>114</sup> This is striking, considering the decades-long encroachment of Pernambucano governors, military, and merchants on Angolan affairs. In the same vein, most of the biographers of Fr. Antonio Vieira and commentators on his writings did not mention his decisive support to the Angolan slave trade and black slavery in Brazil.

From this point, seminal books on Brazil's history eclipsed the South Atlantic approach. References to the Brazil's exchanges with Africa and to the interventions of its settlers in Angola were included in Varnhagen's first edition of *História Geral do Brasil* (1857), but they were suppressed by the editors from the widely publicized and still quoted twentieth-century edition of his book.<sup>115</sup>

Capistrano de Abreu's *Capítulos de História Colonial* (1907), a programmatic work on colonial history praised by generations of historians of Brazil, focuses

on inland *sertões* expansion and does not make a single reference to Angola.<sup>116</sup> To Capistrano de Abreu and his disciples, the African segment of the Brazilian slave system did not fit into the country's colonial history.

To be sure, the institutional and international outcomes of the nineteenth-century slave trade have drawn attention from jurists and diplomacy historians. At the First Congress of History of Brazil, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1914, a noted jurist and future general attorney, João Luiz Alves, wrote a dense essay on the international treaties and national laws regarding the suppression of the slave trade in the South Atlantic. By that time, when little or none research was being done in the few existing Brazilian faculties, Alves's essay became a reference.<sup>117</sup> Incidentally, the legal aspects of the slave trade were also central in the book of the French jurist Georges Scelle—one of the founders of contemporary international law—on the *Asiento de Negros*. Published in 1906, this still authoritative work was known by Brazilian specialists.<sup>118</sup> However, such approaches left little room for the study of the African history in Brazil.

While a nineteenth-century tradition of Afro-Brazilian studies subsisted, culminating in the work of Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1933), Africa's history remained largely ignored in nineteenth- and twentieth-century research. Afro-Brazilians forced or voluntary migrations, generally from nineteenth-century Bahia, engendered communities such as the Tabom people, in modern Togo and Ghana, and the Agudá, in modern Benin.<sup>119</sup> Yet, in contrast with Jamaica and the United States, there was no twentieth-century back-to-Africa movement among Afro-Brazilian leadership.

In addition, during the First Afro-Brazilian Congress (1934) convened by Gilberto Freyre in Recife, many specialists, including Afro-Brazilian activists, shared colonialists' ideas on Africans and Africa primitiveness.<sup>120</sup> Twenty years later, prefacing the nineteenth-century description of a Dahomey by a Brazilian traveler, a noted historian, Clado Ribeiro da Lessa, explained that such "anecdotic" accounts of an African country should be regarded as a mere stopgap narrative, insofar as Brazil's past lacked events significant enough to mark "the human evolution."<sup>121</sup>

However, the strengthening of the federal administration under the Vargas regime spurred new research on African-Brazilian history. Supervised by the remarkable Italian demographer Giorgio Mortara, then exiled in Rio de Janeiro, the National Statistics Agency (IBGE) enhanced the study of the Brazilian populations. Reliable and comprehensive data on the populations' strata were ana-



lyzed in the introductory chapters of the 1940 national census. Recollections of the color and racial statistics from 1872, 1900, 1920, and 1940 were put into perspective for the first time.<sup>122</sup>

Debates on national statistics, peopling, and economic history underlie Mauricio Goulart's work on the slave trade (1949).<sup>123</sup> Goulart shed further light on the Atlantic and internal traffic, dismissing several "delirious estimates" from previous historians.<sup>124</sup> Ultimately, Goulart's book sketched the slave trade in Brazil from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, analyzing transformations in the plantation and mining's areas. Goulart's approaches were generally accepted or confirmed by Philip Curtin in his pathbreaking census on the slave trade. Still, as David Eltis has shown, Curtin and Goulart underestimate illegal disembarkments Brazil during the nineteenth century. In spite of Goulart's comprehensive assessments, most of the subsequent Brazilian studies on slavery did not scrutinize the African regions or the influx of deportees to the Brazilian ports.<sup>125</sup>

Although Gilberto Freyre had already published *O mundo que o português criou* (1940), where his ideas on *mestizaje* as proof of racial tolerance encompassed the whole Portuguese overseas, his concept of Lusotropicalism emerged in 1953.<sup>126</sup> Following a voyage in the Portuguese colonies sponsored by Salazar, he turned into a proponent of Portugal's colonialism on the grounds of the "special trans European vocation of the Portuguese people."<sup>127</sup>

Most notably, in the same year that he founded the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) with Agostinho Neto, Mário Pinto de Andrade wrote in Paris the first Angolan refutation of Freyre's Lusotropicalism. A native from Alto Golungo, an area raided by Portuguese and Luso-Angolans slave traders in the past, Pinto de Andrade was well aware of the differences between Brazil and Angola. Namely, he underlines a key point of the disparity between the two sides of the Portuguese South Atlantic: the growth of the mulatto population in Brazil and its atrophy in Angola.<sup>128</sup>

In the wake of Asian-African independences, the South Atlantic World emerged again in the Brazilian foreign policy.

After his participation as government special envoy at the anticolonialist Bandung Conference (1955), the diplomat Bezerra de Menezes proposed a co-management of Portuguese Africa by Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. Unknowingly repeating seventeenth-century ideas of Lisboans' policy makers and predators who favored the Pernambucano and Bahian militias' in Angolan wars, he stated that Nordestino Brazilians "better than anyone else would fit to government jobs



in Angola and Mozambique.” In a military shift from Freyre’s ideas on Luso-tropicalism, he suggested “a strong influx of Brazilian soldiers, not entirely White neither entirely Blacks . . . but Mulattos and *Caboclos* (Indian Mestizos)” to strengthen Portuguese garrisons in Goa, Timor, and Macau, the most vulnerable Portuguese overseas territories in those days.<sup>129</sup>

As is well known, Brazilian governments, and particularly the Kubistchek presidency (1955–1960), openly supported Portugal’s colonialism in the UN and other international forums at that time.<sup>130</sup>

Far from the colonialist empathy with Portugal was *Brasil e África* (1961), by a distinguished historian, José Honório Rodrigues. Translated into English and reviewed by David Birmingham and Boxer, the book has not received due attention from today’s researchers. In fact, some of the analysis and historical documents he studied remain unexplored by current specialists of Luso-Afro-Brazilian history. Rodrigues’s book presents the first narrative on Brazil’s relations with Africa, mainly with Angola, encompassing colonial and national periods, as well as the UN debates on Africa’s decolonization.

It is noteworthy that the book was promoted by the Brazil’s Ministry of Foreign Relations. Breaking decades of unconditional alliance with Portuguese colonialism, under the Quadros and Goulart administrations (1960–1964) Brazil adopted a drive to an “independent foreign policy” favoring the Lusophone countries’ emancipation in Africa. As a director of Rio de Janeiro’s National Archives, Rodrigues belonged to the liberal intellectual circles that formulated the new foreign policy. Opposing Gilberto Freyre’s Lusotropicalism, which revamped Salazar’s colonialist ideology, *Brasil e África* formed the basis of the Brazilian-Angolan aggregate history.

Even before the 1964 dictatorship, the African-Brazilian writer and diplomat Raymundo Souza Dantas subtly portrayed the failed expectations of Brazil’s “independent foreign policy.”<sup>131</sup> His book records his frustrating mission as Brazil’s ambassador (1961–1963) in Ghana and special envoy in Togo.<sup>132</sup>

In any event, the coup d’état instating the dictatorial and pro-Salazar regime in Brazil stifled the debate on Lusophone Africa’s independence. Active in the undertakings favoring Luso-African movements at the UN from 1960 through 1964, the diplomat Antonio Houaiss, later a celebrated lexicographer, was punished by the dictatorship in the aftermath of the coup d’état. Accused of being “an enemy of Portugal,” Houaiss had his political rights revoked for ten years and was expelled from the Brazilian diplomatic career in 1964.<sup>133</sup> Nonetheless,

after a close association with Salazarist politics in Africa, the Brazilian dictatorship, under the Geisel presidency (1970–1974) recognized the Lusophone African countries' independences.<sup>134</sup> Again, Brazil's interest turned to Africa.

### **The Río de la Plata and the South Atlantic**

As in other parts of the Atlantic, the seventeenth century was critical in the Río de la Plata history, due, of course, to the Potosí silver trade through Salta, Tucumán, and Córdoba to Buenos Aires. From Valparaíso and the Pacific a second path across Santiago and Mendoza reached Córdoba and Buenos Aires.<sup>135</sup>

Aside the Panama isthmus a second overland path linked the Atlantic and the Pacific. Apart from illegal exchanges with African ports, smuggling took also place via Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. When returning from the Río de la Plata, the ships brought in, to Rio de Janeiro but also to Bahia and Recife, coined and uncoined silver, as well as gold, which then traveled to Luanda and Lisbon. A century before the eighteenth century's gold mining in Minas Gerais, Upper Peru's silver was already boosting South Atlantic maritime exchanges. Thus in the 1630s Portugal's royal cosmographer Antonio Mariz de Carneiro described the sailing between Rio de Janeiro and Río de la Plata as a segment of the Lisbon network encompassing European goods, Brazilian sugar, Potosí silver, and Angolan slaves.<sup>136</sup>

Through the first decades of the seventeenth century, when a great number of *asiento* slaves were sold in Cartagena, Vera Cruz, and Buenos Aires, the Spanish silver reals of eight (*el real de a ocho*) emerged as the most lucrative Portuguese export product in Asian markets.<sup>137</sup> Clearly, South Atlantic slave trade was a critical component of the world system.

Corroborating the complementarities of exchanges and routes in the area in the 1640s, Salvador de Sá, then Rio de Janeiro governor, and Nassau-Siegen, then WIC governor of Dutch Brazil, alternately invaded Angola and planned to seize Buenos Aires. Well informed about geopolitical stakes in the overseas, the Dutch and Portuguese governors assumed that the dominance of the Ethiopic Ocean required the possession of Brazil's plantations, Angola's slaves, and the silver trade in Río de la Plata. This common strategy challenges today's scholarly works based on the partition of the South Atlantic in the "Dutch," "Spanish," or "Portuguese Atlantic."

Because of the elusiveness of such exchanges, the data on silver and slaves traded in Río de la Plata is one of the main unknown records of South America

economic history. The Potosí silver exported from Buenos Aires to Brazil was then sent to Goa to settle the Portuguese trade in Asia.<sup>138</sup> Such transactions drove the foundation of Colonia do Sacramento (1680–1750), a key Lisbon smuggling enclave fronting Buenos Aires.

The Luso-Spanish rivalry changed the geopolitical setting in the Ethiopic Ocean through the eighteenth century. In 1763, Lisbon transferred the Portuguese America capital from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Closer to the gold mine area, the new vice-regal capital could also secure Portuguese enclaves in the South from Spanish attacks. Spain vainly attempted to breach the Luso-Brazilian domination in the southern Atlantic—based on the slave trade—creating the vice-kingdom of La Plata (1776). Together with Potosí and the River Plate hinterlands, the new vice-kingdom, sieged in Buenos Aires, comprehend also the African islands of Fernando Po and Annobón, as well as the slave trade of Cameroons and Gabon.

Again the South Atlantic space was at the center of the Iberian maps, and again—as had happened a century before, during the Sugar War against the Dutch—the Luso-Brazilian network prevailed over its rivals. Spain was not able to develop the slave trade by herself. As demonstrated by the failure of the *Compañía Gaditana de Negros* (1765–1799), Madrid lacked the commercial and logistical skills to trade in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>139</sup>

Despite the Luso-Spanish Treaty of 1777, which stipulated that the Portuguese should assist Spanish slave traders operating in the new acquired areas in Cameroon and Gabon coast, the Spanish attempt to replicate the Luso-Brazilian South Atlantic network was unsuccessful.<sup>140</sup> Only after 1788, when all nations were able to supply enslaved Africans to Spanish America, were Africans introduced in great numbers in the Spanish Caribbean, mainly in Cuba.<sup>141</sup>

Recalling the conflicts with the Portuguese, the Brazilians, and the British, Argentinean authors praised La Plata's merchants and authorities, which improved Buenos Aires's growth and autonomy from Madrid, depicting some of those characters as protonational heroes.

Hernandarias de Saavedra, the first American-born colonial high authority and Buenos Aires governor (1602–1609 and 1615–1618), who introduced ranching and barred English and *bandeirantes* incursions in the region, emerged as an iconic forerunner of the Argentina's independence. Argentinians, as well as Uruguayans and Paraguayan authors, studied Buenos Aires colonial merchants' activities in La Plata estuary, Paraguay, and Upper Peru. This network was piv-

otal in shaping the vice-kingdom of La Plata, and the short-lived Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata (1811–1826) aimed to shelter former vice-regal territories that were now independent from Spain.

The diplomat and historian Roberto Lavillier wrote extensively on the subject. Another Argentinian historian, José Torre Revello, author of documentary recollections and essays portraying the vice-regal history, researched also on Diego de la Vega, a powerful Portuguese contrabandist in early seventeenth-century Buenos Aires.<sup>142</sup> Other noted authors of the first half of the past century, such as Ricardo Lavene, Diego Luis Molinari, and Ricardo de Lafuente Machain, issued documents and essays on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century networks of the Río de la Plata.<sup>143</sup>

Molinari, a historian, diplomat, and politician, published a critical essay on the Río de la Plata slave trade in 1916. Though Molinari's work had an enlarged second edition in 1944, Elena Studer more significantly researched the subject some years later. Her book was praised by Frank Tannenbaum as "a milestone on the road toward a history of the Negro in South America."<sup>144</sup> Later, Carlos Assadourian studied inland Luso-Spanish networks connecting Potosí silver to Angola, Tucumán, Cordoba, and Buenos Aires to Brazilian and Luanda ports in his 1966.<sup>145</sup>

Inspired by Argentinean and Iberian historiography, in 1944 Alice P. Canabrava, a former Brazilian disciple of Braudel in the São Paulo University, published her book on the Portuguese contraband in the Río de la Plata throughout the Iberian Union (1580–1640). Braudel's review on Canabrava's findings—where he insists on the Americas' and the Atlantic's "united fates"—made her book a reference among his followers and specialists on Río de la Plata.<sup>146</sup>

Like those in Brazil, Argentina's elites envisioned their African-descent inhabitants as a threat to the nation-state and favored European immigration.<sup>147</sup> In addition, yellow fever epidemics took their toll on the poor white and black neighborhoods of Buenos Aires in 1871.<sup>148</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, the census data show a sharp decline in the Afro-Argentinian population. Since then, the "disappearance" of Buenos Aires's blacks has been discussed in Argentina and in United States. "There is probably no other instance in the history of colonization where such a large imported colored population has disappeared in such a comparatively short space of time," wrote Charles L. Chandler, the well-informed commentator on Molinari's pioneering essay on the slave trade, in 1917.<sup>149</sup>



Notwithstanding the massive European immigration and the reflux of African-Argentinian presence in Buenos Aires, the Río de la Plata's past affiliation to the black South Atlantic was not concealed.<sup>150</sup>

### Belgian Colonial Historiography

Reaching West Central Africa in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Belgian officials relied on former Portuguese sources. Notably, Belgian Catholic missionaries nurtured a spiritual attachment with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Portuguese Jesuits and Italian Capuchins who wrote the first region's accounts and catechisms aimed at the Kongo kingdom and Angola communities.<sup>151</sup> As much as in Portugal, missionary research and writings are an essential component of the Belgian historiography on West and Central Africa.

Still, Portugal was one of oldest territorial, religious, culturally, and linguistically unified nation-states, where a prior overseas expansion enabled the alliance with England in order to protect the country's frontiers from Spain. By contrast, Belgium was a relatively new state practicing a late colonialism.

In fact, Belgian domination in Congo engendered a patriotism that strengthened the Flemish and Walloon citizens' support for the state-nation. Thus Joseph Conrad's novel *An Outpost of Progress* (1897) caricaturized Walloon and Flemish Belgian colonialism through two characters, the idiots Carlier (Walloon) and Kayerts (Flemish), who pretend to civilize the Congo.<sup>152</sup>

While Portugal's colonialism strengthened her external, European frontiers, the Belgians' colonialism served to break her internal, domestic frontiers. Conversely, the decolonization led Belgium to a crisis that transformed the country unitary government into a federal state in which Flemish and Walloons ceased to imagine themselves as members of a unique nation.

To Canon Louis Jadin, Willy Bal, and other Belgian Africanists who graduated from the Université Catholique de Louvain, the distressing partition of their alma mater and Catholic academic stronghold in 1968, amid the divisive Walloon and Flemish conflict, could recall, *mutatis mutandis*, the tragic vanishing of the Catholic Belgian Congo.<sup>153</sup>

Thus twentieth-century Belgian colonial historiography reflected debates on its own national biculturalism, on the diversity of cultural identity, ethnicity, and linguistics. It is agreed that Belgian colonialism followed its German and British counterparts, with an adaptionist strategy of indirect rule in Central Africa, contrary to the assimilationist politics of French and Portuguese colonial policies.

Thus some native languages, such as Lingala, Cibula, Kiswahili, and Kicongo, were generally used in the missions and the Belgian colonial administration, favoring linguistics and ethnological studies.<sup>154</sup>

Bishop of Matadi from 1930 until 1962 and missionary in Congo for decades, Jean Cuvelier extensively combined oral sources and manuscripts from European archives to write his essays and to publish important documents on Congolese history. A member of the Redemptorist congregation—the main Belgian missionaries in West Central Africa—his works and the documents he analyzed and edited with Fr. Louis Jadin influenced two generations of Congo's historians,<sup>155</sup> including, as will see below, Jan Vansina, who studied at the Université Catholique de Louvain, as well as Georges Balandier and W. G. L. Randles.<sup>156</sup> Accordingly, John Thornton considers Cuvelier “the most influential historian to write of Kongo origins.”<sup>157</sup> Substantially based on Portuguese sources and historians (Paiva Manso and Ruela Pombo, *Arquivos de Angola*) his bio-bibliographical notes on Kongo's historical characters, missionaries, and authors appear as the first Kongo kingdom's prosopography.<sup>158</sup>

Cuvelier's methods and his interpretations of the Congo's past inserted oral history and linguistics into the core of the Belgian works on West Central Africa. His disciples, the canon Louis Jadin (1903–1972) and François Bontinck (1920–2005), significant missionaries and historians of Congo and Angola, taught and researched beside Willy Bal and Jan Vansina in the Université Lovanium—created by l'Université Catholique de Louvain—in Leopoldville-Kinshasa from 1954 through 1971.<sup>159</sup>

The independence of the Belgian Congo led to an intensification of the translations and studies on Congolese national roots in the Université Lovanium. In a 1962 review of eighty-seven books by specialists of different countries on the “Congo ex-Belgian,” Robert Cornevin expressed his admiration for the “dynamism” of the Université Lovanium, where researchers and teachers worked under difficult circumstances.<sup>160</sup> Three years later, in an equally dense review on as many books, he regretted the Congo's “difficult decolonization” and “bloody disorders.”<sup>161</sup> Even though many of the two hundred books on Congo history on which he comments include Portuguese sources, Cornevin does not mention any Portuguese specialist or missiologist.

As result of the common ground on Catholicism, missionary history, and geographical proximity, the tragedies of the Belgian Congo independence reverberated in several ways in Angola. At first, reshaping her colonial policy and

distancing itself from failed Belgian, French, and British colonial policies in Africa, in the early 1960s Lisbon adopted Freyre's ideas on Brazil's colonization and Lusotropicalism. Such "Colonial exceptionalism," where the mulattos become a distinctive feature and a pledge for the Portuguese presence in Africa (mainly in Angola), was a policy that brought back the South Atlantic into colonial and historical debates.<sup>162</sup> Later, as the Angolan independence was proclaimed in Luanda amid a civil war, the Belgian Congo turned into a more dramatic example. Intentionally or not, the recall of the troubles and massacres of the first Congo crises (1960–1965) frightened most of the colonists, provoking a massive flight from Angola and Mozambique in 1974–1975.

### South Atlantic Historians

Drawing mostly on published and unpublished Portuguese literature and sources, two formative books on the South Atlantic history stand out: Charles Boxer's *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1686* (1952) and Frédéric Mauro's *Le Portugal l'Atlantique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1960).<sup>163</sup> Aside from nationalistic books, both authors moved beyond the limitations of territorial-based models of historical writing to cover the two margins of the South Atlantic.

Charles Boxer researched and wrote on area studies before World War II. Far from Eurocentrism, several of his essays on Portuguese, English, and Dutch presence in East Asia, India, and Middle East, remain authoritative to scholarly work.<sup>164</sup> His book on Salvador de Sá outlines the first global view of the 1600s southern Atlantic Ocean and its European, West Central African, and South American extensions, including the Río de la Plata and Potosí. Unlike Portuguese and Brazilian nationalist historians' writings on Salvador de Sá's feats, Boxer scrutinizes French, Dutch, British, Spanish, and Portuguese documents. His approaches to African history stand apart from the European perspective of his sources and his time. As David Birmingham observed, "When the professional study of the history of Africa was barely in its infancy," Boxer's insightful analysis on Angola and Congo complete his approaches on South America and European history.<sup>165</sup> On the Brazilian side, Boxer connected, albeit with some generalizations, the *bandeirantes* slave-hunting raids in Paraguay with the maritime trade of enslaved Angolans. He also confirmed previous findings on the Rio de Janeiro–Río de la Plata connection.

Besides his scholarship on transcultural societies in the Far East and his access to the Portuguese African bibliography available around the 1940s, Boxer's

concern on the cultures of Congo and Angola—a region he did not visit until 1961—could arguably have been inspired by recollections of his wife, Emily Hahn, the well-known American writer and journalist who lived in Belgian Congo during 1931–1932.<sup>166</sup>

While Charles Boxer appeared as a cosmopolitan and eclectic historian, Frédéric Mauro was a creature of the French academic system. Fernand Braudel advised his doctoral thesis, however, and that changed everything. Moreover, Mauro's research relates to that of two other Braudel disciples, Pierre Chaunu and Vitorino de Magalhães Godinho.

Though his main work is centered on the Estado da Índia, Magalhães Godinho edited crucial documents on the Portuguese Atlantic and wrote an innovative essay on the South Atlantic exchanges on enslaved Africans and silver from Potosí, as well as on sugar and gold from Brazil. His studies on northern and western Africa renewed the research on the gold circuit from Gold Coast to the Mediterranean. Connections linking the first Angolan governors with the Portuguese *asentistas*, a crucial step for Lisbon's supremacy in the South Atlantic, are highlighted in Magalhães Godinho magisterial thesis on discoveries and the world economy.<sup>167</sup>

In the mid-1950s Chaunu, Mauro, and Magalhães Godinho extended to the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the Arabian Sea the world system analysis that Braudel elaborated focusing on the Mediterranean Sea. Following Braudel's observations in *La Méditerranée*, Mauro and Chaunu surveyed historical maritime spaces defined as "West Mediterranean" within the Iberian Atlantic. Hence, Chaunu classified the seventeenth-century Caribbean as "Seville's Mediterranean." Inspired as well by Robert Ricard, Mauro conceptualized the exchanges connecting Madeira, Açores, and Mazagan (present-day El Jadida) as an "Atlantic Mediterranean."<sup>168</sup> Before *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique*, he published an important essay on slaves and the slave trade in Portugal's Atlantic.

Mauro's *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique*, which also benefited from Boxer's suggestions, devotes a third of its text to "the ocean and its constraints," analyzing nautical issues, maritime connections, and shipments between South America, Africa, and Europe. Nevertheless, its organizational scheme ignores the direct South Atlantic exchanges. Focusing on the Brazilian sugar industry, wheat and wine exports from the Açores and Madeira Islands (named the "East Atlantic"), the maritime transport, price fluctuations, and the exchanges with Europe, *Le*



*Portugal et l'Atlantique* set aside the African history. Mauro compresses into a unique subchapter entitled "Slaves" the Amerindian enslavements, the *asiento* contracts, and the African slave trade. Therein, the political and cultural complexities of these issues are altogether scrutinized under a short section devoted to colonial manpower.<sup>169</sup>

Still, the book's greatest contribution remains the evidence gathering and analysis of the main productions and commodities of the Portuguese Atlantic in the seventeenth century. Careful assessment of short cycles and long trends on production, seafaring, royal taxes, prices, exchange, and monetary practices gives all its significance to *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique*, which, to many historians, served as a complement to Boxer's *Salvador de Sa*.<sup>170</sup>

Reviewers underlined Braudel's influence over Mauro's and Chaunu's books. Nonetheless, Braudel pointed out the discrepancies on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, defining fundamental principles to the writing of the Atlantic history. Indeed, to Braudel, the Mediterranean, the oldest maritime space ever encompassed by men, studied by him in the course of the sixteenth century, "at the end of its grandeur," was quite diverse from the Atlantic, "a space which borrowed its past and was hastily constructed." Accordingly, the "global history" he tried to expose in *La Méditerranée* was not seized by Chaunu's *Séville et l'Atlantique*, which outlined an "arbitrary space of the ocean and not the whole Atlantic."<sup>171</sup> Braudel's remarks, many of which disavow comparisons between Mediterranean and Atlantic history, could likewise apply to other works, particularly to Mauro's book. In addition, there are differences between Chaunu, Mauro, and Boxer's own methods.

Commenting on *Salvador de Sá*, Chaunu states that the book belonged to the "very great history." However, involved in his vast statistical research on the Spanish empire, Chaunu regrets the lack of quantitative data on price series and shipping movements in Boxer's work.

The intense research and appraisal of quantitative data undertaken by Chaunu, Mauro, Magalhães Godinho, and many *Annales* specialists on the Atlantic and on the Asian Iberian expansions deserve consideration.

As a matter of fact, Braudel's first disciples nurtured a twofold intellectual ambition: to emulate *La Méditerranée*'s methods and writing in the field of Atlantic history and to surpass the findings of Earl Hamilton.<sup>172</sup> Insofar as much of the younger generation privileged quantitative studies, Hamilton's work grew

in importance to them. Ruggiero Romano, another Braudel disciple and collaborator, once said that every generation of historians has a great book as model and challenge: to his generation that book was *War and Prices in Spain*.<sup>173</sup>

Behind Hamilton's works lie the international inquiries on the history of prices launched by the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the debate on the seventeenth-century General Crisis and its outcomes.<sup>174</sup> As an economic historian inserted in a demanding academic career, Mauro's oriented his doctoral thesis and his book toward issues now considered outdated. As an unconventional historian and a man of the world, Boxer was more open to the cultural contrasts and exchanges of the overseas, an always-current theme. Thus the significance of Mauro's book is sometimes unfairly forgotten, whereas *Salvador de Sá* has kept all its freshness.<sup>175</sup> In the last years, with the growing interest on South Atlantic history, Boxer's *Salvador de Sá*, published in 1952 and outlined in a 1948 article, has been seen as the founding work in the field.<sup>176</sup>

### **The South Atlantic Found and Lost by the *Annales***

*Annales* authors' and Braudel disciples' misperceptions on the Ethiopic Ocean also emerge in an essay by Chaunu on Boxer's, Mauro's, and Magalhães Godinho's works.<sup>177</sup> Economic trends, seasonality and the shipping hazards, and sailing routes in the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch Atlantic are discussed in length.

Yet Chaunu only briefly mentions "the Angolan paradoxical exception"—the South Atlantic Gyre, which shortens maritime routes and brings Luanda closer to Brazil—and "the clear evidences of Brazilian [sic] activities on the African coast." His two remarkable maps on the nautical distances, improving Mauro's maps, do not contain any African port or latitudinal sea route under the equator. In his scheme, Lisbon, Cádiz, and their extensions toward the Caribbean and South America portray the entire Iberian Atlantic. At that time Chaunu was closely surveying the Spanish *asientos* and the Portuguese role in the African trade.<sup>178</sup> But he does not raise such issues in his comments, nor does he notice the perspectives previously opened on Congo and Angola history by *Salvador de Sá*.

Some factors could explain Braudel's disciples' disregard for the South Atlantic World. Surveys on the bilateral trade were scarce and unquantified at that time. Hitherto the figures and wide-ranging descriptions, in Verger's 1968 book, of the exchanges carried on tobacco and slaves between Bahia and the Bight of Benin were not available.<sup>179</sup>

To be sure, the exports of Brazilian sugarcane rum to Africa and the flux of trades from Rio de Janeiro to Angola, especially regarding Benguela, were better captured and analyzed by later historians. Above all, Mauro and Chaunu schematization underplays cultural history and takes no account of sub-Saharan societies integrate into Atlantic circuits.<sup>180</sup> As we shall see, these methodological and geohistorical limits are manifest in Braudel's second essential work on global history, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme* (1979).

The increasing number of academic studies centered on Brazilian regional or territorial history also dampened researches encompassing Angola and the Iberian or Dutch South Atlantic. Chaunu's essay quoted above is entitled "Brésil et Atlantique au XVIIe siècle." In the same vein, in *The Dutch in Brazil* (1957), Boxer segregated the WIC occupation in Portuguese America from the one that occurred in Angola, scattering the single military front and historical space he skillfully described five years before.<sup>181</sup>

Really, Chaunu's essay on seventeenth-century Brazil and Dutch in Brazil (and not in South Atlantic) are encapsulated by the territorial paradigm dominant in Brazil's historiography, a step confirmed in Boxer's ensuing book on Minas Gerais.<sup>182</sup> Yet in the following years Boxer published his book on race relations in the Portuguese empire and his comparative approach to four municipal councils throughout the Portuguese empire. In this later book, Boxer highlighted the imports of Brazilian sugarcane rum (jeribita) in Luanda around 1699, stressing the bilateral trade in the South Atlantic network.<sup>183</sup> With the notable exception of Pierre Verger's book (mentioned below), a territorial focus predominates among national and foreign authors of Brazil's history after *Salvador de Sá* and *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique*.

### West Central Africa Studies and Disciplinary Divisions

It is well known that decolonization movements aroused African-centered academic research. New universities were inaugurated in French, Belgium, and British Africa, while programs on African history grew in the United States and Europe. In France, African studies emerged as a response to the dominant field of "colonial history."<sup>184</sup> At Sorbonne, the Centre d'Études Africaines, under the direction of Georges Balandier, began issuing its *Cahiers* in 1960. Created in 1905 under instances of a colonial lobby, the Sorbonne's "Histoire de la Colonisation" chair was discontinued in 1961. Later, three new chairs on African studies, two in history and one in sociology, were established at the same university.<sup>185</sup>

In the United States, following Philip Curtin's account, the interest on Africa passed from "the Small Awakening of the 1950s" to "the Great Awakening of the 1960s."<sup>186</sup> By that time, under Curtin and Jan Vansina's direction, the University of Wisconsin's African Studies Program was founded in 1961.

In this context, Africanist scholars published important works on the seventeenth-century history of the Kongo kingdom and Angola, relying, to different degrees, on quoted or unquoted manuscript and printed Portuguese sources and historiography. Such books initiated the academic studies of West Central Africa, which, like African historiography in general, is still dominated by non-African scholars.

In 1966 Jan Vansina published *The Kingdoms of the Savannah*, defined by Henri Brunschwig as the work of the "master of the historical studies essentially based on oral sources," a method then unfamiliar to many French historians.<sup>187</sup> First presented as conferences at the University of Wisconsin in 1961—as newspapers diffused the tragedies of the Congo Kinshasa First Republic (1960–1965)—the book has as a background the dramatic failure of Belgian colonization and the resilience of traditional structures within the new African countries. Still, Vansina explains that Angola, albeit a colony, is studied beside the major African states of the region: Kongo, Luba, Lunda, Kazembe, and Lozi. To him, at the end of the seventeenth century Angola turned out to be "the first substantial" colony in Africa.<sup>188</sup> As we will see below, the book was influential in the shaping of West Central African nation-state identities in the wake of the independences of the region's countries.

Georges Balandier, a disciple of Georges Gurvitch and Michel Leiris and a leading Africanist in France, in 1965 issued his *La vie quotidienne au royaume de Kongo du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*.<sup>189</sup> Although reviewers criticized the book for the incomplete and deficient use of written sources, it relies a great deal on the author's previous scholarship and extensive knowledge on contemporary Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville. Noteworthy also is his activities in postwar French editorial, intellectual, and anticolonialist circles, therein making his works essential references in African studies.<sup>190</sup>

W. G. L. Randles's book on the Kongo kingdom (1968), which benefited from Balandier's advice, relied largely on the written and printed Portuguese sources missing in previous works. In particular, he was the first Africanist author to make extensive use of Fr. Brásio's MMA sources, which were ignored by Balandier and



barely mentioned by Vansina and Birmingham. Besides the common reference on the WIC invasion in Brazil and Angola, Randles mentions the Soyo embassy received by the Dutch governor in Pernambuco and connections between Brazil, the Kongo kingdom, and Angola.<sup>191</sup>

David Birmingham's *Trade and Conflict in Angola* (1966) offered the first scholarly history of the Portuguese in West Central Africa, as noted by W. G. L. Randles.<sup>192</sup> Aside from the dominant colonialist literature, the book—a turning point in the modern historiography on Angola—surveys the 1483–1683 period, more precisely the 1600s, focusing on the African's viewpoint.<sup>193</sup> Beyond the colonialist tradition and the nationalistic-oriented authors, Birmingham appears today to be the precursor of the contemporary historians of Angola.

Vansina's severe review of Birmingham's book underlined the needed combination of historical and anthropological methods to study Angola and Kongo: "African history deals with African cultures, and there is no escape from anthropology"<sup>194</sup>—even, one could have added, in areas where the written sources are richer in sub-Saharan Africa. Conversely, Vansina's more sharp comments on Balandier's book claim the key role of the historical analysis, blaming the author's uncritical and limited references to the written sources.<sup>195</sup>

Such books point out connections on Angola and Brazil. Following Boxer's and the Angolista authors, Birmingham indicates the impact that governors sent from Brazil had in Angola.<sup>196</sup> On his side, Vansina underlines the exports of food and the transfer of plants or soldiers from Portuguese America to Angola. Taking an expression from Ralph Delgado and Oliveira Martins, he states that Angola became "practically a colony of Brazil" after the seventeenth-century Portugal's and Brazil's expeditions that overcame the Kongo and Ndongo kingdoms. This type of historical oddity featured across the South Atlantic has not attracted much attention from the numerous scholarly readers of *Kingdoms of the Savannah*.<sup>197</sup>

In fact, the above-mentioned works aimed to foster Africanist research and do not envision the South Atlantic perspective. Moreover, in *Trade and Empire in the Atlantic, 1400–1600*, a later book that studies the subject more broadly, David Birmingham only slightly addresses the South Atlantic historical context.<sup>198</sup>

Written by academics for academics, such books were appropriated by African activists and national elites. Vansina recalled in a interview the unattended reception of *Kingdoms of the Savanna* among Angolan nationalists: "Almost immediately, a sort of illicit traffic developed, above all in the direction of Angola

where you were looked upon as a freedom fighter when you were in possession of that book!"<sup>199</sup>

That aside, Jean-Luc Vellut, another important representative of the Belgian Africanist tradition, criticized the "resistencialism" of late 1960s and 1970s research on African history. Reviewing the *Cambridge History of Africa*, he mentions Birmingham, and implicitly Vansina as well, arguing that studies centered on state building, economic rationality, and the geopolitical advantages of African communities in their relationship with Europeans underplay the unequal balance of power and the destructive outcomes of the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>200</sup>

As Jean Copans has pointed out, an "Africanism from inside" that was later elaborated by Africans researchers challenged this "Africanism from outside."<sup>201</sup> One might add that there is also an European Africanism from outside and another from inside the former colonial metropolises. So, writing from Belgium about the polemics on Adam Hochschild's book on King Leopold II's crimes in Congo, Vellut stated that some critics were unfair, adding: "Vansina is too subtle a scholar to join this chorus, but he clearly wants to collect some benefits from a position of fellow traveller in exile."<sup>202</sup>

In any case, such scholarly trends led to Africa-centered research and analysis. As long as Africanists studies understate the Atlantic connections, academic specialization hampered surveys on the South Atlantic.

Meanwhile, the Cuban Revolution stimulated academic programs on Latin America and slowed research on global South Atlantic history. A nineteenth-century concept framed by the French imperialist policy and an anachronistic category when it refers to America's colonial period, "Latin America" became a dominant area specialization in North American and European universities.<sup>203</sup>

In fact, the concept of Latin America as an area specialization developed into a disciplinary partition endorsed by most university departments in the Americas and in Europe. This partition rested on the assumption that slavery and regional slave trade in South America and Caribbean pertain to the Americanist field and that correlated themes in sub-Saharan Africa should be studied by Africanists. Hence, Brazilianist scholars often researched and wrote on other Latin American countries, whereas Dahomey, Congo, Angola, and Mozambique comprised a research field reserved for trained Africanists. In this regard, Alison Games criticizes the "disjunctions that characterized the Atlantic's historical and geographic components" and "disciplinary divisions that discourage historians from speaking to and writing for each other."<sup>204</sup>

### An African-Brazilianist Field

Apart from such territorial-based research, Pierre Verger—more of an academic outsider than Charles Boxer—published his book *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres* (1968).<sup>205</sup> A French-Brazilian fluent in Yoruba who lived in Bahia, Senegal, Nigeria, and Dahomey (renamed Benin in 1975), and a sacred *Babalawo* (priest of Ifá) in Ketu in 1952, Verger relied on Bahia, Lisbon, London, The Hague, Ibadan, and Porto Novo archives as well as photos and oral sources. Originally a photographer, Verger turned academic researcher under Théodore Monod, Roger Bastide, and Braudel's supervision.<sup>206</sup>

Even though the book does not take a perspective on Angola and the global South Atlantic history, the unifying survey on the bilateral exchanges between Bahia and the Bight of Benin confirm *Flux et reflux* as a founding study in the Africanist-Brazilianist field.

Reviewing the book, Curtin wrote, "The slave trade was an Atlantic commerce with profound influence on the history of Europe, Africa, and the two Americas. Yet historians have seldom treated it in Atlantic perspective. Pierre Verger has done just that. . . . His most significant contribution, indeed, is the equal weight he gives to events on either side of the ocean." On his side, Boxer describes the book as "the definitive work on the subject of which it treats."<sup>207</sup>

However, Verger's findings and the Bahia-Benin exchanges, which extended the research of Luiz Vianna Filho's *O Negro na Bahia* (1946), were not taken into account by decisive books on seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Bahia slavery, such as works by Stuart Schwartz and Katia Mattoso, which relied mainly on the tradition of the Brazilian territorial history.<sup>208</sup>

In the same way, the transatlantic approach of *Flux et reflux* was not incorporated by some important French authors of works in either African or Atlantic history. Thus the magnitude of bilateral relations between African and South American ports is absent in the *Histoire générale de l'Afrique Noire* (1970), edited by Hubert Deschamps. Composed by prestigious Africanists and widely publicized in Francophone universities, this collective work presents maps on the Atlantic routes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that do not reflect the direct exchanges between the Brazilian ports and the Bight of Benin or Angola and Mozambique.<sup>209</sup>

Paul Butel's *Histoire de l'Atlantique: De l'antiquité à nos jours* refers to "a global history of the ocean." Although he analyzes the Dutch invasion of Brazil and Angola in the seventeenth century and the Chesapeake tobacco trade in the

eighteenth century—a period he considers “the Golden Age of the Colonial Atlantic”—he overlooks the trade between Brazil and Angola and the tobacco exports from Bahia to the Bight of Benin. Actually, he does not mention any of Boxer’s works, nor does he quote from Verger’s book.<sup>210</sup>

More peculiar is the lack of reference to the South Atlantic network in Braudel’s magisterial three-volume *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (1979). From his teachings and his discussions with colleagues at the Universidade de São Paulo, as well as from his knowledge of the field’s historiography, Braudel was well aware of the exchanges between South America and sub-Saharan Africa and of the La Plata and Potosí extensions of the South Atlantic network. In fact, reviewing two influential books by the Brazilian historian Caio Prado Júnior in 1948, Braudel criticized his territorial bias and his neglect of the south-south exchanges: “Why did Caio Prado not pay more attention to the South Atlantic history?”<sup>211</sup>

Therefore, considering all he wrote, taught, and discussed with his students, Braudel’s analysis of the slave trade and Africa is rather unexpected. In *Civilisation matérielle* he allots just a few pages to western and sub-Saharan Africa. Broadly, he commends Curtin’s “prodigious innovative” book on inland and maritime slave trade in Senegambia and endorses traditional surveys on the “triangular trade” between Liverpool or Nantes, West Africa, and the Caribbean. Concluding, he assesses without any restriction the triangular trade and adds: “This scheme is the same *mutatis mutandis* for all the Slave ships.”<sup>212</sup>

Braudel does not take in account the figures or the geographical distribution—quite accurately indicated in Curtin’s *Census* (1968)—of Atlantic slave trade. Surprising, he neither comments on nor quotes from the work of Pierre Verger, whose thesis he directed and whose book he promoted and published in France. Had he done so, he would have brought into consideration the core of the South Atlantic slave network, that is, the bilateral trade between Brazil and Africa.

Aside from the disregard of the south-south exchanges, another essential matter was understated by most of the postwar authors, not least because of inaccurate global data: the increase in slave trade due to the Industrial Revolution in the first half of the nineteenth century. This issue has also been raised regarding the discussion on the Williams-Drescher debate.<sup>213</sup> As later research has shown, one-fourth of the transatlantic slave trade occurred after the 1807 British and United States Abolition Acts. Most of these nineteenth-century deportees, around 70 percent of them, crossed the South Atlantic and disembarked in Brazil.<sup>214</sup>



Another important factor behind the neglect of South Atlantic studies concerns the uneasiness of some historians from European maritime powers, and from Brazil for that matter, to discuss their countries' participation in the slave trade—not to mention authors who overlook or even deny such issues.

Caught in a harsh dispute with Portuguese historians about Luso-African racial relations, Charles Boxer alluded to it in 1969. Emphasizing Verger's French-Brazilian-Nigerian multicultural identity, he writes: "Verger's neutral nationality enables him to steer his way through this complicated and controversial subject [the slave trade] with admirable impartiality."<sup>215</sup>

One of the great merits of Philip Curtin's *Census*, published in 1968, was to set comparable, reliable, and largely accepted data on the traffic promoted by the European nations in the various regions of Africa. Even though these data (and the subsequent Transatlantic Slave Trade Database, completed and organized by D. Eltis, D. Richardson, and others) had not granted an "admirable impartiality" everywhere, they allowed historians to have a comprehensive view of the issue, thus instilling in most of them a "neutral nationality" that made them more apt to study the Atlantic slave trade.

Ultimately, the defining features of the South Atlantic network are the bilateral exchanges with Africa and the coupling of the Brazilian slavery and slave trade with the industrial production and free trade movement in England. As in many key issues in history, the main distinction between North and South Atlantic history lies in the periodization. As we saw in the first paragraphs of this article, the end of the Brazilian slave trade and the close of the Sailing Age decreased the geopolitical significance of the South Atlantic Gyre and of the Ethiopic Ocean denotation, opening another era in Atlantic history.

Unified by steamships, the new Atlantic circumscribed its latitudinal routes to its northern area. Instead, longitudinal navigation connecting Europe and the United States to the South American and African ports displayed the new international division of labor and the North's dominance over the South. Until the 1980s the airline connections matched this framework. By that time, to travel from Buenos Aires, Bahia, or Rio de Janeiro to Lagos or Luanda, one had to go through Lisbon or London. Flying from Rio de Janeiro to Mozambique, the traveler went first to London, then to Johannesburg, and then to Lourenço Marques-Maputo.

Reviewing Rodrigues's *Africa e Brasil* in 1962, D. Birmingham wrote: "The emphasis on the importance of South America in the history of Africa is especially

valuable. The two continents have so little contact today that we need to be reminded of their interdependence in the past.”<sup>216</sup> Postcolonial geopolitics in the South Atlantic changed those issues some, but not much. As Cañizares-Esguerra and Breen recently observed, “Northwestern Europeanization” still stands as a normative model in Atlantic World narratives.<sup>217</sup>

Stressing their own culture since their nations’ independence, South Americans have asseverated to North Americans and to Europeans that they are also themselves Americans. Thanks to the new nations of Africa, the main constituent of Caribbean and eastern South America, we shall not have to wait two more centuries to establish that South Atlantic history is also Atlantic history.

#### NOTES

1. Lois and Garcia, “Do Oceano dos clássicos aos Mares dos impérios”; Peterson, Stramma, and Kortum, “Early Concepts and Charts of Ocean Circulation.” Aside from an English translation of Zurara’s *Cronica*, this long essay bluntly ignores the abundant Portuguese charts, sources, and literature on the topic. See, for instance, Cortesão and Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*.

2. Monet, *Abrégé du parallèle des langues françoise et latine rapporté au plus près de leurs propriétés*, 27. Hence, sub-Saharan peoples living in West Africa were named “Western Ethiopians,” while those living in East Africa were called “Eastern Ethiopians.” Du Jarric, *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales*, 25. Likewise, Bluteau, a learned Jesuit lexicographer, located the Mar Ethiopico on the southeastern coast of Africa and named the southern Atlantic Mar da Ethiopia or Mar do Brasil. Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez & Latino*, 6:34.

3. Blaeu, *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Geographica Ac Hydrographica Tabula*. See also Duval, *Le planisphere autrement la carte du monde terrestre ou sont exactement descrites toutes les terres decouvertes jusqu’à présent*; Dampier, *Voyages and descriptions*, Volume II.

4. Philander, “Atlantic Ocean Equatorial Currents.” See also *South Atlantic Ocean: Western Portion* [1871], drawn by E. J. Powell (London: Admiralty Charts, 1891), <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm2223-a1> (accessed September 2013).

5. The *Cyclopaedia* states: “The Atlantic is divided into three principal basins: the Southern or Ethiopic, from the Antarctic Ocean to the narrows between Cape San Roque and Senegambia; the Middle or Atlantic proper from the same narrows to the range of islands formed by the British and Faroe islands and Iceland; and the Northern or Artic.” Ripley and Dana, *The American Cyclopaedia*, 2:69.

6. Illustrating the Ethiopic Ocean’s asymmetry, the northern boundary of the map is located at 8 degrees N, whereas its complementary map of the Northern Hemisphere

shows the equator as its southern limit. According to the John Carter Brown Library's cartobibliographic note, the map was engraved by John Senex in 1763 and issued later by William Herbert as *A New Map, or Chart in Mercator's Projection of the Ethiopic Ocean with Part of Africa and South America*; Herbert, *A New Map, or Chart in Mercators Projection, of the Western or Atlantic Ocean with Part of Europe, Africa and South America*, <http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/s/oe6wz6> and <http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/s/a5g39p> (accessed September 2013).

Other maps locate the northern boundary at 3 degrees N; see J. F. Dessiou, *A Chart of the Ethiopic or Southern Ocean and part of the Pacific Ocean . . .* (London: W. Faden, 1808), <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm3026> (accessed September 2013).

7. Robertson, *The Elements of Navigation*, 1:173, 1:179; Findlay, *A Sailing Directory for the Ethiopic or South Atlantic Ocean*, 1–2; Ripley and Dana, *The American Cyclopaedia*, 2:69.

8. Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 159–161.

9. Alden, "Yankee Sperm Whalers in Brazilian Waters."

10. During the illegal African trade to Brazil (1831–1850) and Cuba (1820–1867), slave trade ships disguised themselves as whaling ships to avoid Royal Navy surveillance. Warrin, *So ends this day—The Portuguese in American Whaling 1765–1927*, 152–157.

11. Aside from the chief catch areas within the North Atlantic, important sperm and humpback whale catches also occurred around the Tropic of Capricorn, close to the Brazilian and Angolan coasts. Smith et al., "Spatial and Seasonal Distribution of American Whaling and Whales in the Age of Sail."

12. Moment, "The Business of Whaling in America in the 1850s."

13. Rennell's daughter, Jane Rodd, published his work posthumously. Rennel, *An Investigation of the Currents of the Atlantic Ocean . . .*, 166, 174, 225.

14. The presence of free or enslaved black seamen stands as a characteristic feature of the Luso-Brazilian slave trade. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 85–86; De Moraes, "La champagne négrière du Sam Antonio e as Almas (1670)"; Pinho Cândido, "Different Slave Journeys."

15. Medeiro dos Santos, *A Produção das Minas do Alto Peru e a Evasão de Prata para o Brasil*; Muniz Barreto, "O fluxo de moedas entre o Rio da Prata e o Brasil, 1800–1850."

16. Total voyages to Brazil, including those that left Portugal's ports, amount to 18,850 resulting in the embarkment of 5.8 million deportees and the disembarkment of 4,864,374 African deportees. They came from two main areas: the Bight of Benin (904,000 enslaved); and West Central Africa, mainly Angola (3,656,000 individuals); calculated from the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database (hereafter TSTD), <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces> (accessed September 2013).

17. *Voyage de François Pyrard*, 231–232.

18. Figueiredo, *Hidrographia, exame de pilotos*. Mariz de Carneiro, *Regimento de pilotos*.

19. Even so, there is the known case of Marçal Luiz, a skilled but illiterate master who commanded vessels of the *Carreira da Índia* for more than twenty-eight years at the turn of the seventeenth century; see do Amaral Frazão de Vasconcellos, *Pilotos das navegações portuguesas dos séculos XVI e XVII*; Contente Domingues, "Horizontes mentais dos homens do mar no século XVI"; Polónia, "Arte, técnica e ciência náutica no Portugal Moderno."

20. Caldas, *Notícia Geral de Toda Esta Capitania da Bahia*.

21. Jozé Fernandes Portugal, *Carta Reduzida da parte Meridional do Oceano Atlantico ou Occidental desde o Equador athe 38º-20' de latitude* (Lisbon, 1802). Printed in Lisbon, the chart was sold in Brazil and Europe.

22. As shown in his 1799 map of the currents in the Atlantic, and by his descriptions, Rennell labels the coastal maritime zones from Liberia to the Congo the "Ethiopic Sea" and uses the name "South Atlantic" for most of the subequatorial ocean. Still, he describes and draws the northeastern limits of the South Atlantic currents at 10 degrees N; Rennel, *An Investigation of the Currents of the Atlantic Ocean . . .*, 25, 99. See also the West Atlantic map, [http://www.knmi.nl/apx.schrier/Krt\\_A.pdf](http://www.knmi.nl/apx.schrier/Krt_A.pdf) and the East Atlantic [http://www.knmi.nl/apx.schrier/Krt\\_B.pdf](http://www.knmi.nl/apx.schrier/Krt_B.pdf) (accessed 21 October 2013). See also Peterson, Stramma, and Kortum, "Early Concepts and Charts of Ocean Circulation."

23. Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 2, 159.

24. TSTD (accessed November 2013).

25. Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 39, 120-122, 124, 141-143, 149, 151-153, 156.

26. Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 8:398. Like many authors, I use "Congo" for the river's basin or today's two countries in the area, and "Kongo" for the historical African kingdom whose capital was Mbanza Kongo or São Salvador do Congo.

27. Curto, *Enslaving Spirits*, table 9.

28. Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite de nègres entre le golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos*, and its English translation, *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia*; Nardi, *O fumo brasileiro no período colonial*.

29. de Alencastro, "Continental Drift—The Independence of Brazil, Portugal and Africa."

30. Ferreira, "Supply and Deployment of Horses in Angolan Warfare."

31. In the words of his sermon: "The captivity of the first transmigration [the Middle Passage] is ordained by Her [Our Lady of the Rosary] mercy for freedom in the second [the passage from Brazil to Heaven]." Vieira, "Sermão XXVII do Rosário," 4:1205.

32. Boxer, *A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure*.

33. *Manicongo* is the lusitanized name of Mani (Lord) Nzinga Nkuwu, the king of Kongo who took the name of John I after Portuguese missionaries baptized him in 1491. Cortesão



and Teixeira Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 1:113–114, 5:22–24, and maps 538, 539, 568.

34. Halperin Donghi, *Histoire contemporaine de l'Amérique latine*, 83, 95; Bushnell, "Independence Compared."

35. Curtin believes that there was a general "counterrevolution in Spanish America," including Brazil, in the aftermath of the nineteenth-century independences. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*, chap. 11.

36. Purdy, *Memoir, Descriptive and Explanatory, to Accompany the New Chart of the Ethiopic or Southern Atlantic Ocean*, and *The New Sailing Directory for the Ethiopic or Southern Atlantic Ocean*. In 1874, Findlay updated the guide and excluded Purdy's name from the cover. Findlay, *A Sailing Directory for the Ethiopic or South Atlantic Ocean*, 1.

37. *Bridging the Atlantic*, 25. The IPEA is a federal public foundation affiliated to the Strategic Affairs Secretariat of Brazil's presidency.

38. Following N. Steensgaard, Barendse studied the Arabian Seas "network," defined as a "number of nodal points standing in a few relations, social, religious and economic, to other nodal points." Barendse, "Trade and State in the Arabian Seas."

39. Referring to the networks connecting Potosí, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Luanda, Lisbon, and Cádiz around American, African, and European trade, Jeremy Adelman underscored the significance of a "South Atlantic system." *Sovereign and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, 73–100. I mentioned a "slavery South Atlantic system" in *O Trato dos Viventes*, 242. Elsewhere I used the term "Capricorn Archipelago" to designate the social and economic space formed by the formed by the Río de la Plata and the Portuguese enclaves on the two shores of the South Atlantic.

40. Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History"; Russell-Wood, "Sulcando os mares."

41. This section's subhead refers to a weak spot in the Earth's magnetic field whose center is off the coast of Brazil; magnetosphere specialists call it the "South Atlantic Anomaly." "'Dip' on Earth Is Big Trouble in Space," *New York Times*, June 5, 1990.

42. West and Martin, "A Future with a Past"; Lowe, "Resurrection How? A Response to Michael O. West and William G. Martin's Article"; West and Martin, "Return to Sender."

43. Marx's quote follows: "These methods depend in part on brute force, e.g., the colonial system. But, they all employ the power of the State, the concentrated and organized force of society, to hasten, hot-house fashion, the process of transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode, and to shorten the transition." Marx, *Capital*, book 1, chap. 31, "The Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist," online edition, ed. Frederick Engels and Ernest Untermann, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Co., 1906), <http://www.econlib.org/library/YPDBooks/Marx/mrxCpA31.html#VIII.XXXI.5> (accessed November 2013).

44. On his chapter on colonial policies, Max Weber writes: "Two main types of exploitation are met with: the feudal type in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the capitalistic in the Dutch and English." Weber, *General Economic History*, 298. On the opposition between the "decadent" Iberian Atlantic and the "modernity" of the British and Dutch Atlantic, see Cañizares-Esguerra and Breen, "Hybrid Atlantics."

45. Sundiata, "Capitalism and Slavery"; Walvin, "Why Did the British Abolish the Slave Trade?"

46. The US Census Bureau includes Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia in the "South Atlantic" Division. The Library of Congress site of Map Collections utilizes "South Atlantic" relating only to the US southern states.

47. Curtin, *Two Jamaicas*, 4–5.

48. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*, 188–189.

49. "The South Atlantic System had its center in Brazil and the West Indies; sugar was its main product." Henretta and Brody, *America: A Concise History*, 74. See also Sundiata, "Capitalism and Slavery," 121–130, 124.

50. Barnard, "Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*."

51. Mann, "Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture." Mann, who criticizes also the "extraordinary myopia" of authors who ignore Africa's role in the formation of the Atlantic, writes that Bailyn also underplays the reflections of African American intellectuals on the Atlantic World. Coates, *E-Journal of Portuguese History*; Games, "Atlantic History," 434–435.

52. Bailyn, *Atlantic History*, 32.

53. Defining the TTIP, a researcher of a Dutch think-tank report states: "It is more than a game-changer, but the best chance the transatlantic West has to advance a liberal world order for the 21st century." Van Ham, *The Geopolitics of TTIP*.

54. Edward Snowden's revelations show a more dense and transoceanic core within the "Atlantic civilization" geopolitics. To the displeasure of France and Germany's leaders, it was widely publicized that the US National Security Agency shares signal intelligence data only with Canada, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, the so-called "Five Eyes." The US-UK coalition corresponds to the geopolitical bloc that French politicians and intellectuals defined, since the mid-nineteenth century, as "les pays Anglo-Saxons." By that time, the middle of the nineteenth century, the cultural and regional definition of "Latin America" emerged in France as an opposite transnational bloc led by Paris.

55. The issue was also raised in a debate with Paul Gilroy in the Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine, in Paris, on 1 June 2007, <http://www.amsud.fr/ES/Event.asp?id=1213&url=/1213/accueil.asp> (accessed November 2013).

56. Gilroy, *O Atlântico Negro*, 10–11. Differences between North and South Atlantic history have been studied by several Brazilian historians, including João José Reis, Roquinaldo Ferreira, Manolo Florentino, Flavio Gomes, and Mariana Cândido. In addition, see the discussion of the seminal works of Charles Boxer and Pierre Verger in this article.

57. Greene and Morgan, *Atlantic History*.

58. Canny and Morgan, *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World*, 1450–1850.

59. Eltis, “Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade”; To-mich, “The ‘Second Slavery.’”

60. On Latin American history, see Bulmer-Tomas, Coatsworth, and Conde, introduction to *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America*, 1:1–4. The authors argue that 1850 marked the beginning of Latin America globalization, ignoring the abrupt end of the three-centuries-long African deportation to South America and Cuba. On African history, see Inikori, “Africa and the Globalization Process.” Although Inikori aptly states that “for all practical purposes, Brazil was an extension of Africa during the period in question” (79), he does not mention the end of the Brazilian Atlantic slave trade in 1850.

61. Law, “International Law and the British Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade”; Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 3, 99.

62. The embarkments to the Americas between 1841–1850 and 1851–1860 fell from 455,755 to 134,135 individuals (–70.5 percent). To Brazil the decline was from 400,016 to 6,899 individuals (–98.2 percent). From 1860 until the end of slave trade in Cuba, and in the Atlantic (1867), 37,124 more deportees would cross the Ocean. TSTD, accessed October 2013.

63. In his insightful essay on Argentina and South Africa, Philip Curtin uses the expression “South Atlantic World.” Curtin, “Location in History.” See also K. G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*. The book describes the British, French, and Dutch as well as, notably, West Africa, but it also eschews, Mexico, Cuba, and the Spanish possessions in the North Atlantic. Furthermore, as noted by Pauline Croft, the exclusion of the South Atlantic connection limits the scope of Davies’s analysis. See Croft, “The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century by K. G. Davies.”

64. See Fr. J. Mathias Delgado in de Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas escrita no ano de 1681*, 1:98, n. 1; Heintze, “Angola nas garras do tráfico de escravos—As guerras do Ndongo, 1611–1630,” 15–16; John C. Miller, “The Imbangala and the Chronology of Early Central African History,” 568 n. 73; Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 108–112; Thornton, “The Portuguese in Africa,” 153.

65. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 51–72.

66. Brásio, *Monumenta Missionária Africana*, 2nd series (África Ocidental oeste) [MMA<sup>2</sup>], 1:277–286; De Witte, “Les Bulles pontificales et l’expansion portugaise au XVe siècle,” 5–46, 443–471, 455.

67. In another illustration of the disciplinary bias that obliterate South Atlantic history, John Thornton, one of the leading specialists on Kongo history, ignores the connections between the South Atlantic wars and the essential role of the militias from Brazil and South America's tropical tactics in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Angola, which changed the fate of some Portuguese campaigns, including Mbvila (1665), arguably the main colonial battle in modern Africa. Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa*. See de Alencastro, "South Atlantic Wars"; Ferreira, "O Brasil e a arte da guerra em Angola (sécs. XVII e XVIII)."

68. Puntoni, *A guerra dos bárbaros*.

69. Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, map 26, 47.

70. Brásio, MMA, 1st series, 13:435-437.

71. Ferreira, "O Brasil e a arte da guerra em Angola."

72. Loreto do Couto, "Desagravos do Brasil e Glórias de Pernambuco," 68-69, 85-86.

73. Pardo, "A Comparative Study of the Portuguese Colonies of Angola and Brasil and Their Interdependence from 1648 until 1825."

74. Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil*.

75. Gray, "Benin and the Europeans, 1485-1897 by A. F. C. Ryder; *L'ancien royaume du Congo des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle* by W. G. L. Randles."

76. Referring to the anniversary of 1140 (when Afonso Henriques create the independent kingdom of Portugal) and 1640 (the Restoration of the Portuguese Crown under Braganza's dynasty), the celebrations were entitled "The Double Centenary of the Nationality." Most of the 482 papers presented were published in the Proceedings of the Conference, *Congresso do Mundo Português*, 19 vols. (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940). On the ideological context of the Conference, see Calafate Ribeiro, "Empire, Colonial Wars and Post-Colonialism in Portuguese Contemporary Imagination," esp. 158-162.

77. Renamed Agência Geral do Ultramar in 1951. The prominent Portuguese community in Rio de Janeiro held studies on overseas history. Commemorating the centenary of Brazil's Independence (1922), the "Gabinete Português de Leitura," a Portuguese Library and Cultural Center in Rio de Janeiro since 1837, funded the *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*, 3 vols. (Porto: Litografia Nacional, 1921-1924). Edited by Carlos Malheiros Dias, the work had among its authors Duarte Leite, Oliveira Lima, Pedro Azevedo, and Jaime Cortesão. In Portugal as in Brazil, Salazarists and anti-Salarists shared the same admiration for Portuguese colonial expansion. Hence, Bertho Condé, a Brazilian antifascist journalist, lectured in the Gabinete on Salvador de Sa's 1648 expedition to Angola. Condé, "Sobre a restauração de Angola." During the 1930s, the Sociedade Luso-Africana do Rio de Janeiro published the *Boletim da Sociedade Luso-Africana*. See Paulo, "Os 'Insubmissos da Colônia'"; Mansur da Silva, "O exílio anti-salazarista no Brasil e a memória da resistência."



78. During the nineteenth century, Brazil's independence inspired timely reflections to Lisbon's colonial policy, chiefly in Angola. See Martins, *O Brasil e as colônias portuguesas*; Polanah, "'The Zenith of our National History!'"

79. Prestage, *Correspondência diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho durante a sua embaixada em Holanda*, translated as *The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England, and Holland from 1640 to 1668*.

80. Watjen, *Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien*, translated as *O domínio colonial holandês no Brasil*.

81. Lúcio de Azevedo, *Cartas do pe. Antônio Vieira and História de Antônio Vieira*.

82. Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*.

83. Cortesão, *Alexandre de Gusmão e o Tratado de Madrid, Raposo Tavares e a formação territorial do Brasil*, and *O Ultramar Português depois da Restauração*. The author also dismissed the "fascist Iberism," strengthened by Franco's victory in Spain and backed by salazarist authors, which downplayed the historical antagonism between Madrid and Lisbon during the 1940 commemorations.

84. Correia Lopes, *A Escravatura*.

85. Directed by the Liceu Salvador Correia de Sá's staff in Luanda, the journal *Arquivos de Angola* (1933) aimed to publish documents on Angolan history.

86. Involved in a monarchist plot, Manuel Ruela Pombo (1888–1960) left Portugal to Brazil in 1912. Settled as a parish priest in Sapucaí, Minas Gerais, he wrote on Alvarenga Peixoto (1744–1793). A local poet and lawyer, Alvarenga Peixoto was involved in the 1789 Independentist Conspiracy and was deported to Angola in 1792. Ruela Pombo completed his research in Luanda; see "Inconfidência mineira 1789." He is one of the first authors to research at Luanda's Governo Geral, Câmara Municipal, and Diocesan archives; Ruela Pombo, *Cinzas de Lisboa*, 5–6; de Paiva, *Biobibliografia do Padre Ruela Pombo*.

87. The Spiritan journal *Portugal em África* published the second volume of Cardonega's work in 1902. Later annotated and edited by the Angola's missionary José Mathias Delgado (1865–1932), the first volume of Cadornega's work was formerly printed in chapters in *Diogo Caão*, 1931–1935. All three volumes were later published by the Agência Geral das Colônias: de Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas escrita no ano de 1681*, 3 vols.

88. Hair, "An Inquiry Concerning a Portuguese Editor and a Guinea Text."

89. Heintze, "Antônio de Oliveira de Cadornegas Geschichtswerk"; Mogo Demaret, "Portugueses e Africanos em Angola no século XVII."

90. Canon José Mathias Delgado, in de Cadornega, HGGG, 1:xix.

91. Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death*, 500.

92. Manuel Múrias (1900–1960) played a key role both in the setting of historical research and editions and in the organization of the 1940s *Congresso do Mundo Português*. He

directed the Arquivo Histórico Colonial (later Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino) and was influential in the Agência Geral das Colônias. Such institutions mandated most of the research on Portuguese Africa and Asia at that time. Angola's Commissary of the 1940 commemorations, Ralph Delgado, was asked by Angola's governor to write *A Famosa e Histórica Benguela—Catálogo dos Governadores 1779–1940*. Later Delgado published his *História de Angola*, the main work of the Angolista historiography.

93. Eannes de Zurara, *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, v–xviii.

94. De Paiva Manso, *Bahia de Lourenço Marques*; Garrido, *O Visconde de Paiva Manso*.

95. In 1876, Leopold II founded the Association Internationale Africaine in Brussels. By that time, Paiva Manso was writing a history of the Congo. His premature death in 1875 led to the posthumous publication of his collected documents as *História do Congo*. Later, Théophile Simar, a noted Belgian historian of Central Africa, wrote that the “hasty publication” of Paiva Manso’s work “had no other goal than to prove to the European powers the validity of the Portuguese claims.” Simar, “Les sources de l’histoire du Congo antérieurement à l’époque des grandes découvertes.”

96. Braga da Cruz, “As negociações da Concordata e do Acordo Missionário de 1940.”

97. Straelen, *Missions catholiques et protestantes au Congo*; Braekman, *Histoire du protestantisme au Congo*.

98. Bailyn, *Atlantic History*, 12.

99. Severiano Teixeira, “Da neutralidade ao alinhamento.”

100. The Portuguese Church eventually lost (1953) guardianship over the Indian dioceses (the “Padroado do Oriente”), as Lisbon rule over the remnants of the Estado da Índia ended in 1961. *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Índia 1548–1550*, 10 vols. (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colônias, 1947–1958), 1:v.

101. Da Silva Rego, *A dupla restauração de Angola*.

102. Brásio, *Monumenta Missionária Africana*, 1st series (África Ocidental central) [MMA<sup>1</sup>].

103. Ernoult, *Les Spiritains au Congo*, 11–13.

104. Anon., *Civilizando Angola e Congo os missionários do Espírito Santo no padroado espiritual português*, 17–19, 43–46, 72.

105. Canon José Mathias Delgado, in de Cadornega, HGG, 1:xix.

106. “A Revista ‘Portugal em África,’” <http://www.espiritanos.org/biblioteca/livro.asp?ID=82> (accessed September 2013). Brásio’s numerous articles and essays are reunited in *História e missiologia*.

107. See Birmingham, “Merchants and Missionaries in Angola,” and Plécard, “‘Eu sou Americano.’”

108. Consul Carnauba to the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, September 1961; see Aragon, “Chancellery Sepulchers,” 132.

109. Brásio, MMA<sup>1</sup>, 12:xiii–xiv.
110. On Portugal's African studies, see Maino, "Pour une généalogie de l'Africanisme Portugais."
111. Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*. This bias is not shared by Fr. Francisco Leite de Faria, who wrote important works on the Capuchin missionaries on both sides of the South Atlantic. See, for instance, *Os barbadinhos franceses e a restauração pernambucana e a situação de Angola e Congo apreciada em Madrid 1643*.
112. Murilo de Carvalho, *A Formação das Almas*, chap. 3; Nívia de Lima e Fonseca, "A Inconfidência Mineira e Tiradentes vistos pela imprensa"; de Castro Vieira Christo, "Gonzaga bordando."
113. Cabral de Mello, *Rubro veio*.
114. Gonsalves de Mello, *João Fernandes Vieira*, 330–356; the book has 495 pages. After his governorship in Angola, Fernandes Vieira followed closely from Recife the events in Congo and Angola, during the governorship of his fellow commander André Vidal de Negreiros (1659–1665) and beyond.
115. Varnhagen, *História geral do Brasil*. The suppressed section (1st ed., 37) referred to João Fernandes Veira and André Vidal de Negreiros's governments in Angola (1658–1666).
116. de Abreu, *Chapters in Brazil's Colonial History 1500–1800*.
117. Luiz Alves, "A Questão do Elemento Servil." Later, Leslie Bethell renewed the studies on England and the Brazilian slave trade; Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*.
118. The issue remains pertinent; see Weindl, "The Asiento de Negros and International Law."
119. Guran, *Agudás*; Amos and Ayesu, "Sou brasileiro."
120. Romo, "Rethinking Race and Culture in Brazil's First Afro-Brazilian Congress of 1934."
121. Ribeiro da Lessa, *Crônica de uma embaixada luso-brasileira a Costa d'África em fins do século XVIII*, x.
122. *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil—1940*, vol. 2.
123. Goulart, *A Escravidão Africana no Brasil*.
124. In fact, Affonso Taunay and Edmundo Correia Lopes had already initiated such data clarification; Taunay, *Subsídios para a História do Tráfico Africano no Brasil*.
125. Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*.
126. First published in Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: J. Olympio, 1940), the book had a Portuguese edition with a more explicitly and programmatic title *O mundo que o português criou: Aspectos das relações sociais e de cultura do Brasil com Portugal e as colônias portuguesas*. In his preface, Antonio Sérgio, a liberal and anti-Salazarist historian and writer who knew

Portuguese Africa well, comments Freyre's ideas and Portuguese colonization without mentioning Portugal's and Brazil's slavery or the slave trade.

127. Freyre, *Um Brasileiro em terras portuguesas*.

128. Buanga Fele (Mario Pinto de Andrade's pseudonym, meaning "Hidden Gentleman" in Kimbundu), "Qu'est-ce que 'le luso-tropicalismo'?" A student of sociology at the Sorbonne, Pinto de Andrade was also an editor of the journal *Présence Africaine*. As such, in 1956 he organized the "Congrès des Écrivains et des Artistes Noirs," which gathered many African and African Americans intellectuals at the Sorbonne, including Frantz Fanon and Marcelino dos Santos, one of the founders of the FRELIMO (1956); the Martiniquese Aimé Césaire and Édouard Glissant; the Haitians Jean Price-Mars, René Depestre, and Jacques-Stéphen Alexis; the American Richard Wright; and the Senegalese Leopold Senghor and Cheikh Anta Diop, among others.

129. Bezerra de Menezes, *O Brasil e o mundo Ásio-africano*, 336, 338.

130. Rampinelli, *As duas faces da moeda*, 59–64.

131. Davila, "Entre dois mundos."

132. Souza Dantas, *África difícil*.

133. De Andrade Melo, *Recordações de um removedor de mofo no Itamaraty*, 86.

134. Selcher, "Brazilian Relations with Portuguese Africa in the Context of the Elusive 'Luso-Brazilian Community'"; de Almeida, "Do alinhamento recalcitrante à colaboração relutante."

135. Suárez, *Desafíos transatlánticos, mercaderes, banqueros y el Estado en el Perú virreinal 1600–1700*, 211.

136. Carneiro became royal cosmographer in 1631, under the Habsburg Crown, and again, in 1641, under the Braganza. Mariz de Carneiro, "Roteiro de Portugal para o Brasil, Rio da Prata, Angola e S. Thomé, segundo os pilotos antigos e modernos, agora a quinta vez impresso," in *Regimento de pilotos e Roteiro da navegação e conquistas do Brasil, Angola, S. Thome, Cabo Verde, Maranhão, Ilhas, & Índias Occidentais*, 15–19.

137. Richard de Silva, "The Portuguese East India Company 1628–1633," 181–182.

138. Probably 100,000 African and Afro-Brazilian slaves were exported from Brazil to the Río de la Plata in the period 1742–1812. Bauss, "Rio Grande do sul in the Portuguese Empire."

139. Torres Ramírez, *La Compañía Gaditana de Negros*, 111–118.

140. De Wulf, "Annobón," 174–194.

141. TSTD (accessed November 2013).

142. Torre Revello, "Un contrabandista del siglo XVII en el Río de la Plata."

143. Those topics are still explored by today's researchers. Caillet-Bois, "Roberto Levillier (1886–1969)"; Sabor Vila, "Jose Torre Revello (1893–1964)"; Socolow, "Recent Historiography of the Río de la Plata"; Moutoukias, "Power, Corruption, and Commerce."



144. Tannenbaum, "La Trata de Negros en Río de la Plata durante el siglo XVIII by Elena F.S. de Studer."
145. Sempat Assadourian, *Tráfico de esclavos en Córdoba*.
146. Alice P. Canabrava's thesis was presented to the Universidade de São Paulo (where Braudel taught in 1935–1937) in 1942. Her book was published two years later: *O Comércio Português no Rio da Prata 1580–1640*. Braudel, "Du Potosi à Buenos Aires."
147. Around 1850 Buenos Aires had a community of 15,000 Africans. Chamosa, "To Honor the Ashes of Their Forebears."
148. Rodríguez Molas, "El Negro en el Río de la Plata."
149. Chandler, "La Trata de Negros, by D. L. Molinari." Chandler, an American diplomat and historian who studied at the Universidad San Marcos de Lima and the Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, was a champion of Pan-Americanism; see Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*.
150. Weyland Usanna, "The Absence of an African Presence in Argentina and the Dominican Republic."
151. Cuvelier, *Missionnaires Capucins des missions du Congo et de l'Angola du XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. In a recent review on the history of Congo, a Congolese author regrets that the ancient Portuguese sources have been used only "as an appendix" of missionary history, given that they contain important data on Congolese social life between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries; Ndaywel È Nziem, "L'historiographie congolaise."
152. Raskin, "Heart of Darkness"; Atkinson, "Bound in 'Blackwood's.'"
153. I got that impression from reading the obituary of Louis Jadin written by his brother, the distinguished microbiologist Jean-Baptiste Jadin, in the *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer—Bulletin des Séances, Annuaire 1973*.
154. See, for instance, Meeuwis, "The Origins of Belgian Colonial Language Policies in the Congo." Although French was made a mandatory language in Congo's school teaching in 1908, local languages were used in administrations and religious school, and again in governmental school between 1922 and 1948. Morabito, "Riva, Silvia."
155. Ngemba Ntima, *La méthode d'évangélisation des rédemptoristes belges au Bas-Congo (1899–1919)*, 294; Whitehead and Vansina, "An Interview with Jan Vansina."
156. Cuvelier, "Traditions Congolaises" and *L'Ancien Royaume de Congo*; Cuvelier and Jadin, *L'Ancien Congo d'après les archives romaines 1518–1640*; and four works by Louis Jadin: "Les Flamands au Congo et en Angola au XVIIème siècle"; "Rivalités luso-neerlandaises au Soyo, Congo, 1600–1675"; "Rivalités luso-néerlandaises au Soho, Congo, 1600–1675"; and *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola 1639–1655*.
157. Thornton, "The Origins and Early History of the Kingdom of Kongo, c. 1350–1550" and "Modern Oral Tradition and the Historic Kingdom of Kongo."

158. *Biographie Coloniale Belge*, vol. 2. Several other authors also contributed to this collection. See <http://www.kaowarsom.be/fr/ebooks> (accessed October 2013).

159. Ndaywel è Nziem, Obenga, and Salmon, *Histoire générale du Congo*, 11–18; Denis et al., “Regards changeants dans une continuité d’intérêt”; Van Damme-Linseele, “In Memoriam: Fr. François Bontinck: 1920–2005.”

160. The first complete French translation of the widely publicized edition by Pigafetta of the Portuguese merchant Duarte Lopez report on Congo was Bal, *Description du royaume du Congo et des contrées environnantes*, par Filippo Pigafetta et Duarte Lopez (1591), published in 1962. Bal was a renowned Walloon activist writer and a professor at the Université Lovanium at Léopoldville. His commented edition of *Description du royaume du Congo*, with 393 notes covering sixty-five pages, was considered “magisterial” by Cornevin and drew attention back to Pigafetta’s work; see Cornevin, “Le Congo ex-belge.” Another important work also elaborated at the Université Lovanium is Bontinck, *La fondation de la mission des Capuchins au Royaume du Congo* (1648), from 1966, translating and commenting on Fr. Giovanni da Roma’s *Breve relatione* (1648).

161. Cornevin, “Chronique du Congo Léopoldville.”

162. On mestizaje in the South Atlantic, see also de Alencastro, “Mulattos in Brazil and Angola.”

163. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola*, 1602–1686; Mauro, *Le Portugal et l’Atlantique au XVIIe siècle*. Through the title of his book, Mauro, like Chaunu before him (*Séville et l’Atlantique*), underlined his emphasis on the broader historical space rather than anachronic territorial entities. Later, on the insistence of his Portuguese editors, he introduced “Brasil” in the title of the Portuguese translation, *Portugal, Brasil e o Atlântico*.

164. In 1950, two years before *Salvador de Sá*, Boxer published the revised edition of his commanding book on the cultural exchanges between the Dutch and the Japanese, first published in 1936: *Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600–1850*. “A beautiful study of the nippon-neerlandese transculturation” (1177), wrote Pierre Chaunu on this book; Chaunu, “Brésil et Atlantique au XVIIe siècle.” Despite all of the debates on world history, Boxer’s works still pay the price of their enlightened cosmopolitanism. Thus some researchers of Asian history ignore his contribution to the Atlantic history, and vice versa. In his essay on Boxer’s life and work, the Dutch historian Frank Lequin, a specialist of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie and modern Japan—and a Boxer disciple—does not mention *Salvador de Sá*, which, in the words of another Boxer disciple, Francis Dutra, “might arguably be claimed to be his best book.” Dutra, “Charles Boxer’s *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola Revisited*”; Lequin, “In Memoriam Charles Ralph Boxer F.B.A., 8 March 1904–27 April 2000.”

165. Birmingham, quoted by Cummins, in West and Cummins, *A List of the Writings of Charles Ralph Boxer Published between 1926 and 1984*, p. XIV.

166. Emily Hahn wrote a noteworthy travel journal, *Congo Solo* (1933), and a novel, *With Naked Foot* (1934), sketching contemporary colonialist practices in West Central Africa. In his introduction to the 2011 edition of *Congo Solo*, Ken Cuthbertson, a biographer and admirer of Emily Hahn, describes Charles Boxer's adventurous life and prolific works in a short and peculiar way: "an eccentric English army officer turned professor of Portuguese colonial history."

167. Magalhães Godinho, *Documentos sobre a Expansão Portuguesa; História Económica e Social da Expansão Portuguesa; "Problèmes d'économie atlantique"; Fontes Quatrocentistas para a Geografia e Economia do Saara e Guiné; A Economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos; and L'économie de l'empire Portugais aux XVe et XVIe siècles*. See also Cardoso, "Vitorino Magalhães Godinho and the Annales School."

168. Mauro, "De Madère à Mazagan." Later, developing Braudel's ideas, Mauro proposed a typology of networks of maritime trade and land forming "Mediterranean seas" in several parts of the world. But he does not consider the Bahia-Bight of Benin exchanges, which he discussed at length as a jury member of Pierre Verger's doctoral thesis in 1968. Mauro, "Un nom commun."

169. Mauro's statistics on the slave trade to Brazil during 1570 and 1670 were considered accurate by Curtin; see Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 115–117.

170. In his bibliographical guide, Trevor Burnard affirms: "Significantly, Charles Verlinden and Frédéric Mauro wrote during the internationalist period of the Cold War, when ideas of Western civilization were large influences on scholarship these issues." The assertion may apply to Verlinden but not to Mauro, whose book had quite different roots. Burnard, *The Idea of Atlantic History*, 10–11.

171. Braudel, "Pour une histoire sérielle."

172. Hamilton, *War and Prices in Spain, 1651–1800*.

173. On different occasions, Frédéric Mauro and Pierre Chaunu made the same remark. *War and Price*, alike other Hamilton's works, had admiring reviews in the *Annales*. Febvre commented on Hamilton's findings in the fifth issue of the journal. Febvre, "L'afflux des métaux d'Amérique et les prix à Seville." In 1932, Hamilton himself published an essay in the *Annales*. Pierre Vilar wrote an acute and reverential review of *War and Price*, establishing a parallel with his own research on Catalonia. Vilar, "Histoire des prix, histoire générale." So Braudel makes a "mise au point" with a respectful but moderate commentary on *War and Price*, stressing that Spain's decline should be analyzed within the global context of the General Crisis. Braudel, "De l'histoire d'Espagne à l'histoire des prix," 202–206. Other references on the prices and wages debate included Beveridge, *Prices and Wages in England from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century*, and, closer to Braudel's disciples and the Annales School, Jean Meuvret. Such debates derived from the studies on the cyclical model of economic crises and the Great Depression held by the International Committee of History of Price.

174. Mauro, "Article de E. J. Hobsbawm sur la crise du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Mauro's main critique of Hobsbawm's essay relies on Hamilton's analysis: the central role of monies and credit in the transformations of the 1600s.

175. *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique* was not translated in Brazil. Writing about the disregard of French historians on Atlantic history, Cécile Vidal omits Mauro's works. Vidal, "La nouvelle histoire atlantique en France" and "Pour une histoire globale du monde atlantique ou des histoires connectées dans et au-delà du monde atlantique?"

176. Boxer, "Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides and the Reconquest of Angola in 1648."

177. Chaunu, "Brésil et Atlantique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Magalhães Godinho's Sorbonne Doctorat d'État, then unpublished, is titled "L'économie de l'empire portugais aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles. L'or et le poivre. Route de Guinée et route du Cap," 2 vols., as "thèse principale," and *Les finances de l'État portugais des Indes orientales, du XVI<sup>e</sup> au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Étude et documents*.

178. His data and analysis of the Spanish *asientos* contracts, as well the figures previously estimated by Mauro, formed the basis of Curtin's global calculations on the Atlantic slave trade during the seventeenth century. Huguette and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique 1504-1650*, 6:41-42, 6:402-403.

179. Corcino Medeiros dos Santos's article on bilateral trade between Brazil and Angola in the eighteenth century presented data on bilateral navigation that was misinterpreted by the author. See Medeiros dos Santos, "Relações de Angola com o Rio de Janeiro 1736-1808," table 1.

180. See also Mauro, *Des produits et des hommes*, chaps. 2 and 3.

181. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654*.

182. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750*.

183. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics*, 209-218.

184. In 1959, the *Revue Française d'Histoire des Colonies*, founded in 1913 by the French Ministry of Colonies, changed its name to *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*. Robert Delavignette, a former colonial governor, explained in an editorial the choice of the new title, arguing that in its new issues the *Revue* would evolve toward "a history of the acculturation where would be measured the contributions of the different (countries) members of the (French) Community, in the light of their respective historical traditions." Delavignette, "La Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer."

185. The chair was created in 1905 under the aegis of the Union Coloniale Française, a powerful colonialist lobby. Brunschwig, "Le parti colonial français"; Bancel, "Que faire des postcolonial studies?"; Moniot, "Une ego-histoire des études africaines." See also Schaub, "La catégorie 'études coloniales' est-elle indispensable?" and "The Case for a Broader Atlantic History." Ironically, the generalizations around the field of postcolonial



studies have induced some colleagues at the Sorbonne to envision again a field study on "colonial history."

186. Curtin, "African Studies: A Personal Statement." In a move influenced by ideological issues, the Ford Foundation, then the most important funding agency in area studies, preferentially sponsored Boston University and Northwestern University. By contrast, Chicago's Roosevelt University, which backed meetings against apartheid in South Africa, and Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), which was openly supportive of African nationalist movements, had much less sponsorship. Gershenhorn, "'Not an Academic Affair'"; Martin, "The Rise of African Studies (USA) and the Transnational Study of Africa."

187. Brunschwig, "Un faux problème." See also Newbury, "Contradictions at the Heart of the Canon." Jan Vansina had already published his innovative study on Rwanda based on oral history: *L'évolution du royaume du Rwanda des origines à 1960*. Likewise, in the first issue of the *Journal of African History* he published his programmatic articles on the Bakuba, laying the methodological foundations of oral history research in African studies. Vansina, "Recording the Oral History of the Bakuba—I. Methods" and "Recording the Oral History of the Bakuba—II. Results"; Vansina and Wright, *Oral Tradition*; Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*.

188. Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, 145–146.

189. *La vie quotidienne au royaume de Kongo du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*.

190. Balandier's essay "La situation coloniale" (1951), which Copans considered a "founding text" on the study of colonized societies in Africa, and his book *L'Afrique ambiguë* (1957) influenced two generations of Francophone African writers, including V. Y. Mudimbe. Two of Balandier's most prominent disciples—Claude Meillassoux, considered the father of economic anthropology in France, and Christine Messiant, the main French specialist on contemporary Angola—wrote important works on southern Africa. Balandier, "La situation coloniale," *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires*, and *L'Afrique ambiguë*. See also Gosselin, *Les nouveaux enjeux de l'anthropologie, autour de G. Balandier*. Copans, "La 'situation coloniale' de Georges Balandier"; Meillassoux, *Les Derniers Blancs*.

191. Randles, *L'ancien royaume du Congo des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle*, 334–337, 340–344.

192. Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*. Randles's remark refers to the previous synthesis published by Birmingham, *The Portuguese Conquest of Angola* of Angola; Randles, "David Birmingham, *The Portuguese Conquest of Angola*."

193. Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*.

194. Vansina, "Trade and Conflict in Angola."

195. Vansina, "Anthropologists and the Third Dimension."

196. Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 119.

197. Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, 13, 144, 146, 183.
198. Birmingham, *Trade and Empire in the Atlantic*, 1400–1600.
199. “History Facing the Present: An Interview with Jan Vansina.”
200. Vellut, “L’Afrique aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles.” His review concerns volume 4 of the *Cambridge History of Africa* (1600–1790).
201. Copans, *Un demi-siècle d’africanisme africain*, 80–83.
202. Vellut, “Jan Vansina on the Belgian Historiography of Africa.”
203. See note 52.
204. Games, “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities.”
205. *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos, XVIe–XIXe siècles* (1968). The book is the printed version of his Doctorat de Troisième Cycle presented in 1966 at the Sorbonne. The thesis was criticized by the jury, mainly by Braudel, for the long quotations of documents without analysis or comments. In fact, Verger received the degree *assez bien* (equivalent to *cum laude*), then the lowest citation for the French doctorate (personal testimony of Frédéric Mauro, another member of the jury). Reviewers and today’s readers of *Flux et reflux* unknowingly agree with Braudel’s assertions.
206. “Pierre Verger,” *Revue Noire*, [http://www.revuenoire.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=3561&catid=16&Itemid=6](http://www.revuenoire.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3561&catid=16&Itemid=6) (accessed September 2013).
207. Curtin, “Flux et reflux,” 347–348; Boxer, “Flux et reflux,” 806–807.
208. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society; de Queirós Matoso, Bahia, século XIX*.
209. Deschamps, *Histoire générale de l’Afrique noire, de Madagascar, et des archipels*, 1:221, 1:232.
210. Butel, *Histoire de l’Atlantique*; Butel, *The Atlantic* (British translation of *Histoire de l’Atlantique*), 100–104, 139–142.
211. Braudel reviewed C. Prado Júnior’s *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* (1942) and *História Econômica do Brasil* (1945); Braudel, “Deux livres de Caio Prado.”
212. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*, 3:536–552.
213. Walvin, “Why Did the British Abolish the Slave Trade?”
214. Of the 10,538,227 enslaved individuals who arrived in the Americas from the beginning of the sixteenth century, 2,633,403 disembarked between 1808 and 1866, mostly in Brazil (1,842,573), Cuba (616,908), and the French Caribbean (154,133). TSTD (accessed November 2013).
215. Boxer, “Flux et reflux.” On the controversy about Boxer’s views on race relations in the Portuguese empire see the thoughtful analysis by Curto, “The Debate on Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire and Charles R. Boxer’s Position.” See also Cummins

and De Sousa Rebelo, "The Controversy over Charles Boxer's Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415–1825."

216. Birmingham, "Africa and Brazil."

217. Cañizares-Esguerra and Breen, "Hybrid Atlantics," 597.

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