

## Managing the Slave Trade: the Accounts of the Angola Contract between 1597-1600

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**ABSTRACT:** This article analyses the management of the 1594-1600 Angola Contract signed by the Portuguese merchants João Nunes Correia, Manuel Fernandes Anjo, and André Lopes Pinto, which regulated the extraction of slaves to America and the taxation system applied. Our current knowledge of such contracts is superficial, particularly for the 16th century, and even more so is our understanding of the management and the accounts of these agreements, which have not been preserved. The documents pertaining to litigation between the contractors and their handler in Angola, the accounts of which are partially preserved for the years between 1597 and 1600 in the Historical Protocols Archive in Madrid, enable us to gain a better understanding of the working of the Contract.

**KEYWORDS:** Angola Contract; Slave trade; Textiles; Portuguese merchants; Brazil; brazilwood; Spanish America; litigation.

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**RESUMEN:** *Gestión del comercio de esclavos: las cuentas del Contrato de Angola entre 1597-1600.*— En este artículo se analiza la gestión del contrato de Angola firmado por João Nunes Correia, Manuel Fernandes Anjo y André Lopes Pinto entre 1594 y 1600, que regulaba la saca de esclavos hacia América y su fiscalidad. Nuestro conocimiento de estos contratos es superficial, especialmente en el siglo XVI, y aún lo es más la gestión y las cuentas de los mismos, que apenas si se han conservado. Gracias a un pleito iniciado entre los contratadores y su factor en Angola podemos conocer la gestión de este contrato, al incluirse un resumen de las cuentas de la factoría que sirvió para dirimir los derechos de los litigantes. Utilizamos también un porción impreso sobre el pleito y otra documentación de archivos españoles y portugueses para comprender mejor la gestión del contrato de Angola.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Contrato de Angola; tráfico de esclavos; textiles; mercaderes portugueses; Brasil; palo Brasil; América española; litigios.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Atlantic slave trade during the 16th century has recently been the subject of new approaches that highlight both the varied nature of the origin of the agents involved in it (Portuguese, Spanish, *conversos*, Jews, Creoles, etc.), emphasizing the mixed African, Iberian and American identities, as well as the complexity of the economic networks that played a key role in its development (Mark and Horta, 2011; Green, 2012; Cabral, 2015; Wheat, 2016; Fernández Chaves and Pérez García, 2016). Our knowledge of this rich and rapidly changing Atlantic world has also developed around the commercial and administrative organization of the trade, whose complexity increased over the years, bringing into play many commodities, besides slaves (Pérez García, 2022).

Specifically, the trade in slaves and merchandises in Africa was managed by the Portuguese Crown through the signing of contracts with individual merchants or, more often, with merchant companies, although sometimes those trades were directly organized by the crown (Dias, 1964; Pereira, 2019). In exchange for the payment of a fixed sum to the Crown, the contractors held the lease of the management of the taxation of different areas of Africa and the organisation of the commerce supporting the trade of slaves and other goods. Among these contracts, those of Cabo Verde and São Tomé were particularly prominent, while the Angola Contract only came into being in the 1580s, separated from the one of São Tomé.<sup>1</sup> The contractors enjoyed extensive autonomy that enabled them to organise the mercantile activities in their domains and to make other economic agents dependent upon their actions, while at the same time providing a service to the Crown, which outsourced the handling of the slave trade and other matters. Although they were overseen by official representatives of the Crown displaced to the regions of interest and were obliged to comply with a series of conditions that varied according to each contract, these documents, the contents of which have rarely been preserved for the 16<sup>th</sup> century, shed much light on the Atlantic slave trade in its early phase.<sup>2</sup>

From the time of the Iberian Union, the monarchy offered the Guinea, São Tomé and Angola contractors the possibility of sending slaves not only to Brazil and Portugal but also to Spanish America, including the right to use a certain number of licences, which made the bidding for these contracts more attractive in the eyes of Portuguese financiers and merchants. In general terms, from 1582 onwards, the number of slaves to be sent to Spanish America in those contracts was 3,000, 500 for each of the six years of each contract, although this number varied somewhat. The Crown obtained a part of the earnings, a quarter or a third of the sale price of the slave in America, depending if the contract was one of Guinea, or the other of Angola and São Tomé (Scelle, 1906, I, pp. 335-336; Garcia, 1962; Vila Vilar, 2014, p. 36; Fernández Chaves, forthcoming).

In the case of the Angola Contract, previous research knew only the first of the agreements signed by Pedro de Sevilha and António Mendes de Lamego

for 1588-1594 (Scelle, 1906, I, pp. 790-794), after this area had been detached from the São Tomé Contract. A subsequent Angola Contract, effective between 1593 and 1603 (Mauro, 1997, I, p. 215), was thought to have been signed by João Rodrigues Coutinho and Pedro Gomes Reinel. However, we have recently shown that the contract for the extraction of slaves from Angola and the taxation of this activity was in fact signed by the *cristão novo* merchant João Nunes Correia and his partners Manuel Fernandes Anjo, and André Lopes Pinto. Signed in March 1594, and with effect between mid-1593 and 1600, this contract was divided into three parts for the first partner, two for the second, and one for the third (Fernández Chaves, 2022a).<sup>3</sup> Moreover, this contract was parallel to the agreement signed by Pedro Gomes Reinel to supply 4,250 slaves per year for 9 years to the Indies of the Crown of Castile (Vila Vilar, 2014, pp. 45-50), in such a way that it was a crucial tool in the correct compliance of Reinel's deal. In addition to the Angola Contract, studies have noted that the agreement on brazilwood for 1593-1600 was signed by the same three partners, João Nunes Correia, Manuel Fernandes Anjo, and André Lopes Pinto (Mauro, 1997, I, p. 176; Salvador, 1978, p. 166; Mello, 1993, p. 63),<sup>4</sup> thus the supply of slave labour and the management of brazilwood in Brazil was controlled by the same consortium of merchants (Carrasco Vázquez, 2004a). New documents provide further information on this point since it appears that the brazilwood contract was effective from the day of St. John the Baptist in 1593 until the same day in 1599, and was initially divided into two halves, one for João Nunes Correia and the other for Vasco Martins da Veiga, of the powerful Veiga d'Evora clan. It has also emerged that João Nunes Correia participated in half of both contracts in the place of his brother Enrique Nunes Correia, the actual title holder and who really provided the money and the deposits required,<sup>5</sup> and actually figuring as Angola contractor in some sources (Fonseca, 2010, pp. 197, 201), a fact that has passed unacknowledged due to his death in 1598 at which time his brother João took over the businesses, and because the Contract had been signed by his brother João. Although the main partners in the Angola Contract were João Nunes Correia, Manuel Fernandes Anjo, and André Lopes Pinto, in the brazilwood agreement it seems that, in practice, the partners in addition to Correia were André Ximenes, Rodrigo de Andrade, Mateus da Veiga, and Manuel Fernandes Anjo, as is recorded in the Portuguese documents.<sup>6</sup> The close relationship between the two contracts and their commercial scope, and the merchants involved, was a further step in the creation of an oligopoly favoured by the Crown, which did not appear to give much importance to the fact that João Nunes Correia was a New Christian suspected of Judaizing in Brazil and that, one year before the signing of both contracts by his brother, in 1592, he had been taken to Lisbon by the Inquisition (about his figure, Lipiner, 1969; Carrasco Vázquez, 2004b; Assis, 2011, 2014).

## THE LITIGATION AND THE CONTRACT ACCOUNTS

One of the handlers of the contract in Angola was the *factor* Manuel Ruiz Cartagena, who acted in this post between 1597 and 1600. Dissatisfied with the payment for his work in Africa, he sued João Nunes Correia and his partners in 1606 to obtain a fair settlement for his services, providing the contract accounts as supporting evidence for his claim. At this time, both Ruiz Cartagena and Nunes Correia lived in Seville. The latter did so with his family as he had taken out the lease on the *asiento de la avería* in 1603 (Carrasco Vázquez, 2004b, pp. 180-191; Pajuelo Muñoz, 2021, pp. 69-80, 391-408 and *passim*), and Ruiz Cartagena had probably followed him in his new economic enterprise. The date of the claim is not fortuitous since at the end of August 1606, a warrant was issued against Correia, who was imprisoned at the Castle of Torrejón de Velasco. He was accused by the Treasury of involvement in crimes of embezzlement and bribery, charges with which the ministers Alonso Ramírez de Prado, Pedro Franqueza, and Pedro Álvares Pereira would soon after also be accused (Carrasco Vázquez, 2004b, pp. 248-249),<sup>7</sup> in the first trial against the regime of the Duke of Lerma (Williams, 2010, pp. 193-198).

As the two litigating parties failed to come to an agreement, arbitration was sought in the persons of two other Portuguese merchants based in Madrid, Luis Correa Monsanto on the side of Ruiz Cartagena and Francisco Fernández de Moura on the side of Correia.<sup>8</sup> Their intervention was signed on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1621.<sup>9</sup> It must be kept in mind that what was taken down in these documents refers fundamentally to the areas in disagreement between the parties, in such a way that they cannot be considered complete accounts, although the information provided is

quite broad, as we shall expound. According to the arbitrators, Correia owed Cartagena the amount of 1,207,207 *réis*, equivalent to 30,180 *reales de plata* (rsp) and 15 *maravedís* (mrs). However, Correia raised the due total to 35,000 rsp (=1,400,000 *réis*) to cover the expenses and legal fees paid by Cartagena, something that he was not required to do but that he endorsed on the condition that both parties agreed to close the litigation and to not pursue it except through a new action on a different matter.<sup>10</sup>

The auditors divided the account into three parts. The first dealt with the income obtained from the sale of the cargoes of the ships that had traded in Angola with the *avença* of the contractors,<sup>11</sup> including the payment of duties for slaves and the various expenses derived from the handling of the Contract. The second was concerned with the ships engaged directly by João Nunes Correia and Manuel Fernandes Anjo, of which the profits were divided into three quarters for the former and one quarter for the latter; the handling costs were also recorded. The third dealt with the ships engaged by Correia and Fernandes Anjo in equal halves and their corresponding expenses.

Ahead of the analysis of each part, a global summary was made of the money invested by the contractors and disbursed by Ruiz Cartagena in the handling of the Contract (Table 1). The resulting sum of 32,655,835 *réis* was the amount that the contractors claimed they had not yet received from Manuel Ruiz Cartagena. The greater part of this amount, 80.6% (26,350,839 *réis*), was the value of the merchant cargoes shipped by private entrepreneurs and the contractors themselves. The latter were directly responsible for almost half of the total value, and João Nunes Correia himself had paid almost one-third, 7,653,590 *réis*. This provides an idea of the magnitude of the role of the contractors in the promotion of the mercantile dynamics in Angola, which greatly exceeded

TABLE 1. Amounts contained in the current account of Manuel Ruiz Cartagena and pending payment to the contractors

Description	Réis
Shipments sent on account of the Contract and 15 <i>pipas</i> (transport drums)	13.546.551
8 shipments and their <i>pipas</i> (drums) sent to Angola on account of the private funds of Juan Núñez Correa alone	7.653.590
4 shipments and their <i>pipas</i> (drums) sent to Angola on account of the private funds of Juan Núñez Correa and Manuel Fernandes Anjo for equal halves	5.150.698
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>26.350.839</b>
Duties paid by several ships	3.065.340
Notary fees	20.000
Handling of <i>conocimientos</i> from Juan de Argumedo*	1.112.656
Handling of Juan de Oporto	35.000
Receipt of licences	2.000.000
Money sent to Pernambuco	72.000
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>6.304.996</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>32.655.835</b>

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 692v. \* Including 295.200 *réis* for a *conocimiento* in goods for a value of 496.200 *réis*, as well as 65.856 *réis* for 168,6 *covados* of *palmilla* from a cargo worth 3.295.760 *réis*, AHPM, leg. 4017, f. 692v.

the obligations stipulated in the Contract (Fernández Chaves, 2022a, pp. 16-17, 23). The duties paid by the ships sent to trade in Angola accounted for 9.3% of the total, while the remaining 9.9% covered basic operating costs such as the fees of the notary in Angola, the salary of Ruiz Cartagena and other fees, in addition to the handling costs of *conocimientos* from the cargoes of Juan de Argomedo, one of the partners of the contractors, and those of another merchant named Juan de Oporto. The receipt of funds sent from Lisbon in the form of *licencias*,<sup>12</sup> and the money sent to Pernambuco on Gaspar Fernandes Anjo, brother of the contractor Manuel Fernandes Anjo (Mello, 1993, p. 52), to pay to Bento Maciel, are the final elements of these accounts. It is important to note that the function of Ruiz Cartagena was much more than that of a mere warehouse keeper and seller of goods arriving from Lisbon. Indeed, he collected the taxes pertaining to the Contract, supplied part of the merchandise to the Governor,<sup>13</sup> handled the private shipments of the contractors, and also negotiated with money orders received from Lisbon and transferred funds to the partners and the relatives of the contractors in Brazil.

On the one part, Manuel Ruiz Cartagena's expenditures were mainly attributed to the sums disbursed on

the "conocimientos" of the cargoes sold in Angola and those sent on to Brazil and the Indies, whether from private entrepreneurs or the contractors. The cost of notary fees, his own salary, and other amounts also figure. The total amount of 34,644,949 *réis* was further increased by the 1,500,000 *réis* of the handling costs of several shipments, including "comisiones, seguros, avería de galeones y más costas" which the handler had paid to be settled to Captain Jorge Fernandes Gramaxo in Cartagena de Indias (Table 2). However, the auditors reduced this amount by half, 750,000 *réis*, observing "diferencia que hay en ser dinero de Angola a moneda de España," thus leaving the debt in favour of the handler of the Angola Contract at 35,394,949 *réis*.

On the other part, the contractors claimed from their former handler the settlement of the duties and commissions included in Table 3, in addition to the 32,655,835 *réis*, the largest part of which corresponded to the retail value of their cargoes. All this amounted to 32,980,515 *réis*, thus the contractors were in fact obliged to pay 2,414,434 *réis*. The contractors agreed to settle "por resto y igualamiento desta cuenta que tantos consta estarse debiendo por resto della al dicho Manuel Ruiz Cartage-

TABLE 2. Manuel Ruiz Cartagena's expenditures

Description	Réis
<i>Conocimientos</i> sent on account of the Contract	18.001.250
Manuel Ruiz Cartagena's expenses and salary	1.164.020
Shipments of goods to João Nunes Correia	10.407.559
Notary fees	40.500
8 shipments on account of the private funds of João Nunes Correia and Manuel Fernandes Anjo	5.031.620
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>34.644.949</b>
<i>Conocimientos</i> sent to Cartagena de Indias	750.000
<b>Total</b>	<b>35.394.949</b>

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 693r.

TABLE 3. Amounts claimed from Manuel Ruiz Cartagena and the balance of the account

Amounts claimed from Manuel Ruiz Cartagena	Réis
"Suma de su débito" [sum of his debit]	32.655.835
For the breakage of cargo and the commission on the shipment of Gaspar Rangel	220.000
Duties collected from Antonio Pires Rangel on the cargo sent to Rio de Janeiro on account of the private funds of João Nunes Correia	104.680
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>32.980.515</b>
<b>Balance</b>	
André Lopes and Manuel Fernandes Anjo for the half "que tenían en el dicho contrato" [they owed in the Contract]	1.207.217
"Por la mitad que toca a João Nunes Correia" [the half of João Nunes Correia]	1.207.217
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>2.414.434</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>35.394.949</b>

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 693v.

na,” and divided the amount in two: 1,207,217 *réis* paid by João Nunes Correia, and the other equal half paid by André Lopes, and Manuel Fernandes Anjo “por mitad que tenían en el dicho contrato,” thus reaching the 35,394,949 *réis* owed to Ruiz Cartagena and finalizing the debt between the two parties.

### ECONOMIC DYNAMICS OF THE CONTRACT. THE CARGOES

Concerning the cargoes sent on behalf of private entrepreneurs, according to these accounts, between May 1597 and November 1600, 15 shipments arrived in the Kingdom of Angola with goods amounting to a total value of 13,791,518 *réis* (Table 4). Their value was however diminished by the damage suffered during the voyage, in addition to the repercussion of other charges such as the freight of each bead container (1,333 *réis*, containing approximately 106 stones), each bundle of cloth (between 1,000 and 1,422.2 *réis* per bundle) and each *pipa* (transport drum), used to hold goods and wine (between 2,000 and 2,600 *réis* per unit).

The greater part of the cargoes was made up of textiles,<sup>14</sup> with a total of 20,267.1 elbows or *covados*, and 2,204 *varas* (the measure used, for instance, in the case of *rajeta*). As Lopes and Menz pointed out:

A transação de tecidos por escravos foi um dos principais eixos mercantis a partir do século XVI, pelo qual Oriente e Ocidente eram enlaçados numa cadeia mercantil que se estendia do Atlântico ao Índico, englobando, numa ponta, a prata da América, e na outra, os bens de origem asiática, mas incluindo, também, outros produtos tropicais e manufaturas europeias, envolvidas na troca de pessoas por bens de consumo variados, dentre os quais os têxteis compunham a maior parte.<sup>15</sup>

The total value of these cloths was 11,785,514 *réis*, 87% of the total value of these shipments, with an average investment of 928,947.6 *réis* per cargo. The price

of each type of textile is shown in Table 4, as well as the total volume of each type and the percentage that it represented in the total value of the shipped goods. The largest investments were placed in *frisado* and *palmilla*. In terms of gross quantity, these types represented 76.8% of the textiles measured in elbows. So-called London cloth was the least abundant type but its value was the highest.<sup>16</sup> In all cases, some cloths arrived rotten or damaged, and lost resale value. Beads were also shipped, mainly the so-called *margarideta*, a type of glass bead frequent on the coasts of Guinea, and also used in Angola in the economic transactions for the purchase of slaves<sup>17</sup>. The freight containers or drums are also included in Table 4 because they could have been sold in the region after their use had been fulfilled.

As a private initiative, João Nunes Correia and Manuel Fernandes Anjo also sent eight shipments (one in 1597 and seven in 1599), with the investment and profits divided into three quarters for the first and one quarter for the second. The accountants only recorded the value of the contribution of Nunes Correia, amounting to 7,841,303 *réis*, with an average investment per shipment of 980,162.8 *réis*. A profit of 7,653,590 *réis* was obtained, after the deduction of breakage, losses, and the price of the freight containers. The composition of the cargoes was very similar to those described above, with 88.15% of the total value being made up of textiles, and the remaining 11.85% of beads. Only three varieties of textiles were sent to Angola in these shipments, namely *arbini* (flemish cloths), *frisado*, and *palmilla*, and the latter alone represented more than half of the total value of the entire shipment (59.3%). So-called London cloth does not appear in the books. It should be noted that at other latitudes, *palmilla* was also an important merchandise among the textiles being shipped, and is mentioned for instance in some Dutch voyages<sup>18</sup> or in the correspondence of Juan de Argumendo himself later ca. 1610.<sup>19</sup> In the Seville archives, we have also documented *palmilla* for sale in Africa, produced in local workshops in both Andalusia and Extremadura.<sup>20</sup> On

TABLE 4. Merchandise and their respective values sent to Angola by private entrepreneurs between 1597 and 1600

Merchandise type	Price, <i>réis</i> per unit-elbow-rod-pound	Quantity (unit-elbow-rod-pound)	<i>Réis</i>	% of the total value of the shipped goods
<i>Pipas</i> (drums)	1.200	89	106.800	0,7
London cloth	800	1.615,8	1.319.666	9,5
<i>Frisado</i>	600	6.601,75	3.898.450	28,2
<i>Arbini</i>	600	2.898,5	1.686.740	12,2
<i>Palmilla</i>	450	8.735,05	3.441.446	24,9
<i>Parrilla</i>	450	842,5	379.312	2,7
<i>Rajeta</i>	300-600	2.204	1.059.900	7,6
<i>Margarideta</i>	320	4.834	1.899.200	13,7
Total	-	-	13.791.514	100

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 680r-682r.

the other hand, we have not found in the cargoes departing from Seville in these same years to Cabo Verde or Angola cloths from London but instead fine trims brought from Milan.<sup>21</sup> This is indicative of the specialisation of the cargoes according to the availability of the products at the port of origin. In addition to the *margarideta* glass beads, there are porcelain beads, the cheapest of all of the goods of the cargoes, with a limited proportion of the total value.<sup>22</sup> These beads are also recorded among the products loaded aboard in Seville, complementary to the *margarideta* and other varieties imitating precious stones that do not appear in these shipments.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, in 1597, João Nunes Correia and Manuel Fernandes Anjo sent four shipments as equal partners, the goods of which reached a total value of 5,518,440 réis, which, after damages and freight costs, came to 5,150,698 réis, with an average investment of 1,379,610 réis per shipment, well above the average investment by private entrepreneurs. Textiles again made up the best part of the cargoes, with *margarideta* beads accounting for 16.3% of the total value. Again, a common wool textile such as *palmilla* was predominant, as well as the *frisado* and a very scarce complement made up of expensive London cloths. There is no *arbini* or *rajeta*, which are found in other private cargoes. The high cost of the freight of each drum is noteworthy in these shipments, most commonly fixed at 4,000 réis, except on one of the ships on which it was only 2,000 réis.

As for the rate of arrival of the chartered shipments, and still based on the information provided in these accounts, the 15 shipments sent by private entrepreneurs arrived mainly in 1598, with seven arrivals, also accounting for all the arrivals in Angola in 1600, with only two shipments. In 1597 and 1599, the contractors promoted commercial activities with Luanda. Thus, in 1597, in addition to the four shipments organised by private merchants, a further five cargoes were freighted with the direct participation of João Nunes Correia and Manuel Fernandes Anjo. Again in 1599 and given the scarce private initiative (only two shipments according to these accounts), the contractors sent seven shipments on their own, dividing the investment (and profits) between  $\frac{3}{4}$  for Correia and  $\frac{1}{4}$  for Fernandes Anjo. Thus, these partners were responsible for sending a total of 12 shipments, a little less than half of the entire activity since other private entrepreneurs chartered at least these 15 shipments to the African kingdom.

It does appear, however, that the ships recorded in these accounts were not all those that were sent. We know that in Lisbon in 1599 João Nunes Correia engaged Juan de Argumedo to charter four Portuguese ships to take slaves from Angola to Cartagena de Indias. To do this, they first had to complete their cargo in Cadiz with “*margarideta e contaria resgates de Angola... emprestimos e pipas e caldeiras e registos e tudo o mais que necesario for pera as ditas armações ... vinhos e azeite.*” For this

TABLE 5. Value and volume of the shipments made by João Nunes Correia and Manuel Fernandes Anjo to Angola ( $\frac{3}{4}$  for Nunes Correia)

Merchandise type	Réis per unit	Units	Value	%
<i>Pipas</i> (drums)	1.000/1.200	88	104.000	1,3
<i>Frisado</i>	600	2.845,75	1.707.850	21,7
<i>Arbini</i>	400/600	1.040,3	554.600	7
<i>Palmilla</i>	450	11.629,32	4.652.093	59,3
Porcelain beads	180 (thousand)	2.800	340.200	4,3
<i>Margarideta</i>	320	1.833	586.560	7,4
Total	-	-	7.841.303	100

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, 688r-689v.

TABLE 6. Value and volume of the shipments arranged by João Nunes Correia and Manuel Fernandes Anjo to Angola (equal parts)

Merchandise type	Réis per unit-elbow-pound	Quantity units-elbows/pounds	Value	% of the total value of the cargoes
London cloth	200/800	446	315.400	5,7
<i>Palmilla</i>	300/400	7.578,25	3.011.300	54,5
<i>Frisado</i>	250/600	2.203,5	1.287.100	23,3
<i>Margarideta</i>	320	2.825	904.640	16,3
Totales	-	10.227,8/2.825	5.518.440	100%

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 690r-v.

TABLE 7. Timeline of the shipments to Angola, based on the accounts of the handler of the Contract between 1597-1600

Year	Name of the ship	Type of ship	Master of the ship	Net value of the cargo	Contractor
1597	Esperanza	-	Francisco Díaz	947.625	P
1597	-	-	Sebastián de Acosta Barrios	952.820	P
1597	-	-	Pantaleón González	666.450	P
1597	-	-	Francisco Juan	860.520	P
1597	NS de la Concepción	-	“Pedrienes”	1.490.746	CH
1597	San Antonio		Juan Carnide	1.272.316	CH
1597	San Juan	Nao	García Fernández	1.297.093	CH
1597	-	-	Gaspar Rangel	1.121.143	CH
1597	-	Hulk	Pedro Brante	901.904	C
1598	-	-	Claudio Beltrán	509.120	P
1598	-	Caravel	Esteban Luis	818.606	P
1598	-	-	Luis González	770.850	P
1598	-	-	Gaspar Martínez	1.296.280	P
1598	-	Hulk	Gaspar de Lima	981.640	P
1598	-	-	Antonio Martínez de Orta	1.062.400	P
1598	Santa María	Hulk	Cristóbal Cornieles	1.368.840	P
1599	Ciervo Volante	Nao	Martín Arman	1.588.913	P
1599	-	-	Antonio Vidal	731.400	P
1599	La Magdalena	-	Luis Fernández de Beja	670.945	C
1599	-	-	Bento Luis	549.853	C
1599	-	-	Iván Rodríguez	222.000	C
1599			Juan de Noronha	632.876	C
1599	-	Hulk	Leonardo de Ver	2.184.128	C
1599	Santa Catalina	Hulk	Juan de Oporto	1.666.552	C
1599	-	-	Belchior Ruiz	721.232	C
1600	San Pedro	Nao	Pedro Esbrante	395.600	P
1600	-	-	Manuel Afonso	983.150	P
<b>Total</b>				<b>26.665.002</b>	

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 680r-682r, 688r-689v, 690r-v. P: private. C: Contractors  $\frac{3}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . CH: Contractors equal halves.

purpose, the contractors advanced the necessary funds which would be discounted from the final payment for the shipment. As shown in Table 8, the loan was equivalent to about 1,000-1,100 *réis* per slave. It is interesting to note how it was expressly indicated that the shipments would be financed with the money obtained from the sale of brazilwood in Cadiz. Moreover, it was also made clear that the reinvestment in the slave trade would be of interest to all of the main brazilwood contractors, thus João Nunes Correia spoke on their behalf so that his envoy in Cadiz, Juan de Argumedo, “troque o pao en Cadiz do Rio de Janeiro todo que ali foi ter na nao de João Bandarida a margarideta e contaria resgates de Angola e que o dito señor frete... tudo necessario pera... gastar escravos e os

levar ao Brasil ou a Indias de Castela qual melhor e de mais proveito lhe parecer.”<sup>24</sup> Nunes Correia also authorised Argumedo to collect a shipment of 500 pesos from the profits of the Angola Contract sent from Cartagena de Indias by Bartolomeu Jorge, and which he was to use to settle debts and organise these shipments.<sup>25</sup> The shipmaster was paid 6,000 *réis* for each slave arriving alive to Tierra Firme<sup>26</sup> and 7,000 *réis* in the case of New Spain<sup>27</sup>, having paid 300 *réis* per slave in Angola. If the cargo was “pedra contarias como de vara e covado ne paguara frete algumo,”<sup>28</sup> and the transport of the rest of the goods was charged at 3,000 *réis* per ton for the first five, and 5,000 *réis* per ton for the subsequent units. Each ton of goods also advanced 500 *réis* for misfortune.<sup>29</sup>

TABLE 8. Other ships sent by the contractors of Angola in 1599

Master of the ship	Origin	Ship	N° of slaves	Loan (réis)
André Luis	Alfama (Lisbon)	Madre de Deus	250	260.000
André Alvares	Setúbal	Espírito Santo	160	160.000
Francisco Mayo	Matosinhos	São João	300	300.000
Pascoal Carvalho	Sesimbra	Santiago	200	220.000
<b>Total</b>	-	-	<b>910</b>	<b>940.000</b>

Source: ANTT, CNL, Cartório 3, Liv. 45, cx. 12, f. 36v, Lisboa, 6-IX-1599.

## THE EXPENDITURES OF THE CONTRACT

As indicated above, the accounts included the sums disbursed by Manuel Ruiz Cartagena in his post as “factor.” These include so-called “conocimientos,” which refer to goods, cash, and other effects provided by the contractors to the Governor of Angola. Their value amounted to 18,001,250 *réis*, 85% of which was paid in the form of textile products and *margarideta*, necessary for commercial exchanges in the area and by contract an obligatory part of the shipments (Fernández Chaves, 2022a, pp. 20, 28-29; 2022c). It is noteworthy that not all of these goods came from the shipments made by the contractors themselves since the net value of the merchandise sent in the 12 chartered vessels on record only amounted to 15,320,068.75 *réis*. The contractor’s handler must therefore have needed to purchase goods from the shipments of private entrepreneurs that were then sold to the Governor and other officials. The main recipient of the goods and cash was the Crown’s treasurer in Angola, Antonio Machado, who on occasion received goods from the King’s handler, Sebastião Coelho. It is interesting to note that part of the collected goods was cash currency, used to pay the salaries of officers and members of the Society of Jesus. The latter payments were recorded to Father José de Acosta, and it appears the members of the Society received a total of 1,598,551.586 *réis*. A sum of 157,500 *réis* was sent to Luis Núñez, a resident of Bahia, to purchase weapons.

In addition to these “conocimientos,” Manuel Ruiz Cartagena noted in a separate account the private shipments in which João Nunes Correia put forward three of the four parts (see Table 9). In the case of merchandise, the great majority was also received by Antonio Machado, while the salaries were paid to diverse members of the Portuguese colony, most of them related to the Church.<sup>30</sup> The deliveries made from these shipments also consisted mainly of textiles and beads, including “margarideta,” “cano de pata,” “abalorio” and other unspecified types.<sup>31</sup> Nunes Correia also turned over cash currency, paid several salaries, as well as Jesuit passage rights, and delivered flour and sheep skins.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, the “costas y salario,” described in the accounts as “gastos menudos,” amounted to a little over one million *réis* and corresponded for the most part to the payment of salaries to the officers of the Contract, with the rest of the entries referring to the notary fees for writing up different registers and receipts of passage, as well as certifications for the tax-free slaves taken out by the Jesuits, the rent of the house where the Contract handler lived, and surely gifts and bribes. In addition, the taxation per wine barrel to finance an “armada” collected more than 57,000 *réis*, and almost the same amount appears to have been put forward by the contractors to cover the expenses of that same fleet, about which there is very scarce information. Indeed, it appears to have been set up after the Contract was signed (and therefore is not mentioned in the agreement) and funded by the tax collection “a razón de un tanto por cada pipa.”<sup>33</sup>

TABLE 9. *Conocimientos* and merchandise delivered to Angola

General <i>conocimientos</i>			<i>Conocimientos</i> from the shipments of Nunes Correia		
Merchandise type	<i>Réis</i>	%	Merchandise type	<i>Réis</i>	%
Textiles	10.596.404	59	Textiles	3.832.330	33
<i>Margarideta</i>	4.623.760	26	Beads	1.696.800	15
Cash currency	2.072.000	11	Cash currency	1.624.300	14
Salaries <i>IHS</i>	551.586	3	Salaries	1.246.250	11
Purchase of weapons	157.500	1	<i>Conocimientos</i> (unspecified)	2.394.465	21
-	-	-	Flour	434.000	4
-	-	-	Sheep skins	196.800	2

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 684r-685r, 688r-689v.



TABLE 10. “Gastos menudos” (Petty expenses)

Description	Réis
Payment to the official notary for the register of “conocimientos”	57.080
Notary fees related to the Society of Jesus	6.000
Certification of the “piezas horras” of the Jesuits and passage on 23 ships	42.200
Certifications	2.740
Register of <i>avenças</i>	6.000
<b>Subtotal 1</b>	<b>173.420</b>
Rent of the house in which the ships were dispatched on the island	10.000
“Que dio al proveedor por bien del contrato de que dará razón”	40.000
<b>Subtotal 2</b>	<b>50.000</b>
Tax duties on each barrel of wine to finance the <i>armada</i>	57.080
Cost of the “armada” put forward by the contractors	55.400
<b>Subtotal 3</b>	<b>112.080</b>
Salaries	904.000
<b>Total</b>	<b>1.164.020</b>

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 685v-686r.

### THE DUTIES PAID PER SLAVE

The money raised from the collection of duties per slave amounted to 3,054,180 *réis*, corresponding to 912 slaves loaded on 26 ships<sup>34</sup>. The records belong to three ships from 1598 and 24 from 1600, 19 of them from the month of November. This is, therefore, a partial register that does not reflect all of the activities but provides the basis for a better understanding of the discretionary nature of the taxation of the slave trade.

Almost all of these 912 slaves are described as “piezas” except 10 recorded as “muleques.” The duties are very low at 1,250 and 1666.6 *réis* on average on two ships destined for São Tomé, in a patache sent by the Governor of Angola with another four slaves<sup>35</sup>. The average number of slaves per ship is 35 but this figure seems very low for these dates and leads us to suggest that some slaves were not recorded or the cargoes were completed at other ports of call. It does not make sense, for example, that only one slave was recorded on Luis de Oliveira’s ship bound for

TABLE 11. Duties paid per slave and their destination, under the Angola Contract of 1599-1600, according to the accounts of the contractors

Destination	Nº of ships	“Piezas”	Duties ( <i>réis</i> )
Rio de Janeiro	2	217	279.000
Bahia	3	78	253.900
“Brazil”	1	34	90.200
Pernambuco	2	29	78.300
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>701.400</b>
S. Tomé	3	187	302.000
Lisbon	1	55	65.800
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>367.400</b>
New Spain	1	1	7.000
Cartagena de Indias	12	299	1.893.980
<i>Indias de Castilla</i>	1	12	84.000
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>1.984.980.</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>912</b>	<b>3.054.180</b>

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, leg. 4017, f. 682r-683v.

TABLE 12. Duties per slave paid in Angola 1599-1600 (detail)

Year	Piezas	Type of ship	Master of the ship	Destination/Route
1599	170	Caravel	"Dominguienes"	"Fue por Santo Tomé" ("Went by Santo Tomé")
1599	55	Nao	Pedro Fernández Bigotes	Lisbon
1599	24	Nao	Mateos Ferreira	Pernambuco
1600	5	Nao	Melchor Luis	Pernambuco
1600	42	Nao	Domingos de Mouro	Bahia
1600	24	-	Francisco Lopes Franco	Bahia
1600	12	-	André Nunes	Bahia
1600	30	-	Gonzalo Afonso "Barbas de oro" ("Goldenbeards")	Rio de Janeiro
1600	60	Nao	Sebastián Jorge	Cartagena
1600	42	Nao	Cristóbal Ortega	Cartagena
1600	22	Caravel	Domingos Álvares	Cartagena
1600	187	-	Gonçalo Pires Pinheiro	Rio de Janeiro
1600	57	Caravel	Melchor Afonso	Cartagena
1600	19	Nao	Diego Díaz Cordero	Cartagena
1600	50	Nao	Fernão Vaz	Cartagena
1600	11	Nao	Gaspar Manço	Cartagena
1600	1	-	Baltasar López	New Spain
1600	3	Nao	Baltasar Rodrigues	São Tomé
1600	4	Patache	-	São Tomé
1600	8	Nao	Francisco de Acunha	Cartagena
1600	1	Nao	Luis de Olivera	Cartagena
1600	11	Nao	João de Noronha	Cartagena
1600	8	Nao	Domingos Luis	Cartagena
1600	10	Nao	Domingos Fernandes	Cartagena
1600	34	-	Domingos Fernandes	Brazil
1600	4	-	-	São Tomé
1600	6	-	-	São Tomé
1600	12	Nao	André Alvares	"Del gobernador de Angola" ("From Angola Governor")

Source: prepared by the author based on AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 682r-683v.

Cartagena. If we cross-reference this data with the records of the "asentista" of the Indies of Castile, Pedro Gomes Reinel, we may confirm that these ships transported a larger number of slaves. The San Gabriel mastered by Fernão Vaz paid for 110 slave licenses for Cartagena de Indias but carried a total of 190 slaves (Vila Vilar, 2014, p. 246), while the accounts of Ruiz Cartagena include the collection of 315,000 réis in extraction rights for just 50 "piezas"<sup>36</sup>. This indicates that the tax business was not the main source of income for the contractors and that their ultimate intention was to encourage trade and to collect the profits from the sale of slaves in America.

Table 11 shows that more than half of the ships listed in this tax register were headed for the Indies of Castile (53.8%). Although 7,000 réis should have been charged

in 1599 for each slave exported to the Indies of Castile,<sup>37</sup> the average duties per "pieza" was 6,362 réis. The official tax was collected in only very few cases and was mostly settled at 6,300 réis. However, the largest tax reduction was made on the slaves sent to Brazil. Indeed, the official charge per slave of 3,000 réis was reduced to an average of 1,959 réis. The figure of 2,700 réis was commonly applied but in a cargo of 187 slaves destined for Rio de Janeiro tax was dropped to 1,058.8 réis. Although a partial register, Table 12 includes all of the known shipments where the information about Brazil is especially interesting, and complements the scarce records for Bahia and Pernambuco known for these dates.<sup>38</sup> Shipments to Lisbon were even cheaper in fiscal terms, at 1,196.3 réis per slave.

## CONCLUSIONS

The 1593-1600 Angola Contract stipulated that the contractors were to pay the Crown annually between 14 and 21 million *réis* (Fernández Chaves, 2022a, pp. 18-20), and its development reflected the importance that Angola took in the “first waves” of slaves sent to Western Indies (Wheat, 2011; Wheat & Schultz, 2022). Fulfilling this obligation and making an additional profit was not based solely on the collection of taxes in Angola but indeed mostly on the ability of the contractors to finance the “avenças” and to fleet their own ships. As is shown by the accounts, the investment of the goods sent to Angola, on the one hand, and the expenditures disbursed there, on the other, were similar, with taxes playing only a small part in the profits obtained. The real business was in the promotion of cargo shipments through loans and investments from private entrepreneurs and in the sale of merchandise to the inhabitants of the colony. At the same time, the contractors played an important role in supporting members of the Church and the ministers of the King present in Angola, as well as supplying goods and other effects to the Governor. It was therefore their direction of the commercial dynamics between Angola and America that was the true key dimension of their activity, the ultimate goal of which was to promote the slave trade and to obtain high returns of silver and other goods. The cargoes analysed in this paper generally had a prominent textile component, while beads were less voluminous but of strategic importance, and other elements appeared in lesser amounts. In this whole process, we cannot overlook the significance of the concentration in the same hands of the exploitation of brazilwood and the slave trade, which indicates a clear economic strategy in the hands of an oligopoly and a strengthening of the position of these merchants in the commercial network of the Iberian Atlantic, the internal relations of which we are still piecing together.

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## NOTES

- 1 The classical works about the Atlantic Slave Trade have focused on many features of this traffick, like the number and provenance of slaves and boats, the losses of the Middle Passage, and other aspects, and have drawn a complete overview of the problem. See Curtin, 1972; Eltis and Engerman, 2011; Eltis and Richardson, 2008. It’s also very important Elbl, 1997. See too, Mellafe, 1973. The Portuguese *asientos* between 1595 and 1640 were studied in the classical work of Vila Vilar, 2014. Nevertheless, the study of these contracts has not been so developed yet. See for the case of Cape Verde, Cohen, 1994; Torrão, 2001a, 2013; also, Carreira, 2000, pp. 31-54, 127-132 and 133-258. A general overview of these contracts is presented in Mauro, 1997, I, pp. 213-227. More up-to-date is the list in Silva, 2011, pp. 288, 290.
- 2 We have recently analysed the Cabo Verde Contract for 1574-1580, and the São Tomé Contract of 1583-1589, published in Fernández Chaves, 2018, pp. 93-120, and 2022b, pp. 451-485.
- 3 See too the PhD Thesis of Rodrigues, 2019.
- 4 De Mello erroneously indicates 1595 as the date of the brazilwood agreement with other partners.
- 5 The acknowledgment of this situation was registered before a notary by the agent of both brothers in Seville, the Portuguese merchant Ruy Fernandes Pereira, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla [AHPSe], Protocolos Notariales de Sevilla [PNS], leg. 9973, f. 1123r, Seville, 9-XI-1596, “Copia de los contratos.”
- 6 See, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo [ANTT], Cartórios Notariais de Lisboa [CNL], liv. 45, cx. 12, f. 37r, Lisbon, 6-IX-1599, in which these partners are named along with “mais participes do dito contrato de pao.”
- 7 This trial would not be concluded until 1613. On Pereira, Luxán Meléndez, 1989, pp. 205, 208, 210, 211, 213.
- 8 Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid [AHPM], Protocolos Notariales de Madrid [PNM], leg. 4017, f. 678r, Madrid, 1-VI-1621.
- 9 AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 694r.
- 10 AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 674v-677v.
- 11 The *avença* was the advantage that the contractors had to organize the shipping to Africa with their own conditions coming into terms with private investors and shipmasters to sail to Africa and then take the slaves to the Americas. See, Eagle, 2013.
- 12 Manuel Ruiz Cartagena took out both licences for 1.600.000 and 400.000 *réis*, to be paid to Lopo Rodrigues of Lisbon for the value delivered to João Furtado, AHPM, leg. 4017, f. 692v.
- 13 This role also included supplying the Jesuits in Angola, see Alencastro, 2000, pp. 168-186.
- 14 A general overview of the different types of textiles sent from Europe in Alpern, 1995. See too, Ryder, 1969, pp. 37, 60-61, and specially for the Portuguese trade in São Tomé, Congo, and Benin: Ballong-Wen-Mewuda, 1993. For Angola in the following century, Caldeira, 2014. It is also essential Lopes and Menz, 2008, 2019. For textiles in an earlier time in Guinea, see, Vogt, 1975; Torrão, 2001b, and Newson, 2013, among many others.
- 15 Lopes and Menz, 2019, p. 111.
- 16 Already in 1513-1515 “pano de londres roxo” is found in cargoes sent from Castile to the island of Santiago, see, Torrão, 2001b, I, pp. 237-345, here, p. 291.
- 17 Compare with the lists of main merchandises offered in the chronicles for Guinea in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, commented in Torrão, 2001b, I, pp. 261-263; see also, Newson and Minchin, 2007, pp. 45-46, 52, 318-319. Also, Alpern, 1995, p. 23. Van den Broecke indicates that between Mayumba and the Cape of Lopo Gonçalves “The blacks there desire most of all *lijwate massa maf?*-*Jomba* or large *rosados*,” referring to beads, see, La Fleur, 2000, p. 77. A recent study about the margarideta and beads in the trade from Seville to Angola in Fernández Chaves, 2022c.
- 18 See for instance the case of Pieter van den Broecke in 1610 when he bought “four elephant’s tusks weighing 74 lb for four covados of *palmillo* from the natives,” La Fleur, 2000, p. 73.
- 19 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Angola, cx. 1, doc. 5, where Argumedo writes about “cachera,” “beirames” (from India), “palmilla,” “rajetas” and other textile fabrics.

- 20 AHPSe, PNS, leg. 16763, f. 235r. "Power of attorney of Jorge de León Andrada"
- 21 AHPSe, PNS, leg. 16757, f. 1126r, 20-V-1598. "Purchase of 'pasamanos' of Juan Bautista Soderini."
- 22 Note that in the records known for Guinea in 1613, margarideta was a bead of little value, exchanged at 1 pound for 1 or 2 *paños*, while small porcelain beads, "conta menina de porcelana," was worth 40 *paños* for 100 thousand beads. 2.800 thousand had been sent to Angola in this shipment. Cf. on these values Newson and Minchin, 2007, pp. 318-319. A closer view of the Sevillian-Angolan market of beads in Fernández Chaves, 2022c.
- 23 See, for instance, AHPSe, PNS, leg. 9300, f. 1029r, Seville, 21-IV-1598, "Purchase of *porcelana conteria* and *crystalina* to Guinea."
- 24 ANTT, CNL, Cartório 3, liv. 45, cx. 12, f. 36v. Lisbon, 6-IX-1599.
- 25 ANTT, CNL, Cartório 3, liv. 45, cx. 12, f. 40r. The money was consigned to Gaspar Suares Drago or Rui Fernandes Pereira. In 1600 the arrival to Seville of the galleon "San Gregorio" with 545 *pesos de oro* for Gaspar Suares Drago (about 320.588 *réis*). See Archivo General de Simancas, Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda, leg. 403.
- 26 ANTT, CNL, Cartório 3, liv. 44, cx. 12, f. 57v, 61r y 79v, 16, 12 y 23-VIII-1599, "Freights of Pascual Carvalho, André Alvares and André Luis."
- 27 ANTT, CNL, Cartório 3, liv. 44, cx. 12, f. 92r, Lisboa, 26-VIII-1599, "Shipments to Madeira, Angola, and New Spain by the master Vicente Roiz for Juan Jácome Espíndola."
- 28 ANTT, CNL, Cartório 3, liv. 44, cx. 12, f. 57v, 61r y 79v, 16, 12 y 23-VIII-1599. The same statement is included in the arguments of the litigation analysed above, Biblioteca Nacional de España, [BNE], Porcones, 1422, 32, "Tercer agravio."
- 29 ANTT, CNL, Cartório 3, liv. 44, cx. 12, f. 57v.
- 30 These were Father Diego de Acosta, procurator for the brothers of his order and for which he received 446.250 *réis* in 1600; Manuel Roiz Tejera, vicar of the church of Luanda (80.000 *réis* annually, paid in 1600 for the arrears of 1598, 1599 and 1600); the priest of the church of Luanda, Francisco Roiz Preto (50.000 *réis* per year); Baltasar Dávila, priest of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (100.000 *réis*); and Father Diego Andrión? de Lara, priest of the same church (50.000 *réis*). Rodrigo Fernandes, treasurer of the main church, was paid his salary for 4 years, amounting to 280.000 *réis*, and Bento Banha, treasurer of the deceased was paid the salary for 1 year of the late Father Baltasar de Avila, AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 688r-689v.
- 31 A general overview on beads in Alpern, 1995, pp. 22-24. See also Fernández Chaves, 2022c.
- 32 AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. 688r-689v.
- 33 BNE, Porcones, 1422, 32, "Tercer agravio."
- 34 We do not count a patache with a Castilian master who did not pay any slave duties, only the right to sail to Sao Tomé, amounting to 11.160 *réis*.
- 35 These "muleques" appear in the registers of 23-XI-1600, and that same day a patache of the Governor of Angola is recorded with 4 slaves. Although the taxes of the "muleques" are separate from those of the adult "piezas," we suggest that the ship must have been the same one, headed to Sao Tomé. None of the three records include the name of the master of the ship.
- 36 AHPM, PNM, leg. 4017, f. "Fees collected by Manuel Ruiz Cartagena in the Angola registry of the ships that departed from there as follows."
- 37 As was indicated in the shipment contracts in Seville, cf. Fernández Chaves, 2022a, pp. 25-26.
- 38 See, Silva and Eltis, 2008, and Ribeiro, 2008, both in Eltis and Richardson, 2008. See also the scarce data present online at [www.slavevoyages.com](http://www.slavevoyages.com) (accessed 10/01/2021). A recent very accurate work about the departure of ships from Angola to the Americas, complementary to the information studied here is Wheat and Schultz, 2022.

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