

‘Fully Capable of any Iniquity’: The Zangroniz Family’s Atlantic Human Trafficking Network

By focusing on the business network of the Zangroniz family firm, this article argues that it was thanks to the disposition to evolve, diversify, and take advantage of new business opportunities, that a number of slave trading firms and entrepreneurs were able to challenge British abolitionism across the Atlantic basin. The article argues that as a result of its vast Atlantic network of agents and correspondents the Basque family at the center of this study was able to turn their business model into a globalized enterprise with offices, interests, and investments in Europe, Africa and the Americas.

Keywords: family firms, business networks, Atlantic world, diversification, slave traders, human trafficking

This article focuses on the rise and expansion of slave trading merchants originally based in Havana, but who were to have a truly international impact on communications, finance, and trade – chiefly of human beings – throughout the nineteenth century. It does so by focusing on the trading house established by two Basque brothers in the Cuban capital in the early part of the century, and then following the expansion and diversification of their business activities and the creation of a transatlantic commercial network. This successful network transformed them into important actors during a period that was signaled by technological innovations that “made it possible to transport more and different kinds of items across great distances,” thus leading to a greater economic integration in the Atlantic world.¹

By charting the development of the Zangroniz family business – a scholarly enterprise that will also involve the partial examination of many of their partners – this article offers a case study that will allow us to address and answer some broader historiographical and theoretical questions, pertaining to economic history as well as to the modus operandi of transatlantic slave traders. Engaging with the literatures of enterprising and family business in the Iberian Atlantic in the Age of Revolution, it uses a merchant house managed from a

booming nineteenth-century Atlantic urban center – Havana – to shed light on the importance of adopting new strategies of diversification as a route to success in a highly risky and competitive environment.² Over the past years several studies have begun to examine the business models adopted by European slave trading firms and entrepreneurs in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, while the slave trade remained legal throughout the Atlantic world.³ Nevertheless, we currently have a very limited knowledge about the ways in which some of these firms and entrepreneurs morphed their operations into new business models, and even less is known about the new firms and entrepreneurs, many of them Spanish, Portuguese, French, American, Cuban and Brazilian, that joined the human trafficking business precisely as it was declared illicit by most of the former slave trading nations in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴

I have purposely chosen the Zangroniz clan to shed light on a number of essential issues to the development of Atlantic commercial networks, because of two main reasons. Firstly, the information existing about them, although by no means abundant, is substantial enough as to map their trajectory in time and space, throughout the century and across continents. Secondly, because they were exceptional in the sense that they were constantly in the search for new business ventures, it is possible to observe their expanding operations and networks, their strategies of diversification, and the ways in which they invested in new markets and businesses, often taking significant risks and doing so at the margin of local and international laws. Nevertheless, and in spite of their obvious important role as international slave dealers throughout the first half of the century, little has been written about this family of human traffickers. By all means, the generations of Zangroniz examined in this article, epitomize the figure of the astute and pioneering capitalist of the time, flexible and resilient, and often eager to take advantage of any opportunity without having too much regard for anything but for the possible margin of profits to be earned with every one of their business

initiatives. As many of their contemporaries, they traded human beings across oceans and seas without ever having second thoughts on the suffering they caused. Their actions, as those of their competitors and partners, resulted in new generations of Africans being enslaved and forced to cross the Atlantic during the era of the illegal slave trade, in turn, extending slavery in Cuba for two generations.

Over the first half of the nineteenth century these relatively unknown Basque entrepreneurs, went from having a small business in a distant island across the ocean, to creating an extensive transatlantic commercial web. Although, they did trade on a large variety of products and at some point even founded their own transatlantic steam ship company, the Zangroniz firm became first and foremost notorious for their continuous involvement on the traffic of human beings. It was precisely thanks to their success in establishing extensive kinship and networks correspondents and agents that they managed to prosper in the face of British policing pressures in the Atlantic basin. For that, they took advantage of every single opportunity that was presented to them, regularly colluding with local governments and rulers from several countries and territories. Ultimately, by studying the case of the Zangroniz family business model, this article also sheds light on some of the strategies widely used by slave traders in the Atlantic world during the period of illicit trade to circumvent the abolitionist efforts carried out by Britain and other governments.⁵ The article also proposes further lines of inquiry into the stratagems devised by similar capitalist entrepreneurs to succeed where others failed, and in the face of a very risky and highly competitive business.

Basque slave traders in Cuba

When the pioneers of this Basque migration began to arrive in Cuba in the late eighteenth century, there was a palpable appetite for free trade among Havana-based merchant and planter elites. This longing for free trade had become patent after the British occupation of

Havana in 1762–1763, which had stimulated the local economy as no other event did until the final decade of the century.⁶ Although free trade was not officially granted until the 1810s, Cuban-based merchants had been carrying out a *de facto* trans-imperial trade from the 1790s, notably with the United States, as a result of Spain's own limitations to satisfy the demands of the island's expanding economy. Over the years, and in order to get away with this borderline illegal behavior, the authorities, planters and merchants of Havana, in unison, resorted to various excuses and threats to justify the exceptionality and need for these measures. In reality, however, trans-imperial trade soon became a regular feature rather than an exception, in Cuba as well as in other Spanish American colonies.

In this new trading scenario, just as many other merchants across the Iberian Atlantic had done, Havana-based merchants took advantage of new conjunctures to further their business interests. Due to a combination of political, social and economic reasons, in the 1790s Cuba was better placed than most of the other Spanish colonies to take advantage of the events that from 1791 transpired in the neighboring French colony of Saint Domingue. Although the Spanish colonies in the Americas had been importing larger numbers of African slaves than we had previously assumed, the increase in the transatlantic slave trade to Cuba that took place after the final decade of the eighteenth-century was, by any standards, a major one.⁷

As the Spanish *Asiento* went into disuse, Havana-based merchants began taking the reigns of the slave trade from the early 1790s, when they sent their first expedition to Africa, the frigate *Cometa*, which returned with 227 Africans belonging precisely to a Basque merchant and planter, Sebastián de Lasa.⁸ In the following years, Spanish peninsular merchants developed new transatlantic networks based on interpersonal trust, which allowed them to take control of one of the most lucrative, although by no means risk-free, business of the time.

A number of scholars have studied Iberian Atlantic networks in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, discussing issues as diverse as the role of communications and trust, and also exposing the possible pitfalls that studies like these may pose. Xabier Lamikiz, for example, has emphasized how interpersonal trust was “crucial to early overseas trade.”⁹ Notably, he has also discussed how this need for trust between merchants and agents (the principal-agent problem) led many of them to rely first and foremost in family members.¹⁰ Both Lamikiz and Jeremy Baskes have also pointed out that whenever family members were not available, ethnic and regional common identities, otherwise known as *paisanaje*, were the next logical type of association.¹¹ Thus, as in the case presented in this article, Basque merchants and traders, associated first and foremost with other Basques, creating in Havana something that came to resemble a clique of *paisanos*.

Although, most of the recent studies of Iberian Atlantic networks focus on an earlier period to that discussed here, they do raise a number of methodological issues that are worth exploring because of their potential parallels with the period of the illicit slave trade that followed British Abolition in 1807. The existing historical sources to study cases like that of the Zangroniz family firm are, for the most part, scarce. It is not surprising, then, that in spite of all the power and affluence of these nineteenth-century slave traders, few studies of particular individuals and firms exist.¹² As Lamikiz suggests, this lack of sources may be due to the “canniness of early modern merchants led them to keep their records as secret as possible.”¹³ However, the very illicit character of their business, especially after 1820, makes researching into their business transactions even more difficult. In this respect, and as Christopher Ebert argues while referring to Atlantic contraband – also an illegal activity fraught with similar problems – in the early modern period, these studies must inevitably be of a qualitative nature due to the almost insurmountable problems associated with quantifying trade which was both unlawful and guarded from the public eye.¹⁴

The beginning of the Haitian Revolution, then, signaled a unique opportunity for Havana-based planters and merchants to seize control of the sugar and coffee markets by replacing Saint Domingue's production and exports. As a result a new wave of emergent capitalist entrepreneurs began arriving in Cuba with the intention of making quick fortunes. Many among them probably migrated as they escaped the wars that engulfed Europe at the time. More broadly, they all benefitted from political events that were concurrently taking place on both sides of the Atlantic, sometimes probably unknown to them, from Bourbon reforms aimed at stimulating trade and manufacturing in Spain and its American colonies, to internal wars in African states which led to the thriving of slave markets by the African coast.¹⁵

Chiefly, among those who arrived at the time, there were considerable numbers of Basque, Catalanian, and Galician young ambitious men, keen to get a slice of the profits that were to be made from the fast-growing sugar and coffee industries.¹⁶ It is probably worth noting here that this was a transatlantic migration that, as some historians have pointed out, took these men to virtually every corner of Hispanic America.¹⁷ While many of them ended up owning or working on plantations, some others linked up with the well-established Spain-born merchant community that existed in Havana and other Hispanic American cities at the time, and embarked on new careers as goods traders.

Although in principle it would seem that these Basque migrants had moved from a European center to the colonial periphery of the island of Cuba, the reality could not be farther from this assumption. By the turn of the nineteenth century Cuba had become the fastest growing economy in the Caribbean and one of the leading exporters of agricultural products – mainly sugar – and importers of African slave labor. Havana was then a thriving metropolis, a port center for trade with several daily commercial ship arrivals from virtually every single Atlantic port. When this generation of Basque migrants settled there, they

unsuspectedly joined a productive, commercial, and technological sugar-related revolution that would soon turn the island into one of the largest and most prosperous colonies in the Atlantic world.

From the late 1790s onwards many prominent Basque entrepreneurs invested in Cuban sugar. According to José Manuel Azcona Pastor, “All of them were slave traders as well as import-exporters.”¹⁸ Among them were representatives of the Abarzuza, Aldama, Bengoechea, Goicuría, González Larrinaga, Iriarte, Irigoyen, Lasa, Martiartu, Pérez de Urria, Zangroniz, Zavala, and Zulueta clans. Before long, many of them married into wealthy local families, and on occasion they married among themselves, as it was the case of the González Larrinaga and Pérez de Urria families. These marriages often offered an added value to already existing corporative alliances, and in the long run, cemented the position of these families within the local elites.¹⁹ Instead of becoming rivals, these paisanos often came together as business partners, benefitting from their common historical and cultural backgrounds. In this way, for example, Tomás de Irigoyen and Silvestre Iriarte formed a very successful slave trading partnership in the late 1830s and early 1840s, while Julián de Zulueta and Salvador Martiartu often conducted business together in the same period.²⁰

Juan José Zangroniz, the patriarch of the family studied in this article, was one of those who arrived in Havana around the turn of the nineteenth century. Juan José had been born in the tiny hamlet of Etxabarría, near the village of Marquina (today Markina-Xiemen), in 1784. Apparently, he had lived all his life in the area, until he decided to cross the Atlantic in search of better fortunes. Very little is known of his business associations before this time. Upon his arrival in Cuba he settled in Havana and immediately began doing business there. Like many of his compatriots, Juan José married a local girl from a well-off local Basque family. In 1808 Juan José and María de los Angeles Allende y Salazar tied the knot, and by 1816 the couple had had three small children.²¹ Although Juan José’s business undertakings

did not take off right away, a lucky incident changed his and his family's destinies in 1805. That year, Juan José won the considerable sum of 20,000 pesos from the Royal Lottery of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico, and soon afterwards a notable increase in his business activity became apparent.²²

This sum also allowed Juan José to travel to his village of Marquina, near Bilbao, that same year to visit his relatives and to close some pending business transactions he had there.²³ Thanks to this newly found fortune, Juan José was joined in Havana in 1813 by his younger brother Juan Bautista (b.1791), who by his side soon became an important merchant in the Cuban capital as well.²⁴ Over the next few years the names of both Juan José and Juan Bautista began appearing more and more on trading transactions conducted in Havana. For example, in 1809, Juan José bought a vessel in the United States with the intention of using it for commercial purposes, and between 1811 and 1814 he was involved as a consignee in various mercantile expeditions of different kinds organized in Cuba.²⁵ More to the point, already in 1811 he was doing business with one of the most notorious Basque slave traders of Havana, Juan Magin Tarafa.²⁶ Meanwhile, in his shadow, his brother Juan Bautista was also carving a career as a trader and by 1815 he appeared for the first time in the historical sources, when he was obliged to explain how one of their vessels had been lost at sea.²⁷

Around this time they set up the firm of Zangroniz, Hermano y Cía (Zangroniz, Brother and Co.), which would continue to exist in one way or another until the mid-1860s, carried forward by two members of the second generation, Juan José's sons named Juan José, born sometime between 1809 and 1813, and Ignacio María (1816–1881), who would in turn become two of the most renowned slave traders of the nineteenth-century Atlantic world. Upon his death in 1843 in Dahomey, Juan José Junior would leave a racially mixed son named Francisco, who was still a respected member of the local elites in Whydah several years after his father's death.²⁸ Another descendant of the family patriarch named Jean Joseph

Joachim (1847–1901) continued to trade in Europe, mostly in France and England, until the arbors of the twentieth century.

Expanding the Network: The Transatlantic Slave Trade

All the surviving evidence seems to suggest that after his visit to Santander in 1815, Juan José never returned to Cuba on a permanent basis, and instead remained in Spain, later on settling in Bordeaux and subsequently in Bayonne, where he was soon to become one of the main Spanish merchants in both cities. This decision was perhaps a result of political events occurring at the time. 1815 signaled the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and thus it was perhaps a propitious moment for Zangroniz to settle in France in order to take advantage of the French commercial links with Africa vis-à-vis the slave trade. When he died years later in 1844, he was still living in Bayonne and fully involved in the operations of the family firm that by now was in the hands of his son Ignacio María. It was precisely during his time in Spain, just before moving to France, that Juan José's and his family's slave trading ventures began.

It is not clear why Juan José failed to return to Cuba in 1816. There's very little information about this time in his life and that of his closer relatives. We know that when he undertook this journey to Spain in 1815, either him, his wife María de los Angeles Allende, or one of their three children seemed to have been ill.²⁹ The fact remains that Juan José decided not to return to Havana and instead sent his brother Juan Bautista back across the Atlantic to take care of the family business in Cuba. By 1819 Juan José, now identified in the documents as Jean Joseph de Zangroniz, had naturalized French and was a resident in the Rue du Chapeau-Rouge, in central Bordeaux.³⁰

Juan José organized his first known slave trading expedition from Bilbao in 1816. That year he teamed up with the firm of Lemonauria and Pérez to send the corvette *Flora* to

Africa to buy slaves and take them to Havana, where his brother Juan Bautista would be waiting for them.³¹ One year later, Juan José organized his second registered slave trading expedition and the first fruitful one we know of. This time, the ship *Mulato* departed from the Galician port of La Coruña in 1817 and a few months later successfully landed 319 Africans in Havana. The next few known voyages were all planned in Bordeaux between 1820 and 1825, and all procured their slave cargoes in places as diverse as Saint Louis, Bonny and Elmina.³² These early slave trade voyages followed the operational patterns exhibited by other Havana-based slave trading firms of the time and may have been the direct result of the materialization of business links with American slave traders.³³ Not only were the expeditions planned and sent to Africa from European ports like Cádiz, Barcelona, or Bordeaux, but once at sea, the ship captains acquired their human cargoes from already active agents posted along the West African coast. As we will soon see, this *modus operandi* would change in the 1830s when the second generation of Zangroniz took over the family firm and transformed it into a massively profitable business, having their own private agent posted in one of the largest slave trading ports of West Africa.

[insert Table 1 here]

In contrast to his sons' later behavior, Juan José seems to have been averse to taking excessive risks and he ran the family firm within certain restrictive business parameters, even in those occasions when he financed illegal slave trading expeditions after 1820. According to Eric Saugera by the mid-1820s "Zangroniz put an end to these ever riskier [slave trading] expeditions, but remained in business. In 1825, he established a regular lining connection between Bordeaux and Havana, assuring travelers that they would be perfectly nourished and fed."³⁴ A year before, in 1824 Juan José, had also founded a maritime company in Bordeaux, who had as a representative in Paris and the rest of France a certain Monsieur Lataillades, who was probably also a Basque compatriot.³⁵

As mentioned above the business model of Zangroniz, Brother & Co. was about to change. From the mid-1830s the involvement of both Juan José and Juan Bautista diminished significantly, although they both remained active partners of the family firm. While Juan José focused on his French businesses, which by now included different ventures, Juan Bautista became a planter near Matanzas, where in 1824 he bought extensive lands belonging to the Hacienda La Sagua to foment a sugar plantation.³⁶ We know that in 1841 Juan Bautista obtained a privilege from the Crown to introduce a new type of sugar manufacturing innovation appliance, which leads us to believe that ever since his nephews had taken over the slave trading business, Juan Bautista had instead focused on his plantation in Matanzas.³⁷ From the existing evidence it is possible to conclude that from the 1820s various members of the Zangroniz clan specialized in different but related branches of business, perhaps as a strategy to prevent losses.

The next Zangroniz generation was mainly formed by two of Juan José's sons, Juan José Junior, and Ignacio María. When they took over the business sometime in the early 1830s they set out to expand its operations following the business model established by other large-scale Havana-based slave traders, like, for example, that of the firm of Blanco & Carvallo, who had sent one of their own – the renowned slave trader Pedro Blanco – in the mid-1820s to West Africa, to set up a slave factory by the river Gallinas, in what is today the Kerefe river region in Sierra Leone and Liberia.³⁸ There is little doubt that by this time the Zangroniz, Brother & Co., were well on their way to becoming a successful business firm, since as Jeremy Adelman has maintained, the most successful merchants of that time “operated on a large scale through a network of agents scattered around many trading centers.”³⁹

Already in 1830 Zangroniz, Brother & Co. were reported to have sent a vessel to Whydah, in the kingdom of Dahomey. Although this voyage seems to have been mostly the

work of Juan Bautista, the destination suggests that Juan José Junior, who was now in his late teens or early twenties, might have been involved too. British commissioner in Havana William Sharp Macleay informed in that year that the American brig *Lyon* – which eventually sailed under Spanish colors – had left for Africa on July 27, consigned to the house of Zangroniz, Brother & Co.⁴⁰ Referring to this vessel upon its return to Havana in March 1831, Macleay wrote that although much mystery remained about the ship and its cargo – he thought the vessel had likely been involved in a reported act of piracy off the coast of Africa – he still suspected it to be a slaver. One of the things that made him think this way was the fact that the ship had been dispatched by Zangroniz, Brother & Co., “a mercantile house, which, from all I have been able to learn, is fully capable of any iniquity.”⁴¹

The Whydah connection was soon to blossom. Since at least 1833 one of the Zangroniz brothers, Juan José Junior, moved to that African city and began trading in slaves there, alongside some of the most famous slave traders of the period. While Juan José settled down in Whydah, his brother Ignacio María took the reins of the family firm headquarters in Havana. Around this time, the Zangroniz brothers already counted with a vast network of agents and correspondents across the Atlantic, many of whom were close relatives or paisanos. In addition to having their father in Bordeaux, they had a cousin named Juan Allende sailing back and forth from Havana to Whydah as the captain of slave vessels, and they had established strong business connections in London, where, according to a British consular officer in Rio de Janeiro, their bills were “well known in many mercantile places.”⁴² These bills were also “readily negotiated at Bahia for produce or British ‘dry goods’.”⁴³ As a matter of fact, we know that Juan José Zangroniz Junior travelled from Whydah to Salvador, using the Portuguese version of his name, João José, in January 1835, staying there for a couple of months, setting up commercial links for the benefit of his family firm.⁴⁴ When he returned to Whydah at the end of March he had added some lasting business partners to those

he had before this trip. Among those was Vicente Paulo e Silva, a Brazilian resident in Bahia, who according to Pierre Verger had been involved in the transatlantic slave trade at least since 1809, with whom he conducted business there in more than one occasion over the next few years.⁴⁵

The details of the *modus operandi* of a specific slave trading expedition organized by Juan José Zangroniz from Whydah in 1836 were revealed by him in a letter to the captain of his slave ship *Carlota*. In this letter, Juan José gave very precise instructions to captain Miguel Palau on how to carry out business. He insisted that he should live on good terms with his officer and crew, making sure that they all got paid what they were owed. He then commanded Palau to head for the south coast of Cuba aiming for Cayo Piedras, where he was expected to hoist a blue flag and wait for a medical doctor to come aboard to check the health of the Africans. After doing so, he should go to the creek of Majana, where he should disembark the slaves “with the greatest expedition,” sending a man to contact local planter Gregorio Menéndez, who in turn should contact his brother Ignacio María Zangroniz in Havana to come and collect the Africans.⁴⁶

The attention to detail shown by Juan José Junior in this missive is extraordinary and reveals a number of new strategies developed by slave traders at the time in order to cope with the British patrolling of the Atlantic. Among those stratagems was the use of foreign flags to deceive British cruisers, and the choice of particular navigation routes once they had reached the coastline of Cuba in order to expedite the process of disembarkation of the Africans.⁴⁷ This attention to detail and their willingness to take ever-bigger risks – at least six of their slave ships were seized by British cruisers between 1833 and 1839 – transformed the house of Zangroniz into a market leading transatlantic firm by the second half of the 1830s, that counted with partners and correspondents across places as diverse and faraway as Havana, Salvador de Bahia, Whydah, Bordeaux, and London, among many others.⁴⁸

By 1835 or 1836 Juan José Junior had cemented his position as one of the foremost slave traders along the African coast. From this time and until his death in 1843, he was continuously referred to as a leading slave trader in Whydah, second only to Francisco Felix de Souza.⁴⁹ In a letter to Viscount Palmerston in early 1837, British Mixed Commissioners in Freetown H. D. Campbell and Walter Lewis referred to Zangroniz as one of the most important slave traders in West Africa, alongside his partner de Souza, famously known throughout the Atlantic as King Ghezo's Cha Cha.⁵⁰ While discussing the case of the schooner *Latona*, seized with over 320 Africans on board they commented that the "...names of two well known persons engaged in slave-adventures, De Sowsa, alias Char Char, of Whydah, and Zangroni, appear in the transactions connected with the employment of this vessel."⁵¹

In a report produced that same day, Campbell and Lewis gave yet more information about Juan José Junior, reproducing the testimony of the ship's captain, Jozé Gervasio de Carvalho, who in this occasion referred to Zangroniz by his Portuguese name: "The Owner and lader [sic] of the slaves is João José Zangroni, merchant of Havana, but at present trading on the Coast."⁵²

There is very little room for doubt that during this period Juan José Zangroniz junior was deemed to be almost as important as De Souza, to the point that it was not strange for the British commissioners in Sierra Leone to have former captains of captured slave vessels solemnly swear specifically not to trade again with "De Souza, Zangroni, or to any other slave merchant" of that coast.⁵³ As a matter of fact there's sufficient evidence to demonstrate that, as Robin Law has argued before, Zangroniz and De Souza rather than enemies, soon became business partners. In the Report of the schooner *Jack Wilding*, in 1839, the British commissioners in Sierra Leone pointed out that one of the letters confiscated in 1839 referred to a previous slave trading voyage, that of the *General Manso* in 1834. The letter contained

“an account of goods delivered to J. T. Zangronis and Francisco Felix de Souza, alias Char-char, at Whydah, from the ‘General Manso’ in 1834, showing that Capo’s connections with these persons is of old standing.”⁵⁴

Equally, while giving testimony before the British Parliament Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa in 1842 Reverend John Beecham read a letter dated on June 4, 1842, written by a Captain Laurence in Sierra Leone, referring to the involvement of Whydah on the slave trade at the time. When discussing the most important slave merchants in this port, the letter only mentioned two names, arguably placing that of Zangroniz even above that of De Souza: “This, I have no hesitation in saying, is the most formidable [slave trading] place on the whole coast (...) Whydah itself is in charge of the headman Zangroni; the noted slave dealer De Souza resides there.”⁵⁵

Simultaneously, in Havana, Ignacio María took care of putting together slave-trading expeditions that sailed from Havana on a frequent basis, often with Basque captains in charge now sent almost exclusively to Whydah. He also took care of receiving these expeditions upon their return, and of selling the Africans sent by his brother. Ignacio María also attained a reputation as a leading slave trader throughout the Atlantic, and at least among commissioners and judges of the Mixed Commission courts of Havana and Freetown, he was a well-known offender. In 1840, while discussing the case of the Portuguese brig *Emprehendedor*, commissioners Macaulay and Doherty referred to the Zangroniz brothers as joint owners of the vessel together with De Souza. Upon interviewing the captain of another captured ship, the *Casoalidade*, Joaquim Antônio, he observed that he knew “the owners of the vessel, who are the brothers Zangrony, of whom one resides in Havana, and the other at Whydah, and both of whom are Spanish.”⁵⁶

In 1843, as business thrived even in the face of renewed British pressures, their highly profitable commercial operation in human beings received a massive setback. That year Juan

José Junior died unexpectedly. British missionary Thomas Birch Freeman, who visited Dahomey in the early 1840s mentioned Juan José Zangroniz's death and funeral in the entries for February 3 and 4, 1843, in his personal diary. According to Freeman, Zangroniz, who had been "one of the principal slave dealers at Whydah," was buried in the Portuguese burial ground of Whydah.⁵⁷ Confronted with the loss of his brother and firm's agent in Africa, Ignacio María resolved to continue to trade in African slaves, often using his cousin Juan Allende to command his slave trading expeditions. For example, according to British Consul in Havana, Joseph T. Crawford, a cargo of more than 300 slaves was landed near the Cuban capital in March 1844, with "all the slaves belonging to Mr Sangronis."⁵⁸

However, after his brother's death, things began to change significantly. In September 1844 Juan Allende was caught in charge of the Spanish brigantine *Audaz*, and subsequently he was put to trial in Sierra Leone.⁵⁹ Even before being captured, Allende had found himself arriving in Whydah without having his cousin to negotiate the cargo on his behalf. Instead he was forced to engage in a negotiation with Antonio Sanmartí, a Catalanian trader who had been active in Whydah since at least 1838 and who appears to have become the main Spanish slave trader there after Juan José Zangroniz's death.⁶⁰ When Allende requested a slave cargo from Sanmartí, he was advised to continue to Onim, where Estevão José Bruxedo (or Brochado) had just set up a new factory in partnership with Domingos José Martins and the Ferruja brothers.⁶¹ Sanmartí also advised Allende to accept any cargo he was given, and to follow Brochado's suggestions, even if these suggestions went against his original aim of taking a slave cargo to Cuba as instructed by his cousin Ignacio María.⁶²

So far there is no conclusive evidence to support any sort of involvement of the Zangroniz, Brother & Co. firm on the slave trade after the mid-1840s. It is, however, unlikely, that Ignacio María stopped his involvement altogether, even after the deaths of his father and brother. Some circumstantial evidence, nevertheless, seems to suggest otherwise.

Particularly poignant in this respect was the testimony of the British Consul Crawford, who in the mid-1850s still considered Ignacio María's anxiety to introduce laborers in Cuba "superior to all the considerations of humanity."⁶³

Abolition and the Need for Diversification

After the death of Juan José Junior in Whydah in 1843, Ignacio María began to trade mostly on his own, although at least until the late-1850s the company kept the name of Zangroniz, Brother & Co., mostly due to the fact that some of his brothers, cousins and brothers-in-law continued to be involved in the business, albeit in a more marginal way. There is evidence that he remained in touch with his relatives in France, sometimes carrying out business together, and that he also remained in touch with his nephew Francisco in the Bight of Benin. Perhaps due to the death of his brother and subsequently that of his father a year later in 1844, or due to the British abolitionist push of the early 1840s he seems to have thought that the transatlantic slave trade had its days numbered. Consequently, Ignacio María, probably after consulting his brother Ramón Anacleto, slowly but surely began a process of diversification of his mercantile operations, gradually moving away from the transatlantic slave trade and into other forms of human trafficking. In this respect, he became a pioneer among those who, like him, had been heavily involved in the traffic of human beings from Africa, and who were now considering varying alternatives to this trade, which was coming under more and more pressure from the British.

Following this new pattern, Ignacio María attempted a number of fresh and very risky human trafficking business ventures, most of which were doomed to failure. From the existing sources, it is possible to assert that he was most likely the only among the main Havana-based slave traders of the period to try his hand at each of the four major alternatives existing at the time to get cheap or free labor, namely the trade in 'free' African laborers,

Mexican indigenous workers (both free and war prisoners), Canary Islands colonists, and Chinese indentured laborers.

Ignacio María's ventures were often undertaken in tandem with former or new business partners, and in some cases they never really fructified. In late 1853 he presented an official request to the Crown to allow him to introduce in Cuba 5,000 African free "apprentices" to be used in agricultural works.⁶⁴ When a Royal Order denied this request in April 1854, Ignacio María turned his attention closer to home.⁶⁵ Taking advantage of an opportunity presented to him and his partner house of Goicuría & Brothers.⁶⁶

This opportunity seems to have arisen in 1854 when a surplus of prisoners from the Caste Wars that had been raging in Yucatán since 1847, led the Mexican government to consider making a grant to the houses of Goicuría & Brothers, and Zangroniz, Brother & Co., to obtain the services of these prisoners of war as indentured laborers for a period of five years. The British agents in Mexico City, Veracruz, and Havana successfully challenged such a murky deal from the beginnings of 1855. This challenge eventually led the Mexican government to admit the illegality of their actions and to cancel the privilege of trafficking war prisoners to Cuba. These enforced changes, however, did not affect the transportation of what they deemed to be free, volunteer laborers.⁶⁷

As a matter of fact, according to the British Consul in Mexico City, Percy W. Doyle, a fresh contract was promptly signed between the Mexican government and Tito Vecino and José Temes, the agents in Yucatán of these two Havana-based firms.⁶⁸ Consul Crawford reporting from Havana also informed the Earl of Clarendon that the contracts to import Yucatán Indians into Cuba had been signed by the houses of "Messrs. Goicuría Brothers and Zangronis Brothers, of this city" with non-other than General Manuel López de Santa-Anna, President of Mexico at the time.⁶⁹ Similarly, in an attempt to justify the legality of this transaction, the Mexican minister of Government, Manuel Diez de Bonilla, wrote to Consul

Doyle in Mexico City, letting him know that the contract was legal and binding, and that they were allowed to transport these laborers “to the Isle of Pines, Porto Rico, St. Thomas, or the Island of Cuba” where they could be freely engaged in jobs on the domestic service, on the fields, workshops, roads or factories.”⁷⁰

In a follow-up letter, Consul Doyle informed Diez de Bonilla that he believed his government to be basically engaged in a covered operation of slave trafficking. Consul Doyle pointed out that some of those “Indians” sent to Cuba had been embarked at Sisal and Mérida, and that just before that, they had been sent there “guarded, and chained together until they were put on board the vessel which was to take them to Havana.”⁷¹ Simultaneously, in Havana, Consul Crawford blamed both the human trafficking merchants and the Spanish government for colluding to allow this new sort of human trade to prosper. In his own words, the “anxiety to obtain the introduction of labourers” by the Spanish authorities in particular, was “superior to all considerations of humanity.”⁷²

As it happened, this business venture did not produce the financial benefits anticipated by the Goicuría and Zangroniz firms. Consul Crawford in Havana noticed how their investment had gone all into financing the privilege and premiums of importing laborers that subsequently were not in demand by Cuban planters, who did not consider them to be strong and fit enough as to work on their plantations. Crawford also informed how many of them had died of cholera, and how the others had been left lying in a farm that had been purposely rented to host them until they could be sold, and where maintenance and medical expenses had dented any hopes of achieving a profit from this enterprise.⁷³ By early 1856, Crawford satisfactorily concluded that the business was considered to be “at an end.”⁷⁴

After the Yucatán enterprise had failed, the Zangroniz, Brother & Co. firm, by this time also owning a steam ship company in San Juan de Puerto Rico that carried items and people between the Spanish Caribbean and Europe, began looking to other alternatives that

would allow them to take full advantage of the demand for labor existing on the ever growing and expanding sugar Cuban industry.⁷⁵ Around 1864 Ignacio María, now acting almost entirely on his own, was one of the many entrepreneurs involved in the ongoing efforts of introducing ever larger numbers of white colonists from various regions of Spain, and in particular from the Canary Islands into Cuba.⁷⁶ Since at least 1860 the firm had changed name to Ignacio María Zangroniz y Cía (& Co.), in order to reflect the fact that by this date Ignacio María was its almost absolute owner and senior partner. During this period, he seems to have focused most of his efforts on the introduction of Chinese indentured laborers, his last human trafficking undertaking. The introduction of Chinese laborers in Cuba had been a booming business since the first Chinese arrived in the island in 1847. Ever since, a number of Cuba-based entrepreneurs, many of them also Basque, continued to foster this trade, amassing large fortunes in the process.⁷⁷ Between 1863 and 1865 Ignacio María imported large numbers of Chinese contracted workers to work on Cuban plantations, rivaling for a while some other well-established traffickers based in Havana at the time. It is also apparent that in order to carry out this new venture, Zangroniz also linked up with relatives and friends living in Bordeaux and Bayonne, since the vessels used for this trade were all French.⁷⁸

Conclusion: Beyond the End of the Slave Trade

When Ignacio María Zangroniz died of phthisis in the middle of the Atlantic during a return voyage to Cuba from Bordeaux in 1881, most of his family's vast business had vanished. In 1879 before he wrote his will, he had sold most of his business and had barely kept a number of properties and New York City bonds which, in the absence of descendants, he bequeathed to some of his relatives in France, and to an African named Pedro Arará, who had been in his service for over 40 years.⁷⁹ Although the death of Ignacio María also constituted the end for the family firm first established by his father and uncle in the 1810s, the legacies of their

aggressive sort of commercial model persisted in some of those places where the Zangroniz conducted business.

In West Africa, Francisco Zangroniz followed the lead of his father and together with the renowned slave dealer Yekpé Zinsou established a new slave-trading factory in Cotonou.⁸⁰ His descendants are numerous today in the Republic of Benin, where they have changed their name to Sangronio. In Bordeaux and Bayonne, the Zangroniz also prospered throughout the nineteenth century. One of them, Jean Joseph Joachim became a renowned grower and distiller of brandy, selling his products across Europe with the catchy add on of officially being appointed to such a profession by the Royal Court of Spain.⁸¹ Although Jean Joseph Joachim was based in Bordeaux he was also part of the Birmingham commercial elite at the end of the century, and was often present at soirees and receptions, toasting to the health of the queen, dancing, singing and reciting verses.⁸²

The advent of the nineteenth century brought enormous political, economic and technological changes to the modern world, nowhere more so than in the Atlantic basin. As Hopkins has stated this was a period of growth for “finance, services and pre-industrial manufacturing;” a period ripe for those willing to take risks and adopt state-of-the-art technological innovations.⁸³ These men were not frightened to take excessive risks or to invest on new unproven markets, often losing capital in the process; and neither were they averse to diversify their operations, investing on new commercial ventures throughout the years. Between the early 1810s and the late 1870s, the Zangroniz family firm went from conducting a small commercial operation in Havana to becoming leaders in the illicit traffic of human beings across the Atlantic world. Beyond this central human trafficking business, they also speculated on, and invested in, various other projects, including sugar plantations, transatlantic transportation of people, production and export of ice, wines, hides, and other

minor products, and they had confirmed interests in the form of bonds and bills of trade in the major business centers of the world at the time, namely, London, Paris, and New York.

It was precisely thanks to this pioneering spirit of investment, adaptation, and diversification that the Zangroniz not only survived, but thrived under the constant and relentless British pressures. Their lack of scruples, their willingness to carry out any sort of merciless business in order to succeed where others had failed, and their ability to collude with partners, correspondents, and corrupt authorities across the Atlantic set them apart as classic representatives of what Steven Watts has referred to as the “early capitalist culture” that developed in the West from the 1790s onward.⁸⁴ Finally, it should be pointed out that with many other Atlantic business companies of this period, the Zangroniz were also able to succeed thanks to what Manuel Llorca-Jaña has recently defined as a necessary “strong family support.”⁸⁵ This combination of factors made of Zangroniz, Brother & Co., a truly transnational family firm in an increasingly globalized world.

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¹ Immanuel Wallerstein has argued that globalization was a process that began in earnest since the time of Columbus, but one that attained a real global character only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The End of the World as we Know it: Social Science for the Twenty-first Century* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 59. On greater economic integration in the nineteenth century as a result of new technologies see Paul Q. Hirst, and Grahame Thompson, *Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance*, (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1999), and more specifically Owen E. Hughes and Deirdre O'Neill, *Business, Government and Globalization* (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2008), p. 226.

² See, for example, Richard Drayton, "Maritime Networks and the Making of Knowledge," in David Cannadine, ed., *Empire, the Sea and Global History: Britain's Maritime World, c.1760–c.1840* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 72–82; Evrydiki Sifneos, "Greek Family Firms in the Azov Sea Region, 1850–1917," *Business History Review* 87:2 (2003), pp. 279–308; Christof Dejung, "Worldwide Ties: The Role of Family Business in Global Trade in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Business History* 55:6 (2013), pp. 1001–18; Manuel Llorca-Jaña, "Shaping Globalization: London's Merchant Bankers in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Business History Review* 88:3 (2014), pp. 469–95.

³ See, among others, Robert Louis Stein, *The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980); David Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery in the Americas: An Interpretation," *American Historical Review* 98:5 (1993), pp. 1399–1423; Judith Jennings, *The Business of Abolishing the British Slave Trade, 1783–1807* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 1997); Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1660–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Kenneth Morgan, "Remittance Procedures in the Eighteenth-Century British Slave Trade," *Business History Review* 79:4 (2005), pp. 715–49; James A. Rawley, *London: Metropolis of the Slave Trade* (Columbia, Miss.: University of Missouri Press, 2003); David Richardson, Susanne Schwartz and Anthony Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); and Leonardo Marques, "The Contraband Slave Trade to Brazil and the Dynamics of US Participation, 1831–1856," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 47:4 (2015), pp. 659–84. For more general studies of British traders at the time and the origins of globalization see: Geoffrey Jones, *Merchants and Multinationals: British Trading Companies in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Llorca-Jaña, "Shaping Globalization".

⁴ The three most comprehensive studies in English on this topic and period continue to be: Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) and David Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and particularly David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). Some recent studies have addressed the South Atlantic networks of slave traders. See, among others Estevam C. Thompson, “Negreiros in the South Atlantic: The Community of ‘Brazilian’ Slave Traders in Late Eighteenth-Century Benguela,” *African Economic History* 39 (2001), pp. 73–128; Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Mariana Candido, *An African Enslaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁵ For a discussion of the impact of suppression on the slave trading business by the British, see the foundational study by Eltis, *Economic Growth*, pp. 148–59.

⁶ For the most recent study on this issue see: Elena Schneider, “African Slavery and Spanish Empire: Imperial Imaginings and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-century Cuba and Beyond,” *Journal of Early American History* 5:1 (2015), pp. 3–29.

⁷ Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat, “Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America”, *American Historical Review* 120:2 (2015), pp. 433–461.

⁸ Murray, *Odious Commerce*, p. 13. See also: Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI): Santo Domingo, 2207; and AGI: Indiferente General, 2827, f. 1315.

⁹ Xabier Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and their Overseas Networks* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), p. 9.

¹⁰ Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust*, p. 9; and Jeremy Baskes, “Communication Breakdown: Information and Risk in Spanish Atlantic World Trade during an Era of ‘Free Trade’ and War,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 20:1 (2011), p. 44.

¹¹ Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust*, p. 10; Baskes, “Communication Breakdown,” p. 45.

¹² See for example, David A. Ross, “The Career of Domingo Martinez in the Bight of Benin, 1833–64,” *Journal of African History* 6:1 (1965), pp. 79–90; and Adam Jones, “Theophile Conneau at Galhinas and New Sestos, 1836-1841: A Comparison of the Sources,” *History in Africa* 8 (1981), pp. 89–106.

¹³ Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust*, p. 21.

¹⁴ Christopher Ebert, “From Gold to Manioc: Contraband Trade in Brazil during the Golden Age, 1700–1750,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 20:1 (2011), pp. 112, 118.

¹⁵ For recent studies on European and African events of this period and how they affected the Iberian Atlantic see, among others: Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); Alex Borucki, “The Slave Trade to the Río de la Plata, 1777–1812: Trans-Imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 20:1 (2011), pp. 81–107; Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c.1770–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and Manuel Barcia, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba: Soldier Slaves in the Atlantic World, 1807–1844* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁶ See Enrique Sosa, *Negreros catalanes y gaditanos en la trata cubana* (Havana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 1998).

¹⁷ See, for example, Josep M. Fradera, “La participació catalana en el tràfic d’esclaus (1789–1845),” *Recerques* 16 (1984), pp. 119–139; José Antonio Azpiazu, *Esclavos y traficantes: Historias ocultas del País Vasco* (Donostia: Tarttalo, 1997); José Manuel Azcona Pastor, *Possible Paradises: Basque Emigration to Latin America* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2001); and Lyman L. Johnson, *Workshop of Revolution: Plebeian Buenos Aires and the Atlantic World* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011), especially pp. 31–35 and pp. 44–47.

¹⁸ Azcona Pastor, *Possible Paradises*, p. 194.

¹⁹ Pramuan Bunkanwanicha, Joseph P. H. Fan and Yupana Wiwattanakantang, “The value of Marriage to Family Firms,” *Journal of Financial and Quantitative Analysis* 48:2 (2013), pp. 611–636.

²⁰ Report of the Case of the Schooner “São Paulo de Loando”, Mariano Sgitcovich, Master. Sierra Leone, 1 July 1840. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/308, fs. 202–217; and Lino Carvallo to T. R. Buron, Havana, 26 September 1838. HCPP 1839 [188] Class A. (Further series.) Correspondence with the British commissioners. At Sierra Leone, the Havana, and Rio de Janeiro, relating to the slave trade, fs. 50–51.

²¹ Luis de los Rios to the Duke of Montemar, Count of Garcier. Santander, 9 August 1816. AGI: Ultramar, 331/52. After 1816 they would have at least five other children, all of them born in France between 1818 and 1825.

²² Miguel Perez Casasolar, a nombre de Juan Jose de Zangroniz, pide copia de una R.O. de 18 de noviembre de 1806 en que se manda se le paguen a este por las cajas de La Habana, veinte mil duros que dice le tocaron allí en la lotería. AGI: Ultramar, 163/66; and D. Juan Jose de Zangroniz cobra al Sor. Colector de la lotería Rl. de Ntra.

Sra. de Guadalupe de México en esta ciudad, el billete premiado No. 1027. Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Havana (hereafter ANC): Intendencia General de Hacienda, 60/8.

²³ Benito San Juan to Josef Antonio Caballero. Bilbao, 18 October 1806. AGI: Ultramar, 327/22.

²⁴ Juan Ruiz de Apodaca granting a passport to Juan Bautista Zangroniz, single and of 22 years of age. Havana, 1 June 1815. AGI: Ultramar, 331/52; Josefa Ignacia de Aristoy, natural de Marquina, en Vizcaya y vecina de Cádiz, viuda, solicita licencia para pasar a La Habana para recaudar personalmente intereses que tiene allí y en donde están establecidos sus dos hijos, Juan José y Juan Bautista de Zangroniz, comerciantes (1813). AGI: Ultramar, 328/26.

²⁵ Expediente formado a instancia de Dn. Juan José de Zangroniz, para comprar un buque en los Estados Unidos y agregarlos a nuestra Marina Mercante. ANC: Intendencia General de Hacienda, 137/4; D. Juan José de Zangroniz con la Compa de los S.S. Reynolds and García sobre cierta consignación. ANC: Tribunal de Comercio, 517/11; and Dn Juan José Zangroniz como consignatario de la fragata “María Antonia” sobre averías, apresamiento y rescate de este buque en 1814. ANC: Tribunal de Comercio, 517/12.

²⁶ “Pieza de los autos seguidos por Dn. Juan José Zangroniz contra Dn. José Magin Tarafa sobre pesos, 1811.” ANC: Tribunal de Comercio, 517/10. For Magin Tarafa’s participation in the Cuban slave trade alongside well-known slave traders like Santiago Cuesta y Manzanal and Francisco Hernández, see Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), p. 578.

²⁷ D. Juan Bautista de Zangroniz, sobre justificar la pérdida de la fragata española mercantil titulada María (a) Amalia (1815). ANC: Tribunal de Comercio, 517/9.

²⁸ Robin Law, *Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Enslaving ‘Port’, 1727–1892* (Oxford and Athens, Oh.: Ohio University Press, 2004), p. 173.

²⁹ Juan José de Zangroniz to the Duque of Montemar, Count of Garcier, President of the Supreme Council of Indies. Santander, 8 August 1816. AGI: Ultramar, 331/52.

³⁰ Eric Saugera, *Bordeaux port négrier, XVIIe-XIXe siècles* (Biarritz and Paris: Khartala, 1995), p. 162.

³¹ “Con motivos y a instancias de D. Juan Josef Zangroniz, he expedido un pasaporte para la corbeta española Flora, que por sí y a nombre de la casa de Lemonauria y Perez, vecino de Bilbao, están armando en dicha Ría, y con destino al sur de la línea Equinoccial, para la compra y conducción de negros a la Havana.” Real Orden de 16 de diciembre de 1816. Apéndice a los tomos I, II, III y IV, de la obra Decretos del Rey D. Fernando VII (Madrid: Colección de Reales Resoluciones, 1819), pp. 248–259.

³² www.slavevoyages.org. See voyages Nos. 14758 (Mulato, 1817); 34125 (Télémaque, 1820); 34183 (Mentor, 1820); 2757 (Pénélope); 2756 (Ulysee, 1822); and 2831 (Aimable Claudine, 1826).

³³ There are no doubts that the Zangroniz, like other Havana-based slave traders of the period got their contacts in Africa via French, Luso-Brazilian, or US traffickers. In the specific case of the Zangroniz, there is evidence that they had significant links with some foreign firms and individuals, who were heavily involved in the slave trade at the time, including the American business firm of G. G. & S. Howland Co. As a matter of fact, it is possible that fostering those links may have been the reason why Juan José Zangroniz moved to France in the mid-1810s. For Zangroniz's debts to G. G. & S. Howland Co. in 1819 see ANC: Real Consulado y Junta de Fomento, 109/17.

³⁴ Saugera, Bordeaux, p. 173. See also "Spanish ship Minerva, Don José Sanchez Sangredo captain, with 500 Negroes, consigned to Don Juan Bautista Zangroniz," in *Sixteenth Report of the Directors of the African Institution* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1822), p. 105.

³⁵ Rodolfo Terragno, *Diario Íntimo de San Martín: Londres, 1824. Una misión secreta* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2011), n/p.

³⁶ Diligencias promovidas por Juan Bautista Zangroni del Comercio de esta ciudad sobre compra de tierras a la Rl. Factoría de Tabacos de las de la Hacienda La Sagua. Jurisdicción de Matanzas. ANC: Intendencia General de Hacienda, 1824. 241/13.

³⁷ *Cuadro Estadístico de la Siempre Fiel Isla de Cuba correspondiente al año 1846* (Havana: Imprenta de la Capitanía General, 1847), p. 31.

³⁸ Quite a few other Havana-based slave trade firms used the same system. Among those were the houses of Pedro Martínez & Co., Pedro Forçade & Co., and Abarzuza & Azopardo.

³⁹ Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution*, p. 78.

⁴⁰ Macleay to the Earl of Aberdeen. Havana, 19 July 1830. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/107, fs. 204–205. In this letter Macleay referred to the Zangroniz firm as "a house most generally said to be concerned in the traffic."

⁴¹ Macleay to John Backhouse, Havana, 4 October 1831. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/119, fs. 171–174.

⁴² W. G. Ouseley, "Notes on the subject of the Slave Trade in the Province and City of Bahia, September 1835." TNA: Foreign Office, 84/179, f. 325.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ List of ships arrived from the Coast of Africa between January and June 1835. "Escuna Hespanhola Amistade de Havana em 61 dias, Mestre Coarrote, Consignatario, Vicente de Paula e Silva, Equipagem 20 toneladas 90,

Carga em Lustro. Passageiro João José Zangrome levou certificado”. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/180, fs. 43–43v.

In order to return to Whydah he needed to request a new passport in Bahia. Joao Joze Zangrony, hespanhol, solicitando passaporte. 28 Março 1835. Arquivo Provincial da Bahia: Policia, 5883 (Passaportes, 1834–37).

⁴⁵ Pierre Verger, *Fluxo e refluxo do tráfico de escravos entre o Golfo do Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos, dos séculos XVII a XIX* (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1987), pp. 448–451. Report of the Spanish schooner “Mosca” of which Juan Esifa was originally master, but of which Juan Rosenat, the Boatswain, was found in charge. Sierra Leone, 17 September 1836. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/192, fs. 102–126v.

⁴⁶ J. G. Zangroniz, Jun. to Miguel Palau. Ajuda, 11 October 1836, in *Considerations on Negro Slavery* (Edinburgh: Longman, 1824), pp. 7–10.

⁴⁷ For a discussion on this issue see Barcia, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba*, 73–79.

⁴⁸ For details of the ships captured see www.slavevoyages.org. See voyages Nos. 1266 (Negrito, 1833); 1297 (Mosca, 1833); 2492 (General Manso, 1835); 2548 (Josefina, 1837); 2549 (Latona, 1837); and 2674 (Jack Wilding, 1839).

⁴⁹ Law, *Ouidah*, p. 173.

⁵⁰ The origin of the term Cha Cha is unknown. The closest description to De Souza’s status to date is given by Ana Lucia Araujo, who considers him to have been a “commercial intermediary” for King Ghezo. Araujo also discussed some linguistic possibilities for the origin of De Souza’s title. See Ana Lucia Araujo, *Public Memory of Slavery: Victims and Perpetrators in the South Atlantic* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2010), p. 158.

⁵¹ Campbell and Lewis to Viscount Parmlerston. Sierra Leone, 30 March 1837. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/214, fs. 133–135.

⁵² Report of the Case of the Portuguese Schooner “Latona,” Jozé Gervasio de Carvalho, Master. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/214, f. 141v.

⁵³ Appendix No. 2. Commissioner’s Report. HCPP 1842 [551][551–II] Report from the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. Part I.—Report and Evidence, p. 27.

⁵⁴ Report of the Case of the Schooner “Jack Wilding,” William Young, Master. HCPP1841 Session 1 (330) Class A. Correspondence with the British commissioners, at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam, relating to the slave trade, p. 65. See also TNA: Foreign Office, 84/270, fs. 62–78v.

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- ⁵⁵ Testimony of Reverend John Beecham. 31 May 1842. HCPP 1842 [551][551–II] Report from the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. Part I.–Report and Evidence, p. 200.
- ⁵⁶ Report of the Case of the Brig “Emprehendedor,” Joaquim Telles de Menezes, Master, captured under Portuguese Colours. Sierra Leone, 2 September 1839. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/271, fs. 34v–35.
- ⁵⁷ Thomas Birch Freeman, *Journal of Various Visits to the Kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomi, in Western Africa* (London: John Mason, 1844), p. 248.
- ⁵⁸ Crawford to Captain General Leopoldo O’Donnell, Havana, 8 April 1844. TNA: Foreign Office 84/520, fs. 113–114v.
- ⁵⁹ M. L. Melville and James Hook to the Earl of Aberdeen, Sierra Leone, 12 November 1844. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/506, fs. 322–329v.
- ⁶⁰ Antonio Sanmartí to Fernando Carreira, Brig “Dous Amigos”, Adjudah, 8 November 1838. HCPP 1842 [551][551–II] Report from the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. Part I.–Report and Evidence, p. 123.
- ⁶¹ Sanmartí to Juan Allende, Ajuda, 6 July 1844. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/506, fs. 337v–339; and Juan Antonio da Silva Chaves to Estavão José Bruxado, Havana, 14 March 1844. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/506, fs. 335v–336v.
- ⁶² Sanmartí to Allende, Ajuda, 6 July 1844. TNA: Foreign Office, 84/506, f. 339.
- ⁶³ Crawford to the Earl of Clarendon, Havana, 30 March 1855. HCPP 1856 (0.2) Class B. Correspondence with British ministers and agents in foreign countries, and with foreign ministers in England, relating to the slave trade, p. 377.
- ⁶⁴ This stratagem was also tried in other parts of the Americas at the time. See, for example, Alex Borucki, “The ‘African Colonists’ of Montevideo: New Light on the Illegal Slave Trade to Rio de Janeiro and the Río de la Plata (1830–1842),” *Slavery & Abolition* 30:3 (2009): pp. 427–444.
- ⁶⁵ El gobernador capitán general de Cuba da curso a una instancia de Ignacio María Zangróniz solicitando permiso para introducir en la isla a cinco mil aprendices africanos, en calidad de libres, para destinarlos a la agricultura. Denegado por Real Orden de 4 de abril de 1854. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (hereafter AHN): Ultramar, 4642/13.
- ⁶⁶ For an in-depth examination of the transactions between Cuban business firms and the Mexican government in order to import Mexican laborers, both free and prisoners, into Cuba, see Javier Rodríguez Piña, *Guerra de*

castas: La venta de indios mayas a Cuba, 1848–1861 (Mexico D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Culturas y las Artes, 1990), especially pp. 99–174; and Moisés González Navarro, *Raza y tierra: La guerra de castas y el henequén* (Mexico D.F.: El Colegio de Mexico, 1974).

⁶⁷ Percy W. Doyle to Clarendon, Mexico, 7 February 1855. HCPP 1854–55 (0.4) Class B. Correspondence with British ministers and agents in foreign countries, and with foreign ministers in England, relating to the slave trade, pp. 285–286.

⁶⁸ Doyle to Clarendon, Mexico, 4 March 1855. HCPP 1856 (0.2) Class B. Correspondence with British ministers and agents in foreign countries, and with foreign ministers in England, relating to the slave trade, p. 267.

⁶⁹ Crawford to Clarendon, Havana, 16 August 1855. HCPP 1856 (0.2) Class B. Correspondence with British ministers and agents in foreign countries, and with foreign ministers in England, relating to the slave trade, p. 400.

⁷⁰ Diez de Bonilla to Doyle, National Palace, Mexico, 8 March 1855. HCPP 1856 (0.2) Class B. Correspondence with British ministers and agents in foreign countries, and with foreign ministers in England, relating to the slave trade, p. 270.

⁷¹ Doyle to Diez de Bonilla, Mexico, 10 March 1855. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁷² Crawford to Clarendon, Havana, 30 March 1855. *Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁷³ Crawford to Clarendon, Havana, 16 August 1855. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁷⁴ Crawford to Clarendon, Havana, 29 January 1856. *Ibid.*, p. 426.

⁷⁵ Fernando de Norzagaray to the President of the Council of Ministers, Puerto Rico, 6 July 1854. AHN: Ultramar, 294/15. This company was set up in conjunction with his relatives from France.

⁷⁶ Expediente general sobre la colonización blanca de Cuba (1863–1899). AHN: Ultramar, 91/2.

⁷⁷ For the most up-to-date discussion on Chinese immigration to Cuba from 1847 see Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009). See also Evelyn Hu-Dehart, “Chinese Coolie Labor in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: Free Labor of Neoslavery,” *Contributions in Black Studies A Journal of African and Afro-American Studies* 12 (1994), pp. 38–54.

⁷⁸ See: Dn Ignacio María Zangronis y Cía consignatarios del cargamento de colonos embarcados en la barca francesa Louis, su Capitan D. Augusto Aubril, 1865. ANC: Tribunal de Comercio. 485/24; and Ignacio María Zangronis y Compañía, consignatarios del cargamento de colonos, barca francesa “Louis”, su Capn. Augusto

Aubril, contra el buque y sus fletes y los armadores, 1866. ANC: Tribunal de Comercio, 77/10. See also “Line of transatlantic steamers (1854),” *The Morning Post* (London, England) 31 March 1855, f. 5.

⁷⁹ Testamentaría de Ignacio María Zangroniz (1882). ANC: Escribanía de Daumy, 801/4.

⁸⁰ Jacques Lombard, *Cotonou, ville africaine. Études dahomeennes X* (Cotonou: IFAN, 1953), pp. 184–185.

⁸¹ *Birmingham Daily Post* (Birmingham, England), 25 September 1893, p. 20.

⁸² “The Cosmopolitan Club,” *The Owl* (Birmingham, England), 15 December 1899, p. 11.

⁸³ A. G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalisation in World History* (London: Pimlico, 2002), p. 5.

⁸⁴ Steven Watts, “Masks, Morals, and the Market: American Literature and Early Capitalist Culture, 1790–1820,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 6:2 (1986), pp. 127–50.

⁸⁵ Llorca-Jaña, “Shaping Globalization”, pp. 494–495.