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THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA
FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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1. The beginnings of the trade in African slaves. Spain, like Portugal, in the settlement of its American possessions, showed a singular inclination for hybrid tropical colonies with a slave component. Large numbers of Negro slaves had been introduced into Spain from the west coasts of Africa during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The discoveries made by the Portuguese and, especially, the encouragement given by the Infante D. Enrique of Portugal to blackbirding expeditions at the beginning of the fifteenth century, give rise to the slave trade which in later years took the Negroes captured in Africa to the territories recently discovered by Christopher Columbus.

The discovery of the New World gave a tremendous impetus to slavery and the slave trade. The African element was required to exploit the enormous wealth of the newly discovered tropical territories in the Caribbean for the benefit of the Spanish colonizers. Before the end of the fifteenth century Negro slaves began to arrive at Hispaniola - as the Island of Quisqueya, now Santo Domingo, was then called - coming from the abundant reserves existing in Portugal and Andalusia. But as early as 1501 African slaves were imported into the New World.

The Spanish conquest and dominion very quickly spread from Santo Domingo to the islands of Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Cuba. As the first slaves brought to the Caribbean islands came from Spain or Portugal, and they were regarded as the chief culprits in the constant uprisings of the indigenous Indians or the slaves imported directly from Africa, the King of Spain decreed that Negroes who had spent more than two years in Spain or Portugal should not be sent to his new colonies in the Caribbean, unless they were brought directly from his African territories.

The Spanish colonizers also believed - not without some grounds - that the Wolof slaves - whom they called "Gelofes" - like the Mande and Mandingo largely converted to Islam, were mainly responsible for the running away of slaves and the slave uprisings in Santo Domingo, Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Cuba. A royal decree prohibited the importing of slaves from these African cultural groups. It was for this reason that the slave trade developed along the coasts of Guinea.

The colonizers of the Caribbean islands repeatedly asked the King of Spain to have more African slaves dispatched to them, and he granted Gouvenot, Governor of Bresa, a licence to import 4,000 Negro slaves from the coasts of Guinea into the West Indies. The latter sold this licence to the Genoese, who in turn sold a part of their rights to Portuguese and other traders.

Between 1512 and 1763 some 60,000 African slaves entered Cuba lawfully. Many more were smuggled into the country. The increase in the slave population was concomitant with the development of the cultivation of sugar, for which hundreds of workers were needed on the agricultural side, and also to a lesser extent with the exploitation of the copper mines in the eastern part of Cuba, administered by an agent of the German firm Welser. Slaves were provided by the Spanish monarch himself for this purpose.

2. The slave trade from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. This characteristic period in the history of the African slave trade with the Caribbean colonies began on 12 February 1528, when the King of Spain granted Enrique Ehinger and Jerónimo Sayler, agents of the German bankers, the Welsers, who, with the Fuggers, controlled Spanish finance, the first asiento or licence to introduce African slaves into his American possessions.

To deal with matters relating to the asientos, a special board, the Junta de Negros, was set up in Spain, in the Casa de la Contratación in Seville; it concerned itself with the trade in African slaves and with ensuring full compliance with the terms of the asientos.

In fact, the first "licence to navigate in the region of our West Indies and to bring Negro slaves thereto" was granted to Pedro Gómez Reynel, for a period of nine years beginning on 1 May 1595. However, under the Royal Decree signed at Valladolid on 11 March 1601, this concession was withdrawn from him and awarded instead to the Portuguese Juan Rodríguez Coutiño, merchant and Governor of Loango. The first stipulation was that Rodríguez Coutiño should transport 38,250 slaves from Africa to the Caribbean, sailing with them from the city of Seville, Lisbon, the Canary Islands, Cape Verde, San Tomé, Angola, Mina.

However, several years before the monopoly of the slave trade was formally granted, by asiento, to Gómez Reynel, and more particularly from 3 October 1562 to 15 December 1585, the King of Spain authorized various of his subjects to trade in slaves - for instance, Diego de Ayllon (1562) and Diego Pérez Negron (1563) - while on 20 November 1571 it was agreed that Juan Hernández de Espinosa should take three hundred African slaves to Havana. Certain Spanish towns also profited from the slave trade: thus, for instance, the town of Seville was permitted to transport Negro slaves to the New World by the Royal Decree of San Lorenzo dated 5 August 1567, countersigned by Antonio de Eraso.

On the death of Rodríguez Coutiño, the asiento granted to the Portuguese was handed on to Gonzalo Vaz Coutiño, and subsequently it was held in turn by Agustín Coello, Rodríguez d'Elvas, Rodríguez Lamego, and finally, up to 1640, by Melchor Gómez Angel and Cristóbal Méndez de Sosa.

The exigencies of the asiento led the Portuguese to increase the number of their depots and warehouses on the west coast of Africa. Wherever their barter and deals took place, they needed to have astute middlemen to enable them to improve and extend their business transactions through regular exchange channels. Against attacks by their European competitors - Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Danes and Germans - the Portuguese put up a vigorous and skilful defence. Angola was a Portuguese fief with its trading posts, organized slave trade, governors and agents. From 1526 onwards, beside their huts and Catholic chapels, small forts were built, the earliest of them in Sama and the most strongly fortified in San Jorge de la Mina, which became the centre of the slave trade. But the Portuguese could not prevent their rivals from establishing themselves opposite and, later on, from ousting them from almost the whole of Guinea. By 1600, not a single fort remained flying the Portuguese flag.

In the absence of direct trade with Africa, it was inevitable that, to obtain slaves for the mines and plantations of her colonies in the New World, Spain should have to depend either on rebels (the Portuguese), or heretics (the English), or both rebels and heretics (the Dutch), or enemies (the French), since no other country was sufficiently interested in the slave trade. From 1640 to 1662, no measures were taken by the Spanish Government to hinder the clandestine importation of slaves supplied by the English, the Portuguese or the Dutch.

The Dutch, who had shaken off the Spanish yoke during the final decades of the sixteenth century, succeeded in the following century in wresting from the Portuguese their most important enclaves in the slave trade, establishing themselves in Gorea, Joaquin and Tacorari in 1620, and in Mina in 1637. By the end of the century, the Dutch were everywhere installed as slave traders, with San Jorge de la Mina as their operational centre. Balthasar Coymans of the West Indies Company of Amsterdam, who was secretly the real concessionaire of the asiento granted to Juan Barroso del Pozo and Nicolás Porcio in 1682, managed to obtain the much coveted monopoly on 23 February 1685.

As the Mexican historian Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán observes, after Coymans' triumph a tendency arose for asientos to cease to be contracts concluded between the Spanish Government and a private individual for the leasing of a public revenue and to become, as was soon to be the case, treaties between countries.

The history of English trade in West Africa prior to the establishment of the Company of Royal Adventurers in 1660 is briefly as follows: up to 1630 or 1640 it remained very restricted in volume and had no connexion with trade in the West Indies or the American continent. Between 1562 and 1569, the English slave trade was started by John Hawkins. In 1562, aboard his ship Jesus, he carried off a consignment of slaves from the shores of Africa which he exchanged for gold, sugar and hides with the Spanish colonists in Santo Domingo.

Hawkins had shown wisdom and cunning in starting his interloper's trade in the Caribbean, but he had not reckoned with the Casa de Contratación in Seville which would not allow the slightest infiltration in the Spanish trade monopoly and promptly seized in Cadiz the two ships which Hawkins was naïve enough to send to that port to sell some of the hides exchanged for Negro slaves in Santo Domingo. The King of Spain, Philip II, refused to accede to the Englishman's repeated requests and was sharply called to account by Queen Elizabeth of England.

After Hawkins' failure, English trade in West Africa dwindled. With the defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588 and the decline of the House of Austria, Queen Elizabeth was that same year able to grant thirty-five London merchants the privilege of slave trading on the African coast from Senegal to the River Gambia; these promptly set about turning the island of Tortuga in the Caribbean into the favourite haunt of slave traders, rescatadores ("receivers" of slaves) and pirates.

With the occupation of Jamaica, the English - who during the first half of the seventeenth century had given up the slave trade - decided to renew it with greater intensity. On 18 December 1661, the Company of Royal Adventurers obtained the exclusive right to engage in and organize the slave trade from Cape Blanc to the Cape of Good Hope. Queens, royal princesses, dukes and peers were included among the shareholders in this undertaking. The king himself seized the opportunity of acquiring an interest in so profitable a business. However, the war against the Dutch reduced the profits and caused that band of high-born adventurers to wind up their business, the Company being replaced in 1672 by the Royal African Company. In nine years alone, from 1680 to 1689, the latter company sent 259 ships to African shores and transported 46,396 slaves to the American colonies.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the French had not yet realized the full economic importance for them of the trade practised by the Portuguese and the Dutch in Africa, and it was only under Cardinal Richelieu that they began to enter the slave trade on a small scale.

Richelieu gave his approval to the plans of the traders and merchant adventurers of Le Havre who, in 1626, organized with d'Esnambuc the Compagnie de Saint-Christophe to exploit the pétun (tobacco) and timber of the island of St. Christopher

in the Caribbean, and occupied the island of Tortuga and part of that of Santo Domingo. In Africa, Brigueville and Beaulieu of Normandy set about trading in Gambia. By letters patent of 24 June 1633, Messrs. Rossée, Robin and Company, merchants of Dieppe and Rouen, obtained permission to trade in Senegal, Cape Verde and other places. Thomas Lambert, a seaman, built a few huts at the mouth of the Senegal River. In 1640, a small fort was established on an island which became known as Saint-Louis. Cape López was conceded to a St. Malo company called Compagnie de Guinée.

What the Spanish and Portuguese had long ago discovered, the French were to learn in their turn: the need for acquiring African slaves to exploit and develop the riches of the Caribbean and America. The trade fluctuated in its initial stages. In 1658, the Compagnie du Sénégal went bankrupt.

The African trade declined, being barely sustained by a few private traders or interlopers. The slave trade came almost to a standstill and virtually ceased in Senegal whose inhabitants, being little sought after by slave traders, supplied barely more than a few hundred slaves a year. No regular slave trade existed between France, Africa and the Caribbean islands. From Cape Verde to the Congo, the whole of the coastline was in the clutch of agents of governments hostile to France or of commercial rivals - not only Portuguese, English and Dutch, but also Germans established at Cape Three Points. The Swedes built the fort of Christianburg but were ousted by the others.

The French slave trade was officially organized by Colbert in 1664. Convinced, initially, of the value of state control, he wished to imitate the example of the Dutch, regulate the slave trade and group together private capital and initiative in trading companies, putting them in charge of overseas trading posts which he bolstered up by monopolies and concessions.

With the growth of the slave trade, slavery had reached such a pitch by the beginning of the eighteenth century in all strata of colonial society in Latin America that even the Peruvian Indians were able to buy, sell and possess African slaves.

The actual number of men, women and children who were snatched from their homes in Africa and transported in slave ships across the Atlantic, either to the Caribbean islands or to North and South America, will never be known. Writers vary in their estimates, but there is no doubt that their number runs into millions. The following figures are taken from Morel's calculations as reproduced by Professor Melville J. Herskovits and cover the period 1666-1800:

- 1666-1776: Slaves imported only by the English for the English, French and Spanish colonies: 3 million (a quarter of a million died on the voyage).
- 1680-1786: Slaves imported for the English colonies in America: 2,130,000 (Jamaica alone absorbed 610,000).
- 1716-1756: Average annual number of slaves imported for the American colonies: 70,000, with a total of 3,500,000.
- 1752-1762: Jamaica alone imported 71,115 slaves.
- 1759-1762: Guadalupe alone imported 40,000 slaves.
- 1776-1800: A yearly average of 74,000 slaves were imported for the American colonies, or a total of 1,850,000; this yearly average was divided up as follows: by the English, 38,000; French, 20,000; Portuguese, 10,000; Dutch, 4,000; Danes, 2,000.

The African slaves arriving in the New World were concentrated in various towns along the coast where there were barracones or slave markets, in the West Indies, Guianas, North and South America, Venezuela, Brazil, etc., whence they were redistributed.

The places of origin of this great mass of slaves are still a matter of conjecture, but it is believed that, in practice, the supply came from all the African regions, not only West Africa but also East Africa and even Madagascar. We have no reliable documentation on the focal points for the capture of slaves. But there is every indication that the vast majority came from specific areas of West Africa.

In 1701, as the result of negotiations conducted by Du Casse, Governor of Santo Domingo and organizer of the slave trade in the French West Indies, His Most Christian Majesty Louis XIV of France and His Catholic Majesty Philip V of Spain signed the so-called Treaty of Asiento, conferring on the Compagnie de Guinée the monopoly for the importation of Negro slaves into the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and other places in Latin America.

The Compagnie de Guinée undertook to import during the ten years which the treaty was in force an annual consignment of 4,800 African slaves drawn from any part of West Africa except the trading posts of Mina and Cape Verde, bringing them to Havana, Veracruz, Cumaná and Cartagena de Indias. It should be noted that, during this French period, the cargoes of slaves were transported from Portobelo across the Isthmus of Panama down to Peru.

This privilege - the slave trading asiento - had for a long time been eagerly competed for by the various seafaring nations. The Portuguese had retained it from 1601 to 1640, up to the time they reconquered their independence. Subsequently the Spanish Government, in order to prevent it from passing into the hands of one of its major rivals, had in 1622 reached an understanding with a Dutch company. But the Dutch in Curaçao and the English in Jamaica succeeded in having a hand in the business of that company. From then onward the asiento de negros was the subject of various negotiations.

Following the War of the Spanish Succession, a radical change took place in the correlation of economic and political forces, and gave England, seconded by Portugal and Holland, an absolute control over the slave trade with the Caribbean islands, especially with Cuba. And, under the Peace Treaty signed in Madrid on 27 March 1713 and ratified by one of the articles of the Treaty of Utrecht, the monopoly of the slave trade passed into English hands for the next thirty years.

In 1715, Richard O'Farrill of Irish origin, from the island of Montserrat, arrived in Cuba as the representative of the South Sea Company of London and established slave depots in Havana and Santiago de Cuba, thereby giving great impetus to the African slave trade; the majority of slaves were imported into Mexico, but the traffic was almost at a standstill before the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Spanish ports had protested that they were being excluded from the colonial trade (a monopoly exercised by the Casa de Contratación in Seville) while a foreign country had the right to flood the Caribbean and Latin American colonies with slaves.

The outbreak of war between England and Spain in 1740 provided a convenient excuse for abolishing the privilege hitherto enjoyed by the English slave-dealers. To continue the legitimate business of importing slaves, conducted until then by

O'Farrill and the English concessionaires, some Cuban and Spanish capitalists founded the Real Compañía de Comercio de La Habana which, in addition to supplying Cuban sugar-cane planters with new slaves, held the monopoly to operate all the foreign trade of the Greater Antilles.

A series of asientos were granted until September 1779 when the last monopoly in the history of the slave trade was abolished. To remedy as far as possible the shortage of labour, the slave-dealers of Cuba, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico were granted, by Royal Decree of 25 January 1780, the right to obtain slaves from the French colonies in the Caribbean. However, as the demand for slave labour went on increasing, under Royal Decree of 28 February 1789, slave trading was made free in Cuba, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, and this was subsequently extended by Royal Decree of 24 November 1791, except in the case of Mexico and Peru, to the slave-dealers of Santa Fé, Buenos Aires and Caracas. In Cuba, these provisions by which the Spanish Government met the demands of the sugar-cane planters and slave-dealers gave an extraordinary impetus to the slave trade. The phenomenal increase in the Cuban slave population at the end of the eighteenth century is closely linked with the establishment of a sugar-cane plantation economy. Hundreds of slaves were needed for the cultivation of sugar-cane and the production of sugar, and as exports increased so the productive labour became intensified, bringing about a higher death rate among the slaves, speeding up wastage, and necessitating a faster replacement of the Africans thus destroyed.

3. Rise and fall of slave trading and slavery in the nineteenth century. In Cuba, the colonial slave-holding régime set up by the Spanish colonizers at the beginning of the sixteenth century brought into being a social class composed of sugar-cane planters and dealers in human flesh, which from 1778 attained its maximum social and economic power, forming a veritable slave owning and trading oligarchy up to just beyond the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the last years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, this oligarchy had consolidated its privileged position with the support of the Spanish Governors and Captains-General who exercised absolute power in the island, and its numbers were to be considerably increased. During this period, not only was so repulsive a business as slave trading considered a normal and current practice among the white Creoles and Spanish residents in the island belonging to the nobility and clergy, but the middle classes engaged in it also with the greatest enthusiasm, and even considered it an honour.

The Cuban slave-dealers were not above in their infamous business. They could also rely on the services of English, French and United States traders and smugglers. Some slave-dealers in Havana made fortunes by selling slaves to North America. Later on, with the approaching coming into force of the United States constitutional clause prohibiting the slave trade from 1808 onwards, the direction of the slave traffic between Cuba and the United States was reversed. For instance, there sailed into the port of Havana between March 1806 and February 1807, 30 ships flying the United States flag and with United States crews aboard, with consignments mostly for traders of that country resident in Cuba. They reproduced to a certain extent the three-cornered trade which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had brought prosperity to Liverpool, Nantes and Bordeaux, shipping trashy goods to Africa and exchanging them for Negroes, and these in turn for raw materials from the Caribbean or Latin America, which were then shipped to European countries to be manufactured.

In the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the slave trade reached its peak in Cuba. From 1800 to 1820 alone, according to information supplied by Professor Juan Pérez de la Riva, 175,058 slaves were brought over from the shores of Africa to Cuba; by the following decade this figure had dropped to 72,500.

The progress of the Industrial Revolution, the new types of production and exchange, had a decisive influence on the opening of the campaign - necessarily invested with an aura of romance - for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade. In the Caribbean, the revolt in Haiti, under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture, brought slavery to an end not only there but also in Santo Domingo. In 1807, the fitting out of slave ships was forbidden in the British dominions, and in 1808 this prohibition was extended to the importation of slaves.

Internationally, the African slave traffic in the Caribbean islands and in Latin America was partly disrupted by the Treaty of Paris of 30 May 1814, which subsequently led in Vienna, to the famous Declaration of 8 February 1815. In September 1817, a treaty was signed by the representatives of the London and Madrid Governments abolishing the slave traffic; this was limited in scope owing to the exigencies of the time but was later amplified by the treaty of 28 June 1835 under which Spanish subjects were forbidden to engage in that unlawful business. Brazil was also to sign similar agreements.

However, in spite of the above-mentioned international treaties and agreements and of innumerable laws passed by the metropolitan countries concerned, the illegal traffic in slaves reached considerable proportions. Faced with the abolitionist campaign carried out by progressive groups in England and France and the measures taken to suppress the trade, the slave-trading oligarchy in Cuba and the plantation owners in the Caribbean and slave-owning parts of America retorted by mounting a vicious campaign describing the French "revolutionaries" in the blackest and most sinister terms and accusing the English of perfidy and selfishness. With the consent and support of the colonial governments and the complicity of the reactionary forces in Europe and America, they organized an illegal slave traffic, thus disregarding the various international treaties and agreements.

Karl Marx, commenting on a session of the House of Lords in London on 17 June 1858 when the Bishop of Oxford raised the question of the slave trade, in an article entitled "The British Government and the Slave Trade" and published by the New York Daily Tribune on 23 July of the same year, made some important observations with regard to Cuba and the illegal traffic in slaves. He said that the Bishop of Oxford and Lord Brougham denounced Spain as being the focal point of that nefarious traffic, and called upon the British Government to compel that country by every means in its power to pursue a political course consonant with existing treaties. Already in 1814 a general treaty had been drawn up between Great Britain and Spain under which trading in slaves was categorically condemned by the latter. In 1817 a special treaty had been concluded whereby Spain undertook to abolish in 1820, in respect of its subjects, the right to engage in the slave trade, and by way of compensation for the losses these might sustain through the application of the treaty, was paid an indemnity of 400,000 pounds sterling. Spain had pocketed the money but the obligations had not been fulfilled. In 1835 another treaty had been concluded under which Spain solemnly undertook to promulgate a penal law of sufficient severity to make it impossible for its subjects to continue engaging in the traffic. But that law had not been adopted until over ten years later; moreover, by a strange fatality, its most important clause - for which England had fought hard - had been left out, namely, the one which placed the slave traffic and piracy on the same footing. In short, nothing whatever had been done except that the Captain-General of Cuba, the Minister of the Interior, the royal camarilla and, if rumour were to be believed, even the royal family, had imposed a special tax on slave traders and sold licences to deal in human flesh and blood at so many doubloons a head... Lord Malmesbury himself had stated that it would be possible to cover the seas between the Spanish and Cuban coasts with the number of documents uselessly exchanged between the two Governments.

In Cuba, before the second half of the nineteenth century, the development achieved by the colonial economy sounded the death knell for the slave régime. From 1860 onwards, the human commodity could no longer be provided cheaply by the slave traffic. Governmental pressure on the latter was intensified in compliance with British demands. To induce the Spanish colonial authorities to allow the clandestine entry of Africans, recourse had to be had to the expensive procedure of bribery which raised the price of the commodity. On the sea, the relentless vigilance of the English ships gave no respite. One only out of every five consignments organized managed to reach Cuban shores. The traffic no longer provided a solution to the sugar-cane planters' difficulties. The Anglo-North American Treaty of 7 April 1862 for the suppression of the slave trade dealt the final blow to the clandestine slave traffic. And the opening of Cuba's struggle for independence on 12 October 1868, with the massive participation of the Africans and their Creole descendants, heralded the end of slavery within ten years. As far as our research enables us to say, the last African slaves from Angola transported through the Spanish colony of Fernando Po, arrived in Cuba in 1873.

4. The impact of the slave trade on Cuban society. The slave owning oligarchy in Cuba which, together with the Spanish and Creole slave traders, smugglers and merchants, formed the exploiting class in colonial society, was solely concerned, until well into the nineteenth century, with crates of sugar and sacks of coffee, with watching on the quayside for the arrival of slave ships, and with gratifying its insatiable desire for wealth through the productive labour of hundreds of thousands of slaves in the plantations. But it gradually began to be concerned about the activities of free Negroes and mulattoes in various sectors of social life capable of leading an armed protest of the mass of slaves which could put an end to their privileges. The urban craftsmen, consisting of Africans and their descendants, were the only people engaged in occupations contributing towards the country's economic development. Carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, etc., as well as school-teachers (some very notable ones in the eighteenth century, such as Lorenzo Meléndez, Mariano Moya and Juana Pastor), musicians and poets, were either free or enslaved Negroes and mulattoes.

In the nineteenth century, thousands of free Negroes and mulattoes were engaged in such occupations in Cuba. Many others were small traders and proprietors. Some devoted themselves to literature, teaching or music, and became distinguished, like the educator Antonio Medina, whose school in Havana was the educational centre for the production of coloured figures which were to contribute towards the cultural development of the Negroes; some became world-famous poets like the slave Juan Francisco Manzano and the free mulatto Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (Plácido), or eminent concert players like Claudio J. Brindis de Salas and José White.

Socially, these formed a small middle class and were anxious to improve their social and political situation. They had a clear right to believe in the collective advancement of the social class to which they belonged. Thousands of Negro and mulatto slaves, inveterate rebels and non-conformists, aspired, with every atom of human justice on their side, to put an end to the oppression of the slave régime.

Many Afro-Cubans, taking advantage of some royal provisions, had bought honorific posts which gave them a certain prestige. And all conspired diffidently in the seclusion of their homes, in the shadow of their workshops, or in some sunny corner of the countryside against the slave trade and the savage system of exploitation. Some bolder spirits did so more uninhibitedly and joined the small progressive minority of white Creoles at their secret gatherings which foreshadowed the advent of popular union in the fight for freedom. It is somewhat ironical to reflect that, in Cuba, it was due to the inhuman slave traffic that the Negro race came to take part in the formation of a new type of human society.

The slave trade across the Atlantic and the slavery in the Caribbean and Latin America, which helped in the formation of the respective multiracial societies, not only provided an extraordinary contribution through the African's active participation in the development of agricultural production, mining and trade on a world scale, but were also important factors in the shaping of the region's cultures and folklore, of which Cuba and Haiti offer examples among the islands of the restless Caribbean and Brazil on the South American continent.

In concluding this modest account, we should point out that, for a research in depth on the subjects with which we have been dealing, it would be necessary to make copies of the fifteenth to eighteenth century documents preserved in the District Archives of Funchal (Madeira) as well as of those appearing in the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Office, England. Accounts of the African diaspora in the Caribbean, in regard both to the legal and to the clandestine trade in African slaves, the revolt of the latter and their contribution towards the formation of a new society, are to be found in documents preserved in the Cuban National Archives, for the most part unpublished. Such research could be supplemented by recourse to the valuable works produced by the Centre for University Studies of Pointe-à-Pitre (Guadeloupe), directed by Mr. Henri Bangou and his assistant Mr. Yacou, as well as those of historians of the University of the West Indies in Trinidad, Tobago, Jamaica and Barbados.

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