

The Slavery / Capitalism Debate Global: From “Capitalism and Slavery” to Slavery as Capitalism. Introduction

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The slavery/capitalism debate is old. It started in Europe with the “hand of God”¹ and still without the container word *capitalism*. At the end of the eighteenth century, it had already become a debate, not directly over slaveries but among religious elites on the subject of the Atlantic slave trade – often from actors who or whose families previously made their money with the slave trade or slavery. There was heavy silence about local slaveries based on the capital of human bodies in Atlantic and other slave trade routes as well as in the colonial territories of Great Britain and of Spain and Portugal (in the broader sense, in Western Europe and the Atlantic).² British society began to speak of itself as a “civil society” or “civilization”. Scottish thinkers philosophized on the ideological justification of a global exception – the small beginnings of the industrial formation of Anglo-British capitalism in the eighteenth century. Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment considered a society with the “freedom” of work and contracts to be something completely new – precisely from the grace of God – private property to be a “natural right”, and the diligence of entrepreneurs to be born from their rationality and thrift. Predicting the views that would become prevalent over the course of the nineteenth century, this main “argument of progress, civilization, and liberty” was reinforced to a great

- 1 J. Vogl, *Das Gespenst des Kapitals*, Zürich 2011. We would particularly like to thank Pepijn Brandon and other colleagues, whose comments, criticisms, and suggestions we have benefited from (Melina Teubner, Kaveh Yazdani).
- 2 E. G. Wakefield (ed.), *A View of the Art of Colonization, With Present Reference to the British Empire; In Letters Between a Statesman and a Colonist*, London 1849.

degree by the discourse of the British abolition of slave trade and slavery from 1808 to 1838. Certainly, there were clever, creative, and thrifty people (Jan de Vries calls it the "industrious revolution"³). Karl Marx at least countered this – very early – by stating that capitalists, especially in the slave-trade empires, often obtained their capital for the development of distribution structures as well as commercial capitalism and its financing from an unprecedented worldwide orgy of blood and dirt (even, as said above, those capitalists who then led the abolition discourses for religious and humanitarian reasons).⁴ This orgy of violence almost always had to do with two features. On the one hand, there was a global dimension of expansion, economically, commercially, and politically – the creation of accumulation spaces as transimperial areas and imperial colonial territories. On the other hand, there was distribution and accounting-book accumulation, that is trade or the so-called "mercantilism" – which is more likely to be conceptualized as transimperial today.⁵

- 3 J. de Vries/A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure and Perseverance of Dutch Economy, 1500–1815*, Cambridge 1997; J. de Vries, *The Dutch Atlantic Economies*, in: P. A. Coclanis (ed.), *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, Columbia 2005, pp. 1–29; J. de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*, Cambridge 2008; on the reassessment of slavery and colonialism for the Netherlands, see P. Brandon/U. Bosma, *De betekenis van de Atlantische slavernij voor de Nederlandse economie in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 16 (2019) 2, pp. 5–46.
- 4 J. F. Schaub, *Violence in the Atlantic: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, in: N. Canny/P. Morgan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World: 1450–1850*, Oxford/New York 2011, pp. 113–129; on arms production and war violence before and during the European industrial revolution in Great Britain and beyond, see P. Satia, *Empire of Guns: The Violent Making of the Industrial Revolution*, New York 2018; particularly: P. Satia, *Introduction*, *ibid.*, pp. 1–23, at 1: "For more than 125 years, between 1688 and 1815, Britain was in a state of more or less constant war." For the concept of "war capitalism" from a perspective dominated by the US Southern states, Great Britain, and the Anglo-American world, see S. Beckert, *Einleitung*, in: *Id.*, *King Cotton: Eine Geschichte des globalen Kapitalismus*, München 2014, pp. 7–18, 12s. For all politics, culture, warfare, and society not only under the fear of violence but also under the idea of mutual extermination (both between enslavers and enslaved, as well as between colonizers and colonized), see K. W. Lewis, *A Curse upon the Nation: Race, Freedom, and Extermination in America and the Atlantic World*, Athens 2017. The fear of extermination by enslaved or resistant indigenous peoples was very great among settlers, enslavers, and colonizers and it was turned into propaganda, endless discourses, ideology, and politics. Most real deaths were suffered by enslaved and colonized; see the whole genocide debate of Iberian conquests (which was not genocide, but there were millions of victims as a consequence of the conquest) and V. Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery*, Cambridge 2010; A. Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*, Boston 2016; R. M. Browne, *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean*, Philadelphia 2017; J. Ostler, *Surviving Genocide: Native Nations and the United States from the American Revolution to Bleeding Kansas*, New Haven 2019; on the history of state intervention and on the criticism of debates on the origins of capitalism, see J. Donoghue/E. P. Jennings (eds.), *Building the Atlantic Empires: Unfree Labor and Imperial States in the Political Economy of Capitalism, ca. 1500–1914*, Leiden 2016; on trans-imperial companies: A. Phillips/J. C. Sharman, *Outsourcing Empire: How Company-States Made the Modern World*, Princeton 2020.
- 5 W. Klooster, *Inter-Imperial Smuggling in the Americas, 1600–1800*, in: B. Bailyn/P. L. Denault (eds.), *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 141–180; K. Pomeranz/S. Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*, Armonk 2012; R. D. Crewe, *Connecting the Indies: The Hispano-Asian Pacific World in the Early Global History*, in: *Estudios Históricos* 30 (2017), pp. 17–34; P. De Zwart/J. L. Van Zanden, *The Origins of Globalization. World Trade in the Making of the Global Economy, 1500–1800*, Cambridge 2018; B. Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade, c. 1500–1820*, Cambridge 2018; Ch. A. DeCorse, *Historical Landscapes of the Modern World*, in: *Id.* (ed.), *Power, Political Economy, and Historical Landscapes of the Modern World. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Albany 2019, pp. 1–24; F. Jacob/M. Kaller, *Introduction. Commodity*

Associated with many legal conflicts and (we repeat this deliberately) real violent expansions – along with institution formation in the colonies (formally national-imperial but really transimperial) and conflicts and wars as well as raids (small and large) – such expansion had an economic effect on certain territories in terms of development, including demographic.⁶ In the famous chapter 24 of *The Capital*, Marx analysed the “original accumulation” as hemispheric “liberation” of peasant producers from their means of production, the subjective control over the labour performance of their bodies, and the processes of expansion and expropriation (it led in the discourses about the consumption by Voltaire and many other liberals to a “blood-sugar debate”⁷). For Marx, slavery and the Atlantic slave trade, as part of the “original accumulation of capital”, were part of this gigantic orgy of violence in terms of space and time.⁸

One of the problems for us today is that it started earlier than these thinkers thought it would – not around 1650, but around 1450. And it had external and internal dimensions. Especially with regard to slavery, slave trade, colonialism, and freedom, we can say that European national monarchies, which were at the same time expanding colonial empires (like other imperial entities), tried to secure very early transcultural and transimperial “slaving zones”.⁹ From an African perspective, these were autochthonous slavery regimes in development under the control of local elites, monarchies, and empires. From an Atlantic, that is to say an European and American, perspective, these were areas of violence-“free” competition – first of all in West Africa until the 1880s (more or less the end of formal slaveries in the Americas).

In Europe and in the emerging Western Christian “civilization”, there was the aim to keep formal slavery from being established in their central territories. This means that many European societies operated according to the imperial rule “no good subjects of the imperial central territory should be called slaves”, resulting in the establishment, or maintenance, of the slave trade in the above-mentioned areas and slavery in colonies and peripheries or between them. European elites left captive procedures, human raids,

Trade, Globalization, and the Making of the Atlantic World, in: Id. (eds.), *Transatlantic Trade and Global Cultural Transfers Since 1492. More than Commodities*, London/New York 2019, pp. 1–12; M. Pérez-García, *Global Goods, Silver and Market Integration: Consumption of Wine, Silk and Porcelain through the Grill Company via Macao-Canton and Marseille Trade Nodes, 18th Century*, in: *Revista de Historia Económica/Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 38 (2017) 3, pp. 449–484; M. Zeuske, *Der afrikanisch-iberische Atlantik. Eine globale Handelsgeschichte der Akkumulation, des Sklavenhandels und der Sklavereien 1400–1900* (forthcoming).

6 L. Veracini, *Founding Violence and Disavowal: The Settler Colonial Situation*, in: *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29 (2008) 4, pp. 363–379; D. Walter, *Colonial Violence: European Empires and the Use of Force*, Oxford 2017; P. Dwyer/A. Nettelback (eds.), *Violence, Colonialism and Empire in the Modern World*, New York 2018; J. Gelman et al. (coord.), *Iberoamérica y España antes de las Independencias, 1700–1820. Crecimiento, reformas y crisis*, México 2014.

7 R. L. Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood*, Middletown 1988; M. Zeuske, *Arbeit und Zucker in Amerika versus Arbeit und Zucker in Deutschland (ca. 1840–1880). Grundlinien eines Vergleichs*, in: *Comparativ* 4 (1994) 4, pp. 59–97.

8 M. Zeuske, *Karl Marx, Sklaverei, Formationstheorie, ursprüngliche Akkumulation und Global South*, in: F. Wemheuer (ed.), *Marx und der globale Süden*, Köln 2016, pp. 96–144. See also R. Blackburn, *An Unfinished Revolution: Karl Marx and Abraham Lincoln*, London/New York 2011.

9 J. Fynn-Paul/D. A. Pargas (eds.), *Slaving Zones. Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery*, Leiden/Boston 2018.

slavery, and human caravans (on land and/or water) – that is to say, the structural beginnings of slaving – to extremely important but peripheral elites from their European point of view. The central imperial elites referred to the “barbaric/uncivilized” territories as “delivery areas” or even as slaving zones.¹⁰ The slaveries in the colonies (including British America) were under control of American Creoles. Amazingly, most of the subjects/citizens of European empires, despite their global historical backwardness, really considered themselves “free” and not “enslavable”.¹¹

Marx (also) had the advantage of historicizing his theoretical concept of capital in the nineteenth century and analysing it as a social relationship; he even included the enslaved in the dynamic history of capital.¹² From his theoretical concept, he considered slavery essentially a lower form of human production that would disappear with the development and expansion of Western European “industrial capitalism” (which, until around 1860, existed almost only in Great Britain and, to some extent, in continental Europe, like Belgium and other points and regions).¹³ Very worth considering in relation to the debates about “free” and “unfree” work is Pepijn Brandon, who states:

In opposition to Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, or Jeremy Bentham – but like Marcel van der Linden – Marx used the term “free” labor in a specific, highly conditional sense; as the designation of a particular type of coerced labor. In the immediate aftermath of the American Civil War, what could be a surer way of bringing home this point than showing the parallels and connections between wage labor and slavery? Strong comparisons did not make Marx fall into the racist notion common among some sections of the workers movement that (white) wage labor in general was a form of slavery worse than actual (black) slavery.¹⁴

Because of massive wars, the protection of the core territories from violence in Europe was, in reality, only rarely successful (see the ongoing conflicts, wars, and civil wars on the British Isles, which were directed outwards from the middle of the seventeenth century¹⁵). The sea- and slave-trading powers of Europe spread in the so-called “European

10 The concept of “delivery areas” was already developed by Orlando Patterson; see O. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study*, Cambridge 1982.

11 On enslavability (*slaafbaarheid*), see M. van Rossum/A. Geelen/B. van den Hout/M. Tosun, *Testimonies of Enslavement. Sources on Slavery from the Indian Ocean World*, London et al. 2020.

12 P. Brandon, ‘With the Name Changed, the Story Applies to You!’ Connections between Slavery and ‘Free’ Labor in the Writings of Marx, in: U. Bosma/K. Hofmeester (eds.), *The Lifework of a Labor Historian: Essays in Honor of Marcel van der Linden*, Leiden 2018, pp. 47–70.

13 Zeuske, Karl Marx, Sklaverei, Formationstheorie.

14 Brandon, ‘With the Name Changed, the Story Applies to You!’, p. 70; Ch. Frings, Sklaverei und Lohnarbeit bei Marx. Zur Diskussion um Gewalt und ‘unfreie Arbeit’ im Kapitalismus, in: *PROKLA* 49 (2019) 3, pp. 427–448; E. Dal Lago, The End of the ‘Second Slavery’ in the Confederate South and the ‘Great Brigandage’ in Southern Italy: A Comparative Study, in: J. Laviña/M. Zeuske (eds.), *The Second Slavery. Mass Slavery and Modernity in the Americas and in the Atlantic Basin*, Berlin et al. 2014, pp. 73–92; M. Zeuske, Sklaverei. Eine Menschheitsgeschichte. Von der Steinzeit bis heute, Ditzingen 2018; Id., *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, 2 vols., 2nd edn, Berlin/Boston 2019.

15 The influence of wars (the competition of states and empires) and revolutions applies, at the latest since the Seven Years’ War (“French and Indian War”) and the revolution in the British colonies in North America and in

expansion”: a paraphrase of the global history of violence in Europe as well as exercised by global commercial systems, which is definitely related to the history of circulation, food, consumption, and commodity histories.¹⁶

This is where the capital debate begins. Enslaved human bodies as capital and commercial goods were commodities. Slavers, slave traders, and slaveholders were the first capitalists (that is why they were named *capitalistas* in Spanish sources).¹⁷ They first operated as such in the Atlantic space and in Atlantic colonial empires (and not in the “centre” – Great Britain or Europe, so to say).¹⁸ The consumer revolution, including global Indian textiles, African *guineas*, and European *indiennes*, was extremely important, especially for financing the Atlantic slave trade.¹⁹ The consumer revolution was based on the capital of human bodies, the Atlantic slave trade, and massive slavery in the Americas – that is to say, it had a South-South centre (AAA – “production” of the enslaved in *Africa*; transportation, commerce, and increase in value through the *Atlantic* slave trade, and “production” of tropical products in the *Americas*, as well as buying and selling of human bodies on land in the Colonial Slave Empires).

In this sense, the consumer revolution started far earlier, being temporally longer and geographically broader than the incipient “industrial revolution” in cities in Great Britain (and beyond²⁰). Machines and a complex organization of production were already integral to Atlantic slavery, including ships (and latifundia, as on São Tomé as a foun-

the Spanish colonies in Central and South America (1776–1830), also in a global dimension; see K. Rönnbäck, An end and a new beginning: disintegration of inter-continental commodity markets during the revolutionary era, 1770s to 1820s, in: *Jahrbuch für Überseegeschichte* 12 (2012), pp. 53–78; K. H. O'Rourke, The worldwide economic impact of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, 1793–1815, in: *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006) 1, pp. 123–149; M. Zeuske, The French Revolution in Spanish America, in: A. Forrest/M. Middell (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to the French Revolution in World History*, London/New York 2016, pp. 77–96. Until then, the most dynamic approaches of the second slavery (e.g. *Capitanía General de Caracas*) fell back and Cuba (*Cuba grande*) rose from 1810–1886.

- 16 Schaub, *Violence in the Atlantic: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 113–129; M. Kwass, *The Globalization of European Consumption*, in: Id., *Contraband. Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 15–40.
- 17 J. G. Ortega, *Cuban Merchants, Slave Trade Knowledge, and the Atlantic World, 1790s–1820s*, in: *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 15 (2006) 3, pp. 225–251.
- 18 B. L. Solow/S. L. Engerman (eds.), *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery. The Legacy of Eric Williams*, Cambridge 1987; B. L. Solow (ed.), *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, Cambridge 1991; Donoghue/Jennings (eds.), *Building the Atlantic Empires*.
- 19 G. Riello/T. Roy (eds.), *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850*, Leiden 2009; J. Bohorquez, *Linking the Atlantic and Indian Oceans: Asian textiles, Spanish silver, global capital, and the financing of the Portuguese–Brazilian slave trade (c.1760–1808)*, in: *Journal of Global History* 15 (2020) 1, pp. 19–38; not to forget that Indian fabrics competed with European linens in Africa: A. Steffens, *A Fierce Competition! Silesian Linens and Indian Cottons on the West African Coast in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*, in: J. Wimpler/K. Weber (eds.), *Globalized Peripheries. Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860*, Woodbridge 2020, pp. 37–56.
- 20 S. W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, New York 1985; R. A. Austen/W. D. Smith, *Private Tooth Decay as Public Economic Virtue: The Slave Triangle, Consumerism, and European Industrialization*, in: J. E. Inikori/S. Engerman (eds.), *The Atlantic Slave Trade. Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*, Durham/London 1992, pp. 183–203; M. Berg, *Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution*, in: M. Berg/E. Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Luxury Goods*, London 2002, pp. 228–244; F. Trentmann, *Empire of Things, How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-first*, London et al. 2016.

dational space,²¹ or the market for human bodies at Ribeira Grande, Cape Verde²²): “Sugar fascinated many early modern Europeans because machines made it, and they loved machines”.²³ The slavery Atlantic was full of wooden-iron machines powered by natural, biological, and physical energy – this is primarily the strength of the bodies of humans and animals (every plantation, every larger production unit with enslaved men and women used also many animals: “working-animals”, like oxen, mules, donkeys, etc. as well as “domination-animals” such as horses and dogs, and “food-animals” like pigs and chickens). The early industrialized slavery on plantations (*engenhos/ingenios*), slave traders using the “machine” ship, globalizing hubs (ports), and highly organized rural export production of the colonies and ex-colonies, also based on a world of wooden machines with iron parts and (often more and more metallic) production trains, as well as their suppliers and food producers in the Americas was also much longer and broader.²⁴ Before 1815, many elites in Africa consumed tropical goods (and food like corn, rice, and manioc) and almost all elites in Europe (especially in cities/ports and central cities) consumed “luxury products” (like sugar, cocoa, and tobacco).²⁵ In certain European “proto-industrial” landscapes (such as cloth and linen production), this was true also for producers. But above all for Atlantic lower classes, such as sailors and the servants of slave traders/captains, and Atlantic Creoles, and also for enslaved people already since the sixteenth century. To get to the point, what Europeans in the nineteenth century considered as “luxury” (sugar, tobacco, cocoa, regular protein food – primarily meat or beef – and coffee, in certain sense also cotton textiles), consumers in Africa and the Americas, partly also enslaved, had already done since the sixteenth century (coffee only since the eighteenth century, of course).

All of this led to historical and intellectual debates for and against slavery. These were all connected with the basic theme of the “superiority of European civilization” – with a basic argument: the industrial revolution in Europe. Fundamental criticism came late and from a central zone of slavery – the Caribbean. The fixed point in the gigantic ocean of sources and literature on the debate about slavery and capitalism is *Capitalism and Slavery* by Williams (in the context of “Black Marxism”).²⁶ This text has played an essen-

21 A. M. Caldeira, Aprender os Trópicos: Plantações e trabalho escravo na ilha de São Tomé, in: M. Vaz do Rego Machado et al. (coord.), Para a história da escravatura insular nos séculos XV a XIX, Lisbon 2013, pp. 25–54; G. Seibert, São Tomé & Príncipe. The first plantation economy in the tropics, in: R. Law et al. (eds.), Commercial Agriculture and Slavery in Atlantic Africa, London 2013, pp. 54–78.

22 T. Green, Building Slavery in the Atlantic World: Atlantic Connections and the Changing Institution of Slavery in Cabo Verde, Fifteenth–Sixteenth Centuries, in: Slavery & Abolition 32 (2011) 2, pp. 227–245; M. Eagle/D. Wheat, The Early Iberian Slave Trade to the Spanish Caribbean, 1500–1580, in: A. Borucki et al. (eds.), From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas, Albuquerque 2020, pp. 47–72.

23 J. Crowley, Sugar Machines: Picturing Industrialized Slavery, in: American Historical Review 121 (2016) 2, pp. 403–436, at 403.

24 K. Harley, Slavery, the British Atlantic economy, and the industrial revolution, in: A. Leonard/D. Pretel (eds.), The Caribbean and the Atlantic World Economy: Circuits of Trade, Money and Knowledge, 1650–1914, Basingstoke 2015, pp. 161–183; Crowley, Sugar Machines, pp. 403–436.

25 M. Carmagnani, Le isole del lusso. Prodotti esotici, nuovo consumo e cultura economica europea, 1650–1800, Milan 2010.

26 On Black Marxism, see C. J. Robinson, Black Marxism. The Making of The Black Radical Tradition, Chapel Hill/

tial role in the global debate about capitalism, enslaved people, and slavery. The debates about Caribbean-Cuba and Spain (Catalonia) as well as positions in the wider global history began later. Williams saw Caribbean-British slavery (less the overall slave trade) and British industrialization spatially separated but economically closely intertwined. They were fatefully, so to speak, related to one another in terms of the emergence of slavery for the people of Africa in the Caribbean and their important role in British industrialization and also in relation to the abolition of slavery and poverty, as well as the decline of the former British plantation colonies from 1808 to 1840. Williams deserves to be honoured along with other West Indian radical intellectuals (such as the author of the *Black Jacobins*, C. L. R James²⁷), who really made the debate in the twentieth century virulent. Despite the many reviews, critiques/defences, and recent findings, Williams should always be praised for having brought slavery and capitalism together in his book 75 years ago in one field of study.

The Iberian legislation defined a commodified body in the language of European rationalism as *pieza de Indias* (referring to a healthy enslaved man between 18 and 30 years). All Atlantic slave traders and their factors, starting with *lançados/tangomãos*, Atlantic Creoles, Iberians as well as British, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, French, Flemish, etc. enslavers/slave traders (who knew about the central role of the capital of human bodies and its commodification *in* Africa) as well as slave trading powers (who therefore forced racism *outside* Africa).²⁸

Although the US and British debates were practically separated for a long time, this, in very broad terms, caused the emergence of and upswing in critical slavery research in the Anglo-American– and Anglo-Australian–speaking areas, African-American studies (or

London 2000 (1983). To the dissertation of Eric Williams (not the published book): D. W. Tomich (ed.), *Eric Williams, The Economic Aspect of the Abolition of the West Indian Slave Trade and Slavery*, Lanham 2014 (Published version of 1938 dissertation, introduction by William Darity Jr). The published book: E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, London 1964 [1944]; E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, Chapel Hill/London 1994; B. L. Solow, *Caribbean Slavery and British Growth: The Eric Williams Hypothesis*, in: *Journal of Developmental Economics* 17 (1985), pp. 99–115; B. L. Solow, *Capitalism and Slavery in the Exceedingly Long Run*, in: Id./S. Engerman (eds.), *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery. The Legacy of Eric Williams*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 51–78; T. Haskell, *Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility*, in: *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), pp. 339–361, 547–566; J. Ashworth, *The Relationship between Capitalism and Humanitarianism*, in: *American Historical Review* 92 (1987), pp. 813–828; D. B. Davis, *Reflections on Abolitionism and Ideological Hegemony*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 797–812; T. Haskell, *Convention and Hegemonic Interest in the Debate over Antislavery: A Reply to Davis and Ashworth*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 829–878; C. A. Palmer, *Eric Williams & Making of the Modern Caribbean*, Chapel Hill 2006; P. Brandon, *From Williams's Thesis to Williams Thesis: An Anti-Colonial Trajectory*, in: *International Review of Social History* 62 (2017), pp. 305–327.

27 C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint Louverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, New York 1963 [1938]. See also D. V. Trotman, *Rompiendo el silencio sobre la Revolución Haitiana*, in: *Cuadernos Americanos* (2008) 126, pp. 97–115; R. Hörmann, *Thinking the Unthinkable: Representations of the Haitian Revolution in British Discourse, 1791 to 1805*, in: R. Hörmann/G. Mackenthun (eds.), *Human Bondage in the Cultural Contact Zone. Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Slavery and its Discourses*, Münster 2010, pp. 137–170.

28 The original (legal) definition of *pieza de Indias* is from 1662, see M. Lucena Salmoral, *El período de los asientos con particulares (1595–1700)*, in: Id., *La esclavitud en la América española*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 178–205, at 180; see also Zeuske, *Menschenhandel und Casting an den Küsten Afrikas und der Beginn der atlantischen Überfahrt*, in: Id., *Sklavenhändler, Negerros und Atlantikkreolen. Eine Weltgeschichte des Sklavenhandels im atlantischen Raum*, Berlin/Boston 2015, pp. 116–146.

Black studies) in the USA as well as, together with the establishment of the computer in historical studies, an extremely dynamic quantitative work in the wake of the research by Philip D. Curtin. We can admire today the result of such work on the website examining the Atlantic slave trade: www.slaveryvoyages.org.²⁹ Micro-historical research on the life histories of enslaved or formerly enslaved people also multiplied.³⁰ The historiographical line trying together Atlantic slavery and the industrialization of England was and is also represented by Barbara Solow / Stanley Engerman, Joseph E. Inikori, Robin Blackburn, and Jean Batou (for France). It is undoubtedly a long-running, yet still very virulent, debate. The new dimension of this debate on the history of capitalism, or capitalisms,³¹ is global slavery capitalism in both hemispheres, based on the capital of human bodies (Africa and the African Atlantic formed the "centre" of this form of ritualized capital and commodification).³²

Despite of (or against) the predominantly Anglo-American historiography, there is an even earlier historiography on the subject of slavery and capitalists (mostly Freemasons³³), using this capital of human bodies by "Atlantization" (increase in value through Atlantic transport and slave trade³⁴): the French slavery and slave trade historiography.

- 29 "[T]he most significant work on the quantification of the Atlantic slave trade to have appeared since Philip D. Curtin produced his census of the commerce", F. R. da Silva/S. Sommerdyk, *Reexamining the Geography and Merchants of the West Central African Slave Trade: Looking behind the Numbers*, in: *African Economic History* 38 (2010), pp. 77–106, at p. 77. But the authors also state: "Slave Voyages Database [...] is organized around English categories of captaincy and ownership", *ibid.*, p. 98. About the history of the project and the website, see D. Eltis/D. Richardson, *A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, in: *Id.* (eds.), *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, New Haven/London 2008, pp. 1–60.
- 30 R. J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom. Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery*, Cambridge/London 2005; S. Palmié, *Ekpe/Abakuá in Middle Passage: Time, Space, and Units of Analysis in African American Historical Anthropology*, in: A. Apter/L. Derby (eds.), *Activating the Past: Historical Memory in the Black Atlantic*, London 2010, pp. 1–44; P. E. Lovejoy, *Scarification and the Loss of History in the African Diaspora*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 99–138; R. J. Scott/J.-M. Hébrard, *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation*, Cambridge 2012; M. Zeuske, *Amistad: A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants*. Trans. S. Rendall, Princeton 2015; *Id.*, *Atlantic Slavery and Wirtschaftskultur in welt- und globalhistorischer Perspektive*, in: *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 66 (2015) 5/6, pp. 280–301; V. Sanz et al., *Towards a Microhistory of the Enslaved. Global Considerations*, in: S. Luxán Meléndez/J. Figuerôa Rêgo (eds.), *El tabaco y la rearticulación imperial ibérica (s. VV–XX)*, Évora 2019; M. Zeuske, *Atlantik und Atlantic Slavery. Neuere Forschungskomplexe und Historiografien*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 309 (2019), pp. 411–428; E. Fernández-Sacco, *Bound to History: Leoncia Lasalle's Slave Narrative from Moca, Puerto Rico, 1945'*, in: *Genealogy* 4 (2020) 93, https://www.academia.edu/44067903/Bound_to_History_Leoncia_Lasalles_Slave_Narrative_from_Moca_Puerto_Rico_1945 (accessed 12 September 2020).
- 31 L. Marques, *New World Slavery in the Capitalist World Economy*, in: K. Yazdani/D. M. Manon (eds.), *Capitalisms: Towards a Global History*, Oxford 2020, pp. 71–94; R. d. B. Marques, *A história global da escravidão atlântica: balanço e perspectivas*, in: *Id.*, *Os Tempos Plurais da Escravidão no Brasil. Ensaios de História e Historiografia*, São Paulo 2020, pp. 15–42; Marques/Marques, *Ouro, café e escravos: o Brasil e a 'assim chamada acumulação primitiva'*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 105–132.
- 32 We consider the concentration on the USA or the US South to be insufficient: Zeuske, *Handbuch*; *Id.*, *Sklaverei. Eine Menschheitsgeschichte*; C. Rosenthal, *Capitalism when Labor was Capital: Slavery, Power, and Price in Antebellum America*, in: *Capitalism: A Journal of History and Economics* 1 (2020) 2, pp. 296–337.
- 33 E. Saunier, "El compás y los grilletes". La masonería y el mundo negro: Balance y perspectivas, in: V. Sanz et al. (eds.), *Resistencia, delito y dominación en el mundo esclavo. Microhistorias de la esclavitud atlántica (siglos XVII–XIX)*, Granada 2019, pp. 193–201.
- 34 Zeuske, *Atlantic Slavery und Wirtschaftskultur*, pp. 280–301. For the concept of Atlantization, see *Id.*, *Out of the Americas: Slave traders and the Hidden Atlantic in the nineteenth century*, in: *Atlantic Studies* 15 (2018) 1, pp. 103–135; for the African background, see P. Manning, *Slavery and African Life. Occidental, Oriental and African Slave Trades*, Cam-

This historiography commented less often on the overall system of capitalism but was very strong in the analysis of slavery and slavers as capitalists in French port cities (and Seville, Spain³⁵) and in the study of global slave trade systems. France was very strongly oriented towards the Atlantic until at least 1803.³⁶

For a long time, all of this remained stuck in a narrative that basically goes like this: Slavery as a kind of rather unfashionable backside and resource supplier of European industrial capitalism, especially in Great Britain.

The subject of “slavery as capitalism” for the Atlantic area has been placed on the current research agenda from four sides. With a more cultural-historical view, based on Brazilian and Cuban sociological and anthropological perspectives, there are Pierre Verger’s *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres*³⁷ and an important quantitative view in Curtin’s *The Atlantic Slave Trade*³⁸. In addition, there was a micro-historical-anthropological dimension by Eric Wolf (as early “subalterns”) and by Sidney Mintz.³⁹ There were also a qualitative dimension (the Genoveses⁴⁰) and a quantitative-economic-historical dimension of US slavery by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman.⁴¹ All of these went against the back-

bridge 1990 (8th edition 2004); Manning (ed.), *Slaves Trades, 1500–1800. Globalisation of Forced Labour*, Aldershot 1996; K. Hofmeester/M. van der Linden (eds.), *Handbook Global History of Work*, Boston/Berlin 2018.

35 P. Chaunu, *Séville et l’Atlantique (1504–1650)*, 12 vols, Paris 1955–1960; Id., *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques*, 2 vols., Paris 1960–1966.

36 G. Martin, *L’ère des Négriers (1714–1774). Nantes au XVIIIe siècle, d’après des documents inédits*, Paris 1993 [1931]; P. Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*, Paris 1963; P. Villiers, *Traite des Noirs et navires négriers au XVIIIe siècle*, Grenoble 1982; J. Mettas, *Répertoire des expéditions négrières françaises au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols., Paris 1975/84; S. Daget (éd.), *De la traite à l’esclavage, Ve au XIXe siècle: Actes du Colloque International sur la Traite des Noirs*, 2 vols., Nantes 1988; S. Daget, *Répertoire des expéditions négrières françaises à la traite illégale (1814–1850)*, Nantes 1988; F. Régent, *Les négociants, les colons, le roi et la traite négrière*, in: Id., *La France et ses esclaves: de la colonisation aux abolitions (1620–1848)*, Paris 2007, pp. 37–57; J.-M. Deveau, *La traite rochelaise*, Paris 1990; J. Mosneron-Dupin/O. Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Moi, Joseph Mosneron, armateur négrier nantais, 1748–1833: portrait culturel d’une bourgeoisie négociante au siècle des lumières*, Rennes 1995; O. Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Nantes au temps de la traite des Noirs*, Paris 1998; A. Roman, *Saint-Malo au temps des négriers*, Paris 2001; E. Saugera, *Bordeaux, port négrier: chronologie, économie, idéologie XVIIe–XIXe siècles*, Paris 2002; J.-Y. Saunier, *Le Havre, port négrier: de la défense de l’esclavage à l’oubli*, in: *Cahiers des Anneaux de la Mémoire* 11 (2007), pp. 23–41; F. Renault/S. Daget, *Les traites négrières en Afrique*, Paris 1985; in *global historical perspective*: O. Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Les traites négrières. Essai d’histoire globale*, Paris 2004; G. Daudin, *Profitability of slave and long-distance trading in context: the case of eighteenth-century France*, in: *Journal of Economic History* 64 (2004) 1, pp. 144–171; G. Daudin, *Commerce et prospérité: la France au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2005; C. Hodson/B. Rushforth, *Absolutely Atlantic: Colonialism and the Early Modern French State in Recent Historiography*, in: *History Compass* 8 (2010) 1, pp. 101–117; P. Cheney, *Cul de Sac: Patrimony, Capitalism, and Slavery in French Saint-Domingue*, Chicago 2017.

37 Verger, *Flux et reflux*.

38 Very early also based on the life histories of enslaved people: P. D. Curtin (ed.), *Africa Remembered. Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, Madison 1967; Id., *The Atlantic Slave Trade. A Census*, Madison 1969; summarized and linked to the industrial structure plantation (“plantation complex”, i.e. “plantation capitalism”): Id., *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex. Essays in Atlantic History*, New York et al. 1990.

39 S. W. Mintz, *Slavery and Emergent Capitalism*, in: L. Foner/E. D. Genovese (eds.), *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative Perspective*, Englewood Cliffs 1969, pp. 23–37; E. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*, Los Angeles/Berkeley 1982.

40 E. Fox-Genovese/E. D. Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism*, New York 1983.

41 R. W. Fogel/S. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, New York/London 1995 [1974]; R. W. Fogel, *American Slavery. A flexible, highly developed form of capitalism*, in: J. W. Harris (ed.), *Society*

ground of the radical African-centrist, critical capitalism work of Walter Rodney (who, like Williams and James, is to be counted among the Caribbean radical thinkers of Black Marxism).⁴²

The new debate about slavery as capitalism or, better said, “slavery = capitalism” in certain historically specific territories began in two main directions. One direction the debate took revolved around the concept of the second slavery – slavery as industrial formation had been “modern” and considered the basis since around 1800 for independent slavery societies – in the Caribbean. Forerunners of such societies include slavery in Barbados, Saint-Domingue, and Jamaica, beginning perhaps in Venezuela.⁴³ However, the first slavery societies can be found in *Cuba grande*⁴⁴ (also in Puerto Rico and in the French, British, and Dutch south-eastern Caribbean, such as Martinique, Guadeloupe, Suriname, and in British Guiana as well as the island of Trinidad “without formal slavery”⁴⁵), in the south of the USA, and in the south of Brazil⁴⁶ (with a longer phase of almost obvious non-industrialization because of extremely high numbers of enslaved in Rio de Janeiro, Vale do Paraíba, but above all São Paulo⁴⁷).

and Culture in the Slave South, London 1992, pp. 77–99; R. W. Fogel, *The Slavery Debates, 1952–1990: A Retrospective*, Baton Rouge 2003.

42 W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London 1972.

43 In a larger perspective: A. Borucki, *Trans-imperial History in the Making of the Slave Trade to Venezuela, 1526–1811*, in: *Itinerario* 36 (2012) 2, pp. 29–54; Alexander von Humboldt, observing the beginnings on the Venezuelan coast: M. Zeuske, *Alexander von Humboldt in Venezuela y Cuba. Segunda esclavitud, élites e independencia*, in: L. Puerta Bautista/T. Straka (coord.), *250 años de Alexander von Humboldt: El nacimiento del Cosmos*, Caracas 2020, pp. 35–51.

44 D. W. Tomich/R. Funes Monzote, *Naturaleza, tecnología y esclavitud en Cuba: Frontera azucarera y Revolución industrial, 1815–1870*, in: J. A. Piqueras (ed.), *Trabajo libre y trabajo coactivo en sociedades de plantación*, Madrid 2009, pp. 75–117; M. García Rodríguez, *Azúcar y Modernidad: La experimentación tecnológica de la oligarquía habanera: 1700–1820*, in: *Revista de Indias* 72 (2012) 256, pp. 743–769; D. Rood, *A Creole Revolution in the Cuban Sugar Mill*, in: Id., *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean*, New York 2017, pp. 14–41; Id., *From an Infrastructure of Fees to an Infrastructure of Flows: The Warehouse Revolution in Havana Harbor*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 64–93.

45 K. Candlin, *Kit, The Last Caribbean Frontier, 1795–1815*, London 2012; F. A. Scarano, *Haciendas y barracones: azúcar y esclavitud en Ponce, Puerto Rico, 1800–1850*, *Río Piedras* 1992; L. Cabrera Salcedo, *De los bueyes al vapor. Caminos de la tecnología del azúcar en Puerto Rico y el Caribe*, San Juan 2010; F. Picó, *Ponce y los rostros rayados. Sociedad y esclavitud 1800–1830*, San Juan, Puerto Rico 2012; Laviña, “Puerto Rico: ‘atlantización’ and culture during the ‘segunda esclavitud’”, in: Laviña/Zeuske (eds.), *The Second Slavery*, pp. 93–112.

46 D. W. Tomich, *The “Second Slavery”: Bonded Labor and the Transformations of the Nineteenth-century World Economy*, in: F. O. Ramírez (ed.), *Rethinking the Nineteenth Century: Contradictions and Movement*, New York 1988, pp. 103–117; Id., *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy*, Boulder et al. 2004; Id./Zeuske (eds.), *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories* (= Review 31 [2008] 2/3); R. del B. Marquese, *African Diaspora, Slavery, and the Paraíba Valley Coffee Plantation Landscape: Nineteenth Century Brazil*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 195–216; Id., *Espacio y poder en la cafluctura esclavista de las Américas: el Vale do Paraíba en perspectiva comparada*, in: J. A. Piqueras (ed.), *Trabajo libre y coactivo en sociedades de plantación*, Madrid 2009, pp. 215–251; R. del B. Marquese/R. Salles (eds.), *Escravidão e Capitalismo Histórico no Século XIX. Brasil, Cuba e Estados Unidos*, Rio de Janeiro 2015; Id., *Exílio escravista: Hercule Florence e as fronteiras do açúcar e do café no Oeste paulista (1830–1879)*, in: *Anais do Museu Paulista* 24 (2016) 2, pp. 13–53; D. W. Tomich, *The Second Slavery and World Capitalism: A Perspective for Historical Inquiry*, in: *International Review of Social History* 63 (2018) 3, pp. 477–501; M. Teubner, *Street Food, Urban Space, and Gender. Working on the streets of nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro (1830–1879)*, in: *International Review of Social History* 27 (2019), pp. 229–254.

47 F. V. Luna/H. S. Klein, *An Economic and Demographic History of São Paulo, 1850–1950*, Stanford 2018.

The other direction was as part of the new history of capitalism (NHC), represented primarily by economic historians in the USA and labour historians.⁴⁸ It focused on continuations and further developments in relation to Spanish America (Latin America⁴⁹), Spain-Cuba, Uruguay-Spanish America, Portugal-Brazil, and, above all, the Netherlands-Suriname⁵⁰ (not only in the seventeenth century but up to the long “long goodbye”⁵¹ – which lasted much longer in Portugal than in the Netherlands⁵²) and their slaveries and slave trade structures. This can be said also in relation to commodities produced by slaves and interimperial profits in the Atlantic-Caribbean region and their role in the overall economy of the Netherlands, for example.⁵³

- 48 Fogel, *American Slavery*; R. Follett, *Slavery and Plantation Capitalism in Louisiana's Sugar Country*, in: *American Nineteenth Century History* 1 (2000) 3, pp. 1–27; T. C. Buchanan, *Black Life on the Mississippi: Slaves, Free Blacks, and the Western Steamboat World*, Chapel Hill 2004; S. Rockman, *The Unfree Origins of American Capitalism*, in: C. Matson (ed.), *The Economy of Early America: Historical Perspectives and New Directions*, University Park 2006, pp. 335–361; W. Johnson, *The Pedestal and the Veil: Rethinking the Capitalism/Slavery Question*, in: *Journal of the Early Republic* 24 (2004) 2, pp. 299–308; S. Rockman, *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore* 2009; T. Downey, *Planting a Capitalist South. Masters, Merchants, and Manufacturers in the Southern Interior, 1790–1860*, Baton Rouge 2006; M. van der Linden, *Eine einfache und dennoch schwer zu beantwortende Frage: Warum gab (und gibt) es Sklaverei im Kapitalismus?*, in: M. E. Kabadayi/T. Reichardt, *Unfreie Arbeit. Ökonomische und kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven*, Hildesheim et al. 2007, pp. 260–279; M. van der Linden, *Transnational Labour History. Explorations*, Aldershot 2003; K. H. Roth/M. van der Linden, *Karl Marx und das Problem der Sklaverei*, in: Id. (eds.), *Über Marx hinaus. Arbeitsgeschichte und Arbeitsbegriff in der Konfrontation in den globalen Arbeitsverhältnisse des 21. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin/Hamburg 2009, pp. 581–586; W. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*, Cambridge 2013; S. Beckert, *The Empire of Cotton. A Global History*, New York 2014; E. E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*, New York 2014; G. Grandin, *The Empire of Necessity. Slavery, Freedom, and Deception in the New World*, New York 2014; S. Becker/W. Rockman (eds.), *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, Philadelphia 2016. Zusammenfassend: A. Kaye, *The Second Slavery: Modernity in the Nineteenth-Century South and the Atlantic World*, in: Laviña/Zeuske (eds.), *The Second Slavery*, pp. 174–202; E. Mathisen, *The Second Slavery, Capitalism, and Emancipation in Civil War America*, in: *The Journal of Civil War Era* 8 (2018) 4, pp. 677–699; L. Marques, *New World Slavery in the Capitalist World Economy*, pp. 71–94.
- 49 M. Echeverri, *Slavery in Mainland Spanish America in the Age of the Second Slavery*, in: D. W. Tomich (ed.), *Atlantic Transformations. Empire, Politics, and Slavery During the Nineteenth Century*, New York 2020, pp. 19–44.
- 50 M. van Rossum/K. Fatah-Black, *Wat is winst? De economische impact van de Nederlandse trans-Atlantische slavenhandel*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 9 (2012) 1, pp. 3–29; P. Brandon, *Dutch capitalism and slavery: new perspectives from American debates*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 12 (2015) 4, pp. 117–137; P. Brandon, *War, Capital, and the Dutch State (1588–1795)*, Leiden/Boston 2015.
- 51 S. Drescher, *The Long Goodbye: Dutch Capitalism and Antislavery in Comparative Perspective*, in: G. Oostindie (ed.), *Fifty Years Later. Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit*, Leiden/Pittsburgh 1995, pp. 25–66.
- 52 A. M. Caldeira, *Escravos e Traficantes no Império Português: O Comércio Negro Português no Atlântico Durante Os Séculos XV a XX*, Lisbon 2013.
- 53 P. Brandon/U. Bosma, *De betekenis van de Atlantische slavernij voor de Nederlandse economie in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw*, in: *The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, <https://www.tseg.nl/article/10.18352/tseg.1082/> (23 January 2021); see also F. R. da Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa. Empires, Merchants and the Atlantic System, 1580–1674*, Leiden 2011; Id., *Crossing Empires: Portuguese, Sephardic, and Dutch Business Networks in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1580–1674*, in: *The Americas* 68 (2011) 1, pp. 7–32; Id., *Forms of Cooperation between Dutch-Flemish, Sephardim and Portuguese Private Merchants for the Western African Trade within the Formal Dutch and Iberian Atlantic Empires, 1590–1674*, in: *Portuguese Studies* 28 (2012) 2, pp. 159–172; Id., *African islands and the formation of the Dutch Atlantic economy: Arguin, Gorée, Cape Verde and São Tomé, 1590–1670*, in: *The International Journal of Maritime History* 26 (2014) 3, pp. 549–567; Id., *The Dutch and the consolidation of the seventeenth-century South Atlantic complex, c.1630–1654*, in: *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies* 27 (2014), pp. 83–103; Id., *The Slave Trade and the Development of the Atlantic Africa Port System, 1400s–1800s*, in: *The International Journal of Maritime History* 29 (2017) 1, pp.

Since around 2015, a combination of the second slavery and the new history of capitalism into one analysis unit has been emerging.⁵⁴ Real second slaveries existed in territories, mostly former colonial territories or colonial territories, in which the capital of human bodies and slavery as capitalism in the nineteenth century for around two generations from 1820 to 1888, as we said, formed the basis of modern societies. Without them, not only the early industrial capitalism in England and Belgium but also the Biedermeier luxury consumption societies of Central Europe in the romantic capitalism of the nineteenth century (with later industrialization)⁵⁵ could not have developed and unfolded. This does not only apply in relation to the profits of individual national-colonial slavery colonies (such as the British sugar islands). Capitalism in Europe was dependent of enslaved people, slaveries, and slave trade – these elements were a part of global capitalism. Altogether, however, they acted as industrialized production centres for a Europe of Biedermeier (romantic capitalism) consumption, as well as later for the USA as an developing imperial power. Only in the course of the *dependencia* debates in the middle of the twentieth century were the “modern” slavery capitalism societies, with the exception of the USA (and Brazil, where no one really knows what it is today because it is a centre of the Global South), defined as “peripheries”,⁵⁶ although the USA was also a periphery until 1914, afterwards rising to a “centre” through slavery and internal slave trade as well as imperial expansion, racial capitalism, and mass immigration.

The concept of the second slavery arose from Immanuel Wallerstein’s world-systems perspective with its centre-periphery view. Thus during the 1980s, when the concept was established, it still emphasized too much the “new” global division of labour that basically started with the “industrial revolution” in Great Britain (and thus Europe). In the meantime, it should be clear that on the Atlantic and the capitalist emporia/islands, extremely increased slave trade and extreme exploitation as well as extreme slave numbers (exemplary on Saint-Domingue) had been going on since the sixteenth century. Since the last third of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century, all of this was brought together (while maintaining the aforementioned extremes under the control of an improved slave-owner demography) in Creole industrializations of individual territo-

138–154; D. Richardson/F. R. da Silva (eds.), *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange. Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590–1867*, Leiden/Boston 2015.

54 Tomich, *The Second Slavery*; Mathisen, *The Second Slavery*.

55 Jacob/Kaller, Introduction.

56 In respect to slavery and slave trade (or food), the African-Iberian Atlantic and the Iberian colonies were never ever a “periphery” – c. 6.8 million enslaved from Africa (out of a total of c. 10.7 million) arrived living in the Iberian Americas (including the Caribbean); only in the years 1821–1867, c. 1.82 million, see A. Borucki et al., *Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America*, in: *The American Historical Review* 120 (2015) 2, pp. 433–461, at 440 (a revolutionary reinterpretation of the transimperial slave trade in the Americas, all after www.slavevoyages.org); see also J. Adelman, *The Slave Hinterlands of South America*, in: Id., *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*, Princeton/Oxford 2006, pp. 58–64; U. Bosma, *The Making of a Periphery. How Island Southeast Asia Became a Mass Exporter of Labor*, New York 2019. Ulbe Bosma deals with Island Southeast Asia, but in a good sense that also applies to the Gran Caribe from Charleston in the north to Rio in the south, including the maritime Caribbean and its coasts.

ries (such as islands and coastal slavery territories), industrial complexes (plantations,⁵⁷ such as sugar and coffee mills, use of machines/technologies, ships, harbours, and warehouses/barracoons), and slaveries (and other forms of coerced labour) as elements and processes of the consumer revolution. Accordingly, this revolution took place first outside Europe (see the use of machines on the high seas and in agriculture⁵⁸). Sidney Mintz noticeably referenced this in *Sweetness and Power*.⁵⁹ Also, more recent approaches to violence and various forms of work within the system of production, distribution, and consumption also show that a global explanation brings better results than the Eurocentric narrative.⁶⁰

Post-colonialism – which, for the most part, dislikes structures – treated enslaved people and slavery, with a few exceptions, only as “subaltern”. But at least enslaved people were included as actors in global historiography. A post-post-colonial perspective and a social and cultural-historical broadening of the enslaved-as-actor approach, together with a South-South approach as well as a slavery and capitalism approach, can be found, on the one hand, in the history of material culture and, on the other hand, in relation to slave trade and slavery, especially in the history of commodities and the biological history of capitalism (goods and living beings, especially people, plants, food, and animals⁶¹). Such an approach provides a kind of history of everything that can be sold or what is needed to maintain the workforce. This also includes the already mentioned “plantation capitalism”⁶² (with the beginnings of capitalist manager administration)⁶³ or the

57 That is why there have been publications on “plantation capitalism” for a longer time – albeit more focused on the type of business organization, first of all in the US South: C. Wagley, *Plantation America: A Cultural Sphere*, in: V. Rubin, *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium*, Seattle 1957, pp. 3–13; Moreno Friginals, *El Ingenio*, 3 vols. (Reprint in one volume: Moreno Friginals, *El Ingenio. Complejo económico social cubano del azúcar*. Prefacio de T. Pedraza Moreno. Prólogo de J. Fontana, Barcelona 2001; English: Moreno Friginals, *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba*, New York 1976).

58 J. Crowley, *Sugar Machines: Picturing Industrialized Slavery*, in: *American Historical Review* 121 (2016) 2, pp. 403–436; N. Fiori, *Plantation Energy: From Slave Labor to Machine Discipline*, in: *American Quarterly* 72 (2020) 3, pp. 559–579.

59 Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.

60 J. Schiel et al., *From Bondage to Precariousness? New Perspectives on Labor and Social History*, in: *Journal of Social History* 54 (2020) 2, pp. 644–662.

61 L. Derby, *Bringing the Animals Back in: Writing Quadrupeds into the Environmental History of Latin America and the Caribbean*, in: *History Compass* 9 (2011) 8, pp. 602–621, <https://www.academia.edu/5900624> (accessed 16 November 2019); C. Blakley, “To get a cargo of flesh, bone, and blood”: Animals in the Slave Trade in West Africa, in: *International Review of Environmental History* 5 (2019) 1, pp. 85–111; Zeuske, *Der afrikanisch-iberische Atlantik*.

62 Wagley, *Plantation America*; S. W. Mintz, *Afro-Caribbeana: An Introduction*, in: Id., *Caribbean Transformations*, Chicago 1974, pp. 1–42; E. T. Thompson, *The Plantation: Background and Definition*, in: *Plantation Societies, Race Relations, and the South: The Regimentation of Populations: Selected Papers of Edgar T. Thompson*, Durham 1975, pp. pp–40; M. M. Smith, *Time, Slavery and Plantation Capitalism in the Ante-Bellum America South*, in: *Past and Present* 150 (1996), pp. 142–168; R. Follett, *Slavery and Plantation Capitalism in Louisiana’s Sugar Country*, in: *American Nineteenth Century History* 1 (2000) 3, pp. 1–27; G. Rodríguez Morel, *Orígenes de la economía de plantación en La Española, Santo Domingo 2012*; D. W. Tomich, *Vassouras Yesterday and Today. Revisiting the Work of Stanley J. Stein*, in: Id. (ed.), *New Frontiers of Slavery*, Albany 2015, pp. 5–21; J. Tutino, *Capitalism, Christianity, and Slavery: Jesuits in New Spain, 1572–1767*, in: *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8 (2021) 1, pp. 11–36.

63 S. B. Schwartz, *Brazilian Sugar Planters as Aristocratic Managers. 1550–1825*, in: P. Janssens/B. Yun (eds.), *European Aristocracies and Colonial Elites. Patrimonial Management Strategies and Economic Development, 15th–*

also already mentioned "capitalism of human bodies",⁶⁴ which we summarize as slavery capitalism and transimperial colonial/post-colonial modernity. Especially for imperial colonialism⁶⁵ since the partition of Africa but also for South-east Asia, the connection between collective forced labour and slavery is being debated under the heading of colonial capitalism – often under direct control of local elites but with strong ties to the world market and connected to local, as well as global, transport systems, which were also communication systems.⁶⁶

18th Centuries, Aldershot 2005, pp. 233–246; C. Rosenthal, *Accounting for Slavery. Masters and Management*, Cambridge 2018; M. Barcia/E. Kesidou, *Innovation and entrepreneurship for success among Cuban-based firms in the late years of the transatlantic slave trade*, in: *Business History* 60 (2018) 4, pp. 542–561; C. Schermerhorn, *The Business of Slavery and the Rise of American Capitalism, 1815–1860*, New Haven 2015.

64 Zeuske, *Sklavenhändler, Negerros und Atlantikkreolen*.

65 On the general connection between slavery and various dimensions of capitalism (partially matching with the historiography of the New History of Capitalism), see Mintz, *Slavery and Emergent Capitalism*; on the debate focused primarily on England and the Caribbean, see Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*; on the Antebellum-South focused debate, see R. V. Anderson/R. E. Gallman, *Slaves as Fixed Capital: Slave Labor and Southern Economic Development*, in: *The Journal of American History* 64 (1977) 1, pp. 24–46; R. Miles, *Capitalism and Unfree Labour. Anomaly or Necessity*, London 1987; P. McMichael, *Slavery in Capitalism: The Rise and Demise of the U. S. Antebellum Cotton Culture*, in: *Theory and Society* 20 (1991) 3, pp. 321–349; Fogel, *American Slavery*; T. C. Buchanan, *Black Life on the Mississippi: Slaves, Free Blacks, and the Western Steamboat World*, Chapel Hill 2004; T. Downey, *Planting a Capitalist South. Masters, Merchants, and Manufacturers in the Southern Interior, 1790–1860*, Baton Rouge 2006; J. D. Majewski, *Modernizing a Slave Economy: The Economic Vision of the Confederate Nation*, Chapel Hill 2009; P. Kolchin, *The South and the World*, in: *The Journal of Southern History* 75 (2009) 3, pp. 565–580; B. Martin, *Slavery's Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property*, in: *Journal of Southern History* 76 (2010) 4, pp. 817–866. See also A. Gourevitch, *Capitalism and Slavery: An Interview with Greg Grandin*, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/08/capitalism-and-slavery-an-interview-with-greg-grandin/> (accessed 10 December 2014); C. Schermerhorn, *Capitalism's Captives: The Maritime United States Slave Trade, 1807–1850*, in: *Journal of Social History* 47 (2014) 4, pp. 897–921; S. R. Nelson, *Who Put Their Capitalism in My Slavery?*, in: *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 5 (2015) 2, pp. 289–310; J. R. Young, *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670–1837*, Chapel Hill 1999; D. W. Tomich (ed.), *Slavery and Historical Capitalism during the Nineteenth Century*, Lanham 2017; about Cuba-Spain: E. Marrero Cruz, *Traficante de esclavos y chinos*, in: *Id./J. de Zulutea y Amondo. Promotor del capitalismo en Cuba, La Habana* 2006, pp. 46–79; there were different forms of haciendas (ingenios)/plantations, as is being debated using the example of tobacco plantations (vegas) and coffee plantations (cafetales): E. López Mesa, „Vega grande o plantación?, in: J. A. Piqueras (ed.), *Plantación, espacios agrarios y esclavitud en la Cuba colonial*, Castellón de la Plana 2017, pp. 249–266; on the history of the most successful slave plantation economy as capitalism in nineteenth-century Cuba, see D. R. Murray, *Capitalism and Slavery in Cuba*, in: *Slavery and Abolition* 17 (1996) 3, pp. 223–237. A perspective that is more oriented towards the American whole, see Marquese/Salles (eds.), *Escravidão e Capitalismo Histórico*; Piqueras (coord.), *Esclavitud y capitalismo histórico en el siglo XIX. Brasil, Cuba y Estados Unidos*, Santiago de Cuba 2016; T. Burnard/J. D. Garigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica*, Philadelphia 2016; D. Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery*; on global "war capitalism" from a perspective dominated by US economic history, see Beckert, *Einleitung*; on globalization of the US perspective and consequences for other systems of slavery, see Brandon, *Dutch capitalism and slavery*; R. J. Follett et al., *Plantation Kingdom: The American South and Its Global Commodities*, Baltimore 2016; summarizing in terms of "new" labor history, see B. D. Palmer, "Mind Forged Manacles" and recent Pathways to "New" Labor History, in: *IRSH* 62 (2017) 2, pp. 279–303. Spatially and historically, Barbados, parts of Jamaica, Saint-Domingue (as well as other French colonies in the Caribbean) and above all Cuba in the nineteenth century were more concentrated and socially, technically, and technologically more compact "capitalist", based on Atlantic slavery than the Antebellum South. But they were also territorially smaller and had overall quantitatively absolutely fewer enslaved (not relatively per plantation; the majority were larger than in the USA).

66 J. C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830*, Madison 1988; V. Houben/J. T. Lindblad (eds.), *Coolie Labour in Colonial Indonesia. A Study of Labour Relations in the Outer Islands, c. 1900–1940*, Wiesbaden 1999; J. Seibert, *More Continuity than Change? New Forms of Unfree Labor*

The present *Comparativ* issue is titled “Slavery/Capitalism Global”. We are very clear that we have neither the Ottoman Empire, nor North Africa/Arabia or India, nor the Philippines or the problem of serfdom (or, much better, *Leibeigenschaft*) in Central and Eastern Europe in our table of contents. But it is a beginning, first of all, for really important areas of slavery capitalism, mostly in colonial areas or former colonial areas (like the USA, South-east Asia, Brazil, or Africa).

Neither was slavery the whole and every capitalism (or developmental core of capitalism in some societies), nor was capitalism – a highly complicated container term – always slavery. We are not saying that. What we are saying or writing here is that there have been historical societies, even empires, based on the capital of human bodies, the accumulation of capital from them, industrialization, and capitalist slavery. These societies were modern societies. Their whole system was based on slavery and the enslaved. And we also say that the so-called “societies without slavery” in Europe (since their respective formal abolition or without it) needed slavery and the (mostly covert legal or illegal) slave trade and slavery commodities to maintain the existence of their colonial empires and to develop their capitalism (they called these slaveries “forced labour” since about 1880). Our issue comes in three parts. In the first section authors deal with historiography and theory (Piqueras, Burnard, Lamas, and Tomich). Here, we have combined the critical description of the problem (slavery/capitalism) on the basis of current research and the available literature, the reviews and criticism of Williams’ performance after 75 years, the critical evaluations of Marx’s approach of original accumulation against the background of the worldwide division of labour and the original accumulation before 1650, and a theoretical perspective on the constitution and the continuing development of capitalism including slavery and unemployment until today.

We are happy to have in the second part on Africa, the Indian Ocean and Asia (Dalrymple-Smith, van Rossum, and Martino) articles, in which global territories are up for debate that otherwise hardly play a role in the discussion about slavery/capitalism (which, until now, has been clearly Atlantic-centred or even Europe-centred). The main topic is the development of regional and local slaveries, that is to say, indigenous slaver-

in the Belgian Congo, 1908–1930, in: M. van der Linden (ed.), *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations. The Long-Term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, Leiden/Boston 2011, pp. 369–386; A. Keese, *Early limits of local decolonisation: Forced Labour, Decolonisation and the “Servical” Population in São Tomé and Príncipe from Colonial Abuses to Post-Colonial Disappointment, 1945–1976*, in: *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44 (2011) 3, pp. 373–392; Keese, *Searching for the reluctant hands: obsession, ambivalence, and the practice of organizing involuntary labour in colonial Cuanza-Sul and Malange districts, Angola, 1926–1945*, in: *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41 (2013) 2, pp. 238–258; V. Houben/G. Seibert, *(Un)freedom. Colonial Labour Relations in Belgian Congo and the Dutch East Indies Compared*, in: E. Frankema/F. Buelens (eds.), *Colonial Exploitation and Economic Development. The Belgian Congo and the Netherlands Indies Compared*, London/New York 2013, pp. 178–192; R. B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850*, Athens 2014; G. Seibert, *In die globale Wirtschaft gezwungen. Arbeit und kolonialer Kapitalismus im Kongo (1885–1960)*, Frankfurt am Main 2016; E. Martino, *PANYA. Economies of Deception and the Discontinuities of Indentured Labour Recruitment and the Slave Trade, Nigeria and Fernando Pó, 1890s–1940s*, in: *African Economic History* 44 (2016), pp. 91–129; F. Mendiola, *The Role of Unfree Labour in Capitalist Development: Spain and its Empire, Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries*, in: *International Review of Social History* 61 (2016) 24, pp. 187–211.

ies and forms of coerced labour/dependencies, often dominated by local/regional elites under the influence of worldwide trade networks, globalization, and colonial structures and dynamics.

In the third part on the Atlantic, the Americas and Europe (Brandon, Rodrigo y Alharilla, and Marquese), we present modern, revisionist analyses of classic "slave trade powers" that focus not on all but on the Netherlands and Spain, which play less of a role in the Anglo-Saxon-centred debate about slavery/capitalism. State support for capitalist dynamics and slavery (including other imperial slavery complexes such as Spanish America, the Caribbean, and Brazil but also the US South) were extremely important for the Dutch Empire.⁶⁷ Due to the quantitative history of the makers of www.slaveryvoyages.org, Spain has become the second most important player in the Atlantic slave trade (and the Chinese-Filipino dimensions are not yet taken into account) – just before Britain.⁶⁸ In the nineteenth century, this was a very important development boost towards industrialization and modernity in the broadest sense, not only for Catalonia and its extremely dynamic centre Barcelona but also for the Spanish banking system. And we have Brazil, the absolutely most important and largest Atlantic slave trade and slave power for 300 years – an empire in itself but also part of the African-Iberian Atlantic and Ibero-American colonial territories. It is a very welcomed analysis of management methods and their visualization on the level of sugar and coffee plantations. It is compared to Cuba, the most modern agro-industrial area in the world at the *ingenio/central* level (as capitalist "factories in the field") and as a plantation slavery territory in the nineteenth century. We are also aware that we do not have the USA and, more broadly, North America directly on our content list. The British colonies in North America, and later the USA, played hardly any role in the Atlantic slave trade (apart from the many captains and crews as traders and smugglers of enslaved persons to other colonies and countries). But we have the USA and its South on the list of topics as "Slavery Capitalism in One Country" (with the new history of capitalism; see the literature above); they are mainly considered in the articles by Burnard and Brandon (as an investment area for Dutch capital).
O debate continua!

67 K. Nimako/G. Willemsen (eds.), *The Dutch Atlantic. Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation*, London 2011.

68 A. Borucki et al., *Atlantic History*; M. Zeuske, *Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos: Global Dimensions of Second Slavery*, in: S. Damir-Geilsdorf et al. (eds.), *Bonded Labour: Global and Comparative Perspectives (18th–21st Century)*, Bielefeld 2016, pp. 35–57.