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ON December 10, 1753, a fifteen-year-old enslaved African (*cafre*) named Domingos was baptized by Father Manoel Soares de Araújo in the small mudbrick Jesuit parish church of São Lourenço.[1] As his baptismal record states, two local Portuguese residents, Antonio Gomes de Miranda and Izabel de Araújo de Boanos, served as godparents to Domingos. The man who had purchased him, João Jerónimo, was likely also present. To judge from wider patterns of slave trading in this period, Domingos was likely born into a Sena-speaking community in the vicinity of the Zambezi River.[2] He subsequently endured a series of long sea voyages across almost the full length of maritime Asia before his quick induction into the Christian faith. As in most parts of Christendom, however, his baptism did not affect his legal status, which could only be altered by an act of manumission.[3] Whether Domingos was eventually freed, was sold to

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[1] Fregesia de São Lourenço, Batismos 1741–1823 (FSLB), fol. 101a, Arquivo Diocesano de Macau (ADM), Macau, China. Manoel Soares de Araújo was the parish priest of São Lourenço from 1746 to 1759. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau no séc. XVIII* (Macao, 1984), 538 n. 1.

[2] Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (London, 1995), 244–49; Richard B. Allen, "Satisfying the 'Want for Labouring People': European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 1 (March 2010): 45–73.

[3] Alejandro de la Fuente and Ariela J. Gross, *Becoming Free, Becoming Black: Race, Freedom, and Law in Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana* (Cambridge, 2020), 33.

a wealthy household in Guangdong, or managed to flee into the province's hinterland is unknown, as this brief reference is his only known appearance in the archive.

Domingos's story is fairly typical of the many enslaved Africans found in Catholic baptismal records during the eighteenth century in all but one respect: the parish of São Lourenço was not in Salvador da Bahia, Recife, or even Lisbon. Rather, it was located in the northwest corner of Macau, a small trading enclave in the Pearl River delta provided for Portuguese trader-raiders in the mid-sixteenth century by Ming officials keen to use them as a bulwark against piracy in the South China Sea while ensuring that they did not range too far (Figure I).[4] Over the following three hundred years, the peninsular entrepôt's enslaved population from Africa, India, Japan, and Southeast Asia fluctuated between one thousand and five thousand people. They were brought there along the trade routes, both maritime and land-based, that linked Macau to the patchwork of early modern markets in human beings in Asia and beyond. Once in Macau, enslaved people lived alongside a small number of Portuguese and mixed Eurasian inhabitants, a large free Chinese merchant and artisan population (some Christian, some not), and an indeterminate number of Chinese in various "debased" statuses bordering on slavery who had been kidnapped or purchased by Chinese human traffickers.[5]

The multiplicity of labor sources (especially in Asia) and the difficulty of transporting human cargo over large distances made slave trading relatively localized in comparison to the more integrated early modern world markets in precious metals, ceramics, spices, and textiles. Indeed, when Salvador da Bahia became a frequent stop on the return voyage of the *carreira da Índia* ("India Run") from Goa to Lisbon in the second half of the seventeenth century, enslaved people remained just a small part of the roaring trade that brought large quantities of Asian cotton, tea, and ink to Brazil and gold, sugar, rum, tobacco, and cassava flour from the Americas to India.[6] Nonetheless, the regional slave trades in the Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean Sea, Indian Ocean, and beyond were far from hermetically sealed. Enslaved people from Asia were transported to the Americas, and

[4] Roderich Ptak, "Macau: Trade and Society, circa 1740–1760," in *Maritime China in Transition, 1750–1850*, ed. Wang Gungwu and Ng Chin-keong (Wiesbaden, Ger., 2004), 191–211.

[5] C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon, 1963); Lúcio de Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan: Merchants, Jesuits and Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Slaves* (Leiden, 2019). Here "debased" is used in the sense of the legal category of "base people" (*jianmin*, 賤民).

[6] C. R. Boxer, "The Principal Ports of Call in the *Carreira da Índia*," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 8, no. 1 (1971): 3–29; Anthony John R. Russel-Wood, "A dinâmica da presença brasileira no Índico e no Oriente. Séculos XVI–XIX," *Topoi (Rio de Janeiro)* 2, no. 3 (July–December 2001): 9–40; Philomena Sequeira Antony, *The Goa Bahia Intra-Colonial Relations, 1675–1825* (Tellicherry [Thalassery], India, 2004).

FIGURE I

Early modern Afro-Eurasia, ca. 1700. Drawn by Rebecca Wrenn.

enslaved Africans to Asia.[7] Both British North America and Macau were among the ultimate destinations (along with the Islamic sultanates to the north) of enslaved people from East Africa up until 1720 and again after the American Revolution.[8] Macanese and Atlantic slaveries were also shaped by parallel imperial, religio-legal, and racializing trends from the sixteenth century on. Though signs of integration were already visible in earlier years, an intensive period of interaction began in the second half of the eighteenth century. English traders began to appear in Macau following the Convention of Goa in 1635 and arrived in ever-increasing numbers in the early eighteenth century. In Macau, crews of ships belonging to the British East India Company (EIC) were accused of stealing enslaved people from a Portuguese merchant in 1760 and occasionally taking on runaway slaves as sailors. After 1776 identifiably American ships began to dock in Macau. The 1840s then saw the rise of the "Coolie Trade," which transported indentured Chinese workers (many via Hong Kong and Macau) to Cuba and the United States, where labor was short due to the ending of the transatlantic slave trade.[9]

[7] Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (Cambridge, 2014); Sousa, *Portuguese Slave Trade*.

[8] Jane Hooper and David Eltis, "The Indian Ocean in Transatlantic Slavery," *Slavery and Abolition* 34, no. 3 (2013): 353–75, esp. 369 (table 3).

[9] Paul Van Dyke, "The Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense (1620–1622): Prelude to the Dutch Occupation of Taiwan," in *Around and About Formosa: Essays in Honor*

This growing British and American presence in the Pearl River delta is a reminder that slavery in what is now frequently termed "vast early America" by those who seek to transcend a narrowly protonational vision of American history was part of a global, unevenly interlocking series of early modern slave trades, both European and non-European.[10] Many parts of this congregation of differently shaped and sized trades in human misery intersected with the transatlantic slave trade. A transimperial, intra-American slave trade spanned the Western Hemisphere and overlapped with Indigenous patterns of bondage throughout the early modern period. Similarly, West and Central African warfare and demands for agricultural and other labor both had their own dynamics and shaped the wider Atlantic story.[11] In slavery's Pacific theater, the Manila Galleon carried enslaved people from Japan, India, and the Malay Archipelago to the Americas for a century or so before 1700, with occasional instances of enslaved people from East Africa arriving in the Americas via the Philippines.[12] The galley slavery of the Mediterranean also spread to the Caribbean and to the seas around the Philippines, where from time to time Chinese merchants captured in the seventeenth century's various anti-Chinese pogroms were forced to row Spanish ships.[13]

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of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho, ed. Leonard Blussé (Taipei, 2003), 61–81; Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong, 2005), 5–6; Isabel Morais, "Henrietta Hall Shuck: Engendering Faith, Education, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Macau," in *Americans and Macao: Trade, Smuggling, and Diplomacy on the South China Coast*, ed. Van Dyke (Hong Kong, 2012), 105–24; Rogério Miguel Puga, *The British Presence in Macau, 1635–1793*, trans. Monica Andrade (Hong Kong, 2013), 28, 72, 161 n. 8, 170 n. 17; Elliott Young, *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era through World War II* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2014), 19–33.

[10] Karin Wulf, "Vast Early America: Three Simple Words for a Complex Reality," *Humanities* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2019), https://www.neh.gov/article/vast-early-america; Eliga Gould and Rosemarie Zagarri, "Situating the United States in Vast Early America: Introduction," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 78, no. 2 (April 2021): 189–200.

[11] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (Cambridge, 1992), 52, 74, 97; David Brion Davis, "Looking at Slavery from Broader Perspectives," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (April 2000): 452–66; Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619–1807* (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 2014); Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat, "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (April 2015): 433–61; Nancy E. van Deusen, "Indigenous Slavery's Archive in Seventeenth-Century Chile," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 101, no. 1 (February 2021): 1–33.

[12] Pascale Girard, "Les Africains aux Philippines aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles," in *Negros, Mulatos, Zambaigos: Derroteros Africanos en los Mundos Ibéricos*, ed. Berta Ares Queija and Alessandro Stella (Seville, Sp., 2000), 67–74; Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*. For instance, a slave from Mozambique is recorded as traveling via Manila to Mexico City in 1597. See Sousa, *Portuguese Slave Trade*, 146.

[13] "Petición de informe sobre libertad a esclavos sangleyes [1648]," Filipinas, 341, l.6, fols. 49v–50r, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Sp.; David Wheat, "Mediterranean Slavery, New World Transformations: Galley Slaves in the Spanish Caribbean, 1578–1635," *Slavery and Abolition* 31, no. 3 (September 2010): 327–44.

Slavery in vast early America was shaped by legal concepts inherited from the ancient Mediterranean and Near East that patterned Abrahamic slavery across large parts of the early modern world.[14] As Islam and Christianity spread, their followers constantly sought out new groups of co-religionists to enslave while relying on long-standing trade routes, such as the so-called Silk Road that linked the Mediterranean to Central Asia and beyond.[15] Surrounded by predatory Abrahamic peoples from the late Middle Ages onward, the African continent became a common source of slaves. This intensive exploitation by Christians and Muslims created a diaspora that stretched far beyond the Atlantic, with particular concentrations in littoral societies (to borrow Michael N. Pearson's term) such as Cuba, the Mascarene Islands, and Macau, who must be considered alongside the many other Africans displaced within the continent itself by the internal African slave trade, both Abrahamic and non-Abrahamic.[16]

Though not a frequent feature in the pages of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, imperial China was a topic of fascination to American thinkers during the Enlightenment, as well as the source of many highly prized consumer goods and a ready market for the furs trapped by Indigenous people

[14] Karoline P. Cook, *Forbidden Passages: Muslims and Moriscos in Colonial Spanish America* (Philadelphia, 2016); Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia, 2018); Hannah Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260–1500* (Philadelphia, 2019); Bernard K. Freamon, *Possessed by the Right Hand: The Problem of Slavery in Islamic Law and Muslim Cultures* (Leiden, 2019).

[15] Stephen Frederic Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600–1750* (Cambridge, 1994), 61, 77, 96; Christoph Witzenrath, ed., *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860* (Farnham, U.K., 2015); Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas, *Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery* (Leiden, 2018); Susan Whitfield, *Silk, Slaves, and Stupas: Material Culture of the Silk Road* (Oakland, Calif., 2018), 250–71; Jukka Korpela, *Slaves from the North: Finns and Karelians in the East European Slave Trade, 900–1600* (Leiden, 2019).

[16] James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003); Michael N. Pearson, "Littoral Society: The Concept and the Problems," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 4 (December 2006): 353–73; Pier M. Larson, "African Diasporas and the Atlantic," in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2007), 129–47; Rachel Sarah O'Toole, "As Historical Subjects: The African Diaspora in Colonial Latin American History," *History Compass* 11, no. 12 (December 2013): 1094–110; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Jihād in West Africa during the Age of Revolutions* (Athens, Ohio, 2016); Stuart M. McManus, "Slavery and the African Diaspora beyond the Atlantic," *English Historical Review* 137, no. 585 (September 2021): 552–64. Some have counseled against using *diaspora* to refer to the African presence in Asia due to the absence of the sorts of diasporic communities, identities, and common working conditions found in the Americas; there is also no consensus regarding the applicability of the term to the astonishingly large number of enslaved people displaced within Africa itself before the nineteenth-century development of a continental identity among the elite. See Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge, 1990), 22–23; Gwyn Campbell, "The African-Asian Diaspora: Myth or Reality?," *African and Asian Studies* 5, nos. 3–4 (2006): 305–24.

that paved the way for U.S. expansion into the Pacific.[17] In addition, however, the areas claimed and controlled by the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) states were an integral part of the regionally segmented but ultimately connected early modern trade in commodified people. In South China and Macau, enslaved Africans and others found themselves thrust into the multiethnic world of Asian slavery, where both European and Chinese observers racialized them in ways highly reminiscent of the Western Hemisphere. When evaluating the limits of vast early America, therefore, imperial China should be considered alongside more familiar regions such as West Africa and the Indian Ocean as a constituent part of the same early modern context. In other words, the increasingly racialized slave trade of vast early America was truly and horrifyingly vast.

As the case of Domingos shows, the baptismal records from the parish of São Lourenço provide some of the best quantitative evidence of slavery and adjacent practices in Macau and South China more generally. These never-before-studied documents preserve information on the births, assigned ethnicities, and parentage of hundreds of enslaved people from Africa and Asia starting in 1741, revealing that slavery in this port city was the result of the same intercontinental commercial and imperial forces that brought enslaved people to Brazil and Virginia.[18] That these instances of slavery are normally treated separately appears somewhat arbitrary. Placed within the context of other contemporary Portuguese- and Chinese-language sources, the baptismal records also provide a window onto distant but comparable and ultimately connected patterns of racialization. In South China, this involved the association of very dark skin with slavery, explicit dehumanization, and curiosity and in some instances even racism toward the children of unions between racial groups. Of course, such easy equivalences with the African diaspora in the Americas have their limits. The Sinosphere had local patterns of racialization stretching back centuries. Slavery in Macau and South China was also more expansively multiethnic, entrapping people from India and inland areas of insular Southeast Asia who were racialized by Chinese observers not (as in Spanish America) together with Indigenous people as *indios chinos* but together with

[17] James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods: The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785–1841* (Seattle, 1992); A. Owen Aldridge, *The Dragon and the Eagle: The Presence of China in the American Enlightenment* (Detroit, 1993); Caroline Frank, *Objectifying China, Imagining America: Chinese Commodities in Early America* (Chicago, 2011); Timothy Brook, *Great State: China and the World* (London, 2019).

[18] The São Lourenço baptismal records (FSLB, ADM) cover the years 1741–1976 (except 1778). This article relies on a dataset covering only the period 1741–76, which predates the arrival of American sailors and avoids the 1778 lacuna. For that dataset, see Stuart M. McManus, "Slavery, Freedom, and Intermediate Statuses in Macau: Arquivo Diocesano de Macau, Freguesia de São Lourenço, Batismos 1741–1776," *Journal of Slavery and Data Preservation* 5, no. 2 (April 2024): 31–35, https://doi.org/10.25971/bbd5-de23. The original manuscripts in the Arquivo Diocesano de Macau are inaccessible, and so I reference microfilm copies originally produced in the 1970s by the Genealogical Society of Utah (now FamilySearch, https://familysearch.org).

Africans as "Black slaves" (*heinu*, 黑奴). Nonetheless, these contemporary contexts were ultimately part of a larger whole that, when taken together, reveals that anti-Black racism in the Americas was the product of factors that were both unique to the Atlantic and shared with other regions. This panoramic view further complicates a simplistic causality that sees racism in the Americas as the product of a particular mode of production based on large-scale slave trading and plantation agriculture.[19]

In common with the other enslaved people transported to late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Brazil and Cuba from Portuguese enclaves north of the Zambezi River, Domingos underwent an arduous sea voyage, in his case through the variegated world of the Indian Ocean slave trade.[20] This featured a transoceanic Portuguese trade to India and Macau that was, however, much reduced from its heyday during the early seventeenth century. This decline was in stark contrast to the rise of the slave trade of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Asia in the same period. The VOC quickly came to dominate the Maluku Islands, initially sourcing enslaved labor from the islands themselves and the surrounding archipelago (in keeping with local practice), but later the company turned to Africa, India, and the Persian Gulf. Like slavery in Portuguese Asia, Dutch slavery featured enslaved people and slaveholders of various origins, including Chinese merchants who owned plantations where they enslaved workers in the Dutch Malukus.[21] From the 1780s East Africa also saw a rapidly growing trade with Brazil and a nascent trade (at times via Goa) to the French Mascarene Islands. This coexisted with other circuits of exchange: the long-standing, if hard to quantify, slave trade that linked Mozambique, Madagascar, the larger Swahili Coast, and Arabia, as well as the connected trades of Gujarati and other Indian merchants, which Portuguese and later other European merchants succeeded in partially commandeering. All told,

[19] James H. Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," in "Constructing Race," special issue, *WMQ* 54, no. 1 (January 1997): 143–66, esp. 143–44; Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Durham, N.C., 2021), 8; Catherine Hall, "Racial Capitalism: What's in a Name?," *History Workshop Journal* 94 (September 2022): 5–21.

[20] To call the *prazos* (land grant plantations) in southeastern Africa "Portuguese" is, in truth, rather misleading, as over the eighteenth century they became dominated by Canarims (Christian Indians from Goa). Michael N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1998), 160. The region is also unusual for the prominence of a particular type of military slavery. Allen Isaacman and Derek Peterson, "Making the Chikunda: Military Slavery and Ethnicity in Southern Africa, 1750–1900," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 257–81.

[21] Markus Vink, "'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (June 2003): 131–77; Rik van Welie, "Patterns of Slave Trading and Slavery in the Dutch Colonial World, 1596–1863," in *Dutch Colonialism, Migration and Cultural Heritage*, ed. Gert Oostindie (Leiden, 2008), 155–259.

in the seventeenth century, between three and six thousand enslaved people were transported annually from East Africa to other ports around the Indian Ocean, and that total increased rapidly in the eighteenth century to tens of thousands.[22]

Written at the peak of the Portuguese involvement in the Indian Ocean trade in the early seventeenth century, Jesuit treatises on slavery reveal that the patterns of trade and racialization in Asia were broadly similar to those in the Atlantic. In particular, missionaries complained that enslaved people from East Africa were usually lumped together as *cafres* (from the Arabic term for "unbeliever," *kāfir*, meaning enslavable person, especially Black African), with the added confusion that Muslims in India tended to apply the same term to all nonbelievers, including the Portuguese, as a mark of opprobrium. Jesuit writers argued that there were in reality two discrete groups, a distinction illustrated in the Codex Casanatense, a sixteenth-century ethnographic manuscript painted by an Indian artist in Goa.[23] The first were "Abyssinians" from the kingdom of Solomonic Ethiopia (Figure II), many of whom were Christians captured in the constant unsanctioned border wars with Muslim sultanates to the north and later sold to Portuguese merchants. As coreligionists, Christians could not own enslaved Abyssinians in good faith and certainly could not sell them to Muslim merchants, although this was hard to avoid in multiethnic port cities such as Hormuz.

According to the Jesuit treatises, all other enslaved East Africans were "Ethiopians"—or "Nubians," as the Codex Casanatense termed them (Figure III)—who had generally been captured by Muslim slaving parties and then sold to Muslim or Portuguese traders on the coast. Here too there was no just title (*titulus iustus*), as they were not enslaved in one of the following four ways: capture in a just war, punishment for a crime, sale in time of necessity, or birth to an enslaved mother. As a result, the surviving Jesuit

[22] Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders*, 129–54; Pedro Machado, "A Forgotten Corner of the Indian Ocean: Gujarati Merchants, Portuguese India and the Mozambique Slave-Trade, *c.*1730–1830," *Slavery and Abolition* 24, no. 2 (August 2003): 17–32; Thomas Vernet, "Le commerce des esclaves sur la côte swahili, 1500–1750," *Azania* 38, no. 1 (2003): 69–97; Gwyn Campbell, ed., *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London, 2004); Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005), 36–38, 62–66; José Capela, "A captura de escravos no Sudoeste Africano para o tráfico a longa distância," *Africana Studia* 14 (2010): 39–50; Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani, eds., *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World* (London, 2013); Eugénia Rodrigues, *Portugueses e Africanos nos Rios de Sena: Os Prazos da Coroa em Moçambique nos Séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon, 2013); Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850* (Athens, Ohio, 2014), 20–23.

[23] An additional group of Black Africans illustrated in the Codex Casanatense were described as *cafres* originating from the area around the Cape of Good Hope. This is a narrower definition of *cafre* than the catchall term for "Black slave" found in European-language sources written in Asia. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, codex 1889, 1–2.

FIGURE II

Biblioteca Casanatense, codex 1889, 3–4. By permission of the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Italian Ministry of Culture.

treatises from Asia concluded that no Christian could in good conscience hold any *cafre* as a slave. However, such misgivings had relatively little impact on the trade, and even Jesuit houses in the region enslaved Africans. This caused one Jesuit writer, Gomes Vaz (ca. 1542–1610), to complain that the standards of morality among merchants were no better in Asia than in Guinea. In both West Africa and maritime Asia, he noted, large numbers of people lived under slavery in contravention of the combined norms of natural and civil law as well as a 1556 *motu proprio* papal bull of Pope Pius V, such was the pervasiveness of the cult of Mammon among Portuguese merchants.[24]

In common with transatlantic voyages with intermediate Caribbean stops, Domingos's journey from one of the Portuguese enclaves on the Swahili Coast likely involved a stop in Goa and perhaps another port. This

[24] Sebastião de Amaya, *India Christiana*, Gesuitico, Ges. 1549, fols. 352v–356r, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome; Gomes Vaz, *De mancipiis indicis, manumissionibus et libertis libri IV*, codex 2577, fols 80v–83r, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon. Note that there is another copy of de Amaya's treatise in Special Collections (KL), BPL 11 B, Leiden University, Neth., and that an abridged version of Vaz's treatise is preserved in Gesuitico, Ges. 1441, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II.

FIGURE III

Biblioteca Casanatense, codex 1889, 5–6. By permission of the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Italian Ministry of Culture.

probably took place on a Portuguese galleon with space for up to several hundred slaves, in some cases transported in chains and held below deck. Like in the Atlantic, this was a dangerous place to be: in 1587 a Portuguese ship sank in the harbor of Cochin in western India, according to Jan Huygens van Linschoten (1563–1611), resulting in the death of its cargo of enslaved Africans, who had no hope of escape.[25] Another area of commonality with the Atlantic was the presence of African seamen of varying statuses on Iberian and other vessels across Asia.[26] This was both a regular occurrence and at times an explicit policy, as can be gathered from a letter from the governor of the Philippines, Santiago de Vera (in office 1584–90), who wrote to King Philip II requesting that the viceroy in Goa send enslaved African seamen to save Spanish labor.[27] Domingos was therefore probably chained on board a Portuguese vessel that was manned by at least some fellow East Africans.

[25] [Jan Huygen van Linschoten], *Navigatio ac Itinerarium. . . .* (The Hague, 1599), 96–105.

[26] Jaime Rodrigues, *De costa a costa: Escravos, marinheiros e intermediários do tráfico negreiro de Angola ao Rio de Janeiro (1780–1860)* (São Paulo, 2005), 19.

[27] "Carta de Vera sobre situación y necesidades," Filipinas, 18A, R. 3, N. 16, AGI.

After crossing the Indian Ocean, the ship carrying Domingos would have stopped at Goa or another Portuguese port on the same coast, where the captain and crew probably sold some of their goods and enslaved people. At this point, Domingos either set off again on the same ship or was sold and boarded another ship bound for Macau. A rare 1683 account of a ship carrying enslaved people from Mozambique to Goa gives a sense of what this sojourn might have involved. This ship carried 207 enslaved Mozambicans, most of whom were sold in Goa. However, port authorities recognized some of the enslaved men and women as the property of the crew and therefore they were not subject to the usual port duty of five xeraphims per slave.[28] Those sold in Goa, doubtless at the famous market for all manner of goods on the main *rua direita* (straight street), joined the Portuguese enclave's significant population of enslaved Africans and African descendants of various statuses. In 1719 the *cafre* population of Old Goa numbered 2,153 in the city itself, and in 1820 Panaji (the settlement that was slowly replacing Old Goa as the viceregal capital even before the official change in 1843) had an enslaved African population of around 1,000. Furthermore, in 1782, approximately 1,200 of the 41,102 people living in Tiswadi (the district of the Old Conquests containing Goa and Panaji) were recorded as being Black or *pardo* (that is, of mixed African-Indian or African-European descent). This was in addition to the enslaved Japanese, Chinese, Bengali, and other South Asian men and women mentioned in seventeenth-century sources. These people were distributed among Portuguese and other inhabitants, with each *casado* household (a reputable household headed by a married man) usually containing around ten, although potentially up to forty, enslaved people. Institutions such as convents held even more.[29]

As in other urban contexts in the Iberian world, the tasks forced upon enslaved East Africans in Goa and Macau ranged from domestic labor (cooking, raising children, etc.) to serving as retainers and enforcers for local merchants who used slaves to project their power. Neither enclave saw the large-scale use of enslaved agricultural labor typical of Dutch Batavia, Amboina, and nineteenth-century East Africa.[30] That said, the presence of

[28] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Archivo portuguez oriental* (New Delhi, 1992), vol. 5, pt. 3, p. 791.

[29] On the African presence in India, see Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya and Richard Pankhurst, eds., *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean* (Trenton, N.J., 2003); John C. Hawley, ed., *India in Africa, Africa in India: Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanisms* (Bloomington, Ind., 2008). Other recent contributions include Edward A. Alpers, "Africa and Africans in the Making of Early Modern India," in *The Indian Ocean in the Making of Early Modern India*, ed. Pius Malekandathil (New Delhi, 2015), 61–74; Purnima Mehta Bhatt, *The African Diaspora in India: Assimilation, Change and Cultural Survivals* (Abingdon, U.K., 2018).

[30] Frederick Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890–1925* (New Haven, Conn., 1980); Cooper, *Plantation*

enslaved Africans was recorded on farms around Goa, and some evidence suggests that Portuguese officials purposefully placed Black slaves in dangerous manufacturing jobs, including in the city's gunpowder factory.[31] All these tasks were undertaken on the meager diet usually given to enslaved people in the region, which consisted of small quantities of the cheapest foods, such as salted mango, coconut, and rice.[32] Just like in Spanish America, further details on the daily lives and experiences of individual enslaved people inadvertently appear in Inquisition records.[33] There is even evidence that the Inquisition itself had *cafre* slaves in its service, with one case focusing on a conspiracy to steal them.[34] Passing references in the archive also bespeak the presence of free Black and mixed-race ("*mulatto*") people, some of whom continued to work in their former households, while others (for example, a mixed-race blacksmith in Goa who himself enslaved twenty-six people) seem to have achieved economic independence.[35]

When Domingos eventually arrived in Macau toward the end of 1753, the city he encountered was strikingly similar to those in the Americas to which slaves from East Africa were increasingly transported in the following decades as the transatlantic slave trade extended its reach to the other side of the continent.[36] As an entrepôt that primarily served as a base for merchants traveling to the Canton Fair, its population waxed and waned with the city's commercial fortunes, regularly reaching peaks in the tens of

Slavery on the East Coast of Africa (Portsmouth, N.H., 1997); Remco Raben, "Cities and the Slave Trade in Early-Modern Southeast Asia," in *Linking Destinies: Trade, Towns and Kin in Asian History*, ed. Peter Boomgaard, Dick Kooiman, and Henk Schulte Nordholt (Leiden, 2008), 119–40; Adam Clulow and Siyen Fei, "Slaves of Widow Tsieko: Chinese Slaveholders in the Dutch Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 81 (2021): 13–37.

[31] Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History* (New Delhi, 1979), 116; Jeanette Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India, 1510–1842* (Bombay, 1992), 47–60; José Manuel de Mascarenhas, "Portuguese Overseas Gunpowder Factories, in Particular Those of Goa (India) and Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)," in *Gunpowder, Explosives and the State: A Technological History*, ed. Brenda J. Buchanan (Burlington, Vt., 2006), 183–205.

[32] [Linschoten], *Navigatio ac Itinerarium*, 60.

[33] Stephanie Hassell, "Inquisition Records from Goa as Sources for the Study of Slavery in the Eastern Domains of the Portuguese Empire," *History in Africa* 42 (2015): 397–418; Ananya Chakravarti, "Mapping 'Gabriel': Space, Identity and Slavery in the Late Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean," *Past and Present*, no. 243 (May 2019): 5–34.

[34] Bruno Feitler, comp., *Reportório: Uma base de dados dos processos da Inquisição de Goa (1561–1623)*, accessed Jan. 29, 2024, http://www.i-m.mx/reportorio/reportorio/.

[35] Teotonio R. de Souza, "Manumission of Slaves in Goa during 1682 to 1760 as Found in Codex 860," in *TADIA, the African Diaspora in Asia: Explorations on a Less Known Fact*, ed. Kiran Kamal Prasad and Jean-Pierre Angenot (Bangalore, 2008), 167–89; Stuart M. McManus, "*Partus Sequitur Ventrem* in Theory and Practice: Slavery and Reproduction in Early Modern Portuguese Asia," *Gender and History* 32, no. 3 (October 2020): 542–61, esp. 549–51.

[36] To judge from the recorded voyages, the slave trade from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic took off the moment the Atlantic trade began to decline around 1800. In the 1840s, 20 percent of all enslaved people transported to the Americas came from East Africa. See Hooper and Eltis, *Slavery and Abolition* 34: 355–60.

thousands.[37] Of the city's inhabitants during Domingos's time there in the mid-eighteenth century, fewer than one hundred were married Portuguese men (*casados*) and around five thousand (half the total population) were non-Christian Chinese. The rest were a mixture of Chinese Christians, women of various origins, and as many as 1,500 enslaved people from Mozambique and elsewhere. The enslaved population was therefore on a par with that of Caribbean islands with less fertile soils such as the Bahamas, Sint Eustatius, and Anguilla, as well as with that of continental cities in the Iberian Americas, such as Quito.[38] Included in the non-Christian Chinese population, and therefore hidden in these figures produced by Qing and Portuguese authorities, were unfree people (mostly women and children) of various intermediate statuses who did not fit neatly into a free-enslaved dichotomy. More data are available for the period 1800–1830, when, out of the total legal population of 12,500, around 1,700 were enslaved people from Mozambique (around two-thirds of them women). Between 20 and 25 enslaved people arrived in Macau from Goa annually, although in some years the number of arrivals could be as high as 145. In an 1809 report, the viceroy of the Liangguang (兩廣; that is, Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces), Bai Ling (百齡), counted more than 3,600 enslaved people during a visit to Macau. Of these, he specifically identified 365 as Black slaves (*heinu*) without mentioning the origins of the others, although these figures were not the result of a comprehensive census and seem low.[39]

The extensively recorded presence of many thousands of enslaved people in Macau over a period of several hundred years was a function of the considerable profits to be made selling them in the city.[40] Even higher prices were to be had in Guangdong, where elite Chinese households

[37] Rudy Bauss, "A Demographic Study of Portuguese India and Macau as well as Comments on Mozambique and Timor, 1750–1850," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 34, no. 2 (1997): 199–216; Peng hui 彭蕙, *Ming qing shiqi aomen heiren wenti yanjiu* 明清时期澳门黑人问题研究 [A study of the question of the Black presence in Macau during the Ming and Qing dynasties] (Beijing, 2017), 32.

[38] Stanley L. Engerman and B. W. Higman, "The Demographic Structure of the Caribbean Slave Societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *General History of the Caribbean*, vol. 3, *The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, ed. Franklin W. Knight (London, 2003), 45–104; Sherwin K. Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing through Slavery in Colonial Quito* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2014), 5.

[39] Huang Peifang 黃培芳, *Xiangshan Xianzhi* 香山縣志, *juan* 卷 2 (China, 1827), 183.

[40] Roderich Ptak, "The Demography of Old Macao, 1555–1640," *Ming Studies*, no. 15 (Fall 1982): 27–35; Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India*; Rudy Bauss, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Mozambique to Portuguese India and Macau and Comments on Timor, 1750–1850: New Evidence from the Archives," *Camões Center Quarterly* 6–7, nos. 1–2 (1997): 21–26; Hans Hägerdal, "The Slaves of Timor: Life and Death on the Fringes of Early Colonial Society," *Itinerario* 34, no. 2 (2010): 19–44; Hägerdal, "Slaves and Slave Trade in the Timor Area: Between Indigenous Structures and External Impact," *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 1 (Fall 2020): 15–33.

prized enslaved Black people as exotic commodities, perhaps influenced by the continual reprinting (with illustrations) of Tang-era tales about dark-skinned *Kunlun* slaves (*kunlun nu*, 崑崙奴) (Figure IV).[41] Such ornamental forms of slavery mirrored the practice in regions of the Americas farther from the coasts, where enslaved Africans served as status symbols and statements of political power. This said, the best analogy is probably Tudor England, another society on the edge of the Iberian world, from which its elites could source slaves, and where enslaved people and servants with very dark skin were popular additions to the royal court.[42]

Macau was a gateway for slave traders to sell small numbers of enslaved people into the Qing Empire, as well as an important waypoint for slave trading across maritime Asia. From the city, merchants transported enslaved people from Mozambique to Timor. Conversely, traders brought war captives from the ongoing conflicts in Timor, both Portuguese-led and local, to Macau as part of a larger slave trade from the island that ensnared around 1,500 Timorese captives annually around 1800. Like slave trading across insular Southeast Asia, this was not a European monopoly, and Chinese and Malay traders played an important role as well.[43] During the Iberian Union (1580–1640) and probably sporadically thereafter, this eastern edge of the Indian Ocean slave trade also linked Macau and Manila. For instance, a 1597 Inquisition case recorded that a *converso* merchant named Diego Hernandez Vitoria, who traded between the two cities, possessed thirty-one enslaved people, six of whom were Mozambicans aged between twenty and forty, and several of whom were married to other enslaved Africans. Hernandez himself was also involved in the slave trade (3 percent of his total investments), although his main focus was exporting silk.[44]

In addition to shuttling between Macau and Manila, merchants traveled from Macau to Nagasaki in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, bringing with them enslaved Mozambicans. Missionaries and

[41] Yin Guangren 印光任 and Zhang Rulin 張汝霖, *Aomen Jilüe* 澳門記略, *juan* 卷 2 (Taipei, 1968), 203–204: 粵中富人亦間有畜者 ("Some rich people in Guangdong also kept them like livestock"). For a discussion of the image, see Don J. Wyatt, "The Image of the Black in Chinese Art," in *The Image of the Black in African and Asian Art*, ed. David Bindman, Suzanne Preston Blier, and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., 2017), 295–324. On the context, see Zhu Longxing 朱龍興, *Kunlun yu hei fang: Dongya tu wen zhong de heiren xingxiang* 崑崙與黑坊: 東亞圖文中的黑人形象, *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 38, no. 3 (2021): 97–152.

[42] Kate Lowe, "The Stereotyping of Black Africans in Renaissance Europe," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge, 2005), 17–47; Bryant, *Rivers of Gold*, 147.

[43] Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "Un mémoire inédit de F. E. de Rosily sur l'île de Timor (1772)," *Archipel* 23 (1982): 75–104, esp. 97; Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India*; Bauss, *Camões Center Quarterly* 6–7: 21–26; Peng hui 彭蕙, *Ming qing shiqi aomen heiren wenti yanjiu* 明清时期澳门黑人问题研究; Hägerdal, *Journal of Social History* 54: 15–33.

[44] Sousa, *Portuguese Slave Trade*, 189–90, 252, 332.

FIGURE IV

Chen Xu 陳訏 (1650–1722), *Tangren mai fannu tu* 唐人買蕃奴圖 [Chinese men of the Tang buying foreign slaves], dated 1689. Reproduced in Chang Hsing-Lang, "The Importation of Negro Slaves into China under the T'ang Dynasty (AD 618–907)," *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking* 7 (1930): 37–59. © British Library, General Reference Collection X.800/38757, p. 51.

diplomats also had enslaved Mozambicans in their retinues. For instance, three Africans (two slaves, Álvaro Zamba and António Sena, and one freedman, Francisco Sena) died in 1640 when most of a large Portuguese delegation from Macau were executed in Nagasaki.[45] Even after the Macau-Nagasaki trade route ceased to function, enslaved Africans were brought as part of diplomatic missions, including an embassy from Macau to Siam in 1684.[46] In Japan itself, Black people (*kokudo*, 黒奴, "Black slaves"; *kokujin*, 黒人, "Black people"; *kurobō*, 黒坊, "Black lads"), catchall categories for anyone with particularly dark skin, caught the attention of local observers from Toyotomi Hideyoshi's capital at Edo to Kyūshū's smallest villages, where, Jesuit reports suggest, people came from far and wide to see the tall pale foreigners and their dark-skinned slaves.[47]

If Domingos was sold when he arrived in Macau, this probably took place in the commercial area surrounding the main market street, the *rua direita*, which echoed the famous *rua direita* in Goa as well as other similarly named market streets throughout the Lusophone world.[48] Soon after, Domingos was taken by João Jerónimo to the parish church of São Lourenço, located less than a kilometer to the south, where he was baptized by Manoel Soares de Araújo. Domingos's baptism is recorded as one of the 1,824 surviving baptismal records from the parish covering the period from 1741 to 1776. In the document, the priest usually noted the status of the baptized, especially if they were enslaved or held a related unfree status (41 percent).[49] Of those baptized, the vast majority who were subject to slavery in the strict sense (*servitus personalis*) were identified by terms that are recognizable from early modern Brazil, such as *cativo* (war captive) (6.03 percent) and *escravo* (slave) (6.25 percent). The baptismal records also contain references to *crioulos* (0.66 percent), who were not, however, locally born enslaved Africans, or even locally born people of Iberian descent, as the contemporary usage in the Americas might suggest.[50] Rather, they were Chinese children

[45] Ibid., 331–32.

[46] Leonor de Seabra, *The Embassy of Pero Vaz de Siqueira to Siam (1684–1686)*, trans. Custódio Cavaco Martins, Mário Pinharanda Nunes, and Alan Norman Baxter (Macau, 2005), 109.

[47] Gary P. Leupp, "Images of Black People in Late Mediaeval and Early Modern Japan, 1543–1900," *Japan Forum* 7, no. 1 (April 1995): 1–13; Bindman, Blier, and Gates, *The Image of the Black in African and Asian Art*; Sousa, *Portuguese Slave Trade*, 135; Fujita Midori 藤田緑, "The Presence of Black People in Japan during the Edo Period," in *The Tokugawa World*, ed. Leupp and De-min Tao (Abingdon, U.K., 2022), 453–69.

[48] Ye Nong 葉農, *Mercados de Macau* 澳門街市 (Hong Kong, 2016), 9–14.

[49] FSLB, ADM; Manuel Teixeira, *O comércio de escravos em Macau: The So Called Portuguese Slave Trade in Macao* (Macau, 1976); Elsa Penalva, *Mulheres em Macau: Donas Honradas, Mulheres Livres e Escravas (Séculos XVI e XVII)* (Lisbon, 2011); Leonor Diaz de Seabra and Maria de Deus Beites Manso, "Escravatura, concubinagem e casamento em Macau: Séculos XVI–XVIII," *Afro-Ásia*, no. 49 (2014): 105–33.

[50] Stuart M. McManus, "The *Bibliotheca Mexicana* Controversy and Creole Patriotism in Early Modern Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 98, no. 1 (February 2018): 1–41.

born to non-Christian parents, a usage unique to Macanese Portuguese. On other occasions, priests used terminology rarely applied in Brazil, such as *bicha* (0.66 percent), which in Macau usually referred to young Chinese girls who were purchased as part of the slavery-adjacent practice of ransom (*rescate*) according to the Jesuit legal logic that it was better to be the slave of a Christian than to live in a pagan society.[51] In some instances, the act of ransom was made explicit, as in the baptismal records of two Chinese girls, one aged eight months and the other two years, who are identified as having been "ransomed" (*rescatadas*).[52]

In terms of ascribed origins, most of the approximately 167 enslaved children and adults who were baptized from 1741 to 1776 were from insular Southeast Asia (49 percent) and Africa (37 percent), with a smaller proportion from India (14 percent).[53] Within the Southeast Asia category, Timorese (*timor*)—almost four-fifths of whom were male—were the largest ethnic group, with 73 baptisms. Those 73 were also roughly split between children under ten years of age (some born to married enslaved parents) and adults from eighteen to thirty. The next largest group in that category was enslaved Malays (*malayo*), ranging in age from two to forty years old. The third-largest group consisted of 16 enslaved children and a few adults from the Malabar Coast of southwestern India (*malabar*), followed by 8 Bengali (*bengala*) slaves (6 female and 2 male). Slavery in Macau was multiethnic, and therefore, from a larger perspective, it was more reminiscent of the continental Americas, where de facto or de jure Indigenous slavery existed alongside African slavery, rather than the Caribbean, where Indigenous slavery was less common after the sixteenth century.[54]

Of the sixty-one *cafres* baptized in the parish during the period, most (75 percent) were male and in their teens, and all were explicitly identified as either *escravos* or *cativos*.[55] Though the records (unlike earlier records from Portuguese India and Nagasaki) include no additional ethnic monikers that might help identify their origins, circumstantial evidence suggests that the vast majority of these enslaved Africans had recently arrived from East Africa via Goa. If we presume that all five original parishes of Macau had similar numbers of enslaved Africans, this means that around eight to ten Africans were baptized each year in this period, and one or two of them were likely locally born children. Since the total population of *cafre* slaves in

[51] On rare occasions, the adjective *cativa* was also added to the noun *bicha*: FSLB, fol. 45a, ADM.

[52] Ibid., fols. 185b, 193b.

[53] The uncertainty regarding the total of 167 is due to ambiguity in some of the FSLB entries.

[54] Erin Woodruff Stone, *Captives of Conquest: Slavery in the Early Modern Spanish Caribbean* (Philadelphia, 2021), 156–66.

[55] There is only one instance of the use of the term *cafre* to refer to a non-African. On July 25, 1748, Joaquim, age four, identified as a *cafre Bengala* and a *cativo* of Fr. Jean-Baptiste Maigrot, was baptized by Maigrot himself: FSLB, fol. 56a, ADM.

the mid-eighteenth century fluctuated between 1,000 and 1,500 and contemporary observers frequently described it as disproportionately female, large numbers of births or arrivals clearly remain unaccounted for in this small cache of male-dominated baptismal records. Perhaps many enslaved people arrived already baptized or were never baptized even after their arrival in Macau. Alternatively, the baptismal records may only represent a small proportion of those born to African mothers in Macau. Certainly, the records exhibit a suspicious lack of children born to enslaved *cafre* mothers and unknown fathers (*pais incognitos*), a frequent scenario elsewhere that historians often associate with rape by free men in the household.[56] Indeed, as a whole the cases of children being born to enslaved mothers and unknown fathers that do appear in the records are hard to interpret, including one that puzzlingly states that the child was legitimate but that the father was unknown.[57] When the records identified the status of the parents, seven of the twelve *cafre* couples were married, since their children were listed as legitimate (*filhos naturais*). One case where both parents are named is "Joaquim Joze, legitimate son of Domingos *cafre* and his wife Vioante *timora*, [both slaves] of Lina de Morais."[58] This pattern of interethnic marriage among enslaved people is also visible in baptismal records from Goa a century earlier, records that also display extensive evidence of interethnic marriages between enslaved people and low-status servants.[59]

The São Lourenço records include the names of godparents for most of the baptisms, providing further evidence of social ties. Though most of the godparents of *cafre* slaves were Portuguese (or perhaps Eurasian) Christians, *cafre* and Timorese slaves or freedpeople also served in this capacity. For example, Manoel and Maria, *cafres escravos* of João Fernandes da Silva, served as godparents to Nicolão *cafre*, aged twenty-six, baptized on June 14, 1762. This example is particularly intriguing because the records describe Nicolão as being enslaved by João Francisco Bethlem, not João Fernandes da Silva, suggesting interactions among enslaved people from different households in the same parish.[60] Furthermore, given the age of Nicolão,

[56] Jennifer L. Morgan, "*Partus sequitur ventrem*: Law, Race, and Reproduction in Colonial Slavery," *Small Axe* 22, no. 1 (March 2018): 1–17. There is also a suspicious lack of female baptisms in general, considering the apparent female majority of the slave population in the nineteenth century. See 407 n. 38, above.

[57] FSLB, fols. 170b, 172b, 173a, 174a, 177b, 178a, 178b, 180b, 193b, 198b, 206b, 217a, ADM. There are also a few instances where a child born to an unknown father does not seem to have been enslaved, or at least the status is not reported. See for example ibid., fol. 180b.

[58] Ibid., fol. 152a. (This Domingos, the father of Joaquim Joze, was not the same Domingos who was baptized in 1753 at age fifteen.)

[59] *Reportório*, s.v. "escravo" and related terms.

[60] FSLB, fol. 151b, ADM. It is also worth noting that João Fernandes da Silva had various slaves and people with slave-like statuses in his household at different points,

who was likely a new arrival in Macau, it is plausible that either the man who had purchased him purposefully chose godparents from (a generalized) Africa in order to aid acculturation and improve productivity, or Nicolão himself chose these godparents in order to build community in Macau. Though the dataset is too small to draw any firm conclusions, both scenarios have certainly been observed in the Americas.[61]

Overall, however, there is no evidence of a strong correlation between the ethnicity of the baptized and their godparents. For instance, when a ten- or eleven-year-old *cafre* slave called Caetana, belonging to Lourenço Baptista Cortella, was baptized in 1768, two enslaved people from Timor named Simão and Francisca served as her godparents.[62] Similarly, Manoel, the legitimate son of Joze *cafre* and his wife Gracia, was baptized in 1766 with godparents named Feliz *timor* and Maria *timora*. In this latter case, the connection between the baptized and his godparents was not ethnicity but household, as the surname of the woman who claimed ownership over them, Regina Suriana, is appended to the names of all four adults.[63] Though mere flashes in the archival record, such connections either within or across households suggest efforts at community building among enslaved people, as was the case in eighteenth-century Rio de Janeiro.[64]

A final similarity between Domingos's experiences and those of enslaved Africans in the Americas was that he lived alongside people who were subject to a variety of statuses that do not easily fit into a free-slave dichotomy.[65] For instance, the vague terms *moço* (serving boy) and *moça* (serving girl) appear frequently in the baptismal records. When these terms were accompanied

including a three-year-old Chinese *moça da obrigação* who was baptized in 1762, an eight-year-old Timorese slave named Vicente who was baptized in 1767, and a free Malabar serving boy (*livre da obrigação*) named Manoel, also baptized in 1767. Ibid., fols. 85b, 133b. Joze Joaquim, Da Silva's son with his wife, Simoa da Costa, was baptized in 1766. Ibid., fol. 172a.

[61] Mieko Nishida, *Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender, and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888* (Bloomington, Ind., 2003), 54–55; Moacir Rodrigo de Castro Maia, "O apadrinhamento de africanos em Minas colonial: O (re)encontro na América (Mariana, 1715–1750)," *Afro-Ásia*, no. 36 (2007): 39–80.

[62] FSLB, fol. 176b, ADM.

[63] Ibid., fol. 169a. Regina Suriana appears in the records several times as the godmother of the children of Portuguese residents of the parish: ibid., fols. 156a (Vicente and Anna), 156b (Regina), 158a (Leonora), 164b (Miguel). In 1759, Luiz, the child of Regina Suriana and her husband, Theodor Pereira, was baptized in the Church of São Lourenço. Ibid., fol. 142b.

[64] See João Fragoso and Ana Rios, "Slavery and Politics in Colonial Portuguese America: The Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–AD 1804*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge, 2011), 362–66.

[65] Michelle A. McKinley, *Fractional Freedoms: Slavery, Intimacy, and Legal Mobilization in Colonial Lima, 1600–1700* (Cambridge, 2016); de la Fuente and Gross, *Becoming Free, Becoming Black*.

by *cativo/cativa*, it is clear that the person was classified as legally enslaved. However, the terms frequently appear alone and seem to designate a variety of statuses, such as freedwoman, servant (with or without a contract), and even slave. In cases where the mother of the baptized is described as a *moça*, it is often unclear whether or not her child inherited this ambiguous status.[66]

Da obrigação ("under obligation") was a similarly slippery category. Almost all the ninety-eight baptisms designated *da obrigaçao* (more than 5 percent of the total from the period 1741–76) were of children born to non-Christian Chinese parents who had either sold them or abandoned them, often at Macau's main gate. There was also a smattering of Malays, Timorese, and others described in the baptismal records as *da obrigaçao*. Though the nature of their "obligation" is not made explicit, the relative degradation of their status is suggested by the fact that there was little overlap between the large number of Chinese described as free (*livre*) and those subject to *obrigaçao*, with only a Malabar man named Monoel described using both terms.[67] All this suggests that Macanese *obrigaçao* was very similar to the institution of the same name in eighteenth-century Brazil, which was servitude that originated in self-sale, entered into contractually for a period of a year or more. In Macau, *da obrigaçao* status was only slightly different in that it seems to have happened more often to children who were sold or abandoned by their parents, rather than selling themselves.

In addition to displaying similarities to Brazilian *obrigaçao*, Macanese *obrigaçao* also resembled another Brazilian status, that conferred by the "wardship" (*administração*) system of agricultural labor in São Paolo, which perpetuated Indigenous slavery under a new name. Like *administração* in Brazil, *obrigaçao* in Macau represented an attempt to circumvent the prohibitions on enslaving local people promulgated by both Portuguese and Ming authorities.[68] In the Macanese case, this was achieved by creating a status that stopped short of perpetual ownership and so could provide plausible deniability to merchants keen to continue buying and selling local people in Macau, Guangdong, and beyond. Although the exact workings of *obrigaçao* in eighteenth-century Macau are less well-documented than either *obrigaçao* or *administração* in contemporary Brazil, in the sixteenth and

[66] Sousa, *Portuguese Slave Trade*, 7. For "*moça cativa*," see ibid., fol. 55a; for *moça*, see ibid., fols. 58b, 64a, 99a. We are not dealing here with the common law deed of indenture.

[67] Ibid., fol. 133b.

[68] Kathleen J. Higgins, *"Licentious Liberty" in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (University Park, Pa., 1999), 209–10; John M. Monteiro, *Blacks of the Land: Indian Slavery, Settler Society, and the Portuguese Colonial Enterprise in South America*, ed. and trans. James Woodard and Barbara Weinstein (Cambridge, 2018), 138–42; Bruna Marina Portela, "Realidades conectadas: As relações entre indígenas e negros na Comarca de Paranaguá, século XVIII," *História (São Paulo)* 40 (2021): 1–34.

seventeenth centuries it was underpinned by a unique type of limited-term servitude certificate (Portuguese *cédula*, Latin *schedula*), a handful of which survive. However, judging from the sheer quantity of ink Jesuit theorists spilled on the question of whether these short-term certificates conferred all the features of slavery (including legal ownership [*dominium*] of human beings as objects [*res*] and hereditability according to the logic of *partus sequitur ventrem* ["the birth follows the womb"]), it is clear that there was no firm consensus on how the certificates should operate. This was likely part of their appeal for slaveholders and traders, who were able to buy and sell people subject to these short-term servitude certificates at will, and sometimes even transport them to Malacca and beyond, where the intended limited-term nature of the certificate was likely even harder to enforce.[69]

At the same time, the common Macanese practice of selling children into domestic service overlapped with and was actively shaped by a series of almost identical Chinese customs that later formed the backdrop for the "Coolie Trade" overseen by the Companhia de Carregadores, beginning in 1821.[70] Chinese domestic slavery is frequently described in the scholarship as containing elements of adoption and domestic slavery, so it is possible that the additional 168 children who were described in the baptismal records as having been abandoned and adopted (9 percent of total baptisms) and the 209 children born to non-Christian Chinese parents being "nurtured" (*criaçao*) in another household (11 percent of total baptisms) were also effectively subject to the equivalent of *obrigaçao* or Mediterranean-style ransom. To what extent this group had a similar experience to the small number of orphans and abandoned children taken in by the main charitable organization in Macau, the House of Mercy (*casa da misericordia*), is unclear. Those supported by the House of Mercy were educated and then married off at the requisite age, and those "nurturing" children, especially female children, may also have been expected to find a suitable low-status spouse for them at the end of their period of service.[71]

The lives of Domingos and the many others baptized in the parish of São Lourenço from 1741 to 1776 therefore show significant similarities with enslaved Africans in the Americas in this period. This was no accident. They were all carried into servitude by a very similar mix of European and non-European commercial and imperial forces, and subject to almost identical institutions and laws, most notably those stemming from the Catholic Church. Although far from the Americas, the Macanese

[69] Stuart M. McManus, "*Servitutem Levem et Modici Temporis Esse Arbitrantes*: Jesuit *Schedulae* and Japanese Limited-Term Servitude in Gomes Vaz's *De Mancipiis Indicis*," *Bulletin of Portuguese / Japanese Studies*, ser. 2, 4 (2018): 83–105.

[70] Johanna S. Ransmeier, *Sold People: Traffickers and Family Life in North China* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017), 7–9.

[71] Leonor Diaz de Seabra, *A misericórdia de Macau (séculos XVI a XIX): Irmandade, poder e caridade na idade do comércio* (Macau, 2011).

archival record also reveals comparable patterns of community building in the face of displacement (for example, through the choice of godparents). In both contexts, enslaved people entered a world where slavery and freedom in a binary sense were not the only possible outcomes and lived alongside people subject to various sorts of limited-term servitude and labor obligations. By taking a panoramic view of the early modern world's interlocking slave trades, we get a better understanding of the true vastness and complexity of the experience of enslaved people in vast early America.

The city to which Domingos was taken was strikingly akin to Iberian colonial cities in the Americas and elsewhere. Like early modern Brazil, Macau featured civic rituals in which free and enslaved Black people played prominent roles.[72] For instance, in 1637 the English traveler Peter Mundy described the Macanese *jogos de alcanzia* (joust of the earthen grenades): "Every Cavallero was bravely apparelled, with an adarga, which is a great pastboard or leather buckler on his arme; One halffe of them like Moores of Barbary and the other halffe like Christianes, each having their Negroes or Caphers [*kāfir*], Cladd in Dammaske, an ordinary wear here For *slaves* and Servauntts. These carried launces with pendantts, whereon were painted their Masters Armes, butt when they came to [the game of] Alcanzias, each Negro served his Master with the said earthen balles."[73]

This spectacular Macanese joust reflected the presence of enslaved people with very dark skin in actual combat in Iberian Asia, most famously in the 1622 defense of Macau against a Dutch incursion.[74] Yet Black combatants such as those described by Mundy did not remain in Iberian cities and service.[75] Black slaves (*esclavos negros*) were found in the retinues of two generations of the Zheng (鄭) warlord clan, which had a corps of Black bodyguards purchased from the Portuguese and the Dutch, some of whom ended up in Anhui, in the service of Li Shuaitai (李率泰), the viceroy of Min-Zhe (that is, Fujian and Zhejiang Provinces), following the fall of the founder of the dynasty, Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍), in 1646.[76] In 1598,

[72] See Miguel A. Valerio, "Architects of Their Own Humanity: Race, Devotion, and Artistic Agency in Afro-Brazilian Confraternal Churches in Eighteenth-Century Salvador and Ouro Preto," *Colonial Latin American Review* 30, no. 2 (2021): 238–71.

[73] [Peter Mundy], *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667* (Cambridge, 1919), vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 266.

[74] Charles Ralph Boxer, *A derrota dos Holandeses em Macau no ano de 1622: Subsídios inéditos—pontos controversos, informações novas* (Macau, 1938), 26, 34.

[75] Stuart M. McManus, "Arming Slaves in Early Modern Maritime Asia," in "Regimes of Bondage: The Encounter between Early Modern European and Asian Slaveries," special issue 3, *Itinerario* 47 (December 2023): 323–41.

[76] Juan de Palafox y Mendoça, *Historia de la conquista de la China por el Tartaro* (Paris, 1670), 192–205; Anastasius van den Wyngaert, ed., *Sinica Franciscana* (Florence, It., 1933), 2: 362–63; Shusheng Jiang, *Meishi Riji: Helan Tudi Celiangshi Kan Zheng*

a Korean commander also reported encountering a "sea ghost" (Korean *haegwi*, 海鬼) with black limbs and curly hair fighting alongside Ming troops against the invading forces of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.[77] On the other side of the Sea of Japan, the *daimyō* Oda Nobunaga (1534–82) was similarly so impressed by Yasuke (弥介), an African dependent of Jesuit Visitor of Missions Alessandro Valignano, that the Neapolitan Jesuit gave him to Nobunaga as a gift.[78]

Little known to historians of the wider African diaspora, these accounts are particularly valuable because they shed light on how Domingos and his contemporaries were perceived. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, long-standing traditions of writing about human difference in literary Sinitic (that is, classical Chinese, the lingua franca of East Asia) were beginning to change as the East African slave trade increasingly expanded beyond its earlier internal African, Arabian, and Indian Ocean routes. As slave traders passed through southern India and the Malay Archipelago on their way to East Asia, they picked up enslaved and low-status people with dark skin and curly hair that light-skinned peoples in China, Japan, and Korea struggled to differentiate from Africans. In East Asia, so seemingly distant from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, developing ideas about human difference among learned writers mirrored those in Europe and the Americas in that they underscored a loose connection between Blackness and slave status, a series of purported bio-moral traits that differentiated people with very dark skin from the lighter-skinned inhabitants of temperate regions and the subtropics, and a concern about racial mixing.[79] These ideas were not merely the product of European influence, although they were to some extent

Chenggong 梅氏日記：荷蘭土地測量師看鄭成功 (Taipei, 2003), 31; Xing Hang, *Conflict and Commerce in Maritime East Asia: The Zheng Family and the Shaping of the Modern World, c.1620–1720* (Cambridge, 2015), 60; Peng hui 彭蕙, *Ming qing shiqi aomen heiren wenti yanjiu* 明清时期澳门黑人问题研究, 98–110.

[77] *Joseon Wangjo Sillok,* 朝鮮王朝實錄, "Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty," *Seonjo Sillok,* 宣祖實錄, "Records of Seonjo," *Samsibilnyeon,* 三十一年, "Thirty-first year," 100 *kwŏn* 卷 (Korea, 1598), 25: 一名海鬼。黃瞳漆面，四支手足，一身皆黑。鬚髮卷卷短曲，如黑羊毛，而頂則禿脫，一匹黃絹，盤結如蟠桃狀，而着之頭上。能潛於海下，可伐賊船，且數日能在水底，解食水族。中原人亦罕見也。("There was a sea ghost whose eyes were yellow. The face, hands and legs were all black. His hair was short and curly, like the wool of a black sheep. Yet, the top of his head had no hair at all, which he covered with a yellow piece of silk in the shape of a flat peach. Moreover, he could not only dive into the water and defeat pirate ships, but also stay there for several days hunting and eating sea creatures. [Such things are] rarely seen even by the people of the Central Plain [the subjects of the Great Ming].") On slavery in Korea, see James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the Late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle, 1996), 208–70.

[78] Fujita, "Presence of Black People in Japan," 453, 466–67.

[79] The current consensus on racism in the Iberian Atlantic is summarized in Erin Kathleen Rowe, "Race in Early Modern Iberia," *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 47, no. 1, article 8 (2022): 173–91, https://asphs.net/article/race-in-early-modern-iberia/.

spurred by a trade conducted by Europeans and people of mixed European and Asian descent. Rather, they were parallel developments that grew out of a tradition of writing about very dark skin that stretched back a millennium or more.

Beyond the basic distinction of "civilized" (*hua*, 華) versus "barbarian" (*yi*, 夷), there was an established tradition of writing about people with very dark skin from the Tang dynasty (618–907 C.E.) onward. This centered on the aforementioned figure of the *Kunlun* slave. Named for a set of mountains in the far west but really more of a general reference to "exotic" origins, *Kunlun nu* were not necessarily associated with Africa (which was largely unknown in the Sinosphere); the term was a catchall for people with very dark skin who arrived with Arab traders as tribute from kingdoms in the South Sea (*nanhai*, 南海).[80] Indeed, such was the flexibility of the term *Kunlun nu* that sometimes it could even refer to Chinese people with darker skin.[81]

Though a famous missionary to the Wanli Emperor, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), explicitly identified Mozambique as "Black people country" (*heirenguo*, 黑人國) and associated Ethiopia (*heidiwupiya*, 黑地兀皮亞) with Blackness in his widely circulated 1602 Chinese world map (Figure V), Chinese sources about Macau almost without exception refer to the earlier usage of *Kunlun nu*, supplementing those references with similarly geographically vague terms, such as "Black ghosts" (*heigui*, 黑鬼), "Black slaves" (*heinu*, 黑奴), "Black ghost slaves" (*heiguinu*, 黑鬼奴), and "Black people" (*heiren*, 黑人).[82] This trend toward ill-defined ethnic monikers is, of course, not entirely absent in early modern European writing. Indeed, on one occasion a Portuguese priest used *cafre*, usually reserved for those from East Africa, to refer to a dark-skinned Indian named Joaquim, who was described as a "*cafre Bengala*."[83]

[80] Don J. Wyatt, *The Blacks of Premodern China* (Philadelphia, 2010); John W. Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750–1400* (Cambridge, 2018). The Chinese historiography is ably summarized in Li Anshan, "African Diaspora in China: Reality, Research and Reflection," *Journal of Pan African Studies* 7, no. 10 (2015): 10–43.

[81] Wyatt, *Blacks of Premodern China*, 68–69. See also Don J. Wyatt, "A Certain Whiteness of Being: Chinese Perceptions of Self by the Beginning of European Contact," in *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia: Western and Eastern Constructions*, ed. Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel (Leiden, 2013), 309–26, esp. 314–15.

[82] The map also notes that the people of India "are born with black skin, weak and obedient" (人生黑色，弱、順). For one example of the use of "Black ghost slaves," see the *Illustrations of Tribute Missions to the Imperial Qing*.

[83] Matteo Ricci similarly described two enslaved people in the Jesuit residence in Macau as a "black person from India" (*gente nera dell'India*) and a "rather black kaffir" (*cafro assai negro*): Ricci, *Fonti ricciane; documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615)*, ed. Pasquale M. d'Elia (Rome, 1942), 1: 246 (quotations); Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1984), 209.

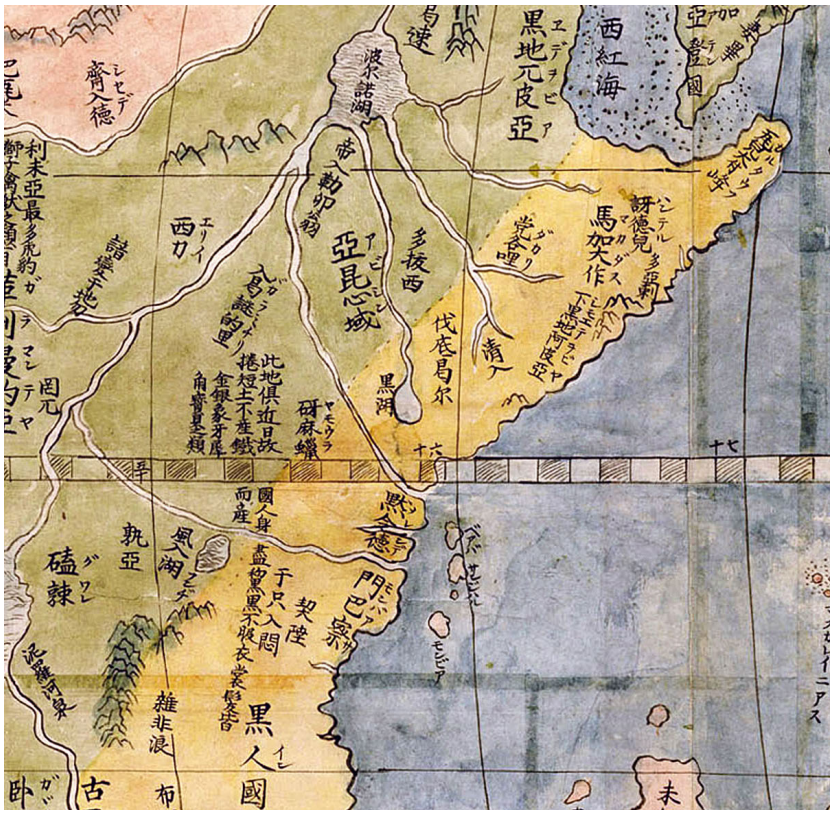

FIGURE V

Map of the world with Mozambique labeled as "Black people country" (*heiren-guo*, 黑人國). Detail, *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖, Kano Collection, Tohoku University Library (colored Japanese version).

Though most of the rare Chinese sources that make statements about the origins or unique features of certain groups of *heinu* date to the nineteenth century, there are a few earlier instances. For example, fifteenth-century writers referred to tribute missions from Annan (modern Vietnam) and Siam (modern Thailand) that included enslaved Black people who were given as tribute alongside the elephants that they tended.[84]

[84] The following relies heavily on the earlier bibliographical work of Peng hui 彭蕙, *Ming qing shiqi aomen heiren wenti yanjiu* 明清时期澳门黑人问题研究, 36–42. There are also verses that make this connection:

金闕鐘聲曙色開，香飄瑞氣藹蓬萊。前呵傳報人爭備，黑面番奴馭象來。
The Dawn comes when the bell rings in the Golden Palace,
Penglai is shrouded with fragrant and auspicious mist.

However, references to the elephant tenders disappear by the mid-fifteenth century. As the Qing state expanded to the southwest, imperial ethnographic accounts also occasionally mentioned the "black faces and round eyes" (*heimian huanyan*, 黑面環眼) of the forest-dwelling *Laxi* (猞玀) of Annan (modern Vietnam) and the "black faces" (*heimian*, 黑面) and "topknots" (*zhuijie*, 椎結) of the *Sami* or *Samei* (撒彌, 灑美) of Yunnan Province.[85] There is even a 1549 report from a Ming magistrate in Shangyu County who interrogated three "Black foreign barbarians" (*heifangui*, 黑番鬼), one of whom was from *kafuli* (咖呋哩), clearly a phonetic rendering of the Portuguese term *cafre*. Another was from Malacca, while the third claimed to be from Hormuz, where he was bought by the Portuguese as a child, perhaps from an Arab or Persian slave trader.[86] Indeed, an early Qing source stated explicitly that "Black ghosts" came from Persia (*bosi*, 波斯), while one mid-eighteenth-century visitor claimed that they originated in Timor (*diman*, 地滿).[87] However, such specific descriptions were the exception, rather than the rule.

The association of very dark skin with slave status was of long standing among Chinese literati. Indeed, the collocation of *Kunlun* (and later *hei*, "black") and "slave" (*nu*) is documented from the Tang dynasty. Of course, slavery under the Ming and Qing Empires (themselves far from homogenous across time and space) was not identical to that practiced in the early modern Atlantic world, a fact underlined by the alternation among Anglophone sinologists between the terms *slavery* and *bond servitude*. Nonetheless, there was sufficient overlap for contemporary bilingual dictionaries by both Chinese and European writers to equate the concepts.[88] Both were legal statuses that had existed since antiquity, with *nu*—gendered as male—existing alongside the feminine equivalent *bi*, 婢 (occasionally 俾) (*nubi*, male and female slaves). By the Ming period, *nubi* in theory referred to Chinese people and members of their household who were collectively punished with penal servitude for a capital crime and given to officials, either locally or on the imperial frontier. This itself reflected a traditional conception of *nubi* status as a punishment meted out by the state for severe

People are rushing to prepare when the messengers call,
Foreign slaves with black faces are coming riding elephants.

Huang Huai 黃淮, *Shengqian Ji* 省愆集, in *Edition of Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書本 (China, 1782), *juan* 卷 1, 35.

[85] Fu Heng 傅恆, *Huang Qing Zhigong Tu* 皇清職貢圖 (Beijing, 1805), *juan* 卷 1, 19, *juan* 卷 7, 41.

[86] Zhu Wan 朱紈, *Piyu Zaji* 甓餘雜集 (Beijing, 1549), *juan* 卷 4, 63.

[87] *Yuemin Xunshi Jilüe* 粵閩巡視紀略, *Edition of Siku Quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書本 (China, 1782), *juan* 卷 2, 26; Wu Zhiliang, Tang Kaijian, and Jin Guoping 吳志良、湯開建、金國平 ed., *Aomen biannianshi* 澳門編年史 (Guangdong, 2009), 2: 973.

[88] Stuart M. McManus, "The Commensurability of Slavery in Macau and South China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 81, nos. 1–2 (2021): 179–201.

crimes, in contrast to the Roman understanding of slavery as rooted in capture during warfare. However, in reality many more people were enslaved and many more people owned slaves than the letter of the law permitted. Alienability, too, was more pervasive than a simple reading of the imperial codes suggests, because various statuses existed that might have permitted de jure or de facto sale (such as concubines [*qie*, 妾], servile retainers [*nupu*, 奴僕], and in some cases even wives and children). Many of those occupying slave or slave-adjacent statuses were also conceptualized as members of a larger caste of so-called base people (*jianmin*, 賤民) that included prostitutes, musicians, actors, yamen runners (that is, low-status law enforcement officers), butchers, barbers, and coffin carriers.[89] As a result, when Chinese writers chose to apply the term *nu* to dark-skinned "debased" people from the far west that Arab traders brought from Africa and Southeast Asian merchants and monarchs sent from among the inland-dwelling indigenous populations of the Malay world (Spanish *negritos*), they were attributing to them a status that overlapped significantly with slavery as the term was understood in both the Christian and Muslim worlds.

Circumstances in Macau only cemented this developing association between very dark skin and slavery.[90] In extreme cases, the equivalence was accompanied by signs that Chinese literati questioned the humanity of *Kunlun nu.* For instance, Wang Shixing (王士性), a Ming official active in the 1570s, recorded that in Macau:

> There was a group of people from foreign ships known as "Kunlun slaves," also called "Black ghosts." They were as black as lacquer and only their eyes were white. They submitted to no one but their master who fed and clothed them; they did not even pay attention to their master's relatives and friends. They lived and died on the

[89] Given that the population of the Ming Great State in 1600 is estimated to have been around 200 million, and it is commonly thought that 1–3 percent of that population was legally categorized as "base," it is reasonable to estimate that there were approximately 2 or 3 million people who might have been *nubi* in the territory. E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Origins and Nature of Chattel Slavery in China," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1, no. 2 (April 1958): 185–220; James L. Watson, ed., *Asian and African Systems of Slavery* (Oxford, 1980); Wei Qingyuan 韋慶遠, *Qing dai nubi zhidu* 清代奴婢制度 (Beijing, 1982); Anders Hansson, *Chinese Outcasts: Discrimination and Emancipation in Late Imperial China* (Leiden, 1996); Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Slavery in Early Modern China," in Eltis and Engerman, *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, 3: 186–213; Claude Chevaleyre, "Acting as Master and Bondservant: Considerations on Status, Identities and the Nature of 'Bond-Servitude' in Late Ming China," in *Labour, Coercion, and Economic Growth in Eurasia, 17th–20th Centuries*, ed. Alessandro Stanziani (Leiden, 2013), 237–72; Chevaleyre, "Asservir pour punir: La nature pénale du statut d'esclave dans la Chine des Ming," *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* 41 (2017): 93–117; Ransmeier, *Sold People*.

[90] In turn, this parallels to some extent the Iberian situation; see Sweet, *WMQ* 54: 145–50.

> orders of their masters. If their masters ordered them to behead themselves, they would immediately obey without questioning whether or not it was appropriate. They always carried knives and loved killing. If a master left his home and ordered a "Black ghost" to safeguard the door, the "Black ghost" would faithfully do so to their death, not even flood or fire could drive them away from the door. Anyone who ever so much as lightly touched the door would be killed, not to mention bandits. The "Black ghosts" were extremely good at swimming, they could get things out from under the water by diving with a rope round their waist. A head [*tou*, 頭] of "Black ghost" costs fifty to sixty taels of gold.[91]

The connection Wang Shixing drew between the "Black ghosts" of the Portuguese and the earlier *Kunlun nu* was repeated by almost all later authors. His final sentence, however, is the most revealing. The character *tou* literally means "head," as in "head of cattle." This is a measure word reserved for animals (in Modern Standard Mandarin, *yi tou niu*, 一頭牛, "one cow") that might similarly be bought and sold.[92] Later Chinese and Korean sources also underline the group's ability to stay underwater for long periods, again rhetorically placing them outside the normal realm of the human. This is likely a reflection of the fact that enslaved sailors were common on both European and Asian ships, and these individuals probably were forced to do dangerous underwater tasks. Alternatively, some of the dark-skinned enslaved people from East Africa may have previously been employed as pearl fishers in the Persian Gulf or as some of the many enslaved divers found across the maritime Iberian world.[93]

Similarly, the alleged extreme loyalty and propensity to violence of the "Black ghosts" depicted in this Ming source mirrors Qing accounts as well

[91] Wang Shixing王士性, *Guangzhiyi* 廣志繹 (Beijing, 1981), 101: 又番舶有一等人名崑崙奴者，俗稱黑鬼，滿身如漆，止餘兩眼白耳，其人止認其所衣食之主人，卽主人之親友皆不認也。其生死惟主人所命，主人或令自刎其首，彼卽刎，不思當刎與不當刎也。其性帶刀好殺，主人出，令其守門，卽水火至死不去，他人稍動其扃鐍則殺之，毋論盜也。又能善沒，以繩繫腰入水取物。買之一頭值五六十金。

[92] Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Hong Kong, 1992), 8–17.

[93] Sweet, *Recreating Africa*; Matthew S. Hopper, *Slaves of One Master: Globalization and Slavery in Arabia in the Age of Empire* (New Haven, Conn., 2015), 26–29; Kevin Dawson, *Undercurrents of Power: Aquatic Culture in the African Diaspora* (Philadelphia, 2018), 57–84; Molly A. Warsh, *American Baroque: Pearls and the Nature of Empire, 1492–1700* (Williamsburg, Va., and Chapel Hill, N.C., 2018), 91, 146. An eighteenth-century Italian visitor to Portugal similarly (although rather oddly) mistook two African slaves swimming in the Tagus River for an exotic variety of fish. James H. Sweet, "The Hidden Histories of African Lisbon," in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury (Philadelphia, 2013), 233–47, esp. 242.

as European stereotypes.[94] In official correspondence between the Portuguese in Macau and the Qing authorities, they appear almost exclusively as thieves stealing vegetables from nearby villages and fleeing with goods taken from warehouses. When they were encountered far from Macau, the default strategy among Qing officialdom seems to have been to arrest them for fear of their creating disorder, with bounties offered in the case of particular crimes, including one of five dollars offered for the capture of those accused of robbing and breaking the foot of an impoverished inhabitant of Cuiwei village, near Macau, in 1814. Three enslaved Black people were apprehended, but instead of punishing them, the mandarin sent them back to Macau, as he did not consider them to be criminals but simply foreigners from a distant land ignorant of Chinese laws. Enraged, the injured villager appealed, and the Qing authorities began a process of seeking compensation from the "master" (*zhu*, 主) of these three.[95]

Alongside a belief in a bio-moral distinction between "Black ghosts" and other groups of people, Chinese literati developed a curiosity about the effects of racial mixing. For instance, the Ming scholar-official Cai Ruxian (蔡汝賢) claimed in his 1587 *Portraits of Eastern Barbarians* that "[The Black slaves] are supremely strong—each of them can carry loads up to several hundred *jin*. They do not fear death when facing the enemy, and can survive for one or even two days underwater. Some generals have purchased them as vanguard soldiers, and they are worth the expense. If they are matched with a Chinese woman, their children are also Black."[96] Accompanied by an illustration of a "Black ghost" (*heigui*, 黑鬼) (Figure VI), Cai's text underlines his belief that blackness was a permanent feature that did not change with the addition of Chinese (*hua*, 華; literally, "civilized") blood.

Similarly, the famous Qianlong-era poet Zhao Yi (趙翼) (1727–1814) relates the story of a Black barbarian (*heifan*, 黑番) purchased by a family

[94] Later accounts include Yin Guangren 印光任 and Zhang Rulin 張汝霖, *Aomen Jilüe* 澳門記略, *juan* 卷 2 (China, 1751), *juan* 卷 1, 28, 41; Ye Quan 葉權, *Xianbo bian* 賢博編, proofread by Ling Yi 凌毅 (Beijing, 1987), 46. On European stereotypes, see Sweet, "Hidden Histories of African Lisbon," 241. On contemporary European ideas about Africans, see Lowe, "Stereotyping of Black Africans"; Nicole von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville, Fla., 2006), 76; Grace Harpster, "The Color of Salvation: The Materiality of Blackness in Alonso de Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*," in *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America*, ed. Pamela A. Patton (Leiden, 2016), 83–110.

[95] Liu Fang 劉芳 and Zhang Wenai 章文欽, *Compendium of Chinese Archives on Qing Macau in Torre de Tombo Archive Library, Portugal* 葡萄牙東波塔檔案館藏清代澳門中文檔案滙編 (Macau, 1999).

[96] *Ming Qing shiqi Aomen wenti dangan wenxian huibian* 明清時期澳門問題檔案文獻匯編, vol. 5 (Beijing, 1999), 49.14: 絕有力，一人可負數百觔。臨敵不畏死，入水可經一二日。嘗見將官買以衝鋒，其直頗厚。配以華婦，生子亦黑。

FIGURE VI

Illustration of a "Black ghost" (*heigui*, 黑鬼). From Cai Ruxian (蔡汝賢), *Dongyi tushuo* 東夷圖説 [Portraits of eastern barbarians]. Courtesy, Chinese Text Project, ed. Donald Sturgeon, https://ctext.org.

in Guangdong, who gave him a local wife with whom he had a child. The child was born with white skin and so the father killed it, thinking that it did not belong to him. Cutting into the leg of the child, the story goes, he found that the bone was black, thereby learning the hard way the principle of Chinese medicine that flesh was inherited from the mother and bones from the father.[97] This morbid curiosity about racial mixing existed alongside an association in some firsthand accounts of Macau by literati between very dark skin and sexual promiscuity. For instance, the Qing-era poet Chen Lanzhi (陳蘭芝) claimed that "the 'Black ghosts' have no spouses. Their sexual relationships are often casual. A 'bastard temple' [the House of Mercy] is set up to keep their infants."[98] While these attitudes were shaped by contact with Macanese society and norms (which were in turn shaped by developments in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic as reinterpreted in

[97] Zhao Yi 趙翼撰, Cao Guangfu Proofread, 曹光甫點校 Yanpu Zaji 檐曝雜記, *juan* 卷 4 (Shanghai, 2012), 53. Another Ming magistrate also reported that he encountered a *heigui* rumored to have black bones: Wang Yinheng 王臨亨, *Jue Jian Bian* 粵劍編, *juan* 卷 3 (Beijing, 1987), 92.

[98] Chen Lanzhi 陳蘭芝, *Linghai Mingsheng Ji* 嶺海名勝記, in *Ming Qing shiqi Aomen wenti dangan wenxian huibian* 明清時期澳門問題檔案文獻匯編, vol. 6 (Beijing, 1999), 181.6 黑鬼無配偶，多野合，設野仔廟收其遺孽。

Asia), the observations of visitors to Macau fell on the fertile soil of a parallel tradition of exoticizing people with very dark skin that only strengthened any imported prejudice.

This is not to say that some degree of assimilation into local society was impossible, either in theory or practice. The aforementioned visitor to Macau, Cai Ruxian, showed an interest in the ability of "Black foreigners" to integrate into society, noting that "[their children] can learn our language after a long period of training, but [the parents] cannot." Indeed, a later traveler, Qu Dajun (屈大均) (1630–96), recorded "Black foreign slaves" speaking Cantonese (*yue*, 粵) in 1680. Mundy's 1637 account also made note of an Abyssinian named António who escaped captivity in Macau and acted as a translator for English merchants farther along the coast of Guangdong Province.[99]

The interest among literati in racial classification and adaptability to the supposedly superior customs of the people of the Central Plains was far from unusual under the Ming and rather common in the Qing Empire as officials grappled with the challenges of governing an imperial state that was continually expanding to the south and west. These were areas with populations that they characterized as separate peoples (*min*, 民) in need of "civilizing" toward an idealized form represented by the scholar-officials themselves.[100] As in other premodern societies, diet was a common focus of their civilizational discourse, with a distinction made between barbarians who ate either cooked food (civilized) or raw food (uncivilized), and this measure was also applied to the Black foreigners scholar-officials observed in Macau and elsewhere.[101] Ethnographic accounts frequently state that they did not eat cooked food, and later writers often repeated a much earlier Yuan-century statement that *Kunlun nu* would become sick and suffer from diarrhea when they first encountered cooked food. This story was repeated in the famous bilingual Chinese-Manchu copy of *Illustrations of Tribute Missions to the Imperial Qing* belonging to the Qianlong emperor (r. 1735–96), which also provides a rare polychrome illustration of this enigmatic group of foreign slaves (Figure VII).[102] Similarly, tattoos and unusual adornments were

[99] Qu Dajun 屈大均, *Guangdong xinyu* 廣東新語 (China, 1700), *juan* 卷 7, 15; [Mundy], *Travels of Peter Mundy*, 178. On the linguistic landscape of Macau, see Adams Bodomo and Roberval Teixeira-E-Silva, "Language Matters: The Role of Linguistic Identity in the Establishment of the Lusophone African Community in Macau," *African Studies* 71, no. 1 (April 2012): 71–90.

[100] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Thinking about Ethnicity in Early Modern China," *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 1 (June 1990): 1–35; Leo K. Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State: Ethnicity and Expansion on the Ming Borderlands* (New York, 2006), 138–43.

[101] Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492–1700* (Cambridge, 2012).

[102] Fu Heng 傅恆, *Huang Qing Zhigong Tu* 皇清職貢圖 (China, [1765?]), *juan* 卷 1, 41: 與之火食，累日洞泄，謂之換腸，或病死，若不死，即可久畜. "When they first arrived, they were given cooked food and had diarrhea for days. The process

FIGURE VII

大西洋國黑鬼奴 *Daxiyangguo heigui nu* [A Black ghost slave from the kingdom of the great western ocean], in 職貢圖 / (有乾隆谕旨和大臣的恭和诗) *Zhigong Tu / (You Qianlong yu zhi he da chen de gong he shi)* [Tribute album / (with Qianlong's edict and respectful poems by his ministers)]. Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE PET FOL-B-7 (B, 3a).

associated with putatively peripheral and uncivilized groups, including *Kunlun nu.* For instance, a visitor from Anhui, Ye Quan (葉權) (1522–78), commented that female *heigui* in Macau had their "foreheads painted red, making them uglier and more shameful."[103] The development of racial categories such as *negro*, *mestizo*, and *indio* in the Atlantic world was thus paralleled at the other end of Eurasia, where similarly lighter-skinned inhabitants of temperate regions and the subtropics encountered people with much darker skin from sub-Saharan Africa, tropical parts of Asia, and elsewhere and developed similar ideas about human differences.[104]

Building on long-standing ethnographic traditions that were likewise the product of imperial expansion and the medieval Islamic slave trade, Ming and Qing literati drew a stark distinction between themselves and this increasingly defined outgroup that they encountered as part of tribute missions and trade with the Dutch and Portuguese. Factors both intrinsic and extrinsic to the textual tradition they had inherited then led to a vision of this group as slaves by nature and perhaps less than fully human, such that unions between peoples with very dark skin and the much lighter-skinned population of the region became a topic of intense speculation among scholars. This said, while racial prejudice was common and very dark skin was associated with slavery in various learned texts, slavery did not become synonymous with Blackness as it did in some Atlantic contexts in the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since the vast majority of slaves (*nubi*) were still of Chinese and Central Asian origin. In this sense, slavery in Macau and South China had more in common with the medieval Mediterranean than the early modern Atlantic.[105]

Nonetheless, the presence in Sinographic texts of a clear association between dark skin and slavery in a corner of the early modern world without enslaved plantation labor and the associated large-scale transoceanic slave trade is highly significant. This is because it shows that the categories of difference that developed in societies in the Caribbean, continental Americas, and other parts of the Atlantic world were driven by both regionally specific and more widely diffused forces that touched multiple littoral societies.[106] Some of these (such as the Portuguese trade to Macau) were arguably offshoots of a system that originated in the Great Western Ocean (*daxiyang*, 大西洋; the Atlantic), but others (such as post-Tang-era ideas

was called 'changing intestines,' during which they might die. If they survived, they could be kept permanently." See also Dikötter, *Discourse of Race*, 8–10.

[103] Ye Quan 葉權, *Xianbo bian* 賢博編 (Beijing, 1987), 46.

[104] For the contention that these categories were produced in the Americas to a large degree, see Adrian Masters, "A Thousand Invisible Architects: Vassals, the Petition and Response System, and the Creation of Spanish Imperial Caste Legislation," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (August 2018): 377–406, esp. 395–401.

[105] Barker, *Most Precious Merchandise*, 2.

[106] Masters, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 98: 377–406.

about *Kunlun nu*) were more localized. This has implications for any parsing of causality. When integrated into a larger vision that includes slavery in peninsular Iberian contexts such as Lisbon (an Atlantic city easily integrated into vast early America), the non-Christian Mediterranean, and Asia (occasionally of interest to historians of colonial Latin America), the case of Macau and its wider regional context, though almost never mentioned in the same breath as vast early America, demonstrates that remarkably similar racist ideas emerged in very different places. This vindicates to some extent Cedric J. Robinson's view that early modern racial capitalism had its roots in the High Middle Ages (1000–1400 C.E.) and was only later catalyzed by the transatlantic slave trade. This is a "High Middle Ages" that should be understood capaciously as spanning large parts of Afro-Eurasia.[107] At the same time, this insight has implications for our choice of metageography—how we divide up the map. If our choice is meant to facilitate our understanding of larger patterns of historical development and causality, our map of vast early America should not be bounded by the coast of the continental Americas in the west and by the European and African coasts of the Atlantic Ocean in the east. Likewise, historians of vast early America should spare a thought for the baptismal records of the parish of São Lourenço in Macau, a parallel but ultimately connected context that is richly documented in sources written in both very familiar and likely very unfamiliar languages.[108]

Writing to the Empress Dowager Cixi in 1906, a high official named Zhou Fu (周馥) recommended a ban on selling slaves (*nubi*) and praised Great Britain for expending so much treasure to enforce its ban on the slave trade and the United States for spilling so much blood to abolish slavery.[109] In 1909 (just two years before their empire dissolved), the Qing government put an end to slavery and declared that henceforth all former *nubi* should be considered contracted laborers. This said, it would be at least another forty years after 1909 before human trafficking would be largely, although not entirely, eradicated in the successor states to the Great Qing. By this point, the legalized slavery of Africans and Timorese, such as Domingos, documented in the baptismal records of the parish of São Lourenço in Macau,

[107] Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 9–13; Ronald Segal, *Islam's Black Slaves: The Other Black Diaspora* (New York, 2001); Sweet, "Hidden Histories of African Lisbon"; Cook, *Forbidden Passages*, 9–10.

[108] Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 130–34.

[109] East Asia is still largely absent from global histories of abolition: Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge, 2009), xi n. 3; Claude Chevaleyre, "The Abolition of Slavery and the Status of Slaves in Late Imperial China," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Bondage and Human Rights in Africa and Asia*, ed. Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani (New York, 2019), 57–82.

had been abolished for around a century, although the human trafficking of local people continued in various forms through the first half of the twentieth century.[110]

Qing abolitionism came at the end of several centuries during which vast early America and the Qing dynasty's equally vast empire had been linked by a slave trade in Africans and other peoples that encircled the globe. This global slave trade was regionally segmented, but participants from the different regions intersected and interacted in trading centers such as Macau. In a sense, it was like the Atlantic world as historians have long conceptualized it: porous in its borders, unified while simultaneously divided into various parts, populated by actors with both overlapping and conflicting interests, and replete with injustices that contemporaries (including the enslaved themselves) recognized as such. Though less of a "world system" than the trade in silver or other commodities, the early modern period's various overlapping slave trades interacted even as they were shaped by the imperial projects of the same sprawling polities (both European and non-European), the same larger economic forces, and the same universalizing laws of the two most widespread Abrahamic religions that shaped slavery from Salvador da Bahia to Sumatra.[111] Furthermore, when Chinese actors encountered the African slaves brought by Portuguese merchants, or when Jesuit missionaries observed that certain groups in the domains of the Ming and Qing were alienable, the parallels in conceptual categories and lived reality were sufficient for recognition and discussion using long-standing terminology taken from their respective intellectual traditions.

At moments when these "*mutual* histories" collided, as they did when British sailors stole enslaved people from a Portuguese merchant in Macau in 1760, our conceptual map of the world is momentarily revealed to be too narrowly drawn.[112] Just as viewing the transatlantic slave trade as a purely coast-to-coast phenomenon has its limits, so, too, it is impossible to fully understand vast early America (or any other part of the world) without at least once in a while taking an expansive view, up to and including East Asia. Otherwise, national and regional exceptionalisms are inevitable, even when the reality is more complex. In other words, vast early America should

[110] Jiande Xianzhi 建德縣志, "Gazetteer of Jiande County," ed. Zhang Zanxun (China, 1948), chap. 19, pp. 47–53; Timothy Walker, "Abolishing the Slave Trade in Portuguese India: Documentary Evidence of Popular and Official Resistance to Crown Policy, 1842–60," *Slavery and Abolition* 25, no. 2 (August 2004): 63–79; Ransmeier, *Sold People*, 101–16.

[111] Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 391–427.

[112] Wulf, *Humanities* 40, https://www.neh.gov/article/vast-early-america (quotation); Gould and Zagarri, *WMQ* 78: 189–200.

not replicate the widely recognized shortcomings of the old Atlantic paradigm, such as its indifference to sources in non-European languages, including the wealth of information on Black slavery found in classical Chinese texts.[113] Doing history in this more expansive way naturally involves trade-offs and challenges. There is a danger of fetishizing connections and parallel developments at the cost of giving disintegration and difference their due. New languages have to be studied, or at least unfamiliar national and regional historiographies should be consulted.[114] Studying the history of vast early America in this mold is therefore no small undertaking, perhaps more than any one person can reasonably expect to handle. But that is also what some historians said about the Atlantic—加油![115]

[113] Alison Games, "Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections," *WMQ* 63, no. 4 (October 2006): 675–92; Peter A. Coclanis, "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?," ibid., 725–42; Matthias van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations: Prolegomena for a Global and Comparative Research Agenda," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (July 2021): 566–98. This article relies heavily on the inspirational contributions of scholars of slavery in Asia, such as Matthias van Rossum and Tatiana Seijas, who have showed the possibilities of examining slavery in Asia and the Americas together. One significant way in which this study differs, though, is in its stress on Asian-language sources.

[114] Zoltán Biedermann, "(Dis)connected History and the Multiple Narratives of Global Early Modernity," *Modern Philology* 119, no. 1 (August 2021): 13–32; Stuart M. McManus and Michael T. Tworek, "A (Dis)entangled History of Early Modern Cannibalism: Theory and Practice in Global History," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 32 (2022): 47–72.

[115] Literally, "add oil"; that is, "go for it!"