Joseph C. Miller Memorial Lecture Series

15

eds. Abdelkader Al Ghouz, Jeannine Bischoff, Sarah Dusend

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Rafael de Bivar Marquese

Asymmetrical Dependencies in the Making of a Global Commodity: Coffee in the Longue Durée

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The Global History of Coffee and Slavery*

It is a great pleasure to be invited to participate in this Lecture Series in honor of a dear and admired historian. I would like to take this opportunity to present the general outline of a broader project that I have been developing over the last decade, and which I hope will soon become a book. It is a global history of slavery and other forms of asymmetric dependent labor employed in the coffee economy in the *longue durée*. To begin with, I believe it is appropriate to briefly explain the path that brought me here in order to clearly indicate what I intend to do with this book and how it is directly related to the concerns that have driven the collective work promoted by this *Center*.

My trajectory has so far been marked by the attempt to understand African slavery in the Americas through the prism of historical comparison. Thus, in my first two books, I analyzed ideas related to slave and plantation management in Brazil, the British, French and Spanish Caribbean, and the US South between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. More recently, in two co-authored books, I have investigated the politics of slavery in Brazil and Cuba between 1790 and 1850, as well as the built environments and the landscapes of the nineteenth century slave plantations in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States.[1] As a Brazilian historian, my basic impulse for these comparative studies has always been motivated by my permanent interest in the place of the Brazilian

* I would like to thank the members of the Research Group "O Império do Brasil e a Segunda Escravidão" for all the suggestions made in one of our seminars (always missing Ricardo H. Salles and Heitor P. de Moura Filho), as well as the comrades of the "Coletivo Braudel" for our permanent discussions on capitalism and plural times. This monograph is partially the result of a larger research project founded by CNPq, the Brazilian research council, of which I am a fellow.

1 Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Administração e Escravidão. Ideias sobre a gestão da agricultura escravista brasileira* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1999); Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Feitores do corpo, missionários da mente. Senhores, letrados e o controle dos escravos nas Américas, 1660–1860* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004); Rafael Marquese, Tâmis Parron and Márcia Berbel, *Slavery and Politics. Brazil and Cuba, 1790–1850*, trans. Leonardo Marques (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2016); Dale W. Tomich, Rafael de Bivar Marquese, Reinaldo Funes Monzote and Carlos Venegas Fornias, *Reconstructing the Landscapes of Slavery. A Visual History of the Plantation in the Nineteenth-Century World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2021).

slave system within the broader history of modern slavery. In particular, I have been interested in understanding the nature of the rupture that took place at the turn to the nineteenth century. In the aftermath of the Age of Revolutions, the United States Republic and the Empire of Brazil were the only two independent New World countries that developed new constitutional political arrangements based on the reinvention of slavery. Since it was mainly a southern institution, slavery in the US produced permanent tensions in federal politics since the early days of the Republic; in Brazil, the spatial ubiquity of slavery led to a national consensus over it. The Empire of Brazil was the empire of slavery. However, throughout the nineteenth century the Brazilian slave system also faced a divisive regionalization. The coffee economy of the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais was the most dynamic sector of the country, becoming the basis of the expansion of its slave system until 1850. After that year, however, the sector increasingly became a vector of the crisis of the system as a whole. In order to grasp the specificities of Brazilian slavery in my comparative studies, I always had to pay careful attention to the changing nature of the Brazilian coffee economy in the long nineteenth century.

While developing this research program, I noticed a clear imbalance between the available historiography on slavery in the sugar economy and slavery in the coffee economy. Since the 1940s, scholars from different historiographical traditions compared the New World slaveholding sugar zones, pointing out the ruptures that occurred in the industry over an extended time frame, most notably in the Caribbean.[2] Such endeav-

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2 This historiography began with the monumental work of Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1949, 2v), and continued, among many others, with Alice P. Canabrava, *O Açúcar nas Antilhas (1697–1755)* [1946] (São Paulo: Fipe-USP, 1981), Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El Ingenio: complejo económico social cubano del azúcar* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1978), Ciro Flamarion Santana Cardoso, *Agricultura, escravidão e capitalismo* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1979), Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power. The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1986), David Watts, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change since 1492* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), J.H. Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry: An Historical Geography from Its Origins to 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery. From the Baroque to the Modern,*

ours, however, did not extend to slavery in the coffee economy. There are excellent regional monographs on the multiple forms of labor – compulsory or not – mobilized for coffee production. One can pick any Latin American Republic at random and there will be excellent publications on its coffee economy; the same can be said about the European empires in the Indian Ocean and in Africa. However, what stands out is the lack of a comparative and integrated analysis of these different spaces assessing the decisive role played by African slavery in the global trajectory of the coffee economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Take, for instance, the case of three solid, large edited volumes on the global coffee economy, which are still by far the best material we have for an overview of the theme. The first, edited by Michel Tuchscherer, deals exclusively with the coffee trade structured around the peasant economy of Yemen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thus before the creation of slaveholding coffee complexes in the Atlantic. The other two explore later periods. The diversity of social relations, economic activities, and political structures of Latin American coffee-producing countries between the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century receive careful attention in the volume edited by Roseberry, Gudmundson and Samper. Similarly, the book coordinated by William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik broadens the geographical scope of these themes by examining the origins of the global coffee economy, the hierarchies of race, gender, and class in different producing regions of the world, as well as the connec-

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1492–1800 (London: Verso, 1997), Frank Moya Pons, *Historia del Caribe. Azúcar y plantaciones en el mundo atlántico* (Santo Domingo: Editora Búho, 2008). Among the collection of essays that attempt to comparatively account for slavery in sugar, see in particular Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Tropical Babylons. Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), and José Antonio Piqueras, ed., *Historia Comparada de las Antillas* (Madrid: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2014). The concept of Second Slavery, which is crucial to my conceptualization of the Global History of the slave coffee economy, was originally elaborated by Dale W. Tomich in his comparisons of the Caribbean sugar economy: see *Through the Prism of Slavery. Labor, Capital and World Economy* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). Finally, I would like to point out that Joseph C. Miller published a very inspiring article in Portuguese (as far as I know, with no English version) on the historicity of slave relations in the Atlantic sugar industry: “O Atlântico escravista: açúcar, escravos e engenhos,” *Afro-Ásia* 19–20 (1997): 9–36.

tions between the coffee economy, political dynamics, and the building of national states. It is really striking that New World slavery was completely ignored in these two volumes. Among their twenty-five essays, not a single one dealt with the main coffee producing zones after 1750 and the entire nineteenth century: the French colony of Saint-Domingue and the Empire of Brazil, both based on slavery.[3]

These edited volumes were published almost two decades ago, but the problem persists. In 2019, Stuart McCook released a groundbreaking book on the global history of coffee leaf rust. His focus is on the environmental history of the coffee economy after the emergence of this disease in the 1870s. Labor in coffee production of course is not McCook's immediate concern, but the precise nature of the coffee collapse in British Ceylon and Dutch Java amidst the impact of the rust plague cannot be understood without taking into account the decisive role of Brazilian slavery in determining the general economic conditions of these two spaces.[4] A few years earlier the Jamaican sociologist James Talbot published an inspiring essay on the coffee commodity chain, drawing on Fernand Braudel and Giovanni Arrighi's conceptualization of the capitalist world-economy and the systemic cycles of accumulation of historical capitalism. Talbot clarifies several trends and transformations that marked the global trajectory of the coffee economy, but unfortunately he doesn't pay due attention to the fundamental changes in the forms of asymmetric dependent labor that conditioned them.[5] Finally, also in

3 Michel Tuchscherer, ed., *Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales* (Le Caire: Institut Français d"Archéologie Orientale, 2001); William Roseberry, Lowell Gudmundson and Mario Samper Kutschbach, eds., *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik, eds., *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin América, 1500–1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

4 As McCook writes about Ceylon's trajectory in the 1870s, "the rust alone seldom causes coffee production to collapse. The rust in combination with low prices, however, could be fatal." Stuart McCook, *Coffee is Not Forever. A Global History of the Coffee Leaf Rust* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2019): 59. However, since the first half of the nineteenth century world coffee prices have been largely determined by the dynamics of Brazilian supply, entirely based on the massive exploitation of its slaves.

5 John M. Talbot, "The Coffee Commodity Chain in the World-Economy: Arrighi's Systemic Cycles and Braudel's Layers of Analysis," *Journal of World-System Research* 28, no. 1 (2011): 58–88.

2019, Steven Topik – one of the world's leading experts on the global history of coffee – wrote about Brazil's place in the formation of the global coffee economy in the long nineteenth century, questioning the decisive role of slavery in that trajectory. According to him, "slave labor has been given too much credit for the coffee boom," since "the explosion of coffee cultivation in the first half of the nineteenth century in Brazil […] was not brought about by new production methods." "Even with Brazil along with Ceylon and Java greatly expanding global production in the first half of the nineteenth century," Topik concludes, "the essential nature of the coffee commodity chain remained unchanged."[6] The assumption that informs his interpretation is that African slavery has always been the same in the Americas; if Brazilian coffee planters continued to use slave labor throughout the nineteenth century, what happened was the simple repetition of a previous pattern, without any relevant historical novelty.

In order to evaluate this type of statement we need a long-term, simultaneously diachronic and synchronic, comparative perspective, which has at its core the problem of the historicity of the forms of asymmetric dependent labor mobilized for the production of coffee. This is the basic question that guides my project on the global history of coffee and slavery, and it is precisely at this point that it becomes directly connected to the overall concerns of the *Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies*. As one of its programmatic working papers states, its members have as one of their main demands

> a need for (a) theoretical work which identifies general patterns, dynamics, and typical trajectories of asymmetrical dependency, (b) theory-oriented empirical studies of the cultural and societal framework that enables these dependencies, (c) explicitly comparative empirical studies, and (d) systematic studies on the connection of certain markers of

6 Steven Topik, "How Brazil Expanded the World Coffee Economy," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften / Austrian Journal of Historical Studies* 30, no. 3 (2019): 21–23.

asymmetrical dependency to more general phenomena like power and inequality.[7]

I will avail this opportunity to present in the most concise and objective way the general outline of my inquiry. Firstly, I will explain how I am organizing my empirical material. The historicity of the forms of asymmetric dependent labor discussed here can be better understood from their place within three different global coffee economies that overlapped in time from the mid-sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. I will present an overview of each, highlighting their main characteristics and in particular the relationships between different labor regimes within each one of them. Secondly, I will discuss the three main theoretical and methodological axes that guide my project.

Yemen, the Ottoman Empire, and the First Global Coffee Economy, c.1550–1720

Compared to tea and chocolate, the two other hot-brewed beverages that contain the alkaloids of caffeine and theobromine (whose effects on the central nervous system are exactly opposite to those of alcohol), coffee is a fairly recent creation. For a long time tea and chocolate were in China and Mesoamerica what Braudel calls "plants of high civilization," an inseparable habit of the ways of life that were typical of their societies. In contrast, the social consumption of coffee as a beverage prepared from its roasted and ground beans was still unknown before the fifteenth century. The invention of the drink took place not far from the native areas of the *Coffea arabica* species, the region of high forests in southwestern Ethiopia. When and how this exactly happened is also unknown. What we know is that the Sufis from the Tihama – the Yemeni desert coast to the south of the Red Sea, on the opposite shore of Eritrea and Ethiopia – started spreading the habit throughout the Islamic world by the end of

7 Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 5.

the fifteenth century. During the first half of the following century, the consumption of the new drink expanded beyond Sufi devotional circles, becoming secularized with the *coffeehouse*, a new institution that mushroomed in all the large urban centers of the Eastern Mediterranean – cities like Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus and, above all, Istanbul. This strong Ottoman demand provided one of the foundations for the creation of the first global coffee economy. But consolidating it asked for an equally stable source of supply. Until the 1560s, however, this supply did not exist, since all coffee sold and consumed in the eastern Mediterranean continued to come from extraction in Ethiopian forests.[8]

The turning point came with the incorporation of Yemen into the Ottoman Empire. From their bases in newly conquered Egypt, in the 1510s, Ottoman naval forces dominated the entire Red Sea in response to Portuguese threats to Islam's holy places. Between the 1550s and the 1570s, as the Ottoman troops were trying to subjugate – at a high cost and in a precarious way – the Shiite territories in the highlands of Yemen, its local peasantry was starting the commercial cultivation of coffee in a pioneering way. In the following 150 years, Yemen would monopolize the world's coffee supply. This took place in close articulation with the north of the Red Sea. Egypt was for centuries one of the main hubs of the long-distance trade that connected spices from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean world. With the escalation of Dutch East India Company (VOC) operations on Asian routes in the early seventeenth century, Egypt's position as the crossroads for the pepper trade fell into crisis. Its great merchants then turned to the new Yemeni product, making Cairo the hub of the world coffee trade. Thus, throughout the seventeenth century, the first global coffee economy was consolidated around three

8 Fernand Braudel, *Civilização Material, Economia e Capitalismo, séculos XV-XVIII*, vol. 1, *As Estruturas do Cotidiano*, trans. Telma Costa (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1996): 225; Ross W. Jamieson, "The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 2 (2001): 269–94; Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses. The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985): 23–25; Éric Geoffroy, "La diffusion du café au Proche-Orient arabe par l'intermédiaire des soufis: mythe et réalité," in Le *commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales*, ed. Michel Tuchscherer (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2001): 7–16.

spatial poles with clearly discernible and interdependent functions: an area with the monopoly of production (Yemen), a large center of redistribution (Egypt), and a vast network of urban consumer centers (the eastern Mediterranean).[9]

What interests us most directly here is the nature of labor in coffee production. Yemen lies in the midst of an immense desert and semi-desert arc that stretches from the Atlantic coast to Inner Mongolia. The coastlines of the Red Sea are particularly inhospitable to large-scale, sustained agricultural activities, but the monsoon system (whose northwest boundary cuts right through the region we are dealing with), to the south, combined with the large topographical masses (with peaks reaching 2,500 to 3,500 meters), produces excellent rainfall and, consequently, humidity in the highlands of Yemen.[10] The enormous irregularity of a deeply steep terrain, however, has always required careful preparation to make cultivation viable. This was achieved through an advanced system of terraced agriculture, one of the first to be created in the world. Over millennia, through multiple cultural exchanges, sophisticated and diversified agriculture was invented in the Yemeni highlands, with complex combinations of cereals, vegetables, greens, and fruits growing on terraces of an astonishing verticality. The social organization of production was based on sedentary but dispersed tribal farming communities. After the spread of Islam, these Yemeni highland tribal groups took on two minority variants of Shi'ism, the Ismaili and the Zaidi, constituting solid bulwarks against the Sunni outside world. Another feature of the region was the fact that agricultural activities were all organized on a family basis, with free peasant workers and without any type of compulsory labor.[11]

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9 Michel Tuchscherer, "Commerce et production du café en mer Rouge au XVIe siècle." in Le *commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales*, ed. Michel Tuchscherer (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2001): 69–90; André Raymond, "Les problèmes du café en Égypte au XVIIIe siècle," in *Le Café en Méditerranée. Histoire, Anthropologie, Économie, XVIII-XIXe siècle* (Aix-en-Provence: Institut de Recherches Méditerranéennes, 1980): 31–71.

10 Alex Wick, *The Red Sea. In Search of Lost Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016): 22–28.

11 Daniel Martin Varisco, "Agriculture in al-Hamdani's Yemen: A Survey from Early Islamic Geographical Texts," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52

As it is well known, slavery was widespread in the Islamic and Ottoman world. In Yemen, the institution could be found in the transportation system of the Red Sea, in military detachments, in the nobility households of the San'na imamate, but not in highland agriculture.[12] Between the 1550s and 1570s, when Ottoman authorities stimulated the propagation of coffee cultivation in the highlands, it was easily incorporated into the polyculture that was already practiced there. The mountains had ideal rainfall and climatic conditions for the new plant. Free peasant families, organized on a tribal basis in small villages at the top of the mountains, cultivated coffee trees – shaded or not, depending on the specific humidity of each microclimate – on their centuries-old terraces along with bananas, mangoes, lemons, herbs, and cereals. The cultural treatments given to the coffee trees were intensive. In addition to irrigation, the coffee bushes were carefully fertilized after the harvest. Only the fully ripe cherries were harvested. Since coffee blooms in Yemen were irregular (due to the bushes not being pruned or cut low), this meant that the fruits did not ripen at the same time, forcing the peasants to pick the same trees more than once. This was not a problem: the scale of the plantations was very small (always less than a thousand trees per unit), perfectly manageable by peasant families, who, by cultivating the shrub in a mix of crops, saved time by overlapping different agricultural tasks in the same space. The focus of the peasant households was on foodstuffs. Coffee provided them with an additional cash nexus without fundamentally changing the independent way of life of their tribal communities.[13]

(2009): 382–412; Daniel Martin Varisco, "The Future of Terrace Farming in Yemen: A Development Dilemma," *Agriculture and Human Values* 8, no. 1–2 (1991): 166–72; Jane Hathaway, "The forgotten province. A prelude to the Ottoman era in Yemen," *Mamluks and Ottomans. Studies in honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London: Routledge, 2006): 195–205.

12 Benjamin Reilly, *Slavery, Agriculture, and Malaria in the Arabian Peninsula* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2015): 24.

13 "Mémoire concernant le Café, envoyé par les membres du Conseil de l'Isle Bourbon aux Employés du Comptoir de Moka en l'année 1731," Fonds Moreau de Saint-Méry, F-3, 161/92, *Archives Nationales d' Outre-Mer* (Aix-en-Provence, France); Mr. Miran, "Mémoire fait pour instruction de MM. de la Compagnie des Indes," in: Abbé Guyon, *Histoire des Indes Orientales, Anciennes et Modernes* (Paris: Chez la Veuve Pierres, Librai-

Coffee processing was segmented. Peasant households dried the cherries with their pulp and parchment on the roof of their houses located in mountain villages until they were sufficiently dry to remove the layers of plant material. Within the dry coccus, the coffee beans could be stored for a long time before being sold to local traders, who were responsible for the final separation of its husk. For this, they employed day-wage laborers who worked with a rudimentary hand-operated stone mill capable of processing no more than 40 kg of coffee per day. These petty mountain traders then shipped the beans they had already processed to Yemen's large coffee market, the town of Bait al-Faqih, in the heart of Tihama. In Bait al-Faqih, local agents of the great merchant houses of Cairo or independent merchants bought the coffee that gradually arrived from the mountains, sending them to the ports of Al Luhayyah, Al Mocha, and Al Hudaydah, from where the coffee was first transported to the transshipment market of Jeddah (a mandatory stop because of wind patterns in the Red Sea) and then to Egypt.[14]

Paradoxically, the success of coffee brought the collapse of Ottoman imperial power in Yemen. Indeed, strengthened by resources generated by the coffee economy, the Zaidi and Ismailis Shiites – historically refractory to the Sunnis – established a new power condominium that led to the definitive expulsion of the Ottomans from Yemen in 1636. A steady demand from urban consumers in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Yemenis' absolute monopoly of supply, and the inability of Istanbul's sultans to regain control of the producing zones in the South Red Sea led to another important development in the first global coffee economy. As Yemen became an external arena of the Ottoman tributary world-economy, coffee transactions carried out in Tihama were exclusively done in specie, that is, in silver and gold coins. The cash that circulated through

re, 1744): vol. 3, 381–432; Nicolas Bréon, "Mémoire sur la culture, la manipulation et le commerce du café en Arabie," *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales* 2 (1832): 559–67.

14 Miran, "Mémoire": 413–16; Rene J. Barendse, *Arabian Seas, 1700–1763* (Leiden: Brill, 2009): vol. 3, 995–97; Nancy Um, *The Merchant Houses of Mocha. Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009): 41–42; Iftikhar Ahmad Khan, "Coffee Trade of the Red Sea – First Half of the 18th Century," in *Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales*, ed. Michel Tuchscherer (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2001): 297–318.

the Tihama also facilitated fiscal extraction by the Yemeni Imamate. After 1636, every coffee transaction carried out in the region was taxed by the Imam of San'na at a value corresponding to ¼ of their total. The first global coffee economy reached a surprising break-even point in the seventeenth century. Between the 1630s and 1690s, the prices of coffee transactions in Cairo remained remarkably stable, without any major swings up or down. The same was true for Yemen's coffee exports, which at the end of the seventeenth century were around 9,000 to 12,000 metric tons per year.[15]

The inelasticity of Yemen's exports illuminates some of the essential features of the first global coffee economy. The entire mountain range of Yemen facing Tihama contained areas suitable for growing coffee, but they were discontinuous and irregular. As coffee bushes were grown as part of a complex combination of food crops that were indispensable for the reproduction of tribal peasant communities, the possibility of an expanding coffee supply in response to price changes was limited by the spatial economy itself. The particularities of the terraced agriculture, forcing careful preparation and cultivation of the same terrain year after year discouraged mobility in search of new internal agricultural frontiers. Actually, the areas suitable in terms of altitude and rainfall for growing coffee had all been occupied in the first half of the seventeenth century. Yemen's coffee growers could not rely on foreign mercantile credit, which never reached the highlands, but they did not need this capital to carry out their annual activities anyway. If Yemen's supply was inelastic, it was also not subject to the boom and bust cycles that would mark the slave world coffee economy after the mid-eighteenth

[15] Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels Through Arabia, and other Countries in the East*, 2 vols., trans. Robert Heron (Edinburgh: R. Morison and Son, 1792): 88; Nancy Um, "1636 and 1726. Yemen after the First Ottoman Era," in *Asia Inside Out: Changing Times*, ed. E. Tagliacozzo, H. Siu, and P. Purdue (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015): 112–34; Jane Hathaway, "The Ottomans and the Yemeni Coffee Trade," *Oriente Moderno* 86, no. 1 (2006): 161–71; André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1973): vol. 1, 133; Michel Tuchscherer, "Coffee in the Red Sea Area from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin America*, ed. William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 55.

century, and which would produce a movement of permanent differentiation of coffee areas into pioneer, mature, and decadent zones.

First Slavery and the Second Global Coffee Economy, c.1650–1815

The equilibrium of the first global coffee economy was disrupted at the beginning of the eighteenth century, precisely with the entrance of the forces of the European capitalist world-economy into this history. The European literate community became aware of coffee in the 1570s through publications by travelers who observed it in the coffeehouses of the eastern Mediterranean. However, there was a certain gap between the acquisition of knowledge through literary knowledge and the possibility of actually consuming the beverage. This only happened a century later, when, through a recreation of the Ottoman model (brought to Europe in turn by Greek and Armenian merchants), coffeehouses began to be founded in the great metropoles of Northwestern Europe. The novelty became fully established by the 1690s, with the multiplication of new coffeehouses in London, Amsterdam, and Paris. Despite the fact that the VOC and the English East India Company (EIC) traded small amounts of coffee throughout the seventeenth century in their intra-Asian commercial circuits, before 1700 purchases for European consumers continued to be made in the Eastern Mediterranean, most notably in Egypt.[16]

The consolidation of coffee demand in metropolitan urban centers led the powerful East Indies European companies to seek permanent bases at Yemen's ports of trade. Given the close relationship between coffee exports and taxation, the Yemeni Imamate was interested in increasing the number of coffee buyers in their domains as much as possible. The VOC, the EIC, and the French East India Company (CIO) were allowed to

[16] Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade Exotism and the Ancien Régime* (London: Berg, 2008): 163–82; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005): 16–54; S.D. Smith, "The Early Diffusion of Coffee Drinking in England," in *Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales*, ed. Michel Tuchscherer (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2001): 245–68.

establish their trading posts in Al Mocha in the 1700s. The simultaneous appearance of these companies in a context of the accelerated growth of European consumption and Ottoman consumption kept at its historical levels made coffee prices explode in Yemen's markets between 1717 and 1724, with the consequent increase in the drainage of gold and silver from buyers. The answer given by the European metropolitan powers was classic mercantilism: to internalize, within a given space of political sovereignty, a given external economic circuit that produced monetary imbalance.[17]

But first they needed to learn the secrets of coffee production. With actions that can only be described as biopiracy, multiple paths were simultaneously taken to that end in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Throughout the seventeenth century, along the trade routes of the Arabian Sea, coffee trees had been acclimatized in Ceylon; from there they would be taken, in 1707, to Batavia, the headquarters of the VOC in the Indian Ocean. After 1715, the French CIO promoted direct botanical exchanges between its trading post in Al Mocha and its colony of Bourbon, in the Mascarenhas archipelago. From Batavia, new bushes were immediately sent by the VOC to the *Hortus Botanicus* in Amsterdam. Shortly after that the coffee tree also arrived at the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris through Amsterdam. From this institution came the shrubs that would be acclimatized in Martinique (1721) and in Saint-Domingue (1726). Shortly before that, and again through Amsterdam, coffee trees had already been acclimatized in Suriname. From Surinam, trees would later also be taken to French Guiana and, from there, in 1727, to Pará, in the Portuguese Amazon Valley.[18] However, having the plant didn't auto-

17 Mehmet Genç, "Contrôle et taxation du commerce du café dans l'Empire ottoman, fin XVIIe – première moitié du XVIIIe siècle," in Le *commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales*, ed. Michel Tuchscherer (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2001): 161–80; Kristof Glamann, *Dutch Asiatic Trade, 1620–1740* (Den Haag: Uitgeverij Martinus Nijhoff, 1981): 196; Kirti Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978): 362–64; Jan de Vries, "Understanding Eurasian Trade in the Era of the Trading Companies," in *Goods from the East, 1600–1800. Trading Eurasia*, ed. M. Berg, F. Gottmann, H. Hodacs and C. Nierstrasz (London: Palgrave McMillan, 2015): 7–44.

18 G.J. Knapp, "Coffee for Cash: The Dutch East India Company and the Expansion of Coffee Cultivation in Java, Ambon and Ceylon, 1700–1730," in *Trading Companies in*

matically translate into setting up its commercial exploitation on a stable basis. The great rupture that can be seen in the incorporation of coffee production into the circuits of the European capitalist world-economy was its almost immediate conversion to the model of plantation slavery, thus splitting the experiences of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.

Java was the first European possession selling colonial coffee to metropolitan markets. In the 1710s, VOC authorities in Batavia encouraged local peasants (subject to their native rulers) to plant coffee by distributing to them seedlings and offering high purchase prices. In 1725 the VOC was shipping c.1,200 tons per year from Java, allowing a reduction of its coffee purchases in Mocha to a minimum. But this was a false start. Both in Yemen and Java, peasant families were producing coffee, but in the Dutch colony they were subject to the yoke of local nobilities, who were in turn subordinated to the VOC authorities. Java peasants and native authorities were ultimately ruled by the VOC's total control over the sales prices imposed on them. The VOC, however, did not take long to stop raising its production, thus managing the coffee economy similarly to what it had done with the spice trade in previous centuries. Already in 1728, facing falling prices in Amsterdam (between 1730–1738, prices would fall even further), the company directors chose to artificially lower the amounts paid to Javanese regents in Priangan, prohibit new plantings, and destroy surplus trees. Throughout the eighteenth century, the elasticity of Java's coffee exports – never above 2,000 tons per year – was held back by the VOC itself.[19]

The center of the new global coffee economy would be in the West Indies. Following the previous model of Portuguese America, the Eng-

Asia, 1600–1830, ed. J. van Goor (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1986): 33–49; E.C. Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment. Food and Sciences in Paris, 1670–1760* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012): 76; Albert Lougnon, *L'Île Bourbon pendant la Régence. Desforges Boucher, Les débuts du café* (Paris: Éditions Larose, 1956): 66–73; Basílio de Magalhães, *O Café na História, no Folclore e nas Belas-Artes* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939): 57, 78–79.

19 G.J. Knapp, "Coffee for Cash": 46; Jan Breman, *Mobilizing Labour of the Global Coffee Market. Profits from an Unfree Work Regime in Colonial Java* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015): 66–67; Jan de Vries and Ad. Van Der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 437.

lish, French, and Dutch Caribbean colonies went through the so-called Sugar Revolution after the 1650s. The plains of colonies such as Barbados, Martinique, and Guadeloupe – as well as the swamps of Suriname – were taken over by sugarcane fields worked by masses of newly imported enslaved Africans. In just a few decades, an entirely new and sophisticated commercial system was set up linking West Indian sugar plantations to the great ports of Northwest Europe and to the transatlantic slave trade. This system was in full operation when the opportunity for coffee opened up in the 1720s. In the West Indies, the sugar slave economy paved the way for the take off of the coffee slave economy.[20]

French, Dutch, and British colonies were not the same. In Martinique and Saint-Domingue, because of their topographies, there was an almost perfect spatial complementarity between sugar plantations and coffee plantations. Sugar dominated the coastal plains, leaving aside the mountainous terrains of the backlands, where the ideal geoecological conditions for growing coffee were found. In Suriname, sugar plantations and coffee plantations would come to occupy the same lowlands, hard-won for plantation agriculture through the sophisticated polder technique brought from the metropolis. Finally, the fact that the British Caribbean did not have a solid coffee economy before the 1790s stands out. The reason is the tariff policy that the EIC was able to impose upon the metropolitan economy since the 1730s, excluding coffee in order to protect the sales of tea imported from China.[21]

Despite regional variation, coffee production on slave plantations shared several commonalities. The break from the previous Yemen experience was clear. In both Martinique/Saint-Domingue and Suriname, coffee trees, always low-cut, were planted in strict geometric order, with

20 See the references on note 2.

21 For Martinique and Saint-Domingue, see Marie Hardy, "Le monde du café à la Martinique du début du XVIIIe siècle aux années 1860" (PhD diss., Université des Antilles et de la Guyane, 2014), and Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Motion in the System: Coffee, Color, and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Saint-Domingue," *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Cente*r 5, no. 3 (1982): 331–88. For Suriname, Alex van Stipriaan, *Surinaams Contrast: Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantagekolonie, 1750–1863* (Leiden: KITLV, 1993); for the British coffee and tea markets, see S.D. Smith, "Accounting for Taste: British Coffee Consumption in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 2 (1996): 183–214.

a standard spacing between the rows (more dense in the mountains of the French colonies than in the plains of the Dutch colony). Just like in all areas of tropical agriculture, the virgin forests were conquered for cash crops with the technique of slash and burn. In the Caribbean mountains, coffee rows were arranged in a vertical alignment from the base to the top of the hills. In Saint-Domingue, planters had discussed the possibility of coffee trees being planted horizontaly cutting the slope of the hills, partially emulating the experience of terraces in Yemen, but the proposal was not followed because of the costs that it would imply in terms of slaves' labor time. Aligning and cutting the bushes were mechanisms originally conceived to facilitate the control of the slaves' labor process through their visualization. The number of trees planted was dictated not by the total availability of land (when setting up their plantations, coffee planters in the Americas always sought to save virgin forest reserves for the future expansion of their plantations), but rather by the size of the labour force, that is to say by the amount of slaves available for the peak of the harvest.[22]

In Yemen, peasants harvested only the fully ripe cherries, going through the same terraces several times doing this job. With slavery this would mean wasting slaves' labor time (and therefore planters' capital). One possibility would be to allow harvesting by stripping (*derriça*, as it was going to be called in Brazil) – the quick harvesting of all cherries (green and ripe, with leaves) at one time from the stem to the tip of the branch –, with the consequent loss of the final quality of the product. The *derriça* method was left aside by French and Dutch slaveholders, who opted instead for a task system in which slaves were forced to harvest a minimum, fixed daily quota of ripe fruits; if they did not comply, they were whipped; fulfilling it, they could enjoy the free time that might be left over at the end of the day. Processing also underwent important changes. Unlike Yemen, drying of grains and subsequent removal of pulp and parchment began to be done entirely within the plantation. In order to handle the greatest amount of grain, the slaveholding coffee

[22] Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "A Tale of Two Coffee Colonies: Environment and Slavery in Suriname and Saint-Domingue, ca.1750–1790," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 64, no. 3 (2022): 722–55.

plantations relied on stone and lime platforms specially built for drying coffee. Subsequently, the procedure generally adopted was the so-called "dry method" (in which the cherries were dried with pulp and parchment). The high humidity of Suriname and some areas of the Caribbean, however, led to the invention of manual machines to pulp the grains as soon as they were harvested, which were then dried more quickly in the platforms because they only had the parchment. With a couple of slaves these manual pulpers were capable of processing about 15 kg/hour. The removal of the final husk of the coffee coccus (whether with dry pulp/parchment, or only with parchment) was initially carried out using manual pestles, which was extremely demanding for slaves. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the use of circular mills made of wood or stone became widespread to save slave labor: powered by animal or hydraulic energy, they were able to peel up to 459 kg of coffee in one hour and a half. Then finally followed the time-consuming but physically light work of sorting the grain, which mobilized the entire workforce of the plantation – including women, children, the elderly, and the sick. Despite specific variations, labor productivity was equivalent on coffee plantations in the French Caribbean and Dutch Suriname, hovering around 200 to 230 kg of coffee per slave a year.[23]

In just a quarter of a century (1725–1750), the combined production of the European colonies in the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic (Java, Suriname, Martinique, Saint-Domingue, Bourbon) reached Yemen's volume. At that point the second global coffee economy was already consolidated, even partially altering coffee flows in the Eastern Mediterranean. Through Marseilles, the French colonial coffee produced by slaves began to appear in the markets of Istanbul and Egypt itself.[24] From 1728, the colonial product of Java and Suriname was priced in Amsterdam at rates much lower than those of Yemen (Java's being worth more than Suriname's). When coffee from Saint-Domingue began to be sold in

23 The best coeval description of these techniques can be found in P.J. Laborie, *The Coffee Planter of Saint Domingo* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1798). For slaves' productivity, see van Stipriaan, *Surinaams Contrast*: 133.

24 Gilbert Buti, "Marseille entre Moka et café des îles: espaces, flux, réseaux," in *Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales*, ed. Michel Tuchscherer (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2001): 213–44.

Amsterdam, its price was slightly lower than that of Suriname. The slave product was cheaper because it was considered inferior, something that resulted from the character of slave agronomy itself. With the extensive exploitation of natural resources through the intensive exploitation of workers, gains in scale came at the expense of the final quality of the product. The highest quality coffee from Yemen would keep its niches in European and Ottoman markets, but now as a price taker, which demonstrates the increasing subordination of spaces of flow of the first global coffee economy to the spaces of flow of the second global coffee economy. In the same way, the coffeehouse – initially a rough copy of the Ottoman model – went through a process of Europeanization, accompanied by the progressive domestication of coffee consumption, an inseparable part of what has been called the "birth of the consumer society."[25] Strictly connected to the West Indies sugar complex, the second global coffee economy can also be called the coffee economy of the "First Slavery," i.e. a slavery that was regulated within the structure of colonial mercantilism.

On these new foundations, the world coffee economy would see an accelerated growth in the second half of the eighteenth century, with its epicenter at the French colony of Saint-Domingue and, secondarily, the Dutch colony of Suriname. In 1755, both colonies exported an amount similar to that of Martinique (about 3,500 tons). In the next twenty years (1755–1775), while Martinique remained at this level, Saint-Domingue's exports grew to 19,000 tons and Suriname's to 10,000. Between 1775–1790, there was a bifurcation: Suriname's exports shrunk to 6,500 tons, while Saint-Domingue's grew to 32,000 tons – or ca. 50% of the total world coffee supply.[26]

Coffee planters in Suriname relied on the sophisticated technique of polders for draining swamps and mangroves, while having an ample supply of enslaved laborers and free access to abundant metropolitan capi-

25 Anne E.C. McCants, "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review* 61, no. 1 (2008): 172–200, 2008; Nicole Leite Bianchini, "Café e Chá na Representação Visual Europeia, 1640–1790" (Master's Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2021).

26 This and the next three paragraphs are based on Marquese, "A Tale of Two Coffee Colonies."

tal. Even with all these favorable conditions they were not able to keep up with Saint-Domingue's rate of growth. Actually, this was due to the success of the French colony. Given the country's low rates of per capita consumption, the French market – despite the Parisian vibrant coffee-houses – was relatively small throughout the eighteenth century. In the 1780s, France re-exported to the northern European markets (Baltics and Germany in particular) 85% of all coffee brought from its colonies. Amsterdam was one of the main hubs for the redistribution of French colonial coffee to those markets. Therefore, coffee from Suriname competed directly with coffee from Saint-Domingue for the same consumers. The key for the discrepancy between the performance of the two colonies after 1775 lies in the spatial economy of their plantations. Labor productivity and processing techniques were similar. Coffee production has the particularity of requiring a long period of time for carrying out the initial investments: full yields arrive only after five years of planting new trees. The need to conquer mangroves and swamps using the polder technique in Suriname required an enormous expenditure of capital for the simple preparation of the land, even before the planting of coffee trees. For this reason, coffee lands were seven times more expensive in Suriname than in Saint-Domingue. When, in the early 1770s, the over-supply of coffee in the French colony caused prices in European markets to plummet, Suriname's coffee production collapsed.

Between 1750 and 1775 it was possible to identify the first of the cycles that would notably mark the global coffee economy in the following two centuries. Its basic pattern was this: rising prices due to the increase in the consumer base led to aggressive waves of new plantings in different locations; given the plant's botany, these new plantings took five years to enter the market; when all this new volume began to be traded, the tendency was an abrupt drop in prices, which established a clear differentiation between the most dynamic coffee areas and those less dynamic. As falling prices stimulated consumption, the cycle soon restarted, now with a new hierarchy between producing areas.[27]

[27] This pattern was first identified and theorized by the Brazilian economist Antônio Delfim Netto in 1958, but in an analysis of coffee prices in the second half of the nine-

Through the price mechanism, the social relations of production in the less dynamic areas were thus conditioned by what was happening in the more dynamic areas.

The trajectories of slavery in Suriname and Saint-Domingue between 1775 and 1790 can be understood through these lenses. Due to their spatial economy, Saint-Domingue's coffee planters were able to overcome the sharp drop in prices that they had caused themselves between 1770–1774. When prices rose again after 1775, they were well positioned to take advantage of the new conjuncture. The implications for their workers, however, were dire. In the 1780s, almost 240,000 enslaved Africans landed in Saint-Domingue. During this period, Saint-Domingue's sugar exports grew by 20% while coffee increased by 45%. Therefore, in the decade leading up to the revolutionary explosion of 1791, coffee demanded more enslaved workers than sugar. The coffee planters of Suriname, in turn, found themselves definitively subordinated to a conjuncture that they no longer controlled. The loss of dynamism of the slave economy of the Dutch colony brought a clear gain to those Africans and their descendants who had established maroon communities in the backlands. With the decrease in imports of new enslaved people caused by the coffee crisis, the pressures on these former slaves who freed themselves by fleeing and fighting significantly decreased, helping them solidify their free communities.

If, on the one hand, the Saint-Domingue coffee industry represented the apogee of the second global coffee economy, the first to be based on the massive enslavement of Africans, on the other hand it was also a crucial force in its crisis. The coffee boom in Saint-Domingue in the decades before the outbreak of the French Revolution was fundamentally led by resident white colons. Free blacks and mulattoes were also producing coffee with slave labor, but in absolute numbers and investments they were well behind the whites. White coffee planters differed from the large absentee sugar planters residing in France in one crucial respect. It was them – especially those from the north of the colony – who articu-

teenth century: see his *O problema do café no Brasil* (Campinas: Ed.FACAMP-Ed.Unesp, 2009): 11–18.

lated the autonomist platform that led, in 1789–1791, to the exclusion of the Saint-Domingue free blacks and mulattoes from the political rights. One of the conditions for the success of the slave rebellion of August 1791 was precisely this racial division between slaveholders residing in Saint-Domingue. Similarly, white autonomist coffee planters were at the forefront of the maneuver that facilitated the British invasion of 1793, which backfired with the Jacobin decree abolishing slavery in 1794 and the definitive rise of Touissant L'Ouverture's command in 1795.[28]

The Saint-Domingue Revolution did not destroy the local coffee economy. Under the compulsory labor regime imposed by Touissant, the colony exported almost 20,000 tons of coffee (two thirds of what had been the peak under the slave regime) in 1800, a volume that continued to be produced in Haiti by the 1810s, but now based on peasant production.[29] This is important because it is generally assumed that exports from the former French colony disappeared from the world market after the success of the slave revolution and the creation of the new independent country. However, considering the continuous growth of the North Atlantic markets, the revolutionary process in the French Caribbean immediately stimulated coffee exports from new slave zones, among which initially stood out the British colony of Jamaica and the Spanish colony of Cuba. The know-how of the refugee coffee planters from Saint-Domingue was decisive for them. In the 1790s and 1800s, the coffee plantations which were founded in Jamaica and Cuba closely followed the model of the French colony. Slavery in coffee plantations, abolished by the revolutionary action of the enslaved Africans in 1794, was recreated in the old rival colonies. However, the slave-based coffee economies of Jamaica and Cuba were expressions of the past, not the

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28 This interpretation runs against the classic argument of Trouillot, "Motion in the System," and it is based on the current research project of Juliana Zanezi (*Coffee, Slavery and Politics in Saint-Domingue, 1776–1791*), under my supervision at the Graduate Program in Social History, Universidade de São Paulo.

29 Robert K. Lacerte, "The Evolution of Land and Labor in the Haitian Revolution, 1791–1820," *The Americas* 34, no. 4 (1978): 440–59. All the coffee data thereafter cited comes from Mario Samper and Radin Fernando, "Historical Statistics of Coffee Production and Trade from 1700 to 1960," in *The Global Coffee Economy in Africa, Asia, and Latin América, 1500–1989*, ed. William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 411–62.

future. The peak of Cuban exports was 29,000 tons in 1833. Jamaica lagged even further behind, with a maximum of 11,000 tons in 1808.[30]

Second Slavery and the Third Global Coffee Economy, 1790–1888.

The axis of the following global coffee economy would be outside the Caribbean. As part of the same unified historical process, while the second economy fell into crisis, the third was already in the making. We saw that the coffee tree had been acclimatized in the north of Portuguese America as early as 1727. However, before the nineteenth century, colonial Brazil exported almost no coffee. Its main export activities continued to be sugar in the northeast coast and, as an eighteenth century innovation, gold in Minas Gerais, both of them fed by an enormous transatlantic slave trade. In order to prevent gold smuggling outside the mule paths that were strictly supervised by the Crown, the Portuguese authorities blocked the occupation of the vast tracts of land between the captaincy of Minas Gerais and the great Atlantic port of Rio de Janeiro in the first half of the eighteenth century. This was the region of the valley of the Paraíba River, located between the foothills of *Serra do Mar* and *Serra da Mantiqueira*, relatively close to Rio de Janeiro and with ideal environmental conditions for growing coffee. The gold mining crisis and the immediate impacts of the Saint-Domingue Revolution on the sugar and coffee global markets led the Portuguese colonial authorities to revise its former policy in the 1790s, with new projects to boost exports based on the privatization of the Paraíba Valley lands.[31]

30 Kathleen E.A. Monteith, *Plantation Coffee in Jamaica, 1790–1848* (Mona: University of West Indies Press, 2019); Michael Zeuske, "Kaffee statt Zucker: Die globale commodity Kaffee und die Sklaverei auf Kuba (ca. 1790–1870)," *Saeculum* 67, no. 2 (2017): 273–301; Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "Laborie en traducción. La construcción de la caficultura cubana y brasileña desde una perspectiva comparada, 1790–1840," in *Plantación, espacios agrarios y esclavitud en la Cuba colonial*, ed. José Antonio Piqueras (Castelló de la Plana: Publicaciones de la Universitat Jaume I, 2017): 185–216.

31 Rafael Marquese and Dale Tomich, "Slavery in the Paraíba Valley and the Formation of the World Coffee Market in the Nineteenth Century," in *Atlantic Transformations:*

These plans, however, only took off after the flight of the Portuguese royal family to Rio de Janeiro in 1808, itself a direct result of the profound changes that took place in the European interstate system with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. After his defeat by the former slaves in Haiti, the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and the Battle of Trafalgar, Napoleon Bonaparte focused on the Continental Blockade, the core of his new efforts to weaken Great Britain. Portugal, a long-time ally of the British, was seen as a key player on this chess board, which led to its invasion by Napoleonic troops in November 1807 and the unprecedented measure of transplanting the entire power apparatus of the Portuguese monarchy to its great colony in the South Atlantic, under the supervision of a British squadron. Among the first measures taken by the Portuguese crown in the new headquarters of its overseas empire was to open its ports to the so-called friendly Nations – meaning Great Britain –, which marked once and for all the free connection of slave producers from Portuguese America with the world market. Rio de Janeiro was then one of the most dynamic commercial hubs in the Americas, with an infrastructure that had been built to export sugar, gold, and other goods. It was also the biggest terminal for the transatlantic slave trade to the Americas. The establishment of free trade in 1808 boosted exports. Combined with the revision of land policies that were already underway, this whole set of historical forces gave the decisive impetus to the beginning of coffee production in the Paraíba Valley. In the five-year period 1812–1816, the annual average of coffee exports was about 1,500 tons. In the following five years (1817–1826), they went to 6,100 tons, reaching 13,560 tons in the year following the independence of Brazil (1823), a number not far from Caribbean rivals at that moment (Haiti: 16,490 tons; Cuba: 12,550 tons; Jamaica: 9,220 tons).[32]

The third global coffee economy would be led by the slave production of the Vale do Paraíba, followed by the Dutch colony of Java (with forced peasant labor under the *Cultivation System*) and by the British colony of Ceylon (with a peculiar scheme of unfree wage labour called

Empire, Politics, and Slavery during the Nineteenth Century, ed. Dale Tomich (Albany, NY: University of New York Press, 2020): 193–223.

32 Marquese and Tomich, "Slavery in the Paraíba Valley."

Kangany System). But what is noteworthy is that the same set of broader historical forces that led to the decisive episode of the establishment of the Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro also largely conditioned the transformation of the former VOC possessions in the Indian Ocean into new colonies in the nineteenth century. In 1795, the new Republic of Batavia became an ally of the Republic of France. As a consequence, the British conquered old VOC domains in Asia like the Cape Colony and Ceylon in 1796, and the island of Java in 1811. Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, and Suriname were in turn conquered in 1804 in the West Indies. At the Congress of Vienna (1815), the Netherlands was seen by Britain as a key piece to contain France's future revolutionary power; for this reason, the British representatives acted to partially recompose the overseas domains of the new United Kingdom of the Netherlands (Holland plus Belgium), returning Java and Suriname to it. Britain, however, retained Cape Colony and Ceylon, converting the latter into a Crown Colony, and still forced the Dutch to ban the African slave trade to their colonial possessions.[33] On the issue of the transatlantic slave trade, however, Great Britain did not achieve the same success with the Portuguese Crown as it did with the Dutch. British manoeuvres taken at the Congress of Vienna to forbid the traffic to Brazil failed and, as an expression of the strength of slavery within the Portuguese Empire, Brazil was turned into a United Kingdom with Portugal and Algarve in 1816, with its headquarters located in Rio de Janeiro instead of Lisbon.[34]

Despite this initial failure in Vienna as a result of Portuguese resistance, Britain would make the fight against the transatlantic slave trade an essential goal of its foreign policy throughout the nineteenth century, in a move that shaped the third global coffee economy in many distinct ways. 1815 was a critical moment in another respect. With the return to

33 John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire. The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Penguin, 2012): 24–25, 72–73; Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780–1815: Expansion and Reform* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 129–58; Patrick Peebles, *The History of Sri Lanka* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006): 41–54; M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c.1200* (London: Palgrave, 2001): 147–54; Pepjin Brandon, "'Shrewd Sirens of Humanity': The Changing Shape of Pro-Slavery Arguments in the Netherlands (1789–1814)," *Almanack* 14 (2016): 3–26.

34 Marquese, Parron and Berbel, *Slavery and Politics*: 85–96.

peace under the aegis of the hegemony of a now industrial Great Britain, the possibility of building a global economic order under the principle of free trade opened up. This would be a tortuous process, with several advances and setbacks, but one that would also eventually determine the fabric of the third global coffee economy.

This dual axis of antislavery/free trade was present at the birth of Brazil as an independent national state. After 1822, Great Britain acted decisively to prevent the new Empire from incorporating Portuguese territories in Africa as national provinces of Brazil, intensifying the campaign against the slave trade. The diplomatic representatives of D. Pedro I, the first emperor of Brazil, had to acquiesce in this imposition, otherwise access to international credits provided by Great Britain would be at risk. In 1826, Brazil committed itself to Great Britain through a bilateral treaty to end the transatlantic slave trade after 1830, amid the surge in coffee exports (in 1831, Brazil exported 32,000 tons, the same amount as Saint-Domingue in its peak). This 1826 treaty was going to be one the causes of the fall of D. Pedro I in April 1831, cornered by a broad political coalition that included urban radical liberals and conservative slaveholders from the Paraíba Valley. Due to the momentary political strength of the radicals, the transatlantic slave trade was formally prohibited to Brazil by means of a harsh national law approved by the Brazilian Parliament in November 1831, shortly after the fall of D. Pedro I.[35]

Disembarkation of enslaved Africans on the coasts of Center-South Brazil plummeted between 1831 and 1834. However, the planting of new coffee trees continued to be done aggressively in the Paraíba Valley, despite a downward trend in international prices observed since 1823. As their peers in Saint-Domingue had done in the second half of the eighteenth century, the coffee planters of Paraíba Valley were transforming the nature of the world coffee market. But for that they also counted on a crucial novelty in the sphere of consumption. Beginning in 1833, largely in response to federal disputes over the political economy of slavery, the United States abolished all import tariffs on coffee, which represented an

35 Tâmis Parron, *A política da escravidão no Império do Brasil, 1826–1831* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011): 41–90.

immediate 50% drop in price for the final consumer.[36] The effects were immediate. The country was experiencing impressive rates of population growth, based on mass European immigration and high birth rates of the resident population. For the rural and urban working classes in the making, coffee was associated with a new way of life, strictly connected to their new US identity. This was a stimulating, socially democratic beverage, to be consumed both at breakfast and between meals, at home or at work. This pattern foreshadowed the nature of what would be global mass consumption of coffee in the second half of the nineteenth century in all industrial countries of the capitalist world-economy, with its transition from the status of "luxury of the poor" to that of a "wage-food," i.e., a commodity produced on an industrial scale that became part of the reproduction of the wage labor force.[37] In the mid-nineteenth century the US share of coffee imports in the world market was 25%, surpassing historical consumers such as the Netherlands, France, the northern Italian peninsula, Scandinavian countries, the German Zollverein, and the Austrian empire. The most relevant fact is that 90% of US coffee imports in 1850 came from a single source, Brazil.[38]

In the new conjuncture of the 1830s, the coffee planters of Paraíba Valley promoted – in a broad national alliance with other regional slaveholders and imperial elites – a concerted action to curb the political radicalism of the early years of the Regency. Known as the *Regresso Conservador*, this movement decisively reshaped the institutional features of the Brazilian national state, laying the foundations for what would become the long Second Reign (1840–1889). The key point was to guarantee the conditions for the continuity of the transatlantic slave trade (illegal since 1831) against British anti-slavery pressure. The new proslavery political arrangement paid off for the coffee planters. The follow-

36 Tâmis Peixoto Parron, "A política da escravidão na era da liberdade: Estados Unidos, Brasil e Cuba, 1787–1846" (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2015): 224–66.

37 For the concept of "wage-food," see Harriet Friedmann and Philip McMichael, "Agriculture and the State System: The Rise and Decline of National Agricultures, 1870 to the Present," *Sociologia Ruralis* 29, no. 2 (1989): 93–117.

38 Mauro Rodrigues da Cunha, "Apêndice estatístico," in *150 anos de café*, ed. Edmar Bacha and Robert Greenhill (Rio de Janeiro: Marcellino Martins and E. Johnston, 1992): 286–388.

ing 15 years (1835–1850) were the historical peak of the transatlantic slave trade to the Americas: in the coffee ports of Central-South Brazil alone, over 550,000 illegally enslaved Africans were disembarked in this short period. Correspondence with the volume of coffee production was direct. In the five-year period 1831–1835, Brazil annually exported around 53,000 tons. Twenty years later, in the five-year period from 1851 to 1855, that figure rose to 153,000 tons, or ca. 50% of total world production.[39]

The transformations that were being produced by the Brazilian coffee economy were not just quantitative. The Paraíba Valley planters took the general principle of coffee agronomy created in the Caribbean – the extensive exploitation of natural resources by the intensive exploitation of the slaves – to a new level. This was made possible, in the first place, by the scale of the plantations. Its dimensions in spatial and human terms were much larger than those of Saint-Domingue, Jamaica, and Cuba. Considering local environmental conditions, the initial productivity of coffee bushes in the Paraíba Valley was much higher, sometimes twice as much as in the Caribbean. The vertically aligned planting of the coffee trees, common to all hilly regions of slave production, acquired another configuration in the Paraíba Valley, dictated by the management of the labor process. The distance between the vertically aligned rows was much greater, which allowed the foremen who were at the base of the hills greater visual control over the pace of work of large groups of slaves. The implication was an enormous waste of land and, above all, erosion processes that in two decades completely depleted the soil's natural resources. Since properties in the Paraíba Valley were huge, with large forest reserves, new plantings were carried out regularly, which kept their general productivity at high levels for some time at the cost of rapid environmental degradation. Slaves in the Paraíba Valley were forced to cultivate far more coffee trees than their Caribbean counterparts. During harvest time, work doubled. Considering the volumes involved, adopting the Caribbean system – with the collection

[39] Parron, *A política da escravidão no Império do Brasil*: 121–91; Marquese and Tomich, "Slavery in the Paraíba Valley."

of fixed daily amounts of only ripe fruit and free time after completing the task – was unfeasible. Brazilian planters allowed their slaves to use the *derriça*, with minimum daily quotas that were individualized according to the picking history of each slave. If he/she did not comply with them, he/she was whipped; the volume harvested above the quota was in turn rewarded with small monetary payments on weekends. The concession of free time was thus prohibited during the harvest. Processing was simplified. What mattered was quantity, not the final quality of the product. Thus, coffee cherries with pulp and parchment were placed to dry in vast unpaved terraces; once dry, these layers of plant material were then separated by water pestle mills (a local invention made from the model of rice machines), each one capable of processing up to 5,800 kg of coffee in eight hours. The result of this spatial economy in terms of labor productivity was simply astounding. In 1850, slaves on coffee plantations in Paraíba Valley were producing 1,000 to 1,200 kg of coffee a year, 5 to 6 times more than slaves in Saint-Domingue and Suriname.[40]

Coffee produced with these new techniques was bad, but cheap. The downward trend in prices due to an increase in supply at the expense of quality, observed earlier in the Caribbean, deepened in the nineteenth century. Now even Caribbean coffee – cheaper than Yemen's – had become more expensive than Brazil's. This is what allowed Vale do Paraíba to monopolize the supply to the North American market, the fastest growing one during that period. Actually, world coffee prices fell continuously between 1823 and 1848 due to Brazilian production, meaning that Brazil became the price maker in the third global coffee economy. Perhaps the ultimate secret for this lies in the political strength of the coffee slaveholders. The Empire of Brazil represented, alongside the United States, a new historical experience in which slavery was rec-

[40] Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "African Diaspora, Slavery, and the Paraiba Valley Coffee Plantation Landscape: Nineteenth Century Brazil," *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 31 (2008): 195–216; Marquese, "Espacio y poder en la caficultura esclavista de las Américas: el Vale do Paraíba en perspectiva comparada, 1760–1860," in *Trabajo libre y Coactivo en Sociedades de Plantación*, ed. José Antonio Piqueras (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2009): 215–52; Marquese, "Laborie en traducción"; Breno Aparecido Servidone Moreno, "Desbravando os sertões da Piedade: terra e trabalho no Vale do Paraíba cafeeiro (Bananal, c.1800–1880)" (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2022): 267.

reated under a new constitutional and liberal institutional arrangement, in tune with the times of the post-Age of Revolutions inter-state system. And, in the case of Brazil, this order showed itself capable of standing up against British antislavery pressure for at least three decades. Slavery in the third global coffee economy was not a simple repetition of the same old phenomena, as Steven Topik argued. It was, in fact, a new slavery – a Second Slavery.[41]

Looking at Java and Ceylon in light of this experience makes the argument regarding the novelty of Second Slavery in the third global coffee economy more solid. Upon being returned to the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1816 under conditions that were determined by the new British anti-slave trade diplomacy, Java was the subject of several Dutch plans to make it more profitable. Initially it was assumed that it would be possible to create a plantation system (for coffee, sugar, tobacco, and indigo) from the leasing or privatization of the surplus lands of the central kingdoms of Java, counting on their peasants as wages laborers. In the late 1820s, however, metropolitan reformers realized that, considering the distances from consumer markets in the North Atlantic and the relative costs of free labor, the wage schemes they designed would never allow Java to compete with New World slave producers for tropical commodity markets. This path would also be blocked by the complete refusal of the native peasantry to engage with wage relations and by the molecular conflicts with local aristocracies, which was going to explode soon in the very serious Java War (1825–1830). Another possibility of colonial exploitation would be to grant the peasants freedom to decide what and how to cultivate, in exchange for tax payment on the land. However, historical experience had shown local peasants would opt for the exclusive cultivation of rice, without worrying about any marketable surplus.[42]

41 Marquese, Parron and Berbel, *Slavery and Politics*: 261–66; Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery*: 56–71.

42 Peter Carey, "Revolutionary Europe and the Destruction of Java's Old Order, 1808–1830," in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c.1760–1840*, ed. David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2010): 167–88; Breman, *Mobilizing Labour of the Global Coffee Market*: 129–68; Robert E. Elson, *Village Java Under the Cultivation System, 1830–1870* (Sidney: Allen & Unwin, 1994): 3–40.

At the turn of the 1830s it became clear that the only solution for the systematic colonial exploitation of Java was to return to the old system of forced cultivation created by the VOC in Priangan, expanding it to the entire island. This scheme, known as the *Cultivation System*, consisted of extracting tribute from land rights over the whole Java (which the Dutch ascribed to themselves by a fictitious eighteenth century donation the Mataram Kingdom supposedly conceded them) through payment in kind, not cash. To this end, Java was divided into eighteenth Residences, each one commanded by a Dutch Resident, assisted by a few Dutch colonial administrators. Each Residence comprised different territories of the native Regents, members of the ancient Javanese aristocracies and always in close contact with Dutch officials. Below the Regents were the native district chiefs, who called on the local authorities of the peasant villages. In their negotiations, Residents/Regents/District Chiefs assigned specific areas of peasant villages to cultivate certain articles, and then these orders were communicated to the local peasant authorities. Peasants were then supposed to allocate a given area of their villages for the production of the articles imputed on them, supplying them at fixed prices to official Dutch warehouses.[43]

In view of its easy articulation with the peasant way of life, coffee ended up becoming the backbone of the system and the main source of income for the Dutch colonial state. Peasant family units were not supervised in the labor and production processes. Coffee cultivation was managed completely autonomously by them, who subordinated it to the main crop: rice. Usually there were only about 900 coffee trees per peasant household. After harvesting, the grains were dried on small wooden platforms or on mats; for the removal of pulp and parchment, they used the same manual pestles used in rice processing. Subsequently, the peasants transported the processed coffee to the Dutch official warehouses, selling it to the Colonial State and, thus, releasing themselves from land rent. Prices paid to peasants were set unilaterally by Dutch colonial administrators. The Dutch also counted on gains from the operations

[43] Breman, *Mobilizing Labour of the Global Coffee Market*: 198; Cornelis Fasseur, *The Politics of Colonial Exploitation. Java, the Dutch, and the Cultivation System*, trans. R.E. Elson and Ary Kraal (Ithaca, NY: Southern Asia Program, Cornell University, 1992): 26–55.

of *Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij*, a semi-monopoly company that sent the coffee obtained from the local forced sales to auctions in the metropolis, always at prices well below those on the world market.[44]

Java's coffee potential had been demonstrated with the dissolution of the VOC in 1800. In response to the vacuum created by the Saint-Domingue Revolution, twenty years later – that is, even before the adoption of the Cultivation System – its exports were comparable to those of Caribbean producers such as Haiti and Cuba. However, throughout the 1820s and the first half of the 1830s they stalled at this annual average of around 20,000 tons. The results of the *Cultivation System* after the end of the Java War in 1830 would soon follow. In the five-year period between 1836 and 1841, coffee shipments to the Netherlands more than doubled, growing to 46,000 tons/year. In the following three decades (1840–1870), they stabilized at a level between 60,000 and 70,000 ton/year. As a result, Java isolated itself in the world market as the second largest coffee producer. But, unlike Brazil, its production proved to be inelastic due to the very bases on which it was grounded. The Dutch colonial state, faced with the specter of the 1825–1830 war, had no additional coercive means to force Javanese peasants to expand coffee production. Coercively separated from the world market price system, these peasants did not have economic incentives to increase supply either.[45] The fiscal harvest obtained by the Dutch colonial state was remarkable,[46] but the peculiar nature of the colonialism that allowed it was conditioned from the start by the new dynamics of the world market in tropical commodities, born in the Age of Revolutions, in which Second Slavery in Brazil played a decisive role.[47]

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44 Breman, *Mobilizing Labour of the Global Coffee Market*: 169–72; Fasseur, *The Politics of Colonial Exploitation*: 36; M.R. Fernando & William J. O'Malley, "Peasants and Coffee Cultivation in the Cirebon Residency, 1800–1900," in *Indonesian Economic History in the Dutch Colonial Era*, ed. Anne Booth, W.J. O'Malley and Anna Weidemann (Yale: Yale Center for International Area Studies, 1990): 171–86.

45 Fasseur, *The Politics of Colonial Exploitation*: 57–61.

46 See for instance Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel, *The Strictures of Inheritance: The Dutch Economy in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): 121–87.

47 Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "The Cultivation System in Java, Second Slavery in Brazil, and the World Coffee Economy (c.1760–1860)," in *The Atlantic and Africa: The Second*

The later entrance of Ceylon into the coffee world market shows another aspect of the structural relations between Brazilian slave-based coffee production and its rivals in the Indian Ocean. Vital for the defense of the Indian subcontinent and for the maritime routes towards China, Ceylon was not returned by the British to the Dutch at the Congress of Vienna, being immediately separated from the territories of the EIC and transformed into a Crown Colony. The problem now was how to make it financially self-sustaining. The centuries-old cinnamon economy no longer offered a viable path. In the 1830s, in the midst of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, the possibility of replicating the Caribbean coffee plantation model – but now without slaves – in Ceylon was considered. Several experiments were carried out on how to adjust West Indies coffee techniques to local environmental conditions. The most important measure, however, was the equalization of imperial tariffs in 1836, allowing East Indian coffee to be on equal footing with its West Indian counterpart within the British market, both protected by the over-tariff of foreign coffee. At the turn of the 1840s, there were large private investments in land purchase and the setting up of the first coffee estates in the highlands of the ancient kingdom of Kandy, already counting on the seasonal wage labor of the Tamil coolies mobilized in South India.[48]

When these investments were about to pay off there came a double shock for Ceylon's coffee planters. The coercive practices of managing Tamil coolies led to great resistance, practically suspending their migration in 1847. At that very moment, Britain's turn to generalized free trade began to threaten all the tropical producing zones of its Empire, including the newborn Ceylon coffee economy. A Select Committee of the British Parliament and the colonial press in Colombo posed the problem: how could Ceylon - without slaves – compete in a free world market with Brazil, which was still supplied by the transatlantic slave trade? The Russell Cabinet's response, via its Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston,

Slavery and Beyond, ed. Dale Tomich and Paul E. Lovejoy (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2021).

48 This and the next four paragraphs are based on Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "'The Mistress of the Coffee Markets of the World': Slavery in Brazil and the Kangany System in Ceylon, c.1815–1878," in *Global Agricultural Workers From the 17th to the 21th Century*, ed. Rolf Bauer and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk (Leiden: Brill, 2023): 293–325.

came not with a resumption of protectionism (in 1851, coffee tariffs for imperial and foreign coffee would be equalized), but rather with a decisive naval action to end the transatlantic slave trade to Brazil once and for all. Faced with the threat of war by Great Britain, the Empire of Brazil finally closed its ports to the transatlantic slave trade in September 1850.

In the mid-nineteenth century, there was a reversal in world coffee prices. Between 1823 and 1848, their steady decline (a direct result of the Brazilian supply) had helped popularize coffee consumption in the North Atlantic. Between the 1850s and 1870s, as part of a cyclical upswing of the capitalist world-economy, international coffee prices would rise sharply. With a new consumer base of a cheap product, demand was now pulling the supply, thus initiating a high price trend that would last for about half a century. This rising demand had a direct relation to the fast rates of industrialization, urbanization, and rising discretionary income in Western Europe and the United States, with the ongoing transportation revolution lowering the price of maritime and land transport with new hubs, steamships, and railroads. The new cycle boosted the definitive take off of coffee production in Ceylon. In 1850, the British colony had exported about 17,000 tons of coffee. Two decades later, that number rose to 50,000 ton, closely approaching Java with its 70,000 tons per year. The pace of coffee growth in Brazil slowed significantly compared to what it had been between 1821 and 1850, but Brazil nonetheless exported 208,800 tons to the world market in 1870.

These figures show that even without the unlimited supply of enslaved Africans, Brazil's position as the world's largest producer remained unshaken. This was a consequence of the spatial economy built in the first half of the nineteenth century. Slave prices in Brazil nearly doubled in the 1850s and 1860s, but their astonishing productivity in the Paraíba Valley plantations allowed their owners to successfully face competition from Java and Ceylon. In Ceylon, the spatial economy of coffee production followed a different logic. After the crisis of 1846–1847, labor supply stabilized with the crystallization of the so-called Coast Advance System, or simply *Kangany System*. This was a highly effective form of seasonal mobilization of wage labor, distinct from the indentured system employed by the British in their tropical colonies. Through advance and indebtedness chains, the *kangany* (a Tamil word that refers to an agricultural supervisor) recruited South Indian coolies at very low costs to Ceylon coffee planters. This stemmed not only from the wages paid to workers who migrated annually to Ceylon and who returned to their Indian communities at the end of the harvest, but also from the nature of supervision throughout the process of engagement, transportation, and harvest on Ceylon's estates, always on account of the kangany itself. In the production process, and unlike the Vale do Paraíba, the agronomic treatment of coffee plantations in Ceylon was intensive. Coffee trees were pruned, planted in contour lines with trenches to prevent erosion, and manured. All this was possible because the Ceylon coffee estates were much smaller, without any production of foodstuffs, with heavily dense planting, all of which reduced the demand for laborers in the off-season. Due to Indian oversupply the price of labor was very low in Ceylon, but so was worker's productivity. In the 1860s, an Indian coolie was producing 145 to 160 kg a year on coffee estates in Ceylon. A slave in the Paraíba Valley at that time produced eight times as much. The logic of the spatial economy in the Paraíba Valley was based on the intensive exploitation of enslaved laborers through the extensive exploitation of natural resources; in Ceylon, the rationale was to combine intensive coffee cultivation with the extensive use of coolie laborers.

In spite of all these intensive agronomic treatments and the wide availability of cheap labor, Ceylon's coffee production collapsed in the 1870s. The British colony was, from 1869 onwards, the global epicenter of the rust plague, the most devastating to coffee until today. As world prices notably rose between 1872 and 1879, in one of the typical cycles seen since the second half of the previous century, Ceylon producers continued to bet on coffee, expanding their crops even further. However, coffee planters in Brazil were doing the same thing, but now armed with a crucial weapon: in the 1870s the Brazilian rail network finally came into operation, opening up the vast and fertile virgin lands of western São Paulo to coffee. Once again Brazilian oversupply would cause prices to fall. In the 1880s, Ceylon's coffee economy was not alone with its problems: Java production was also severely affected, both by the blight of rust and by the crisis of the *Cultivation System*.

At that time, the transition to the fourth global coffee economy had already begun. Two events marked its birth. The first was the rust plague itself, which, by decimating the productivity of coffee trees in the Indian Ocean, finally opened space for new areas – with new spatial economies and new labor arrangements – to enter the world market. This was the opportunity seized by Latin American producers, initially in Central America (Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras), later in Colombia. The second event was the crisis of slavery in Brazil, which was part of the systemic crisis of the Second Slavery, beginning with the US Civil War. The great conflict of 1861–1865 not only inaugurated the chain of events that would lead to the abolition of Brazilian slavery in 1888, but also represented a fundamental transformation in the global patterns of capital accumulation.[49] The full history of the fourth, post-slavery global coffee economy will not be told in my book. I will only suggest how many of the broader lines of this fourth economy – especially its permanent tendency to overproduction, with the consequent need for the State to intervene in the structure of supply through the so-called "valorization schemes" – were a direct unfolding of the spatial economy created by past slave relations.[50]

The Three Theoretical and Methodological Axes of the Study

In each wave of expansion that marked the transition from a given global coffee economy to the following, the new "leading space" always established the conditions in which the spaces that had preceded it and its contemporaries were going to operate. This is what happened with Saint-Domingue in relation to Yemen and Suriname, or with the Paraíba Valley in relation to the Caribbean (Haiti, Jamaica, Cuba) and Java/Ceylon.

49 The US Civil War is the starting point of what Giovanni Arrighi has conceptualized as the fourth systemic cycle of capitalist accumulation: see *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of Our Times* (London: Verso, 1994).

50 For a preview of this argument, see Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "The Legacies of the Second Slavery. The Cotton and Coffee Economies of the United States and Brazil during the Reconstruction Era, 1865–1904," in *United States Reconstruction Across the Americas*, ed. William A. Link (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2019): 11–46.

The observation and analysis of these spatio-temporal overlaps constitute an important task for understanding the relationships between the different forms of asymmetric dependent labor mobilized globally for coffee production. Now I will try to give substance to this idea through a description of the three main theoretical and methodological axes that guide the investigation.

I start with the concept of spatial economy. This is not about the spatial economics of economists, which is usually concerned with the variables that condition the spatial allocation of production factors or with the financial dynamics in the reconfiguration of large urban centers.[51] My use here is more specific, referring primarily to the analysis of the articulation of the coffee production unit to the rhythms and broader transformations of the world economy. In a project developed with Dale Tomich, Reinaldo Funes, and Carlos Venegas, the concept was crucial for us to understand the specificities of the core areas of the Second Slavery (the coffee Paraíba Valley, the cotton belt of lower Mississippi River Valley, and the sugar plains of Western Cuba) within the industrial world-economy of the nineteenth century.[52] My current project on the global history of coffee is in many ways a diachronic extension – in the *longue durée* and focused on the examination of a single commodity – of the spatial analysis developed for that synchronic study of slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States.

The first issue to examine when dealing with the spatial economy is the botany of the plant itself. The *Coffea arabica* variety, the only one that was commercially cultivated in the period I am analyzing (*Coffea canephora* and multiple correlated hybridizations are part of the rust plague history), originates from the highland forests of southwest Ethiopia (between 1,000 and 2,000 meters), close to the borders with South Sudan and Kenya, a tropical zone marked by moderate average temperatures (ranging between 15oC and 28oC) and high rainfall. In the

51 In this growing literature, perhaps the most paradigmatic work is still that of Masahisa Fujita, Paul Krugman and Anthony J. Venables, *The Spatial Economy. Cities, Regions, and International Trade* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

52 Tomich, Marquese, Funes Monzote and Venegas Fornias, *Reconstructing the Landscapes of Slavery*.

wild, where they grow sheltered from insolation under the shade of up to three levels of overlapping treetops, the *Coffea arabica* bushes reach a height of six meters, but they produce few fruits, just the essential for the survival of the species.[53] Since the rise of Yemen, the commercial cultivation of the shrub has always involved cultural practices that evidently sought a substantial increase in fruit production. These treatments were diverse: planting with or without alignment, shading, containment of slopes, fertilization, low-cutting of the coffee trunk, pruning, and intercropping of foodstuffs. Each of these choices referred to different forms of social organization of labor. Regardless of multiple local variations, all commercial cultivation experiments around the globe have had to deal with the natural history of the plant, that is, with its immediate botanical determinations. Besides that, commercial crops like coffee almost always involve some kind of complex combination between agriculture and processing. Given its specific characteristics, its processing is a relatively simple physical process, consisting of drying the harvested cherry and separating the two layers of plant material that cover it, the pulp and the parchment. There were, however, different technical possibilities for doing so, which in turn again relate to an ever broader set of substantive historical social relations.

The second question concerns the immediate environmental conditions where coffee production took place, evidently a consequence of the plant's natural history. Cultivation of the shrub is only viable in intertropical zones with humidity and temperatures that are not far from those conditions of the original habitat. But even here the spectrum of possibilities is considerable. Topography, altitude, climate, hydrology, soils, existence of native forest cover or previous crops: each of these elements implied a series of consequences for coffee production and how it was socially organized. It is worth briefly citing two spaces that have

53 Pierre G. Sylvain, "Ethiopian Coffee: Its Significance to World Coffee Problems," *Economic Botany* 12, no. 2 (1958): 111–39; Frederick G. Meyer, "Notes on Wild Coffee arabica from Southwestern Ethiopia, with Some Historical Considerations," in *Economic Botany* 19, no. 2 (1965): 136–51; H.C. Bitterbender, "Digging Deeper: Cultivation and Yields," in *Coffee: A Comprehensive Guide to the Bean, the Beverage, and the Industry*, ed. R.W. Thurston, J. Morris, and S. Steiman (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013): 22–25.

some crucial differences in relation to the original coffee environment of Ethiopia. In Suriname, coffee was cultivated in the eighteenth century at sea level, in swamps and mangrove lands subject to strong tides that were conquered for commercial agriculture after extensive drainage works. Between 1790 and 1840, the main coffee-growing zone in Cuba was not its eastern mountains, but the low plains of the western zone that surrounded the ports of Havana and Matanzas, a region, moreover, subject to hurricanes. Contradicting the original botanical demands of the plant had decisive implications for the trajectory of the slave-based coffee economy in those two spaces – and, consequently, for their own slave relations.

The third question focuses on the processes of appropriation of nature: the previous land uses before the rise of the coffee economy and (during and after its formation) landowning patterns. These relationships always refer to political power in its relations with social and economic power. The spectrum of variation here is, again, enormous. In the sedentary Shia tribal communities of the Yemeni highlands, coffee reinforced previously existing land tenure structures. In Saint-Domingue, where the indigenous population had disappeared at the end of the sixteenth century due to the hecatomb of the Spanish conquest, the coffee economy created the possibility for free colonists residing locally (whites, blacks, and mulattoes), with few or modest resources, to enter the slaveholding class, but without immediately aligning themselves with the sugar interests of the large absentee planters. In Suriname and Cuba, investing on the same lands, coffee and sugar planters formed a unified group, often with simultaneous investments in both activities and a common political platform. In Brazil, the entire formation and expansion of coffee production – from the Paraíba Valley to the West of São Paulo – implied the dispossession or simple extermination of indigenous populations. Based on the control over land, its coffee planters constituted a powerful ruling class that commanded the destiny of the Brazilian Empire until 1889, and, after that, of the Brazilian Republic. In the Indian Ocean, while the British promoted in Ceylon's highlands a full process of land privatization modeled after the political economy of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, against the previous uses of the native Sinhalese communities, in Java the Dutch could not intervene in native structures of power over land. All these processes of formation of patterns of landownership referred ultimately to the State, whether tributary, colonial or liberal, which means that political power was an essential instituting force of the spatial economies of the coffee production units. And also that these processes were never exclusively local, given that each of these political entities was part of a historically encompassing inter-state system.

The next question also concerns the relationship between society and nature. In this fourth step, the analysis turns to the production and labor processes in agriculture, which never coincide.[54] The idea is to examine how landscape management strategies were related to labor management strategies. Scale of production units; spatial combination between new, mature, and exhausted coffee fields/pastures/fallow areas/virgin forest reserves; combination of crops (coffee/foodstuffs) and pastures for livestock; methods of arranging coffee plantations (distances between coffee rows; horizontality/verticality of coffee lines); weeding area/number of coffee bushes allocated to each worker; internal transport system of the plantation; articulations between cultivated fields and built environments for processing the coffee: the combination of all this constitutes what I am calling landscape management. Each of these choices was in turn directly related to the strategies for coordinating collective labor: mechanisms of supervision, reward and punishment; organization of work in the weeding of coffee plantations; at harvest; in transport to processing; in the production of foodstuffs; in processing. To understand such strategies, demography (number of workers, balance by age, gender, origin and race) must come to the forefront of the investigation. This analytical pair (landscape management/labor management) allows us to descend to the ground floor, to the concrete and immediate processes of material and social transformation of the worlds of labor within specific productive units, giving us a more solid basis to examine the particularities that distinguish labor forms that are often taken as unchanging. Examining the relationship between landscape management and

54 For an extensive treatment of this issue, see José Graziano da Silva, *Progresso Técnico e Relações de Trabalho na Agricultura* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1981).

labor management sheds light on the historicity of forms of asymmetric dependence.

Finally, the fifth question takes us to the spaces of flow of the commodity chain. This is about the transport and commercialization mechanisms apprehended in their spatial dimensions. The location of a given productive unit (question 2), its inscription in a specific landownership pattern (question 3) and its scale of operations (question 4) kept direct and immediate relationships with the time and cost of taking what they produced to the first point of connection with the world market, that is, the export ports. The spatial relationships of this first point with the terminal poles of the commodity chain (import/re-export ports, places of final consumption) also directly and indirectly impacted the location, the landownership pattern, and the scale of operations. In order to examine the historicity of the coffee economy and its forms of asymmetric dependence, we must pay attention to the specific equation of volume/distance/speed/price present in each transport and marketing system for the coffee commodity. From this perspective, it will be possible to understand how the spatial economy of the productive unit was articulated to the spatial economy of the broader historical system in which it was inscribed, simultaneously forming it and being formed by it.

A crucial methodological procedure is to avoid treating these issues as variables, as processes that are external and independent of each other. We must conceive them first of all as specific moments of a totality in permanent movement, that is, a totality shaped by the always discontinuous temporal rhythms of each of these specific moments that composed it. In Henri Lefebvre's terms, such a totality must be constructed as an open one, presupposing contradictions and movements and gaining continuous analytical additions by incorporating other equally open totalities.[55] The opposite would be to conceive of it as a closed, finished, absolute, and immutable entity. Or, to cite Karel Kosik, it is about oper-

55 Henri Lefebvre, "La notion de totalité dans les Sciences Sociales," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* 18 (1955): 55–77.

ating with the meaning of a concrete totality as being a totality by relation, and not a totality by addition.[56]

From this perspective we may find a way out of the false debates on the problem of scale that polarize Microhistory and Global History. The analysis proposed here is based on a relational examination that seeks to articulate at each step the vast spaces of a given global coffee economy (the macroscale) to the particular and very specific configurations of the coffee fields and social relations of a given plantation at that time (the microscale). In this sense, this perspective of analysis of the spatial economy fits well with two other central concepts of critical geography. The first is the commodity frontier. Originally proposed by Jason Moore, the concept shows how capitalist forces promoted a permanent geographic expansion of its bases through the constant incorporation of new productive spaces since the long sixteenth century, an expansion that was dictated by the maximum appropriation of natural resources.[57] Regarding my immediate goals, the continuous formation of new frontiers of the coffee commodity has meant profound transformations of land and labor on a global scale. Over-appropriation and simplification of ecosystems, necessarily implying over-exploitation and degradation of labor, have resulted in a steady decline in the productivity and profitability of coffee enterprises. The commodification of land and labor in the American and Asian landscapes dictated by the logic of capital thus involved the continual expansion of the boundaries of the coffee commodity. The second concept is the spatial fix, proposed by David Harvey. In particular, it is important to highlight how his argument regarding the geographic mobility of capital in response to the dynamics of class conflict provides a powerful tool to understanding the geographic mobility of the coffee economy.[58] Indeed, the transition from the second to the third global coffee economy cannot be dissociated from the events of the Age of Revolutions, most notably revolutionary abolition in Haiti,

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56 Karel Kosik, *Dialectics of the Concrete. A Study on Problems of Man and World*, trans. Karel Kovanda and James Schmidt (Dordrecht: Reidel Publ.Co, 1976): 18–19.

57 Jason Moore, “Sugar and the Expansion of the Early Modern World-Economy: Commodity Frontiers, Ecological Transformation, and Industrialization,” in *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Cente*r 23, no. 3 (2000): 409–33.

58 David Harvey, *Limits to Capital* (London: Verso, 2006).

just as the transition from the third to the fourth global coffee economy can only be explained in light of the enormous class conflicts that led to the US Civil War and the abolition of slavery in Brazil. Changes in global coffee economies have always involved vast processes of spatial fix.

Finally, to conclude the description of the first theoretical and methodological axis, it is worth recalling the pioneering work of the Brazilian economist Antonio Barros de Castro. In a 1970 essay on regional heritage in Brazilian development, Castro proposed a highly original framework for apprehending the spatial dynamics of the Brazilian coffee economy between the early nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Due to its specific agronomic practices, Brazilian coffee production has always been an "itinerant crop." According to Castro, "in its expansion as in its crisis, we must analyze it as an activity in motion. Given this characteristic, a booming crop comprised a pioneer zone, where coffee is penetrating; a zone where it is consolidated and fully productive; and a decadent zone where the culture is in decline."[59] A few years later, in another equally stimulating essay, the author expanded this perspective to understand the spatio-temporal changes and hierarchies in all the slaveholding regions of the Americas. Emphasizing the resilience of places that, despite the loss of dynamism in relation to the expansion of pioneer slave zones, maintained their links with the world market, Castro formulated an argument that resembled Harvey's idea of the "geographical inertia" of decadent zones, which saw capital migrate to more promising zones through spatial adjustment.[60] What I am trying to do in my project on the global history of coffee is to expand to the world scale the argument originally made by Antonio Barros de Castro for Brazilian coffee production. In each global coffee economy, it is possible to observe this hierarchy between pioneer, mature, and decadent regions. But these hierarchies also indicate that we are dealing with distinct and overlapping historical times. What in one global coffee economy was a

59 Antonio Barros de Castro, *7 ensaios sobre a economia brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 1980): vol. 2, 50.

60 Antonio Barros de Castro, "'As mãos e os pés do senhor de engenho': dinâmica do escravismo colonial," in *Trabalho escravo, economia e sociedade,* ed. Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro (Rio de Janeiro: Paz & Terra, 1984): 43–66; Harvey, *Limits*: 393–95.

pioneering region, in another had become a decadent region. In other words, the spatial economy of this pioneering region, a condition of its command of the respective global economy at a given moment, became in the following moment – that is, in another global economy – an obstacle in its ability to compete in the new conjuncture. However, the "geographical inertia" allowed the old region to remain viable even under adverse conditions.

Such observations lead us directly to the two other theoretical and methodological axes that guide the investigation, namely, a perspective of substantive comparison and a theory of plural historical times. The project deals directly with different types of labor. In the long trajectory of the global coffee economy between the mid-sixteenth century and the end of the nineteenth century, forms as diverse as free peasant labor (Yemen, Haiti), forced peasant labor (Java), chattel slavery (Martinique, Bourbon, Saint-Domingue, Suriname, Jamaica, Cuba, Brazil), and compulsory wage labor (Ceylon) were mobilized for commodity production. Identifying the specific traits of each of them is essential for the analysis, but if we keep ourselves only at this level we run the risk of falling into a simple typological formulation.

This is a problem that affects the entire field of Global Labor History. Remember what can be considered its true *vademecum*, the pioneering and in many ways groundbreaking book by Marcel van der Linden. One of its central purposes was to examine the compulsory labor modalities mobilized globally by capital (among which African slavery in the Americas) alongside other forms of free, autonomous or wage labor, rural or urban. After listing the multiple forms of labor available to capital, Van Der Linden emphasizes that their point of convergence consists in the constant production and reiteration of an "instituted heteronomy [...] of subaltern workers." As far as the concrete investigation of this heteronomy is concerned, however, what is generally offered is a typological description, on a global scale, of the forms of labor explored by the different national and imperial capitalist classes. And for those familiar with the Marxist discussions on colonial slavery that took place in the 1970s, it won't be without surprise that the timeless exposure of the variables that shaped such a labor relationship can be associated with some of the most ahistorical formulations of the concept of a colonial slave mode of production. But while offering these typological classifications, Marcel van der Linden also very clearly establishes the demand to overcome them, explicitly stating that "we should not study the different kinds of subaltern workers separately, but consider the connections between them as much as possible."[61]

The question of course is how to do this. The problem of the comparative method is directly related to the list of questions formulated by the *Bonn Center*. In the document cited at the beginning of this paper, its authors state that "the methodological challenge of comparison [...] is one of the main goals of the BCDSS. Individual case studies or microhistories of asymmetrical dependency put forward over the coming years are intended to constitute the new empirical basis for transcultural and diachronic comparison. The approach taken here is to combine long-term comparative history or longue-durée approaches with connected or entangled histories in pursuit of a decentering way of comparison."[62] This passage and its respective references to Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, Jürgen Osterhammel, Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, Michel Borgoite, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Natalie Zemon Davis and Francesca Trivellato beautifuly summarize the current state of the art. However, I believe that there is an important absence in this *Bonn Center* document: the method of incorporating or substantive comparison developed within the intellectual project associated with the world-system perspective.

Two seminal articles stand out here, with immediate methodological consequences for the history I am trying to tell. The first is by Philip McMichael, whose target was the "encompassing comparison" proposals of Immanuel Wallerstein and Charles Tilly. McMichael recognizes that these two sociologists brought a great advance in relation to current formal procedures of comparison in the historical social sciences, which seek to identify similarities and differences between phenomena that pre-

61 Marcel van der Linden, *Workers of the World. Essays Toward a Global Labor History* (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 36.

62 Winnebeck, Sutter, Hermann, Antweiler and Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 7.

sent a certain essential analogy with each other. The formal comparison thus performed simply reaffirms, through contrast, the always unique and specific character of each compared unit. Wallerstein and Tilly, on the contrary, sought precisely to examine the systemic, structural interconnections between the compared units, but ended up explaining their similarities and divergences as consequences of their relations with a previously given analytic whole, such as Wallerstein's world-system. Yet the result is the creation of a mechanical field of determinations, projecting a preconceived model onto history which leaves aside a good part of its dynamics and its particularities. Instead of assuming the rule of the parts by the whole, the incorporated comparison proposed by McMichael aims to capture the global systemic interconnections in their fluidity, in view of the mutual conditioning between parts and whole. In this approach, the whole is a methodical construction obtained by the embedded analysis of the parts. Rather than a theoretical or empirical premise, totality is thus a result of the investigation procedure itself.[63] What is the methodological consequence for my project? The global coffee economies that I am examining must be analytically constructed as the arrival point of the incorporated comparison between the different producing regions and the respective forms of labor that constitute them, and not as the point of departure of the investigation.

The second article is by Dale Tomich, which is close to McMichael's argument, but with some crucial additions. Tomich presents his argument based on a concrete exercise of comparison, taking two slaveholding sugar spaces that were contemporaneous, namely the colonies of Martinique and Cuba in the nineteenth century. He then contrasts the procedures that would be adopted in a conventional formal comparison with those of a substantive comparison (an expression that Tomich uses instead of McMichael's incorporated comparison, and which I also consider to be the most adequate). In a formal comparison, the specific constellations of land, labor, and capital in the two islands would be compared in their similarities and differences, reinforcing at the end

63 Philip McMichael, "Incorporating Comparison within a World-Historical Perspective: An Alternative Comparative Method," *American Sociological Review* 55, no. 3 (1990): 385–97.

of the exercise the irreducible uniqueness of each one. In a substantive comparison, Martinique and Cuba would be understood as mutually formative spaces, based on a careful analysis of the historical temporalities of each. Martinique's slavery played an important role in shaping the world sugar market between 1660 and 1790, having helped to establish its general conditions when Cuba entered it after the outbreak of the Atlantic revolutionary cycle. However, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, by transforming the very nature of that market, Cuban slavery was decisive in changing the general framework in which slavery was reproduced in Martinique. Martinique and Cuba were subject to the same world time in the nineteenth century, but due to their specific processes of constitution – to their *specific times* – they did not belong to a singular time of historical formation. From the perspective of substantive comparison, "the sociohistorical construction of temporal and spatial processes and relations must itself become an object of inquiry."[64] Methodological consequence: the distinct coffee regions and their respective labor modalities that I am comparatively examining must be conceptualized as mutually formative through the specific evolving relationships that each space had within a given global coffee economy.

These methodological notes call attention to the treatment of historical time, conceptualized not as linear but as plural. I believe that the relevance of the method of substantive comparison for the integrated and relational analysis of the forms of asymmetric dependence will become clearer if we move on to the third theoretical and methodological axis. My investigation operates with ordinal numbers that serve as temporal and conceptual markers for the large time blocks being examined. I speak of a first, a second, and a third global coffee economy, or a first and a second slavery. These markers do not signal moments that follow each other linearly, the second completely replacing the first, the third the second and so on. In fact, they point to the existence of historical structures – the global coffee economies/slavery – that overlap in time.

64 Dale Tomich, "Small Islands and Huge Comparisons. Caribbean Plantations, Historical Unevenness, and Capitalist Modernity," *Social Science History* 18, no. 3 (1994): 340–58.

In this sense, the inquiry adopts a theoretical perspective directly inspired by Fernand Braudel and Reinhart Koselleck.[65] As we all know, Braudel was the creator of the concept of *longue durée* that goes in the title of this paper. The expression appears with some frequency in efforts to write the global history of slavery, being, for example, mobilized by Joseph C. Miller in his last book.[66] However, it is almost always taken as synonymous with a long period of time, which ends up neglecting the core of the temporal argument embedded in the original formulation of the concept.[67] The Braudelian *longue durée* necessarily presupposes the short time of the event to make sense. The emphasis of Braudel's theorization always falls on the "dialectic of duration," on the "plurality" of historical times, and not just on a chronologically dilated time frame. Structure is taken as an analytical concept,[68] not as a descriptive term, and as such it opposes and it is dialectically articulated to the concept of event. In Braudel's words, structure is "articulation, architecture, but even more it is a reality" of a temporal nature, with its own duration. Structures appear and disappear according to their discontinuous rhythms. Thus, there are no ahistorical structures, forever immutable, as proposed by Lévi-Strauss' structural anthropology. The structures – always historical, says the historian – are "mainstays and obstacles." In this canonical formulation, Braudel spoke explicitly with the entire critical tradition coming from nineteenth century thought which dealt with the dialectics of freedom and necessity. As "mainstays and obstacles," long-term temporal structures establish in each historically given circumstance the horizon of the possible – what can be done in a given

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65 In what follows, I return to the argument I developed with Waldomiro Lourenço da Silva Jr. in the article "Braudel, Koselleck, and the Problem of Modern Slavery," republished as a chapter in my recent book: Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Os Tempos Plurais da Escravidão no Brasil. Ensaios de História e Historiografia* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2020): 43–70.

66 Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History. A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012): 18, 151.

67 Maybe the most bizarre example of this naïf association is chapter one of Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

68 Fernand Braudel, "História e Ciências Sociais: a Longa Duração" [1958], *Escritos sobre a História*, trans. J. Ginzburg and Tereza Cristina Silveira da Mota (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1978): 43.

space of human action based on the past legacies. When something happens at the level of events that have cumulatively thickened, surpassing this horizon of the possible, what we have is already a structure in the process of transformation.

Hence the crucial relevance for Braudel of his dialogue with Jean-Paul Sartre. It is true that the event belongs to the scale of short duration, but Braudel recognizes the weight of the "philosophers" argument that "an event, at very least, may include a series of meanings and familiarities. It sometimes offers a glimpse of very deep movements, and, by the perhaps artificially produced game of 'cause' and 'effects' dear to historians in the past, it can include a time far longer than its own duration." Such a conceptualization is part – in Braudel's words – of this "intelligent and dangerous game that Jean-Paul Sartre's recent reflections propose."[69] What could be "intelligent and dangerous" in Sartre? To see in the universal singularity of the individual, in the plot of past and present particular events that mark the life of each one of us, the multiple articulations of much wider space-time scales – in other words, structural scales. But not only that: in order to apprehend the totality in the event, to use the progressive-regressive method, that is, the permanent movement of the "back-and-forth" ("*va-et-vient*": that's Sartre's very expression) that runs through the complete hermeneutic circuit from the whole to the part/from the part to the whole, from abstract to concrete/from concrete to abstract, from present to past/from past to present, from biography to epoch/from epoch to biography.[70] A dangerous but intelligent and, for Braudel, undeniably seductive exercise: "at each time, the study of the concrete case – Flaubert, Valéry, or Gironde's foreign policy – leads Sartre back to the deep structural context. His analysis moves from the surface to the depths of history and corresponds to my own concerns. It would do so even more if the hourglass were

69 Ibid.: 45.

70 Jean-Paul Sartre, "Questão de Método" in *O existencialismo é um humanismo / A imaginação / Questão de Método*, trans. Bento Prado Jr. (São Paulo: Abril Cultural, 1978): 170.

overturned in both directions – from the event to the structure, then from the structure to the event."[71]

The event, in sum, is at the heart of Braudel's preoccupations with long-term temporal structures. In this sense, the greatest follower of his theorization of historical time was the German historian Reinhart Koselleck. His starting point rests on the "theoretical indigence of the science of history," the title of an article originally published in 1972. Resuming the Popperian argument about the loss of meaning of the opposition between nomothetic and idiographic sciences, Koselleck stressed the need for the research practice of historians to be founded on explicit theories, "accepting the challenge of a theory requirement if we want the science of history to continue to define itself as science." The "theorems from neighboring sciences" could not come to rescue. For Koselleck, "the science of history, ubiquitously disposed, can only persist as a science if it develops a theory of historical times, without which the science of history, as the investigator of everything, would be lost in infinity."[72] The way out to overcome the situation of "theoretical indigence," therefore, would be to renew and radicalize the Braudelian perspective.

The first innovation in relation to Braudel consisted in grounding the theoretical elaboration on the meta-historical categories of experience and expectation. According to Koselleck, they make it possible to account, in an integrated and substantive way, how the temporal dimensions of the past and the future are articulated in a given present. With regard to the category of experience, the Koselleckian definition points to both "rational elaboration" and "unconscious modes of behavior" present in the multiple experiences of historical actors. The experience that guides the horizon of expectations for the future, shaping the planned and unplanned action in a given present, "is spatial, since it is assembled into a whole in which many layers of previous times are simultaneously present, without providing any reference of the before and after." If, in the course of events, expectations confirm previous experiences, these "structured events" do not break the legacy of previous time strata. Only

71 Braudel, "História e Ciências Sociais": 75.

72 Reinhart Koselleck, *Estratos do Tempo. Estudos sobre a História*, trans. Markus Hediger (Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto-Ed. PUC-RJ, 2014): 280.

what is not expected, but which is necessarily contained in the field of possibilities built by the past, creates a new experience, thus broadening the horizon of expectations.[73]

The relationships between spaces of experience and horizons of expectations, he emphasizes, are not static. Koselleck's central thesis on the specific temporality of modernity consists precisely in pointing out the growing gap between the flattening of spaces of experience and the widening of horizons of expectations, something that is related to the very transformation of the concept of History at the turn of the nineteenth century. The perception that time always marches forward, in an univocal sense of continuous progress, provided after that moment one of the most solid foundations for the construction of historical knowledge. However, the soaring mismatch between experience and expectation produced by the progressive acceleration of historical time also made it possible to become aware that the present time is always crossed by multiple and different past times. The empirical verification of the "contemporaneity of the non-contemporary" actually predates the work of post-World War II historians by at least a century and a half. From these two basic metahistorical concepts, experience and expectation, Koselleck founded the theoretical and empirical treatment of layers of time.

The essential characteristic of structures would be the temporal reiteration, "the return of the same, even if the same changes in the medium or long term."[74] In Koselleck's conceptualization – as in Braudel's – structures have real historicity and more explicitly involve the different domains of the mental and the material. Examples of the structure he provides include "constitutional models, […] productive forces and relations of production, […] geographic and spatial circumstances, […] unconscious patterns of behavior. […] natural succession of generations, […] customs and legal systems," among others.[75] The author discerns

73 Reinhart Koselleck, *Futuro Passado. Contribuição à semântica dos tempos históricos*, trans. Wilma Patrícia Maas and Carlos Almeida Pereira (Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto-Ed.PUC-RJ, 2006): 311–13.
74 Koselleck, *Estratos do Tempo*: 305.
75 Koselleck, *Futuro Passado*: 136.

the diachronic structures of events (a bundle of events that constitute a procedural web involving broad movements and transformations of an economic and political order) from the longer-term structures (ideas, customs, norms of conduct, economic and social practices outpacing individual experiences). The step forward in relation to Braudelian conceptions of *conjuncture* and *longue durée* lies in the elucidation of their complex, dialogical and shifting relationship with individual experiences, which are at the same time unique and remissible to a certain ancestry and repeatability. It is in this sense that the experiences of time can be perceived as layers, given that "events and structures are intertwined, but one can never be reduced to the other."[76]

Thus, the treatment of the temporal dimension of the event is more complex than in Braudel, but the lines of continuity are evident. Starting with the general assumption: "more or less lasting structures, but in any case long-term, are the condition of possible events[;] […] "both levels […] refer to each other, without one dissolving into the other." In fact, and here we see the turn of the Braudelian hourglass, "certain structures can only be apprehended in the events in which they are articulated and through which they allow themselves to be seen." "The most adequate way of apprehending the processual character of modern history," concludes Koselleck, "is the reciprocal clarification of events through structures and vice versa."[77] Certain events, by bringing about a rupture in the order of time repetition, acquire a clear structural meaning; conversely, certain non-immediate durations can become events. Furthermore, the temporalization of history that took place at the turn of the nineteenth century changed the nature of the interrelationships between structures and events. "Structural change itself became an event: this is the characteristic of our modernity," writes Koselleck.[78] To put it another way: one of the main manifestations of the acceleration of the historical time of modernity lies precisely in the fact that historical structures can be of ever shorter duration.

[76] Koselleck, *Estratos do Tempo*: 307.
[77] Koselleck, *Futuro Passado*: 137–40.
[78] Koselleck, *Estratos do Tempo*: 307.

After the long description of my approach to the three global coffee economies, I hope the reader has noticed how I am concretely mobilizing this theory of plural historical times to examine my topic. In conclusion, I just want to name a few more explicit links to make my point as clear as possible. In identifying three temporally overlapping global economies, I am operating with the figure of thought of the "contemporaneity of the non-contemporary" as an analytical key to account for these overlaps. By observing local and immediate phenomena – such as the organization of a coffee crop with a given type of labor – as part of long-term reiterative patterns that constitute a given global coffee economy, and, conversely, how the field of forces of these economies created the very conditions of possibility for the emergence of historical novelties, I am turning the hourglass of the dialectic of duration. When operating with the articulation between the wide spaces of a given global coffee economy and the much more restricted spatial configurations of its coffee plantations, I am resorting to the back-and-forth method. By differentiating a First from a Second Slavery, locating its turning point in the Age of Revolutions, I am incorporating the argument of the acceleration of the historical time of modernity to address the historicity of forms of asymmetric dependence.

I began with the concept of spatial economy, but perhaps the greatest potential for an integrated analysis of the forms of asymmetric dependence in a specific commodity chain lies in the theoretical treatment of plural historical times. I will consider all this as I finish my book, and for that I must thank you once again for the opportunity that the *Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies* has given me to present its partial results.

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The present-day patterns of coffee production and consumption are rooted in the legacies of colonialism and slavery, but surprisingly the global history of the relationships between this commodity and slavery and other forms of asymmetrical dependencies has not been written yet. In this short monograph, Rafael de Bivar Marquese presents a proposal on how to do so. In its first part, it argues that historically specific forms of asymmetrically dependent labor that were mobilized for coffee production from the mid-sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century can be better understood from how they were situated in three different, global coffee economies that overlapped in this *longue durée*. The monograph presents an overview of each, highlighting their main characteristics and in particular the relationships between different labor regimes within each one of them. In its second part, it discusses the three main theoretical and methodological axes that guide the proposal.

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